INDIAN CONTROL OF INDIAN EDUCATION IN ONTARIO, CANADA: SUCCESS OR FAILURE?

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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 Administration and Curriculum

1982

ABSTRACT

INDIAN CONTROL OF INDIAN EDUCATION IN ONTARIO, CANADA: SUCCESS OR FAILURE?

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An examination of present-day "Indian Control of Indian Education" throughout the province of Ontario is predicated on the success or failure of a study conducted among the Ojibway of Manitoulin Island, the Chippewa and Muncey-of-the-Thames, and the Ojibway of Serpent River. The study attempts to document the problems that arise when two cultures characterized by divergent philosophies interact with each other in the educational arena. Historical and cultural factors are treated as major components influencing the ideology of local control. It appears that solutions to local control necessitate action and participation from within the Indian communities as a viable option. This entails active grass-root participation and an awareness of the abuses by those who are in control of the present educational system.

"Indian Control of Indian Education" was given official recognition by the Minister of the Department of Indian Affairs in February, 1973. It contains a statement of philosophy, goals, principles, and directions which the writer has used as indicators to discuss and evaluate the success or failure of the Bands under study. The

dissertation is an attempt to increase our understanding of what "Indian Control of Indian Education" is all about, viewed in a background of extraordinary "diversity," and complexity of issues.

Such problems as fiscal control, inappropriateness of central management procedures, the lack of a sophisticated accountability system, the need to define Indian education in terms of relevancy and parity, all render impotent the concept of "Indian Control of Indian Education," making necessary common ground-rules for all Bands.

DEDICATION

TO MY PARENTS, MR. AND MRS. DeVERE DeLOSS FULLER JAYNE,
WHO WERE THE FIRST TO INSTILL IN ME THE LOVE OF LEARNING,
A SPIRIT OF COMPASSION, AND THE FIRM BELIEF IN THE DIGNITY
OF MAN AND THE RIGHT TO FREEDOM, TO PEACE, AND TO EQUALITY.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The writer wishes to express her appreciation for the guidance and sustained interests of the thesis committee. Dr. James G. Moore and Dr. Kenneth L. Neff functioned as chairmen of the committee and provided valuable criticism and encouragement. I am indebted for similar services to Dr. Stanley P. Wronski, Dr. Eugene de Benko, and Dr. John W. Hanson who throughout the course of this study provided a continuous source of motivation. Dr. Martin Brodhead of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development in Toronto assisted and instructed me, and his efforts and patience extended far beyond the formal role. Thanks are extended to Mr. Gordon A. Mullin, Mr. N. K. Lickers, and the Honourable John Munro for their sustained services. Special recognition goes to Mr. Earl Commanda, Development Officer of the Serpent River Indian Reserve, for the laborious hours spent in formulating answers to my endless questions, and to Mary Lou Fox Fadulavich of the Ojibway Cultural Foundation on the West Bay Reserve.

During the conceptual, the developmental and completing stages of this dissertation, teachers, administrators, Chiefs, Band Council members and numerous individuals of the native communities assisted and participated in many ways. Through the kindness and influence of Dr. Douglas Ray, I was able to use the facilities and resources of the University of Western Ontario. And again, through the interest of the Honourable John Munro, I was permitted to use the Library on Parliament Hill in Ottawa for my research.

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DEFINITION OF TERMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

THE BRITISH NORTH AMERICA ACT OF 1867: Gave exclusive legislative authority to the Federal Government of Canada with regard to native people and lands reserved for them under section 91 of the Act.

THE INDIAN ACT OF 1876: The Indian Act was an attempt on the part of the Federal Government of Canada to bring together and articulate the responsibilities it inherited from the British Colonial Government through its treaties with the native people and through sub-section 24 of section 91 of the British North America Act. The Indian Act was first passed in 1876 and revised extensively in 1880. A few more revisions were made in 1951. In the past six years there has been considerable discussion between the federal government, native bands, and native associations regarding further revisions to the Act. The federal government is committed to involving the native people in all decisions pertaining to further changes to the Act.

INDIAN: A person who, pursuant to the Indian Act, is registered as an Indian or is entitled to be registered as an Indian.

REGISTERED: Refers to a person registered as an Indian in the Indian Register.

INDIAN REGISTER: Consists of band lists and general lists in which the name of every person who is entitled to be registered as an Indian is recorded. This Register is maintained by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.

BAND LIST: The name of every person who is a member of a band and is entitled to be registered is entered in the band list for that band.

GENERAL LIST: The name of every person who is not a member of a band but is entitled to be registered, is entered in a general list.

BAND: A band comprises the native people of a specific group who are officially registered as members of that group. Although a band is usually identified with specific reserve land, a significant percentage of band members in Ontario do not live on the land reserved for their band.

STATUS OF REGISTERED INDIANS: In Ontario, the two terms—"status Indian" and "registered Indian"—are used almost interchangeably. However, the term "status" should only be used to designate a native person who has treaty status. It is possible for an Indian person to be considered a status Indian but not registered when he/she resides on a reserve but is not registered on a band list.

NON-STATUS INDIANS: Refers to Indians who are native by birth and heritage but who are not classified as "Indian" under the terms of the Indian Act. During the treaty negotiations of this century, many families and individuals could not be located and consequently were not registered as members of specific bands. Thus, some non-status people are descendants of those native people who were missed in the confusion or who boycotted the negotiations as a matter of principle.

Many non-status Indian people are Indians or descendants of Indians who once possessed Indian status. Some native people elected to forego their Indian status and become enfranchised. Some non-status Indians lost their Indian status through marriage. As status is determined through male descendancy, as stipulated in the Indian Act, many native women have lost their Indian status and potential Indian status for their children through marriage to a man without Indian status.

At the present time, many anomalies exist because of the complexities involved in legally determining who is and who is not an Indian. A person may be a status Indian through his paternal grandfather even though he has never been a part of a native community or culture. On the other hand, many native people in Ontario who speak a native language as their first language and have only lived within a native culture do not have Indian status.

METIS: The word was originally used to mean a person of mixed Indian and French blood. Today it is used to refer to a person of mixed Indian and non-Indian blood through interracial marriage of either parents or ancestors.

It is estimated that there are 100,000 people in Ontario today who identify themselves as Metis or non-status Indians. They are not under the jurisdiction of the federal government. The Ontario Metis and Non-Status Indian Association was formed in 1971. Similar associations have sprung up in other provinces. The Native Council of Canada is a voluntary federation of most of these provincial associations.

RESERVES: Reserves are tracts of land set aside through agreements or treaties for the exclusive use of specific bands of native people. Reserve land is Crown land held in trust for the band. Individual band members can never have a clear title to their property on the reserve but can obtain "exclusive user rights" through a "location ticket." Location tickets can only be sold or given to registered members of the band that owns the reserve.

These complexities of land title were felt to be necessary to guarantee native ownership in perpetuity. Unfortunately, they create major hurdles for band councils and individual band members, especially in cases involving building projects that require financing through mortgages.

INUIT: The Arctic Eskimo as distinguished from the Aleuts.

IAB: Indian Affairs Branch.

NIB: National Indian Brotherhood.

DIAND: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, or cited as Indian Affairs.

BCR: Band Council Ruling.

IEC: Indian Education Center.

OECD: Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development.

NTEP: Native Teacher Education Program.

CITEP: Canadian Indian Teacher Education Projects.

CEIC: Canada Employment and Immigration Commission.

TESL: Teaching English as a Second Language.

AIDS: Alberta Indian Development System.

ECE: Early Childhood Education.

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

Preface To The Study

The purpose of this study is to describe, analyze, and evaluate Indian education in the province of Ontario on the basis of the degree of success or failure of attaining Indian Control of Indian Education. a policy that was given official recognition by the Minister of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development in February, 1973. It is a policy of the National Indian Brotherhood which is made up of provincial/territorial Indian organizations containing a statement of philosophy, goals, principles, and directions. It is also a policy that recognizes that Indian people through their elected band councils have the right to make decisions about the education of their children.

The Research Task

The ensuing research strives to contribute to a more comprehensive awareness of the "Indian Problem" in its many facets. The research is limited to a study of bands located in contrasting geographical and economic areas of the province, which seem to have had for diverse reasons a good bit, a moderate, or little or no success in the implementation of the policy. Prior to Indian Control of Indian Education, Indians had not been given the opportunity to involve themselves in the development of school programs and policies. Nor had they been consulted over

proposed developments in education for their area, but had been expected to adapt to those changes which had occurred.

Of the one hundred nineteen bands contacted, the following were selected for the study: the Ojibway of Manitoulin Island; the Chippewa and Muncy-of-the-Thames; and the Ojibway of the Serpent River Indian Reserve. They were selected on the basis of contrast, ease of ethnographic fieldwork, and cooperation on the part of those involved.

Organizational Model

This dissertation has been divided, for practical purposes, into six chapters. The first chapter presents a framework which sets the stage for the research task, the fieldwork and methodology. Chapter II deals with a review of the literature and includes many sources that are vital to an understanding of the policy, Indian Control of Indian Education. Chapter III provides historic and present-day insights into the education of Indians in Canada. Chapter IV analyzes the content of the Policy Paper, particularly those sections which are used as categories to describe the success or failure of Indian authority over education. Chapter V presents a brief micro picture of each band with specific references to geographic, social and economic factors in order to conceptionalize the cultural continuity of the issues involved in the study and describes the actual field research among the three bands. Many of the problems discussed are nation-wide common denominators in Canadian Indian societies and their relevance is applicable to communities far beyond those in the case studies. The final chapter, Chapter VI, is based on the research findings and conclusions and provides some suggestions and directions for Indian education.

This dissertation is an attempt to increase our understanding of what Indian control of Indian education is all about. Who are the people involved? With whom do they interact? What are the objectives of Indian control and how successful is it? The degree of success or failure of the actual implementation of the Policy Paper among the three bands under study, will be assessed with reference to the actual Document, Indian Control of Indian Education, which will serve as the "model" in the case studies. The categories used as success criteria will be those incorporated in the Policy Paper, namely, Responsibility, Programs, Teachers, and Facilities. Social, economic, and political influences usually originate from centers in the urbanized regions of the province. The political factor constitutes a reality which has implications far beyond other aspects of present-day educational practices. Without an understanding of control and power, and without acquisition of these by the native people, educational progress and intervention will not bring about any meaningful changes but will largely be a combination of past and present practices. Therefore, these considerations are of importance in defense of the focus of the research.

The Fieldwork

This thesis is the result of a number of integrated research methods. Personal involvement with the bands over a two-year span, provided due opportunity to collect and examine data pertaining to the educational practices of the Ojibway of Manitoulin Island, the Chippewa and Muncey-of-the-Thames, and the Ojibway of the Serpent River Indian Reserve. The researcher interviewed superintendents, teachers, adults,

children, chiefs, councillors, and administrators. The retention of close contacts with personnel at the Regional, Provincial and Federal Offices, facilitated access to documentary materials.

There was at no time difficulty in acquiring verbal information, due in part to the fact that the informants were not always aware of the information processing procedure. Some interviews were conducted on a continuous and informal basis, while the writer later recorded in writing, new and pertinent information that resulted from such interactions. On the other hand, documentary evidence on schools such as attendance records, student records, and financial affairs were not made available upon request. It was claimed that these were either:

1. confidential;
2. of no interest to the researcher; and/or
3. no longer existent since there was no need for the Department of Education to keep such data.

Records in the schools under study were frequently poorly kept and often incomplete. Administrators stressed the need for informality and flexibility in record keeping. If there was any hesitancy to release information during formal interviews, the discrepancies could be readily assessed during the many informal contacts the writer had with the teachers and Indians. Sensitive topics and details could be pursued during individual conversations in the privacy of the informant's home, or when the atmosphere was relaxed and informal. Conflicting data and inconsistent statements could be clarified, and private opinions and value orientations could be probed. Such situations were increasingly used to add, test, and verify data, to solidify or nullify impressions,

and to become familiar with changes and new developments. Teachers responded to my informal inquiries and recognized my need to use them as informants for data collection and insight into the many facets involved.

The many informal visits to communities often coincided with special community events to which the teachers or representatives at the regional, provincial, and federal levels invited me. This allowed for introductions to and acquaintance with many Indians of the villages and reserves. The casual familiarization with neighboring communities and tentative perceptions were supplemented with more specific and detailed information when teachers, administrators, and band officials met during holidays and conferences. The teachers often functioned as middle men to relay information, in the event that the Indians did not respond to direct questioning. At times structured interviewing yielded incomplete answers or no answers at all. Frequently, if the informants were friends or young children, they would provide the response that they thought would please the researcher.

The data collection was a cumulative process. Reflections and analysis motivated further pursuits and directions of investigation. Gradually a more systematic pattern to acquire the field data was delineated. The specifics crystallized and this permitted articulation of questions to specific respondents on issues about which they were knowledgeable. Discrepancies in the data could be identified and attended to.

The empirical sample of the study was taken from those bands previously cited, where extensive observations were made of school and community. A total of forty teachers were interviewed, of whom thirty-one

were actively employed in the systems when interviewed. The remainder held teaching positions with various Ontario school boards.

The writer used field experiences, suggestions from the literature, and educators involved with Indian education. In presenting the final written account, a traditional and standard thesis format was elected. This was not merely to conform to convention, but even more to ensure clear and concise presentation. Preliminary field orientation and actual field participation preceded data collection.

Methodology

The nature of the study could not be realized through a uniform method. Gathering statistical data, participant observation, archival research, reviewing literature, and formal as well as informal interviewing were all needed to approximate the whole. The end result was achieved by combining and integrating the separate parts of a complex mosaic.

A participation and observation paradigm was used to permit detailed insights into the social, economic, and political processes related to Indian control of Indian education. The interview method allowed for the collecting of both hard data and qualitative narrative information that was to be interpreted. This similarly applied to the documentary research which consisted of the interpretation of scholarly literature and written records of the Ontario Department of Education, and the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. Observation and interviewing accommodated pursuit of issues appropriate to specific situations and unique cases and circumstances. It became possible to build the inquiry upon concrete data and this flexibility

in methods allowed for specific probing, which was dependent on the responses received.

The data collected included analysis of interviews, notes, and documents; unrecorded recollections of the researcher; and insights and interpretations resulting from lengthy communication with other parties. Reliance on a variety of types of data appeared necessary to present a responsible and insightful research product representative of the reality of the Indian educational system in the province of Ontario or, at least, of those aspects focused upon in this particular study.

The two years over which the inquiry was conducted permitted experience to dictate the how, where, what, when, why, and from whom, of the information gathering. Doubt, uncertainty, and the relative weaknesses and strengths prescribed whether certain approaches had to be abandoned, or additional methods had to be employed. Facts, field impressions, and explanations of informants were categorized and studied. Doubts about the validity of perceptions constantly arose; alternative explanations were then pursued and complementary or verifying information was sought. The research entailed a continuous process of attempting to select from the wealth of information and to fit the concern of the study into specific categories. The best teachers of methodology and conceptualization were time, experience, and above all, the cross-section of informants who provided the data for the study.

The research conducted, the format, and other methods were conceptualized, adapted, and modified to fit the limitations of needs; the situation; and the ability of the researcher to see, to interpret, and to record. Therefore, the results of the research are not a priori, but are indeed the product of a very definite research process which

required a number of ways of gathering data. The approach to the research, and specifically the interactionist perspective used in dealing with the inhabitants of the Ojibway and Chippewa Bands, will become more pronounced when explicitly recording and examining the data and the model Indian Control of Indian Education in subsequent chapters. It appeared necessary to take a historical perspective for a fuller understanding of the events. The educational reality of the present as documented in this study, and the analysis of the data collected, are infinitely associated with the past.

Useful factual and evaluative information can be obtained through interviews and questionnaires with people who are involved in Indian education in roles of student, parent, teacher, and community leaders. This is the method that the writer used as a means of seeing Indian Control of Indian Education through the eyes of the people most concerned. The writer took a neutral stance, expressing interest in any aspect of the Policy Paper that appeared to be of importance to the respondent. At the same time, the writer used either an interview guide or a questionnaire which systematically explored those aspects of Indian Control of Indian Education that were considered important from the point of view of research, namely those categories found in the body of the Policy Paper: Responsibility; Programs; Teachers; and Facilities. The samples were drawn to be representative; there were few refusals; the interviews were carefully recorded; and the writer strove for objectivity.

The questionnaire consisted of questions derived from the contents of the Policy Paper. Because the writer was dealing with adults and youth who, on the average, had little formal education, an open-ended

interview was used. That is, the respondents were asked a series of predesigned questions which he/she might answer either briefly, with a "yes," "no," "I do not know," or with a long statement. If the answer was unclear, further questions were asked. Therefore, the interview was an important element of the "method." The writer's job was to ask the questions, and assist the respondent in making full answers; to record the answers in writing; and to encourage the respondents to speak freely. This kind of interview clearly did not give many clear-cut yes-no responses to such questions as "do you think that Indian teachers are doing an adequate job?" Rather, the respondent was encouraged to discuss what was either good or bad about Indian teachers.

Each question was designed and asked in a consistent manner among the respondents of the three bands under study, to get information on the respondent's attitude, knowledge, topic or problem of the various aspects of Indian control of Indian education. The writer then read, and re-read, interpreted and evaluated the results of the interviews. The results were then compared with the data collected by means of participant observation which included school visitations, informal and formal gatherings, conferences, access to documentary materials and records, and the review of existing literature.

An effort was made to apply objectively and consistently the same criteria to each of the bands under study, to ask the same questions of the respondents, and to draw conclusions based upon the available evidence.[1]

Footnotes

[1]See Appendix A.

Chapter II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Many historical studies of the Indians of Canada, both general and particular, have been written. A review of the literature indicates that most are directed toward various aspects of the original Indian culture, the conflicts with the European immigrants, or problems related to land tenure. Many virtually ignore the matter of Indian education, and few treat the historical and political role of the Federal Government in native education. None were devoted exclusively to Indian control of Indian education.

Federal Legislation

The British North American Act of 1867[1]

Fundamental to the present study are the legislative enactments of the Federal Government of Canada affecting Indian education. A basic source of data is the British North America Act, which gave exclusive legislative authority to the Federal Government of Canada with regard to Indian people and lands reserved for them under section 91 of the act. As a result, Indian affairs have always been considered the responsibility of the federal government. However, provincial laws also apply to Indians in areas not affected by a particular legislation. This exclusive right of the federal government to legislate in Indian matters creates difficulties when it comes to drawing up joint federal-provincial agreements on education or the economic and social welfare of the

native people. In fact, until recently, the federal government had always considered itself as bearing the sole responsibility for Indian affairs. But since the Government of Canada has wished to share this responsibility with the provinces, by virtue of the principle that Indians are also citizens of the provinces, it has been experiencing difficulty in having this change in policy accepted by the provinces. Because, although prepared to share responsibilities, the federal government continues to claim exclusive legal jurisdiction over Indian affairs.

When Confederation was achieved in 1867, the federal government was entrusted with the administration of treaties concluded formerly between the Imperial Government and the Indians. By such treaties the majority of Indians surrendered their exclusive interests in the land to the Crown and, in return, the latter set aside a part of this territory for their use and provided them with "additional benefits such as cash payments, annuities, educational facilities and other considerations."[2]

These treaties are considered by some to be the source of the paternalistic attitude which for a long time influenced federal administrators in their dealings with native people. A former senior official described this attitude in the following manner:

> In their eagerness to protect Indians from becoming victims of modern society, early governments in Canada set up protective legislation and administration which has been partly responsible for the fact that Indian communities generally still remain outside of the mainstream of Canadian economic, social and cultural events.[3]

With the earlier policy, the Indian was expected to be born, to live, and to die on the reserve. There was no question of his leaving. The reserve was his refuge and his salvation. Under these circumstances,

the little education extended to him was felt to be adequate to assure his economic and social welfare within the confines of the reserve. To be able to read, to write, and to count, to know how to utilize and preserve the environment, to possess some notion of hygiene, was felt sufficient for life on the reserve.

The Indian Act of 1876[4]

The Indian Act was an attempt on the part of the Federal Government of Canada to bring together and to articulate the responsibilities inherited from the British Colonial Government through its treaties with the Indian people and through sub-section 24 of section 91 of the British North America Act. The Indian Act was first passed in 1876 and revised extensively in 1880. Further revisions were made in 1951. In the past six years there has been considerable discussion between the federal government, Indian bands, and Indian associations regarding further revisions to the Act. The federal government is committed to involving the Indian people in all decisions pertaining to further changes to the Act.

According to sections 4(13) and 113 to 122 of the Indian Act, all "Indians ordinarily resident on reserves or on Crown Lands" may take advantage of the government's educational services.[5] Section 113 states that the government may enter into agreements with provincial governments, school boards and religious organizations, for the education of Indian children. Under the terms of section 115, Indians between the ages of seven and seventeen are required to attend school and the Minister may oblige any Indian to attend school until the age of eighteen. Moreover, the Minister is also authorized to designate the school which an Indian child will attend, on the condition that he

respect the child's religious beliefs and assign him to a school of the proper denomination. For instance, no Protestant chid shall be required to attend a Catholic school and vice versa.[6] The Minister may also appoint truant officers to enforce the attendance at school of school-age Indian children.[7] Section 120 provides that "where the majority of the members of a band belong to one religious denomination, the school established on the reserve that has been set apart for the use and benefit of that band shall be taught by a teacher of that denomination." However, a religious minority may, with the approval of the Minister, have separate education for its children, on condition that their numbers warrant separate facilities.[8]

The three basic principles of the law as regards Indian schools then are the following:

1. the federal government's right to delegate to non-federal bodies the responsibility of educating Indian children or of administering the schools attended by such children;
2. the parents' right to have their children educated in the religion of their choice; and
3. the requirement that children attend school between the ages of seven and seventeen, and the provision for coercive measures to ensure this.

These are broad principles and the law is vague as to its implementation. Officials thus have a substantial degree of latitude in determining the aims to be achieved and the means or methods to be used in achieving them.

The Indian Act is the basic legal document determing the respective jurisdictions of federal, provincial, and municipal governments in the

field of Indian education. This is a very important document, since it enables the federal government to define government responsibilities towards the education of young Indians, on the one hand, and eligibility to benefit from these services, on the other. Considering the federal government's very strong legal position and its custom of interpreting each case which arises in the light of the Act, it becomes necessary to summarize its essential points.

(a) The federal government may establish, operate, and maintain schools for Indian children, or enter into agreements for the education of Indian children with provincial governments, local school boards and various churches (Section 113).

(b) The federal government may take the initiative in establishing regulations, concerning all stages of the education program; provide for the transportation of children to and from school; enter into agreements with religious institutions for the support and maintenance of children attending these institutions (Section 114).

(c) Except in cases where school attendance is specifically not required (Section 116), all children between the ages of seven and seventeen are obliged to attend school. The Minister can even lengthen this period of school attendance from six to eighteen years of age (Section 115).

(d) Without parental permission, children belonging to a Protestant church cannot attend a school directed by Roman Catholics, and the reverse holds true: Roman Catholic children cannot attend a school which is under the auspices of a Protestant church (Section 117).

(e) The government may appoint truant officers whose main duty is to compel young Indian children to attend school (Section 118).

(f) When the majority of the members of a band belong to one religious denomination, teaching in the day school must be carried on by a teacher of the same denomination. When the members belong to several churches, they may decide to hire a teacher belonging to a particular church, by a majority vote at a special meeting. Finally, a Protestant or Roman Catholic Indian minority may, with the approval of the Minister, have a separate school or special separate class (Sections 120 and 121).[9]

The Indian Act has defined the essential field of the federal government's responsibilities. Nursery schools and permanent education have been maintained under the authority conferred by this Act.

The Indian Act also confers authority to encourage provincial governments to take on more educational responsibilities. There is a decided tendency toward a progressive transfer of jurisdiction in Indian education from the federal to the provincial governments. Joint agreements require the federal government to pay directly to the local school boards or provincial governments the cost of education incurred by the participation of Indian children in the public school system already established for White children.

The 1969 White Paper[10]

In June 1969 Jean Chretien, Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, presented to the first session of the twenty-eighth Parliament a proposed "new" Indian Policy on behalf of the Liberal government. Essentially, the new policy was to provide Indians with "the right to full and equal participation in the cultural, social, economic and political life of Canada." The framework within which this goal could be achieved required:

(1) that the legislative and constitutional bases of discrimination be removed;

(2) that there be positive recognition by everyone of the unique contribution of Indian culture to Canadian life;

(3) that services come through the same channels and from the same government agencies for all Canadians;

(4) that those who are furthest behind be helped most;

(5) that lawful obligations be recognized; and

(6) that control of Indian land be transferred to the Indian people.[11]

To create this necesary framework, the government was prepared to take the following steps:

(1) Propose to Parliament that the Indian Act be repealed and take such legislative steps as be necessary to enable Indians to control Indian Lands and to acquire title to them;

(2) Propose to the Governments of the Provinces that they take over the same responsibility for Indians that they have for other citizens in their provinces. The take-over would be accomplished by the transfer to the provinces of federal funds normally provided for Indian programs, augmented as necessary;

(3) Make substantial funds available for Indian economic development as an interim measure;

(4) Wind up that part of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development which deals with Indian Affairs. The residual responsibilities would be transferred to other appropriate federal departments. In addition, the Government will appoint a Commissioner to consult with the Indians and to study and recommend acceptable procedures for the adjudication of claims.[12]

Contrary to the Minister's suggestion that his "new" policy would "change longstanding policies" which did not "serve the interest of either the Indian people or their fellow Canadians,"[13] an examination the history of Indian policy in Canada shows that the same policy has long been in effect. John Tobias has researched the roots of Canada's Indian policy and states that it is based on the colonial goal "to remove all legal distinctions between Indians and other Canadians, and integrate them fully into Canadian society."[14] The policy of "assimilation" was reflected in the intention of the ligislation of 1857 when the united colonies of Upper and Lower Canada passed an Act to encourage the gradual "Civilization" of the Indians in the Province.

Following Confederation, the policy of "assimilation" was officially sanctioned in 1869 by the government of Sir John A. Macdonald through

the passage of an Act for the gradual enfranchisement of Indians. When this did not result in immediate attempts by many Indians to enfranchise, the government passed legislation authorizing "enforced" enfranchisement in 1920.[15]

Hence a review of the literature indicates that two very different courses are open to Canadian Indians today. On the one hand, the Indian is under strong pressure to aspire after goals which are currently held by the dominant White society. This is reflected in the 1969 White Paper. The opposing course concerns the issue of "control of one's own destiny and the right to maintain one's ethnic identity." Critics of the White Paper, feel that Indians should remain a legal separate group, socially and administratively. By some, the White Paper is seen as a disguised program of extermination.[16]

Indians have submitted three major briefs in response to the 1969 White Paper: the Brown Paper of British Columbia; the Red Paper of Alberta; and the Wahbung of the Manitoba Indians.[17]

Critics of the White Paper say that its proposals do not match the desires of the Indians themselves. They argue that when the Minister of Indian Affairs suggests that the White Paper is a response to "Indian recommendations," he had an entirely different interpretation of what was said at those few meetings between Indians and Whites. Indians claim that they were not consulted for the drafting of the White Paper.

The Red Paper of the Alberta Indian Brotherhood argues that the Indian Act must be reviewed and amended, but not repealed. This recommendation is echoed by the other briefs. Wahbung of the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood is most explicit in its recommendations for changes to the Act. It covers topics such as wills, health, and the election of chiefs

and councils. The briefs also argue for immediate recognition of the treaties and aboriginal rights and the establishment of a commission to study the meaning of the treaties and the government's obligations. The Brown Paper of the British Columbia Indian Brotherhood and Wahbung do not make specific recommendations on Indian claims. They recommend a claims commission be established by consultation with Indians and empowered to make binding judgments. The Red Paper is quite explicit in its rejection of a claims commissioner. It argues for a full time Minister of Indian Affairs and the creation of a permanent standing committee of the House of Commons and Senate which would deal "only" with registered Indians.[18]

Wahbung recommends that a joint committee of the brotherhood and the Department of Indian Affairs (regional office) be established with equal representation between Indians and Whites to handle Indian affairs. From this, several boards and commissions covering local government, economic development, welfare, education and police would be established. These boards would assume representation of both the department and Indians. Wahbung also recommends that a cabinet committee be established consisting of Indian leaders. When policy decisions were made by cabinet, the committee could provide more and better information for more realistic and meaningful policies concerning Indians.[19]

The IAB[20] is discussed in all the briefs. They reject the proposal to abolish it, arguing that it should change to a "smaller structure" attuned to Indians' local and regional needs. However, only the Brown Paper states that the IAB personnel should be exclusively Indian. If the IAB is to become smaller and more locally oriented, this obviously implies a need for more "local control." Again, all three argue that

local tribal councils must be given more decision-making powers so that they can take the initiative in social, political, and economic development. All the briefs agree that while potential resources abound on the reserve, few have been tapped.[21]

The Brown Paper concentrates on the land issues. Since treaties have never been negotiated with British Columbia Indians, this is still the paramount issue for them. The other two briefs allude to the issue, but they do not discuss it in detail.

The last two issues in the briefs deal with economic and educational development. The Brown Paper is the least comprehensive in its treatment of these topics, while the Red Paper is very explicit.

The Red Paper deals with two major areas. On the economic issue, it proposes the Alberta Indian Development System (AIDS), a program to bring about changes in socio-economic status through community economic development. This would be achieved by arranging for Indians to do work needed in the community and by developing jobs related to industries. The AIDS would be controlled by a dual corporate structure of Indian and White leaders. Indians would be responsible for setting the goals and priorities of all projects and non-Indians would advise and assist in the development. A capital fund of $50 million would be needed, $30 million of which would come from the federal government, $10 million from the provincial government and $8.7 million from private industry. Alberta Indians would begin with an initial investment of $1.3 million.[22]

The second major proposal in the Red Paper centers on education and discusses an Indian Education Center (IEC) which has now been approved in principle by the federal government. Finance is now being directed toward the construction and staffing of the center. The IEC was

proposed in conjunction with the AIDS and was also introduced to ensure the survival of Indian culture and the future development of Indian communities. The center was proposed for the heart of Alberta so that all bands could have equal access to it. The program will allow Indian children to learn how to develop ways of successfully applying Indian culture to the larger Canadian society. It should also enable them to use modern skills and behavior for vocational success. In essence, the IEC proposal argues that it should be run for Indians, by Indians, to assure them a secure place in the larger Canadian society.[23]

These reports were basically developed independently. But all agree on most major issues such as economic development, education and the act itself. Where do most Canadians stand on the question? The majority of White Canadians seem to favor the White Paper proposals, while Indians obviously are against them. In a 1972 survey, Frideres found that over a third of White university students argued that Indians should have control over their own affairs if they were ever to edge into the mainstream of Canadian life.[24]

The presentation to the federal government in 1970 of the Red Paper was a singular historical moment. That date was the "first" time in Canadian history that Indians developed and presented their own statement to Canada, including a statement on Indian education.[25]

The preceding paragraphs summarize the policies and guidelines put forth in the 1969 White Paper and the content of the three major briefs developed in response to the White Paper, namely, the Brown Paper, Wahbung, and the Red Paper.

Indian Control of Indian Education[26]

A body of literature reveals that the "White Man's Educational System" has been a failure for the Indians of Ontario. Evidence is cited based on the high dropout rate among secondary and even elementary school students. It is the belief of the Indians that any educational system will continue to be unsatisfactory, until the responsibility for education and the potential for improvement in that education is in the hands of the Indian people. Therefore, a Task Force on the educational needs of the Indians of Ontario was appointed and agreed upon the following resolutions.

Be it resolved that: (1) (A) GOVERNMENTS (BOTH FEDERAL AND PROVINCIAL) ADJUST THEIR POLICIES AND PRACTICES SO THAT INDIAN PEOPLE ARE INVOLVED IN ALL PHASES OF THE EDUCATION OF THEIR CHILDREN AND ARE IN A POSITION TO ASSUME MORE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE PROVISION OF THAT EDUCATION.

(B) BAND COUNCILS, METIS AND NON-STATUS INDIAN ASSOCIATION LOCALS, AND REGIONAL INDIAN ORGANIZATIONS BE INVOLVED IN ANY FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS IN EDUCATION PLANNED FOR THEIR AREA.

(2) METIS AND NON-STATUS INDIAN PEOPLES BE CONSULTED IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF SCHOOL CURRICULUM, WORKSHOPS, AND SEMINARS, TRAINING PROGRAMS, AND IN THE HIRING OF ANY TEACHING STAFF PRACTICING IN THE SCHOOLS SERVING THEIR CHILDREN.

(3) TREATY INDIAN PEOPLES OBTAIN LOCAL ADMINISTRATIVE CONTROL OF THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM THROUGH THE ESTABLISHMENT OF LOCAL EDUCATIONAL AUTHORITIES AT BAND COUNCIL LEVELS, AS STATED IN INDIAN CONTROL OF INDIAN EDUCATION, I.E. THEY WOULD FULLY RUN THE LOCAL EDUCATIONAL AUTHORITY; DEVELOP CURRICULUM ACCORDING TO THEIR PARTICULAR NEEDS AND ENVIRONMENT; OVERSEE THE

HIRING AND FIRING OF STAFF; ACQUIRE NEEDED FACILITIES; DECIDE SCHOOL POLICY; ESTABLISH FLEXIBLE SCHOOL YEARS; AND OWN AND OPERATE STUDENT RESIDENCES.

Be it resolved that: (4) BAND COUNCILS, METIS AND NON-STATUS INDIAN ASSOCIATION LOCALS, AND INDIAN ORGANIZATIONS, RECEIVE ALL INFORMATION AFFECTING INDIAN EDUCATION, SO THAT THEY MAY BENEFIT FROM PRESENT PROGRAMS AND COMMENT ON THE ACCEPTABILITY OF PROPOSED POLICIES AND LEGISLATION.

(5) ANY INFORMATION REGARDING EDUCATIONAL NEEDS OR INDIAN PEOPLES SHOULD COME FROM THE METIS AND NON-STATUS INDIAN ASSOCIATION LOCALS, BAND COUNCILS, AND INDIAN ORGANIZATIONS, AND THEY IN TURN MUST BE PROVIDED THE RESOURCES TO MEET THESE NEEDS WITH THEIR OWN SERVICES.

(6) INDIAN PARENTS AND STUDENTS CHOOSE THE LOCATION AND TYPE OF SECONDARY SCHOOL THEY WISH TO ATTEND, I.E. THAT THEY RECEIVE ASSISTANCE TO ENABLE THEM TO ATTEND THE SCHOOL WHICH BEST MEETS THE REQUIREMENTS OF THEIR EDUCATIONAL GOALS, E.G. TECHNICAL, VOCATIONAL, ART COLLEGE, ETC. AND THAT THEY BE INVOLVED IN THE SETTING OF GUIDELINES FOR BOARDING HOME SELECTION.

(7) ALL EDUCATION MONIES ALLOTTED BY THE PROVINCIAL AND FEDERAL GOVERNMENTS FOR THE EDUCATION OF INDIAN PEOPLES BE HANDLED BY BAND COUNCILS AND METIS AND NON-STATUS INDIAN ASSOCIATION LOCALS, SO THAT INDIVIDUAL COMMUNITIES CAN ALLOCATE THE AVAILABLE RESOURCES ACCORDING TO THE PRIORITIES OF THEIR OWN COMMUNITY, E.G. HIRING OF SOCIAL COUNSELLORS; PAYMENT OF SCHOOL COMMITTEE MEMBERS; LOCAL CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT, ETC.

(8) FUNDS BE ALLOCATED TO BANDS AND METIS AND NON-STATUS INDIAN ASSOCIATION LOCALS, SO THAT THEY CAN MEET WITH EACH OTHER AND ASSIST IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF EACH OTHER'S COMMUNITY THROUGH THE SHARING OF INFORMATION AND EXPERIENCE.

(9) PROVINCIAL AND FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AGENCIES OFFER PERSONNEL AND RESOURCES TO THOSE BANDS EMBARKING ON INDIAN CONTROL OF INDIAN EDUCATION.

Be it resolved that: (10) (A) ALL AGREEMENTS DRAWN UP BETWEEN THE FEDERAL AND PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS THROUGH LOCAL SCHOOL BOARDS BE RE-EVALUATED BY THE INDIAN PEOPLES TO ENSURE THAT THEIR CONCERNS ARE SATISFIED;

(B) BAND COUNCILS BE FULLY RECOGNIZED AS LEGAL ENTITIES TO NEGOTIATE JOINT-SCHOOL AGREEMENTS WITH LOCAL SCHOOL BOARDS;

(C) BAND MEMBERS FULLY UNDERSTAND AND BE IN AGREEMENT WITH ANY PROPOSED JOINT-SCHOOL AGREEMENT BEFORE IT IS FINALIZED;

Be it resolved that: (11) (A) INDIAN REPRESENTATION ON SCHOOL BOARDS BE GUARANTEED THROUGH LEGISLATION, NOT LEFT TO THE DISCRETION OF PRESENTLY-ELECTED SCHOOL BOARD MEMBERS;

(B) THE NUMBER OF INDIAN REPRESENTATIVES BE INCREASED ON EACH SCHOOL BOARD SERVING INDIAN PEOPLES;

(C) SECTION 162 (4 - 9) OF THE ONTARIO EDUCATION ACT 1974 BE REVISED SO THAT METIS AND NON-STATUS INDIAN STUDENTS ARE INCLUDED IN THE TABULATION OF THE NUMBER OF INDIAN STUDENTS UNDER THE JURISDICTION OF A PARTICULAR SCHOOL BOARD AND NATIVE REPRESENTATION CAN THEREFORE BE BASED ON THE TOTAL SUM OF BOTH TREATY INDIANS AND METIS AND NON-STATUS INDIAN STUDENTS.[27]

Education, the process of learning, the acquisition of those skills and of that knowledge which improves man's ability to live in harmony with himself, his fellow man, and his environment has been a major quest of the Indian people since time immemorial. This is not a new concern. Indeed, so important an issue is this that the Chief of

Lac Seulle was moved to single it out as an issue in the signing of Treaty No. 3 when he said:

> . . . if you give what I ask, the time may come when I will ask you to lend me one of your daughters and one of your sons to live with us; and in return I will lend you one of my daughters and one of my sons for you to teach what is good, and after they have learned, to teach us. If you grant us what I ask, although I do not know you, I will shake hands with you. This is all I have to say.[28]

Administrative Reports

Indian Conditions: A Survey[29]

This report was prepared by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development to document changes in Indian social, economic, and political conditions during the last ten to twenty years. It is intended to provide a consolidation of information and a perspective that will be of interest to Indians, the general public and government.

The information in the report has been collected from available government sources and displayed in a way that shows trends and comparisons with conditions experienced by Canadians generally. Because the sources are government agencies, the report deals primarily with the quantifiable aspects of living and describes mainly material conditions.

It is an "overview" which provides quantitative information about Indian conditions that can be augmented by the testimony of Indians themselves. The report includes the following:

1. a summary of available information on changes in Indian conditions since the 1950's;

2. comparisons of Indian and national situations; and
3. a perspective on changes in government policies, programs, and services to Indians.

The report is intended to support discussions leading to:

1. revisions on the Indian Act;
2. adjustments to the management and delivery of social and educational programs; and
3. definition of an Indian socio-economic strategy.

The data in the report tells most of the story of Indian conditions. Commentary has been included to aid in interpretation of information by providing facts about program and policy environments and by inter-relating the data. Information contained in the report has been collected from available sources rather than through original research, although some special studies were done: interviews of fifty Indian leaders and officials (most with over twenty years working experience in Indian matters or within government), a survey of public opinion, and analysis of voting patterns and reserve resources. Financial information was provided from 1970-71 to 1978-79, using the activity structure in place in 1978-79. The report is designed as a comprehensive reference source for Indians, government officials and others engaged in policy analysis in Indian Affairs.

OECD: Reviews of National Policies For Education, Canada[30]

This report concluded that a special case of continuing "underprivilege" is presented in Canada by the children of Indian people, and those of mixed blood (Metis). A sharp distinction is made between so-called Registered and Non-Status Indians. The former are organized

in over 500 Indian bands and have retained a special relationship under the Indian Act with the federal government. The latter enjoy no special protection and support. There are, in addition, 17,000 Inuit who are Canadian citizens, but who do receive educational support from the federal government.

Educational provision for non-status Indians and Metis is treated as teh sole responsiblity of the provinces and their local school boards. It is not possible to say how many non-status Indian and Metis children are attending schools, nor is it possible to cite data on their retention and success in school, for, in Canada, children are identified by race only in schools operated by the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs. The Western Provinces estimated that in 1976 about 50,000 non-status Indian and Metis children were enrolled in the schools of the four Western Provinces (compared with 43,000 registered Indian children).[31]

Some current efforts are being made to adapt the standard Provincial curricula to the special needs of Indian and Metis children, and there are welcome signs of a much greater appreciation of the need to consult with Indian groups before taking action. Today there are few exact data on educational conditions. Estimates of illiteracy do not exist, but it is probably quite high, especially among the older population, many of whom cannot read or write English or French. In 1976 the dropout rates before the end of high school were somewhere between 70 and 95 per cent. One Registered Indian child in six completed twelve grades of school; about two in five completed Grade 9.[32]

In 1976 there were few Indian teachers, (about 15 per cent), and only nineteen schools were Indian-controlled. Official statistics reported that only 53 full-time and 48 part-time employees of the central office of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development were Indians' including all regional and local offices, the number was 1,200.[33]

Band councils, which are federally-created governing authorities, administer the affairs of each local reserve. Many educated Indians find an opportunity to serve their people via work for the band councils. Ninety per cent of all band employees are Indian, or some 2,600 persons, though the examiners of this report were not able to ascertain the extent to which Indians occupied top administrative positions.[34]

Indian children suffer, from the splintering of responsibility for their education among several sectors of government. The examiners concluded that much more cooperation among federal, provincial, Indian and local school board groups is needed, in the interests of the children and their futures.

A final point seems inescapable. The schools for Indian children administered by the federal government represent in both their structures and their instruction much the same model as the regular schools for Canadians. The examiners found it hard to understand why the federal government had not taken the opportunity to develop here striking new models of school reform, demonstrating "best practice" pedagogy in difficult conditions. Moreover, such a project could provide an excellent locale for developing the arts of cooperation among federal, provincial, municipal and Indian authorities.

Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 1978-79 Annual Report[35]

Helping to give Canadians, particularly Indian people and northerners, more opportunity to determine their future was the focus of attention for the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development during the 1978-79 fiscal year.

As in other years, Indian people continued to press for control of their own affairs and to seek redress for longstanding grievances. Preparatory work on amendments to the Indian Act, unaltered since the early 1950's, also highlighted the year. The department continued to relinquish control and direction in favor of support for Indian and Inuit initiatives and encouraged Indian participation in decisions, especially concerning education, economic development, and housing.

The main objective of the department's education program in the immediate future is to improve the rate of retention of Indian students at the secondary level.[36]

Native Teacher Education: A Survey of Native Indian Teacher Education Projects in Canada[37]

The concept of a survey of the Indian Teacher Education Programs was initiated at the March, 1979 Canadian Indian Teacher Education Projects Conference, (CITEP).[38] The purpose of the survey was primarily to provide for better understanding and exchange of ideas among the projects. It also was designed as a source of information to new projects, Indian organizations, government officials, funding agencies, and researchers.

Discussion Paper For Indian Act Revision[39]

The purpose of this paper was to present for further consideration a number of proposed revisions to the Indian Act. The presentation

reinforced the concept of the primary involvement of the Indian people in the reshaping of the Act. The major emphasis in the paper was derived from proposals received from Indian representatives, and was written to incorporate essential elements contained in Indian ideas. They were designed to advance the major expressed desire of Indian people to exercise Indian control over Indian government, Indian lands, Indian education and other aspects of Indian socio-economic development.

The section that deals with education was a major concern of the Indian people in this discussion paper. This had been emphasized on numerous occasions, using many different forums. Of particular significance had been the presentations of the NIB policy paper, Indian Control of Indian Education (December, 1972), and the proposals for revisions to the Indian Act of October, 1974 (Indian Act Study Committee, Indian Association of Alberta) and September, 1976 (Education Sub-Committee, NIB).

The philosophies represented, together with the essence of the basic proposals, were reflected and incorporated in the proposed changes outlined in the section of suggested revisions to the present Act.

IT IS PROPOSED THAT:

I. General

(a) The provisions under these sections of the Act be entitled "Education" rather than "Schools."

(b) Definitions relating to the educational provisions of the Act be updated to cover such topics as "continuing education, special education, language of instruction," etc.

II. Responsibility for Educational Services

(a) The Minister shall assume responsibility for the provision of educational services to Indian children, including the establishing, operating and maintaining of schools on reserves.

(b) The Minister may make regulations to provide for the support of Indians in continuing education programs.

III. Educational Agreements and Charters

(a) In addition to the present provisions of s. 114, the Minister be authorized to enter into agreements for the delivery of educational services to Indians with:

i) an Indian Band or Bands,

ii) private as well as public or separate school board,

iii) universities, colleges, and technical or vocational institutes,

iv) other Federal Government departments.

(b) All such agreements entered into (except those with an Indian Band or Bands), should require the approval of the appropriate level of tribal government (Band, District or Regional);

(c) In order to facilitate the entering into of such agreements with Indian Bands, provisions relating specifically to the granting of EDUCATION CHARTERS be written into a revised Indian Act.

IV. Quality of Education

(a) In order to make the provisions of the present s. 115 more effective, the Minister be authorized as required, to make regulations concerning specific factors affecting the quality of educational services for Indian children including:

i) teacher qualifications,

ii) curriculum development,

iii) program accreditation,

iv) professional supervision.

(b) The Minister be authorized to enter into agreements, as required, for the support and maintenance of Indian children attending special schools (e.g. for the physically handicapped, etc.).

V. Compulsory School Attendance

(a) The age of compulsory school attendance for Indian children be lowered to six years from seven, as presently stated in s. 116.

(b) No compulsory school attendance should be required of Indian students over the age of sixteen.

VI. Excusable Absence from School

(a) The present term "husbandry" in s. 117(b) be replaced by "traditional hunting, trapping or other seasonal family support activities."

(b) The present wording in the same section "with the permission in writing of the superintendent" be replaced with "by prior arrangement with the appropriate Education authority."

VII. Truancy

(a) In order to emphasize the positive encouragement of good school attendance behavior, s. 119 be amended in the following manner:

i) references to the appointment and powers of truant officers be deleted and instead the Minister be authorized as required, to make regulations to ensure the attendance of Indian children at school;

ii) there be no authority for any person involved in attendance supervision to enter an Indian home without the consent of the residents (s.119(2)(a));

iii) if parents (guardians) are found guilty of a school nonattendance offence (s. 119(3)), no double penalty (i.e. fine and imprisonment) be imposed;

iv) the present sections 119(4), 119(5), and 119(6) be repealed.

(b) Section 120 of the present Indian Act be repealed.

VIII. Religious Instruction

A sub-section be added to s. 121 of the present Act which would establish that, where Indian Bands so desire, instruction in traditional Indian religious beliefs can be given by Band-approved Elders as part of the provisions normally made in this part of the school program.

IX. Use of Indian Languages in Schools

(a) Indian languages be recognized as approved languages of instruction in the instructional program at the kindergarten and elementary school level;

(b) Band approval be sought prior to the adoption of an Indian language as a language of instruction in any Indian kindergarten or elementary school;

(c) Certain standards be required by the Band (e.g. availability of instructional materials and teachers; the role of English or French as second language subjects; etc.) in the giving of this approval;

(d) Indian languages also be recognized as approved languages of study and enrichment at both the elementary and secondary school level.[40]

Third Session of the Thirtieth Parliament, House of Commons, Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence of the Standing Committee on Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1977-78[41]

The text of the actual minutes of the Standing Committee on Indian Affairs has proven an invaluable source of reference in assessing the commonly called "Indian Problem." The personalities disclosed in these records, augmented by the lively debates, lend themselves to a more comprehensive understanding of the socio-economic, political and educational issues surrounding the native people. The "Indian Problem" is a recurring theme throughout the yearly Minutes of the House of Commons, and the yearly reports of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. It is no single problem, but manyfold in nature, related to land, to law, to education. A review of the Minutes suggests that education may be the real crux of the problem. The Indian problem,

which began as a clash of culture, has ramified and acquired many different and complex features throughout the intervening generations. In Canadian national history, it has been successively, and sometimes concurrently, a military problem, an economic problem, a land problem, a religious or sectarian problem, a legal problem, a status problem, and now above all, an educational problem.

Hence, the Minutes, as revealed in the personages and issues therein, attest to the fact that the "Indian problem" denotes any or all of the difficulties already encountered, or which may yet be encountered, in the effort to assimilate Indian peoples into the dominant culture, or permit them to retain their own cultural identity.

The following passage lends testimony to the fact that the Minutes were not lacking in local color. The author shall remain anonymous.

> The Department of Indian and Northern Affairs is a large and bloated bureaucracy consisting of around 8,000 civil servants, many of whom earn more in one year than most Indians do in ten. An estimated 80 per cent of its allocation for Indians goes to pay the salaries of this staff and to pay for programs which do little but sustain Indian people in poverty; that is, hospitalization, welfare, corrections, and an educational system which does not work. Little is available from the budget for economic development of job creation and even less filters down to the Indians in the community in the form of purchasing power, aside from social assistance and other forms of transfer payments.
> In periods of economic constraint, the Department of Indian Affairs shows little serious interest in effecting savings by certain measures. Some of these measures are eliminating duplication or overlapping of staff functions; —all you have to do is walk through the halls of that ivory tower and see Indian Affairs employees reading newspapers or clipping their fingernails—doing away with unnecessary and pointless administrative operations; seeking greater efficiency or economy through decentralization of operations and administration to Indian bands. To protect their own jobs and incomes, departmental officials traditionally have attacked the most vulnerable factor in their cost equation, the Indian community. In

> doing so, the rationalization that is often used is that program gaps resulting from cutbacks will be filled either by other federal departments or, more preferably, by the provinces.[42]

A Survey Of The Contemporary Indians of Canada, Part I and II (The Hawthorn Report)[43]

In 1964 the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration asked the University of British Columbia to undertake, in conjunction with scholars in other universities, a study of the social, educational, and economic situation of the Indians of Canada, and to offer recommendations.

Much that is set out in the first volume concerning matters such as employment, income, resources, economic outlook and opportunities, the administration of reserves and the political conditions and prospects of Indian life is basic to a full understanding of the chapters that follow.

The second section of the survey addresses itself to two sets of issues, the first related to the provision and the adequacy of schooling for the Indian child and adult, and the second to leadership, organization and the direction of reserves.

The two issues are linked in a number of ways. The prime assumption of the Hawthorn Report is that it is imperative that: (1) Indians be enabled to make meaningful choices between desirable alternatives; and (2) that this should not happen at some time in the future as wisdom grows or the situation improves, but operate now and continue with increasing range. But many of the desirable alternatives potentially open to Indians, and even more that will be open in the future, are open only to those educated for them. Consequently Indian children, and those adults who have the drive to attend classes, must find schools and proper programs ready to receive them.

The background of the stress on schooling and its results is interwoven with needs for better employment, better health and livelihood, more capital for enterprise and a greater share in the governmental and political life of Canada. The fuller achievement of goals in many of these areas is ordinarily and obviously dependent on a certain level of schooling. But schooling that is not accompanied or even preceded by some improvement in adult achievement is likely to be ineffective according to the conclusions of the Report.[44]

Educational Studies

The Schotte Study

While there are "numerous" studies of Indian education restricted to bands or to areas, only one comprehensive research study on this subject has been discovered by the writer in which Indian control of Indian education is vaguely mentioned.

In 1977 Fritz Schotte completed a study of Indian education in Northwestern Ontario which he presented as a doctoral dissertation, under the title, The Ontario Northern Corps and Formal Schooling In Isolated Ojibway Communities. This dissertation makes a significant contribution to the new role of the educator as a resource specialist to native communities. While this provides a most helpful perspective on Indian education, it does not, however, focus on Indian control of Indian education.[45]

Footnotes

[1]Canada, Constitution, British North America Acts and Selected Statutes, Ottawa, 1962.

[2]Indian Affairs Branch, Administration of Indian Affairs prepared for the Federal-Provincial Conference on Indian Affairs, 1964, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Ottawa, p. 4.

[3]R. F. Battle, "Address to the Fifth Inter-American Indian Conference," October 19-25, 1964, p. 8.

[4]Canada, Laws, Statutes, etc. The Indian Act, Ottawa, 1940.

[5]Administration of Indian Affairs, p. 44.

[6]The Indian Act, Section 117.

[7]Ibid., Section 118.

[8]Ibid., Section 121.

[9]H. B. Hawthorn, A Survey of the Contemporary Indians of Canada, p. 64.

[10]Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, Jean Chretien, Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy, 1969, presented to the twenty-eighth Parliament, June 1969, Ottawa (hereafter cited as White Paper 1969), p. 6.

[11]Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, The White Paper, Ottawa, 1969.

[12]Ibid., p. 6.

[13]Ibid., p. 5.

[14]John Tobias, "Protection, Civilization, Assimilation: An Outline of Canada's Indian Policy," Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology, Vol. 6, No. 2, 1976.

[15]Ibid., p. 22.

[16]Marie Smallface Marule, "The Canadian Government's Termination Policy: From 1969 to the Present Day," as appears in One Century Later, p. 103.

[17]James S. Frideres, Canada's Indians: Contemporary Conflicts, p. 122.

[18]Ibid.

[19]Ibid., p. 123.

[20]Indian Affairs Branch.

[21]James S. Frideres, op. cit., p. 123.

[22]Ibid., p. 124.

[23]Ibid.

[24]Ibid.

[25]Joseph E. Couture, "Philosophy and Psychology of Native Education," as appears in One Century Later, p. 126.

[26]National Indian Brotherhood, Indian Control of Indian Education, 1972.

[27]Summary Report of the Task Force on the Educational Needs of Native Peoples of Ontario, Toronto, 1976, p. 21-22.

[28]Ibid., "Introduction."

[29]Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Indian Conditions: A Survey, Ottawa, 1980.

[30]Organization For Economic Co-Operation and Development, Reviews of National Policies For Education, Canada, Paris, 1976.

[31]Ibid., p. 57.

[32]Ibid., p. 58.

[33]Ibid.

[34]Ibid., p. 59.

[35]Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 1978-79 Annual Report, Ottawa, 1979.

[36]Ibid., p. 27-28.

[37]Arthur J. More, Native Teacher Education: A Survey of Native Indian Teacher Education Projects In Canada, Vancouver, British Columbia, 1979.

[38]Canadian Indian Teacher Education Projects.

[39]Indian News, Discussion Paper for Indian Act Revision, Ottawa, November, 1978.

[40]Ibid.

[41]Third Session of the Thirtieth Parliament, House of Commons, Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence of the Standing Committee on Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Ottawa, 1978.

[42]Ibid., Thursday, May 4, 1978.

[43]H. W. Hawthorn, A Survey of the Contemporary Indians of Canada, Part I, 1966, Part II, Ottawa, 1967.

[44]Ibid.

[45]Fritz Schotte, "Native Education In Northwestern Ontario: The Ontario Northern Corps and Formal Schooling In Isolated Ojibway Communities," 1977, a dissertation.

Chapter III

INDIAN EDUCATION AND THE EDUCATION FERMENT

A Historical Perspective

In Ontario today, education is generally equated with formal schooling. A person's educational status is still largely measured by the quantity of time he has spent in school. The Indian cultures, as they existed prior to the arrival of the Europeans, provide an interesting contrast to many of our current perceptions. In none of the cultures were there provisions for education through a formal structure; yet everyone received all the preparation he needed to assume adult responsibilities within the culture. Once a child could walk he was given an amazing degree of personal freedom. The first occasion upon which an Ojibway child walked out of the wigwam under his own power was a symbolic event: he then became a person. He was free to create his own routines for eating, sleeping, playing; there were no specified mealtimes, no bedtimes, so that it was impossible to be late. He was free to listen, to observe, to experiment. No attempt was made to correct his mistakes, as these were regarded as a necessary part of learning. The parents rarely intervened in the child's life; interventions that were necessary for the child's personal safety usually came from a grandparent or an older brother or sister. Wilfred Pelletier says it rather well in the following passage.

> I imagine that in the old tribal days everyone must have sensed that people are born knowing how to be

> human, just as beavers are born knowing how to be beavers, and that learning is an aspect of normal human behaviour—built in. So there would not have been any more concern about children learning than there would have been about them breathing or eating. There may have been times when children were instructed, individually and informally and in circumstances that seemed to justify adult interference. But I am sure when that occurred, it was always associated with a skill or a technique—with doing, never with being. To those people, teaching behaviour to a child would have been as stupid as teaching a beaver to build dams.[1]

A girl learned all the skills and concepts required of her as an adult by observing her mother, attempting to do things on her own, and listening to her grandmother and older sisters. Similarly, boys learned the skills required of them as hunters and trappers by observing their fathers, experimenting, and listening to grandfathers, and older brothers. When the processes were complete, the young people were accepted into society as adults.

> Lots of stories have come out of the north . . . about native people taking apart a complicated machine like a bulldozer or maybe a truck engine and putting it together again, without first being taught how to do that. Now, I don't claim to understand that, but there's one thing I'm damn sure about: they learn from just watching, watching a guy running the machine, observing. And all the time they're learning. They incorporate everything they see into themselves, make it their own. And I'm not sure I can explain what I mean by that. You see, there's no word in English for that kind of observation. People who are conditioned to get their information from books, conditioned to learn by submitting to instruction, don't know how to look and see, don't know how to observe. That's part of the price they pay for formal education. But those illiterate native people . . . there's a totalness to their learning. And often their very lives depend on that kind of observation. All of a sudden a thing like a snowmobile comes into their lives, or an outboard motor . . . So when a thing like a chain saw comes along, they don't have to be taught a safety program.[2]

The traditions of education in the Indian cultures began to change with the Indian people's initial contact with the Europeans. The exposure to these different cultures created demands upon the Indian people that could not be met in the traditional ways. Some of the skills and concepts required in the new circumstances were held by the Europeans. It is not surprising, therefore, that the transition should have followed the European rather than the native pattern, especially in view of the European commitment to a program of evangelism for the Indian people.

First European School For Indian People In Ontario, 1639

The first European school for Indian people in Ontario was established by Jesuit missionaries in 1639 in Huronia.[3] Classes were conducted by the missionaries in French and in an Indian dialect. By the time New France became a part of the British Empire in 1763, the Roman Catholic Church was widely involved in Indian education.[4]

In 1793, a Moravian missionary opened a school for the Delaware at Fairfield on the Thames River.[5] This school added agriculture to the curriculum for Indian students, a concept that gained considerable favor among those responsible for the education of Indian people. The main objective for teaching agriculture was to encourage the Indian people to practice farming and cultivation rather than to follow the traditional hunting, fishing, and trapping. In time, many more missionaries from various denominations became involved in the education of Indian people. According to James S. Frideres, four churches—the Roman Catholic, Anglican, United and Presbyterian—have always expressed interest in "educating" the Indians in their denominational or residential

schools . . .[6] The Catholics and Anglicans have had the greatest historical impact on the Indians in Canada and they still have the greatest impact today. Their interest in "educating" the Indians has overtones of paternalism and moral salvation and they tend to indoctrinate the Indians with conservative attitudes. For example, a basic tenet in many religions is that poverty is not necessarily bad and that people should not attempt to produce social change in society to upgrade their position. By enduring their poverty, they will be showing humility and making penance for their sins as an appeasement to God. The "after life" is of more concern than what happens on earth. This is summed up in the proverb used by Catholics to place the "after life" in proper perspective: the first shall be last and the last shall be first. Acceptance of this ideology precludes using "force" to bring about social change. It even precludes desiring change. Once can see why the government was willing to allow the churches to manage the education of the Indians. Church-operated schools were given land, per capita grants and other material rewards for their efforts.[7] Some evidence seems to indicate that education for the Indians meant moral admonishments, cultural genocide, and material exploitation by the churches.[8]

Chief Joseph Brant, 1785

A few Indian leaders became involved in promoting formal education for their people. One of the most famous of these leaders was a British army captain, Chief Joseph Brant. In 1785, Chief Brant was instrumental in establishing a school for the Iroquois Loyalists settled in the Grand River Valley.[9] The schoolmaster was paid by the British government. In a few other instances, small grants of money were provided by the

Imperial government or colonial administration for Indian education. It is perhaps not surprising that so little was done to develop educational programs, during the time that the military authorities held responsibility, for their primary concern was the security of Upper Canada.

Primary Schools On The Six Nation Reserve, 1831

The New England Company, a philanthropic organization with headquarters in England, established primary schools on the Six Nations Reserve in the Grand River Valley in 1831.[10] According to the Background Paper II, a document published by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, in 1830 Indian administration was placed in the hands of the civil authority, whose job would be, not merely to preserve the alliances as previously, but to "civilize and settle" the Indians.[11]

The Indians were to become self-sufficient farmers in the British Yeoman mold. Presents were to be replaced by implements, seed, livestock, and instruction in their use. The successful settlement of the Six Nations in the Grand Valley seemed to indicate the potential of such a policy. However, the new policy soon created a paradox. Its evident end was to make the Indians just like all other residents of the provinces: Yet, the humanitarian impulse behind the policy ran a major danger to the "civilization" of the Indian in his exposure to the less desirable aspects of that very non-Indian culture to which he was to become assimilated.

One answer which suggested itself was the removal of Indian people to some place free from the baleful influences of White society in order to inculcate in them the ways of civilization, and in 1835-1836,

an attempt was made to create such a haven on Manitoulin Island. Thus it appears that a tension had been created in Indian Affairs which is to this day still present. The Indian was to be made a part of the larger society, but to do so, he had to be protected from that very society. At about the same time, the New England Company also established the Mohawk Institute, a boarding school for Indian youth, who had reached a certain level of proficiency in education. The curriculum of the schools included instruction in academic subjects and religion, as well as training in technical skills.

In 1830, the responsibility for "Indian Affairs" was transferred from the military to the government of Upper Canada.[12] It should be noted that up to that time, the government had been mainly concerned with abating the hostility of the Indians and developing more friendly relations with them. Gradually, an understanding was reached with several bands and an agreement made to lay aside some of the money, previously used for gifts and provisions for the purpose of erecting school buildings and hiring teachers. By 1848, a fund for the purpose of Indian education had been established, mainly, by diverting funds formerly allocated to gifts and gunpowder.[13] Sir George Murray, British Secretary of State for the Colonies, hoped that the change signalled a new phase in the colonizers' relations with the Indian people and that "the Indians could be introduced to the industrious and peaceful habits of civilized life."[14] The policy of trying to help the Indian develop in isolation was abandoned in favor of creating Indian enclaves in the midst of White settlement, which could act as an example and a potential home for the Indian. However, the records indicate that the belief that a protective function had to be exercised continued.[15] The Indian

people would however be given the opportunity to learn useful skills like carpentry, cabinet-making, and crop cultivation.

Boarding Schools, 1847

A government report of 1845 recommended that industrial boarding schools be adopted, and in 1847, Dr. Egerton Ryerson suggested that boarding schools should be established.[16] The purpose of the schools was to give a plain English education adapted to the working farmer and mechanic. It was felt that a boarding school with a curriculum that provided for domestic and religious training as well as training in practical skills would be best suited to this objective. In keeping with the stress on spiritual guidance, Dr. Ryerson suggested that the operation of the industrial schools should be a joint effort of government and church. The government would provide some funding, draw up regulations, and accept the responsibility for inspection; different churches would manage the schools, contribute part of the operating cost, and provide spiritual guidance for the pupils. In accordance with these principles, industrial schools were erected in Alderville in 1848 and at Muncey Town in 1851.[17]

According to Estelle Fuchs, the government entered the school business with a vigor that caused consternation among the Indians, paying little attention to the multitude of linguistic and other cultural differences among the bands, and the varied traditions of child-rearing in preparation for adulthood in the tribal communities. The package deal that accompanied literacy included continuing efforts to "civilize" the Indians. Children were removed, sometimes forcibly, long distances from their homes. The use of Indian languages by children was

was forbidden under threat of corporal punishment. And students were boarded out to White families during vacation times. Indian religions were totally suppressed.[18]

British North America Act

In the years up to 1867, legislation provided for the establishment of Indian schools or permitted Indian children to attend schools that had been established for non-Indian children. Also, in Canada East and Canada West, Indian reserves could be included in established school sections. Indian education could be financed through government funds or from Indian funds. After 1867, the British North America Act was interpreted to mean that the education of Indian people was the responsibility of the federal government.[19] In addition to legislation affecting Indian education, most treaties signed after 1871 contained a commitment:

> To maintain schools for instruction on the reserve and whenever the Indian of the reserve shall desire it or to make such provision as may from time to time be deemed advisable for the education of the Indian children.[20]

Indian Act, 1876

Following the cycle of treaty negotiations from 1871 to 1921 and the passing of the first Indian Act in 1876, the federal government assumed more financial responsibility for Indian education. However, the operation of schools continued to be the responsibility of the different religious denominations.[21]

Residential Schools

Residential schools controlled by the churches comprised the basis of Indian education for over a hundred years. The belief that the Indian person had to be protected from evil and that he had to follow a more "civilized" way of life was adopted as a basic educational principle. Indian children, removed from their homes and deprived of the influence and warmth of the parents, were taught skills intended for life in a non-Indian society. Generally, the school imposed an alien way of life. Under these circumstances, the Indian student's ability was restricted not only by the inappropriateness of much of what he learned at school, but also by his isolation from his home where he could acquire the skills and concepts necessary to his way of life. Most residential schools were built in the country, far from White settlements. This had the effect of reducing contact between children and their parents. The schools were regimented and showed little concern for the individual; the focus was on conformity. Since there were few adults, the children did not have normal adult-child relations, and the possibility of this was reduced further because most staff were non-Indian. Few of the teachers were well qualified or well educated. They neither stimulated the child nor acted as role models for their students to emulate. The average annual staff turnover until 1964 was never less than 21 per cent and in 1964 it was nearly 30 per cent.[22]

Indian Day Schools On Reserves, 1945-1950's

In 1927, the federal government assumed full responsibility for the cost of education for status Indians living on reserves or on

crown lands; the churches continued to operate the schools and to determine the curriculum. By 1939-1940, some of the reserves had their own schools, although many children continued to attend residential schools. In other instances, Indian children attended regular day schools with non-Indian children. From 1945 to the late 1950's, the government concentrated on building Indian day schools on reserves.

In 1950, a policy was adopted whereby the curriculum of a reserve school was to follow the curriculum of the province in which it was located.[23] It was evident from the beginning that the curriculum was not "relevant" and that the philosophy was basically geared to integration with the non-Indian society. Furthermore, due to the teacher shortage at the time, unqualified teachers were often hired for Indian schools. These people relied heavily on the provincial curriculum and on textbooks for the core of their program.

Wilfred Pelletier, an Ojibway from Wikwemikong Reserve on Manitoulin Island, was no stranger to such a situation. Fittingly enough, these are his words.

> There is no question that school is a very different experience for Indians than for Whites. For Whites, the school is really an extension of their own culture. But for Indians, the school is culturally foreign, just as the language used in the classroom is a foreign language. In an Indian community people who speak out, for example, or who are aggressively competitive are regarded with silent disapproval . . . For Whites, school is the accepted passage from childhood to adult status. For Indians, it's a big detour that takes you out of reality, out of life. Even in grade one I think we all knew we were going to cut wood and fish and trap and hunt and farm all our lives, and we'd already learned a whole lot about those things by "doing" them, working right along with our folks . . . Now I think that school was like a dam built across the natural flow of childhood. That river of youthful energy was forcibly channeled into the school, and what you "had" to learn, more than any

> other thing, was submission—to allow the energy that belonged only to you to be controlled and directed by someone else. When you stepped into the school you were confronted by a boss adult. You were also confronted with masses of departmentalized information about the world, about nature. You were trapped between the teacher and a wall of abstractions. Beyond the wall lay the real world, the material world, always waiting, beckoning to you, and there wasn't supposed to be any way of getting back to it except by working. You were supposed to attack the wall, subdue the information, master it by taking it all apart and putting it together again . . . I realize now that I was supposed to feel challenged; I only felt threatened. When the teacher talked about history, it was all from a book and all about strange places and strange people. Nothing to do with us . . . When she talked about science or reading or math, it all came from someplace else or somebody else. She was a real live person and I would have liked to get to know her, but that couldn't happen because she saw herself as only an information center . . . The contrast between that classroom and the world outside was so great that when you stepped outside it took your breath away . . . The people of the community were aligned with the world they lived in, not against it. When the men went out to cut wook they didn't confront the trees; they weren't into subduing the forest. They were just a bunch of simple people putting up some cordwood. Now I've lived long enough to know that what those who go all the way through the school trip and graduate with a degree are supposed to achieve is objectivity. They pride themselves on their objectivity. Which means that, to them, all things are primarily objects. They themselves are objects. What differentiates them from other, less educated people is their ability to eliminate feeling from experience. Thousands of people have been conditioned in that way and I suppose it has been productive of unbelievable technological successes, but not without a price.[24]

Kindergarten In Reserve Schools, 1962

Kindergarten classes were not common in reserve schools until after 1962. Many Indian children still enter school speaking an Indian language as their first language. Until very recently, these children were

expected to start reading in English as early as the children whose first language was English. Around 1970, the first Indian classroom assistants were hired, usually in the Primary Division; since then, an Indian language has been the language of instruction for at least some of the time. How best to teach English has been of considerable interest and has resulted in growing interest in linguistic approaches. Currently, approaches to language instruction include:

1. Using linguistic techniques to teach English as a second language moving the children from their use of the native language to the use of English as the language of instruction.
2. Bilingual education, which employs two languages as the medium of instruction for a child in a given school in any or all of the school curriculum except the actual study of the languages themselves.
3. The teaching of the Indian language as a separate study.

Teaching English as a second language assumes that a major cause of school failure is an inadequate grasp of the English language, and, therefore, concentrates on language training, pattern drills, pronunciation, and using aural-oral methods. Advocates of bilingual-bicultural education programs are somewhat critical of this approach. They argue that the methods of ESL are too mechanistic. Also accepting the hypothesis that school failure is related strongly to inadequate command of English, they go further in arguing that the teaching of literacy in English to those who do not have adequate command of the language is a major part of the educational problem faced by Indian youth.

They therefore, urge that instruction in reading first be given in the home language of the child. Proponents of bilingual education also argue that it is a more humane approach to instruction, avoiding the frightening, frustrating experiences of the non-English speaking child in an all-English environment. They argue further that there is evidence that bilingual instruction makes for improved intellectual functioning; that it indicates respect for the Indian culture and helps retain pride. Proponents also argue that bilingual programs provide employment for Indian speakers as teachers, consultants, and in curriculum development; and that community and parental involvement with the school is more likely to occur with a bilingual program.[25]

Indian Students In Provincial Schools

About 1950, the practice of sending Indian students to nearby provincial schools became more common. In 1972 about 34 per cent of the status Indian children in Ontario attended provincial schools, and approximately another 22 per cent attended provincial secondary schools through agreements drawn up between the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development and local school boards in Ontario.[26]

In many cases, Indian children now attend schools that are located in the Indian community. The curriculum in these schools is usually built along traditional lines, but there are some instances where, in keeping with current policies, the Indian people are invited to participate in curriculum development.

Indian Control of Indian Education, 1973

The policy paper Indian Control of Indian Education, presented by the National Indian Brotherhood, was approved by the Minister of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development in 1973.

> Indian parents must have full responsibility and control of education. The federal government must adjust its policy and practices to make possible the full participation and partnership of Indian people in all discussions and activities connected with the education of Indian children. This requires determined and enlightened action on the part of the federal government and immediate reform, especially in the following areas of concern: responsibility, programmes, teachers, facilities.[27]

This federal policy constitutes a significant landmark in the education of Indian people and is the turning point about which the writer's thesis is developed.

Integration And Aberation

By 1968, Canada was well into Indian Affairs' integration program.[28] The process of closing down Indian residential schools operated by religious denominations was nearly complete. The government had offered to build day schools on some reserves. The rationale appeared to be that children attending such schools would be living at home and would not have far to travel to school. Other enticements offered to parents who agreed to take their children out of the residential schools and put them into the federal schools included day care facilities, spending money, a clothing allowance, and a regular lunch program. There is evidence to show that all these promises were broken within two or three years, but they were the initial bait.[29] A number of day schools were built on reserves, but by then Indian Affairs had hit upon a new scheme—"busing" Indian children to neighboring

White schools. At first, this only applied to high schools. The argument used with Indian parents was that the White high schools had better facilities and resources for Indian students. This, according to authorities, actually was the last step to the ultimate plan at Indian Affairs, which was to transfer the whole education problem to the provincial school system. In the eyes of many, that was a purely political plan and had little to do with the kind of education to be provided to Indians.[30]

Indian communities rapidly experienced the effects of Indian Affairs' integration programs, and were not impressed. The dropout rate, always high, climbed to more than 90 per cent of the students in high school, and in many areas, it was 100 per cent for post-secondary students.[31] Another emerging problem which was acutely disconcerting to Indian parents was the rapidly widening generation gap between themselves and their children. The children were leaving their home communities and their parents at grade eight, in their formative teen years. The social consequences were great. Parents sent them off, hopefully to receive the best education possible, and the next contact that they had with the children frequently was when they dropped out of school or, perhaps, when they got into trouble with the law. If there was any one factor which concerned Indian parents most in regard to their children's education, it was the increasing gap created between parents and children, and the unhappy social consequences that followed.[32] Parents literally lost their children when school started. Indian Affairs told them where the children would be going; what arrangements had been made for them; where they would be staying; and so forth. Indian parents were informed about agreements with the local school

board after the fact. Always the inference was that the parents should be grateful to Indian Affairs for taking care of all these difficult matters on their behalf.

Students who were bused into town for school frequently did not attend classes. They simply spent the day as best they could, met the bus at the end of the schoolday, and returned home. They were under constant, and often heavy, social pressure, simply because they were Indian. Most came from economically and culturally deprived backgrounds. They had little spending money and could not afford to participate in school activities. There was little at these White schools with which Indians could identify.

Wilfred Pelletier described his first impressions of a city school.

> This was an institution, my first experience of an institution. With all those hundreds of strangers hurrying here and there and bells ringing all over the place, it was like being in a big railroad station and running on schedule. Too much for me. And you know, students are second-class citizens. Well, I was a student and an Indian, so that made me third class, and that's pretty far down the social ladder. So I took to my old habit of playing hooky. I found it wasn't so easy to play hooky in the city as it had been in the country. Besides, it was the wrong time of year—November, and cold. I'd start off for school with my lunch and my books, knowing I'd never get there. I'd go downtown and wander around looking in the store windows, trying to put in the time till three in the afternoon. Trying to find a place to get in out of the cold and keep warm. I found out that businesses—stores and restaurants and places like that—are very suspicious if you come in and don't buy something right away; they figure you're a thief or a bum or something. I guess that's how I discovered the pool hall . . . Well, after that I went to school every day—pool school . . .
> What really attracted me to these places, especially the pool hall, was that I was accepted there. . . Nobody gave a damn if I was Indian or what I was. I was taken at face value, and later on I was

> respected as a good player. That felt good. It gave me a little confidence, and I needed that . . . Well, that was the end of my schooling, and the beginning of my learning.[33]

Transfer Of Education To The Provinces

Gradually a movement grew calling for the building of proper school facilities on reserves. Indian Affairs' initial reaction was that this was impossible. Such a program would cost millions upon millions of dollars, which they did not have, mainly because they were in the process of helping White communities build "integrated" schools. The old theory reappeared that if Indians went to their own schools on the reserves, they would, in effect, be segregated. This must not happen if these children were to grow up and fit into the mainstream of society. There appeared little examination of the negative results and effects of integration. Indian Affairs was largely guided in all its reasoning by its political goal of dumping the responsibility for Indian education, with its mounting costs, on provincial shoulders.[34]

As the education problem emerged, and the Indians were faced with the consequences of that problem, they were forced to re-examine the whole concept of education. Initially, in their request for schools on reserves, they wanted nothing more than just to have schools located on reserves. No one cared whether the schools were run by Indian Affairs, as long as the facilities were on the reserve. Basically, they came to believe that educational systems, to be worthwhile, should be set up to serve the needs of their people. They recognized that a good educational system should reinforce their identity as Indian people, and should meet the development needs of their communities.

School Facilities On The Reserve

The Indian parents believed that if the federal government was not going to control Indian education, then control should be given to the Indians, not passed on to the provincial governments which lacked even the heritage of trusteeship held by Ottawa. Essentially, in 1968, their concept of an Indian educational system was that it should be separate from the existing provincial system, geared much more directly to meeting the needs of their communities. A key fault with the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development's integration policy was that it led no farther than getting the children of two races together. It cared neither about the immediate effects, nor about the after effects. The researcher was told by a member of the Ministry of Education at the provincial level that the political basis for this policy, aside from the ultimate goal of giving control of responsibility for education to the provinces, was the greed of the White communities involved. According to the informant, Indian Affairs had sufficient funds to spend and could well afford to be generous. They would choose a community where educational facilities were second-rate or outdated, and make an offer that the community could not refuse. "You take so many Indian kids and we will build you a splendid new school facility. And we will go on paying you tuition for each Indian you educate."[35]

Many White communities which desperately wanted new facilities and could not afford them saw this as a godsend. They wanted the Indian Affairs dollars for their educational systems. Once the facilities were built, Indian students began to drop out. The White communities had their new schools without the Indian students, and best of all, the department kept paying the number of tuitions that they had agreed to pay.[36]

The Ottawa Bureaucrats

The primary concern of the Ottawa bureaucrats was negotiating master agreements with the provincial governments. The bureaucrats assigned to the local offices were picked, according to informants, for the ability to expedite such agreements, not for their knowledge of education, and not for their ability to implement a workable policy for Indian children. The main criterion was not whether they had the ability and the desire to see that Indian children, once in the system, were given the resources and help that they needed to succeed in the system; it was their commitment to the department's integration policy. No matter how devious they had to be, nor how many direct lies they had to tell the Indian people, their job was one thing and one thing only—to get Indian students into White schools, so that agreements could be negotiated with provincial governments to take over responsibility for Indian education.[37]

The Role of Indian Organizations

Essentially, there were two factors in the education picture. First was the mounting concern of Indian parents over their deteriorating relationships with their children. And the second factor was the role played by Indian organizations in Indian education. There was a peripheral factor in the posturing and public stances taken by Ottawa and by the Indian organizations, but it appeared to be mainly public relations efforts to try to win sympathy and understanding for one side or the other. The real battlefields were at the grassroots level. This was so for the Indians; the parents; the students; the local chiefs and councils; and for the Indian Affairs fieldworkers.

In the main, in a battle involving human beings, someone is going to get hurt. Some individuals in the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, the writer was told, were genuinely interested in the whole question of what Indian education should be. Many of them, over the period covered by this battle, were forced out of the department. There were still others, hired not for their educational philosophy, ability, or interest, but purely for their commitment to carrying out departmental policy without regard to the effect, good or otherwise, of that policy.[38]

Nothing is black or white. Any movement has its alliances and counter alliances for one reason or another. Therefore, the battle over education was by no means a fight entirely between Indians on the one side and the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development on the other. Indian Affairs sought and found allies within Indian ranks. Underground political factions existed on most reserves, even in Indian organizations, and were a factor in the education battle with Indian Affairs. The writer was told on many occasions that Indian people like to establish a relationship with the power structure within Indian Affairs, as those with a good working relationship will be the first to benefit from whatever resources that department possesses.

There is a vital and dangerous difference too, in the economic security of the person involved. With secure financial resources, an individual can well afford to play games, and to take a philosophical stance. However, for a person living next to the bone, it is a different matter. This appears to be the big difference when one talks about political movements involving poor people. And most Indians, whatever else they may be, are indeed poor. Hence, there are constantly

shifting power factions and alliances both within the department and within the Indian community. And in many instances, the alliances that came together to achieve a goal and to try to bring about a given change, degenerate into a power struggle between factions on both sides. Unfortunately, a frequent by-product of an attempt to bring change to a system seems to be a reaction by dissidents who see a chance to use their alliances with the opposite camp to enhance their power or status. People lose sight of the original problem and spend a good bit of their energies battling to retain power. This takes place in communities, in the Indian organizations between various forces that want to control those organizations, and nationally, between provincial organizations and the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. This appears to be the "State of the System."[39]

The Case of Alberta

As the 1960's drew to a close, education had become a major topic of discussion among Indian people across the country. It was a common concern that grew from grassroots discontent rather than from the agitations of any national organization. In most instances, small groups of people involved in the educational system kept the fires fanned.

In Alberta, to keep the provincial Indian Association from becoming involved, Indian Affairs had set up a system of school committees, the theory being that if a special group of people were already delegated to handle education matters, there was no need for the Association to concern itself. That strategy did not fully succeed because of the close contact the Indian Association had established on most reserves

through regular visits by Association officers and executives. At such visits, education always was the chief topic for discussion.

At the Cold Lake Reserve in Alberta, the school buildings had been constructed in 1920. There was neither water supply, nor a road leading to the school. Indian affairs had built a reservoir back-up system, but the water had been condemned by local health authorities. The school was forced to use that water. Rain commonly seeped through the roofs and into the classrooms. For nearly forty years, Cold Lake had been promised a new school. When parents asked about the new school, they were reminded that the department had an agreement with the local school district and that the children could attend schools off the reserve.[40]

On the Kehewin Reserve in Alberta, much the same situation existed. The reserve school had been built during the days of the "little red schoolhouse." There was no water—not even a condemned supply— and there were no indoor toilet facilities. Elementary children went there; older students were sent to a town about twenty miles from the reserve. First, the Kehewin people asked for full school facilities. Indian Affairs said they could not supply them; it would cost too much and that would be a reversal of the integration policy. The reserve cut its request down to a building for the first three or four grades, again, with the same results.[41] About that time, the federal government came out with a commitment for full consultation and involvement of Indian people in the decision-making process. For years, Indian Affairs had followed the old divide and conquer rule, generously helping one reserve, completely ignoring another. The department had succeeded in creating intense divisions between some reserves with these tactics. By 1968, many communities began to realize just how much they did have in

common. This encouraged district meetings and discussions of problems and fairly cohesive units began to develop within the districts.

Out of these meetings some consistent, common demands began to emerge. Foremost was parental control of Indian education. The key objective in the minds of the parents was the right to make the decision about where their children went to school: on the reserve, in neighboring towns, or in cities 200 or 300 miles away. Secondly, they wanted an end to the practice of busing children, seven and eight year olds, to outside schools. They saw no reason why the early grades could not be taught on the reserve. Furthermore, they wanted to regain control of their teenagers. Young people were being sent to junior or senior high schools in towns twenty or more miles from the reserve. They were required to live there under boarding arrangements made by the local Indian agent. Parents were demanding at least junior high schools on reserves, so that they could maintain closer supervision of their children at this crucial period of adolescent adjustment.[42]

More and more, the demand for on-reserve facilities became a common link between all reserves. But the reaction of Indian Affairs remained constant. When the reserves asked for better schools, the department always countered with two arguments—the cost factor and integration. These arguments strengthened the determination of people at the community level. Harold Cardinal points out that it became such a political red herring that the simple, primary need for facilities often was overlooked.[43]

Curiously, the issue of curriculum in the Alberta case had not been discussed during all this furor. There were the usual complaints:

not enough Indian content in history studies; history is always White-oriented; there is not enough Indian culture taught; there is no mention of Indian values in the educational system. These were the general accusations in vogue at the time. The focus was very narrow, and it was squarely on the need for facilities on the reserves. Accordingly, toward the end of 1968 and into 1969, a series of study trips were undertaken to New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, New Mexico, California, and to the Navajo reservation in Arizona.[44]

The American Case Study

While the main concern politically had been to prevent massive transfer of educational responsibility from federal to provincial shoulders, contacts had been maintained within the system and there was great concern as to the general directions being taken by Indian Affairs. It was reported that Ottawa was negotiating with some American firms to take over and to operate industrial vocational schools for Indians just north of Edmonton.[45] A trip was made to Chicago to study some workshop programs for the Indian youth movement, and a friendship center project. There seemed little there that they could adapt. In New Mexico, the representatives from Alberta visited a training school for Indians being run by the Thiokel Corporation. It is reported that they must have been the most rude, most inquisitive, and most agressive visitors that the company had ever received.[46]

Enroute to California to take a look at Philco-Ford's Indian programs, they stopped off at the Navajo reservation. The Navajo had what was being billed as the first Indian-controlled educational programs in existence.[47] They returned from the trip convinced that none of what

they had seen provided adequate programs for the people of the province of Alberta. However, the need that had long been felt, namely, the need for educational experts working with Indian people to build their own programs, was reinforced.

The next trip was in search of broader information. They wanted to see how the educational process was being handled by groups of poor people within their own terms and in their own settings. This took them to Philadelphia and to Brooklyn to have a look at adult training programs being operated for Black people in urban poverty centers. At the same time, they had a chance to look at some of the economic development projects that the poor had going. The reaction was one of complete shock. In the words of one informant: "I found the type of poverty we were shown in those urban settings shocking. I had never been exposed to anything like it. Psychologically, the one thing that hit me hardest was seeing chairs and desks in offices literally chained to the floor so they would not be carted off and sold."[48]

At the time that they were there, adult-training programs were in the process of putting together an economic development project that involved buying-out slum owners. Organized on a block basis, they were cleaning up the streets, rebuilding houses, and doing a good bit of community work. The Alberta representatives were taken to the central office, shown the new facilities, and explained the priorities. The information acquired was immensely valuable from an educational point of view and invaluable later in the economic development planning. The partnership of poor people with the business community had considerable impact on Indian thinking and reinforced the decision as to the direction that they elected to take, namely, Indian control.[49]

In Philadelphia, they viewed a religious group's adult education program operated by, and for, Black people at the poverty level. The key to its success was "flexibility." In Canada, an adult who wishes to get into a training program, is always forced to conform to the schedule of the training institution. He is put on a waiting list, and often as not, by the time his turn arrives, interest is lost. In Philadelphia, anyone who showed an interest could come off the streets, enroll, and get into a course at his own level.[50]

Another intriguing and highly relevant project involved management training. Such programs were being vaguely talked about in Canada. They were obviously needed as more and more Indian people moved into management of their own reserve communities. In Philadelphia, such a program was in operation for people basically in the same position as the Indian.[51] However, the American programs were not designed to meet the needs of the Indians of Alberta.

The Blue Quills School: An Apparent Victory

On a local level the education ferment continued and, in fact intensified. The Department of Indian Affairs and a religious order operating a school known as the Blue Quills School in northeastern Alberta, concluded an agreement without any consultation whatsoever with the Indian people. The Indian people affected heard about it after the agreement was signed, sealed, and delivered.[52] The writer was informed that monies allocated to departments such as Indian Affairs often were handled on a local basis by comparatively low-level department officials. This has an inevitable effect on the White communities, as Indian Affairs' hirelings almost always live in non-Indian communities. Their

relationship to the communities in which they live, their loyalties, and their responsibilities to those towns, set up certain alliances and interactions which can be inimical to the best interests of the nearby Indian communities for which these agents are responsible.[53]

The Indians in the area were upset by the sale of Blue Quills and held a number of meetings with Indian Affairs to try to persuade them to change their minds. The district staff of the regional office remained adamant. After numerous meetings, the Indians decided to "occupy" the school.[54] It was not a sudden, emotional, rash act by a minority element in the community. The people who organized the occupation had the support of the young and the old alike.[55]

Indian Affairs finally decided that this occupation called for the presence of high-level administrators from Ottawa. The Director of Indian Education flew out, and was forced to sit in the center of a circle of Indian people, listening to their complaints. The result was capitulation. After further meetings, a decision was made to turn Blue Quills over to the Indian people. It became the first school in Canada to be controlled by an Indian board.[56]

This was an apparent victory. However, inherent in that political success were the seeds of later failures. The people involved in the strike, and the Indian Association, both became overconfident. This led to a later, more general school strike, undertaken without full realization of the implications of such action, or of the problems it would create. Managing a single small school was one thing, an expanded strike was something else. Part of the later failure was the general lack of unity among Indians in the province of Alberta.[57] The Indian

Association of Alberta was unable to pull them all together in a solid province-wide approach.

The success at Blue Quills had immediate implications for the alliances and counter-alliances, both within the community and within the department. Spurred on by that success, other reserves in the area took a more serious look at school conditions in their communities. The Association also began examining ways to force positive reactions from Indian Affairs. The arrow spun around and came to point at the miserable facilities available. To give added weight to the petition for better schools, the Indians decided to examine the returns brought by Indian Affairs' enormous investment in off-reserve schools, returns to the community, to the family life, and particularly to the students going through the White school system. As they began to document the results, in those terms of reference, the parents were shocked to realize the effects that the off-reserve, integrated system was having on their children. Their findings intensified their belief that they must have control over the education of their children. A decision was reached by Alberta, just before the start of the 1971 fall term, to initiate a general school strike by pulling Indian students out of the off-reserve schools. This was another first for Canada.[58]

The Strike And The Red Paper of 1970

The decision to strike was made in haste with little understanding. Time was not taken to assess what counter reaction might be expected. Based on the rapid victory at Blue Quills, it was felt that the department would be brought to bay quickly. They were in no way prepared for a drawn-out, prolonged strike, neither in stockpiling of

resources, nor in personal determination. When no easy victory was apparent, the district and regional offices of Indian Affairs were occupied.

An important factor affecting the success of the strike was the presentation of the Red Paper in 1970. This dealt with the kind of education that the Indians wanted, and the flexibility that they expected from Indian Affairs.[59] The strike dragged on through the fall months and into the winter. In order for the strike to work as a political weapon, there had to be 100 per cent compliance, and many of the Indians were only peripherally involved. There were those who wanted their children to attend school and hence, many hard feelings were engendered. Some band councils decided to enforce the strike decision by blockading the reserve roadways, thus preventing the school buses from getting through.[60] Mediation efforts resulted in a number of offers, and there was great hope that John Ciaccia, a newly appointed deputy minister, might be able to bring the two sides together. He had to contend, however, not only with angry and determined Indian people but also with the "old guard" in the Department of Indian Affairs.

Ottawa came to realize that the regional and district offices had lost control of the situation. Support for the strike came from both Manitoba and Saskatechewan. There were divisions within the ranks of the Indian alliances. The Kehewin leaders made their own agreement with the Department of Indian Affairs in Ottawa and development funds were suddenly poured into the Kehewin community.[61] One by one other reserves yielded. Shortly before the federal election in 1972, which resulted in the Trudeau minority government, Cold Lake reached an agreement with Ottawa and gained everything that they had demanded from

the beginning. With this came the joint announcement from the Department of Indian Affairs and the National Indian Brotherhood, agreeing in principle to Indian Control of Indian Education. Hence, a major factor in the reversal of the integration policy of 1968, was the stance taken by the Cold Lake Band, and with this came a landmark for Indian education.

Canada And The Political Scene of 1969-1973

Under the government of Pierre Elliott Trudeau in 1968, "protest" was the order of the day. The above events should be viewed against a background of protest against established values and established institutions. In Canada, the protest movement was conceived as an operation to liberate the Indian people from their white imperialist oppressors.

There were grievances aplenty that the Canadian Indian had nurtured for decades. It was not difficult for the professional agitator to exploit them. The cry for independence from Ottawa and from the bureaucratic policies of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development had its appeal. Attacks upon the "White power structure," while they meant very little to most Indians, did find receptive ears among some of the power-oriented and ambitious Indian and Metis spokesmen. The vocabulary of the Black power struggle in the United States was translated into an alleged Red power struggle in Canada. Speeches demanding the emancipation of the Red man from the restrictions placed upon him by the Indian Act were reported across the country; officials of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development were criticized for their callous disregard of the rights of Indians in many ways. It was said that Indians were exploited by sugar-beet farmers

in the Lethbridge district of Alberta, their children forced to work twelve hours a day on threat by the Indian Affairs officials of being cut off welfare if they refused. There was talk of lower wages being paid Indians for fire-fighting in the North than were paid White men. The demand was that Ottawa should let the Indian go: free him from his disabilities and let him become a man equal to other citizens in Canada.[62]

In the face of heavy criticisms of its policies by Indian spokesmen and others, the federal government announced a new policy in June 1969, setting what it described as a new goal for the Indian people and presented to Parliament by Jean Chretien, Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. The policy paper stated this goal to be that "the Indian's role of dependence be replaced by a role of equal status, opportunity, and responsibility, a role they can share with other Canadians."

It described a new policy that the Canadian government hoped would be a decided break with the past. It frankly stated that the separate legal status of Indians had had the effect of keeping the Indian apart from and behind other Canadians. The new policies were to be premised upon an "open society," one from which the Indian might not be shut out by a buckskin curtain or a buckskin psychology. New opportunities for growth and development should be shared by the Indian and the White man alike. Rather than spending more money on education, on improving the physical conditions in which Indians live on their reserves, in enlarging Indian hospitals or special Indian health services, the new policy was to begin with the concept of breaking down barriers and

ending the "separation of Canadians."[63] The protests against the White Paper of 1969 and the ensuing events that followed set the stage for many of the events written about in Chapter III and typified the "political climate" of the times.

Footnotes

[1]Wilfred Pelletier, No Foreign Land: The Biography of a North American Indian, p. 54.

[2]Ibid., p. 163.

[3]PONA, People of Native Ancestry (A Resource Guide for Primary and Junior Divisions), Ontario Ministry of Education, Toronto, 1975, p. 34.

[4]Ibid.

[5]Ibid., p. 35.

[6]Schools founded and operated by a particular religious group.

[7]Religious schools receive a fixed amount proportional to the number of pupils for the administration, maintenance and repair of buildings.

[8]James S. Frideres, Canada's Indians: Contemporary Conflicts, p. 33.

[9]PONA, op. cit.

[10]Ibid.,

[11]Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, History of Indian Policy, Background Paper II, Ottawa, 1975.

[12]PONA, op. cit., p. 35.

[13]Ibid.

[14]Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, op. cit.

[15]Ibid.

[16]PONA, op. cit.

[17]Ibid.

[18]Estelle Fuchs, "Time to Redeem an Old Promise," Saturday Review, January 24, 1970: 53-58.

[19]BNA Act, The British North America Act of 1867, Queens Printers, Ottawa.

[20]James S. Frideres, op. cit., p. 32.

[21]PONA, op. cit.

[22]James S. Frideres, op. cit., p. 34.

[23]PONA, op. cit.

[24]Wilfred Pelletier, op. cit., p. 41-43.

[25]Estelle Fuchs, To Live On This Earth, p. 208-209.

[26]PONA, op. cit., p. 36.

[27]Indian Control of Indian Education (Policy Paper), National Indian Brotherhood, Ottawa, 1972.

[28]Harold Cardinal viewed integration in its practical application to mean that Indian students sat beside White students in school lavatories, The Rebirth of Canada's Indians, p. 193.

[29]Ibid., p. 194.

[30]See the White Paper of 1969.

[31]Harold Cardinal, The Rebirth of Canada's Indians, p. 194.

[32]Ibid.

[33]Wilfred Pelletier, op. cit. p. 81-83.

[34]Two very different courses are open to Canadian Indians today. On the one hand, the Indian is under strong pressure to aspire after goals which are currently held by White Canadians. Some want Indians to leave the reserve and take an active part in the larger Canadian society. The 1969 White Paper perhaps best indicated the government position and reflected the basic sentiments of the larger White population. It contended that if Canadian Indians were to become fully integrated into Canadian society, they must change radically—not Whites. It argued that the separate legal status of Indians has kept them from fully participating in the larger society. James S. Frideres, op. cit., p. 121.

[35]Data taken from field notes.

[36]Harold Cardinal, op. cit., p. 196.

[37]Ibid., p. 197.

[38]Data collected from field notes.

[39]Harold Cardinal, op. cit., p. 199.

[40]See H. B. Hawthorn, A Survey of the Contemporary Indians of Canada, p. 42-44.

[41]Ibid.

[42]Harold Cardinal, op. cit., p. 202.

[43]Ibid., p. 203.

[44]Ibid., p. 204.

[45]Ibid.

[46]One of the American companies bidding for the program in Alberta.

[47]Estelle Fuchs, op. cit., p. 316.

[48]Data collected from field notes.

[49]The role that the late Senator Robert Kennedy played in pulling the business community, bankers, and industrialists together in a partnership with the Black community, was the key to that project.

[50]Harold Cardinal, op. cit., p. 206.

[51]Ibid.

[52]Ibid., p. 207.

[53]Data collected from field notes.

[54]This was the first political occupation, by Indians, of any federal building in Canada.

[55]Harold Cardinal, op. cit., p. 208.

[56]Ibid.

[57]They all had the same general concerns, but the priorities differed. The Indians of northeastern Alberta put education first; those in southern Alberta were more concerned with economic development. See Harold Cardinal, op. cit.

[58]Harold Cardinal, op. cit., p. 208.

[59]The second major proposal in the Red Paper centers on education and discusses an Indian Education Center which has now been approved in principle by the federal government. Finance is now being directed toward the construction and staffing of the center. The IEC was proposed in conjunction with the Alberta Indian Development System and was also introduced to ensure the survival of Indian culture and the future development of Indian communities. The center was proposed for the heart of Alberta so that all bands could have equal access to it. The program will allow Indian children to learn how to develop ways of successfully applying Indian culture to the larger Canadian society and to use modern skills and behavior for vocational success. It should be run for Indians by Indians to assure them a secure place in Canadian society. See James S. Frideres, op. cit., p. 124.

[60]This information came from an informant from Saddle Lake.

[61]Harold Cardinal tendered his resignation from the Indian Association of Alberta shortly after the Kehewin community went to Ottawa.

[62]Morris C. Shumiatcher, Welfare: Hidden Backlash, p. 182.

[63]Ibid., p. 183.

Chapter IV

INDIAN CONTROL OF INDIAN EDUCATION

Confederation Lament

How long have I known you, Oh Canada? A hundred years? Yes, and many many many many more. And today, when you celebrate your hundred years, Oh Canada, I am sad for all the Indian people throughout the land.

For I have known you when your forests were mine; when they gave me my meat and my clothing. I have known you in your streams and rivers where your fish flashed and danced in the sun, where the waters said come, come and eat of my abundance. I have known you in the freedom of your winds. And my spirit, like the winds, once roamed your good lands.

But in the long hundred years since the White man came, I have seen my freedom disappear like the salmon going mysteriously out to sea. The White man's strange customs which I could not understand pressed down upon me until I could no longer breathe.

When I fought to protect my land and my home, I was called a savage. When I neither understood nor welcomed this way of life, I was called lazy. When I tried to rule my people, I was stripped of my authority.

My nation was ignored in your history textbooks—they were little more important in the history of Canada than the buffalo that ranged the plains. I was ridiculed in your plays and motion pictures, and when I drank your firewater I got drunk—very, very drunk. And I forgot.

Oh Canada, how can I celebrate with you this centenary, this hundred years? Shall I thank you for the reserves that are left to me of my beautiful forests? For the canned fish of my rivers? For the loss of my pride and authority, even among my own people? For the lack of my will to fight back? No! I must forget what's past and gone.

Oh God in Heaven! Give me back the courage of the older chiefs. Let me wrestle with my surroundings. Let me again, as in the days of old, dominate my environment. Let me humbly accept this new culture and through it rise up and go on.

> Oh God! Like the Thunderbird of old I shall rise again out of the sea; I shall grab the instruments of the White man's success—his education, his skills, and with these new tools I shall build my race into the proudest segment of your society. Before I follow the great chiefs who have gone before us, Oh Canada, I shall see these things come to pass.
>
> I shall see our young braves and our chiefs sitting in the houses of law and government, ruling and being ruled by the knowledge and freedoms of our great land. So shall we shatter the barriers of our isolation. So shall the next hundred years be the greatest in the proud history of our tribes and nations.[1]

The National Indian Brotherhood's 1973 paper Indian Control of Indian Education was very much a part of its times. A standing committee of the Federal House of Commons on Indian Education had met subsequent to the publication of the White Paper and had made recommendations for changes in the administration of Indian Education which provided a reasonable starting point for the deliberations of Indian people across the country. This led to the publication of Indian Control of Indian Education. It is important to realize that the production of the paper was not a unilateral action. It is also important to examine the motivation of the Federal Government at that time.

The 1969 White Paper which suggested that Indian people should join the mainstream of society as quickly as possible had been condemned by almost all the Indians across the country.[2] But, the Government of the Day was exceedingly anxious to right the errors of the past and to do everything it could to help Indian people become self reliant. By encouraging the philosophy expressed in Indian Control of Indian Education the government was responding to the perennial problem of "why is Indian education not more successful" and they were responding

from the very firm democratic foundation of individual participation and equal rights for all.

Too, Canada was very much aware of the upcoming examination of all Canadian education systems by the O.E.C.D.[3] The Federal Government not only accepted the development of the National Indian Brotherhood paper, they actually encouraged it. The hope was that at last a viable solution would be found for the perennially insoluable problems of low Indian educational achievement and the extremely marginal role Indian people play in Canadian life.

From the very beginning, however, there was a distinct difference between the fundamental intentions of the Government and that of the Indian people. Statements made by Indian and Government leaders at the Indian Affairs Standing Committee in 1973 and 1974, made it abundantly clear that the Government wanted to give Indian people the same rights and powers as those enjoyed by other Canadians. The Indian leaders were equally clear in pronouncing that "all" costs of education must be born by the Federal Government and "all" decisions must be made by Indian parents.[4]

In any attempt to answer the question how does one describe the success or the failure of Indian Control of Indian Education among the three bands under study, one must bear in mind that there is no "universal" application of the term "Indian control" at the school level across Canada. General direction is set in Ottawa and translated through the Regional offices. Variations occur in each region encouraged through different bases of resource allocation, and application of various formal and informal standards. These standards and resources relate in differing degrees to the particular provincial system of education.

The diversity among governments, nongovernmental organizations and private individuals involved in Indian education complicates the flow of communication. The implementation agencies differ in many characteristics among the three bands under study, from a narrow 3 R English curriculum to broad attention to community development.

Political factors, in particular the relative strengths of provincially-based Indian organizations, condition many stages of educational development from goal-setting to resource allocation. Likewise, the economic and social environment influences many aspects from attendance to employment opportunities after graduation. Last, but not least, the human factor plays an important role. The ability and willingness to support central or local policies are most critical. Hence, such factors as performance levels, operational goals, community support, parental pressures, and teacher qualifications, differ markedly among the three bands. Given this complexity and the varying degrees of implementation, the writer has selected the following categories from the text of the document Indian Control of Indian Education to analyze those events that are supposed to represent the assumption of Indian authority over education:

1. Responsibility;
2. Programs;
3. Teachers; and
4. Facilities.

Summary of the Indian Position over Education

Indian parents must have full responsibility and control of education. The Federal Government must adjust its policy and practices

to make possible the full participation and partnership of Indian people in all decisions and activities connected with the education of Indian children. This requires determined and enlightened action on the part of the Federal Government and immediate reform, especially in the following areas of concern: responsibility, programs, teachers, and facilities.

Band councils should be given total or partial authority for education on reserves, depending on local circumstances, and always with provisions for eventual complete autonomy, analogous to that of a provincial school board vis-a-vis a provincial Department of Education.

It is imperative that Indians have representation on provincial school boards. Indian associations and the Federal Government must pressure the provinces to make laws which will effectively provide that Indian people have responsible representation and full participation on school boards.

The transfer of educational jurisdiction from the Federal Government to provincial or territorial governments, without consultation and approval by Indian people is unacceptable. Future negotiations with provincial education departments for educational services must include representatives of the Indian people acting as the first party. The Federal Government has the responsibility of funding education of all types and at all levels for all Indian people.

Those educators who have had authority in all that pertained to Indian education have, over the years, tried various ways of providing education for Indian people. The answer to providing a successful

educational experience has not been found. There is one alternative which has not been tried before: in the future, let Indian people control Indian education.

A wide range of programs is needed in the Indian community. The local Education Authority must take the initiative in identifying the needs for adult education, vocational training, remedial classes, kindergarten, alcohol and drug education, and so forth. The local Education Authority must also have the authority to implement these programs, either on a temporary or long-term basis.

Indian children must have the opportunity to learn their language, history and culture in the classroom. Curricula will have to be revised in federal and provincial schools to recognize the contributions which the Indian people have made to Canadian history and life.

Cultural Education Centers are needed. Considering the vital role that these centers could play in cultural, social, and economic development, it is imperative that all decisions concerning their evolution, (that is, goals, structure, location, operation, and so forth), be the sole prerogative of the Indian people. The Minister must insure that the Indian people will have representatives on any committees which will decide policy and control funds for the Cultural Education Centers and that enough funds are made available for capital expenditure and program operation.

The Federal Government must take the initiative in providing opportunities in every part of the country for Indian people to train as teachers. The need for Indian teachers is critical. Indian parents are equally concerned about the training of counsellors who work so closely with the young people. Federal and provincial authorities are urged to

use the strongest measures necessary to improve the qualifications of teachers and counsellors of Indian children. This will include required courses in Indian history and culture.

As far as possible, primary teachers in federal or provincial schools should have some knowledge of the maternal language of the children they teach. It should be the accepted practice that only the best qualified teachers are hired for Indian schools, and always in consultation with the local Education Authority.

More Indian teacher-aides and more Indian counsellor-aides are urgently needed throughout the school systems where Indian children are taught. The importance of this work requires that the candidates receive proper training and be allowed to operate at their fullest potential.

Education facilities must be provided which adequately meet the needs of the local population. These will vary from place to place. For this reason, there cannot be an "either-or" policy, which would limit the choices which Indian parents are able to make. In certain localities, several types of educational facilities may be needed, for example, residence, day school, integrated school. These must be made available according to the wishes of the parents.

Substandard school facilities must be replaced and new buildings and equipment provided in order to bring reserve schools up to standard. Financing of such building and development programs must be dealt with realistically by the Federal Government.

There is difficulty and danger in taking a position on Indian education because of the great diversity of problems encountered across the country. The National Indian Brotherhood is confident that it

expresses the will of the people it represents when it adopts a policy based on two fundamental principles of education in a democratic country, namely, parental responsibility, and local control.[5]

It is against the background of the above four categories, that is, Responsibility, Programs, Teachers, and Facilities that Indian control of Indian education among the Ojibway of Manitoulin Island, the Ojibway of Serpent River, and the Chippewa and Muncey-of-the-Thames will be described and examined. The above ideas are a summary of the Brotherhood Paper, Indian Control of Indian Education.

Footnotes

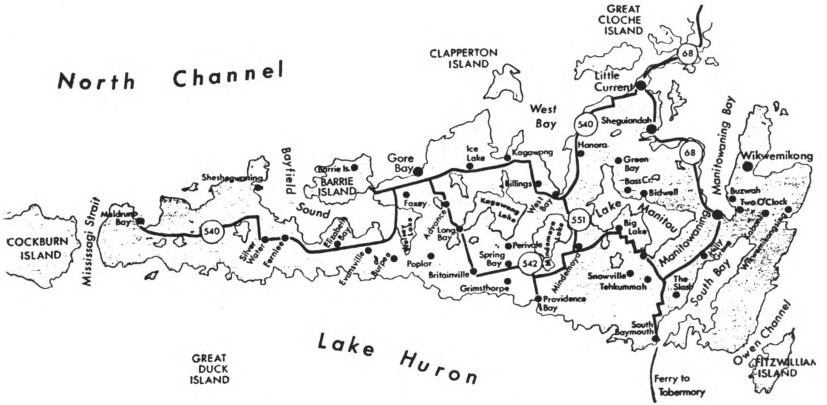
[1]A speech by Chief Dan George of the Burrard Indian Reserve at the Centennial Birthday Party in Empire Stadium, Vancouver.

[2]James S. Frideres, Canada's Indians: Contemporary Conflicts, p. 121.

[3]Organization For Economic Co-operation and Development, Paris, 1976.

[4]House of Commons, Minutes of Proceeding and Evidence of the Standing Committee on Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Ottaw, 1973.

[5]See Appendix B for complete text of Indian Control of Education.



Manitoulin Island
ontario — canada

Figure 1. Manitoulin Island

Figure 2. Sudbury Region, Showing Serpent River

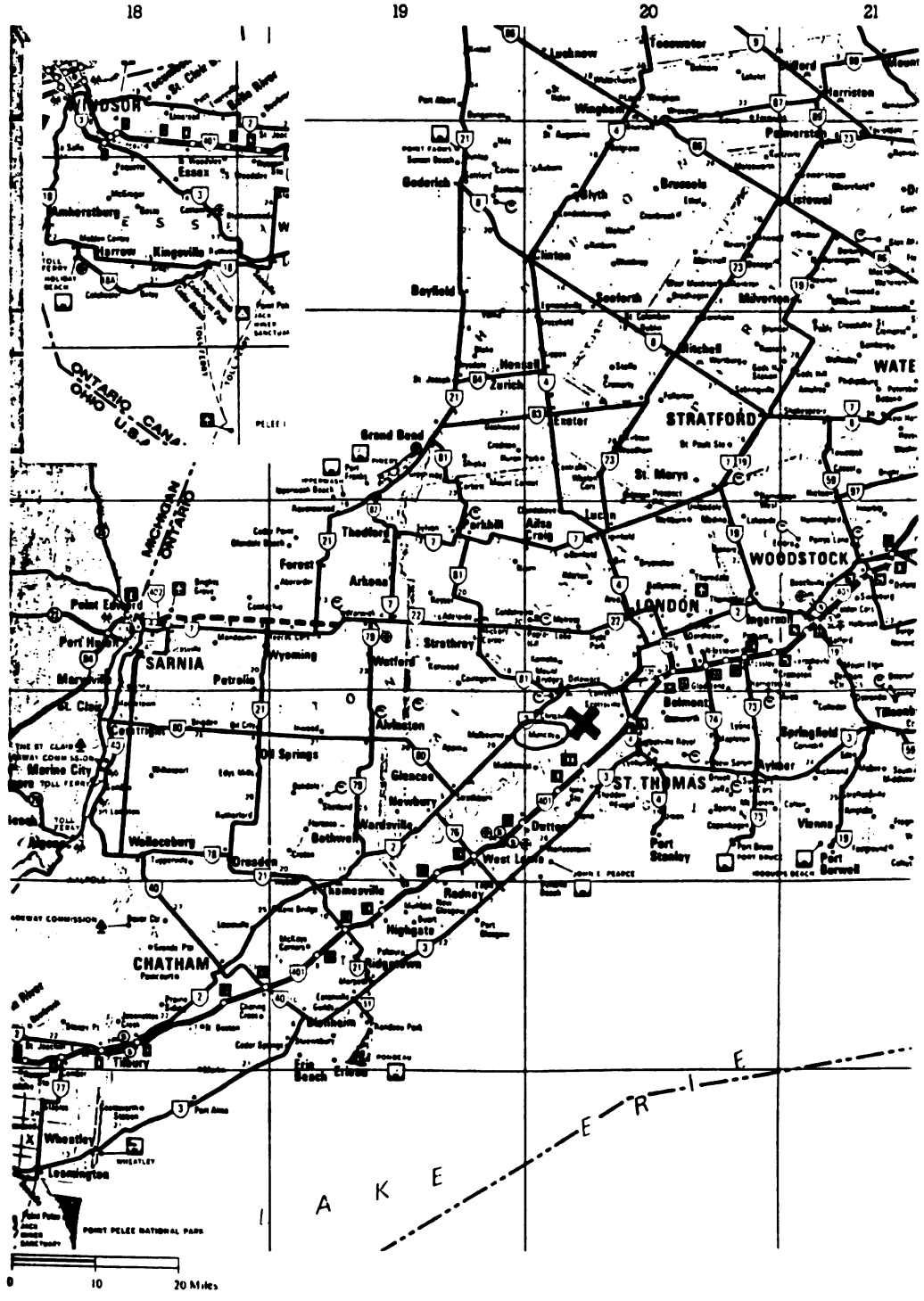


Figure 3. Southwest Ontario, Showing Muncey-of-the-Thames

Chapter V

ETHNOGRAPHIC FIELDWORK

The Prelude

Despite the myth, fantasy, and romance which surround them, the more interesting reality about Indians is their extraordinary "diversity" in a rapidly growing population. Some Indians maintain traditional life styles; others represent various degrees of acculturation in relation to the White society; some live in isolated rural areas, others in or near, major industrial centers; some speak a native language as a home language, others have limited comprehension of an Indian language or none at all; some band members are "progressive" in that they lean toward institutions and political structures removed from traditional kinship and religious systems of political control; some bands have reservation lands and close ties to the federal government through the Department of Indian Affairs; others have no federal trust lands and have lost, through termination, claim to special federal services. In addition to differences in degree of Indian ancestry, the "diversity" of Indians is further compounded by a wide variety of ethnic differences among the bands, differences in historical experiences, differences in educational levels, as well as differences between generations. Therefore if schools are to assist in the education and socialization of Indian children and youth, they must recognize and respect the vast basic differences among the Indians. To view the Canadian Indian simply

as a single minority group, requiring uniform programs for development, is to oblivious to the "complexity" of the issues affecting them.

The Ojibway of Manitoulin Island

The Grand Manitoulin is a triangular island, 180 kilometers (110 miles) long and from 5 to 80 kilometers (3 to 50 miles) wide. Within its borders are more than 100 lakes, countless streams, and deep bays. The land is both rugged bush and timber country and rolling fertile farm land. The Indians of the Island are, by and large, employed by the White community in such endeavors as commercial fishing, cottage industries, subsistence agriculture and nickel mining in Sudbury. Within this geographical contrast are the Sheguiandah, Sheshegwaning, Sucker Creek, Wikwemikong, and West Bay Bands. Wikwemikong is North America's only Indian reserve which is unceded to the Crown, a 3,000 acre peninsula into Georgian Bay.

The West Bay Band

In the little Indian village of West Bay is Manitoulin's modern high school, the Manitoulin Secondary School with an enrollment of 661 students, of whom 128 are Indian. The West Bay Reserve has had control of their education for the past two years with the stipulation that native youth be offered the same opportunities as those which are extended to members of the White community.

Responsibility

"Indian Band Councils shall appoint three Indian representatives to the Manitoulin Board of Education and the Board shall accept the appointment of three Indian representatives to the Board of Education subject to the approval of the Ministry of Education."[1] The writer was informed that the Manitoulin Board of Education is a fourteen member board, of which three are Indian people. When queried as to the workability of so large a body, the writer was told that all issues were sent to committee, and were considered, debated, and hopefully resolved.

"The Board agrees to make every reasonable effort to recruit members of the Manitoulin Indian Bands in filling future vacancies on the administrative, maintenance and custodial staff of the Manitoulin Board of Education, subject to existing union agreements. Every effort will be made to utilize the Department's Training-on-the-job Plan for this purpose."[2] As near as the writer can ascertain, this agreement has been followed. There are several Indians employed in this capacity.

A Parent-Teacher Council meets monthly for discussions on school affairs. This organization tries to inform the parents of their responsibilities to the school and to encourage parental involvement with school problems. Many different projects have been undertaken by the members, such as volunteering to help in the different programs of the school. Problems that the Council members wish brought to the attention of the Board of Education are reported through someone delegated to the group. At the time of this study current issues involved the improvement of educational achievement for West Bay Indian youth.

West Bay has an education committee which functions much as the Manitoulin Board of Education. The committee's responsibilities include the following:

1. the allocation of funds for school activities;
2. the cultural content of the school program;
3. student attendance;
4. the care and maintenance of school buildings and their use for community activities;
5. scholarships;
6. playgrounds and sports activities;
7. noon lunch programs;
8. bus routes, roads and services; and
9. the selection of local instructors for cultural courses.[3]

West Bay has recently implemented a curriculum advisory committee to advise on cultural enrichment of the school curriculum. It helps to develop a school program which is better suited to the Indian child, by:

1. identifying the special needs of Indian students;
2. by providing information on the history and legends of the reserve;
3. by recommending local people with special talent to teach native languages, traditional skills and handicrafts; and
4. by encouraging parent participation.[4]

Programs

The agreement between the Manitoulin Board of Education and the Indians of the West Bay Band states that the "Board shall provide education facilities and programs of education suited to the educational and cultural needs of Indian pupils enrolled in its schools and

education officials representing Her Majesty/and/or the Band council may with the knowledge and approval of the Board, assist in planning, developing or improving an educational program culturally suited to the needs of Indian children."[5]

The curriculum contains three divisions: Basic, General, and Advanced. The Basic, 130 Curriculum, addresses itself to student needs in the areas of both special and vocational education. The General, 140 Curriculum, is designed for those students wishing to secure a grade 12 diploma and move out into the labor force. The Advanced, 150 Curriculum, is designed for the University-bound student. The following chart indicates the number of non-resident Indian students in each of the curriculums in grades 9 through 12, for the year 1980-1981. The writer was told by F. J. Soplet, Director of Education, that the "retention rate" of Indian students has improved greatly since the Band takeover. It is, however, the principal who recommends a specific program for each Indian student based on the records and judgements of individual teachers.

The Ojibway Cultural Foundation is a cultural, educational and resource center located on the West Bay Reserve. It is designed to meet the needs of the Indian people it serves. The Cultural Center receives support from all the reserves on Manitoulin Island, and from others on the mainland. The Center is involved in a variety of programs and activities dealing with the cultural heritage and traditions of the Ojibway. Arts and crafts are an integral component of the program, but only a part of the total involvement. There is a gallery displaying the art being done, depicting the legends and history of the Ojibway. Mary Lou Fox Radulovich, Director of the Ojibway Cultural Foundation, and

Table 1. 1980 - 1981 Manitoulin Secondary School Enrollment by Year and Program

	150*	140*	130*	250	240	230	350	340	330	450	440	430	550	Total
Non-Resident														
SHEGUIANDAH		1												1
SHESHEGWANING		1	1						2		2			6
SUCKER CREEK		3	1		2	1		2	1					10
WEST BAY	3	8	3	1	7	2		4	3		7	1		39
WIKWEMIKONG	2	12	8		5	15	2	4	7	1	2	10	4	72
ONTARIO		2				1			1					4
Sub Total	5	27	13	1	14	19	2	10	14	1	11	11	4	132
Resident	51	67	13	61	50	21	57	51	11	36	64	17	30	529
Total	56	94	26	62	64	40	59	61	25	37	75	28	34	661

Total Number of Students as of May 29 - 661

*150 (Advanced)

*140 (General)

*130 (Basic)

a former teacher, has been instrumental in devising an Indian Studies Program as part of the curriculum. In conjunction with other members of the development committee, she published a Resource Guide which has a twofold function:

1. building study units on Indian People that can be integrated into existing subject areas; and
2. building experimental courses in Indian Studies, in social studies, art, music, native language programs, language arts, and mathematics.

West Bay has also hosted an international Indian cultural conference the past three years.

The Indian Studies Program was developed in response to the following needs:

1. a need to investigate and appreciate the contributions of Indian People to Canadian society;
2. the cultural, legal, and economic issues which they have encountered in their effort to perpetuate and express their cultural identities; and
3. ways in which Indian and non-Indian abilities, traditions, influences, and values could become mutually enriching.

The purpose of the units and courses is to increase the student's understanding of and sensitivity towards the past and the present life of Canada's original people. The units are grouped under the following headings:

A. Cultural Heritage and Contributions of Indian People
   —Contributions of Indian People
   —Cultural Arts of Indian People

—Metis and Non-Status Indians

—Indian Literature

—Indian Religions

—Indian Women

—The Impact of European Cultures on Indian People

B. Contemporary Life

—Aboriginal Rights, Claims, and Treaties

—Educational Systems and the Indian People

—Government Involvement

—Indian Communities

—Indian Economics

—Indian Organizations

—Stereotypes of Indian People: Origins and Perpetuation

—The Indian Act: Past and Present

—Transition to a New Community

Acceptance of the Indian has gone beyond posters, portal slogans, and words at Manitoulin Secondary School. The writer noted that the School reflects the acceptance of Indian culture in its organization, its curriculum content, its values and attitudes, and even in its physical aspect—works by Indian artists are displayed as prominently as those of non-Indian artists. The language of instruction is presently English. However, a course in the Ojibway language is offered. The school plays a vital role in transmitting current and valid information about Indian people to the non-Indian community by keeping local media contacts informed about school activities and events that present Indian issues in accurate and positive ways. Seminars, art/craft/music festivals and evening courses are offered. The non-Indian principal

and teachers at the school provide invaluable leadership to other members of the non-Indian community by their support of the local Native Friendship Centers.

The following vocational and avocational courses are available at Manitoulin Secondary School:

1. Introduction to Accounting and Business Practice: units on recordkeeping for fishing camps; consumer co-ops; money management for the home; grant application and management.
2. Elements of Construction Technology: small-home and cottage construction; basic home-heating; water systems.
3. Drafting: organic architecture; weather proofing; insulating; blueprint reading.
4. Small Engine Repair: outboards, snowmobiles, chainsaws.
5. Family Studies: one aspect being nutrition, with special emphasis on economical and available foods; family and child development; personal finance.
6. Driver Education: vehicle maintenance for communities without service stations; driving techniques and skills on gravel and bush roads.
7. Physical and Health Education: native sports; outdoor living; canoeing; snow-shoeing.
8. Art and Music: Indian as well as non-Indian traditions.

Manitoulin Secondary School has the best track team in the Northern part of Ontario, the majority of whom are Indians.

Nursery schools for four-year-olds are located on both West Bay and Wikwemikong Reserves. Staffed by Indian teachers or teacher-aides,

these schools are operated by the band council with funds provided by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. The school facilities and equipment are designed to help the children develop their physical, cognitive and social skills. The language of instruction is Ojibway.

All five reserves have kindergartens for five-year-olds to further prepare them for entry into school. Both Ojibway and English are the languages of instruction. Where instruction is in English, teacher aides who speak the Indian language are also present in the classroom. Nursery schools, kindergartens and primary grades have Indian assistants working with the teachers in the classroom. They do much of the audio-visual and clerical work, and because they are fluent in Ojibway, they provide an important link between the home and the school. Two of the Indian teachers at the elementary level are enrolled in specialized teacher training courses which combine formal instruction with on-the-job experience. On completion of the course they receive provincial certification to teach.

Adult education courses are available on the reserve and in nearby communities. The chief and band council arrange for them and they are usually held in the local band hall or recreation center. They include:

1. basic training for skill development;
2. consumer and housing education;
3. family relationships and homemaking courses;
4. academic upgrading; and
5. alcohol and drug abuse education.

In addition there is instruction in several recreational and leisure activities.

The Brotherhood paper recognized the urgent need that exists for programs of both a preventative and a rehabilitative nature designed and operated by Indians to meet the threat of alcohol and drug addiction which plagues the old and the young alike. The Alcohol and Drug-Abuse Program at West Bay is Indian-controlled and includes government-sponsored seminars for teachers, students and parents to illustrate modern methods of fighting addiction. Drug abuse, the writer was told, is a fairly recent addition to the social problems of Manitoulin Island.

The writer does not have actual data as to the numbers of Indian students who have matriculated to University since the takeover of Indian control of Indian education by the West Bay Reserve. A longer time frame is needed to ascertain the effects of the takeover. However, as one looks at the data on curriculum level, as correlated with numbers, the majority of the students in the 1980-1981 school year, were enrolled in either the General or the Basic Curriculum. Only three from West Bay were enrolled in the Advanced Curriculum.

A land administration course was held in the Georgian Bay District and was apparently attended by the chiefs and band councillors of the Island. Included in this program were practical work in land surveying, discussions on the Indian Act, basic property law, appraisal of cottage lots and a review of leasing policies. This program was under the direction of the Regional Economic Development Branch. Also a course was given at Manitou in logging and saw milling for the production of railroad ties and lumber for the grain door operation.

Where necessary, transportation is provided for all students who must travel from the reserve to school. The band council operates the

school bus program. They purchase busses, plan routes, ensure that roads are passable in winter, hire the drivers, and, in general, supervise the entire service. For students who must live away from the reserve or who attend schools in Espanola or Sudbury, return transportation by bus is provided at the beginning and the end of the school term and at Christmas. Students continuing their education in urban schools off the Island, stay in private homes. When it is impossible for the parents or the students to visit and assess the home in advance, counsellors assume this responsibility. Boarding-home parents are selected by their willingness to take a sincere interest in the total well-being of Indian students in their care. These students are given transportation, room and board, tuition, books and school supplies. An allowance to cover incidental expenses and to enable them to participate in school-sponsored activities is also provided. Some of the Indian students who must leave Manitoulin Island to continue their schooling stay in group homes in Sudbury, in which Indian houseparents supervise.

Teachers

"The Board agrees to make every reasonable effort to recruit Indian teachers in filling future vacancies on the staff of the said schools, provided that the qualifications and ability are judged to be equal to other applicants."[6] The Brotherhood position is very explicit regarding the critical need for Indian teachers and counsellors. Since the takeover of Indian education, the number of qualified Indian teachers has increased steadily, especially at the elementary level. The minimum professional requirement for federal teachers is a permanent teacher's certificate issued by one of the ten provincial departments of education.

Orientation courses, mandatory for all new teachers, are designed to acquaint them with the skills and understanding necessary to teach effectively in an Indian setting. The Manitoulin Board of Education "will encourage its teachers who are involved with the Indian children to enroll in Indian studies programs (appropriate University and Ministry of Education courses)."[7] Teachers of Indian children must have taken, at the University level, a course or courses in inter-cultural education.

All students at Manitoulin Secondary School have access to guidance and counselling on educational, personal and vocational matters. Two out of the three counsellors are Indians with professional qualifications. Special training courses are held in several locations to enable Indian people to become qualified in the field. Home and school coordinators provide liaison between teachers and parents by acquainting the parents with the school time-table, homework assignments, attendance problems and pupil performance, and in so doing, they encourage parent participation.

NTEP,[8] located at Lakehead Yniversity, Thunder Bay, Ontario, is a two-year diploma program which leads to an Ontario Elementary Teaching Certificate and which can provide students with up to fifteen credits necessary for a Bachelor's degree. It is open to people of Indian descent who are recommended by an Indian group and who meet the university entrance requirements. It is designed to prepare teachers to provide courses that will assist the Indian people to sustain their culture and language. Two West Bay teachers have participated in this program. There are eighteen compulsory education courses and ten degree courses that are optional. Eight of the courses have Indian content.

In year one the students do six weeks in Thunder Bay for periods of one week, two weeks, and then three weeks. In year two they do nine weeks. The first week is in Thunder Bay. There is a three-week block of time in the fall term and another three-week block in the winter term. One block must be done in an Indian community and the other in Thunder Bay. The location of the remaining two-week block is optional. The student teaching is supervised by the Indian staff members with assistance from other faculty members. The counselling and tutoring are provided primarily by two Indian staff members, assisted by the regular university counsellors when requested. Students must meet the admission criteria of the university (grade 13, or mature student entry) and have a recommendation from an Indian group or community.[9]

The writer was told that operational costs beyond basic provincial support are provided by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. A small amount is provided by the Ontario Ministry of Colleges and Universities. Student support is provided by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. There is also an emergency fund operated by staff and students. The most important aspect of the program is that there are eight Indian content courses available to NTEP students, five of which are taught by Indian people. A TESL[10] course is one of the compulsory courses, which is unique to Ontario.

All schools on the Island employ Indian para-professionals. Training programs leading to certification have been established for teacher-aides and classroom assistants in kindergarten and primary grades. Indian people, with or without previous experience may enroll

in these courses which usually last from four to six weeks each summer. Courses include the following:

1. a study of community relations;
2. professional ethics;
3. basic educational psychology;
4. health and hygiene;
5. library practice;
6. music and language arts;
7. audio visual skills;
8. clerical skills; and
9. craft skills.

Facilities

"In an instance where in order to provide for the enrollment of Indian children in any school administered by the Board, it is necessary to construct new facilities, expand existing facilities or carry out major renovations, the title to the building(s) being vested in the Board, Her Majesty will enter into a separate agreement for the sharing on a pro rata basis of the capital expenditures arising therefrom provided that the Councils of the Manitoulin Island Indian Bands pass Band Council Resolutions indicating the Bands' concurrence and the official representatives of the Bands sign the statement of concurrence attached to the agreement."[11]

The Brotherhood paper points out the prevalence of sub-standard, unsafe, or obsolete school facilities and demands that they be brought up to the same standards as those in outside communities. The Paper

insists upon new financial arrangements if badly needed new buildings can not be handled under the Department's ordinary budgeting. Financing through other agencies is also suggested.

Manitoulin Secondary School is a modern, three-story complex, in very good condition. Attention to landscaping, grounds and maintenance makes the school a show place. Over thirty-five well-appointed classrooms, utilizing modern audio visual aids, a new library with 6,000 volumes, an industrial complex, gymnasium, auditorium, dining hall and large athletic field represent an impressive investment. Use of the school as a community center is encouraged and when open house is held, the school buses are used to furnish transportation from the outlying districts.

The Chippewa and Muncey-Of-The-Thames

The Chippewa of the Thames Reserve is located in the Carodoc Township, about twenty-five miles southwest of London, Ontario along the Thames River, a river which was known to the Indians as the Oshenasabe, meaning "The Horn River." The population of the reserve for the year 1981 is approximately 640 people living on the reserve, and approximately 490 people living off the reserve. The total acreage of the reserve is 9,424.17 acres, within which the Muncey-of-the-Thames Band is located. The Chippewas migrated to Southern Ontario and held land tracts along the rivers and the lakes. Records show that the settlement was established by 1820.[12]

The Chippewa and Muncey-of-the-Thames do not speak their language anymore. They are in transition towards another way of life, and some have moved farther than others towards adapting to the demands of a

money economy. The parents on these reserves want their children to achieve more in schooling—so that they too, will make money, avoid welfare, alcoholism and sickness.[13] As the nineteenth century matured, the economy, its system of laws, regulations, and bureaucracies began to impinge upon the lives of Indians. No longer were they able to remain aloof from this influence. This is the dominant form of social organization. In an increasingly industrial country, like Canada, and even in rural Middlesex County, there is an increasing need for higher and higher levels of education. Therefore, the parents of those children at Mt. Elgin school have higher and higher aspirations for their children. The reserve school is forced to be part of the bureaucratic world that surrounds the reserve.

The pupils of Mt. Elgin school include grades K through 6. Grades 7 through 13 go off the reserve to London or to Strathroy. The people on these two reserves do not speak the Indian language, yet, many have avoided learning the White man's ways, and speak a form of sub-standard English.

Responsibility

This study of the Chippewa and Muncey-of-the-Thames purports to illustrate the changes that can take place when the people move from a spectator role to a participative role in terms of Indian Control of Indian Education. When a community shows a determination to get to the source of its problems and to "control" events rather than let events continue to control them, results will eventually be produced in the desired direction.

Parents wanted answers to four general concerns:

1. Are their children getting a good education and if not is this due to family background or because of the school?
2. Why are there so many discipline problems in Mt. Elgin School?
3. Why do the children's marks drop so badly when they leave Mt. Elgin?
4. Why do so many of their children drop out of high school?

More specifically, the concern was how to ensure "achievement" level comparable to provincial students. Chief Harry Miskokoman presented his views about the "State of the Art" in a strong speech to the Agency Superintendent, the District Superintendent of Education, the principal, and two members of the School Committee in regard to the above-mentioned concerns.

The terms of reference cover a very wide area of concern among the Indians of the Chippewa and Muncey reserves, during the years 1979-1980, and indicate that the parents recognize that the influences that bring success in education come from many different sources not just the classroom alone: Band Council; the School Committee; the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development; the Teachers; the Non-White Community; and the Home Environment. The "mismatch" between that which the people in the elementary and high schools and in the communities say they want, and that which actually happens has its origins in historical practices of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, in the changing and heterogeneous culture of the people, the culture of the schools and the outside society, and consequently in the frequently "dysfunctional" relationships among these various parties.

Prior to the re-structuring and Indian Control of Indian Education, the solution to educational problems in Muncey, was seldom postponed, delayed, or discussed.

The atmosphere was one of charges and countercharges between the School Committee and the school with no mediator or structure to resolve the problems. Anger and frustration festered in the community and in the school. There existed an over-reaction to pupils behaviors, and at the same time, an abandonment of normal school supervision, the laxity about which people complained. Children were playing off teachers against the parents and vice versa. The students had learned to exploit an unhappy situation.

The "structures" of control in Mt. Elgin were not clear. The principal heard complaints from members of Council, from members of the School Committee, and sometimes, but not always, from parents. And since there were no clear terms of reference, the complaints came by personal appearance or over the telephone, anytime during the school day or during a meeting and whether or not there were not other people present. Emotions got aroused and the way in which they were communicated could not help but cause resentment and a feeling of loss of respect. The writer was told that some of the more aggressive children showed utter contempt for authority by venting their feelings on younger children. The passive children understood what was going on and the younger ones who were not old enough to understand the reasons for this behavior, were terribly confused in their loyalties to peers. This then, was the climate for learning.

The relationship between family backgrounds and achievements in the schools points one to the simplest possible demonstration of the

relationship between the home environment and achievement in elementary and secondary schools, namely, "attendance." Not only in formal school law, but also accordingly to any other kind of justification, it is the parents' responsibility to see that children get up every morning and go to school, obvious exceptions such as sickness notwithstanding. Those at Mount Elgin who do not set the conditions for their children to attend school regularly and willingly, lose a great deal of force in criticizing the school and the surrounding culture if they say that the school's job is to help children achieve in the traditional school subjects.

In order to help the parents of Mount Elgin judge for themselves whether this particular matter should be something to be concerned about, Dr. Garnet McDiarmid compared the attendance records of a sample of six children in each grade at Mount Elgin with their standing in class. The hypothesis that Dr. McDiarmid started with was that almost all the children at the bottom of each class would also be the ones who had the poorest records of attendance. He concluded that except for one pupil, all the high absentees were also low achievers.[14] Evidence indicates that it does not appear possible for children with records like this to keep up with students in the provincial system. In Mount Elgin school, one of the main reasons for low marks and eventual drop-outs starts with the conditions of poor attendance. This norm-setting behavior of children is not just passive. The writer was told by children and teachers that students who try to do well are frequently mocked by their classmates.

The community concluded that what was needed was more control over education and structures of authority, structures that were not

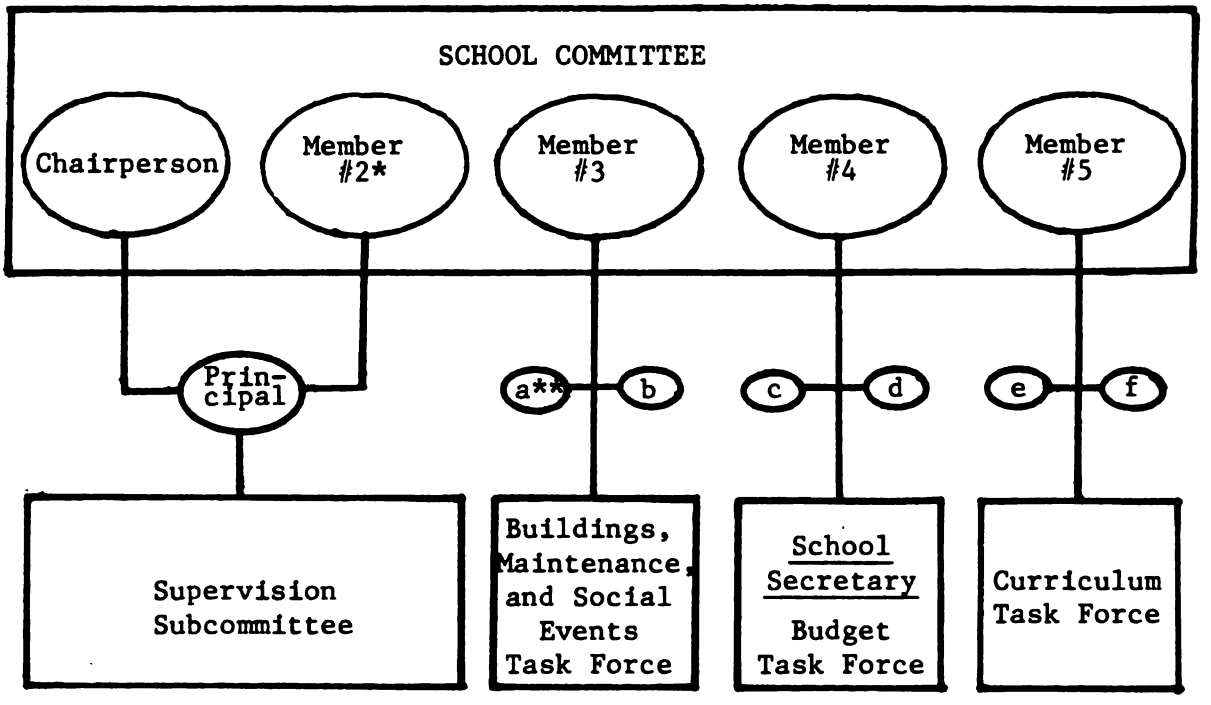
ambiguous, that did not get postponed, delayed, or rarely discussed. Members of the community began to identify problems and structures for their solutions. They began to identify clear statements of priorities based on the background paper, Indian Control of Indian Education.

In view of the fact that it was an all-White faculty that taught at Mount Elgin, it was recognized that when two child-rearing value systems come together in a European-based school structure, there would be clashes in the discipline of children. When non-Indian teachers say "learn this," it is automatically expected that children should do so. However, in Indian communities, the children are used to the idea of non-interference, they simply disregard the instructions of the teachers. The only time that Muncey parents complained about the teachers was when they were too strict or harsh with the children. Poor practitioners who treated children kindly were rarely criticized. The fact was, however, that Indians did not and do not do all things in the same manner, nor do they believe in the same values. The parents who sent their children to Mount Elgin school had very definite differences of opinion regarding the concept of discipline. They did however, protest very strongly to any reference to the use of the strap. The school was caught in the middle! Some criticized the school for not being strict enough and others for being too strict. Therefore, the discipline in Mount Elgin was not the same for all children. The selective use of the strap made the school a "battleground," and under these conditions a good learning climate could not be developed. Therefore, a united determination by the Band Council and the School Committee to establish "control" over the discipline situation and to organize a clearly

understood "structure" of procedures became the number one priority. The Chippewa Band Council abolished the use of the strap in Mount Elgin school. This was not done in a vacuum.

Not too many years ago, Indian Affairs told Indian people what they could and could not do. Gradually, Indians have assumed control over much of their own government; but because the changes have been slow and piecemeal, Mount Elgin did not realize how much control they could exercise. Because it was difficult to see "who" was in control, parents phoned the principal, the Chief, or anybody who would listen on the School Committee or Band Council or in Indian Affairs, hoping that someone would act in their behalf. It was necessary for the community to develop "structures" for them to get to the construction phase of control over their own affairs.

It was apparent that Mount Elgin school could not produce graduates who were equal to the expectations of Middlesex and London schools if the children were not prepared to work in kindergarten and every grade much the same as Middlesex and London children. The policy of Indian Control of Indian Education could only be an empty slogan until the various functions of administering a school were operationalized for the specific responsibilities that, coordinated by a committee, set the stage for good schooling for children. Mount Elgin realized that supervision had to be funnelled through a small group of people so that all their decisions and actions could be coordinated. Therefore, the Chippewa Band Council adopted the following organizational pattern for the School Committee (see Figure 1).

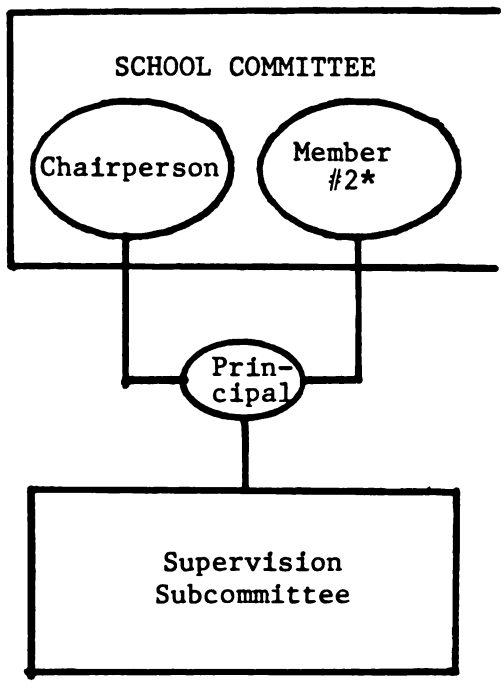


*Should not be a member of the same reserve as chairperson

**a - 4 community volunteers

Figure 4. Organization Chart of the Proposed Reorganized School Committee

Figure 4 suggested that two members of the School Committee be placed in a permanent, closed Supervision Subcommittee (see Figure 5) while each of the other committee members each would head temporary Task Forces that would have outside community participation. This arrangement recognized that the work of the Supervision Subcommittee would be demanding of time and attention and that all matters of administration of personnel must be kept confidential. The Supervision Subcommittee was composed of one person from each reserve. Six people who were not members of the School Committee were asked to join three members of the School Committee in order to make up study groups, or Task Forces. This increased community involvement and provided a way to share the work load.



*Should not be a member of the same reserve as chairperson.

Figure 5. Supervision Subcommittee's Link to Whole School Committee

The Chairperson accepted the responsibility for encouraging people to volunteer for the various Task Forces, in order to ensure that meetings were held regularly and that periodic reports were made by the Task Force Chairpersons.

The Chairperson, one other person on the School Committee, and the principal of Mount Elgin formed a permanent Supervision Subcommittee (see Figure 5). This Subcommittee's first task was to establish clear procedures for two sensitive levels of administration and thereafter to act on behalf of the whole committee in supervising the procedures to ensure continued good administration of the school. The two levels were:

1. Supervision of pupils in the school and the schoolyard, during school hours; during public events held after hours or when children are otherwise accompanied by parents in the school.

2. Supervision of teachers, teacher aides, social counsellor, and school secretary.

It was assumed that the Supervision Subcommittee would establish a level of policy makers between the community and the school, thus alleviating problems in school-community relationships. This mechanism placed a heavy responsibility on the Band Council which made the appointments. The Band Council had to support the School Committee firmly on its decisions, proper or unpleasant, or the atmosphere of Mount Elgin would revert to its former state.

Programs

The School Committee as a whole established a Curriculum Task Force, using "community volunteers," to examine relevant sections and to recommend action regarding the implementation of suggested curriculum investigations. The Curriculum Task Force suggested to the whole School Committee that it request the principal, in conjunction with the teachers of Mount Elgin, to develop parallel sections to the "provincial" syllabus that was used in Social Studies. This augmented syllabus would show the following:

1. the kinds of community workers that exist on the reserves;
2. what the local Indians do;
3. what the Indians used to do in their many societies;
4. the social and formal relationships that were gradually developed;
5. the different life styles that accompanied the nomadic hunting life of the Indian peoples; and
6. the village life and government of the Indian peoples.

The development of these studies would lay the ground work for high school courses in Social Studies that relate life styles to values.

From the limited evidence that the writer was able to gather, it appeared that Muncey children in Mount Elgin school had about as much interest in the "study" of lifestyles, historical events and artifacts of the old cultures as non-Indian children have in their histories. In other words, some seemed to show only moderate interest to disinterest. On the other hand, when native dancing was performed and tales were told during a weekend presentation in the Mount Elgin school's gymnasium, the children were enthralled. Although this is scanty evidence, we may still reasonably conclude that the young in Muncey have been intrigued with the observation of and participation in actual "expressions" of their heritage.

The Buildings and Maintenance Subcommittee sponsored several week-end programs which encouraged multi-age participation in such activities as arts, crafts, dancing and authentic story telling. Indian groups from other reserves were welcomed as contributors to those programs. The cultural backgrounds of the presentations however were always made clear to the children. Those parents who were concerned about developing a sense of identity in their children had to be assured that the young did not associate a primary identification with historical life styles and "artifacts" that were unknown to southern Ontario Indians, such as feathered headdresses and totem poles.

"Attendance" became closely linked to the curriculum program. The Band Council appointed an "Attendance Officer" who was evaluated by the Supervision Subcommittee of the School Committee. The Supervision Sub-committee took the matter of attendance as its first priority after

setting its own terms of reference. It held meetings with the parents' association and asked their advice on how to solve the problem. As one part of the solution, the Supervision Subcommittee sought the advice of Band Council to see if possible causes such as inadequate housing, clothing, or baby sitters could be remedied. Parents whose children showed the worst records of attendance were approached by representatives of the Supervision Subcommittee who explained the damage being perpetrated upon all the children.[15] As a final resort, the matter of sanctions against the delinquent parents was seriously discussed by the entire School Committee. The principal started a judicious campaign with the teachers of Mount Elgin to discuss the effects of absences upon school marks. A large chart was put on central display showing the total monthly absences together with the total Monday and Friday absences.

When all Task Force positions were filled, the School Committee arranged a program involving a number of weekend training workshops. The general aim of these workshops was to develop the motivational and cooperative skills necessary to collect the knowledge and devise procedures for policy and eventual supervision of "all" the functions of the school, as outlined in the Policy Paper, Indian Control of Indian Education.

At the same time, the Band Council formally requested that the Regional Office of Indian Affairs initiate an intensive research study employing sophisticated interview and objective techniques to determine to what degree cultural background, peer group pressure, and the culture of secondary schools each contributed to the severe "dropout" problem among the children of Mount Elgin. A program was to be based on the findings of this study.

The school instituted a full testing program and is in the process of keeping cumulative records on its findings. The principal held several meetings with the faculty to discuss and develop with them a defensible, comparable distribution of teaching time.

The principal recommended to the School Committee that a trial period of one year be planned for a select group of grade 6 pupils to assist, under Day Care Center Supervision, young children in the Center in assigned tasks and games as part of their elementary school activities and social responsibilities. Muncey has an excellent Day Care Program and the young children who attend regularly show their capabilities in kindergarten. There are developmental tasks in thinking, and in physical and social skills which are critical for later school success. The Day Care Center staff is invited to attend regular grade meetings and other such activities at Mount Elgin school and the Day Care Center supervisor is invited to participate in all curriculum development meetings which are sponsored by Indian Affairs or Mount Elgin school, that involve the primary school years. The supervisor is also occasionally invited to talk to parents on parents' nights where she explains the reasons for the program that is provided at the Center.

The reserve has a successful adult education program for which it owes a great deal to the patience and persistence of Reverend Dave Norton. A "Working Conference On High School Dropouts" was implemented, the objectives of which were aimed at collecting concrete information and immediate implementation. Representatives from all the schools to which Mount Elgin pupils transfered after grade 6 were invited. Invitations were extended to the principal of Mount Elgin, the nursery school supervisor, and Reverend Dave Norton, who had the confidence of

a large number of adolescents. Such issues were dealt with as the adolescent identity crisis, teenage pregnancies, drinking, rural-urban student problems, child-rearing practices, remedial education and occupational guidance. The working conference was followed by a series of local meetings where the ideas that were developed earlier could be discussed and decisions could be made according to parental input and agreement.[16]

"Parents in the classrooms" program has been a strong contribution to the achievement of Mount Elgin children for the following reasons:

1. Extra attention to individual children;
2. The appearance of "ordinary" parents in the classroom seems to raise the level of prestige in which the children perceive their parents and thus also legitimating in his or her own eyes his own racial difference.
3. The necessary training of the adults as they work in the classroom establishes a ripple effect in the community. Parents buy books and games for younger children in the house and learn that reading to them in the home is enjoyable and very important.
4. The males who participate in this program provide identification models.[17]

Whenever the adults on the reserves talked about the desireability of the schools educating their children for life at home and life off the reserve, the implication was always for occupations "off" the reserve. Muncey parents were emphatic that they wanted their adolescents to be prepared for work and life off the reserve. The majority of students would have to work, if not reside, off the reserves, that is, live in the "dominant" society. Therefore, the curriculum should reflect the "3R's." A small number of parents however felt that increased attention to the "3R's" pushed equally important subjects to the background, such as physical education, music and art.[18]

Teachers

No one who was employed to work for the school, such as the social counsellor, teachers, teachers aide or caretaker, could be eligible to serve on the School Committee.[19] The Policy Paper of the National Indian Brotherhood urged that the Federal Government must take the initiative in providing Indian teachers and counsellors to teach Indian children. The students at Mount Elgin consisted of "all" Indian children, taught and run by an "all" White staff.

Beyond being humane, loving teachers, the Brotherhood Paper is explicit about the teacher's need to know a good deal about the local tribal culture and history, not only to be able to teach about them, but also to know and respect their unique elements, to understand the tribe's system of rewards, and problems of culture change. The more sensitive teachers at Mount Elgin were aware of thier inadequate preparation for cross-cultural education and their inability to work effectively. They also expressed conflicts over appropriate goals for their students.

In the Day Care program, Mount Elgin teachers were highly approved by both students and parents, and the teachers demonstrated enthusiasm for teaching Indians. They knew more about the Indian community, had more contact with Indian students outside of school, rated higher on understanding and sympathy, and showed more favorable attitudes toward Indians than the teachers in grades K through 6.

The parents with whom the writer spoke were divided in their evaluation of Mount Elgin teachers. Some favored teachers who were more authoritarian and more Anglo oriented with respect to assimilation policy, while others showed grave concern over the frequent use of the "strap."

Band Council passed a ruling that all future appointees to the office of principal or classroom teacher of the Mount Elgin school system should be required either to have full ECE[19] or kindergarten training, to have spent a year teaching children of these ages, or to state as part of their terms of appointment that they would study for, and complete, a certificate in one of the areas mentioned within four years of their appointments.[20]

On April 30, 1979, a special meeting was called by the Chippewa School Committee at the Chippewa Band Office. Chief Harry Miskokomon stressed the importance of a more unified educational body for the reserve and stated since the Council had taken over all phases concerning schools, with the exception of transportation, the council would not tolerate unqualified teaching staff, or laxity. Chief Miskokomon emphasized to the School Committee that while they were holding the position of that office they should strive to get the "first" student into University or Teachers College. He suggested that the principal and his staff should counsel the students more carefully emphasizing the importance of a better education, and that the Council through taking over schools was striving for a better education for the children of Mount Elgin.[21]

It was suggested by Band Council that one practicable procedure for learning was for Mount Elgin teachers to participate in some form of in-service education that was focused in Indian culture and history, problems in cross-cultural education, and linguistics. This could be done in summer school. Also in areas where there were relatively large numbers of Indian people, the provincial department of public instruction or the Department of Indian Affairs could provide specialists to visit teachers in their classrooms, discuss their work, and suggest

reading and other experiences to help them acquire a better understanding of the local Indian culture, history, and community. It was further suggested that the Indian community itself had an important role to play in helping the teachers understand their pupils better.

Many of the teachers and staff lived in areas far from the surrounding community and as far away as London. One of the main problems was the relatively high degree of mobility of the Mount Elgin teachers. The average stay was only about two years due to the geographical isolation of the school to which they were assigned. Also a teacher who wants a salary increase must move to larger community. Thus a good many promising young teachers simply moved on after the first couple of years, when they might have preferred to make a career of teaching Indians.[22]

Facilities

According to the Brotherhood Paper a school building should be more than a dry and warm place to protect children from the weather. It also should be a model for the development of a certain aesthetic sense, revealing terms of good design and tidy grounds. The children of Mount Elgin school deserve no less. Indeed right within its own local community, the school has a model which in its grounds and internal appearance could well be copied, namely, the Band Council building. The appearance of the Mount Elgin School and its grounds does not match the care that the Band Office exhibits. A one-story, poorly constructed building, in need of much repair and maintenance, both inside and out, Mount Elgin School stands in utter disarray. The grounds exhibit few if any safety standards. The gymnasium needs to be inspected and advice

sought for durable repairs to both floor and ceiling. The main hall of the school is dark and unpleasant with no light or fluorescent fixtures. The washroom fixtures need a thorough inspection and in many instances replacement. The washroom doors are damaged as are the metal compartment dividers. The color scheme of the halls and the classroom is grey and in dire need of painting. All classroom floors are in need of repair. There is neither shelving nor storage space within the classrooms. The illumination of chalkboards is deficient. There are at least two types of chalk in use in the school, one of which is inappropriate for the type of green chalkboard installed in the classrooms. There are two storerooms in the school which seem to lack organization and contain what appears to be broken or old, unused equipment. These rooms have never been painted. The principal's and secretary's offices warrant new paint, new furniture and shelving. Mount Elgin has no caretaker, therefore, floors are rarely mopped, waxed, or polished. The writer found one toilet that was not flushing for four days in a row. Such is the "State of the Art."[23]

During one of the weekends that the writer was in Mount Elgin School there was a party at which adults left a smelly, dangerous, damaged mess. Broken glass abounded. It was finally suggested by Band Council that any group external to the school wishing to use the building for approved purposes must deposit in advance with the school secretary the sum of one hundred dollars to cover possible damages plus one day's pay for a hired caretaker. All money not needed for cleanup or repair would be returned in the week following the event.

Finally, the Band Council passed a Band Council Ruling[24] that the Chief should contact Middlesex School Board and ask for the loan of

their Chief Caretaker to advise the Band about various aspects of repair and maintenance schedules which would be comparable to those used in Middlesex County schools. H. Hendrick of the D.I.A. suggested that a reel type lawn mower, a rotary lawn mower, a wet-dry floor polisher-washer and a vacuum cleaner were needed. It was suggested that the school committee should inquire on renting a dusk-to-dawn electric lighting system.[25] Hence, it appears that the people of the Chippewa and Muncey-of-the-Thames are moving from a spectator's role, to that of full participation.

The Ojibway of Serpent River

The Oblate Fathers define "education" in the following terms:

> In Canada, education is an integrated process with each institution or factor cooperating harmoniously until the objective is reached and the process starts again with the next generation. The home prepares the child for the elementary school which prepares him for the university or for techinical or vocational school which prepares him to start a home of his own. Each step in interlocked with the next and when one breaks down, remedial measures have to be taken . . .
> When the situation of present day Indian adults under fifty is analyzed, it is realized that too many of them are without regular income and unable to raise families the way other Canadians do, precisely because in their formative years, they were not trained to transfer from the economic activities of their forefathers to occupations that would have integrated them securely to the national economy. This is why extensive retraining is essential . . .[26]

This then, is the "State of the Art" for those students K through 8 who attend the North Shore Roman Catholic Separate School from the Serpent River Indian Reserve. The Reserve Schools were closed in 1965. K through 8 children come presently under the jurisdiction of the North

Shore Roman Catholic Separate School Board in Blind River, Ontario. Nine through 12 students are presently under the jurisdiction of the North Shore Board of Education. Serpent River has tuition agreements with both boards for the education of their students. All students are bused daily some 23 miles to Elliot Lake where they attend school. The researcher selected the Ojibway of Serpent River in order to examine a situation which provides a decisive contrast to that of others studied in the philosophy and ideology of Indian Control of Indian Education.

Responsibility

The programs of Indian school integration pursued by the Indian Affairs branch is implemented through what are generally known as "joint schools," schools where Indian and non-Indians receive their education together. These schools are part of the provincial school system. Both the public and separate schools are publicly funded, and both use the same syllabus. This practice relieves Indian Affairs of a considerable administrative burden. The federal government, however, continues to pay the operating expenses.

Attendance of Indian children at integrated schools is ensured by joint agreement between the Indian Affairs Branch and the school boards concerned. The basic principles governing these agreements are as follows:

1. the federal government agrees to pay a portion of the school's administrative expenses for each Indian admitted and a portion of the capital invested in each new construction intended for Indian students;

2. the school board agrees to admit Indian students to its schools and to see that they are treated on an equal basis with other students; and
3. no joint agreement may be signed without the prior consent of the Indian parents.

Some Indian people oppose the concept of integration for the following reasons:

1. religious reasons;
2. the loss of ethnic identity;
3. the school integration program is completely unsatisfactory and broadens the gap between Indians and non-Indians;
4. others advise the government to move more slowly with its integration policy;
5. there are those who see this policy as a manoeuvre on the part of the federal government to abandon its responsibilities to the provinces or to the Indian communities.

The ultimate objective, then, is complete integration in the schools attended by Indians within the provincial school system. Such is the case with the Ojibway of the Serpent River Indian Reserve.

The writer spoke with teachers, students, members of the Board of education, parents, and the Development Officer from the Serpent River Reserve, and was told that:

1. Indian parents favor the idea of sending their children to an integrated school which better enables them to take their place in the larger Canadian society;
2. Indian students do not appear to have any great difficulties in making friends among their non-Indian peers;
3. the Indian student appears to be treated on an equal basis with other non-Indian students;

4. the Indian student seems to be attaining a moderate degree of success; and

5. the feeling of inferiority created by school segregation and the reserve system tend to gradually disappear.[27]

Programs

Language is an integral part of any culture. Moreover, the structure of a language determines the mental categories and thought processes of those who have inherited this language from their parents. No one will dispute the fact that the spoken and written word is an essential instrument in the process of transmitting and absorbing knowledge. In the field of education, there is a direct relationship bewteen mastery of the language and success in learning. For all these reasons, the Brotherhood Paper recognized that the question of the language of instruction in schools attended by Indian people was thus of capital importance. Indian children who are forced to take courses in a language which is not their mother tongue usually find school more difficult than other children, particularly during the first few years. This is not to imply that Indian children are less capable of learning, only that they have more to learn. It has been suggested that the best solution for this problem is the admission at the earliest possible age of Indian children in non-Indian schools.[28] The question then arises as to whether integration does not then become actual "assimilation." The loss of a people's native language leads almost inevitably to the loss of their own ethnic identity and cultural traditions. This was indeed the chosen state of the Ojibway of Serpent River.

The Indian students of Serpent River receive instruction in English, with French as the second language. The writer was told by Gertrude Lewis, [29] an Ojibway and a member of the North Shore Board of Education, that:

1. a course in the Ojibway language had been offered, but had been discontinued at the end of one year for reasons that indicated that too few Indian students elected to take the course;

2. classes were introduced at an inappropriate hour of the learning day, namely, the lunch break;

3. a poll of Indian parents revealed a preference for teaching French as opposed to Ojibway as the second language; and

4. the Band Council presently conducts Ojibway classes for adults and students on the reserve.

Both the North Shore Roman Catholic Separate School Board and the North Shore Board of Education tend to promote the academic courses. At the secondary and vocational levels, the curricula are exactly the same as that of the Province of Ontario. Likewise, at the primary level, the provincial curriculum is followed with the addition of courses in religion. The course of study corresponds with the objectives chosen by the provincial government. The parents strongly feel that what problems do exist center around the lack of a formal education and a sound command of the English language. These two handicaps prevent Indian children from taking their place in a vastly competitive and technological Canadian society.

Prior to 1972, many of the students from the Serpent River Reserve upon entering high school were encouraged to take a two-year occupational course which by the age of sixteen would provide them with skills to compete in the job market. Many of the students went through this program, while others were encouraged, either by their parents or the

school, to continue post-graduate studies. After 1972, Indian Affairs, as part of the Education Section, created an employment division to respond to this need. This section was later to come under the control of Economic Development. However, the question currently raised by Band Council is one which deals with the success or failure of the two-year program. The writer was informed by the Development Officer that the Band is still waiting for the so-called "benefits" of such Departmental policies and a restructuring of the bureaucracy in order to provide improved employment incentives for Indian students.[30]

In order to complement the system of education and to regain lost ground, the Indian Affairs Branch has organized an adult education program and an upgrading program. The adult education program is aimed primarily at those who have very little schooling. The purpose is to give these adults a basic education by teaching them literacy skills. The upgrading courses are offered to young Indian people and adults who have for diverse reasons, left school prior to completing their studies. These courses have three objectives:

1. to improve the students' background so that they may choose careers;
2. to train them for trades in keeping with their preferences and aptitudes; and
3. to provide them with information on employment opportunities and to present the advantages and disadvantages of the various types of available employment.

Indian leaders with sufficient academic background may further their education by taking leadership courses organized by the Department

of Indian Affairs and Northern Development or those offered in various universities across the country.

The various complementary programs of education are intended (1) to improve the educational standards of Indian people on the Serpent River Reserve, who have not been able to attend school or whose training is inadequate, and (2) to facilitate more frequent relations between them and members of the larger Canadian society.

As the onus to develop adult education programs rests with the Band, most adults on the reserve utilize Federal CEIC[31] assistance for preservice training skills, and up-grading if necessary. Only when Manpower refuses to fund an adult, does adult education assistance come from Indian Affairs. Presently there exists but one adult Ojibway class operated by the Band while two other job-skill training programs are being slated for loggers and sawyers for a logging operation in the future, to be jointly funded by DIAND and CEIC.

With occasional exceptions, curriculum for Indian students in both separate and in the public schools parallels the curriculum provided others in the schools of the province. Such is the case with the Ojibway of Serpent River. This is due to the influence of the accrediting agencies, provincial and federal guidelines, availability of texts and the influence of teacher education institutions. In the eyes of the parents, the most important role of the schools is to prepare their sons and daughters for employment in the dominant economy and for successful lives in the modern sector of Canadian society. Thus, there is virtually no quarrel with the principle that the curriculum for Indian youth include the very best curriculum provided the non-Indian student in the Province of Ontario. This does not mean to imply that

the present curriculum is without criticism. Several areas stand out as major issues of concern:

1. should tribal culture and history be included in school instruction;
2. the language of instruction;
3. vocational or academic emphasis; and most important
4. attention to the dignity of Indian identity.

A provincial coordinating body, the Ontario Indian Education Council, is in the process of implementing a policy that provides provincial standards for schools that have native student populations. The North Shore Board of Education has periodically modified portions of the curriculum to reflect the Indian culture. The Northeastern Region of the Ministry of Education has produced a series of curriculum materials under the title To Touch a Child. These materials are being used. The Ojibway Cultural Foundation is in the process of developing much needed curriculum materials that reflect the Brotherhood Policy on Indian Control of Indian Education. The Ojibway-Cree Resource Center has long acted as a resource library for Indian materials in Northern Ontario. Curiously, curriculum is taken as a given, but despite this, it appears unlikely that the parents of the Serpent River reserve will want anything less for their children than the same standards offered to non-Indian students. However, these same parents would like the schools to give respectful recognition to their identity.

Teachers

There is no evidence that staff members in the Elliot Lake Schools have had any "special" training to prepare them to work with Indian

students or to understand the cultural background needed to meet the problems created by inter-ethnic relations. Summer courses in sociology, anthropology, psychology, and Indian history have been organized for these very reasons in various Canadian universities and teachers are encouraged by the federal government to take them. However, evidence suggests that many of the faculty have not elected to do so. Teachers sensitization to Indian culture is available through the Ojibway Cultural Foundation. Indian teachers have not been hired by the Board of Education to reflect the percentage of the Indian population. The only Indian on the staff at present is a Social Counsellor.

Few, if any, of the teachers observed overtly expressed bigotry, and most had a favorable attitude toward their pupils. They appeared to see children, not Indians. Even where teachers expressed deep concern for their Indian pupils and were aware of cultural conflicts, they—expecially the more sensitive teachers—were aware of their inadequate preparation for cross-cultural education and their inability to work effectively.[32]

A few of the teachers spoke of Indian pupils as being reticent, shy, and reluctant to ask questions or recite individually. However, while they cited reluctance of Indian students to speak in class as a major problem, they also felt that this was one of the desirable features about teaching Indian children. Quiet, unresponsive children provided fewer behavior problems. The majority of the teachers had a positive picture of Indian parents and appeared to have a good understanding of and considerable sympathy for the problems of the local Indian people.[33]

Facilities

The School at Elliot Lake is a complex of three sets of older buildings—one set housing the K through 8 grades, a second set housing the 9 through 13 grades, and a third set housing the administrative offices, the lunchroom, and the library. There are a number of temporary prefabricated classroom buildings around the complex, used for additional primary classrooms and for special education classes. The buildings are traditional two-storied, brick buildings constructed many years ago. Playground and outdoor sports equipment is at a premium with the gymnasium housed in the newest building in the complex. Housing has been provided on the school grounds for a caretaker. The school provides a fair amount of extracurricular activity and the facilities host a student newpaper, occasional dances, and a full sports program. One of the main drawbacks to increased use of the school after regular school hours is that almost all of the Indian students are bused.

The corridors and classrooms are well lighted, ample in size and attractively painted. Display cases exhibit a wealth of classroom art projects, Indian and non-Indian alike. All classrooms appear to be well equipped with storage space. The furniture is old but well-cared for. The library is small but boasts an up-dated collection of materials and modern audio-visual equipment. Administrative offices, a teacher's lounge and the lunchroom, all project an image of a traditional, provincial, separate school. That is, an image that demonstrates adequacy without ostentatiousness.

The West Bay Transfer Model of Local Control

The following is an attempt to describe the "Transfer Model" developed by the West Bay Band.[34] The Band in question is currently administering the program. However, the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development had been advised by the said Band, at least eighteen months prior to intent of take over and not later than October 1, that the Band planned to take over the educational operation. This was necessary to satisfy vote control in the five year forecast. In some instances, it may be possible for the Department to reduce the lead time required for changes in vote control. Full details are included in Appendix E. Table 2 presents a summary of the program by learning objective with reference to program texts, processes, and methods of transfer. Table 3 summarizes financial planning steps involved in the program.

Indian Conditions Among The Three Bands Under Study

The Ojibway of Manitoulin Island's program is an example of innovation in Indian education. Most important, it provides an example of Indian control and administration of educational programs in lieu of the paternalistic, bureaucratic administration of programs "for" Indians. It encourages Indian involvement in schools and acts as a stimulus to community innovations in curriculum programs. In addition, it represents techniques for infusing federal aid to Indian communities directly through the funding of schools. Whether or not Indian control on the Island will result in superior pedogogy, improved academic achievement, and increased economic opportunity remains to be seen.

Table 2. West Bay Transfer Model By Learning Objectives*

	Method of Transfer		Process	Reference
2310 - Instruction in Federal Schools Principals, teachers and classroom assistants salaries, travel and removal expenses, freight materials supplies, equipment, telephone and other requirements for Federal Classroom instruction and school administration.	DIA Staff involved	Memorandum of Agreement—beginning of school year	A.B.C.	D-4, Circular & E-2, E-3, Ed. Agreement
	No staff involved	Memorandum of Agreement	A.B.C.	D-4, Circular & E-3, Ed. Agreement
2320 - Inspection Purchasing school inspection services from county Boards of Education plus specialist services as requested by Band Councils and subject to available from Boards of Education.		Memorandum of Agreement	A.B.C.	Circular D-4, E-3
2330 - School Facilities Salaries for janitors, minor repairs, public utilities, fuel, freight, travel expenses for personnel, rental of buildings and equipment, materials and supplies for Federal school maintenance.	DIA Staff involved	Memorandum of Agreement	A.B.C.	Circular D-4, E-3
	No Staff involved	Memorandum of Agreement	A.B.C.	Circular D-4, E-3

*Key at the end of Table 2

Table 2. (continued)

	Method of Transfer	Process	Reference
2340 - School Committees Grants through accountable contributions for Education committees to cover the cost of their transportation, professional and special services, materials and supplies, in accordance with Education committees guidelines and based on reserve population. Maximum funding not to exceed $2,000.00. Additional funding is available to cover above-noted costs for area education councils with the view that these councils will eventually become the administrative nucleus and will eventually deliver various aspects of the Education program.	Approved B.C.R.	B.	Circular D-4
2360 - Curriculum Enrichment Funding is normally available in an amount approximately $30.00 per pupil and is utilized to develop programs and materials related to Indian studies and Indian language. Additional funding is available to develop training programs and materials for classroom instruction in the Indian language.	Memorandum of Agreement	B.C.	Circulars E-3, E-7

Table 2. (continued)

	Method of Transfer		Process	Reference
2410 - Instruction in Non-Federal Schools Tuition and classroom supplies for elementary and secondary Indian students registered in Provincial schools where instruction is not available on the home reserve.		Memorandum of Agreement	A.B.C.D.	Circulars E-4
2420 - Guidance Counsellors' salaries, travel and removal expenses, postage, telephone, professional and special services, materials and office supplies relating to the delivery of counsellors' services plus funding agreements for purchasing counselling services from County Boards of Education. Salaries, travel, telephone and materials for Band employed counsellor technicians is also charged to this sub-activity.	DIA Staff involved	Memorandum of Agreement	A.B.C. D if service of board counselling purchase	Circulars D-4
	No Staff involved	Memorandum of Agreement	A.B.C., D if service of board counselling purchase	Circulars D-4

Table 2. (continued)

	Method of Transfer	Process	Reference
2520 - Maintenance of Pupils in Private Homes Expenditures relating to room and board for status Indian students for whom application for educational assistance has been approved by the District Manager. This program normally provides assistance to Indian high school students who cannot commute daily from their homes and for elementary students for whom instruction is not available in their home communities and the nearest provincial school is not readily accessible by daily transportation. The cost of special services including schools for the deaf and the blind is also charged to this program.	Memorandum of Agreement	A.B.C.	Circular E-D-4
2530 - Mid-Day Lunches Elementary and secondary students (Federal schools, milk and biscuits).	Memorandum of Agreement	A.B.C.	Circular E-D-4
2540 - Student Allowance An allowance of $10.00 per month is available for high school students aged 14-17 who commute to Provincial schools or attend provincial schools under the terms of "Maintenance of Pupils in Private Homes (2520)." Students aged 18 or over attending high school are eligible for an allowance of $20.00 per month.	Memorandum of Agreement	A.B.C.	Circular E-D-4

Table 2. (continued)

	Method of Transfer	Process	Reference
2550 - Seasonal Transportation Transportation from their homes to the places of instruction for elementary and secondary students at the beginning of the school year, return transportation of elementary and secondary students from the schools to their homes during the Christmas break.	Memorandum of Agreement	A.B.C.	Circular E-D-4
2560 - Daily Transportation Funding is provided to cover cost of: a) Daily transportation for elementary pupils attending Federal schools on Reserves only where the distance from the home to the school is in excess of one mile for elementary students, one-half mile for Kindergarten pupils; b) Daily transportation from the home Reserve community for elementary and secondary students commuting daily to Provincial schools; c) Expenditures in categories a) and b) are normally authorized as a result of tenders for pupil transportation and may be administered either by the district or by Band Council through the accountable contributions program. There are a number of Bands who are implementing the pupil transportation program as a viable Band project	Memorandum of Agreement	A.B.C.	Circulars D E-3, E-9

Table 2. (continued)

and the cost per bus mile is normally in accordance with prevailing rates established by County Boards of Education. For departmentally called Tenders, bids submitted by status Indians may be given a 10% preference above the lowest bid received by non-Indians. d) Daily transportation, the cost of his tickets or bus passes, is available for elementary and secondary students receiving education assistance for room and board in Urban centers where the distance from their boarding homes is greater than one mile and transportation facilities are available.			
2580 - Group Homes	Memorandum of Agreement to commence at beginning of school year.	A.B.C.	D-4, E-3
2620 - Adult Basic Education Travel expenses, telephone charges, professional and special services for trainees and instructors, classroom supplies, for short-term programs.	Approved B.C.R.	B.	D-4

Table 2. (continued)

	Method of Transfer	Process	Reference
2630 - Social Adult Education Travel expenses for trainees and instructors, freight, professional and special services (instructors), rental of equipment, materials and suppoies for classrooms, short-term programs.	Approved B.C.R.	B	D-4
2640 - Library Services Grants under the Contributions to Bands program. The amount is based on the number of Indian persons on the Reserve, at $2.30 per capita, subject to the Band Council contributing $0.30.	Approved B.C.R.	B	D-4
2650 - Bnad Staff Training Tuition, professional services, materials and supplies, travel expenses, living accommodations, honoraria for Band employees and committee members.			
2720 - University and Professional Training Tuition and classroom supplies for students in the university and professional category as well as for students in community colleges in courses of greater than one year's duration and usually requiring senior matriculation to enter.	Memorandum of Agreement	A.B.C.	D-4, E-3, E-12

Table 2. (continued)

	Method of Transfer	Process	Reference
2730 - Vocation Training Tuition and classroom supplies for students in short-term community college programs of one year or less duration.	Memorandum of Agreement	A.B.C.	D-4, E-3
2740 - Maintenance of Pupils - University and Professional Room and board, personal allowance, transportation for students whose tuition is paid under sub-activity 2720.	Memorandum of Agreement	A.B.C.	D-4, E-3, E
2750 - Maintenance of Pupils - Vocational Room and board, personal allowance, transportation for students whose tuition is paid under sub-activity 2730.	Memorandum of Agreement	A.B.C.	D-4, E-3

Key for Table 2

Process

A. Band presents formal request by B.C.R. twelve months prior to target date.

B. B.C.R. to district - Regional Office and Local Government.

C. Formal Memorandum of Agreement to be signed seven months prior to target date.

D. Third party agreement.

Program Circulars

E1 - Education Policy Guidelines meaning and purpose

E2 - Staffing of teachers to teacher aides - Federal Schools

E3 - Conditions and Procedures for transfer Education Programs to Band Council Control

E4 - Department's Interpretation of Local Control of Education

E5 - Indian Language Program

E6 - Department of Education Staff and Band Council Control

E7 - Enrichment of School Curriculum

E9 - Daily Transport of Pupils

E10 - Education Studies Program

E12 - Post Secondary Education Assistance Program

D1 - Indian Local Government

D2 - District Council

D3 - Band Council Funding

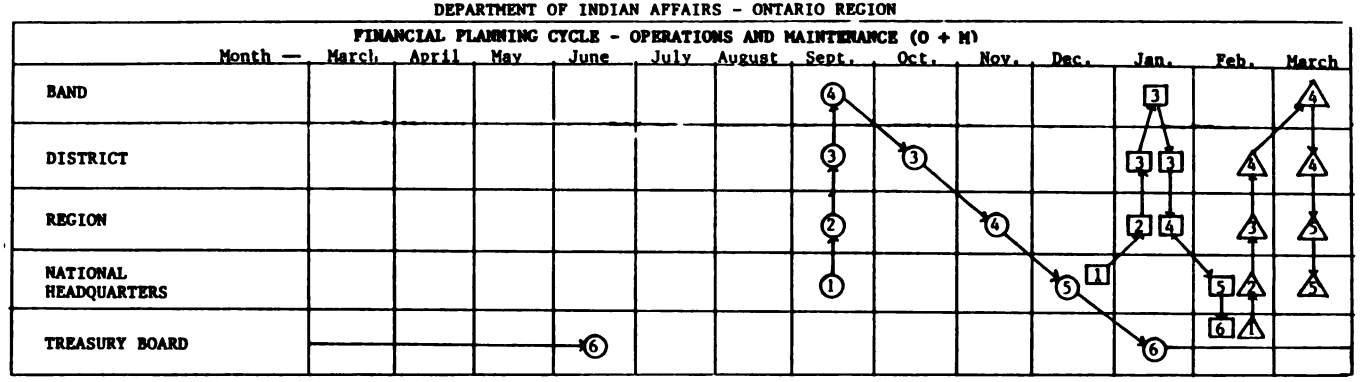
D4 - Band Operated Local Services

In addition, Program Circular Number E1 Education Policy

Table 3. Financial Planning Cycle

DEPARTMENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS - ONTARIO REGION

FINANCIAL PLANNING CYCLE - OPERATIONS AND MAINTENANCE (O + M)



Step	○ PROGRAM FORECAST
1	NATIONAL DIRECTOR OF FINANCE SENDS GUIDELINES AND TARGET AMOUNTS BY PROGRAM TO REGION OFFICES
2	REGIONAL MANAGER OF FINANCE ALLOCATES BUDGET TO DISTRICTS ON ADVISE OF PROGRAM MANAGERS
3	DISTRICT MANAGERS IN CONSULTATION WITH BAND COUNCILS, DISTRIBUTE DISTRICT BUDGETS BY SUB-ACTIVITY BANDS PROVIDE INPUT RE ACCOUNTABLE CONTRIBUTIONS DISTRIBUTIONS
4	PROGRAM MANAGERS PREPARE REGION OFFICE FORECAST BY SUB-ACTIVITY, CONSOLIDATES AND AMENDS DISTRICT OFFICE FORECAST, PREPARES REGIONAL SUMMARY OF PROGRAM FORECAST, FINANCE PREPARES REGION FORECAST, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE REVIEWS FORECAST
5	DIRECTOR GENERAL OPERATIONS REVIEWS REGIONAL FORECAST AGAINST PROGRAM FORECAST ON NATIONAL BASIS
6	TREASURY BOARD REVIEWS AND APPROVES PROGRAM FORECAST

Step	□ MAIN ESTIMATES
1	NATIONAL DIRECTOR OF FINANCE SENDS GUIDELINES AND TARGET AMOUNTS BASED ON TREASURY BOARD TARGETS
2	REGIONAL MANAGER OF FINANCE ALLOCATES TARGETS BY PROGRAM ACTIVITY PROGRAM MANAGERS ALLOCATES PROGRAM BUDGET BY DISTRICT
3	DISTRICT MANAGERS ALLOCATES DISTRICT BUDGET BY SUB-ACTIVITY AND LINE OBJECT IN CONSULTATION WITH BAND COUNCILS, RECOMMENDS ALLOCATION TO REGIONAL DIRECTOR OF FINANCE
4	PROGRAM MANAGERS PREPARE ALLOCATION OF BUDGET FOR REGIONAL OFFICE PROGRAM ACTIVITIES MANAGER OF FINANCE CONSOLIDATES REGION O + M BUDGET
5	REGIONAL MANAGER OF FINANCE COMMUNICATES BUDGET ALLOCATION TO HEADQUARTERS FOR COMPUTER INPUT
6	TREASURY BOARD SUBMISSION OF MAIN ESTIMATES

Step	△ SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATES
1	TREASURY BOARD ESTABLISHES CONSTRAINTS FOR SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATES SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATES ARE FOR NON-STATUTORY EXPENDITURES (e.g. BAND ADMINISTRATION)
2	NATIONAL DIRECTOR OF FINANCE ALLOCATES ESTIMATES TO REGION BY SUB-ACTIVITY
3	EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE REVIEWS PRIORITIES ALLOCATIONS AS CONFIRMED OR REALLOCATED REGIONAL MANAGER OF FINANCE PREPARES SUPPLEMENTARY BUDGET ALLOCATION BY PROGRAM AND DISTRICT
4	DISTRICT MANAGERS ARE INFORMED OF SUPPLEMENTARY BUDGET DISTRICT MANAGERS INFORM BAND COUNCILS
5	ALLOCATIONS ARE COMMUNICATED TO HEADQUARTERS FOR COMPUTER INPUT AND COMMITMENT CONTROL
6	

It is difficult to judge the success or failure of the Mount Elgin attempt at Indian Control of Indian Education on the basis of a one-year implementation program. And, unlike Manitoulin Island, Mount Elgin is an all-Indian elementary school, located on the reserve, and taught by a non-Indian staff. Problems however, are not unlike those on other reserves. But the solutions are quite revolutionary and smack of a structure not unfamiliar to that of the highly structured provincial system. The people of the Chippewa and Muncey-of-the-Thames are rapidly moving from a spectator's role, to that of full participation.

It appears that the greater the educational resources possessed by a Church or the greater the investment in Indian education, the greater the church's anxiety to maintain the status quo. On the whole, the Serpent River Band's present evidence indicates that Indian participation in control of schooling is likely to be aimed at increasing the motivation of Indian students to perform well in a system of formal education which has been developed by and is oriented primarily to the dominant Canadian society.

The level of academic achievement among Indian students has always been below that of Canadian students in general. Periodically, both Indian and non-Indian critics have looked at this phenomenon and have made pronouncements on the reasons for this disparity. Historically, the critics have decided that the major problem has been one of or a combination of the following: cultural antagonism, which led to a policy of residential schools where the pupils were separated from their parents immersed in a "Canadian Environment;" isolation, which fostered a program of integrated schooling in which Indian children attended school with other Canadian children; lack of identity and feeling of

self-worth, which spawned a rash of cultural and linguistic revivalistic programs and was the genesis for the policy paper, Indian Control of Indian Education.

Each of these "break throughs" has been found wanting and roundly condemned by succeeding generations of both Indian and non-Indian critics. The blame is invariably laid at the feet of the Canadian Government because The Government is responsible for Indians.

Within the three Bands under study there are innumerable negative factors which influence Indian education. These disadvantages include cultural and linguistic differences from other Canadians, geographic and social isolation, and possibly a feeling of inferiority similar to that experienced by most minorities.

The typical Indian student on Manitoulin Island, on the Chippewa and Muncey-of-the-Thames Reserve, and on the Serpent River Indian Reserve is "rural." On the average rural Canadians do less well in school than urban students. These rural Indian students come to school speaking a different language or a non-acceptable variant of English. And as H. B. Hawthorn has pointed out, students who do not fit the Canadian middle class norm do less well in school and students who do not fit the Canadian middle class norm do less well in school and students with a poor self image rarely achieve well academically.[35] However, as the writer has indicated, academic records and cumulative files were not made available, therefore, the evidence is based on statements made by teachers, administrators, parents, and students.

There are other problems. Almost all Indian parents on the three reserves are poor. There are severe problems with alcoholism and social anomalies. Canadian health rules and adequate nutrition are unknown in

many Indian homes and many students suffer from malnutrition. Carol Spindell Farkas of the University of Waterloo in Ontario did a study on the caffeine intake and potential effect on health of Canadian Indigenous People, and related the study to the Indians of the Chippewa and Muncey-of-the-Thames Reserve. Much of her previous research has involved studies of the relationships between Indian dietary habits and Indian health. On the basis of this background, she has recommended areas where medically oriented research is needed in the Munsee and Chippewa communities, a need which is to be correlated with behavior and learning.[36] The list of problems which the average Indian student must overcome from these reserves in order to achieve academic success is longer than one can imagine, and "simplistic solutions" to overcome their severe handicaps are short sighted.

Thoughtful Indian parents with whom the writer spoke know that all the above problems exist. They want to do something about the situation which condemns their race to degradation. However, many do not know what to do regardless of the lofty words published in the 1973 statement Indian Control of Indian Education. The writer found that proposed solutions to the problem were frequently in conflict.

The parents of the Serpent River Reserve feel that if they keep their children at home on the reserve, teach them native customs and language, build up self esteem, they cut them off further from other Canadians and they become increasingly alienated. Mount Elgin parents, on the other hand, feel that if they send their children to school with other Canadians, their self esteem is in danger of falling so low that they are forced to drop out of school. There is only one thing all Indian parents under study agree upon in regard to education. They

They must be in "control" themselves. Outsiders cannot possibly know and understand the "complex" problems faced by every Indian student. The community may not be able to solve the problems alone, but a remote bureaucracy whether it is federal, provincial or municipal, and regardless of its experience and expertise cannot work without real "input" from the community.

The solutions may be different among the three communities and it may be expensive. This makes the situation doubly perilous. Society cannot tolerate difference easily and no one wants to pay for some one else's problem. Indian parents' awareness of their vulnerability makes them determined to protect and consolidate the "rights" that they have won in Indian Control of Indian Education. One precept remains absolutely firm. Indian parents must continue to accept responsibility for deciding how their children should be educated. However, although Indians live on reserves which are separated from society geographically and sociologically, they cannot exist without society and, therefore, must live within the same or similar societal constraints as do other Canadian citizens. Their school systems must be compatible with other school systems and the costs, economies, philosophies must be defensible by the Federal Government to the Canadian taxpayers.

In the Brotherhood Paper, Indian Control of Indian Education, the basic aims of Indian education are stated as being:

1. to reinforce their Indian identity, and
2. to provide the training necessary for making a good living in modern society.

Everyone with whom the writer spoke agreed with these fundamental objectives, but no one was satisfied with the education program presently

in existence, even that of the West Bay Model. The most frequent comment from Indian people was that Indian control has never really been tried. Departmental executives other than education staff were deeply concerned about the seeming lack of control. Educators believed that there was insufficient support for the program and provincial government officials were skeptical about the sincerity of the Department. There was one startling agreement amongst all these separate groups. None of them believed that the Federal Government was serious about Indian Control of Education.[37]

The various points of view most often expressed to the writer by members of each of the groups over and over again are listed below. The writer has ascribed the perceptions listed to the following groups:

1. The Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development;
2. Education Staff at both the Federal and Provincial level;
3. Department executives other than those in the Department of Education;
4. Provincial educators.

It is recognized that there are many more perceptions. What is important and significant for this paper is that the different actors in this drama over Indian control of Indian education all have legitimate concerns. There are several which run as a common theme through each group interviewed. These will be listed under the following categories: Funding; Accountability; and Others.

A. Funding

1. Present administrative, legal, financial and pedagogical supports are inadequate.
2. Additional funds are required to bring facilities up to date.

3. There should be some sort of block funding.
4. Staff salaries and benefits should be the same as those of federal employees.
5. Bands should not take over the education program unless the future level of funding is assured.
6. No consensus has been reached between the Department and Indian leaders with respect to the operationalization of Indian control.
7. Present funding formulae short circuit Indian control.
8. The DIAND must deal with the disparity between what is paid to joint schools and what is paid to band operated schools.
9. It is possible that Indian control is merely a make work project for many bands. There is considerable misuse of funds.
10. Indian control has never been costed properly.
11. Deputy Ministers of Provincial Departments of Education have discovered great inequities in the ways in which the Federal Government is funding Indian programs in various provinces.
12. DIAND can not do everything. Expectations are too high. There is not enough money in DIAND's budget to give Indians half a chance.
13. The Federal Government must get away from the present method of funding.
14. The Federal Government should share in costs of off-reserve education.

15. The education budget is reduced in periods of constraint because it is the largest departmental budget.

B. Accountability

1. DIAND's commitment to Indian Control of Indian Education is not clear.
2. Education programs must be administered by an education authority which is separate from the band council.
3. Education programs must be influenced by the parents of the students being educated.
4. Treatment of all registered Indian students across Canada must be fair and equitable.
5. One national program will not fit all communities.
6. The education program requires input from local, provincial, and federal levels.
7. Students must be protected from capricious behavior of any education authority.
8. The band council should not run the education program directly. It should be protected from local politics.
9. An Indian education authority must be accountable to the community, rather than to DIAND.
10. Every reserve should have a school.
11. Facilities must be good enough to support a modern education program.
12. There must be a key advisor available.
13. DIAND must have staff who can advise or DIAND must provide service in some other way.

14. Teachers must have the same qualifications as those in non-Indian schools.
15. All aspects of the system must be comparable to provincial schools.
16. Present administrative structures place the control of departmental practice in the hands of department executives who are not answerable to the educators and who do not have education as their first priority.
17. If a band is perceived to be unsuccessful in administering its education program the only solution is to resume departmental control.
18. Who is and who should be doing evaluation?
19. Indian control is working but it lacks educational leadership from headquarters.
20. Decisions are made on the basis of political expediency and most frequently by executives outside the education program.
21. There is a lack of consistency in policies from one region to another.
22. Educational staff should be given priorities to ensure that they emphasize education rather than administrative trivia. There should be an across the board dedication to local control.
23. Education must be depoliticized. The education process is too important to allow immediate political concerns to override decision making.

24. A national policy should be planned to include regional adaptations.
25. A successful education program means greater success in other programs but also greater demands on the part of local bands. This fact should be acknowledged in long range planning.
26. Information about successful adaptations to local control should be shared nationally.
27. Under present administration all decisions appear to be based upon political pressure and present administration has no integrity.
28. There must be a long range commitment to Indian Control of Indian Education.
29. Where is the proof that local curriculum adaptation is pedagogically sound? Where are the standards?
30. If the Department cannot ensure the bands' administrative capability then it should not transfer responsibility and should take programs back from bands which are not performed adequately.
31. The DIAND is transferring a system which is not modern, culturally sensitive or well administered and then expecting the local people to do a better job.
32. There must be an understanding of the capacity of each Indian community to cope with the administration of an education program.
33. There must be federal legislation to recognize band education authorities as "legal" entities.

34. If a band were to default would the Federal Goverment step in?

C. Other

1. Indian control has never been implemented.
2. Deicisons made by DIAND are based upon racist perceptions.
3. Indians must possess their own school system in order to advance.
4. The language of the community should be used as the language of instruction.
5. The Indian student often comes from a socio-economic environment that is not conducive to success in the present education system.
6. Indian control is hampered by a plethora of unresolved administrative problems: data collection, employee benefits, cumbersome administrative procedures, insufficient training for band administrators, school construction (duplication of services), Indian representation on provincial school boards, provincial accreditation, legal authority of bands, rights of appeal and more.
7. The education program no longer has any image in headquarters.
8. There is a real possibility that the DIAND is legally responsible for all band employees and that education authorities cannot be employers unless they are incorporated.
9. The whole program is ad hoc.
10. Education is important but it does not have a high priority. There are too many more urgent problems.

11. Bands must be able to review other programs so that they know what is involved.
12. Indian control does not necessarily mean a retreat from provincial schools.
13. Selling a case to Treasury Board will be difficult because the Indian program has a low priority and the DIAND does not have a grip on the situation.
14. The DIAND's legitimacy is questioned by many Indians which may make meaningful dialogue impossible in Canada.
15. Education is always controlled by a central agency and Indian education cannot be different. Indian control is unobtainable. The word used should be influence.
16. It is not possible to talk rationally about Indian education when it is so intangible. It must be demystified.
17. Education is not a high priority for the Interprovincial Task Force. Housing, employment, health and other concerns all come higher. And Indians have the above priority too.
18. The province should do nothing unless the Indian people want it.

In order to find out what can be done to improve the education of Indian people, one of the prime questions that the writer heard repeatedly was why some problems remain decade after decade through every policy, staff, structural and procedural change. There are many unresolved problems associated with Indian Control of Indian Education which have existed for years. These problems range from mundane considerations such as school bus service on the Serpent River Reserve, construction of buildings and staff job descriptions at Mount Elgin,

to esoteric concerns such as the relationship between education and socio-economic status on Manitoulin Island. The introduction of Indian Control of Indian Education merely emphasizes the fact that in spite of policy and staff changes, the fundamental problems remain unresolved. Many of these problems are due to the structural constraints which exist year after year. First are the very severe restraints placed on the program solely because it is part of the federal government. Is it possible for the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development to encourage the development of Indian Control of Indian Education inside of the federal government structure?

There is an old problem, long recognized but never adequately resolved between "have" and "have not" communities. There are several recognized Indian communities which are larger, wealthier and more conversant with the general Canadian society and which have always been more vocal, more ready for change, and more anxious to get along without the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. Such is the case with Manitoulin Island. However, these communities do not represent the majority of Indian people—they do not even purport to do so. But they are often accepted as representing Indian leadership by the non-Indian public. Their problems and opportunities are very different from other communities and should be allowed to develop in a different way. Policies designed with them in mind should not be imposed on other bands. Therefore, band government may mean one thing to a select group on Manitoulin Island and quite a different thing to the Chippewa and Muncey-of-the-Thames Band. This different should be recognized in policy and perhaps also in legislation. Any such proposal must, of

course, be compatible with any clarification of the Department of Indian Affairs' role in Indian Control of Indian Education.

Indian communities have been assuming greater and greater control of the education of their children for more than ten years. Indian Affairs has been aiding and abetting the process for as long. Over that time, Indian controlled education systems have been painstakingly developed across the country. Not all of them have been successful. Those which have succeeded have one thing in common. They have much support built into their system. Such is the case of Manitoulin Island. Cooperation between federal, provincial, and band authorities has existed on the Island.

The children on the Chippewa and Muncey-of-the-Thames Reserves come to school with greater or lesser degrees of motivation to learn, physical and social handicaps about learning, home and community supports, and personal models of success. If school does not meet their own needs, they physically stay out of school or mentally drop out of studies. These youngsters do not fit. Unless they begin to perform better in reading and other basic skills, few of these "drop out" students of Mount Elgin ever will be qualified for anything but the most menial work. Many will sink into apathy or will become partipants in welfare life.

No one factor is to blame for this condition. The school is small and isolated with unusual problems in staffing and services. An indeterminate number of parents remain unsure, even indifferent, about the value of schooling, while others are more than concerned. Large sections in the textbooks, printed for an urban Canadian market, remain meaningless to many Indian children. English, the usual language of

instruction, is not used at home by many children on the Chippewa and Muncey Reserves. Accelerating change creates wide gaps between home, the school, and the outside world.

The Indian Community of Manitoulin Island recognizes that the teachers of their children have a "unique" responsibility to the children whom they teach. Indian culture and language have been preserved and utilized and the concept of "pride" has been encouraged. The Indian child lives in a conflict of cultures. He/she must make it in a White man's world to survive, yet, he/she must recognize his/her Indian heritage to affirm one's own identity. Because the Indian child must adapt to two worlds, it is critical that the home and the school provide a coordinated experience. It is important for tribal communities to insure that the teachers of their children understand the nature of their dual exposure and establish a positive, productive relationship between the parents and the school. In the West Bay Secondary School, it is the job of the teachers to help the children function in both worlds. The teachers have respect for Indian religions and philosophical beliefs, and accept the "family" as the primary teacher of the child. Grandparents, uncles and aunts, all play an essential role in the process of establishing tribal structures. These teachers are able to establish and maintain a learning environment which reflects the particular Ojibway culture by providing objects in the classroom which are familiar to the students, objects such as Indian dances, tribal stories and songs, and so forth.

The curriculum provides experiences within the framework of the Ojibway culture that develops skills to help the students cope with the modern world off the Island. Parents and community resource people are

utilized for their traditional skills. The cultivation and the preparation of foods familiar to the children is easily incorporated into the curriculum. Both traditional and contemporary Indian games and sports enhance the physical development of the child. Tribal legends and oral history teach the students about the contributions made by Indians to the Canadian society: the games, the foods, the medicines, the crafts, and most of all, the ecological view of the Indian and his environment are all a vital part of the education process.

Where Does "Indian Control of Indian Education" Stand For The 80's?

Based on the study of the Ojibway of Manitoulin Island, the Chippewa and Muncey-of-the-Thames, and the Ojibway of Serpent River, it is impossible to talk about Indian Control of Indian Education without looking at Indian life in its "totality." Education is only one factor which has an impact on the development of a child. Before the child enters school, health care, nutrition, economic and environmental situations will already have affected that life. One does not need to be an economist to see that the major expenditures in the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development budget are are not geared to Indian development. The majority of dollars are spent on administration, salaries, welfare and on programs where there is little or no Indian "participation or control."[38] As long as a government can keep a people fighting at the subsistence level for basics—food, clothing, housing, school allowances, funding for school committees, basic services in tuition agreements, lttle progress can be made on the real issues for progress and growth, that is, planning the school system,

planning school programs and curriculum development from the Indian perspective. Besides the influence of economic factors, the major issue in assuming "control" of education systems is the fact that the structure of DIAND facilitates Indian administration of DIAND programs and not Indian "control."

However, if one can identify the problems, then one can identify solutions and alternatives. One of the key elements in the success of, for example, the Ojibway of Manitoulin Island, is the fact that progress was made as a result of the community being of one mind and working together towards "control." Community members were not just teachers or parents, but grandparents, aunts, uncles, elders, Chief, councillors and their education staff who recognized their responsibilities, not only for their children, but for the future survival of the community itself.

The Chippewa and Muncey-of-the-Thames realized that many hands were needed in the work of controlling and managing an Indian education system and that in the Indian tradition each person was unique with special gifts, talents and abilities. All of the human resources were used to benefit the community. This meant anything from baking pies for a fundraising bake sale to elders teaching the history and traditions of the Band. The important point with both the Ojibway of Manitoulin Island and the Chippewa and Muncey-of-the-Thames was that the community stood together. If, therefore, the Indian people are to survive wtih viable communities, they must recognize their responsibility to act now on improving education for their young people. Only the Indian people know what is best for their people, and they must take the necessary action to fulfill that responsibility.

Footnotes

[1]See Appendix C.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Taken from the field notes.

[4]Ibid.

[5]See Appendix C.

[6]Ibid.

[7]Ibid.

[8]Native Teacher Education Program.

[9]Data collected from field notes.

[10]Teaching English As A Second Language.

[11]See Appendix C.

[12]Garnet McDiarmid, From Community To Classroom, 1979.

[13]Data collected from field notes.

[14]See Appendix D.

[15]Data taken from field notes.

[16]Ibid.

[17]Ibid.

[18]Ibid.

[19]Early Childhood Education.

[20]Date taken from field notes.

[21]Ibid.

[22]Ibid.

[23]Ibid.

[24]Ibid.

[25]Ibid.

[26]Oblate Fathers, Indian-Eskimo Welfare Commission, Joint Committee, 1960, pp. 727-28.

[27]Data taken from field notes.

[28]R. F. Davey, Joint Committee, p. 494.

[29]1980 recipient of the "Lamp of Learning Award," presented by the Ontario Teacher Federation Association.

[30]Data taken from field notes.

[31]Canada Employment and Immigration Commission.

[32]Data taken from field notes.

[33]Ibid.

[34]See Appendix E.

[35]H. B. Hawthorn, A Survey of the Contemporary Indians of Canada, p. 127-130.

[36]Carol Spindell Farkas, A Consideration Of The Importance of Food Availability, Nutritional Status and Nutrition Education In Mount Elgin School And Its Supporting Communities, University of Waterloo: Waterloo, Ontario, p. 163.

[37]Data taken from field notes.

[38]See Indian Conditions: A Survey, Ottawa, 1980.

Chapter VI

SUMMARIES AND CONCLUSIONS

This final chapter will be devoted to summarizing the study just completed and to drawing some national conclusions from the research findings. In summarizing, a review of the foregoing chapters will first be given, followed by an overview of Indian Control of Indian Education, based on the study. In presenting the conclusions from the study, a discussion of Indian Control of Indian Education will be followed by observed trends, to which will be appended recommendations to guide future action and needed research.

Summaries

Review Of The Study

In the preceding chapters the attempt was made to view Indian education in the Province of Ontario from a historical perspective, followed by excerpts from the Brotherhood Paper. The following categories were used in discussing the success or failure of local control among the Ojibway of Manitoulin Island, the Chippewa and Muncey-of-the-Thames, and the Ojibway of Serpent River: 1) Responsibility; 2) Programs; 3) Teachers; and 4) Facilities. Ethnographic field data was collected and compiled on these three Bands.

The first chapter serving as a general introduction, presented the problems of the research study, defined some basic terminology employed

in the study, and set forth the principles of its organization. Chapter II reviewed the major literary sources relevant to the study. Chapter III gave an overview of the subject designed to establish historical perspective for the entire study, reviewing briefly the chronological history of Indian education in the Province of Ontario, as germane to an understanding of the Brotherhood Paper. Chapter IV focused on those specific categories which were used to discuss the success or failure of Indian Control of Indian Education among the three Bands under investigation. And Chapter V contained the actual ethnographic data from the fieldwork.

Conclusions

Indian Control of Indian Education

In discussing Indian Control of Indian Education it must be remembered that education takes many forms in many places. The three ethnographic studies support this. The particular form of education has different implications for different kinds of Indian children, and different kinds of communities. However, the argument for Indian Control of Indian Education can be made on the basis of the three ethnographic studies. The further decision-making moves from the parents, principal and teachers in any particular school, the more "remote" becomes the potential for any significant improvement. The writer believes that the goal needs to be one of increasing the competence of "individuals" within "local" districts rather than centralizing competence at the "provincial" level. The Ojibway of Manitoulin Island and the Chippewa and Muncey-of-the-Thames studies

tend to support this. "Pluralism" is the organizational principle for Indian education. The individuals and the three communities under study have a variety of cultural backgrounds. Curriculum development activities which support multiculturalism are more critical now than ever.

Real change has to come from the initiative and the determination of the people in the "community." Outside resource persons can come and go. Unity for the students and community decision-making processes are the first steps in achieving "Indian Control." The support and commitment of community members has to be solidified before any significant change can occur which will re-shape the education system into an "Indian" one.

Community solidarity increased among the Chippewa and Muncey-of-the-Thames and again among the Ojibway of Manitoulin Island when decision-making was opened to all Band members and their support and opinions were valued. The fund-negotiating strength of the leaders of the communities was also better when it was known that the entire band stood united on the issue of Indian Control of Indian Education. The community members themselves had to decide their own policy on Indian education as it applied to their reserve, the type of education system and program that they preferred and the kind of teaching personnel that they would hire. In essence, the community had to decide: (a) the type of system and administration, and (b) the content of what would be taught in school.

Education was a reflection of the communities' values, attitudes and aspirations, and as such, education had to reflect the communities' needs. It was a cyclical process and decision-making came in at every step in the process.

The Indians of the three reserves under study had a choice to make. They could be content to control the funds from DIAND on a few pieces and parcels of the education program, that is, teacher salaries, transportation, lunch programs, and so forth. They might even establish a few new programs with alternate sources of funding, such as Indian language curriculum materials development, outdoor education, and elders' visits. Those programs might meet immediate needs on a limited basis "OR" they could start working towards community solidarity by recognizing their responsibilities toward the development of their children, their cultural survival and beginning community decision-making methods. Here they would change the actual system to meet Indian needs by using the strength of the Indian people. The Ojibway of Manitoulin Island and the Chippewa and Muncey-of-the-Thames chose the later.

The danger of a collapse of standards was minimal even with few explicit controls. Each school faced a number of unofficial, yet powerful, controls. The provincial system presented its curriculum guides, administrative rules, and funding formulae that could serve as models. Teacher training was locked into certification. Textbooks were nationally produced. Standardized tests were commonly utilized by many teachers and principals. Postsecondary institutions established their own norms in terms of entrance to programs.

If we are to invite the Indian to grow independent and self-reliant, then we must begin by placing it within his power to teach his children what he thinks is best for his children to know. He may be wrong. He may be incapable of making the best choices for them. But if he "believes" that he can decide these issues, he ought to decide them.

If he is wrong, the result will be no worse than it is today — where the Indian child so often learns so very little.

Responsibility for the education of their young offers the only viable possibility that the Indian will one day have the kind of education that is likely to fit him into the changed, and forever-changing world that even the Indian recognizes as inevitable. The Indian might not himself be capable of teaching his children the skills of the mechanical trades, the complexities of electronics and physics, the theories of higher mathematics, and the natural sciences. But fixed with the responsibility of the survival of his children in the modern world, it is more likely that the Indian will seek out the cooperation of the White man's teachers. He is then less likely to oppose them as enemies seeking to exterminate him. If the responsibility is the Indian's, and the choice is his to enlist the White man's support or to eschew it, there will exist the possibility that the Indian will one day come to terms with himself and non-Indians.

The basic questions in Indian education will ultimately be solved by Indian people and will have to be worked through by Indian people. It is no longer possible, honest, or acceptable for outsiders to dictate Indian educational policy. However, if they are to take the position that Indians must control their own destiny, then the larger society must also assume responsibility to see that this is possible. They cannot just let financial aid drop, let all moral responsibility drop, remain uninformed, and reverse their now growing service relationship to one of abandonment. It is a fallacy that the expert knows better what should happen to Indian people than the people themselves.

The writer on the basis of the ethnographic studies concludes as valid the statements made by the National Indian Brotherhood in the Policy Paper, Indian Control of Indian Education. The philosophy underlying the education of the Indian child should be pride in one's self, understanding of one's fellow men, and living in harmony with nature. The goal, as distinct from philosophy, should be that education is a tool. It should help prepare Indian children for "total" living. It should facilitate their free choice as to where they live and work. Above all, it should enable them to participate fully in their own social, economic, political and educational advancement.

The education of the Indian child which should emphasize parental authority and local control, should also foster those values most dear to the Native Peoples of Ontario: self-reliance, respect for personal freedom, generosity, respect for nature, and wisdom.

As the Indian child learns largely through "observation and visual means," Indian children can hardly profit from or find value in programs and in practices which do not provide out of classroom experiences. There is too much emphasis on the grade system, and a loss of language leads naturally to a loss of culture.

The tragedy of a large failure rate is not to be found in a lack of capability, but in an inappropriate curriculum, a White ethnocentric school system, a lack of programs made for the child of Indian ancestry, the absence of social and emotional support for the Indian in the school system, and finally, in some cases, homes where the value of education is underestimated. An Indian child's education must prepare him/her for two very different lifestyles. Indian children must be able to pursue an Indian lifestyle, and also to compete equally in the "job market" of the whole of society.

To achieve those ends, it seems obvious that the Indians must have "control" over the education of their children, to a degree even greater than the non-Indian parents of Ontario. This means that every way must be found so that they plan, develop, and implement the programs of studies in their schools. They should, as well, be active participants in the preparation of all relevant didactic material.

The culture of the Indian child, his history and language must be saved. Consequently, the Indian culture should be implemented. All textbooks for and about Indians should be reviewed and revised. Part of this review should also be a program to sensitize non-Indian educators to Indian cultural values, traditions and language.

Each Indian child is entitled to his mother tongue. The educational system of Ontario should see to it that this right is fulfilled whether the child's native tongue is English or one of the Indian languages. Even though the the Indian child must eventually possess fluency and literacy first in English and second in French, these languages should not be introduced until he/she is fluent in his/her mother tongue, should the child and his/her parents so desire.

Educators who come into contact with Indian children should have a working knowledge of the appropriate Indian language and there should be Indian teachers on staff. Teachers' aides should be used more effectively and more widely. Attention should be given to local needs for teacher orientation, day nurseries, remedial courses, tutoring, Indian guidance counsellors, and so forth. Morris C. Shumiatcher says it rather nicely in the following words.

> I shall not forget my first visit to an Indian residential school years ago. The wide-eyed youngsters, sitting at their desks, were being instructed in an art class. Most of them had

bright-colored crayons in front of them; each had a white pad of drawing paper. The teacher told them that she wished them to draw a flower. I saw, taking shape on paper, a large purple crocus, and on another a group of small yellow buttercups. Before these youngsters had progressed very far, the teacher drew on the blackboard what she considered to be a suitable flower for them to copy. It was red and yellow tulip, such as no Indian child had ever seen in his life. Obediently, though half-heartedly, the young pupils turned over their sheets and copied the tulip. This was the White man's flower, they felt, and it was the kind of flower they were now expected to draw. They were sure it must be a better flower than the one they had themselves seen on the prairies and perhaps had picked that day. The class proceeded. After a time, the teacher asked them to fill in the sheet with people. One lad drew a few two-legged sticks, simple but animated. He stopped, awaiting further instructions. Obviously, he didn't dare pit his own imagination or experience against his teacher's. He waited to see what the teacher' way of making people might be. Another drew the silhouette of a hunter. He, too, waited. The teacher then embellished her blackboard sketch with three Dutch women all in a row, neatly profiled in white and blue — recognizable to anyone who has lived in a city as an exact replica of the label on a can of Old Dutch Cleanser. The children looked up surprised. A few of the boys patiently copied the ungainly, ducklike figures that were before them on the blackboard. The others, confused and lost in a world that was strange to them, sat listlessly in their seats, wondering, no doubt, what those ridiculous flapping forms had to do with the flowers they had seen on the Prairies or the real people they had lived with when they were at home. Of one thing they were certain: the White teacher's world was not their world, nor their world hers. The drawing class failed to bring the two worlds one centimeter closer together. It only served to widen the chasm between them, and to convince these Indian boys and girls that there was nothing in the White man's world of painting or pictures or color that could ever genuinely interest them. They felt, I know, that they would never come to grips with that world, nor ever understand the White man's ways; and if they could, it would

> only be by exerting a supreme effort, which would never be really worth the trouble. For what was there to be gained from it in the end? Better to avoid it than be frustrated by it.[1]

The Indian people of Canada today enjoy most rights to which other citizens of that Nation are entitled. However, they have in almost every instance been denied the right to be wrong. The professionals and the experts are the ones who determine the character as well as the objectives of Indian education. Therefore, the number "one" need can be characterized by the problem of Indian Control of Indian Education.

The successes that Indians can point to have come about as a result of "unified" action on such reserves as West Bay on Manitoulin Island and the Chippewa and Muncey-of-the-Thames Reserves. Dedicated people have been steadily working towards educational autonomy. Often the pattern begins with nothing more than a desire for a say in how their children get educated, and the resulting ideas generate increased conversations among parents, planned meeting, classes in basements, band proposals, and ultimately government funding and a new school on the reserve.

Within Canada there are now 230 band-controlled schools, 15 Indian-controlled alternative schools operating primarily on Indian philosophy like Toronto's Wandering Spirit Survival School, 23 Indian teacher-training programs in accredited universities with a 90 percent success rate, several Indian/Native Studies programs such as the diploma and B.A. offered at Trent University in Peterborough, Ontario, the one-year program in Journalism for Indian people at the University of Western Ontario in London, and the four-year Bachelor of Social Work degree at the Saskatchewan Indian Federated College.[2]

The above schools and programs can and should be used as role models for their achievements as well as learning experiences for their mistakes. They can act as an impetus to increase parental initiation of more schools. The specific policy is stated in Indian Control of Indian Education: "We must, therefore, reclaim our right to direct the education of our children. Based on two educational principles recognized in Canadian society; Parental Responsibility and Local Control of Education, Indian parents seek participation and partnership with the Federal Government, whose legal responsibility for Indian education is set by the treaties and the Indian Act."

Harvey McCue, an Ojibway from Georgina Island, Ontario, the author of "The Only Good Indian," and Professor of Indian Studies at Trent University in Peterborough identifies the major issue in Indian Education as a conflict which creates insurmountable barriers for Indian students, namely that the educational program is an extension of the middle class, non-Indian family in the community in terms of the values learned, the values taught, the pedagogy in the background of teachers."[3] Some manage to overcome that cultural conflict, but they are exceptions. Before Indian Education can begin to be useful to Indians, the entire philosophy, the curriculum, the teaching resources, the pedagogy, including teacher training, have to reflect the values, the attitude, the beliefs, which are common in Indian families and Indian communities.

> Dear Teacher:
>
> Before you take charge of the classroom that contains my child, please ask yourself why you are going to teach Indian children. What are your expectations? What rewards do you anticipate? What ego-needs will our children have to meet?

Write down and examine all the information and opinions you possess about Indians. What are the stereotypes and untested assumptions that you bring with you into the classroom. How many negative attitudes towards Indians will you put before my child?

What values, class prejudices and moral principles do you take for granted as universal? Please remember that "different from" is not the same as "worse than" or "better than" and the yardstick you use to measure your own life satisfactorily may not be appropriate for their lives.

The term "culturally deprived" was invented by well-meaning middle-class Whites to describe something they could not understand.

Too many teachers, unfortunately, seem to see their role as rescuer. My child does not need to be rescued; he does not consider being an Indian a misfortune. He has a culture, probably older than yours; he has meaningful values and a rich and varied experiential background. However strange or incomprehensible it may seem to you, you have no right to do or say anything that implies to him that it is less than satisfactory.

Our children's experiences have been different from those of the "typical" White middle-class child for whom most school curricula seem to have been designed (I suspect that this "typical" child does not exist except in the minds of curriculum writers). Nonetheless, my child's experiences have been as intense and meaningful to him as any child's.

Like most Indian children his age, he is competent. He can dress himself, prepare a meal for himself, clean up afterwards, care for a younger child. He knows his Reserve, all of which is his home, like the back of his hand.

He is not accustomed to having to ask permission to do the ordinary things that are part of normal living. He is seldom forbidden to do anything, more usually the consequences of an action are explained to him and he is allowed to decide for himself whether or not to act. His entire existence since he has been old enough to see and hear has been an experiential learning situation, arranged to provide him with the oportunity to develop his skills and confidence in his own capacities. Didactic teaching will be an alien experience for him.

He is not self-conscious in the way many white children are. Nobody has ever told him his efforts towards independence are cute. He is a young human being energetically doing his job, which is to get on with the process of learning to function as an adult human being. He will respect you as a person, but he will expect you to do likewise to him.

He has been taught, by precept, that courtesy is an essential part of human conduct and rudeness is any action that makes another person feel stupid or foolish. Do not mistake his patient courtesy for indifference or passivity.

He doesn't speak standard English, but he is in no way "linguistically handicapped." If you will take the time and the courtesy to listen and observe carefully, you will see that he and the other Indian children communicate very well, both among themselves and with other Indians. They speak "functional English," very effectively augmented by their fluency in the silent language, the subtle, unspoken communication of facial expressions, gestures, body movement and the use of personal space.

You will be well advised to remember that our children are skillful interpreters of the silent language. They will know your feelings and attitudes with unerring precision, no matter how carefully you arrange your smile or modulate your voice. They will learn in your classroom, because children learn involuntarily. What they learn will depend on you.

Will you help my child to learn to read, or will you teach him that he has a reading problem? Will you help him develop problem-solving skills, or will you teach him that school is where you try to guess what answer the teacher wants?

Will he learn that his sense of his own value and dignity is valid, or will he learn that he must forever be apologetic and "trying harder" because he isn't White? Can you help him to acquire the intellectual skills he needs without at the same time imposing your values on top of those he already has?

Respect my child. He is a person. He has a right to be himself.

Yours very sincerely,
His Mother.[4]

National Dimensions of Indian Control of Indian Education

When the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development so whole-heartedly and enthusiastically endorsed the National Indian

Brotherhood's policy paper Indian Control of Indian Education, Mr. Cretien said:

> The Department's role will increasingly become that of a service function to which Bands can turn as they feel the need for consultation, for discussion, and for provision of specialized educational services; however, the control and the responsibility will rest with the Bands to chart their educational course seeking whatever assistance that they require from whatever source they desire. I recognize that a policy, irrespective of how well-conceived, cannot be perfect for all time or for all situations at a point in time. Clearly, we will expect and desire that the National Indian Brotherhood will, from time to time, update and modify its educational policy and that the application will vary from community to community as communities see and express the need for change in the educational offering . . . It is my hope that from this time on the native people in Canada will feel that they have at last been given room to grow with clear reason and with aspirations that are ultimately fulfilled.[5]

If one dare extrapolate from the three reserves under study to the federal scene, the records indicate that a long series of guidelines issued by the department were started almost before the ink was dry from preceding guidelines, and continued up to the present day. According to Harold Cardinal, by the beginning of 1975, the department had fielded so much flack regarding the constant stream of directives, which it labeled guidelines, that it had to issue a guideline about the guidelines. "Policy," he states, "means an official statement of purpose by the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development." "Guideline means an instruction to the Department staff." "Education program or education activity means the services totally or individually operated under the direction of the director of the education branch in the Indian-Eskimo Affairs Program," and so on. "Policy guidelines," said the directive, are instructions to Departmental staff. They explain

policies, establish program standards, describe general implementation procedures and set funding limits. Policy guidelines are intended to assist officials in planning program development and the management of Department activities and operations.[6] In the eyes of Harold Cardinal, the guidelines made it perfectly clear, even through the maze of bureaucracy, that Indians had control of precisely nothing, and were expected to dance to the tune of an all-White orchestra. In his words, what the bureaucrats accomplished with their regulations was to say:

> We shall agree to you controlling Indian education, but not Indian education as you define it. The only thing we agree to is that you can run our educational programs as long as you run them the way we've always run them. We shall give you a set of rules by which you have to run them; we shall tell you what kind of organization you have to set up, what kind of accounting system you have to set up, and exactly the guidelines you are going to have to use.[7]

When Mr. Cretien outlined his department's acceptance of the principle of Indian Control of Indian Education he said: "There will be no transfer of the federal education program to a provincial system without the clear consent of the Indian people who will be fully involved from the initial planning to the final signature on the capital agreement."[8] There has been little effort to work out a legal basis for setting up the fundamental Indian Education Authority, perhaps the "key" community level group to the entire program.

Indian efforts to negotiate the best education agreement possible have not been successful, largely because the money simply has not been forthcoming. For Indian control to have meaning, there must be funding to implement programs, as was the case on Manitoulin Island and on the Chippewa and Muncey-of-the-Thames Reserves. The Indian people asked

for control of Indian education to enable them to develop a program that would meet their needs. In their eyes, the "acceptance" of the policy paper by the government unequivocally meant their assumption of the responsibility to fund the program. Therefore, it is felt by some that the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development through a deliberate manipulation of funds, through a deliberate budgetary policy, is thwarting, not only the principle of Indian Control of Indian Education, but the everyday operation of such a policy. Hence, "funds and a legislative base" would put "teeth" in the control principle. Mr. Noe Starblanket says it well. The writer has taken the liberty to reproduce the text of the actual Minutes in the House of Commons, Thursday, May 4, 1978.[9]

Recommendations

The Need For Research

The first task in achieving quality education calls for bands to receive fiscal control in schooling in order that they can determine the organizational direction of services —viz. to contract with a provincial school district, or to establish an independent school unit, or to cooperate with other Bands. "Provincial standards" in funding and curricula should be the benchmarks. The writer would like to see research done on a per-pupil bloc grant which each Band would receive, a grant that would be based upon the per-pupil expenditures made to publicly-supported schools in the respective provincial and territorial jurisdictions.

The financial system under the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development to date has been built up with too many vagaries.

Non-formula grants allow continued opportunities for a strong continued "political" presence. The writer would like to see a simple basic system established. Not only could participants understand the rules, but also each Band within a region would be treated equitably. This would cut to the absolute minimum the number and type of categorical and discretionary educational grants from the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.

An absence of consensus on educational goals, inadequate testing technology, inappropriateness of central management procedures, all render impotent any sophisticated accountability system. Therefore, the writer would recommend that each authority that delivers schooling with the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development funding must submit an annual statement of what programs are offered and an evaluation of Indian pupil progress within them, this statement to form a report to parents and Band councils as well as to the Department. A school-based evaluation/accountability process is proposed not only to improve school practice, but also as a base to reveal common issues among these schools.

The Need To Define Indian Education

There is no universal application of the term "Indian education" at the school level across Canada. Given this complexity, the writer would like to see established some working generalizations. Many statements of direction about Indian education resemble "wishing" lists, that is, many items are not prioritized and are costly.

A review of comprehensive planning should include the identification of general goals; the definition of specific objectives aimed at

the goals; the development of programs and alternatives to meet the objectives; and the compilation of information to monitor progress towards objective or goals.

Poor information and even lazier theorizing remains a critical problem in any informed discussion of "Indian Control" of Indian Education in Canada. General program objectives, based upon an ill-defined target population, lead to mushy programs, and thereby, later defy any evaluation of any progress towards meeting the objectives. A common failure to go through the necessary background steps in analysis has contributed to an element of hopelessness in Indian education. High dropout rates, low test scores, a confused situation at high dollar costs, encourages commentary that places much of the responsibility for failures upon the Indian population. Are they failures or victims? Communication problems then, are replete in Indian Control of Indian Education. The very content and decision-making processes encourage conflicting messages. All decision-makers have their own personal experiences with education, experiences which condition their perception of issues. This becomes a liability when these actors with a limited and biased perception make decisions too simplistically while not recognizing the sheer complex and dynamic quality of Indian education.

The Need For A "Relevant" System of Indian Education

A feeling that more participation by parents and the local community in running the schools has been recognized in Indian Control of Indian Education. Participation in Indian schools prompts raising fundamental questions. Who should participate and on what issues?

What is a local issue and one of general significance? Whose morality, experience, observations, and good judgement are we to rely on? Without consensus on the aims of Indian education, moral considerations provide little guidance in policymaking. No such consensus now exists. The writer would like to suggest that the following four principles for the transfer of power and responsibility for services to Indians be applied to the recommended block grant:

1. Indian-Determined - with band control over needs assessment and planning functions;
2. Indian-Specific - reflecting Indian community values, standards and norms, through Indian control of the planning processes;
3. Community based - being developed, organized and delivered within Indian communities; and
4. Band-Controlled - being administered and accounted for within Indian communities.

These principles reject the imposition of existing standardized services upon Indian communities. If a band wishes to purchase places for its children in an adjacent provincial school district, that would be its right or it would be possible to send children to residential schools. However, if a band seeks its own alternative school setting, then it would have the authority to do so.

The White man's ways have brought the Indian a measure of material comfort, but it is an uneasy comfort. The White man's schools have gone further and have injected enough dissatisfaction into his life to cause him to leave his reserve, only to encounter failure in the White man's world against which the Indian schools were supposed to have

protected him. Deprived of the only way of life which he knew, and provided with none of the tools to build a new way of life for himself, the Indian wanders between two worlds. The accusation of "genocide," far-fetched though it may be, will likely be heard more frequently, and will be expressed with greater bitterness and conviction if subsidized White schools are the only institution available for the education of Indian children. There is a need for a "relevant" system of Indian education based on Indian needs.

The Need for "Parity"

The writer would like to propose that the following criteria would provide standards for all Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development educational programs and facilities in the province of Ontario, and would provide "parity" between Indian-controlled schools and those under the province. Acceptance of the "community" as the basis in curriculum decision-making would lead to greater "pluralism." These criteria are "unique" in application to the Indian community and the Indian situation:

1. the school had a sound philosophy of education and realistic objectives;
2. the school is organized and administered in accordance with its philosophy and objectives;
3. there is evidence that the total educational program of the school is growing and developing;
4. there is evidence that the school is achieving standards appropriate to the objectives;

5. the staff is well-trained, competent in teaching and facilitating learning in their chosen fields, and capable of working as a team to achieve the school's objectives;
6. regulations governing school programs, curriculum and school organization are followed in such a way that the best interests of students are served;
7. consideration is given to meeting the individual needs of all students;
8. the social organization of the school provides opportunities for all students to learn how to share in the responsibility of democratic citizenship;
9. suitable services are provided in the areas of health, guidance, and counselling;
10. consideration is given to the needs of the community in planning and developing the school's program;
11. the school is an integral part of the district's educational program, working cooperatively with its tributary schools, neighboring schools, and other educational organizations; and
12. the school has the resources in buildings, grounds, equipment and educational services to meet the above requirements.

There was little or no "parity" among the three Reserves under study. At one extreme Manitoulin Island's ability to control the system of education depended to some degree on the high-potential villages that were modernizing with many moderate employment opportunities on and off the Island. The three Indian communities differed markedly in the

health of their social organization. Their strength to resist the demoralization of poor health, unemployment, and alcoholism, and to face different problems in distance, isolation, and diversity varied greatly, all of which affected the Band aspirations, expectations, plans, and interests in local control. A Bloc grant, based upon Provincial guidelines, would establish common ground-rules for all Bands regardless of geographical, social and economic differences.

Footnotes

[1]Morris C. Shumiatcher, Welfare: Hidden Backlash, p. 56.

[2]Juanita Rennie, "A Positive Look At Indian Education," Ontario Indian, Vol. 4, No. 10, p. 5, October, 1981.

[3]"Politics, Education And A Good Book," Ontario Indian, Vol. 4, No. 10, p. 7.

[4]Laurier L. La Pierre, To Herald A Child: The Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Education of the Young Child, Toronto: Marvel Graphics Ltd., 1979, p. 14-15.

[5]Harold Cardinal, The Rebirth of Canada's Indians, p. 83.

[6]Ibid., p. 84.

[7]Ibid.

[8]Ibid., p. 85.

[9]See Appendix F.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Why do Indian people want to control their own education system?

2. What is the educational goal of Native People?

3. What changes will Indians make in the education system under their control?

4. What is involved in the "takeover" of Indian Control of Indian Education?

5. What is involved in the preparation for "takeover"?

6. Does "Indian Control of Indian Education" mean that Band Councils must administer the education programme?

7. To whom is the "Band Education Authority" responsible?

8. Does "Indian Control of Indian Education" mean that all Indian children must attend schools on reserves?

9. How can one be sure that "Indian Control of Indian Education" is the direction that should be taken?

10. Is there an increase in Native teachers since the implementation of the Brotherhood Policy, "Indian Control of Indian Education"?

11. Is there now a greater opportunity for both Native teacher training and cultural sensitization of non-Indian teachers?

12. Is there an increase in language specialists?

13. Is there an increase in Indian teaching assistants?

14. Is there an increase in Native counselling staff and counsellor training programmes?

15. Is there an increase in Native involvement within the area of curriculum development?

16. Is there financial assistance to Treaty-Indians, Metis, and non-Status Indian students?

17. Is there an increase in adult education programmes for Native Peoples?

18. Is there an increase in culturally-oriented Native programmes and Resource Centres?

19. Is there an increase in Native-staffed student boarding homes?

20. Is there a decrease in the drop-out rate?

21. Is there a busing problem?

22. Is there an increase in employment opportunities?

23. Is there an increase in recreation and physical facilities?

24. Is there an increase in Early-Childhood Education and Day-Care Centres?

25. Comment on health services.

26. Comment on Drug and Alcohol Abuse Programmes?

27. Comment on Native Court Workers and Correctional Services?

28. Are the physical facilities adequate for educational purposes?

29. Comment on Integration, Assimilation, and Segregation.

30. Comment on post-secondary educational opportunities.

APPENDIX B

TEXT OF
"INDIAN CONTROL OF INDIAN EDUCATION"

Statement Of The Indian Philosophy Of Education

In Indian tradition each adult is personally responsible for each child, to see that he learns all he needs to know in order to live a good life. As our fathers had a clear idea of what made a good man and a good life in their society, so we modern Indians, want our children to learn that happiness and satisfaction come from:

—pride in one's self,

—understanding one's fellowmen, and

—living in harmony with nature.

These are lessons which are necessary for survival in this twentieth century.

—Pride encourages us to recognize and use our talents, as well as to master the skills needed to make a living.

—Understanding our fellowmen will enable us to meet other Canadians on an equal footing, respecting cultural differences while pooling resources for the common good.

—Living in harmony with nature will insure preservation of the balance between man and his environment which is necessary for the future of our planet, as well as

for fostering the climate in which Indian Wisdom has always flourished.

We want education to give our children the knowledge to understand and be proud of themselves and the knowledge to understand the world around them.

Statement Of Values

We want education to provide the setting in which our children can develop the fundamental attitudes and values which have an honoured place in Indian tradition and culture. The values which we want to pass on to our children, values which make our people a great race, are not written in any book. They are found in our history, in our legends and in the culture. We believe that if an Indian child is fully aware of the important Indian values he will have reason to be proud of our race and of himself as an Indian.

We want the behaviour of our children to be shaped by those values which are most esteemed in our culture. When our children come to school they have already developed certain attitudes and habits which are based on experiences in the family. School programmes which are influenced by these values respect cultural priority and are an extension of the education which parents give children from their first years. These early lessons emphasize attitudes of:

—self-reliance,

—respect for personal freedom,

—generosity,

—respect for nature,

—wisdom.

All of these have a special place in the Indian way of life. While these values can be understood and interpreted in different ways by different cultures, it is very important that Indian children have a chance to develop a value system which is compatible with Indian culture.

The gap between our people and those who have chosen, often gladly, to join us as residents of this beautiful and bountiful country, is vast when it comes to mutual understanding and appreciation of differences. To overcome this, it is essential that Canadian children of every racial origin have the opportunity during their school days to learn about the history, customs and culture of this country's original inhabitants and first citizens. We propose that education authorities, especially those in provincial Departments of Education, should provide for this in the curricula and texts which are chosen for use in Canadian schools.

The Role Of Parents In Setting Goals

If we are to avoid the conflict of values which in the past has led to withdrawal and failure, Indian parents must have control of education with the responsibility of setting goals. What we want for our children can be summarized very briefly:

—to reinforce their Indian identity,

—to provide the training necessary for making a good living in modern society.

We are the best judges of the kind of school programmes which can contribute to these goals without causing damage to the child.

We must, therefore, reclaim our right to direct the education of our children. Based on two education principles recognized in Canadian

society: Parental Responsibility and Local Control of Education, Indian parents seek participation and partnership with the Federal Government, whose legal responsibility for Indian education is set by the treaties and the Indian Act. While we assert that only Indian people can develop a suitable philosophy of education based on Indian values adapted to modern living, we also strongly maintain that it is the financial responsibility of the Federal Government to provide education of all types and all levels to all status Indian people, whether living on or off reserves. It will be essential to the realization of this objective that representatives of the Indian people, in close cooperation with officials of the Department of Indian Affairs, establish the needs and priorities of local communities in relation to the funds which may be available through government sources.

The time has come for a radical change in Indian education. Our aim is to make education relevant to the philosophy and needs of the Indian people. We want education to give our children a strong sense of identity, with confidence in their personal worth and ability. We believe in education:

—as a preparation for total living,

—as a means of free choice of where to live and work,

—as a means of enabling us to participate fully in our own social, economic, political and educational advancement.

We do not regard the educational process as an "either-or" operation. We must have the freedom to choose among many options and alternatives. Decisions on specific issues can be made only in the context of local control of education. We uphold the right of the Indian Bands

to make these specific decisions and to exercise their full responsibility in providing the best possible education for our children.

Our concern for education is directed to four areas which require attention and improvement: i.e., responsibility, programmes, teachers and facilities. The following pages will offer in an objective way, the general principles and guidelines which can be applied to specific problems in these areas.

Responsibility

Jurisdictional Question Of Responsibility For Indian Education

The Federal Government has legal responsibility for Indian education as defined by the treaties and the Indian Act. Any transfer of jurisdiction for Indian education can only be from the Federal Government to Indian Bands. Whatever responsibility belongs to the Provinces is derived from the contracts for educational services negotiated between Band Councils, provincial school jurisdictions, and the Federal Government.

Parties in future joint agreements will be:

1. Indian Bands,
2. local provincial school jurisdictions, and
3. the Federal Government.

These contracts must recognize the right of Indians to a free education, funded by the Government of Canada.

The Indian people concerned, together with officials of the Department of Indian Affairs, must review all existing agreements for the purpose of making specific recommendations for the revision, termination, or continuance.

In addition to the usual school services provided under joint agreements, attention must be given to local needs for teacher orientation, day nurseries, remedial courses, tutoring, Indian guidance counsellors, etc.

Where Bands want to form a school district under the Federal system, necessary provision should be made in order that it has the recognition of provincial education authorities.

Master agreements between federal and provincial governments violate the principle of Local Control and Parental Responsibility if these agreements are made without consulting and involving the Indian parents whose children are affected. Since these children are often from many widely separated bands, it may be necessary to provide for Indian participation through the provincial Indian associations. In every case, however, parental responsibility must be respected and the local Band will maintain the right to review and approve the conditions of the agreement.

Local Control

The past practice of using the school committee as an advisory body with limited influence, in restricted areas of the school programme, must give way to an education authority with the control of funds and consequent authority which are necessary for an effective decision-making body. The Federal Government must take the required steps to transfer to local Bands the authority and the funds which are allotted for Indian education.

The Band itself will determine the relationship which should exist between the Band Council and the School Committee: or more properly, the Band Education Authority. The respective roles of the Band Council

and the Education Authority will have to be clearly defined by the Band, with terms of reference to ensure the closest cooperation so that local control will become a reality.

The local Education Authority would be responsible for:

—budgeting, spending and establishing priorities;

—determining the types of school facilities required to meet local needs: e.g. day school, residence, group home, nursery, kindergarten, high school;

—directing staff hiring and curriculum development with special concern for Indian languages and culture;

—administering the physical plant;

—developing adult education and upgrading courses;

—negotiating agreements with provincial or separate school jurisdictions for the kind of services necessary for local requirements;

—cooperation and evaluation of education programmes both on and off the reserve;

—providing counselling services.

Training must be made available to those reserves desiring local control of education. This training must include every aspect of educational administration. It is important that Bands moving towards local control have the opportunity to prepare themselves for the move. Once the parents have control of a local school, continuing guidance during the operational phase is equally important and necessary.

Representation On Provincial School Boards

There must be adequate Indian representation on provincial school boards which have Indian pupils attending schools in their district or division. If integration for Indians is to have any positive meaning, it must be related to the opportunity for parental participation in the educational decision-making process.

Recalling that 60 percent of Indian children are enrolled in provincial schools, there is urgent need to provide for proper representation on all local provincial school boards. Since this issue must be resolved by provincial legislation, all Provinces should pass effective laws which will insure Indian representation on all provincial school boards in proportion to the number of children attending provincial schools, with provision for at least one Indian representative in places where the enrollment is minimal. Laws already on the books are not always effective and should be re-examined. Neither is permissive legislation enough, nor legislation which has conditions attached.

A Band Education Authority which is recognized as the responsible bargaining agent with financial control of education funds, will be in a strong position to negotiate for proper representation on a school board which is providing educational services to the Indian community.

There is an urgent need for laws which will make possible RESPONSIBLE REPRESENTATION AND FULL PARTICIPATION by all parents of children attending provincial schools.

Indian organizations and the Federal Government should do whatever is necessary to conduct an effective public relations programme for the purpose of explaining their role and that of the local Band Education

Authorities to the provincial Ministers of Education, to Department of Education officials and to school board members.

Programmes

Curriculum And Indian Values

Unless a child learns about the forces which shape him: the history of his people, their values and customs, their language, he will never really know himself or his potential as a human being. Indian culture and values have a unique place in the history of mankind. The Indian child who learns about his heritage will be proud of it. The lessons he learns in school, his whole school experience should reinforce and contribute to the image he has of himself as an Indian.

The present school system is culturally alien to native students. Where the Indian contribution is not entirely ignored, it is often cast in an unfavourable light. School curricula in federal and provincial schools should recognize Indian culture, values, customs, languages, and the Indian contribution to Canadian development. Courses in Indian history and culture should promote pride in the Indian child, and respect in the non-Indian student.

A curriculum is not an archaic, inert vehicle for transmitting knowledge. It is a precise instrument which can and should be shaped to exact specifications for a particular purpose. It can be changed and it can be improved. Using curriculum as a means to achieve their educational goals, Indian parents want to develop a programme which will maintain balance and relevancy between academic/skill subjects and Indian cultural subjects.

To develop an Indian oriented curriculum for schools which enroll native children, there must be full scale cooperation between federal, provincial and Indian education people:

1. In the federal Indian school system, funds must be made available for Indian people to work with professional curriculum planners. Together they will work out and test ideas for a relevant curriculum, utilizing the best from both cultures.
2. In the provincial school system, this same kind of curriculum development must be pursued by the Department of Education with the involvement of the Indian people and the support of federal and provincial funding.

Some other measures for improving the quality of instruction for all students, both Indian and non-Indian, are recommended to provincial and private school systems:

1. appointment of native people to the curriculum staff for the purpose of supervising the production and distribution of Indian oriented curriculum materials for provincial schools, complete with the man-power and other resources to accomplish this task;
2. removal of textbooks or other teaching materials which are negative, biased or inaccurate in what concerns Indian history and culture;
3. augmenting Indian content in curriculum to include Indian contributions to Canadian life through supplementary courses

in economics, science, medicine, agriculture, agriculture, geography, etc., as well as special courses in Indian culture, music, art, dance, handicraft, language;

4. cooperating with Indian people in developing Indian studies programmes at all levels;
5. eliminating the use of I.Q. and standardized tests for Indian children. It has been shown that these tests do not truly reflect the intelligence of children belonging to minority, ethnic or other cultural backgrounds.

Textbooks are needed which emphasize the importance of the Indian's role in Canadian history. Material for reading classes must be developed: material which is relevant to the experience of the Indian child living in isolated or northern areas. Federal and provincial governments must be ready to respond to the native people and support their legitimate wishes for improved texts. Indian people should be commissioned to work with historians and educators for the development of proper textbook material.

All Indian people, young and old alike, must be given a wide variety of educational opportunities. Specific problems in many Indian communities must be met by improved education. Much needed programmes include: nursery and kindergarten education, junior and senior high school opportunity, vocational training, adult education, post-secondary education, and alcohol and drug abuse education.

Nursery Schools And Kindergartens

Financial support for nursery schools and kindergartens should be the special concern of governments. These programmes should be designated as priority programmes in every respect.

Many communities will view this pre-school experience as an opportunity for the children to learn the second language in which school subjects will be taught. Other communities will emphasize cultural content, for the purpose of reinforcing the child's image of himself as an Indian. This is the decision of the local parents and they alone are responsible for decisions on location, operation, curriculum and teacher hiring.

Junior and Senior High Schools

In places where junior and senior high school classes once operated, the children have been transferred to provincial schools. Alarmed by the increasing number of teenagers who are dropping out of school, Indian parents are looking for alternatives to the high school education which their children are now receiving in provincial schools. If Indian parents had control of high school education, they could combat conditions which cause failures by:

—adopting clearly defined educational objectives compatible with Indian values;

—providing a relevant educational programme;

—making education a total experience: recognizing Indian language, life and customs, inviting the participation of Indian parents in shaping the programme;

—providing more counselling by Indians for Indians.

The needs of children and the desire of parents would indicate that in some areas high schools and/or vocational schools should be established on certain reserves to serve students of surrounding

communities. These schools would be operated and maintained by a representative Education Authority.

Serious planning must be directed to developing flexible, realistic and relevant high school programmes to meet the specific needs of Indian students who have dropped out and desire to resume their high school studies.

Vocational Training

A new approach to qualifications for many jobs is needed, as well as a change in academic/vocational courses to meet new requirements. In many cases where these jobs are within the Indian community, job specifications should be set by the Indian people, and the training itself should be supervised by the local Education Authority, which is established and/or recognized by the Band or Bands involved.

Some of these positions might include teachers, counsellors, social workers, probation officers, parole officers, community development workers.

On a wider scale, responsible efforts must be made to encourage business and industry to open up jobs for Indian people. Job training should correspond to job opportunity and the economic reality.

The local Band Education Authority should be in a position to deal directly with Canada Manpower and other training institutions.

When necessary, several Education Authorities might join together to plan programmes for a particular region.

Adult Education

Adult education programmes, properly conducted can be a means for many Indians to find economic security and self-fulfillment.

If the native language is spoken in the community, then native instructors should be trained and employed to teach these adult courses. Grade advancement classes should be offered on and off the reserves, as well as basic literacy courses for those desiring to speak, read and write English. Basic oral English programmes are also needed. Other adult programmes which should be provided as the need demands, might include: business management, consumer education, leadership training, administration, human relations, family education, health, budgeting, cooking, sewing, crafts, Indian art and culture, etc.

These programmes should be carried out under the control and direction of the Band Education Authority, on a short term of continuing basis, according to the local needs.

Post-Secondary Education

Considering the great need there is for professional people in Indian communities, every effort should be made to encourage and assist Indian students to succeed in post-secondary studies.

Encouragement should take the form of recruiting programmes directed to providing information to students desiring to enter professions such as: nursing, teaching, counselling, law, medicine, engineering, etc. Entrance requirements, pre-university programmes, counselling and tutoring services, course requirements, are some factors which influence how far a student can progress. He would be further encouraged if the Indian language is recognized for the second language requirement and a native studies programme has a respected place in the curriculum.

Considering the tremendous educational disadvantages of Indian people, present rigid entrance requirements to universities, colleges, etc., must be adjusted to allow for entrance on the basis of ability, aptitude, intelligence, diligence and maturity.

Assistance should take the form of generous federal financial support eliminating the difficulty and uncertainty which now accompanies a student's decision to continue on for higher education. Indian students should be able to attend any recognized educational institution of their choice. Those who have the motivation and talent to do post-graduate studies, should receive total financial assistance. Since it will be many years before the number of candidates for professional training exceeds the demand for trained professionals, each request for financial assistance to do post-secondary or post-graduate studies should be judged on its own merits, and not by general administrative directives.

Indian people should seek representation on the governing bodies of institutions of higher learning. This includes university senates and boards of governors, as well as the governing councils of colleges, community colleges and technical schools.

Alcohol And Drug Education

There is immediate need for educational programmes of a preventative and rehabilitative nature, designed and operated by Indians to meet the threat of alcohol and drug addiction which plagues both young and old alike. Whatever funds and means are necessary to operate these programmes should be made available at the earliest possible date.

Some recommendations proposed by Indian provincial organizations for implementing these programmes are:

1. Training native people as social animators to initiate programmes of group dynamics at the community level. In this way there would be community participation in decision-making which affects the community. Through the acquisition of knowledge about problems and services, combined with reality-oriented group discussions leading to community action, the solution of the socio-medical ills can be placed in the context of the community.
2. Governments, federal and provincial, should encourage special seminars and study groups for teachers, parents and students, as well as making available the best audio visual aids, in order to bring those concerned up to date on all that can be done to combat addiction.
3. These programmes should be directed not only to the victims of addiction but also the communities, professions and institutions that necessarily become involved in the circle of human relationships which are affected by addiction.

Language of Instruction

Language is the outward expression of an accumulation of learning and experience shared by a group of people over centuries of development. It is not simply a vocal symbol; it is a dynamic force which shapes the way a man looks at the world, his thinking about the world and his philosophy of life. Knowing his maternal language helps a man to know himself; being proud of his language helps a man to be proud of himself.

The Indian people are expressing growing concern that the native languages are being lost; that the younger generations can no longer speak or understand their mother tongue. If the Indian identity is to be preserved, steps must be taken to reverse this trend.

While much can be done by parents in the home and by the community on the reserve to foster facility in speaking and understanding, there is a great need for formal instruction in the language. There are two aspects to this language instruction: (1) teaching in the native language, and (2) teaching the native language.

It is generally accepted that pre-school and primary school classes should be taught in the language of the community. Transition to English or French as a second language should be introduced only after the child has a strong grasp of his own language. The time schedule for this language programme has been determined to be from four to five years duration. Following this time span, adjustment and adaptation to other languages and unfamiliar cultural milieux are greatly enhanced.

The need for teachers who are fluent in the local language is dramatically underlined by this concern for the preservation of Indian identity through language instruction. Realization of this goal can be achieved in several ways:

—have teacher-aides specialize in Indian languages,

—have local language-resource aides to assist professional teachers,

—waive rigid teaching requirements to enable Indian people who are fluent in Indian languages, to become full-fledged teachers.

Funds and personnel are needed to develop language programmes which will identify the structures of the language: i.e., syntax, grammar, morphology, vocabulary. This is essential, not only to preserve the language, but to encourage its use in literary expression. Serious studies are needed to adapt traditional oral languages to written forms for instructional and literary purposes.

In places where it is not feasible to have full instruction in the native language, school authorities should provide that Indian children and others wishing it, will have formal instruction in the local native language as part of the curriculum and with full academic credit.

While governments are reluctant to invest in any but the two official languages, funds given for studies in native languages and for the development of teaching tools and instructional materials will have both short and long term benefits.

Cultural Education Centres

The purpose of a Cultural Education Centre is to provide for the personal development necessary for social and economic achievement in today's society. This personal development is achieved when an individual knows himself fully: his personal identity, dignity and potential. The Cultural Education Centre will promote this through studies of Indian history, culture, language and values.

By learning ways to apply traditional beliefs, values and skills to survival in modern society, and by learning modern skills and behaviours needed to participate in the benefits of economic and social development, the Indian will gain self-confidence and independence.

The Cultural Education Centre will be designed to meet these needs and to make up for deficiencies in other educational programmes.

Considering the vital role that these Centres could play in cultural, social and economic development, it is imperative that all decisions concerning their evolution (goals, structure, location operation, etc.) be the sole prerogative of the Indian people.

Funds for these Centres should be available with a minimum of regulations. These latter should be the result of discussion and agreement between the government and the Indian people.

The Indian people will welcome the participation of other Departments of Government, of provincial or local governments, of business or industry, of churches or foundations in securing sufficient and continuing funds for the Cultural Education Centres.

These Centres must be Indian controlled and operated, in view of the fact that they are established for Indian purposes and use.

Teachers

Training Programmes For Teachers and Counsellors

If progress is going to be made in improving educational opportunity for native children, it is basic that teacher and counsellor training programmes be redesigned to meet the needs. The need for native teachers and counsellors is critical and urgent; the need for specially trained non-Indian teachers and counsellors is also very great.

Native Teachers And Counsellors

It is evident that the Federal Government must take the initiative in providing opportunities for Indian people to train as teachers and counsellors. Efforts in this direction require experimental approaches and flexible structures to accommodate the native person who has talent and interest, but lacks minimum academic qualifications. Provincial involvement is also needed in this venture to introduce special teacher and counsellor training programmes which will allow native people to advance their academic standing at the same time as they are receiving professional training. Because of the importance to the Indian community, these training programmes must be developed in collaboration with the Indian people and their representatives in the national and provincial organizations. The national and provincial organizations have a major role to play in evolving and implementing the training programmes and in encouraging native young people to enter the education field.

Native teachers and counsellors who have an intimate understanding of Indian traditions, psychology, way oflife and language, are best able to create the learning environment suited to the habits and interests of the Indian child.

There is urgent need for more Indian counsellors to work with students both on and off the reserves. If the need is to be met, many more training centres must be opened immediately. The few which are now operating can never supply enough trained counsellors for the job that has to be done.

Non-Indian Teachers And Counsellors

The training of non-Indian teachers for teaching native children, either in federal or provincial schools, is a matter of grave concern to the Indian people. The role which teachers play in determining the success or failure of many young Indians is a force to be reckoned with. In most cases, the teacher is simply not prepared to understand or cope with cultural differences. Both the child and the teacher are forced into intolerable positions.

The training of non-Indian counsellors who work with Indian children in either the federal or provincial systems, is also of grave concern to Indian parents. Counsellors must have a thorough understanding of the values and cultural relevancies which shape the young Indian's self-identity. In order to cope with another cultural group the self-image of the child must be enhanced and not allowed to disintegrate. It is generally agreed that present counselling services are not only ineffective for students living away from home, but often are a contributing factor to their failure in school. It is the opinion of parents that counselling services should be the responsibility of the Band Education Authority.

Federal and provincial authorities are urged to use the strongest measures necessary to improve the qualifications of teachers and counsellors of Indian children. During initial training programmes there should be compulsory courses in inter-cultural education, native languages (oral facility and comparative analysis), and teaching English as a second language. Orientation courses and in-service training are needed in all regions. Assistance should be available for teachers in adapting curriculum and teaching techniques to the needs of local

children. Teachers and counsellors should be given the opportunity to improve themselves through specialized summer courses in acculturation problems, anthropology, Indian history, language and culture.

Primary teachers in federal or provincial schools should have some knowledge of the maternal language of the children they teach.

Until such time as Bands assume total responsibility for schools, there must be full consultation with the Band Education Authority regarding the appointment of teachers and counsellors. As part of its involvement, the community should also take the initiative in helping the teachers and counsellors to learn the culture, language and history of the local community.

Indian Para-Professionals

More Indian teacher-aides and more Indian counsellor-aides are urgently needed throughout the school systems where Indian children are taught. These para-professionals can play an important role in helping the young child or the adolescent to adjust to unfamiliar and often overwhelming situations during their school experience.

Job requirements and the personal qualities needed by para-professionals working with Indian children will be set by the Education Authority of the Band. Instead of operating on the fringe at some clerical or irrelevant task, Indian para-professionals will be delegated by the parents to work with the children at the level of greatest need. The importance of this work warrants that the para-professional receive proper training and be given responsibilities in line with the position. These positions should serve as a training ground for professional advancement.

Performance and effectiveness rather than degrees and certificates should be the criteria used in hiring and in establishing salaries and benefits. For the protection of those who are qualified by experience rather than by academic standing, it is essential that the status of para-professionals be determined by their responsibility and function. On this basis they will be assured of parity in salaries and benefits with professionals doing the same job.

It should be the aim of the para-professional programme to encourage young people to continue their commitment to Indian education.

To operate a good school, many types of jobs must be filled. There should be adequate funding to insure that Indian schools are adequately staffed, not only with professionals, but with well-trained para-professionals, including recreation assistance and specialist-aides.

Facilities and Services

Sub-Standard Educational Facilities

All unsafe or obsolete school buildings, equipment and teacherages on reserves should be replaced with modern, functional units. Where Indian communities wish to maintain educational services on their reserves, the reserve school facilities must be brought up to the same standards as those in the outside communities. To provide for all the improvements necessary, Band Councils must make long-term plans for building construction. If the Department of Indian Affairs cannot handle the financing under its usual annual budgeting scheme, other alternatives must be considered. One of these would be a basic change

in the Department's long-term building policy. Also, through the intermediary of the Department, other agencies could become the source of long-term funding for Indian building programmes.

New Educational Facilities

It shall be within the power of the Band Education Authority to plan for and provide the school facilities needed for community educational programmes: e.g., education of children, parental involvement in education, adult education, cultural activities, training sessions, etc.

Educational Institutions

There is no single type of educational institution which will meet all of the needs of Indian children. Facilities and services must be many and varied to suit particular kinds of circumstances.

Residences

No general statement can be made on residences because of varying needs across the country. In many places the need still exists for this type of accommodation. However, many parents object to sending their children long distances and want accommodations provided at the village level. In all cases, the Federal Government is advised to consult all parents with children in residences, in order to determine their wishes on keeping or closing residences, and to examine alternative accommodations.

Admission criteria for student residences will be formulated by the people concerned: parents, Band Councils and administrators. The latter will reflect fiscal considerations.

Indian Bands wishing to take over administrative responsibility and financial control of student residences should be given full assistance to do so. This will require changes in present Department procedures for the operation of residences, as well as training Indian candidates for administrative positions.

Where a residence is in operation, there should be an active parent's council, representative of the student enrollment. This council will act with the responsible residence authority on matters of policy and programme.

Programmes must be implemented for bettering the qualifications of present staff members and assisting unqualified persons to meet job requirements. Residences should be staffed as far as possible by Indian personnel.

Where conditions warrant the closing of a residence, the land and buildings should revert to the use of the Band or Bands, with a preference for educational purposes.

Day Schools

The need for good schools in Indian communities is becoming more urgent. These schools should have two goals: (a) providing adequate and appropriate educational opportunity, where skills to cope effectively with the challenge of modern life can be acquired, and (b) creating the environment where Indian identity and culture will flourish.

In working toward these goals, the reserve school would be a major factor in eliminating the conditions which lead to dropouts: negative parental attitudes and student alienation.

To provide these facilities an increased financial and human investment must be made in the Indian community. Complete modern buildings, classrooms, equipment, gymnasiums and staff quarters are needed.

These reserve schools will be the vehicle by which Indian parents gain knowledge, experience and confidence in fulfilling their obligation and responsibility in the education of thier children.

All school facilities should be available to the community for adult education, cultural activities and training sessions.

To facilitate the transition of students from reserve schools to others, it is essential that the provincial Departments of Education recognize Indian day schools as accredited educational centres. This presupposes that academic quality will improve, that federal Indian schools will become "models of excellence," recognized and imitated by provincial schools. If an Indian oriented curriculum differs from that of the provincial system, steps should be taken by provincial authorities to develop appropriate criteria for grading and accrediting purposes.

Group Homes — Hostels

There is a need among students living off the reserve for familiar, homelike accommodations. These could be provided in the small hostel or group home setting. When administered and staffed by Indian people, these homes could give the young person the security and comfort of an Indian family while he or she is adjusting to a new way of life.

In northern communities there is a great need for this kind of home to replace the very large and often far distant residence. Located

centrally in every village and operated by an Indian couple, the group home would provide long and short term care, i.e., food, shelter, recreation and companionship for all in the village who need it. This would include children whose parents were absent for hunting and trapping, and old people who might be left alone for the same reasons. The concept of this kind of home is derived directly from Indian culture, and if allowed to take form would contribute to a healthy Indian community.

Denominational Schools

As in all other areas of education, the parents have the right to determine the religious status of the local school. In as far as possible, there should be an attempt to satisfy the preference of everyone.

Staff

Where there are Indian people in attendance at a school, the number of Indian staff hired, including professional, para-professional, clerical and janitorial, should be based on a minimum ratio of one Indian staff person to every twenty Indian students. This procedure should be observed in residences, reserve day schools and provincial integrated schools.

Professionals, para-professionals and community resource people are all needed to operate a good reserve school. In addition to teachers and teacher-aides, reserve schools must have good counsellors and counsellor-aides. Consultants with knowledge of curriculum development and curriculum adaptation are necessary. A recreation director has a special role to play. Where it is not economically possible to

have a recreation director on the school staff, the community recreational programme must be designed to include the requirements of the school curriculum.

Whenever possible these positions should be filled by native people. Consultants and specialists in Indian language, history, crafts, customs, dances, legends will be drawn from the local community.

Research

There is increasing need for factual and scientific information on which to base planning and decisions. The Indian people advocate that research be under the direction and control of Indian people. Monies labeled for research shall be channeled to research programmes identified by Band Councils and Indian organizations in relation to their priorities and programmes. Academics who are engaged to conduct research projects will be responsible to the Indian community, local or regional.

It is equally important that the Indian people have the direction and control of experimental programmes conducted in their name by universities, academic centres or research bodies.

Problems Of Integration

Integration in the past twenty years has simply meant the closing down of Indian schools and transferring Indian students to schools away from their Reserves, often against the wishes of the Indian parents. The acceleration with which this programme has developed has not taken into account the fact that neither Indian parents and children, nor the White community: parents, children and schools, were

prepared for integration, or able to cope with the many problems which were created.

Integration is a broad concept of human development which provides for growth through mingling the best elements of a wide range of human differences. Integrated educational programmes must respect the reality of racial and cultural differences by providing a curriculum which blends the best from the Indian and the non-Indian traditions.

Integration viewed as a one-way process is not integration, and will fail. In the past, it has been the Indian student who was asked to integrate: to give up his identity, to adopt new values and a new way of life. This restricted interpretation of integration must be radically altered if future education programmes are to benefit Indian children.

The success of integration hinges on these factors: parents, teachers, pupils (both Indian and White) and curriculum.

On the side of the Indian people, much more preparation and orientation is needed to enable parents to make informed decisions and to assist their children to adjust and to succeed. Indian parents must have the opportunity through full representation to participate responsibly in the education of their children.

The Indian child also needs preparation and orientation before being thrust into a new and strange environment. In handling the conflict of values, he will need the continuing support of his parents and Indian counsellors. Inferiority, alienation, rejection, hostility, depression, frustration, are some of the personal adjustment problems

which characterize the Indian child's experience with integration. These are also factors in the academic failure of Indian children in integrated schools.

Indian children will continue to be strangers in Canadian classrooms until the curriculum recognizes Indian customs and values, Indian languages, and the contributions which the Indian people have made to Canadian history. Steps can be taken to remedy this situation by providing in provincial schools special auxiliary services in cultural development, curriculum development, vocational guidance, counselling, inservice training of teachers, tutoring and recreation. Evidently many of these services can be provided under the regular school programme, however, if services are introduced especially for the Indian children, the school board should have financial support from the Federal Government.

The success of integration is not the responsibility of Indians alone. Non-Indians must be ready to recognize the value of another way of life; to learn about Indian history, customs and language; and to modify, if necessary, some of their own ideas and practices.

Summary Of The Indian Position On Education

Indian parents must have FULL RESPONSIBILITY AND CONTROL OF EDUCATION. The Federal Government must adjust its policy and practices to make possible the full participation and partnership of Indian people in all decisions and activities connected with the education of Indian children. This requires determined and enlightened action on the part of the Federal Government and immediate reform, especially in the following areas of concern: responsibility, programmes, teachers, facilities.

RESPONSIBILITY

Local Control	Until now, decisions on the education of Indian children have been made by anyone and everyone, except Indian parents. This must stop. Band Councils should be given total or partial authority for education on reserves, depending on local circumstances, and always with provisions for eventual complete autonomy, analogous to that of a provincial school board vis-a-vis a provincial Department of Education.
School Board Representation	It is imperative that Indian children have representation on provincial school boards. Indian associations and the Federal Government must pressure the Provinces to make laws which will effectively provide that Indian people have responsible representation and full participation on school boards.
Transfer of Jurisdiction	Transfer of educational jurisdiction from the Federal Government to provincial or territorial governments, without consultation and approval by Indian people is unacceptable. There must be an end to these two party agreements between the federal and provincial governments. Future negoatiations with provincial Education Departments for educational services must include representatives of the Indian people acting as the first party. The Federal Government has the responsibility of funding education of all types and at all levels for all Indian people.

Indian Control

Those educators who have had authority in all that pertained to Indian education have, over the years, tried various ways of providing education for Indian people. The answer to providing a successful educational experience has not been found. There is one alternative which has not been tried before: in the future, let Indian people control Indian education.

PROGRAMMES

Kinds

A wide range of programmes is needed in the Indian community. The local Education Authority must take the initiative in identifying the needs for adult education, vocational training, remedial classes, kindergarten, alcohol and drug education, etc., etc. The local Education Authority must also have the authority to implement these programmes, either on a temporary or long-term basis.

Language and Culture

Indian children must have the opportunity to learn their language, history and culture in the classroom. Curricula will have to be revised in federal and provincial schools to recognize the contributions which the Indian people have made to Canadian history and life.

Cultural Education Centres

Cultural Education Centres are desperately needed. Considering the vital role that these Centres could play in cultural, social, and economic development, it is imperative that all decisions concerning their evolution, i.e., goals, structure, location, operation, etc., be the sole prerogative of the Indian people. The Minister is urged to recognize the rights of the Indian people in this matter. He must insure:

(a) that the Indian people will have representatives on any committees which will decide policy and control funds for the Cultural Education Centres;

(b) that enough funds are made available for capital expenditure and programme operation.

TEACHERS

Native Teachers and Counsellors	The Federal Government must take the initiative in providing opportunities in every part of the country for Indian people to train as teachers. The need for native teachers is critical. Indian parents are equally concerned about the training of counsellors who work so closely with the young people.
Non-Indian Teachers and Counsellors	Federal and provincial authorities are urged to use the strongest measures necessary to improve the qualifications of teachers and counsellors of Indian children. This will include required courses in Indian history and culture.
Language	As far as possible, primary teachers in federal or provincial schools should have some knowledge of the maternal language of the children they teach.
Qualification	It should be the accepted practice that only the best qualified teachers are hired for Indian schools, and always in consultation with the local Education Authority.
Para-Professionals	More Indian teacher-aides and more Indian counsellor-aides are urgently needed throughout the school systems where Indian children are taught. The importance of this work requires that the candidates receive proper training and be allowed to operate at their fullest potential.

FACILITIES

Kinds	Education facilities must be provided which adequately meet the needs of the local population. These will vary from place to place. For this reason, there cannot be an "either-or" policy, which would limit the choices which Indian parents are able to make. In certain localities, several types of educational facilities may be needed: e.g., residence, day school, integrated school. These must be made available according to the wishes of the parents.
Substandard	Substandard school facilities must be replaced and new buildings and equipment provided in order to bring reserve schools up to standard. Financing of such building and development programmes must be dealt with realistically by the Federal Government.

INTEGRATION

Responsibility for integration belongs to the people involved. It cannot be legislated or promoted without the full consent and participation of the Indians and non-Indians concerned.

CONCLUSION

There is difficulty and danger in taking a position on Indian education because of the great diversity of problems encountered across the country. The National Indian Brotherhood is confident that it expresses the will of the people it represents when it adopts a policy based on two fundamental principles of education in a democratic country, i.e.:

—parental responsibility,
—and local control.

If this policy is recognized and implemented by officials responsible for Indian education, then eventually the Indian people themselves will work out the existing problems and develop an appropriate education programme for their children.

APPENDIX C

AGREEMENT: MANITOULIN BOARD OF EDUCATION AND INDIAN BANDS

THIS AGREEMENT made this 26th day of JUNE 1980

BETWEEN THE MANITOULIN BOARD OF EDUCATION
in the Province of Ontario
herinafter called "The Board"

OF THE FIRST PART

AND The Indians of the
SHEGUIANDAH BAND
SHESHEGWANING BAND
SUCKER CREEK BAND
WIKWEMIKONG BAND
WEST BAY BAND

as represented by their Chiefs
and Councils, hereinafter called
"The Bands"

OF THE SECOND PART

AND HER MAJESTY, THE QUEEN in right
of Canada hereinafter called
"Her Majesty"

OF THE THIRD PARTY

AND WHEREAS pursuant to Section 114 (1) of the Indian Act, R.S.C. 1952, Ch. 149, the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development may enter into an agreement with the Board.

AND WHEREAS pursuant to Section 162 of the Education Act 1974, Statutes of Ontario 1974, the Board may enter into an agreement with Her Majesty The Queen, respecting the education of Indian children.

NOW, THEREFORE, THIS AGREEMENT WITNESSETH that the parties hereto covenant and agree with each other as follows:-

1. (a) Unless the context otherwise requires, in this agreement "Indian Child" means child of an Indian as defined in the Indian Act (Canada), and includes, subject to Band Council permission to reside on the Reserve:

i) non-Indian children of women of former Indian status who return to reserves because of the desertion or death of their husbands, or for other good reasons, either living with their mothers on a reserve or with friends or relatives on a reserve;

ii) non-Indian children of Indian mothers, either living with their mothers on a reserve or with friends or relatives on a reserve;

iii) non-Indian children whose mother became Indian by marriage and who live on a reserve;

iv) non-Indian children legally adopted by Indian families and living on a reserve with the adoptive parents.

(b) "Band Council" means:

i) in the case of a band to which section 74 applies, the council established pursuant to that section,

ii) in the case of a band to which section 74 does not apply, the council chosen according to the custom of the band, or, where there is no council, the chief of the band chosen according to the custom of the band.

(c) "Tuition Fee" means a per pupil fee paid annually to the Board for each Indian pupil enrolled in schools operated by the Board.

(d) "Minister" means the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.

(e) "Said School" means all schools, operated by the Manitoulin Board of Education.

(f) "Department" means Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.

2. (a) Her Majesty shall pay to the Board a tuition fee for each Indian child enrolled at Manitoulin Secondary School, Flower of Hope School and all elementary schools operated by The Board and the fee shall be calculated in accordance with the Education Act 1974 and its Regulations. It is understood that fees for Indian students at Flower of Hope School will be calculated separately from the fees for native students at Manitoulin Secondary School.

(b) Where negotiations between the parties hereto have resulted in the provision of extra education services for Indian children and where The Board has incurred additional costs to provide such services, Her Majesty shall pay to The Board an amount equal to the additional cost of such services in accordance with the Education Act and its Regulations. (see Appendices 1, 2, 3, and 4)

3. (a) Her Majesty shall pay tuition fees as described in Clause 2 in accordance with provisions of the regulations made under Section 10, subsection 3 (e) of the Education Act 1974, Statutes of Ontario 1974, Ch. 109, and the financial statement referred to shall be accompanied by a certified list of Indian pupils enrolled in the said schools.

(b) The Board agrees to accept for enrollment in its schools, subject to the terms of this Agreement, all Indian pupils promoted or transferred upon the recommendation of the elementary school principals. In addition the Board agrees to accept other students who wish to re-enroll after a period of absence.

4. In an instance where in order to provide for the enrollment of Indian children in any school administered by The Board, it is necessary to construct new facilities, expand existing facilities or carry out major renovations, the title to the building(s) being vested in The Board, Her Majesty will enter into a separate Agreement for the sharing on a pro rata basis of the capital expenditures arising therefrom provided that the Councils of the Manitoulin Island Indian Bands pass Band Council Resolutions indicating the Bands' concurrence and the official representatives of the Bands sign the statement of concurrence attached to the Agreement.

5. (a) The Board shall provide education facilities and programmes of education suited to the educational and cultural needs of Indian pupils enrolled in its schools including the provisions in this tuition agreement.

(b) The Board and the Band Councils agree to encourage maximum feasible interaction between the said school and the Indian community. The Board will make every effort to involve the Indian community in school affairs and will welcome the active participation of Indian parents in the education of their children.

(c) The Board and its employees will give Indian parents a fair hearing in all matters concerning the education of their children.

6. (a) Indian Band Councils shall appoint three Indian representatives to the Manitoulin Board of Education.

   (b) The Board shall accept the appointment of three Indian representatives and thereby appoint the three Indian representatives to the Board of Education subject to the approval of the Ministry of Education.

   (c) The Board shall send a copy of the minutes of all its Board Meetings to The Minister and to The Band Councils.

7. (a) The Board agrees to make every reasonable effort to recruit Indian teachers in filling future vacancies on the staff of the said schools, provided that the qualifications and ability are judged to be equal to other applicants.

   (b) The Board agrees to make every reasonable effort to recruit members of the Manitoulin Indian Bands in filling future vacancies on the administrative, maintenance and custodial staff of the Manitoulin Board of Education, subject to existing union agreements. Every effort will be made to utilize the Department's Training-on-the-Job Plan for this purpose.

   (c) The Board will encourage its teachers who are involved with the Indian children to enroll in Indian studies programmes (appropriate University and Ministry of Education courses).

8. The residents of the Indian community shall be accorded equal rights for after-school use of school buildings in which Indian children are enrolled to those accorded residents of the relevant non-Indian communities according to Board policy.

9. (a) i) This Agreement does not confer on Her Majesty or the Band Councils any right of direct supervision over the curriculum, the Administration, the teaching personnel, the method or materials of instruction or management generally of the relevant Manitoulin Board Schools provided that the members of the Band Councils and its Education Committees and Her Majesty and any person authorized by Her Majesty shall have the right to visit the schools from time to time according to the appropriate education act.

   ii) Nothing in this Agreement precludes the right of Indian parents to exercise an interest in the educational matters of the schools attended by their children.

   (b) The Board shall ensure that there will be no segregation by reason of race or colour in schools enrolling Indian children.

(c) Education officials representing Her Majesty and/or The Band Council may with the knowledge and approval of the Board, assist in planning, developing or improving an educational programme culturally suited to the needs of Indian children.

10. All notices or communications required to be given or sent under the terms of this Agreement shall be deemed to be sufficiently given or sent if mailed or sent by telegram to the recipient party.

THIS AGREEMENT SHALL come into force on June 26, 1980, and Shall remain in force from year to year unless:

(a) renegotiation is requested by any of the parties hereto in which case such request must be made by February 1st of the then current school year and the renegotiation must be compiled by May 1st of the then current school year.

(b) termination is requested by either party hereto. Either party may terminate this Agreement at the end of any school year by giving written notice of termination to the other party at least twelve months before the day of termination.

APPENDIX ' 1 '

SOCIAL COUNSELLING:

It is recognized that for the programme to be successful, social counselling services between the native children, their parents or guardian and the Board are necessary. It is further recognized that a system of communicating attendance information and student achievement to the Minister, the Bands, and parents or guardian of native children is necessary. To this end, the Board shall employ the following personnel at a cost to Her Majesty the Queen and set their salaries and benefits in accordance with the Board's Salary Schedule, (Annual cost at present not to exceed $60,000.00, and it is understood by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development that due to collective bargaining this limit may have to increase from time to time).

Three (3) Social Counsellor Aides
Travel Expenses
Professional Development Expenses

APPENDIX ' 2 '

The Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development will consider payment of their per pupil share of replaceable capital equipment based upon Grant Regulations and not to exceed $5,000.00 annually.

APPENDIX ' 3 '

The Minister shall inform the Board by March 31 of each year of the number of Indian students who will be attending the Board's schools the following school year. (A school year runs from September to June.)

Where unusual situations arise in a given year, where it can be shown that the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development caused the Board a substantial cost to its taxpayers, Her Majesty is prepared to consider restitution beyond the terms of the tuition agreement.

APPENDIX ' 4 '

CALCULATION FACTOR FOR HIGH COST PROGRAMMES

A. $\frac{\text{High Cost Native Enrollment}}{\text{Total Native Enrollment}}$ = %

B. $\frac{\text{Total Enrollment in High Cost Programme}}{\text{Total School Enrollment}}$ = %

HIGH COST FACTOR$_{A-B}$ = %

We have read the above Agreement and understand the nature of the proposal. On behalf of the Indian people concerned with this school program, we concur with the arrangements in this contract and the participation of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development in this agreement.

(Chief)
Sheguiandah Band

Witness

(Chief)
Sheshegwaning Band

Witness

(Chief)
Sucker Creek Band

Witness

(Chief)
West Bay Band

Witness

(Chief)
Wikwemikong Band

Witness

IN WITNESS WHEREOF these present have signed by the parties hereto the day and year above written.

SIGNED, SEALED AND DELIVERED
in the presence of

DEPARTMENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS
AND NORTHERN DEVELOPMENT

Per: E. HARRISON

THE MANITOULIN BOARD OF
EDUCATION

Per:

APPENDIX D

A COMPARISON OF ACHIEVEMENT TEST RESULTS AND ABSENCES

AT MOUNT ELGIN

C T B S	Absence Ranks Per Grade						
Results	K (PM)	1	2	3	4	5	6
1	1	1	1	1	3	1	3
2	2	2	2	2	2	4	2
3	3	3	5	3	4	2	1
4	4	4	3	4	1	3	4
5	5	5	4	6	5	5	5
6	6	6	6	5	6	6	Absent

The above results were taken from a careful administration of the Canadian Test Of Basic Skills, a standardized set of tests. The first column is arranged in order of achievement on the standardized test. All the other columns show attendance rankings. Number "1" indicates the best attender and "6" is the worst attender of the same sample of children. Except for one pupil, all the high absentees are also low achievers. The exception is in the middle position in grade 2. Eleven out of the fourteen firsts and seconds in all the grades are the best attenders. Hence, one of the chief reasons for low marks and eventual drop-outs starts with the conditions of poor attendance.

APPENDIX E

A TRAINING PROGRAM FOR THE EDUCATION COMMITTEE

PRIOR TO THE TAKE-OVER

TOPIC I: HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES

Lesson 1 - History of the Policy of Education for Indians

This lesson reviews the historical development of policy regarding education for Indian people. The beginning of such policy dates back to 1670 in a statement made by King Charles II of England.

> You are to consider how the Indians . . . may be best instructed and invited to the Christian religion, it being both for the honour of the Crown and the Protestant religion itself.

A considerable amount of the lesson is devoted to policy resulting from the British North America Act (1867) and the Indian Act (1876). It is these two documents that have been the basis of education policy developed by the Department of Indian Affairs.

The lesson identifies instances where Indian people have had a direct input into the making of policy. It is noted that it was not until 1972 that Indian people developed and published a complete policy position on education. This was the policy paper "Indian Control of Indian Education," developed by the National Indian Brotherhood.

The lesson uses a sound-slide presentation as the major means of presenting the history. There are numerous discussion breaks which allow for a thorough examination of the material being presented.

Lesson 2 - Traditional Indian Education

This lesson looks at how Indian children were educated traditionally, and how they were taught to "cope" with life.

The concepts of community learning, story telling and the Indian teacher as a cultural broker are examined.

The learning objective is that the participants will be able to discuss in an informal manner, some aspects or methods of traditional education employed among the Indian people.

Resources used in presenting this lesson are an audio cassettee tape, and two written stories entitled, "In the Beginning" and "The Winter The Bugle was Blown: 1869."

Lesson 3 - Treaties and Their Implications

This lesson examines treaties with regard to the statements in them concerning education. The learning objective is to have the participants become aware of the implications in the treaties on education.

The lesson utilizes an audio cassette tape as the main resource. There is also ample discussion or interpretation of various statements in the treaties and their implied meaning.

Lesson 4 - Origin of Indian Control of Indian Education

This lesson is based on the concept that Indian Control of Indian Education is a traditional right of Indian people which is sanctioned by law.

The learning objective is to have the participants understand how "Indian Control of Indian Education" was developed, and what it means.

The lesson uses an audio cassette tape to guide the participants through a thorough examination and discussion of the entire policy paper "Indian Control of Indian Education."

TOPIC 2: BASIC SKILLS REQUIRED FOR TAKEOVER AND CONTROL OF INDIAN EDUCATION

Lesson 1 - Effective Communication

This lesson is the first of nine lessons that deals with basic skills education committee members can use in their work. The first lesson introduces the participants to the subject of communication and demonstrates the process involved in communicating effectively. The participants learn to recognize effective communication practices and to differentiate them from poor communication practices.

An audio cassette tape and overhead projecturals are used to assist in putting across the lesson material.

Lesson 2 - Listening Effectively

This lesson teaches the use of five attending behaviours to help in developing effective listening habits. The responsibility of education committee members to listen to the people of the community, and to one another is put forward for discussion.

The main teaching resource provided is an audio cassette tape. The participants are given plenty of opportunity to practice the attending behaviours of body posture, eye contact, verbal and non-verbal following, relaxation and keeping the conversation in the now context.

Lesson 3 - Speaking in Committee Meetings

This lesson is designed to help the individual to express his/her thoughts and feelings in the committee setting.

The learning objectives are to have the participants speak in a group setting and to plan and organize a two-minute talk.

An audio cassette tape and overhead projecture are used to help present the lesson material. Participants are involved in a non-threatening way, and are taught to use specific behaviours that can aid them in being clearly understood. A considerable portion of this lesson deals with organizing what a person wants to say.

Lesson 4 - Speaking in Public

This lesson is an extension of the previous lesson on speaking in committee meetings. It provides an opportunity for the participants to practice the speaking behaviours previously presented.

An audio cassette tape and material developed by the participants in the previous lesson are used as resources.

The same speaking behaviours used in speaking in groups or in committee meetings are used to help the participants develop the ability to speak in public.

Lesson 5 - Writing Minutes, Business Letters, Proposals and Reports

This lesson examines how committee members can work together to write minutes, business letters, proposals and reports. The participants will learn to identify and differentiate between the various writing forms. The participants will also be able to work as a group to organize information and material that is to be put into a written form.

An audio cassette tape is used to present the material. Formats and examples are given for minutes, business letters, proposals and reports.

Writing as a group requires co-operation and teamwork. The groups' skills acquired through the exercises in this lesson will prepare the committee members for future group work such as organizing the committee and planning.

Lesson 6 - Using the Media and its Methods

This lesson which is about the communications media is presented as a radio interview show on cassette tape.

The lesson identifies various groups of people or "publics" with which the education committee needs to communicate. It examines the type of information and the various means of communication that are available to their community.

The resources required are an audio cassette tape, and a variety of newspapers. It is recommended that resource people be brought in to demonstrate the use of equipment such as cameras, video tape, printing machines, and so forth. If such resource people are not available, then a field trip to a newspaper printing shop and a radio or television station is recommended.

The group designs a one year communication programme for their education committee as a final exercise.

Lesson 7 - Meetings

This lesson examines the different types of meetings in which education committee members will find themselves involved. They are divided into formal meetings and informal meetings. They will identify behaviours that are appropriate to each of these types of meetings.

There are a number of exercises and role-play situations used in this lesson. The participants will use all of the communication skills taught in the previous six lessons.

The material is presented through the use of a sound-slide presentation that has been scripted and staged to show an education committee working in various types of meetings.

Lesson 8 - Organizing the Education Committee

This lesson deals with developing the organization structure of an education committee. It recognizes that each committee will be unique and, therefore, does not offer a standardized structure. The lesson is designed to help the education committee develop an organizational structure that best suits the activities and responsibilities in which it will be involved.

The lesson helps the committee clarify its relationship with the Band council and shows how authority and responsibility is passed from the council to the committee.

Resources for this lesson include an audio cassette tape, role-play situations, checklists for identifying the committee's activities and responsibilities, exercises for developing the committees structure and a sample copy of by-laws.

The committee taking this lesson will end up with a written description of its organizational structure, and the basis for a set of by-laws under which it can operate.

Lesson 9 - Doing a Community Education Survey

In this lesson the participants will learn how to plan, organize, do and analyze a community education survey.

The lesson is taught by using an audio cassette tape, an illustrated story, and a group exercise that takes the participants through the process of doing a community survey that will provide information that they need.

PREPARING FOR CONTROL OF EDUCATION

This section is aimed at Bands who have decided to proceed with taking over the responsibility for education in their community. It concentrates on the preparatory work an education committee must do prior to the actual take over of the programme.

The first topic is designed to help the committee develop an awareness of the content and activities involved in the education programme.

The second topic deals with analyzing the present education situation.

The third topic details out the practical actions involved in preparing for the take over.

The fourth topic is designed to help the committee evaluate what it has done.

TOPIC I DEVELOPING AN AWARENESS

Lesson 1 - Defining Education in the Community

The purpose of this lesson is to provide the participants with an understanding of exactly what the community defines as education. The lesson should enable the participants to work more effectively with community members in defining the educational aspirations of the community.

The resources employed in presenting this lesson include an audio cassette tape, overhead transparencies, and group discussion.

A seven step plan is offered as an approach to community involvement and problem solving.

Lesson 2 - How Federal Schools are Run

In thins lesson the participants will learn the structure of a federal school and will examine the services such schools offer.

An audio cassette tape is used to present the lesson. It is suggested that a person from the education branch of the Department of Education be used as a resource person to present detailed information about federally operated schools.

Some of the topics covered in the lesson are: structure of the federal system; the hiring of staff; the school programme; teachers; responsibilities and duties of the principal; and educational service centres.

Lesson 3 - How Provincial Schools are Run

The participants will learn the structure of a provincial school and what services it provides.

Resources include an audio cassette tape, and the Education Act for their province. It is suggested that a member of a district school board be invited to participate as a resource person.

The lesson examines the provincial policy making structure. It studies the responsibilities of the "inspector", the "School Board" and the supervisory personnel, including superintendant supervisor, principal, vice principal and department head.

Lesson 4 - Education Programmes and Services Provided by Department of Indian Affairs

This lesson looks at the full range of education programmes and services provided by the Department of Indian Affairs.

An audio cassette tape is used to present the lesson material. It is suggested that the District Superintendant of Education be used as a resource person to help in presenting the information in the lesson.

A complete list of the education programme is provided according to the way they are coded by the Department of Indian Affairs.

Discussion with the resource person on each of the programmes will create a complete awareness of the programmes and services available.

Lesson 5 - Laws that Affect Education and the Delivery of Services

This lesson takes a look at the laws, both federal and provincial, that affect education both on and off the reserve. The lesson will make the participants aware of the laws that affect education.

The resources employed in presenting the lesson are an audio cassette tape and selected documents and excerpts from various ACTS including the BNA Act, the Indian Act, the Education Act, Labour Acts, Adult Occupational Training Act, and others.

A study group exercise is used as a means of examining the various acts and presenting a summary of them to the group.

Lesson 6 - Guidelines and Policies for Education

This lesson will provide the participants with some basic skills in interpreting some of the administrative policies of the Department of Indian Affairs.

Resources used include an audio cassette tape, Programme Circular E-1. It is suggested that the District Superintendant of Education from the Department of Indian Affairs participate in this lesson as a resource person.

The lesson is a clause by clause look at the E-1 Circular, with ample discussion and clarification of each item.

Lesson 7 - Determining the Communities Attitude Towards Local Control of Education

This lesson teaches the use of a "survey" as a means of determining how people feel about local control of education.

The lesson shows three ways of conducting surveys:

1. Face-to-Face Interviews,

2. Telephone Interviews,

3. Mail-Out Questionnaires.

Resources included are an audio cassette tape, and appendices that include material on sample sizes, brainstorming, data gathering, sample questions and telephone interviewing technique.

The exercise includes having the participants analyze information.

TOPIC 2 ANALYZING THE EXISTING EDUCATION SITUATION

Lesson 1 - Does the Existing System Meet the Needs?

This lesson offers a process of analysis which is suggested to determine if the present education system is meeting the needs of the community. The process involves:

1. Examining the existing education system in terms of its goals, objectives, procedures and end products.

2. Determining what the community wants.

3. Determining our needs in education.

4. Determining if the system meets the needs.

Resources used in this lesson include an audio cassette tape, a dictionary and a glossary of educational terms.

Lesson 2 - Determining if the Band Wants Local Control

This lesson offers five basic things to consider in determining whether or not the Band wants local control of education.

1. What is the community attitude?

2. Is the existing system meeting the needs?

3. What can you control?

4. What is the best time to take control?

5. How much control?

An audio cassette tape is utilized to teach this lesson. A good deal of time is devoted to examining and discussing the five basic considerations in the light of the communities own situation.

TOPIC 3 ACTIONS IN PREPARING FOR TAKEOVER

Lesson 1 - Developing a Schedule of Events Involved in Takeover

This lesson involves the participants in identifying activities that will need to be done in preparing for taking over education programmes. The lesson takes the participants through the identification process and then teaches them how to organize the identified activities into a practical schedule. Skills involved include group discussions, setting priorities, listing events and activities and brainstorming.

Resources required include an audio cassette tape and a format for a proposal.

By the end of the lesson the participants will have developed a workable schedule for their committee to follow in doing the preparatory work leading to takeover of the education programme they plan to control.

Lesson 2 - Outlining the Existing Programmes to be Taken Over

This lesson presumes that the Band has now decided which of the existing education programmes it intends to take over.

The lesson shows how to obtain detailed information on these programmes including their purpose or goals, methods of delivery, staff, budget and programme activities.

Resources used in this lesson include an audio cassette tape, and a resource person from the education branch of the Department of Indian Affairs who can give detailed information about the specific programmes the education committee wants to outline.

The exercises in the lesson will allow the participants to develop a usable outline of the programme that they plan to take over.

Lesson 3 - Developing and Outlining a Tentative Administrative Structure

This lesson teaches an education committee how to develop and outline an administrative structure that meets its own particular requirements.

The resources used include an audio cassette tape and several overhead transparencies as well as group exercises.

The process involves identifying the members and positions in the committee group and in the staff group, clarifying through diagrams how the various people relate to one another, and are responsible to one another, and lastly, how to describe the structure in writing.

The participants develop a usable outline of an administrative structure for the programme they are going to operate in the community.

Lesson 4 - Developing and Outlining Tentative Policies

This lesson aims at doing four things:

1. To define what policy is.

2. To make the participants aware of all existing policy on the programmes that they are going to take over.

3. To teach the participants to outline the various areas in which policy will have to be developed.

4. To begin to develop policy statements that reflect the communities' needs and beliefs.

Resources used include an audio cassette tape and a school trustees handbook. It is suggested that a resource person from the Provincial School Trustees Association and the District Superintendant of Education for the Department of Indian Affairs be asked to participate. They should be asked to speak about education policy development.

At the conclusion of the lesson the participants will have developed a working definition of policy, and they will have developed an outline of some of the basic policies that they will eventually incorporate into their programme.

Lesson 5 - Developing and Outlining Budget Requirements

In this lesson the participants will learn how to develop and outline a budget for the education programme that they intend to take over. Skills involved include discussing, researching, priority setting, estimating and organizing.

Resources used include an audio cassette tape, seven overhead projecturals, a copy of the Department's programme budget and a copy of Department Programme Circular D-4.

Making the budget is described in a way that will meet the Bands needs and also fit in with the governments financing system.

The entire process of budget development is covered in the lesson. The members of the group must work closely together in order to identify all the items that will require finances and to develop an outline of their total budget requirements.

Lesson 6 - Developing and Outlining New Programmes to be Implemented

This lesson is designed specifically for education committees that plan to implement an entirely new education programme into the education system. Such a programme would not have a precedent in the existing education programmes currently available.

The participants will be able to develop a plan for a new programme which they wish to introduce into their education system.

Resources include an audio cassette tape, cost estimate list and format for a proposal.

The process involves identifying and using the originator of the new programme idea; examining the need for the programme; establishing goals for the programme; identifying the activities involved; identifyingthe people involved; identifying the method of operation; and the funding.

At the conclusion of the lesson the participants will have developed an outline for the new programme that they plan to implement.

Lesson 7 - Writing the First Draft

This lesson is about writing the first draft of the proposal for takeover of the education programme that the Band has decided on running.

Resources used include an audio cassette tape, and a "Format for a Proposal." The exercises in the lesson involves bringing together the information and material developed in the previous five lessons and putting it into the organized form of a programme proposal.

The lesson requires a good bit of co-operation and group participation in order to accomplish the goal of formulating a complete proposal.

Lesson 8 - Validating the Proposal With the Community

This lesson re-emphasizes the need for community involvement and community sanction and support for the takeover and control of education. The community members are challenged to subject their work, as it has evolved in the form of a programme proposal, to the scrutiny and criticism of the members of the community. The concepts of citizen participation, and constructive criticism are utilized. Resources include an audio cassette tape and a copy of the first draft of the proposal developed in the previous lesson.

The participants develop a means of validating their proposal with the community. This is done by finding a way to inform the people of the contents of the proposal and by devising a means of getting "feedback" from those members who want to comment on the proposal. They also determine how they will receive the feedback that they obtain and how they will use it.

Lesson 9 - Skills in Presenting the Proposal and Negotiating an Agreement

In this lesson the participants will learn some skills in presenting a proposal, and in negotiating an agreement. Two basic rules are emphasized:

1. Be well prepared.

2. Present the proposal and negotiate only with the person or persons who have the authority to approve the takeover.

The resources used in this lesson include an audio cassette tape, a copy of the proposal developed by the group, and a copy of the Department Programme Circular D-4. The lesson examines the various forms that a local service agreement can take. Alternative methods of presenting the proposal are put forward for discussion. The participants discuss and determine matters concerning negotiating which include:

1. Who will negotiate for them?

2. With whom will they negotiate?

3. On what items are they prepared to make changes?

4. What items are they not prepared to change?

The result of the lesson will be a tentative plan for presenting the proposal and negotiating an agreement on the education committees' terms.

TOPIC 4 EVALUATION

Lesson 1 - Evaluating the Actions of the Committee

In this lesson the participants will be able to outline and discuss the process of evaluation as it applies to the actions of the education committee itself.

The resources used are an audio cassette tape and overhead projector. The lesson examines harmful and helpful behaviours in the committee which include judging, bullying, calculating, dictating, avoiding, clinging, censoring, protecting, interpreting, encouraging, organizing, leading, expressing, inviting, harmonizing and giving information.

A six step evaluation process is presented which includes: stating the goal, setting the objectives, setting the criteria, choosing a procedure, reviewing the results and coming to a conclusion.

Lesson 2 - Evaluating the Reactions and Attitude of the Community

This lesson uses the six step evaluation process introduced in the previous lesson as a method of evaluating the reactions of the community.

The resources used include an audio cassette tape, a 16 mm film entitled "Cree Way," and a resource person experienced in doing community survey work.

The 4 C method of evaluating a proposal is put forward, and the 5 WH questions are used to examine each heading.

Lesson 3 - Evaluating the Response from the Department of Indian Affairs

This lesson uses the six step evaluation process as a means of evaluating the response of the Department and a five step lobbying process for influencing members of the Department.

Resources include an audio cassette and overhead projecturals.

TAKING OVER CONTROL OF EDUCATION

This section of the training programme is designed for Bands that have reached the point where they have signed an agreement with the Department of Indian Affairs to takeover and run education programmes in the community. There is a good deal of work that needs to be done between the time of the signing of the agreement and the actual date of transfer of the programmes, which is called "lead time." The education committee is no longer dealing simply with ideas and theories, but now is faced with the concrete realities of the takeover.

This section is divided into two distinct topics. The first topic consists of lessons one to seven which deal with the role and the responsibility of the education committee in the takeover process. The second topic consist of three lessons which deal with the roles and responsibilities of the key staff in the programme, i.e., the administrator, the principal and the project director.

TOPIC 1 ROLES AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE EDUCATION COMMITTEE IN TAKING OVER EDUCATION

Lesson 1 - Establishing Programme Policy

In this lesson the participants will develop a clear understanding of what policy is and why it is necessary, and they will learn what is involved in the process of developing and establishing policy. The

lesson deals with the difference between policy and regulations, and also with how to deal with policies that conflict with one another.

The concepts of lead time, theoretical policy, practical policy, testing and establishing policy are all presented in the lesson.

The resources used to teach the lesson include an audio cassette tape, a copy of the Department of Indian Affairs policy, a copy of tentative policies which the committee has previously developed, and a handbook from the Provincial School Trustees Association.

The general aim of the participants will be to develop practical, workable policies that will assist them in arranging the education programme that they will be taking over.

Lesson 2 - Establishing Financial Policy

When the programme is transferred to the Band the education committee suddenly becomes responsible for the management and spending of tens of thousands of dollars or perhaps hundreds of thousands of dollars. They must be prepared to handle this by having well thought out financial policies established before the transfer of funds takes place.

This lesson deals with developing policy regarding banking, spending, accounting, reporting, auditing, and budgeting.

The resources used to present the lesson include an audio cassette tape, documents containing existing policy, and resource personnel, namely the Band administrator and an accountant from the Department of Indian Affairs. A guide is provided for examining existing policy.

Lesson 3 - Selecting Key Staff

This lesson is about hiring the key staff or Administrator, Principal or Project Director for the education programme. The entire process of hiring is dealt with which includes: developing a job description, advertising, screening applications, scheduling interviews, interviewing, and making the final selection.

The participants are taken through the entire hiring process. The resources used include an audio cassette tape and numerous forms that can assist in the process. The exercises included will provide good practical experience for the participants.

Lesson 4 - Arranging for Suitable Office Facilities

This lesson deals with the matter of providing office space for the programme staff and the education committee along with basic furniture and equipment. Skills taught include estimating space requirements, relating work activities to space needs, and assessing office facilities.

The participants will be able to determine office space requirements for their education programme, and they will decide on a course of action to acquire the needed facilities.

Resources used include an audio cassette tape, the education programme proposal, and education programme agreement. An illustrated story is also used to present the lesson material.

Lesson 5 - Maintaining Contact with Department of Indian Affairs Staff

Traditionally the Department Staff have played the dominant role in relationships with Bands. They have been the so called experts and the Band members have been merely recipients of services. Suddenly roles are to be reversed and the Band members (education committee members) are to become the dominant ones and the Department staff are to play a secondary or supportive role. The switch in roles can be a painful situation for all concerned.

This lesson will help the education committee members become aware of some of the dynamics involved at the time the change in role dominance takes place. It identifies some of the reactions and attitudes that may result. The lesson also offers some suggestions for actions that will help the participants cope with the difficulties.

Skills taught in the lesson include identifying attitudes of other people, dealing with negative reactions and attitudes, establishing control and exercising authority. The aim is to help the committee establish a continuing and meaningful working relationship with the Department, but only on their own terms.

Resources include an audio cassette tape and role play situations which the group develops.

Lesson 6 - Short-Term Planning

Planning is something that people do all the time. The lesson deals with planning as a familiar activity not as if it is a new concept. The participants will be able to develop short-term (one year or less) plans for the education programme in their community. This lesson stresses the matter of community involvement in the planning process.

Resources used include an audio cassette tape and the education programme proposal and agreements. Exercises involve the participants in the process of planning education programme activities, and in identifying ways in which they would involve the community.

Lesson 7 - Long-Term Planning

This lesson uses the same planning process as the previous lesson. However, it applies it to planning over longer periods of time than one year. The participants will become familiar with the advantages of long-term planning and will be able to do the activities involved in such planning. Eight steps are identified and used in the planning process. Skills taught include visualizing, developing goals and organizing.

An audio cassette tape is used to present the lesson material. Several exercises allowing for considerable discussion and group work are used as the method of teaching the material.

TOPIC 2 ROLES AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF KEY STAFF IN TAKING OVER EDUCATION

Lesson 1 - Role and Responsibilities of an Administrator During Takeover

The lesson concentrates on the role and responsibilities of the administrator that are directly connected to the process of taking over the programmes from the Department, not the roles and responsibilities of running the programme. The work of the administrator at this time is primarily preparing for the running of the programmes. The participants will identify the roles and responsibilities of the administrator and will see the need to develop a good working relationship that will allow them to use the experience and skills of the administrator to the best advantage. Concepts used in this lesson include partnership, expertise and rules and regulations.

Resources used include an audio cassette tape and a copy of the job description for the administrator. The exercises in the lesson provides for a good deal of discussion and co-operation on the part of the participants.

Lesson 2 - Role and Responsibilities of the School Principal During Takeover

This lesson concentrates on the things that a school principal can do to help prepare for the transfer of the responsibility of running a school to the Band from the Department of Indian Affairs.

The lesson stresses the need for the principal to work with the committee in order to make them fully aware of the complexities of running a school. It also looks closely at the nature of the relationship between the principal and the education committee.

The participants will learn to identify the role and responsibility of the school principal and, they will develop an understanding of the need for a good working relationship with the principal.

Resources used in presenting this lesson include an audio cassette tape, a copy of the job description of school principal and two role-play situations.

Lesson 3 - The Role and Responsibilities of the Project Director During Takeover

An education committee would require the services of a Project Director if they were going to undertake a single project rather than run a complete programme. The role of the Project Director would, therefore, be some what different than that of either a Programme Administrator or School Principal.

This lesson will help the participants to identify the role and responsibilities of a Project Director in preparing for an education project.

An audio cassette tape, a copy of the Project Director job description, and an illustrated story are used as the means of teaching the lesson.

The exercise in the lesson will allow the participants to develop a full understanding of the role and responsibilities of the project Director and how best to relate to him/her in order to have a successful project.

APPENDIX F

MR. NOEL STARBLANKET,

PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL INDIAN BROTHERHOOD

Thursday, May 4, 1978, the Standing Committee on Indian Affairs and Northern Development, met at 11:00 o'clock a.m. with the Chairman, Mr. Ian Watson presiding. Members of the Committee present were: Messrs. Cadieu, Milne, Neil, Nystrom, Oberle, Penner, Smith, and Watson. Witnesses present were: From the National Indian Brotherhood: Mr. Noel Starblanket, President; Mr. Donald Ward, Chief, Red Bank Reserve, New Brunswick; Mr. Winston Paul, Chief, Woodstock Reserve, New Brunswick; Mr. Vaughn Nichols, Chief, Tobique Reserve, New Brunswick; Mr. Mike Martin, Chief, Eel Ground Reserve, New Brunswick; Mr. Graydon Nicholas, Chairman, Union of New Brunswick Indians; Mr. Sol Sanderson, First Vice-President, Federation of Saskatchewan Indians; Mr. Steve Kakfwi, Regional Representative of the Dene Nation, Yellowknife, Northwest Territories.

(Text)

The Chairman: Order. The Committee has before it as its order of reference of this morning, the main estimates for 1978-79 under Indian Affairs and Northern Development. The first witness is the President of the National Indian Brotherhood, Mr. Starblanket. Mr. Starblanket.

Mr. Noel Starblanket (President, National Indian Brotherhood): Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Gentlemen of the Committee, I would thank you for inviting us and listening to us today. I would like to make some preliminary remarks; my colleagues from the various organizations and different bands in the country would prefer to give you their detailed documentation, so that the issues would be made known to you in a general way from a national perspective.

Mr. Chairman, I suppose we are all rather surprised to be meeting today. You are surprised because you probably thought you would be out pounding the pavement searching for the votes you need to get to come back here and meet with us. It appears, however, that polls are almost as fickle as this government, as we will point out. Just when everything begins looking positive they turn on you. Consequently, an election has not been called, and the day of judgment, for many of you, has been postponed.

But ours has not. This government has "visited" a budget judgment upon us which is unduly harsh. The budget cutbacks we have been asked to absorb have more to do with election gimmickry than social justice. The fathers of the sadly misnamed "just society" are clearly willing to practice fiscal restraint on the neediest while, at the same time, protecting the incomes of their bureaucratic friends.

The Indian affairs budget has been held to a 3 per cent increase. Given inflation, this means the department has, in fact, cut back on its expenditures. Spending restraint is praiseworthy, especially when the fiscal trimming comes from a department's fat. Remember while you consider DIAND's estimates that the department's programmes have been slashed, not the department's administration costs. The fat-cat bureaucrat meanwhile sits in his new Hull office with a salary increase and a guaranteed job while the Indian bands are forced to lay off band employees to accommodate DIAND's budget cuts. The costs of the DIAND bureaucracy are locked in to the department's budget. Interestingly enough, Indian programmes and Indian band funds are not. It is the Indians who suffer when the fiscal axe drops, not the paper-pushers.

Consider the following example. I just returned from a trip to the West. While there, I heard a series of stories about the effects the cutbacks in the Indian affairs programmes were already having. One story particularly moved me. It was the story of a long-time band employee who had over the years taken courses on his own time at night and on weekends to improve his own administrative skills. Faced with cutbacks, the band had to lay off this conscientious Indian worker but hoped to hire him back as soon as funding permitted. But the unemployed Indian turned to alcohol for solace and while out on a binge was involved in a shooting incident. Suffice it to say, this man is now behind bars and I suggest to you that this man is an example of what happens when people are tossed on to the unemployment pile. There is a lot of talk among Parliamentarians about unemployment in this country, very little of that talk is given to Indian people. If Indian affairs continues with its cutbacks, we can expect more examples like the one I have just described.

Bear in mind the conditions of today's Indian reserves. Nowhere does the Trudeau government's slogan of the 'Just Society' ring more hollow than in Indian communities. The average earned Indian income on Indian reserves is under $2,000 a year. Fifty three per cent are unemployed at any given time with as high as 98 per cent unemployment on some reserves during the worst seven months of the year. Forty one per cent of Indian families live on welfare compared to the national rate of 3.7 per cent. The death rate for pre-school Indian children is three times the national average; 28.4 per cent of Indian deaths are suicides compared with the national average of 9.7 per cent. Over 80 per cent of Indian children drop out of school before completing high school. Family breakdown, alcoholism and violent deaths are common characteristics of many Canadian Indian reserves. But the government says that it has to cut back on Indian moneys.

Indians are the last people who should be "used" in the attempt to rehabilitate this government's horrible economic record. Consider just one area that I have mentioned, — education. Mr. Chairman, in 1971, you, personally, were instrumental in leading this committee into an intensive study of Indian education. That report laid out in very vivid detail the failures of Indian education. You documented the ways in which the transfer from church schools to provincial schools have changed nothing.

My predecessor, Mr. Manuel, praised that report at that time saying: "it is the first document of its kind ever to be written with Indian people in mind."

Here we are, Mr. Chairman, seven years after your report was adopted by this committee, five years after we came here with the Minister to announce the first major policy agreement between the government and the Brotherhood — the Indian Control of Indian education policy — back at square one.

Cutbacks across the country have made it so. One of you colleagues rose in the House the other day to ask the Minister to explain the dismissal of 90 guidance counsellors on two days' notice in Indian schools in Saskatchewan. The New Brunswick chiefs here with me today will tell you of hot lunch programmes being cancelled for Indian children in their communities. We have comparable reports coming in from Alberta, the Northwest Territories, British Columbia, and Nova Scotia. And may I remind this government, words are cheap, but education in today's world is not.

Remember when you examine the Indian Affairs budget that we are not merely talking about money, or programmes, or budgets, or projects, we are talking about people. We are talking about the lives of Indian children, Indian women, Indian old people, whose futures are in jeopardy while Ottawa's bureaucrats warmly snuggle into protective administrative costs which protect their jobs and give them salary increases.

It is outrageously indecent of government to reward incompetent DIAND administrators while attempting to build an image of responsible spenders by sacrificing the welfare of Indian people. I can readily sympathize with Jacques Parizeau in his battle with Ottawa over dollars that should be paid to Quebec. Ottawa is playing with the economic welfare of the Quebec people by coyly withholding millions of dollars. We are in the same position. But the Prime Minister has at least said the Quebec people will eventually get the money owing Quebec, in a manner to be announced later. Unfortunately, Indian people have received no similar assurances on our finances. It makes me wonder whether we should mimic Quebec and threaten the nation's unity. After all, this government seems only willing to respond to a crisis. We would much rather they respond to reason and we think we are reasonable by suggesting that budget cutbacks for the poorest communities in this country would be disastrous.

We want you to understand that we have tried every kind of diplomatic exercise in the book to work with this government and create a positive working relationship with the Cabinet. It has been like shaving lather off a balloon. We managed it for a while but it finally popped.

Some of you have already received the resolution of our Executive Council on these funding cutbacks and our announcement of April 13 that we have withdrawn from the joint NIB/Cabinet Committee discussions. Both decisions were taken at the same NIB Executive Council Meeting.

We worked for five years to put together the Joint NIB/Cabinet Committee. We did so in good faith, hoping something could really be accomplished for Indian people by working within the system in this way.

You will notice, Mr. Chairman, that the withdrawal from the discussions with Cabinet were the result of the refusal of Cabinet to respond to our comprehensive proposals and particularly to recognize aboriginal and treaty rights. Our other resolution responds to funding cutbacks. There is a real relationship between the question of rights and the question of funding. We believe recognition of Indian rights is the most assured way of establishing a healthy relationship between our people and the government. We believe establishing those rights in the revision of the Constitution and the Indian Act is the surest way of ending the economic, social and cultural state of siege that has surrounded Indian people in the past century. These latest cutbacks suggest that the government is willing to continue its unjust activities a little longer.

When the Prime Minister was asked about the cutbacks in funding to Indian communities he said:

> . . . when the federal government is attempting to restrain the growth of its bureaucracy, and when federal expenditures are being restrained, it is obvious that in some areas the public will not have services growing at the rate they would like.

Our Executive Council resolution endorses the policy of restraint as a "worthy national goal", yet we cannot agree that the growth of Indian communities can be tied to the growth of the Gross National Product. After all, these communities are beginning their development with less than a third of the average family income of the surrounding non-Indians.

I believe your colleagues studying the defence estimates will tell you that the armed forces funding has not been cut back and has not been tied to the Gross National Product. Their enrollment is in fact increasing. They are acquiring new equipment and I think you will find that the cost per infantryman is about ten times the income of the average Indian. Clearly any discussion of tying specific budgets to the GNP is arbitrary, capricious and largely designed for political convenience.

I need not remind you, Mr. Chairman, that Indians know all about economic depressions. The federal Liberal government has no monopoly on this. This has been their state for generations. It does not follow that Indians should be moved from economic depression to economic despair simply because the White man thinks his government is going through hard times.

I have outlined for you briefly what is being done in the name of "economy measures" in the Indian communities. There is another dimension to these retrogressive government actions, Mr. Chairman, which is even more serious. I refer again to policy implications which are of fundamental importance to Indian rights.

The Department of Indian and Northern Affairs is a large and bloated bureaucracy consisting of around 8,000 civil servants, many of whom earn more in one year than most Indians do in ten. An estimated 80 per cent of its allocation for Indians goes to pay the salaries of this staff and to pay for programmes which do little but sustain Indian people in poverty; that is, hospitalization, welfare, corrections, and an educational system which does not work. Little is available from the budget for economic development or job creation and even less filters down to the Indians in the community in the form of purchasing power, aside from social assistance and other forms of transfer payments.

In periods of economic constraint, the Department of Indian Affairs shows little serious interest in effecting savings, by certain measures. Some of these measures are eliminating duplication or overlapping of staff functions; —all you have to do is walk through the halls of that ivory tower and see Indian Affairs employees reading newspapers or clipping their fingernails— doing away with unnecessary and pointless administrative operations; seeking greater efficiency or economy through decentralization of operations and administration to Indian bands. To protect their own jobs and incomes, departmental officials traditionally have attacked the most vulnerable factor in their cost equation, the Indian community. In doing so, the rationalization that is often used is that programme gaps resulting from cutbacks will be filed either by other federal departments or, more preferably, by the provinces.

This scenario is not mere speculation on my part, Mr. Chairman. I am aware of bilateral negotiations which are underway currently with a number of provinces. If successful, these will result in further federal programme cutbacks in the expectation that provincial services will fill some of the resulting gaps.

The policy implications of such moves are serious indeed. You will recall that one important plank in the government's white paper on Indian policy which was issued in 1969 was "a transfer of programmes and services to other agencies", including the provinces, You will also recall that Indian reaction to the white paper at that time was extreme, and that your prime minister had occasion to withdraw publicly that infamous proposal, which would have had the effect of terminating the rights and privileges of Indian people under the constitution and the treaties.

I now assert that the government is again going back on its own word. By eliminating programmes in the Indian communities, the federal government is trying to force Indian people to look to the provinces for help. In carrying on bilateral and secret negotiations with the provinces, the federal government is concurrently seeking to engineer an extension of provincial services to Indians. Once Indian dependency on provinces has been effected, the federal government will be in a position to implement a policy terminating its historical and constitutional responsibilities for Indians.

This is the strategy that is implicit in the programme cutbacks. It is a strategy which poses no immediate threat to the Indian Affairs bureaucracy. On the contrary, it reduces pressures for budgetary increases in circumstances where Indian populations and needs are growing. The threat is to Indian rights. I would like to assure you that the Indian people will resist with all their might any implicit or overt efforts to erode these rights. Taken together, the denial of rights and the cutbacks in funding suggest to us a government policy which assigns no priority at all to our goal of Indian self-development.

And finally, I would like to remind you, Mr. Chairman, that after the ill-fated effort in 1969 to introduce a termination policy, the government agreed to establish a joint consultation process and mechanism with Indian people. This produced a joint NIB-Cabinet committee, which I mentioned earlier. We were guaranteed that there would be no further unilateral attempts to impose decisions on Indian people. If you check back into government records, Mr. Chairman, you will see the government undertook to allow Indian participation in discussions concerning the allocation of resources in relation to Indian priorities.

As I have already noted, we have withdrawn recently from these so-called joint consultative arrangements because that process was neither joint nor consultative. The kind of cutbacks which have seriously undermined Indian communities were made without consultation or explanation.

I have also pointed out that negotiations between the federal government and the provinces are being conducted right now in secret and without reference to Indians in most of the provinces concerned. I can assure you that the popularity of this government is dropping in Indian popularity polls; and indeed, many cabinet ministers have significant Indian population in their constituencies.

The Department of Indian Affairs does not yet understand the difference between consultation and manipulation. Our justified withdrawal from what we saw as a psuedo-consultation exercise has not resulted in any real evaluation of the process to determine what went wrong. The department instead has taken a primitive stance by withdrawing a grant, particularly a grant which had been set aside for us to develop contributions to an Indian Act review.

Indians are not intimidated by those who choose to wield a big stick. I hope, Mr. Chairman, that you will accept as a sincere observation that, as matters now stand, we have more confidence in this Committee operating in public than we have in the government which prefers secrecy and fears the public. As a public forum we ask you to inquire into the matters we have laid before you. To the limits of your authority we urge this Committee to undertake the following:

(a) seek a clarification of the budget of the Department of Indian Affairs to determine the actual funds which reach Indians in the communities and at the reserve level.

(b) restore to Indian communities all programmes which have been curtailed or cut.

(c) freeze all departmental staff and administrative allotments at last year's level.

(d) identify federal moneys which were intended for Indians and which have been diluted in the appropriations of other departments so that these funds can once again be clearly earmarked for Indians.

(e) stop all transfers of federal funds designated for Indians to provinces and restore these to the Department of Indian Affairs.

(f) undertake a general and complete review of previous Committee recommendations to determine whether any have been implemented, and if so, the way in which they are reflected in departmental appropriations.

The Committee can rely on the full cooperation of our staff at the National Indian Brotherhood and the officers of all our member organizations.

Having made my statement, I now am asking the Committee to hear from some of our member organizations, some of the chiefs and some of the board representatives who are present with me today. You will have to determine whether it is right or just that Indian people should be made a target for the government's economy drives. I am certain that the government harbours targets which are much fatter and more tolerant than Indians can afford to be.[1]

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[1]Canada, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Ottawa, 1979, 3:4 - 3:10.

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III. PERSONAL LETTERS

Information gathered from personal letters and interviews has been used as data base for this research.

Beardy, Stanley, Chief. Muskrat Dam Reserve, Muskrat Dam, Ontario, May, 1980.

Chegahne, Patricia, Assistant Band Administrator. Chippewas of Nawash Band, Wiarton, Ontario, December, 1980.

Hill, Catherine P., Social Counsellor. Mohawks of the Bay of Quinte, Deseronto, Ontario, June, 1980.

Johnson, Peter, Chief. Serpent River Indian Reserve, Cutler, Ontario, April, 1980.

Jourdain, Steve, Chief. Lac La Croix Band, Lac La Croix, Ontario, May, 1980.

Kelly, Peter, Chief. Sabaskong Band, Nestor Falls, Ontario, June, 1980.

Kerr, G., Superintendent of Elementary and Secondary Education, Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, Ontario Region, Toronto, Ontario, January, 1981.

Lickers, N. K., Education Officer, Elementary Education Branch, Ministry of Education, Toronto, Ontario, January, 1981.

Linklater, Harold, Director of Native Teacher Education Program, Lakehead University, Thunder Bay, Ontario, January, 1981.

Mason, James, Chief. Saugeen Band, Southampton, Ontario, March, 1980.

Miller, Gordon R., Regional Information Adviser, Ontario Indian and Inuit Affairs, Toronto, Ontario, April, 1980.

Moonias, Ralph, Chief. Martin Falls Indian Reserve, Ogoki Post, Ontario, May, 1980.

Mullin, G. A., Director of Education, Ontario Region, Toronto, Ontario, April, 1981.

Munro, The Honourable John, Minister of Indian Affairs, Ottawa, February 1981.

Noganosh, Wilmer, Chief. Ojibway of Magnetawan, Byng Inlet, Ontario, May, 1980.

Owl, Wilfred, Chief. Spanish River Reserve, Massey, Ontario, January 1980.

Stoney, Elijah, Chief. Fort Severn Band, Fort Severn, Ontario, May 1980.

Twain, Barbara, Secretary. Teme-Augama Anishnabai, Bear Island, Lake Temagami, Ontario, January, 1981.

Van Every, Alton, Band Councillor. Six Nations Council, Ohsweken, Ontario, January, 1981.

Wawia, Marie, Band Manager. Red Rock Band, Lake Helen Reserve, Nipigon, Ontario, April, 1980.

White, Andy, Chief. Whitefish Bay Band, Pawitik, Ontario, August, 1980.

William, Ray Rogers, Chief. Chippewas of Sarnia, Sarnia, Ontario, January, 1980.

Williams, Thomas L., Education Counsillor. Walpole Island Council, Wallaceburg, Ontario, April, 1980.

IV. PERSONAL INTERVIEWS

Brodhead, Martin, Education Branch, Department of Indian Affairs, Toronto, Ontario, April, 1981.

Brodhead, Martin, Education Branch, Department of Indian Affairs, Toronto, Ontario, May, 1981.

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Commanda, Earl, Development Officer. Serpent River Indian Reserve, Cutler, Ontario, January, 1981.

Hare, Joe, Chief. West Bay Indian Reserve, Excelsior, Ontario, August, 1981.

Peltier, Henry J., Chief. Wikwemikong Band, Wikwemikong, Ontario, August, 1980.

Radulovich, Mary Lou Fox, Director of the Ojibway Cultural Foundation, West Bay, Manitoulin Island, August, 1981.

Soplet, F. B., Director of Education, West Bay, Manitoulin Island, August, 1981.

Toll, Stewart, Chief. Chippewa and Muncey-of-the-Thames Indian Reserves, Muncey, Ontario, August, 1980.

Watson, D., Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Educational Division, Hull, Quebec, August 1979.