THE
JOURNAL OF
INDIGENOUS STUDIES

LA REVUE DES ETUDES
INDIGENES

THE JOURNAL OF INDIGENOUS STUDIES/LA REVUE DES ETUDES INDIGENES

CREE SYLLABICS

	ē	i	o	a	ā	final
	▽	△	▷	◁	◁̇	
w	▽·	△·	▷·	◁·	◁̇·	°
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k	ᖁ	ᖅ	ᕪ	ᕪ	ᕫ̇	﹨
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m	ᒷ	ᒻ	ᒧ	ᒪ	ᒫ̇	ᒡ
n	ᓀ	ᓂ	ᓄ	ᓇ	ᓇ̇	ᐢ
s	ᔦ	ᔨ	ᔧ	ᔕ	ᔕ̇	ᔆ
y	ᔦ	ᔨ	ᔧ	ᔕ	ᔕ̇	+

R = ᕒ
L = ᕞ
h = ''
hk = ×

The dot after the symbol represents 'w'

ᖁ· = Kwē-

The dot over the symbol represents a long vowel.

∧̇ = ī

THE JOURNAL OF INDIGENOUS STUDIES

LA REVUE DES ETUDES INDIGENES

EDITORIAL

GABRIEL DUMONT ᑲᑭᒪᒋᒐᐦᐃᑭᕁ ᐊᓂᒪ ᐃᐧᒋ ᐊᐱᐧᑕᐧᒡᕼᐊᐧ. ᑲᔾᐣ
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ᑭᑯᐃᐧᔾᐧᐧᐧᐊᐩ·

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I n 1989, the Gabriel Dumont Institute of Native Studies and Applied Research
made a commitment to the publication of *The Journal of Indigenous Studies / La
Revue Des Etudes Indigenes*, to provide the academic world with a voice on
Indigenous issues which came from the Indigenous community itself. The
development of such a journal was seen as a natural extension of the mandate of
the Institute to serve the goal of self-determination for Aboriginal people.

As an institution of the Metis communities, the Gabriel Dumont Institute
reflects the traditional role of the Metis people as interpreters, couriers and
emissaries bridging the gap between cultures. It is in this tradition that The
Journal is conceived. This journal is a forum through which Indigenous peoples
can engage in academic discussions about issues which they feel are important
and for academics to engage in a dialogue with Indigenous peoples over academic
issues.

In an attempt to bring the discussion presented in the articles to the people in
the communities Gabriel Dumont Institute serves, the format of the journal is
changing with this issue. We are now printing the abstracts for articles in Cree
Syllabics. We are excited by the prospect of Elders in communities reading
academic arguments in their own language. We hope that the Elders will read to
those without knowledge of writing systems and community debates will result.

The question of language and the communication of ideas about Indigenous peoples is the topic of two of the articles in this issue. Paul Chartrand, Métis legal scholar and educator begins our dialogue with an examination of the continuing struggles that the Indigenous peoples of Canada have with definitions which are imposed on them from outside.

Linda Jaine, in her review, shows her kinship with the Indigenous women whose voices are heard in the anthology, A Gathering of Spirit: A Collection by North American Indian Women. The academic parameters imposed on writers are challenged by this publication and Ms. Jaine applauds the editor for ignoring convention and concentrating on feelings and content.

The four remaining articles look at education. Linda Jaine in "Industrial and Residential School Administration: The Attempt to Undermine Indigenous Self-Determination" analyzes the formal schooling imposed on Indigenous peoples in relation to the impact on traditional child-rearing and educational techniques. Verna St. Denis and Richard Katz consider the model, "teacher as healer" derived from traditional healing practices in Indigenous communities as a way of enhancing teaching in contemporary settings.

Both remaining articles pertain to higher education and Indigenous peoples. Justin D.McDonald, Thomas L. Jackson and Arthur L. McDonald report on a study of "Perceived Anxiety Differences among Reservation and Non-Reservation Native American and Majority Culture College Students". Although they acknowledge the smallness of their sample, their results raise interesting questions for educators who work with Indigenous students at the post-secondary level.

June Wyatt-Beynon presents data on graduates of the Simon Fraser University Native Teacher Education program. Her study demonstrates that Indigenous teacher graduates are influenced in their career choices by factors which relate to their individuality and their connectedness with their Indigenous communities. The content of both these studies points to the need for recognition of the effects of Indigenous identity on students during their programs and in their professional careers.

While all of the articles in the issue have incorporated the discussion of Indigenous self-government and Indigenous peoples' right to define the limits of their own existence, Clem Chartier reviews the book, Native Liberty, Crown Sovereignty: The Existing Aboriginal Right of Self-Government in Canada in which the author examines the right of self- government of Canadian Aboriginal peoples within the constitutional framework of Canada. This review ties the issues of Indigenous rights and identity back to the questions and issues raised by Chartrand in the first article.

This issue signals the enhancing of the original intent of the journal. Beginning with this issue we are asking any authors who use traditional knowledge or sources to cite them and to validate their papers with members of the Indigenous community. In this way, we are instituting an additional level of review for academic papers. Authors writing about Indigenous knowledge are reviewed by those knowledgable in that body of knowledge. Further, the contents of the articles will return to the community through the medium of Cree Syllabics.

Readers will also observe that Paul Chartrand's presentation of data is in a different format than the APA style. The decision has been made to allow authors from different disciplines to organize their information, develop their arguments and display their expertise in a manner consistent with their discipline. Law and history are generally for the sake of clarity of discussion written with footnotes. This is entirely appropriate and, as a truly interdiscplinary, cross-cultural journal it is incumbent on us to encourage differences in expression.

At this time, it gives me pleasure to announce that Volume 3, No.1 will be a Special Issue on the topic of American Indian Mental Health. Our guest editor will be Dr. Arthur McDonald, President of Dull Knife Memorial College in Lame Deer, Montana. Dr. McDonald, a member of the Ogala Sioux Tribe, was formerly the editor of the White Cloud Journal which was devoted to Mental Health concerns of American Indian peoples. A thorough examination of the state of studies in Mental Health and Indigenous peoples particularly in the United States will be included as well as look at what is needed in the area in the future.

Read and enjoy. Write to us and make the journal a real medium for communication between people.

CATHERINE LITTLEJOHN

EDITOR

"TERMS OF DIVISION": PROBLEMS OF 'OUTSIDE-NAMING' FOR ABORIGINAL PEOPLE IN CANADA

PAUL CHARTRAND
University of Manitoba

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Abstract The author attempts to promote the objects of 'Native Studies' in an examination and commentary which draws upon the resources of law and the social sciences. The focus is upon two factors that characterize the status of Aboriginal peoples in Canada, and both derive from the historical differential categorization of Aboriginal peoples in Canadian law and policy. First, the difficulties surrounding the labelling derived from the categorization and "outside-naming" are examined. Second, typical problems associated with the uncertainties in the law as it relates to status and identity are considered. Both issues are dealt with in an examination of the terms used to describe Aboriginal peoples. The wide-ranging discussion attempts to describe and illustrate problems which appear to stand in the way of the making of rational Aboriginal policy in Canada.

Résumé L'auteur cherche à promouvoir les objectifs des "études Autochtones" par un examen et un commentaire qui tirent leurs ressources du droit et des sciences sociales. On met le point sur deux éléments qui caractérisent le statut des peuples autochtones au Canada, éléments qui trouvent tous les deux leur origine dans la catégorisation historique différentielle des peuples autochtones dans le droit et la politique canadiens. D'abord, les difficultés avec les étiquettes qui viennent de la catégorisation et de l'"appellation externe" sont examinées.' Deuxièmement, les problèmes typiques reliés aux incertitudes dans la loi en ce qui concerne le statut et l'identité sont pris en considération. Les deux questions sont traitées dans un examen des termes qu'on utilise pour décrire les peuples autochtones. La discussion, qui touche à un grand choix de domaines, cherche à décrire et à illustrer les problèmes qui semblent faire obstacle à la création d' une politique autochtone rationnelle au Canada.

I. INTRODUCTION

When long before and after Columbus, they discovered for themselves that ancient societies were established here. In the territory that is now Canada there

now live the descendants of these ancient societies, comprising eleven separate linguistic groups and speaking fifty-five dialects.[1] These Aboriginal peoples have always, like people everywhere, used their own terms with which to refer to themselves, for example, Anishinabe, Innu, Inuit, Nishga'a, Nuu-chah-nulth.

One of the consequences of the great dispossession and dominance of the Aboriginal peoples by settler people in Canada has been the process of attaching settler, mainly English, names to describe various groupings of Aboriginal people.[2] This paper will introduce and illustrate some of the problems that have arisen and that are still associated with the process of "outside-naming". If, as it has been suggested,[3]

> a measure of an ethnic group's powerlessness and the relative extent of its domination by the larger society surrounding it is the ease with which a foreign or inappropriate identity (according to the group's own standards) can be imposed on it for political expediency or other reasons,

then one of the objects of this paper is to contribute to that assessment by considering some of the circumstances of that "outside-naming" in Canada as it pertains to Aboriginal people.[4] A further contribution is to illustrate the proposition that uncertainty in the law, particularly as it relates to the status and identity of Aboriginal peoples in Canada, is another measure of Aboriginal people's relative powerlessness. The uncertainty also creates perplexing problems for the making of public policy, including constitutional reform. Finally, the generic as well as the particular labels that have been used in reference to Aboriginal people, and which are a constant source of confusion to writers and commentators, will be surveyed to explain their significance and to consider some other incidental problems associated with "outside-naming". Convenience suggests the various objects can be met in discussions associated with each term in the survey which follows.

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[1]National Indian Brotherhood (N.I.B.), "The Indigenous People of Canada", a report prepared by the N.I.B. for the International Conference of Indigenous Peoples, October, 1975, p. 1.

[2]There are also French terms because of the historical French presence in contemporary eastern Canada. Further, many place names in Canada, are derived from Aboriginal words, including names of cities such as Ottawa, Toronto, Winnipeg, Saskatoon.

[3]Joe Sawchuk, "The Metis, Non-Status Indians and the New Aboriginality: Government Influence on Native Political Alliances and Identity" (1985) XVII *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, No. 2, p. 135-146.

[4]This is not to suggest that Aboriginal people have the same status in law, in policy or in social fact in Canada as ethnic groups. They do not. It appears, however, that Sawchuk's general proposition about ethnic groups is also applicable to the case of the Aboriginal 'enclave' populations within the larger Canadian population. For a discussion of the differences between ethnic groups and Aboriginal peoples in their relations with Canada, see Adrian Tanner, "Introduction: Canadian Indians and the Politics of Dependency" in Adrian Tanner (ed.), *The Politics of Indianness*, St. John's, I.S.E.R. Memorial University, 1983, pp. 1-35. For a comparative analysis, see Noel Dyck (ed.), *Indigenous Peoples and The Nation - State: 'Fourth World' Politics in Canada, Australia and Norway*. St. John's, I.S.E.R. Memorial University, 1985. For a series of various views on the same topic in the context of 'minority rights', see Neil Nevitte and Allan Kornberg, *Minorities and the Canadian State*, Oakville, Mosaic Press, 1985.

II. GENERIC TERMS: 'INDIAN' AND 'ABORIGINAL'

'Indian'

It is timely to remind ourselves of the 'naming fiasco' of Columbus since many non-Aboriginal people are apparently setting themselves up for a lot of excitement over the celebration of the 500th anniversary of his arrival in America. The conventional story is that Colombo (I have dropped the English 'outside' name) was on his way to India and mistakenly thought he had arrived there, dubbed the inhabitants "Indians", and the name stuck. In any case, the term 'Indian' has always been used popularly in Canada to denote the first inhabitants and their descendants. Another popular term, especially in its French form, is Amerindian. (Amerindien)[5] Yet another popular variety of the misnomer is 'Native Indian', which is ostensibly used in this country to distinguish "Canadian Indians" from persons associated with India.

The term 'Native Indian' is a rather curious pleonasm which, in non-Canadian contexts would tend to promote confusion with members of other groups, including, for example, those born in Fiji of Indian immigrants. Since "Indian" is the generic expression to designate the people who are descendants of the first inhabitants of what is now Canada, the term necessarily acquires a number of English synonyms, namely, native, indigenous, aboriginal and autochthonous peoples. The term 'Native' appears to have acquired a certain pejorative element in some contexts, but for semantic purposes it must be taken to include all the Aboriginal peoples without exception. It is pertinent to note, then, that a common error is to use the term disjunctively in association with a sub-group of the general category, for example, "Natives and Métis".[6] Having noted the point that 'Indian' is a popular reference to the same generic group as, *inter alia* 'Aboriginal',[7] and that the generic group is comprised of a number of distinct societies, it is necessary to emphasize immediately that the same term 'Indian' has also acquired limited and qualified meanings as a result of Canadian legislation, policy and practice. In consequence, apart from its generic sense, 'Indian' is also used in Canada in a number of particular senses. These narrower, particular meanings

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[5] For example, Georges E. Sioui, *Pour Une Autohistoire Amérindienne*, Montreal, Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1989. In the summer of 1990 the St. Boniface *La Liberté* had a rather infelicitous headline about 'les Amers Indiens'.

[6] See, for example, the term "Indian and native [sic] people' in the Ontario Child and Family Services Act, 1984, S.O. 1984, c. 55, referred to in *Re. Family and Child Services Act of B.C.* [1990] 4 C.N.L.R. 14, at 23. There is also a desire in some quarters to dissociate 'Indians' so defined by the *Indian Act* R.S.C. 1985 c. 1-5, from other Aboriginal people. The issue is considered in Noel Dyck, "Indian, Métis, Native: Some implications of special status", (1980) 12 *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, pp. 35-46. This desire explains the curious title Canadian Indian/Native Studies Association (C.I.N.S.A.) which has been adopted by an association concerned with studies of Aboriginal people.

[7] It must be noted that usage has adopted "Aboriginal" as a noun form. This is so not only in Canada but also in Australia where there is a long history of popular reference to Aborigines. See, e.g. *State of Queensland v. Wyvill*, [1990] A.L.R. 611.

which attach to some but not all of Canada's Aboriginal people, will be considered below. First, it is convenient to turn to an examination of the generic label 'Aboriginal' which has been gradually replacing 'Indian' recently.

'Aboriginal'

The shift to the usage of 'Aboriginal' as a noun form appears to be associated with a general, emerging emancipation of Aboriginal peoples from domination of all sorts by the settler society, including an emancipation from 'outside-naming' and its associated odious notions. At the same time, other contemporary 'outside-naming' consequences which are considered below, indicate the continuing lack of power and easy manipulation that has characterized Aboriginal peoples' relations with agencies of the state.

In 1975, the Dene of the Northwest Territories signalled the renewed formal attempts of Aboriginal peoples to rid themselves of inappropriate labels when, as part of their efforts to proclaim their rights to be a self-determining people, they issued the Dene Declaration. In words which capture the essential grievance of Aboriginal peoples in seeking constitutional reform in the 1980's and 1990's the Declaration stated:

> the Government of Canada is not the government of the Dene. The Government of the NorthWest Territories is not the government of the Dene. These governments were not the choice of the Dene, they were imposed upon the Dene.[8]

The National Indian Brotherhood followed suit, changing the name of its political organization to The Assembly of First Nations,[9] and the Aboriginal communities it represents, namely, those organized under the federal scheme of administration of 'Indian reserves' pursuant to the *Indian Act*[10] have now generally adopted the designation of "First Nations".

The 1982 amendments to the Constitution of Canada which guaranteed aboriginal rights distinguished three separate groups, the Indian, Inuit and Métis people.[11] Since section 35 of the *Constitution Act.* 1982 recognized and affirmed the rights derived from original occupancy, it used the generic adjective "aboriginal" in reference to the various peoples who were then described to include the three groups previously referred to. The particularization of the three groups probably intended to recognize the distinctions that had by 1982 arisen in law and policy between them. These distinctions will be considered in detail below. The immediate conclusion is that the terminology in section 35 gave impetus to the adoption generally of the term "Aboriginal" as a replacement for "Indian" as the

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[8]Mel Watkins, (ed.)*Dene Nation: the colony within*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1977, p. 4 (1982 reprint).
[9]Tanner, *op. cit.* p. 13.
[10]The Indian Act, R.S.C. 1985, c. 1-5 as amended.
[11]Constitution Act, 1982, being Schedule B of the *Canada Act. 1982* (U.K.) 1982, c. 11.

all-encompassing term in the most generic sense. The terms of section 35 included the label 'Indian' which had been in common usage since colonial times to designate the many culturally and politically distinct peoples captured by legislative policies, and added two labels to designate two other groups, namely, the Inuit and the Métis, which had been accorded different treatment by Canadian law and policy. The term 'Indian' is still very much evident in popular usage but in the 1980's the term "Aboriginal" became increasingly used as a self-reference by members of the three groups denoted by section 35. The increasing use of 'Aboriginal' and the continuing use of 'Indian' is not to be wondered at. Writing is done, policy is debated, and speeches are made, by people who are aware of and concerned about the notions associated with 'outside-naming' that are here the subject of discussion. Hence, it is their speech and writing which moves the change but the change is not to be expected to occur overnight, to reach everywhere, and to be accepted by everyone. The increasing usage of 'Aboriginal' as a generic term is indeed a mark of the increasing concern of the Aboriginal peoples to be emancipated from outside political and social domination. The change has been recognized by the federal and other governments, and shows up in official documents.[12]

The word 'Aboriginal' not only jettisons the misnomer 'Indian' but it is also a broad label that has been adopted by people whose contemporary circumstances have distinguished them from the traditional societies or from the communities resident on 'Indian reserves' that have been set aside pursuant to federal law and policy.[13] For example, representatives of the large urban population have adopted the term 'Aboriginal', and various political organizations representing Aboriginal people who are not statutorily defined as 'Indians' (formerly known as 'Non-Status Indians') have changed their names to reflect the adoption of the term 'Aboriginal'.[14] The term 'Aboriginal' is now generally used in Canada, unless the speaker's context indicates a preference for 'First Nations', the expression that is used generally to denote the Aboriginal societies who are defined as "Indians" by the federal *Indian Act* and who are represented politically by the Assembly of First Nations. It should be clear, from the above discussion, that 'Aboriginal' has acquired a particular denotation that distinguishes the particular usage described from the generic adjectival connotation.

One of the persistent writing habits which is causing some dismay among Aboriginal scholars is the general failure to capitalize 'Aboriginal' in appropriate cases. Generally, academic writing has failed to conform with the capitalization convention that is required in the case of words denoting human groups and

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[12]The House of Commons has a Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs, and the Senate has a Standing Committee on Aboriginal Peoples.

[13]See, generally, Canada, *The Historical Development of the Indian Act*. August, 1978; Richard H. Bartlett, *The Indian Act of Canada* 2d ed., University of Saskatchewan Native Law Centre, 1988.

[14]For example, the Aboriginal Council of Winnipeg and Aboriginal Cultural Society, Inc. An example of a political organization's name change is OMNSIA (Ontario Metis and Non-Status Indian Association) to OMAA (Ontario Metis and Aboriginal Association). Note the inappropriate disjunction of the terms Metis and Aboriginal.

especially in the case of known preferences. Some are reminded by this stylistic *faux-pas* of the traditional Canadian habit of naming 'half-breeds' and insisting on using the lower case letters. The pejorative sense of "Half-Breed" has finally been generally (but not absolutely) recognized in contemporary writing but the nasty habit of indicating contempt with the lack of capitalization persists, perhaps inadvertently, in the case of 'Aboriginal'. Frantz Fanon, the Algerian philosopher, has described in terms that are germane to the topic of this paper, the place of 'outside-naming' in the colonial world where Aboriginal people are subjugated by many means, including the denial of a history:

> The colonial world is a Manichean world....As if to show the totalitarian character of colonial exploitation the settler paints the native as a sort of quintessence of evil. Native society is not simply described as a society lacking in values.... The native is declared insensible to ethics; he represents not only the absence of values, but the negation of values....
>
> At times this Manicheism goes to its logical conclusion and dehumanizes the native, or to speak plainly, it turns him into an animal. In fact, the terms the settler uses when he mentions the native are zoological terms....[15]

The habit of not following the capitalization convention in the case of 'Aboriginal' is being perpetruated *inter alia*, by a style manual produced by the government of Canada in 1985.[16] The fact that the government of Canada obviously considers the giving of direction about language usage as a legitimate governmental function is itself a significant statement. The particular concern is that its contents encourage the perpetuation of the settlers' disrespect for Aboriginal people. In this regard, *The Canadian Style*, published by the Department of the Secretary of State contradicts its own description of convention and its stated objectives by its treatment of the term 'aboriginal'. The manual purports to recognize that "communications have a cumulative impact on people's perceptions, behaviours and aspirations" and directs that the form preferred or used by the person being addressed or referred to should be retained if used.[17] More particularly, under the heading, "Elimination of Racial and Ethnic Stereotyping" the manual directs writers to be aware of self identification preferences of groups and cites the appropriate example of Inuk, Inuit and not Eskimo.[18] In the chapter on capitalization it is stated that in the case of proper names individual preferences are to be respected.[19] There is a special section dealing with 'Races, languages and peoples'.[20] Following the direction to capitalize both nouns and adjectives denoting
• race, tribe, nationality and language, a number of examples indicate the

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[15]Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, C. Farrington, trans., New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1963, pp. 41, 42.
[16]Canada. Department of the Secretary of State. *The Canadian Style: A Guide to Writing and Editing*. Toronto. Dundurn Press Ltd. 1985.
[17]*Ibid.*, Appendix II, p. 231.
[18]*Ibid.*, p. 236.
[19]*Ibid.*, chapter IV, p. 69.
[20]*Ibid.*, p. 73.

requirement to capitalize, *inter alia*, Amerindian, Cree, Indian, Anglophone. In spite of all this the manual makes a special note, *viz*: "Note that the terms native people(s) and aboriginal people(s) are lower-cased". No reference is made to preference or any of the other factors considered above which would require capitalization when the generic sense is not intended. Nothing is stated to explain why Aboriginal is not to be capitalized when it is used, as usage has now indicated, in the same sense as Amerindian, and Indian in its generic sense. This striking omission contrasts with the recognition of the appropriate convention in the case of Scottish people in the same section. It is stated that the form of some words may vary depending on the meaning, and one stated example is "highlander" as a generic expression referring to any inhabitants of any highland area. That convention is to be contrasted with "Highlander" in reference to inhabitants of the Scottish Highlands. This is precisely the argument that applies in the case of any 'aboriginal people anywhere, as opposed to the self-identified and particularly known groups in Canada called "Aboriginal" people! Incidentally, the guide also makes an error in its reference to "Aborigine" which is described as "one of the indigenous peoples of Australia.[21] In fact there is no such self-identifying people; people have better observed the convention here being argued in the case of the generic expression "Aborigine" which includes a number of peoples indigenous to Australia." Furthermore, even in Australia the term "Aboriginal" is being used as synonymous with Aborigine.[22]

The Canadian government's publication is condemnable for its great omission. The government itself is well aware of Aboriginal people's preference, as indicated by the names now given Standing Committees on Aboriginal Affairs of the House of Commons and of the Senate. Aboriginal people are past the point of accepting the excuse that the left hand does not know what the right hand is doing.[23] If the Secretary of State's guidance were to be adopted, conventional Canadian writing would require the following:

> The self-identifying aboriginal people living between the Red River and Luxton Street are frustrated in their relations with Her Worship Judge Smith, the Member for Winnipeg South Centre, and the Caucasian and Francophone groups in the area.

It would be a strange convention that required respect to be accorded *inter alia*, to rivers and streets but not to self-identifying groups of people. If that is what

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[21] "See, e.g., the materials in Barbara Hocking, *International Law and Aboriginal Human Rights*. The Law Book Company Ltd. 1988, where usage also indicates the adoption of "Aboriginal" in a noun form (e.g. p. 19) and as a capitalized adjective accompanying a lower-cased noun, e.g. Aboriginal leaders, Aboriginal campaigns, etc. (p. xix).

[22] "*Supra*, note 7.

[23] In *R. v. Sikyea*, 43 D.L.R. (2d) 150, [1964] 2 C.C.C. 325, 46 W.W.R. 65, Johnson, J.A. of the N.W.T. Court of Appeal stated: "It is clear that the rights given to the Indians by their treaties ... have been taken away by this Act ... How are we to explain this apparent breach of faith on the part of the government.... It is likely that these obligations under the treaties were overlooked — a case of the left hand having forgotten what the right hand had done.", as reproduced in B. Morse, (ed.), *Aboriginal Peoples and the Law*. Ottawa. Carleton U. Press. 1985, at 335-36.

Canadian writing conventions in fact require then all that is left for Aboriginal scholars is to heap condemnation on the practice and to ignore it.[24]

Aboriginal 'Peoples'

Section 35 of the *Constitution Act. 1982* guarantees rights of the Aboriginal peoples of Canada. The meaning and legal significance of the constitutional term 'peoples' will have to be determined judicially, in the absence of a definition in the Constitution itself. There are two obvious places where the courts are likely to look for inspiration in deciding upon the issue, American jurisprudence and international law. It is instructive to note that the federal government has already expressed its opposition to the essential notions inherent in both models. In American law, the "Indian nations" have the status of "domestic dependent nations". Although this status leaves them no international political recognition, "it assures them self-government, free of most state law strictures, over their territory and members — and often over non-Indians as well".[25] Canadians might find it reassuring that American Presidents, including Ronald Reagan, have confirmed their policy of dealing with these Aboriginal societies on a government-to-government basis. In 1983 Reagan issued a policy statement which included the following extract:

> When European colonial powers began to explore and colonize this land, they entered into treaties with sovereign Indian nations. Our new nation continued to make treaties and to deal with Indian tribes on a government-to-government basis. Throughout our history, despite periods of conflict and shifting national policies in Indian affairs, the government-to- government relationship between the United States and Indian tribes has endured....[26]

The American position derives its origins from pre-revolutionary colonial sources which are shared with Canada, including the declarations in the famous Royal Proclamation of George I in October 1763 which referred to the "several Nations or Tribes of Indians with whom we are connected, and who live under our Protection...[27] The intolerant bombastic assertions of federal ministers who refused to consider the possible existence of a basis for government-to-government negotiations during the difficult events of the summer of 1990 are at odds with the doctrines which have developed in the United States of America.[28] These same

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[24]The writer has in possession a petition and a plea to do just that, written by Janice Acoose, an Aboriginal scholar who is trying to get support for this position.

[25]David H. Getches and Charles F. Wilkinson, *Federal Indian Law: Cases and Materials*. 2nd ed. St. Paul, Minn., West Publishing Co., 1986, at p. 269.

[26]U.S.A. The White House. Office of the Press Secretary. Statement by the President. *Indian Policy*, January 24, 1983.

[27]See, e.g., Jack Woodward, *Native Law*, Toronto, Carswell, 1989, p. 2.

[28]The events at Oka and Kahnawake are recounted in Jacques Lamarche, *L'été des Mohawks*, les editions internationales Alain Stanke, 1990. See also the testimony of the many witnesses before the House of Commons Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs, in February, 1991, recorded in the Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence of the Standing Committee, Canada Communication Group – Publishing, Supply and Services Canada, Ottawa, Canada.

doctrines are being relied upon by the Supreme Court of Canada[29] and, in time, the political rhetoric of 1990 may be exposed for what it is. In the meantime the government takes political advantage of the uncertainty in the law to press its opinions against the claims of Aboriginal peoples on what it wishes the law might be.

The status of "peoples" in international law appears to be far from settled. In principle the rights and claims of groups with their own cultural histories and identities are the same. On this view, the problems of the Aboriginal peoples of Canada, Australia, Scandinavia, the Welsh, the Québecois, the Palestinians and Armenians, are all the same in principle. But, as Ian Brownlie, the renowned international jurist has remarked, it is the problems of implementation of principles and standards which vary, simply because the facts will vary.[30]

Many of the claims being pressed on national and international legal systems by Aboriginal peoples are the same as those pressed by peoples generally. Professor Nettheim has identified and considered ten classes of claims.[31] Perhaps, in his view, the distinctive feature of the claims of Aboriginal peoples lies in their derivation from dispossession of their lands and consequent destruction of their culture and way of life[32] Although it is beyond the scope of this article to examine at length the content of the rights of Aboriginal peoples in international law, it is pertinent to mention several issues which may assist in discerning the relevance of the international forum to the future elaboration of the rights of the Aboriginal peoples of Canada in domestic law. The concept of self-determination of peoples is gaining importance, and its principles are evolving through the practices of the United Nations.[33] In practice, the U.N. insists on communities choosing their political future by democratic means under international supervision. Every culturally and historically distinct people should have the right to choose its political status from options which must include the range from complete independence to complete political integration or assimilation. Past sovereignty is irrelevant because the issue is the existence of a right of contemporary choice. In Canada it is sometimes argued that 'self-determination' conflicts with the principle of 'equality' before the law. The response, states Russel Barsh, is that equality should be applied to the rights of peoples as well as individuals.

> To say that one culturally distinct group is 'indigenous' and as such does not have the right to self-determination, is a form of racism and discrimination. Collective rights must apply equally to all peoples regardless of culture and regardless of race[34].

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[29]See, e.g., *R. v. Sparow* [1990] 3 C.N.L.R. 160 (S.C.C.).

[30]Ian Brownlie, "The Rights of Peoples in Modern International Law", in James Crawford (ed.), *The Rights of Peoples*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, p. 16, from which article the principle and examples described in the text have been taken. For a view of the definition of a 'people' at international law, see Brownlie at p. 5 of the same book.

[31]Garth Nettheim, 'Peoples' and 'Populations' - Indigenous Peoples and the Rights of Peoples, in Crawford *op. cit.*, pp. 105-126, esp. 116 ff.

[32]*Ibid.*, p. 125.

[33]See Russel L. Barsh, "Indigenous peoples and the right to self-determination in international law" in Hocking, *op. cit.*, pp. 68-82, from which the points in the textual description are adopted.

[34]*Ibid*, p. 73.

In Canada, the inferior political position of Aboriginal peoples is illustrated in the different perception and treatment accorded to the fundamentally similar claims of self- determination of the Québecois and Aboriginal peoples.[35]

While Canadian federal politicians are generally willing to accommodate, or at least to consider the claims to self-determination of the Québecois, the federal government has squarely set its face against according any recognition to the similar claims of the Aboriginal peoples. In particular, Canada has officially taken the position in the international forum that "peoples" in section 35 of the *Constitution Act. 1982* should not be interpreted as supportive of the notion that Canada's Aboriginal 'groups' are 'peoples' in the sense of having the right to self-determination under international law.[36] Canada remains officially committed to the objective of "Aboriginal self-government" within existing constitutional arrangements.[37] In fact, Canada has two programs underway in this area. The first consists of discussions pertaining to enacting legislative changes to the local government structures under which 'Indian' people on existing reserves live, pursuant to the federal legislative power of section 91(24) of the *Constitution Act, 1867* respecting "Indians, and Lands Reserved for the Indians". This does not involve a recognition of the rights of 'peoples' but merely a delegation of federally assumed law-making powers over local affairs. The second endeavour consists of discussions with groups representing Métis and other Aboriginal peoples who do not live on existing reserves, along with the relevant provincial government. At the time of writing such discussions are taking place in four provinces. Generally, the objects of these discussions are to search for means to establish institutions which will give more decision-making power to the people in respect of public matters that directly affect them. This is a rather different thing from the recognition of the rights of peoples; Canada has tended to continue its attitude that Aboriginal people 'off reserve' are entitled only to the special consideration accruing to 'disadvantaged' groups generally. It should be noted that current international practice does not favour negotiated settlements respecting self-determination. The colonized people are weaker and the colonial power will be able to wring whatever concessions it wishes. As Barsh has stated, "When a government chooses who to negotiate with and finances the

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[35] At a conference at the University of Manitoba in 1991 a prominent Québec political scientist refused to acknowledge the similar claims of the Aboriginal peoples in Québec and insisted on his view that Québec's demand for unique status in Canada was the "real" problem that needs to be dealt with *before* Québec can devote some concern to determine if something can be done for the Aboriginal people. This unfortunate view is based entirely on an assertion of greater political power and which avoids blindly, not only constitutional and moral arguments, but also the potential of Aboriginal people to disrupt non-Aboriginal plans for national unity. Since Aboriginal people accepted the 1982 amendments subject to their participation in defining their rights contained therein, and this has yet to be done, the 1982 Constitution suffers from the kind of illegitimacy that Québec complains about.

[36] Canada. Privy Council Office. Observer Delegation of Canada. United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Populations, Fifth Session, August 1987, Geneva. "Review of Developments Pertaining to the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms of Indigenous Populations", p. 2.

[37] Ibid., p. 4.

negotiation process, the results will tend to reflect the views of the government."[38]

It is instructive to note, incidentally, that section 15(2) of the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, enacted as Part I of the *Constitution Act, 1982*, provides a legal basis for laws, programs or activities directed at ameliorating the conditions of 'disadvantaged' groups, including those that are disadvantaged, *inter alia*, because of "race, nationality or ethnic origin, color..."[39]

The identification and definition of the rights of the Aboriginal 'peoples' of Canada remain a matter of uncertainty. The constitutional conferences that were held under the obligations to do so contained in the Act of 1982 failed to accomplish the task.[40] In large measure the continuing uncertainty and the lack of political will to deal with the issue is an indication of the Aboriginal peoples' lack of political power. If that is so, then the existing rights in the constitution have particular importance, being designed to assure some measure of protection for politically weak minorities in the constitutional system. At the formal level, at least, it can be asserted that the protection accorded the rights of the Aboriginal peoples in Canada marks the end of the 'racial' basis for the establishment of a special legal category for the promotion of public policy respecting Aboriginal people. The category of 'peoples' accords with the growing recognition of the rights of Aboriginal peoples everywhere. No longer are individuals to be the objects of special policy initiatives because of their 'descent'.[41] Henceforth the particular entitlements of individuals who fall within the 'Aboriginal' category will be vested in them only by virtue of their relation with the group that is recognized in the categories of Aboriginal 'people' in the Constitution. The challenge now for the courts is to determine the legal tests that are to establish the existence of the relevant rational connection to the group. An individual is entitled to group rights only as a member of the group. The legal tests will have to be determined in light of a workable policy and in light of the facts that are pertinent to the circumstances of all the Aboriginal peoples in the country. Past experience in Canada suggests that the issue will be resolved in accordance with the requirements of non-Aboriginal policy-making.

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[38]Barsh, in Hocking, *op. cit.* p. 71.

[39]See, generally, Dale Gibson, *The Law of the Charter: Equality Rights.* Toronto, Carswell, 1990. The Métis National Council has recently started work on trying to obtain a judicial determination of the legal relationship between section 15 and the rights of the Aboriginal peoples; that is, to what extent, if any, does the constitutional law require equality of treatment by government of the various Aboriginal peoples whose rights are protected in the Constitution?

[40]The conferences and their aftermath have generated a voluminous literature. For a post-conferences analysis, see, e.g. David C. Hawkes (ed.) *Aboriginal Peoples and Government Responsibility*, Ottawa, Carleton U. Press, 1989.

[41]The general lack of appreciation of the great distinction between group and individual rights and the related sociological and policy implications was made startlingly evident to the writer at a recent meeting of the Canadian Indian/Native Studies Association. A well known non-Aboriginal professional in the field voiced his objection to a particular proposal which would have favoured Aboriginal scholars on the basis of his opposition to entitlements based on 'descent'. Similarly special programs and services for Aboriginal people have been administered by non-Aboriginal people who have established their own functional guidelines for identification of their clients in ways that range from bizarre to arbitrary.

III. SPECIFIC TERMS

Métis

One of the "aboriginal peoples of Canada" identified in section 35 of the *Constitution Act, 1982* is the 'Métis' people. So ignored has this group been in Canada for the last century that the label "forgotten people" has been attached to it.[42] The rapid loss of political power and influence of the Métis after their attempts to forcibly resist westward Canadian expansion is well known.[43]

The continuing political powerlessness of the Métis is reflected in the great uncertainty that exists in Canada respecting their constitutional and legal status. There is still much confusion respecting the identity of the group, and the current 'naming' labels and practices appear to compound the confusion.[44]

From the beginning the French term *'métis'* had been used in reference to the largely Francophone, Catholic people descended from Aboriginal and eastern Francophone parentage. The ancient pronunciation of 'Métis', which still remains among contemporary Métis speakers of the ancient dialect, is *Michiss* or *Michif*, used rather interchangeably.[45] This pronunciation appears to be insisted upon among some Métis living in the United States, but in Canada the Anglicized 'Maytee' seems to be generally used, although with interesting local variations in pronunciation. The term was loosely applied also, however, to designate the largely Anglophone, Protestant group in western Canada, the offspring of Hudson's Bay employees and Aboriginal people (i.e. English Métis). The English term "Half-Breed" was one term used to describe this group, and the English expression "French Half-Breed" also occurs in the literature. It is difficult to imagine a better illustration of the settler's use of zoological terms as described earlier by Fanon, than "Half-Breed" or its shortened version, 'Breed'. Another colloquial expression in Manitoba has been 'Blacks'.[46]

In much of the literature where these pejorative terms appear, they are not

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[42] D.B. Sealey and A.S. Lussier, *The Métis: Canada's Forgotten People*, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Metis Federation Press, 1975.

[43] See e.g. G. Friesen, *Homeland to Hinterland: Political Transition in Manitoba, 1870 to 1879* (1979) Canadian Historical Association, *Historical Papers*, pp. 33-47; and Marcel Giraud, *The Métis in the Canadian West*, 2 vols. George Woodcock, trans., Edmonton, University of Alberta Press, 1986.

[44] See J.S.H. Brown, "Metis", *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, Vol. 2, Edmonton, Hurtig, 1985, p. 1126.

[45] The reason for Michif is that formerly the French term was *métif* (métive in the feminine). In Michif speech, all French mid-vowels (e and o) are 'raised' to i and u (apparently a Cree influence) and t, d, become ch (as in chip or j (as in jam) before front vowels (i, u, as in French *dur*). These two rules generate the form Michif. See Robert A. Papen, "Quelques Remarques Sur Un Parler Français Meçonnu De l'Ouest Canadien: Le Métis" (1984) 14 *Revue Québécoise De Linguistique*, No 1, pp. 113-139.

[46] This usage, past and present, is known by the writer's experience in Manitoba. That the term is not newly minted is evidenced in the literature by the following nineteenth century quotation: "Mr. Robertson said that we were blacks, and he shall see that our hearts will not belie the colour of our bodies." Anonymous. *Statement Respecting The Earl of Selkirk's Settlement Upon The Red River in North America*. London, John Murray, 1817. (Coles Canadiana Collection, Toronto, Coles Publishing Co. 1974), p. 87.

capitalized, of course, as is to be expected from writers who are minded to use such terms. Similarly, even in contemporary literature the term 'Métis' often appears with a lower-case 'm', testimony to the pervasive impact of the colonizers' attitudes and of the intellectual poverty of those who suggest that 'métis' can properly be used, for their purposes, as a generic term.

Aboriginal people are not likely to be convinced by arguments such as these, given what is known generally about the views of settler scholars concerning Aboriginal people. The following extracts from a recent work of Marcel Giraud, which describe the writer's home community, is a sufficient illustration of Fanon's earlier description of the way the settler paints 'the Native' "... tiny half-breed villages, such as ... St. Laurent, ... are now occupied by very backward groups.... Here their mental traits appear as incompletely developed as their biological composition."[47] The gulf between the world view of those who are so described and the world view of those scholars who have inherited this settler tradition of writing is evidenced by the reverence which is still accorded to Giraud in Canada.[48]

The difficulties having to do with the making of policy respecting Métis people can be categorized as those related, first, to the identification of the group, and, in particular, the 'people' referred to in section 35 of the *Constitution Act, 1982,* and, second, to the unresolved issue concerning legislative jurisdiction to establish policies in respect to the Métis. These two issues will now be briefly examined, in turn.

The importance of the first issue is the requirement to identify the members of the 'Métis' people whose rights are the subject of protection in the Constitution. Section 35 itself does not define any of the Aboriginal peoples it refers to, and even the two national organizations which purport to represent the Métis people assert different definitions. When section 35 was enacted in 1982 it was the Native Council of Canada which represented the Métis organizations across the country and which lobbied for the express inclusion of the Métis. The Council's position respecting the meaning of the constitutional term has been expressed as follows:

> 7.   That the word 'Métis' as it presently exists in section 35(2) refers to all persons of aboriginal ancestry in Canada who declare themselves to be Métis, including: (a) those constituents of the Native Council of Canada who identify themselves as Métis, whatever their community or origin, (b) those constituents of other organizations who identify themselves as Métis by virtue of their association with the western provinces and/or (sic) the Métis of Red River.[49]

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[47]"Marcel Giraud, "A Note on the Half-Breed Problem in Manitoba", (1937) *The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, p. 541, 546, 548.

[48]See, e.g., J.S.H. Brown and J. Peterson, *The New Peoples: Being and Becoming Métis in North America*, Winnipeg. University of Manitoba Press, 1985, which contains a foreword by Giraud and also a full page picture of him as a frontispiece. There might have been special inducements to do this, given that Giraud was invited to participate in the conference in Chicago from which the papers in the book originate.

[49]Canada. Intergovernmental Affairs Secretariat, First Ministers Conference on Aboriginal Constitutional Matters, Ottawa, March 8, 9, 1984. Document 800-18/025: "Summary of N.C.C. Position on Land and Resources".

After 1982 the Métis National Council, (M.N.C.) *Le Ralliement National Des Métis* was formed to represent the Métis and "Non-Status Indian" organizations of the western provinces, and it was granted seats at the First Ministers' Conferences on Aboriginal constitutional reform as a representative of the Métis people. The M.N.C. takes a nationalistic approach to the definition of its constituency:

> The Métis Nation comprises self-identifying descendants of the historic Métis who evolved in what is now western Canada as a distinct aboriginal people with a common political will and other persons of aboriginal descent who identify themselves as Métis and are accepted by the Métis community.[50]

Those individuals would include the people designated by the pejorative "Half-Breed" and other Aboriginal people whose antecedents and contemporary circumstances would suggest a closer relation to the Métis as a group than to the Cree, Ojibway, or other "Indian" groups. It will fall to the courts now to be persuaded by legal argument respecting the true meaning of the constitutional term.[51] To the casual observer it must seem rather strange that people would be in a position which requires them to go to an alien, dominating society's courts for a determination of their own group identity. Such, however, are the unique problems which confront the 'enclave' Aboriginal peoples who find themselves, after the passing of the international decolonization process, still caught as colonized peoples within the political boundaries of a colonizing nation. Such peoples have the problem, if they are to attempt to 'negotiate' their place within the captor nation, of establishing their legitimacy as the representatives of their people.[52] The same applies to making a case as representative of a people entitled to the group rights protected in section 35. Those are not the rights of individuals *per se*, and the status of those rights must be dealt with by group representatives. This is not a problem that is unique to the Métis people. The Assembly of First Nations has little difficulty in establishing itself as the representative of those who vote in 'band' elections on reserves but the legitimacy of the representation of other Aboriginal groups is not at all settled.[53]

Sawchuk has analyzed another consequence of outside domination and 'outside naming' respecting Métis people. Because of their political weakness, Aboriginal organizations are very susceptible to government manipulation of their members' identities. The recent enactment of section 35 with its express inclusion of 'Métis', and the legislative changes to the *Indian Act's* membership code, he argues, have had significant effects on the perceptions of identity and

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[50]Canada. Intergovernmental Affairs Secretariat. First Ministers' Conference on Aboriginal Constitutional Matters, Ottawa, March 8, 9, 1984. Document 800-18/012.

[51]One of the main issues will be the question whether self definition is one of the aboriginal rights in section 35 or whether Canadian laws can validly define the meaning of the constitutional terms.

[52]It is ironic that subjugated peoples who try to resolve this situation with other than peaceful means, of course, do not have to face this concern. For an examination of 'Aboriginal peoples' problems of 'representivity', see, e.g. Noel Dyck (ed.), *Indigenous Peoples and the Nation State: 'Fourth World' Politics in Canada, Australia and Norway*, St. John's, I.S.E.R. 1985.

[53]In fact there has been significant conflict, and some litigation, over the claims of various groups to represent the interests of Aboriginal people who are not residents of 'Indian reserves'.

group membership.[54] In Canada these changes have resulted in the bizarre phenomenon of individuals suddenly proclaiming a new status and personal identity for themselves in response to government legislation and policy. More important, and this is Sawchuk's main point I believe, the actual membership of the political organizations which purport to represent particular Aboriginal people has been changed, sometimes quite significantly, by governmental action. Not only is this a sign of the weakness of the link to the association and the group by the individuals concerned, but the changes serve to weaken the organizations. These problems are exceedingly complex, have been developing since the government arrogated to itself the function of defining and categorizing Aboriginal peoples, and will not disappear without a major and workable new relationship being established between Aboriginal peoples and governments. It is one of the great challenges of the process of re-ordering the structures that will sustain a new and workable vision of Canadian society.

The second point that was introduced above as an obstacle to policy-making respecting Métis people was the issue of legislative jurisdiction, that is to say, which government, if any, has the constitutional power to single out 'Métis' people as the objects of its legislation? The issue is generally considered to involve an examination of the scope of section 91(24) of the *Constitution Act, 1867*. That placitum or head of power gives the federal Parliament exclusive power to make laws respecting "Indians and Lands Reserved for the Indians". Under this power Parliament has authorized the administration of 'Indian' affairs pursuant to the *Indian Act*[55]. In 1939 the Supreme Court of Canada declared that Parliament had the power, by section 91(24) to make laws with respect to the Inuit people.[56] The question whether Parliament has the power to make similar laws respecting Métis people, or putting the issue another way, whether the Métis are 'Indians' for purposes of section 91(24) is an open question in law at the time of writing. Academic opinion has been divided on the issue which has not been considered by the courts.[57] Those opinions have been persuaded by the approach of the Court

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[54]Sawchuk, who is an anthropologist, actually refers to 'ethnicity' but that is incompatible with the Metis assertion of a national identity; see Joe Sawchuk, "The Metis, Non-Status Indians and the New Aboriginality: Government Influence on Native Political Alliances and Identity", in (1985) 17 *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 135. In my respectful view some of Sawchuk's arguments are based on very limited data and experience and do not portray accurately the relation between Metis people and other Aboriginal people. His interpretation of section 35 is not supported by any legal argument. His general observations pertaining to the sensitivity of Aboriginal identities to outside manipulations, however, appear to be supported by history and experience.

[55]R.S.C. 1985, c. 1-5 as amended.

[56]Ref. re term 'Indians', [1939] S.C.R. 104, [1939] 2 D.L.R. 417. (*sub. nom.* Re. Eskimos.) Although the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs administers Inuit affairs, Inuit are excluded from the terms of the Indian Act [s.4(1).]

[57]The main arguments may be followed in Clem Chartier, "'Indian': An Analysis of the Term as used in Section 91(24) of the British North America Act, 1867", (1978-79) 43 *Sask L. Rev.* 37; Bryan Schwartz, *First Principles, Second thoughts: Aboriginal Peoples Constitutional Reform and Canadian State-Craft*, Montreal. The Institute for Research on Public Policy, 1986, pp. 213-248; Bradford Morse, "Government Obligations, Aboriginal Peoples and Section 91(24) of the Constitution Act, 1867" in David C. Hawkes, *Aboriginal Peoples and Government Responsibility: Exploiting Federal and Provincial Roles*, Ottawa: Carleton U. Press, 1989, pp. 59-91.

in the 1939 *Eskimo Reference* case to analyze the question on the basis of the usage of the term 'Indian' in 1867. Recent constitutional and judicial developments however, suggest a contemporary approach which would include the Métis within section 91(24). Section 35 of the *Constitution Act, 1982*, as explained in the recent *Sparrow* case[58] requires a new approach in developing the law, and if the scope of the rights protected in section 35 is to be interpreted in accordance with contemporary notions and values respecting Aboriginal peoples in Canada, then there is a good basis for requiring that the scope of the legislative power which permits Parliament to protect and make those rights effective as a matter of national policy be sufficiently wide to accomplish those objects. Further, the Supreme Court in the *Sparrow* case emphasized that the federal Crown has a unique obligation respecting the protection of the Aboriginal peoples' rights and Parliament should be enabled to legislate to carry out its obligations. The earlier analysis of section 91(24) had assumed that legislative power did not attract legislative responsibility. Another new provision in the Constitution, section 35.1 requires that all three Aboriginal peoples be consulted prior to any amendment of section 91(24) and that may provide another indication of the intention to include the Métis within its scope.[59]

"Indian"

This survey of the meanings of 'Indian' as a specific term as opposed to the generic meaning considered above, illustrates, not only the usual legal uncertainty in the law but especially the confusion over usage and meaning. This confusion exists not only in relation to legal issues but spills over into the everyday language.

"Indians" in section 91(24) Constitution Act. 1987

One of the two heads of power in this section is in respect to 'Indians'.[60] Because the legislative power relates to a human group, it is necessary to determine the identity of the constitutional category of "Indians". It has already been noted above that the Supreme Court of Canada has decided that Inuit people are included, and the courts have not yet determined whether Métis people are included. The constitutional validity of the definition of 'Indian' for purposes of the *Indian Act* has never been challenged,[61] but it has been said to extend to "all matters affecting their welfare and civil rights".[62] The question whether an indi-

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[58]*R. v. Sparrow*, [1990] 3 C.N.L.R.] 160 (S.C.C.).

[59]This argument is made by Jack Woodward, *Native Law*, Toronto. Carswell, 1990, p. 3.

[60]The other head of power is over 'Lands Reserved for the Indians'. It is beyond the scope of this paper to consider the jurisdictional issues raised by section 91(24). The 'Indians' in the second head of power must be the same as in the first head, which is considered in the text. See generally, P. Hogg, *Constitutional Law of Canada* 2d ed., Toronto. Carswell, 1985, p. 551ff.

[61]In *A.G. Canada v. Canard* (1976), 52 D.L.R. (3d) 548 at 575 [Man.], Beetz, J. in the Supreme Court said that the legislative jurisdiction could not be exercised "without the necessarily implied power to define who is and who is not an Indian and how Indian status is acquired or lost".

[62]Re Kane, [1940] 1 D.L.R. 390, at 392 (N.S. Co. Ct.).

vidual can move in and out of the constitutional category, and if so, by what legal means, is a difficult unanswered question, but it can be asserted that the constitutional category is at least wider than the *Indian Act* definition.[63] The terms associated with the *Indian Act* will be considered following a brief introduction to two other constitutional references to 'Indians'.

"Indian" in the Constitution Act, 1930:

When Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta were admitted into the Dominion of Canada in 1870 and 1905 in the case of the latter two provinces, Canada kept for itself the control and ownership of the public lands. In 1930, these three Prairie provinces were put on the same footing as the other Canadian provinces when, by the Natural Resources Transfer Agreement (NRTA), the public lands were transferred to the provinces.[64] The terms of these agreements were made part of the Constitution of Canada and one term common to the three Agreements provided:

> In order to secure to the Indians of the Province the continuance of the supply of game and fish for their support and subsistence, Canada agrees that the laws respecting game in force in the Province from time to time shall apply to the Indians within the boundaries thereof, provided, however, the said Indians shall have the right, which the Province hereby assures to them of hunting, trapping and fishing game for good at all seasons of the year on all unoccupied Crown lands and on any other lands to which the said Indians may have a right of access.[65]

In a decision that has been criticized for its analysis,[66] the Court of Appeal of Saskatchewan has held that "Indian" in the N.R.T.A. is restricted to the *Indian Act* meaning and can not be relied upon by "non-status Indians" and Métis. In other cases the Supreme Court has linked the 'game laws' clause to treaty rights and thus impliedly restricted its meaning.[67] In the result the limited benefits of the N.R.T.A. are available only to some but not all Aboriginal peoples in the Prairie provinces, without regard to their manner of life or reliance upon hunting for food.

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[63]That is because Inuit, who are within section 91(24) are not within the *Indian Act*, and perhaps also, because formerly 'enfranchised' Indians remained within the category. See, generally, Jack Woodward, *Native Law*, Toronto. Carswell, 1989.

[64]Chester Martin, *The Natural Resources Question: The Historical Basis of Provincial Claims*, Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, 1930.

[65]*Constitution Act, 1930*, R.S.C. 1970, Appendix II, No. 25. Clause 12 in Alberta and Saskatchewan and clause 13 in Manitoba.

[66]Woodward, *op. cit.*, at p. 9; Kent McNeil, "The Constitutional Rights of the Aboriginal Peoples of Canada" (1982), 4 *Supreme Court L. Rev.* 255 at 261; Douglas Sanders, "Aboriginal Peoples and the Constitution" (1981), 19 *Alta. L. Rev.* 410, at 421.

[67]See *R. v. Horseman* [1990], 3 C.N.L.R. 95 (S.C.C.) and the discussion of the relevant cases at 102-104.

"Indian" in section 35 of the Constitution Act, 1982.

Section 35 recognizes and affirms the "aboriginal and treaty rights of the aboriginal peoples of Canada" and sub. (2) includes the "Indian", as well as the Métis and Inuit among the aboriginal peoples. The term also appears in section 25 of the same Act. Since the *Eskimos* reference determined that the Inuit are included in the term "Indians" in section 91(24) of the *Constitution Act, 1867*, the category in section 35 is necessarily narrower than in the former provision. Professor Hogg has opined that the term "Indian" in section 91(24) is just as wide as the term 'aboriginal peoples of Canada' in section 35(2).[68] The circumstances of the "Indian" peoples in Canada have elicited the following comment from the author of a leading textbook;

> "The peoples identified for legal purposes as 'Indians' include many diverse linguistic, racial and cultural societies. There is such diversity among Canadian 'Indians' that their legal position under Canadian law is one of the few things they have in common."[69]

Reference can be made to the earlier discussion of the term 'peoples'.[70]

The Indian Act terminology and popular terms.

Some measure of circularity appears to be theoretically unavoidable in attempting to define human charter groups according to criteria that are to endure over time and many generations.[71] Thus, the *Indian Act* defines "Indian" as follows: 2.(1). In this Act… "Indian" means a person who pursuant to this Act is registered as an Indian or is entitled to be registered as an Indian." It is, of course, necessary to define a group whose members enjoy a distinct status in law. Essentially the *Indian Act* system has focused its definition on a kinship system based on the male head of family, and the descendants of those who were recognized in the early days of the system, in the 1870's, as members of Indian communities, which were labelled as "bands" for purposes of the *Indian Act*.[72] Those individuals caught by the *Indian Act* definition have been popularly known as "status Indians" and those who have been excluded have been known as "non-status Indians". The exclusions derive mainly from 'enfranchisement' provisions in the *Indian Acts* which intended to promote a policy of assimilation. Since the 1951 amendments the recipients or allottees of "Half breed" lands or money scrip and their descendants have been excluded from entitlement to registration. Because of the existence of the registration system, 'status Indians' are also known as 'registered Indians'.[73]

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[68]P. Hogg, *op. cit.*, p. 565, footnote 85.

[69]Woodward, *op. cit.* p. 6.

[70]*Supra*, text accompanying footnotes 26 to 40.

[71]On the theoretical issue, see D.E. Sanders, "The Bill of Rights and Indian Status" (1972) 7 *U.B.C. L. Rev.* 81; B.W. Morse, *op. cit.* p. 3.

[72]See, generally, Canada. Indian and Northern Affairs, *The Historical Development of the Indian Act*, August 1978.

[73]*Indian Act*, R.S.C. 1985, c. 1-5, s. 2. See, generally, R.H. Bartlett, *The Indian Act of Canada* 2d ed., Saskatoon: University of Saskatchewan Native Law Centre, 1988.

A particular confusion has arisen because a commonly-used synonym for 'status Indian' in everyday language has been 'treaty Indian'. In law, however, there is a distinction between those descendants of treaty signatories who are 'status Indians', and those 'status Indians' who are not descendants of treaty signatories. In other words, not all 'status Indians' are 'treaty Indians'. Furthermore, the *Indian Act* has not attempted to define 'treaty' Indian since 1951. Nevertheless, these facts appear to escape the notice of the courts and lawyers, and the term 'treaty Indian' continues to appear in the case reports where the context indicates a reference to 'status Indian'.[74] Amendments made in recent years have added greater complexity to the issue of Indian definition. There is now a distinction between 'band members', who may be defined by the 'bands' themselves, and registered or 'status' Indians, who may or may not be band members. Some of the distinctions are reflected in the different legal entitlements of the two groups.[75] The amendments to the *Indian Act*, which are popularly known as 'Bill-C-31', have had the effect of re-instating many 'enfranchised' individuals and their descendants, to Indian status, with significant social, political and economic consequences.[76] It can be fairly stated that the federal government's policy of undertaking to define 'Indians' and of administering the affairs of those so defined who lived on 'reserves,' has created a unique situation in Canada. Aboriginal people have been split into the 'status' and 'other' groups in more ways than one. The legislated definitions and policies have obscured the relevance of hereditary, kinship, cultural and other factors in determining personal and group identity. A curious social and political state of flux has been created in which individuals move, not certain whether to assert their identity on the basis of their experience and natural tendencies or on the basis of the perceived consequences of associating with officially recognized groups or others. Moreover, the uniqueness is compounded by the difficulties occasioned by the constant jurisdictional wrangling between the provincial and federal governments over who has "responsibility" for which group.[77]

Inuit

It has already been noted that the Inuit are 'Indians' for purposes of section 91(24) of the *Constitution Act, 1867*, and that, although Inuit affairs are administered by

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[74]See the cases cited in Woodward, *op. cit.*, p. 8, footnote 36. In a recent case where the court had the benefit of the services of a member of the Indigenous Bar Association, the judge referred to the *Indian Act*'s definition of 'Indian' as that 'unfortunate word': *Thomas v. Cowichan Indian Band No. 642*, [1990] 4 C.N.L.R. 104 at 105.

[75]For an excellent discussion of the definition system, see Woodward, *op. cit.*, chapter I, esp. pp. 16-51.

[76]Canada, I.N.A.C., *Impacts of the 1985 Amendments to the Indian Act (Bill C-31: Summary Report*. I.S.B.N. 0-662-57994-1, Minister of Supply and Services, 1990; Canada, I.N.A.C., *Report to Parliament: Implementation of the 1985 Changes to the Indian Act*, I.S.B.N. 0-662-55276-8, Minister of Supply and Services, 1987. On the differential treatment of men and women under the acts, see, generally, Kathleen Jamieson, *Indian Women and the Law in Canada: Citizens Minus*, Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, 1978.

[77]See, e.g. Joe Sawchuk, *The Metis of Manitoba: Reformulation of an Ethnic Identity*. Toronto, Peter Martin Associates, 1978, on the political consequences and the role of Aboriginal organizations, and Noel Dyck, *supra*, note 6, on the social and political consequences of the federal policy on reserve residents.

the federal department of Indian and Northern Affairs, the Inuit are expressly excluded from the terms of the *Indian Act*. There is no equivalent *Inuit Act* and the administration lacks a statutory base. The Inuit are the Aboriginal people of the far northern regions of Canada, and treaties were never signed with them, as was done with many of the southern Aboriginal peoples.[78] The problems of definition respecting all Aboriginal peoples apply to the Inuit. The essential current conflict is between the recognition in the Constitution of the collective rights of the Inuit as a "people" on one hand, and the existing statutory definitions, which are racist. For example, the *Indian Act's* exclusionary provision, section 4(1), covers "any person of the race of aborigines commonly referred to as Inuit", and various other fisheries regulations focus upon a blood quantum and general repute, for example: "'Inuk' means a person who is a direct descendant of a person who is or was of the race of aborigines commonly referred to as Eskimos and possesses at least one-quarter of Inuk blood."[79]

The reference to 'Eskimos' is interesting; the self-identifying term in Canada is 'Inuit', in contrast with the Alaskan preference for 'Eskimo'. The language of the Inuit is Inuktitut. A recent study which examined its usage in the north and the efforts to maintain its usage as an essential part of Inuit identity concluded; "Only with the maintenance of a distinct identity do Inuit have the chance of altering the wider conditions of social and economic dependency which presently characterize so much of their lives."[80]

IV. SUMMARY

As a generic label, the term 'Aboriginal' has largely replaced the misnomer 'Indian' in current Canadian literature and usage. The awkward term 'Native Indian' is a unique Canadian pleonasm. The literature still reveals confusion about the usage of the generic synonyms such as 'Native'. A common error is to refer to one of the 'Native' groups along with the generic reference, for example, 'Natives and Métis'. The shift to usage of terms such as 'Aboriginal' and 'First Nations' as well as designations for particular peoples, such as the Dene, are aspects of the general attempts by Aboriginal peoples to rid themselves of outside domination, including the insistence on the use of inappropriate labels. Aboriginal scholars are irked by the general failure to capitalize 'Aboriginal' as required by the writing convention applicable to self-identifying groups of people. The disrespect is promoted by the federal government's own style manual.

The constitutional guarantee in 1982 of rights of the Aboriginal 'peoples' of Canada requires a definition of the term 'peoples' and a consideration of its legal

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[78]For a good examination of Canada's treaty-making policy and history, see P.A. Cumming and N.H. Michenberg, *Native Rights in Canada*, 2nd ed., Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada, Toronto, 1972, esp. part IX.

[79]See the statutes cited in Woodward, *op. cit.*, at 51.

[80]J.P. Chartrand, "Survival and Adaptation of the Inuit Ethnic Identity: The Importance of Inuktitut: in Bruce Alden Cox, ed., *Native People, Native Lands*, Ottawa: Carleton U. Press, 1988, pp. 241-255, at 252.

and political implications. At international law the rights of 'peoples' are gaining significant recognition. The government of Canada has, however, officially taken the position that the Constitutional meaning is not the same. In the United States of America, which shares a common jurisprudential beginning with Canada, the Aboriginal peoples are recognized officially in law and politics, as "domestic, dependent nations" which carry on government-to-government relations with the United States. The current Canadian administration, in contrast, has stubbornly set its face against the American policy. The government's approach in the past few years has been to enter into negotiations with Aboriginal communities and organizations to consider prospects for self-management arrangements.

The historical uncertainty inherent in Canadian law and policy pertaining to Aboriginal people continues today. The rights of the Aboriginal peoples, and even the legal identity of the peoples, remain open questions. The constitutional recognition of the rights of 'peoples', however, marks a new focus, one which moves away from racial notions of identity and which focuses upon the rights that Aboriginal peoples share with all peoples of the world. It will probably take much time and effort before the implications of this change have an effect on government policy and upon public attitudes and opinions. The many specific terms pertaining to Aboriginal people, in their legal and popular connotations, illustrate many of the problems associated with 'outside-naming'.

The original and contemporary identity of the 'Métis' people has been blurred by several factors, including legislative changes and the recent desire to drop the use of the pejorative term "Half-Breed". Canadian governments are still in breach of their constitutional obligation to identify and define the rights of the Aboriginal peoples. Thus, the constitutional meaning of 'Métis' is not yet determined. Neither is the ambit of the federal legislative power respecting 'Indians'. Although Inuit are included in the category, it is not known in law if the Métis people are included. All this uncertainty creates difficulties for the making of rational Aboriginal policy on the part of governments. It is an illustration of the subservient status of Aboriginal peoples in Canada, and of the Métis in particular, that they are required to ask the courts of the colonizer nation to define them, and to determine such issues as the political legitimacy of the Métis representative organizations.

The federal government's traditional policy of defining as 'Indians' those Aboriginal people governed by federal policy pursuant to the *Indian Act*, along with recent changes in that statute, has caused significant shifts in the personal identification and group membership of Aboriginal persons and organizations. The ease with which Aboriginal identity can be influenced by governmental action has been described as an illustration of the politically vulnerable position of Aboriginal peoples in Canada. Such shifts affect Aboriginal rights since they are collective rights and individual entitlement must be based upon the individual's relation to the group.

The differing and different legal and popular meanings of 'Indian' are a source of confusion. The constitutional references to 'Indian' in section 91(24) of the *Constitution Act, 1867*, in the game laws paragraph of the *Natural Resources Transfer Agreements of the Constitution Act, 1930*, and in sections 35 and 25 of the *Constitution*

Act, 1982, have not been given a full legal meaning by the courts. Similarly, the labels derived from the *Indian Act*, such as 'registered Indian', 'treaty Indian', 'status' and 'non-status Indian', are a source of confusion. Although 'treaty Indian' invites a particular legal meaning, its popular usage indicates a thoroughly different meaning, that is, a synonym for 'status Indian'. The Inuit, formerly commonly called Eskimos and still so self-identified in Alaska, have escaped some of the problems discussed in this article. They have also, however, escaped, in a relative way, the attention of Canadians. The relation between groups seems to be indicated in the kind of attention the dominant group accords the weaker group. In the words of Thucydides; "the weak accept what they must".

Canada's social institutions, including the political institutions and the law, reflect the inferior status of the Aboriginal peoples who have been interned as enclave peoples within their ancient homelands. This paper has been concerned with the consequences of 'outside-naming', which present particular illustrations of this broad proposition. In the present psychological struggle for national unity and the search for a better vision of Canadian society, it is important to examine all aspects of the relations between Aboriginal peoples and the settler societies in Canada. There are not only the usual barriers between peoples to be faced but also the barriers that are imposed by the settler peoples upon the Aboriginal peoples, both as groups and as individuals. The 'terms of division' have consequences that run very deep. The challenge to Canadians is the rejection of the domestic application of the wisdom of Thucydides.

Biography

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TEACHER AS HEALER

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Abstract A model of 'teacher as healer' is presented and offered as a way to enhance a sense of meaning, dignity and purpose among teachers. Derived from the practice of traditional teaching among Indigenous people such as the Cree and the Fijians, the "teacher as healer" seeks to make things whole, fostering connections between the individual, community and culture.

Résumé Un modèle de 'l'enseignant comme guérisseur' est présenté et offert comme moyen d'accroître le sens de signification, de dignité et de détermination chez les enseignants. Dérivé de la pratique de l'enseignement traditionnel chez les peuples autochtones comme les Cris et les indigènes des îles Fidji ce modèle cherche la totalité des choses en favorisant la création de liens entre l'individu, la communauté et la culture.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

INTRODUCTION

Traditional[1] Indigenous education is symbolized by the process of listening to the stories told by the elders so intently that the elders can hear the listening and, therefore, fully tell the stories. Such stories impart spiritual knowledge and appear among Indigenous people throughout the world. The stories are a gift to the elders and a gift from them. Among the Cree people in Canada, elders are called "*keteyak*" — 'an older person with experience'.

Among the Fiji Islanders of the South Pacific, elders are called "*qase*" – 'an older person' or a 'master', or 'one who knows.' Elders guide and inspire —they are teachers. They help create meaning and struggle to make things whole – they are healers. Teaching and learning emerge in the creation of community meanings; infused by spiritual understanding, healers become teachers, and teachers become healers.

In this paper we will draw primarily on data about Indigenous education among the Cree and the Fijians to suggest a model of the 'teacher as a healer', and 'teaching as a healing process'[2]. It is a model based upon the role of the teacher in traditional communities (see e.g. Ahenakew, 1986; Appassingok et. al., 1985; Wolfe, 1989) and exemplified by Indigenous people (see e.g. Beck & Walters, 1977; Churchill, 1988, 1989; Gray, 1989; Moody, 1988; MumShirl, 1981; Pukue et.al., 1972). Cree and Fijian people tell us about a particular form of the model, where the healers or "medicine people" and elders share similar characteristics and responsibilities; in these cultures, traditional teaching is practiced by both elders and medicine people. Looking to the Cree and Fijians, we can draw upon sources of ancient wisdom about teaching and education. These sources are at work in those cultures today, guiding the people in their efforts to meet contemporary crises in teaching. This paper is offered with the conviction that these sources of wisdom can also guide efforts to meet education crises in other cultural settings as well.

If we consider healing as a "transitioning toward meaning, balance, connectedness and wholeness" (Katz, 1982), we can see how teaching and learning can be healing acts. The 'teacher as healer' is one who, infused with spiritual understanding, seeks to make things whole. Within the formal school setting, the 'teacher as healer' is one who, informed by spiritual understanding, seeks to respect, and foster interconnections – between herself, her students, and the subject matter; between the school, the community and the universe at large – while respecting each part of these interconnected webs.

With the 'teacher as healer', teaching becomes a human enterprise. The 'teacher as healer' is ultimately valued by her community and fulfills a revered responsibility. Traditional teachers were responsible for the quality of life and the full range of living; they did not shy away from facing the critical issues in the developing child:

The (Cree) elders knew that the process of education had to begin even before birth, while a child was still in its mother's womb. The mother was told that the child was put

in her trust by the Great Spirit, and she was counselled on how best to raise it. Education continued throughout life, not separated from daily activities but well integrated with them (Ahenakew, 1986, p. 8).

These traditional teachers were respected and trusted because through their own actions and wisdom, they deserved it; discipline and control grew from within the teaching situation rather than being imposed from the outside. As Rt. Noa, a Fijian healer and elder, puts it:

My words are the truth. I must tell the truth so that future generations can be proud of hearing what I say. If I exaggerate or elaborate, I will only be taking away from them. (Katz, 1991).

The contrasting model of teacher which prevails in contemporary Western oriented schools is that of the 'teacher as technocrat'. Freire's (1968, 1985) discussion of the "banking approach" to education helps us understand how such a teacher functions. Convinced that education can become more 'scientific' as it becomes more technical, the 'teacher as technocrat' is one who seeks more to separate out specific functions and aims. Possessing techniques becomes the measure of professionalism, but the idea of the teacher as an expert in techniques leads away from the teacher developing a sense of dignity as a person. Teaching becomes professionalized, or bureaucratized, without teachers becoming professionals, or persons whose expertise can be respected because it leads to learning. Assuming that education is an individualistic enterprise, the 'teacher as technocrat' encourages students to compete for what she construes as limited educational resources. Presenting herself as the expert in control of the knowledge, she leads students to focus upon herself as the gatekeeper of knowledge, and to compete for her attention, ignoring the potential contribution to their learning from their peers (see e.g. Aronson et. al., 1978; Gonzales Ortega, 1991). Informed more by technical knowledge, the teacher as technocrat focuses on putting subject matter into students so they can attain a specified level of intellectual achievement, thereby sacrificing the interconnections that radiate inward and outward from the subject matter and the classroom. Putting information *into* the student, such a teacher undercuts students developing their own process and sense of learning; the conveying of information ironically becomes a disempowering process for students.

The 'teacher as healer' is a powerful metaphor, capable of suggesting new directions in practice. But it also more than a metaphor. It is also a description of actual practice – teachers can and do function in their daily practice as healers. As a practice, 'teacher as healer' may not be immediately and easily applied in most Western schools, given the bureaucratic nature of these institutions and their ideological commitment to subject matter competence and technical teaching skills (see e.g. Arnowitz and Giroux, 1985; Livingston, 1987). But as the fragmentation and alienation of the culture unfolds within the schools (see e.g. Arnowitz and Giroux, 1985; Berger et.al., 1973; Sarason, 1982, 1983; Sarason and Klaber, 1985), teaching must welcome back the healing dimension, accepting its share of

the task of making things whole. Teaching as healing recreates the spiritual and ethical dimension of teaching, helping teaching become again a work of dignity.

The 'teacher as healer' is a difficult concept to write about, and especially to define, primarily because such a teacher is informed by spiritual understanding. Among Indigenous peoples, education and spirituality are closely linked. The late Senator Henry Langan, an elder of the Côté Band in Saskatchewan shares his beliefs and understanding:

> One of the priorities that young people have to think about is education. The other is our spirituality – that's the backbone or our culture. It is the foremost thing anytime we start something. First thing in the morning you would find elders saying a prayer for the day. Spirituality was foremost – a thing you didn't forget. (Saskatchewan Indian Cultural College, 1985).

The spiritual dimension, and the traditional knowledge it generates, are experienced beyond words, and deeply within persons and community. In writing about spiritual experiences we can only hope to be pointing toward them. Though these experiences are expressed in actions, they are not contained by them. Therefore, a description of what the 'teacher as healer' might say or do is inadequate; more appropriate – if it were possible – would be a description of how he or she is.

The 'teacher as healer,' and the 'teacher as technocrat' represent pure types; actual teachers often partake of elements from both types. But with schools too often contributing to the crises of individual fragmentation and racial and ethnic oppressions, there is a need for teachers to become more like healers and less like technocrats. By understanding healing as process which draws meaning deeply from within daily life, and thereby spiritually transforming it, we can see how ordinary teachers can give and receive in a most special manner. Subject matter placed within a spiritual and value context could become meaningful and valuable for students. Teachers, in becoming healers, could truly teach.

THE 'TEACHER AS A HEALER' —PROMISE AND PROBLEMS

The 'teacher as healer' is a model which describes the selection, training and practice of teachers as interrelated processes, as well as describing the nature of the teacher herself (Katz, 1981). With the 'teacher as healer', knowledge is generated in a dialogue between student and teacher, between school and community. Since the teacher is only one of the vehicles for transmitting knowledge, it becomes a shared, renewable, and expanding resource, accessible to all; it becomes understanding (Katz 1983/84). In contrast, with the 'teacher as technocrat', knowledge is often treated as a commodity, whose supply is scarce, and whose value in fact depends on scarcity. 'Knowledge experts' emerge who control the flow of knowledge, even to the point of hoarding it for some personal or institutional aim (Brint, 1981).

Central to the teacher becoming a healer is a transformation or enhancement of consciousness, and experience of reality in which the boundaries of the self

become more permeable to an intensified contact with a spiritual realm (Katz, 1981). A sense of connectedness results that joins that spiritual realm, the teacher, the resource of knowledge, and environment – including fellow teachers, students, and the community. Teachers are not the only ones who can experience this transformation, though they may exemplify the experience for their students. As boundaries of the self become more permeable to the spiritual dimension, a transpersonal bonding occurs between people so that individuals generate communal commitments. As teachers and students go beyond individual needs, the sharing of resources, including knowledge, become possible. Realizing their deep connectedness, people realize they need not compete for resources; through peoples' collaboration, these resources can become renewable and expanding.

There is a process in traditional Cree culture during which individuals go beyond their own personal points of view to generate a greater community understanding for all. When members of the community gather to discuss an important topic, they gather in a circle or as if in a circle. The topic is like an object of study and reflection, placed in the middle of the circle. Each person, *because* they occupy one place on the perimeter of the circle, has a somewhat different perspective on that object of study. Therefore, to fully understand the topic, each person's point of view - though they may be in conflict - must be respected and heard, and space and time is created for each to express their ideas, *in their own way*. The community seeks to blend the individual points of view into an experience of shared insights. As a result, the community's understanding, as sometimes conflicting views form a whole which is a more complete appreciation of the topic. In respecting each person's point of view, the community is respecting the highest in that person and therefore draws on the shared transpersonal knowledge that is a cultural heritage. The discussion ends when there is consensus that such an experience of shared insights has occurred, that each person has contributed what they have to offer and the contributions have been accepted by the group. There is no emphasis on 'winners' or 'losers', and as a result the community's understanding can expand exponentially and be accessed by all members.

Sometimes the words we use in trying to point toward the spiritual experience may seem abstract; for example, we talk about persons being "permeable to" spiritual influences and as a result experiencing an "enhanced consciousness" and 'transpersonal bonding'. But if the words are abstract that is ironic; *the actual experience* of the spiritual is concretely and intimately known by the experiencer. The spiritual dimension is a part of everyday life rather than some distant phenomenon. 'Transpersonal bonding', for example, is not something that comes from above and happens to a person; it is an experience within. The "enhancement of consciousness" need not be radical or intense; often it is a subtle shift in perspective.

Contacting the spiritual dimension is not enough; teachers must continually enact and reaffirm their experiences of transformed consciousness in daily life. They must learn to apply spiritual lessons in their practice of teaching.

The way in which the spiritual dimension informs the 'teacher as healer' is well

conveyed by Black Elk. He is teaching us in telling his life story, and in offering that story, he offers us healing.

> My friend, I am going to tell you the story of my life, as you wish; and if it were only the story of my life I think I would not tell it; for what is one man that he should make much of his winters, even when they bend him like a heavy snow? So many other men have lived and shall live that story, to be grass upon the hills.
> It is the story of all life that is holy and is good to tell, and of us two-leggeds sharing in it with the four-leggeds and the wings of the air and all green things, for these are children of one mother and their father is one Spirit.(Niehardt, 1972, page 1)

The 'teacher as healer' is a servant of the community; education is service work. Out of respect for and in humility before knowledge, the teacher is committed to serve as a vehicle that channels knowledge to others, rather than accumulating it for personal use. The experience of transformation does not remove teachers from ordinary community responsibilities. They become a community's focal point of intensity, characterizing a dedication to learning and re-affirming the community's self-educating capacities.

For the 'teacher as healer' character development become the critical and necessary context for knowledge and educational technologies. More that cognitive developments, it is qualities of the heart – courage, commitment, belief and intuitive understanding – that opens such teachers to learning and leads them to become educators. Teaching as healing is an education of the heart. But "heart" among Fijians and Cree people is not limited to the heart organ, not to the feelings or emotions; heart involves the total person as he or she functions in his or her deepest essence. Teaching as healing is therefore essential life education.

Character cannot emerge from a focus on techniques. On the contrary, with the teacher as healer, educational technologies and teaching becomes available to those with the necessary character – and only then do they become useful and effective. Techniques are embedded in the struggle to develop character; the mastery of techniques becomes an aid to the development of character.

Fijian elders talk about character in terms of the "straight path" "(gaunisala dodonu)"— the ideal way of being for a Fijian (Katz, 1981, 1991;Katz and Kilner, 1987). They tell us that in order to travel the straight path, we need character, which we can only develop fully as we travel the path. The path does not literally describe our behavior or the events of our life ; it describes the quality of our life. The path itself is not straight; the way in which we struggle to be should be straight. In order to follow the "straight path", we must live a way characterized by telling and living the truth (dauvakadina), love for all (dauloloma), humility (sega ni vikivuk), and respect for others and tradition (vakarokoroko).

The Cree way of how we should live and what we should value in life is also passed on through the elders. The cultural teachings have to be learned and lived and how one learns is through respect and care (Swamp 1982). Most important is to listen to and obey the elders, for it is they who guide and direct us through their example (Ahenakew, 1984; Swampy, 1982).

One form in which elders in Saskatchewan have shared their knowledge and

wisdom is through the description of the tipi, which has been graphically displayed in a poster (Saskatchewan Indian Cultural College, 1981). The tipi, which is the traditional home of Cree people, reminds us of the ideals we should strive for. These ideals and beliefs include: being obedient and respectful, sharing with and loving one another, being thankful and practicing humility. Women in particular are taught that it is important to:

> be clean in mind, spirit and appearance, (for if a woman)...is clean in spirit, she has the highest regard for life and nature, if she is clean in appearance, she regards herself with respect and dignity. (Swampy, 1982, p. 9).

These are the ideals and beliefs that Cree elders have stressed as necessary for the development of character; it is this way of being that is recognized and rewarded.

Character in the Fijian and Cree Indigenous models of teaching should not be confused with the concept of character popular in contemporary "conservative" political movements, whose logical if not natural outcome is an individualistic, self-starting entrepreneur. On the contrary, the Indigenous concept of character assumes a self, embedded in community, existing primarily to serve and be a representative of community. Also, the Indigenous concept does not imply the achievement of a particular standard of excellence. One is always struggling to develop character. On the straight path, the more you know, the more you struggle; the more powerful you are, the more vulnerable you are. The 'teacher as healer' is a traveler on the straight path, and traveling is the essence of her teaching work, rather than arriving at a particular point or place. Such a teacher does not need to defend or maintain her knowledge or status as she knows both are always in the process of developing.

Practically, how does the 'teacher as healer' function? Can such a teacher function within the typical school, whose emphasis is often on linear, outcome oriented learning delivered by a teacher who is perceived as a rare expert? The concept of 'teacher as healer' demands applications which are neither literal nor predetermined. It would be inimical to the concept to tell a teacher specifically what she must do or say to become healer. Instead, one learns by doing; attempting to teach as a healer, one learns the *specifics* of how to heal – and teach.

There are, however, certain general principles which characterize the way traditional teachers function, and therefore how 'teacher as healer' functions. With the 'teacher as healer' teaching is by example, connected and inspired by the actual life of the teacher:

> (Cree) elders acted as role models for the younger people to follow, and because of their position was one of respect, this method of teaching was very effective. In the morning, elders often rose before all others, setting an example for the rest of the community; some of the older people today have clear memories of hearing their elders singing at daybreak (Ahenakew, 1986, p. 8)

Students are given space, time and help to develop in their own way; the

emphasis is on students; own journey toward wholeness. The teacher does not pursue students, attempting to teach them what they must know. Instead, the teacher lives the life she wishes to teach, and waits for the student to come, seeking knowledge. She creates room for questions to emerge. If the questions are from the heart – heart-felt and of real concern – the teacher is obligated to respond, to the best of her ability. Rt. Noa, the Fijian elder, described his teaching:

> When someone comes with serious questions, I cannot say no. The door is opened. Whatever that person asks, I try to answer. But I will not answer when I do not know. The worst thing is to magnify what one does, and elaborate on truth. (Katz, 1991)

Rather than holding on to knowledge, or using it to control others, the 'teacher as healer' shares knowledge, passing it on to others. In that way, knowledge becomes renewable and expands.

The 'teacher as healer' stresses her own vulnerability, rather that having to be in control. She struggles to develop character – with all the risks involved, rather tha ndefend her own position, or exagerating what she knows in order to appear intelligent or in control. Vulnerability is at the core of the healing process; it is not just as an expression of illness but a necessary element of health (Henry, 1972; Katz, 1982).

Respect characterizes all phases of the work of the 'teacher as healer' respect for knowledge, for the student, for the community, for oneself and one's profession and responsibility. As the Fijian elder St. Noa states: "you must respect all who come to you with questions. As you respect them, they become respectable." Ahenakew (1986) says that one of the most important requirements of a successful traditional Cree educational system is that "... the students, and indeed the entire community, must have respect for the teacher, and the teacher must deserve this respect" (page 9). After giving a great deal of rather special information about Native culture to a university class, a Native elder ended by thanking the class for listening and allowing him to share what he knew – he respected that class and the knowledge he was passing on even more.

Finally, the 'teacher as healer' is one who cares and loves. The Fijian word *dauloloma* which means love for all or 'always loving others' is a critical concept in Fijian culture. *Dauloloma* is perhaps the most prized value in teaching the young as it is seen as essential for the maintenance of community. It is also seen as a human expression of spiritual understanding. With *dauloloma*, teaching comes from the heart; loving and caring for her students, the teacher generates love and care in her students, and mutual respect emerges.

Considering these principles of traditional, Indigenous teaching, we can see that the 'teacher as healer' is not a moral arbitrator. Instead, through example, the teacher creates room for students to discover what they must do. As one elder put it in describing how to perform a traditional ceremony: "There is no set way to do this ceremony, only you must do it right." The 'teacher as healer' is a 'moral explorer'. Sent by the community on a journey to new territories of experience, she is asked to help understand reality. Interpreting reality, she helps to impart meaning. Imparting meaning, she offers interpretations about morality. The

'teacher as healer' is valued by the community because of the risks she undertakes to bring understanding back to the community.

THE 'TEACHER AS HEALER' – A RENEWED TRADITION

The Cree word for teacher is *okiskinohamakew* or 'a person who teaches what he has learned from life and people', 'one who serves as a guide'. Could such a teacher function in the schools as they now exist? The Fijian word for school teacher is *gase ni vuli* or literally 'a master (*gase*) of learning (*ni vuli*)'. The word *gase*, in addition to meaning 'master', can also mean 'elder'. We then have the idea of "elders in or of learning". Should our school teachers be 'elders'? Can they be? How would elders function in schools which are not places of learning? It seems clear that school teachers need to communicate more with elders, to receive help in recognizing and cultivating their own ability to become healers. But it may be that education is best served by several kinds of 'teachers as healers', including school teachers in the classroom and elders in the community, collaborating in their common purpose of sharing knowledge and educating the young. There is great wisdom in the often heard advice of Cree elders to their grandchildren: "Go to college and learn what you can there, but don't forget who you are".

Bringing the 'teacher as healer' back to actuality will not be easy. There are potential practical obstacles and some fundamental political questions which must be addressed. The practical obstacles seem inherent in the bureaucratic nature of most contemporary schooling. For example, how would the spiritual emphasis of teaching as healing exist with in the academic, 'scientifically-oriented' atmosphere of the school; or its emphasis on heart exist within the school's mind-oriented atmosphere? Such apparent conflicts are less an obstacle when we realize that the spiritual dimension is not synonymous with religion, nor is the heart synonymous with irrationality. Also, both the spirit and the heart are essential ways of knowing, highly valued throughout the world (see e.g. Haan et.al., 1983: White & Pollak, 1986); they are also part of that particular form of knowing so valued in Western culture, namely, scientific method (see e.g. Polanyi, 1958; St. Denis, 1989).

Another potential obstacle deals with the selection of teachers who could become healers. For example, how do we select for a desire to serve, for a willingness to share knowledge? Such criteria may sound ambiguous and vague, and we may wish to turn back to 'hard data' criteria, like test scores or grades. But selection on these apparently vague criteria can occur. The Saskatchewan Urban Native Teacher Education Program (SUNTEP) is one such example. Members of the Native community are deeply involved in the selection of SUNTEP students. One SUNTEP faculty described the selection process as follows:

> The community is *there*. The community knows what kind of people they want. They know what kind of future they want, what their community aspirations are for the people that come out of the program and they are very strong about that. They know what they want. (Birnie and Ryan, 1983, page 115)

This selection process yielded a particular kind of student. As one SUNTEP faculty put it:

> Very few of (the students) have any desire to do anything except serve their people …
> (Birnie and Ryan, 1983, page 116)

There is also a potential obstacle in the area of training. How do we train teachers to care for their students, to serve their communities? And even if we knew how, is there enough room in the curriculum, what with all the subject matter that has to be dealt with? But teaching teachers to be healers is not a matter of developing curriculum units in healing; such teaching comes from the attitude and person of those doing the instruction. Teaching healing takes no time from the schedule; it is a quality of instruction which is woven into and throughout the schedule.

Finally, there is the inevitable "bottom-line" obstacle: is this idea of 'teacher as healer' cost-effective? Though it may seem surprising, this is an issue on which 'teacher as healer' is most potent. As healing enters the teaching system, all the parts of the educational community become connected, and thereby strengthened. Teaching as healing creates a support-system of education which is community-based and pervasive – and because learning is stimulated *throughout* the community, teaching becomes an expanding and renewable resource. Drawing upon community resources, there is no cost. This is not just another example of taking advantage of the community; in this instance, the community willingly is helping to educate itself.

More important, there are fundamental political questions surrounding the reintroduction of the 'teacher as healer'. Indigenous people are too often encased in a larger socio-political context which denies them their basic rights. Cut off from their land, they are cut off from their sense of self and experience of community. How does this Indigenous concept of 'teacher as healer' impact upon this oppressive situation? If the society at large devalues healing in teaching, will the valuing of healing within an Indigenous community be that community's point of weakness in dealing with the society, leading to further exploitation? Under the banner of bringing more "scientific" criteria of educational success to the Indigenous community, will the larger society use the community's emphasis on healing as yet another point of exploitative entry? And does a reliance on traditional methods such as teaching as healing create a situation for oppression since it does not develop contemporary tools of adaptation and power?

These are all very legitimate questions and concerns. But unless we find a new source of understanding about teaching, teaching will continue to contribute to, rather than deal with, fragmentation and social crisis. The above questions can all be rephrased into statements. We cannot afford to allow a reliance upon tradition to be a point of weakness, especially when that tradition offers the possibility for effective guidance of teachers and teaching. This holds both for the Indigenous communities in which teaching still is a healing work, and other communities which could benefit from an introduction or reintroduction of that healing emphasis. A new source of understanding can come from an old, or better, an enduring way of understanding.

Though bringing healing back to teaching may not be the bureaucrat's wish, it seems essential to the life of teaching. Teaching is not a neutral activity. It may very well be that if teachers are not healers, teaching can in fact become harmful. Whatever the specific ways in which the elders and school teachers practice their teaching, it seems clear we need a 'renewed tradition' – the bringing of traditional principles to contemporary focus – if schools are to become places of learning. The knowledge of the elders can offer that tradition; it can support teachers in their efforts to become healers. We have spoken primarily about the elders in native communities; their lives can offer us special and significant lessons. But every community has its elders, its *keteyak*, its older persons with experience. We must learn from and with them about healing, about proper living.

ENDNOTES

[1] The literature defining and describing the concepts of 'tradition' and 'traditional' is vast – and confusing as to meanings and perspectives (see e.g., Mangin, 1970, for a critical theory anthropological perspective; Bellah, 1968, for a value-oriented sociological perspective; DeVos, 1976, for a capitalist development approach to socio-cultural and economic change; and Trainer, 1989, for a critique of that capitalistic approach). Cognates for 'traditional' abound – e.g., 'tribal', 'folk' – and are often imprecise – e.g., 'rural'; they leave us unclear about what non-traditional is – is it 'urban'? – while misleading us to suggest that whatever no-traditional is, it is better than traditional – or more 'modern'. We will use the term 'tradition' to refer to a world-view expressed in a particular socio-cultural structure, but will emphasize the trans-contextual aspects of that world-view – its trans-cultural principles – rather than its particular ecological or historical setting. We also assume that tradition is an inherently relative term; world-views represent some combination of the traditional and 'modern'.

Moreover, tradition is not a static phenomenon (see e.g., Hobsbawn and Ranger, 1984). It is constantly being created and recreated – only then can it remain a living force in peoples' lives. By a traditional world-view we mean one which emphasizes the spiritual dimension, and the knowledge it generates (see e.g., Katz , 1982; Fire, 1972; and Wolfe, 1989) and the "self-embedded-in-community" (see e;g., Meza, 1988; Triands, 1988). Such a traditional world-view is common among Indigenous people. In fact, Indigenous people may be essentially characterized by that world-view (see e.g., Beck and Walters, 1977; Diamond, 1974; Moody, 1988).

[2] In the model of 'teacher as healer' and 'teaching as healing', the role of teacher and the act of teaching are seen as inextricably interrelated processes. Therefore the terms "teacher" and "teaching" imply each other.

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INDUSTRIAL AND RESIDENTIAL SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION: THE ATTEMPT TO UNDERMINE INDIGENOUS SELF-DETERMINATION

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Abstract   The traditional structures of Indigenous family life became increasingly altered with the imposition of foreign values as administered by missionaries through the formal education system. It was the policy of industrial and residential school personnel to erode Indigenous cultures. As a result, the well-being of generations of Indigenous peoples have been jeopardized. The journey back to well-being is often difficult, but not impossible.

Résumé   L'imposition de valeurs étrangères telles qu'administrées par les missionnaires de l'ancien système d'éducation ont transformé graduellement les structures traditionnelles de la vie familiale autochtone. La politique du personnel des écoles résidentielles et industrielles était de miner les cultures autochtones. En conséquence, le bien-être de générations de peuples autochtones a été compromis. Le retour au bien-être est souvent difficile mais il n'est pas impossible.

My intent is first to provide an overview of some aspects of traditional Canadian Eastern and Plains regions Indigenous family life and values. This will be used to illustrate that, historically, Indigenous people governed themselves in a manner which promoted healthy self-esteem. Secondly, I will discuss how the churches, through the industrial and residential school systems devalued Indigenous people thereby contributing to individual, family and community dysfunctionalism. Thirdly, I will offer some sugggestions on how healing may be approached. My perspective has been gained from historical research, what has been related to me by other Indigenous peoples and through experience.

At the outset it is necessary to recognize that no social system is inherently right or wrong. Rather, an individual will often organize oneself according to community values, religious values and the physical environment.

In general, the traditional basic Indigenous family structure was composed of a mother, father, children, and members of the extended family including grandparents aunts, uncles and cousins. From birth, Indigenous children were instructed to adhere to the values of their society. Independence was highly valued as was the principle of living and acting in an honorable manner. The Jesuit priest Pierre de Charlevoix when speaking of Algonquian, Miami and Potawatomi nations, in 1721, recognized this when he stated: "We may in general say, that fathers and mothers neglect nothing, in order to inspire their children with certain principles of honor which they preserve their whole lives" (Axtell 1981: 34). Another important value was respect. This respect extended to all persons to whom one related. Father Francois Lafitau noted that among the Iroquois the children "have deference for members of their lodge, and respect for the elders" (Axtell 1981: 34).

These principles were instilled in a gentle and loving manner. Punishment, such as striking a child, was neither practiced nor condoned (Mandelbaum 1979: 143; Astell 1981: 18). Charlevoix noted that rather than strike a child, parents would "employ tears and entreaties, but never threats" (Axtell 1981:34). Instructing children by way of kindness had merits. According to Lafitau:

> the mothers who are in charge of them, have not the strength to punish and correct them when they fail in their duties; they let them do everything that they like when they are very young.… No one, moreover, would dare strike and punish them … a thing which indicates that in methods of bringing up children, gentleness is often more effacious thatn punishments (Axtell 1981: 39).

The most drastic punishment resulted in having a little water thrown in the child's face (Axtell 1981: 39). Charlevoix, although not approving of the freedom given children, nor the lack of punishment, did acknowledge, of the Algonquian, Miami and Potawatomi, that their dispositions were not adversely affected (Axtell 1981: 34).

At an early age children were also instructed according to their prescribed sex roles. Initially boys and girls would be kept at home, but as boys matured they would accompany the male relatives while girls accompanied female relatives. Thus boys and girls would learn through play and by imitation the mannerisms of their particular society.

At puberty both boys and girls had special recognition rites. With the onset of menstruation the young woman was acknowledged and respected as possessing the power to sustain life. Within the female lay the power of procreation and thus the ability to ensure the continuance of the society. Accordingly, the pubescent female was honored and acknowledged as eligible to acquire her future roles and status, whether it be as mother, wife, shaman or medicine woman. The pubescent male was also acknowledged for his future roles and status. Generally, this took place through a special ceremony such as a vision quest.

For Indigenous women, marriage and parenthood was a matter of serious consequence and was not entered into without the full knowledge and attendant obligations that inured to husband, child and community. The primary goal of

marriage was to have children, to be a good parent and to be a member of a family unit and community. To reach this state each mate would need to be assured that the physical as well as the psychological needs of each other could be met. With many of the eastern nations the method of obtaining this state was to allow each young individual his or her sexual freedom, and to practice "trial marriages" (Axtell 1981: 71).

When the couple married sexual freedom was restricted as they ascribed to sexual continence anywhere from six months to a year (Axtell 1981:72). According to Father Chrestien Le Clerq, a Recollect missionary among the Micmac:

> it is truth to say that these two lovers live together [after marriage] like brother and sister with much circumspection. ... If it turns out that the disposition of one is incompatible with the nature of the other, the boy or girl retires without fuss, and everybody is content and satisfied as if the marriage had been accomplished, because, say they, one ought not marry only to be unhappy the remainder of one's days (Axtell 1981: 86)

Nicholas Perrot, who lived among the Great Lakes Algonquian during the latter half of the seventeenth century, also acknowledged the practice of sexual continence and that marriage was to meet psychological needs:

> There are among them some, who, after being married, have remained six months or even a year without intercourse, and others the same for more or less time. The reason which they give for this is that they marry not because of lust, but purely through affection(Axtell 1981: 78).

Thus, if during this "trial marriage" the couple felt they were not psychologically suited to remain together, they separated (Axtell 1981: 86). Should the couple decide to remain together they would attempt to have children. However, if conception did not occur the couple would be free to separate or, in some cases such as with the Cree, the first wife might agree to the husband having a second wife. In this instance the second wife was generally a relative of the first wife (Cuthand 1991).

Once a child was conceived, the marriage was often cemented for life. According to Gabriel Sagard, a Catholic priest who worked among the Huron:

> If in the course of time husband and wife like to separate for any reason whatever, or have no children, they are free to part. ... But when they have children begotten from the marriage they rarely separate and leave one another except for some important reason (Axtell 1981: 75).

In some Indigenous societies sororate marriages occurred. For example, among the Cree, Iroquois and Huron, if the first wife died, the husband was encouraged to marry her sister (Mandelbaum 1979: 295; Axtell 1981: 80). It is surmised that the underlying reason for sororate marriages was to fulfill the obligations of the two clans which had also become united upon the first marriage. The following passage, written by Charlevoix indicates that the instances of serial marriages or

even polygamy may have escalated due to European influence:

> Some nations have wives in every quarter where they have occasion to sojourn for awhile in hunting time; and I have been assured that this abuse has crept in some time since, amongst the nations of the Huron language, who were always before satisfied with one wife (Axtell 1981: 80).

Within the domestic sphere women held a prominent position in decision making and in contributing to the welfare of the family as well as the community. For example, upon marriage the husband, generally, resided with his wife's family for a year or more (Axtell 1981: 72; 85), although among the Cree it was not uncommon for the wife to reside with the husband's family (Mandelbaum 1979: 146; 294).

The household, as well as the goods within the household, also lay within the domain of the woman's ownership and authority (Mandelbaum 1979: 89; Axtell 1981:83). The Jesuit missionary, Paul Le jeune, observed that among the Montagnais Nascapi "Men leave the arrangements of the household to the women, without interfering with them; they cut and decide and give away as they please without making the husband angry" (Thwaites Vol. 6: 233). Decisions which involved the family and its relationship to the community were also often made by the wife. As such "the choice of plans, of undertakings, of journeys, of wintering, lies in nearly every instance in the hands of the housewife" (Thwaites Vol. 68: 93).

A woman's labour was highly valued and placed her in a prominent position. It was the woman's role to butcher, cook and preserve the game. She often hunted and fished for the smaller foods such as waterfowl, rabbits and fish. The woman also tanned the hides, made clothes, constructed many of the utensils and adorned these items with her artistry. The final products of the woman's labour, including the food and manufactured goods were important economic resources essential to family life and trade.

Women's authority was not restricted to the domestic domain. It entered the public sphere as well. Among the Iroquois, women figured prominently in their complex formal system of community decision making. For example, matrons often made decisions as to who would be chief or leader. Although this position was hereditary, succession was established through the female. Thus:

> at the death of a chief, it is not his own but his sister's son who succeeds him; or in default of which, his nearest relation in the female line. When the whole branch happens to be extinct, the noblest matron of the tribe or in the nation chuses [sic] the person she approves of most, and declares him chief (Axtell 1981: 151).

Women would also make decisions or be requested to counsel the clans on whether war should be waged and the manner in which prisoners of war would be treated.

Among the Algonkian neither woman nor men took a position of authority over the people, except in times of need. Accordingly "There was little distinction between formal and informal or public and private spheres of life" (Leacock 1989:

191). In these nations, however, women did hold their own councils to discuss matters of importance to them (Leacock 1980: 32).

In summary, values such as independence, honor, respect and gentleness were developed from infancy by the careful and loving guidance of the child's parents and family. Children were cherished and they matured secure in the knowledge they were loved. As adults neither the husband nor wife held autonomous positions within the purely domestic or political domain. Men and women each had their particular roles and each was dependent on the other to ensure the continuance of family and societal life.

EDUCATION INSTITUTES AS ADMINISTERED BY RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS

I will now briefly overview the impact of the Church to illustrate the dramatic changes that foreign values had upon Indigenous societies and how this contributed to some aspects of contemporary dysfunctionalism. The specific example used will be industrial and residential schools.

Traditional roles of males and females were increasingly altered as missionaries began ministering to the eastern and western nations in the seventeenth century and the Plains nations in the eighteenth century. The missionaries, as agents of the Roman Catholic and Anglican churches, ascribed to European Christian values and culture. Recognizably, the church and state were often at odds with each other over Indian policy. Frequently, however their interests did parallel each other.

Policies such as assimilation (which means to make similar), christianization and education profoundly impacted upon the traditional cultures of Indigenous nations. Hand in hand, these policies were implemented with the intention to cause change: change in culture and manners including language, religion, habits, deportment and dress. It was also intended that nomadic Indigenous peoples should give up their hunting and trapping way of life and adopt a sedentary agricultural style of life.

One of the methods designed to accomplish these goals was to implement a formal program of assimilation through education. Concomitant was the belief that this process would best be accomplished by removing the children from their parents' influence. Initially, in the East the Recollects and the Jesuits sent Indian children to France and housed them with French families or, in the case of girls, with the Hospital or Ursaline nuns. This policy, known as francization, was intended to use the returning youth as role models and teachers of French culture among Indigenous nations. However the policy of sending children to France was soon discarded as the children did not fare well in such a foreign environment (Jaenen 1986: 50-52). The Ursaline nuns, in 1639, were thus requested to come to Canada to establish female educational institutions.

The Ursaline nuns also experienced problems imposing francization upon the young girls. By 1668 Mother Marie de l'Incarnation was expressing doubts about the missionaries proscribed plans. She expressed her opinion as follows:

It is however a difficult thing, although not impossible, to francize or civilize them. We have more experience in this than others, and we have remarked that out of a hundred that have passed through our hands scarcely have we civilized one. We find docility and intelligence in them, but when we are least expecting it they climb over the enclosure and go to run in the woods with their relatives, where they find more pleasure than in all the amenities of our French houses. Savage nature is made that way; they cannot be constrained, and if they are they become melancholy and their melancholy makes them sick. Besides, the Savages love their children extraordinarily and when they know that they are sad they will do everything to get them back, and we have to give them back to them (Jaenen 1986:58).

Traditional Indigenous values and Christian values often clashed as did the methods of imposing them. For instance, probably, one of the most dramatic clashes of cultural values that the missionaries attempted to impose upon the seminary girls and boys was that of chastity and everything that pertained to a sexual nature. Where once adolescents were encouraged to explore self-fulfillment, they now were preached the glorification of virginity prior to marriage, monogamy upon marriage, and fidelity to one man for life (Bailey 1969:100-103). The ultimate punishment for even thinking otherwise was eternal damnation.

The immediate punishment was flagellation. Alfred Bailey has surmised that flagellation "may be regarded as an expression of religious emotion which has sprung from the suppression of sexual emotions" (1969: 101). This new morality imposed by the missionaries resulted in physical punishment of the christianized adults as well as the children. Of this Bailey stated that "even the children who had been exempt from chastisement in pre-European times, were made to approach the altar, their garments were removed and they were whipped" (Bailey 1969: 101). Where once physical punishment was abhorred, Christianized parents not only then allowed their children to be whipped; indeed they, too, began striking their children (Bailey 1969: 101).

Once physical force was condoned as a method to control another person's behavior, it opened the way to admitting the European hierarchical power structures within the family and community. As the Christain philosophy adhered to male superiority, male dominance and male authority, the physically strongest were able to exercise their will over the weaker members of the family and community.

Other schools of European Christian instruction were established as well. In the East, Industrial schools began in 1847 and were adopted in the west by the 1880s. Residential schools, the type we are most familiar with, also began in the latter 1800s. The federal government established and subsidized industrial and residential schools while religious denominations, particularly the Catholic and Anglican, administered them.

Industrial schools focused mainly on vocational training such as cattle raising, blacksmithing, carpentry, shoemaking and agriculture. As well some academic training was provided. Initially the industrial schools were designed for males and later females who attended received " a rudimentary English education and training in all the chores and household work performed by a pioneer wife" (Wasylow 1972: 40).

The residential school curriculum focused on instruction and practical training in agriculture for the boys while the girls were taught how to loom, spin and knit wool, as well as clothesmaking and housekeeping skills. Academically the children were taught the basics of the English language, reading, writing, arithmetic and knowledge of the Bible (Foster 1966:136). However there was "little thought of intellectual attainment for its own sake" (Grant 1984: 178). The intent was only to impart enough knowledge to enable graduates to "communicate and do business with others in a white-dominated society" (Grant 1984: 178) when hired out as "farm assistants or domestics" (Grant 1984, 181). In other words, Indians were trained in these schools to become laborers for the Europeans and in some cases to create Indian ministers or teacher aids (Pettipas 1972: 16).

Attendant to this, however, were the abuses that occurred to the children during this time. Indigenous people such as Jane Willis (1973), Basil Johnston (1988) and Celia Haig-Brown (1988) have written books about their experiences in residential schools. Other Indian people are also sharing their stories about the physical, emotional and sexual abuses that were imposed upon them by nuns, ministers, priests and other school personnel. These victims were innocent children and many of the ones who lived through this horror have been subjected, by society, to further abuse: the abuse heaped upon them due to poverty, alcoholism and living a life deprived of self-esteem and self-fulfillment.

There is no doubt that these schools, administered by Christian denominations, caused serious damage to the well-being of individuals as children and later as adults, to their relationships with each other as family members and subsequently to their community. This damage was largely due to the attitude of the churches and the state toward Indigenous peoples and the manner in which foreign values were imposed. For example, these schools were situated so that children were physically absent from their parents' influence. According to Edgar Dewdney, Commissioner for the North-West Territories:

> Experience has taught that little can be done which will have a permanent effect with the adult Indian, consequently, to create a lasting impression and elevate him above his brethren, we must take charge of the youth and keep him constantly within the circle of civilization. I am confident that the Industrial School now about to be established will be a principal feature in the civilization of the Indian mind …. By the children being separated from their parents and properly and regularly instructed not only in the rudiments of English language, but also in trades and agriculture, so that what is taught may not be readily forgotten, I can but assure myself that a great end will be attained for the permanent and lasting benefit of the Indian (1884: 103-104).

Once children were removed from their parents' influence, school personnel were able to exercise complete control over the daily life of the children. Their sense of self-esteem and well-being was constantly threatened. For example, at school Indigenous children were no longer allowed to speak their language. Should they do so they were punished. Punishment such as whippings, strappings and being denied food were not uncommon (Cuthand 1991). Mary Angus of the Moosomin Reserve who attended the Battleford Industrial School for Indians related that:

They strapped girls too. They didn't allow us to talk Cree, and those that talked Cree and got caught talking Cree-they lose {sic} all their hair ... That's what they did with you-bald head like. All the hair cut to be as a man ... We were afraid of that ... (Wasylow 1972: 449).

Children were also generally denied wholesome food. Emma Sand, a Cree Elder who attended St. Micheal's Residential School in the 1940s, related that the children mainly ate poorly while the priests, whose table was in the same room, was laden with meat, vegetables and fruit (1990). Walter J. Wasylow documents in his thesis "The History of Battleford Industrial School for Indians" the Saskatchewan Herald, in 1883, reported that Indian Agents, knowing famine was possible in the Battleford area, still cut the rations of the Industrial school; "the consequence is that the boys are starving and have to resort to a system of petty thefts from the kitchen in order to allay their hunger. And in the face of this is that fact that there is in store more beef than will be needed for the balance of the year" (Wayslow 1972: 70).

Other abuses such as derogatory name calling (Wasylow 1972: 450), strappings, often in front of one's peers (Fineday 1990), lack of privacy, lack of sanitary conditions such as having to use toilet pails that were overflowing, being made to care for dying children, or being made to build coffins for peers who had passed on (Wasylow 1972: 453-464) were all forms of psychological or physical abuse.

Sexual abuse was not uncommon. Specific names will not be given here but, as Indigenous victims begin to come to terms with this, the stories will be told. I have been personally told stories of children being buggered by priests, of ministers making children undress in front of them, of being touched, kisssed and physically explored and being made to have intercourse or oral sex with their Christian caregivers.

The common thread that runs through elders' stories of their experiences is that lack of respect toward Indigenous peoples and their cultures. The imposition of the attitude that anything Indian was bad and evil has caused considerable damage. Emma Sand related, when explaining her life at residential school, that Indian ways were considered evil and this made her confused. At school she learned bad things about Indian people and this caused her to be afraid of being Indian. She lived like this for a long time.

THE JOURNEY BACK TO SELF-DETERMINATION

After a review of the literature on dysfunctionalism, particularly on shame, adult children of alcoholics and co-dependency, I have concluded that many of the difficulties experienced by Indigenous peoples today have resulted from the maltreatment administered during the industrial and residential school eras. In particular I want to elaborate on the philosophy of John Bradshaw as espoused in his book *Healing The Shame That Binds You* (1988).

Shame is one of our many emotions as are anger, fear and joy. Any emotion can be healthy or toxic. Under certain circumstances shame will become internalized and this is where the state of dysfunctionalism becomes paramount. According

to Bradshaw:

> When shame has been completely internalized, nothing about you is okay. You feel flawed and inferior; you have a sense of being a failure. There is no way you can share your inner self because you are an object of contempt to yourself. When you feel contemptible to yourself, you are no longer you. To feel shame is to feel seen in an exposed and diminished way. When you're an object to yourself, you turn your eyes inward, watching and scrutinizing every minute detail of behavior. This internal critical observaton is excruciating. It generates a tormented self-consciousness which Kaufman describes as, "creating a binding and paralyzing effect upon the self." This paralyzing internal monitoring causes withdrawal, passivity and inaction (1988: 13).

Bradshaw relates that there are three processes by which internalized shame occurs. One is "identification with unreliable and shame-based models" (1988: 13). The second is "the trauma of abandonment" (1988: 13) and the third "the interconnection of memory imprints which form collages of shame" (1988: 13). Internalized shame is also "the root and fuel of all compulsive/addictive behaviors. ... The cycle begins with the false belief system that all addicts have, that no one could want them or love them as they are" (Bradshaw 1988: 15). In essence "Shame begets shame" (Bradshaw 1988: 15) and thus it is cyclincal and multigenerational (Bradshaw 1988: 25).

When primary caretakers (in this case industrial and residential school personnel) physically and emotionally abandoned their wards by withdrawal of attention and time, by punishment, humiliation and sexual and physical abuse, the children were shamed. According to Bradshaw "Sexual abuse is the most shaming of all abuse (1988: 48). ... Physical violence is second only to sexual violence" (1988: 50). Furthermore, these abuses are highly addictive in that the aggressor is often a victim as well (1988: 50). It is my contention that it was not only the Indigenous children who were victims; it was the aggressors who were full of shame and dysfunctional as well. This may very well have stemmed from their Christian upbringing.

The perpetuation of the Christian philosophy that one is born in sin and is essentially flawed from birth promotes a belief that one is never good enough. If God is considered to have absolute control and is always keeping score on one's behavior, one can never be in charge of his or her life. The intermediaries of God, such as priests, nuns and ministers, can easily transpose and transfer their own internalized shame to others. Since children in residential and industrial schools were targeted for cultural and religious change it is easy to see how the priests, nuns and ministers of industrial and residential schools were able to transfer their internalized shame onto their wards.

These care-takers have essentially gotten away with their crimes while generations of Indigenous peoples have been made to suffer and continue to suffer the consequences. One of the most pronounced consequences is that the maltreatment of children resulted in generations of Indigenous people living lives of unresolved grief. Individuals who suffer the effects of shame, lack of self-esteem, poverty, hunger, alcoholism and drug addiction, are treated as outcasts by

society. We rarely take a look at the causes of these difficulties. Instead, we blame these individuals for their own misfortune and sanctimoniously judge them on the basis of what we suppose is "their own fault".

In my opinion it will be you and I, as members of society who must take the necessary steps to ensure that the journey to healing this pain is a path open to all. To date, that door to individual freedon has not been open.

What can be done? Here are some suggestions. First, of course, we must stop blaming a person entirely for his or her state of being. I do not know one person who has made a conscious choice to become an alcoholic or a drug-addict. Instead, let us recognize that persons are where they are largely due to their life circumstance. Secondly, we should learn about traditional Indigenous ways. With this, hopefully, will come an understanding that, although cultures may be different, this is no basis for judging them to be right or wrong. Thirdly, allow Indigenous people to search for their own answers among their own people. There are many Indigenous people who have maintained their traditions and are willing to share this knowledge with others.

Together, we can heal but it takes time, energy and dedication. Traditional Indigenous philosophy is based on the individual and one's spiritual relationship to a cosmos that promotes harmony and balance among all things. In order to achieve this state individuals need to know who they are. This is an internalized state of understanding which will never come from merely being told. It is experiential.

One can, however, be helped to reach this state. The assistance that may be required could emanate from others who are in care-giving roles, be they social workers, teachers, psychologist, or foster-parents. It comes in the form of caring for another person. It means taking time to truly listen, give attention and promoting respect. It means that in situations which are traumatic or potentially explosive one does not assert control and revert to a list of should's and shouldn'ts. Rather, it may be necessary to explore one's own feelings and thoughts and understand how, as an individual member of an institution or member of society, one may have contributed to the situation. It is not your responsibility to shoulder the guilt of others but it may be your responsibility to respond in a healthy mature way. Healing yourself is probably the best way one can help another.

Indigenous peoples are not sole owners of dysfunctional attitudes and behaviors. Dysfunctionalism is a widespread phenomenon that has its roots in a system that promotes hierarchy and dominance over others. It is part of a philosophy that does not challenge values that are harmful to the well-being of weaker members of our communitites. If we are to live in a multicultural society then we need to encourage difference and we need to respect the source of those differences. With Indigenous peoples the path to healing may well be, and is often proven to be, the journey back to encompassing traditions.

I am not proposing, that Indigenous peoples go back to living in tipis. I agree that those times are practically irreversible. The accouterments of cultures are ever changing. However, the spiritual basis of Indigenous philosophy of the individual, the family or community, and his or her relationship to the cosmos,

is ancient and is the basis of our culture. I suggest that this not be changed but rather encouraged. Those ways are not closed; all peoples are welcome.

In summary, the traditional structures of Indigenous family life become increasingly altered with the imposition of foreign values as administered by missionaries through the formal education system. The major policy which weakened the traditional family was that of assimilation. Patriarchal values which supported a hierarchical system of power among men, women and their children, affected family as well as community life. Accompanying legislation such as the *Indian Act*, and programs such as industrial and residential schools, forcibly subjected Indigenous peoples to adhere to values which were not only foreign but which also undermined their sense of self-esteem. As a result many Indigenous people have struggled and continued to struggle within a system adverse to their traditions. Contemporary Indigenous family life is often in turmoil. Poverty and dysfunctional relationships between individuals, continues to be a daily struggle. Many families now are single family units headed by the female. Extended family units are not as common although, when possible, they do continue. Many Indigenous people are also seeking to heal themselves as well as their families and community. The journey back to their traditional values is difficult but not impossible.

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BIOGRAPHY

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CAREER PATHS OF SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY NATIVE TEACHER EDUCATION GRADUATES[1]

JUNE WYATT-BEYNON
Simon Fraser University

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Abstract   The career paths of the 48 graduates of the Simon Fraser University (S.F.U.) Native Teacher Education program were documented through questionnaires and open-ended interviews. Over a period of 12 years the program operated in four different communities. Overall employment in classroom teaching and education related fields ranges from 77% to 82% depending on the community in which the respondents reside. Comparisons are made with other native teacher education programs. Factors influencing employment include individual choice, and levels of support by local band education authorities and provincial school districts. Key career issues relate to the role of the teacher in creating awareness of educational needs among parents and key political figures. Recommendations are set in the context of historical issues on native education and include development of a support structure for and continued preparation of, First Nations education professionals.

Résumé   Les routes de carrière suivies par quarante-huit diplômés du programme de formation des enseignants autochtones ont été documentées au moyen de question-naires et d'interviews ouvertes. Le programme a fonctionné pendant une période de douze ans dans quatre communautés différentes. Le total de l'emploi en enseignement et autres domaines reliés à l'éducation varie de 77% à 82% selon la communauté où les répondants habitent. Des comparaisons sont faites avec d'autres programmes de forma-tion pour enseignants autochtones. Parmi les facteurs qui influencent l'emploi, il y a le choix individuel et le niveau de soutien des autorités en éducation des bandes locales et des commissions scolaires provinciales. Les problémes clés se rapportent au rôle de l'enseignant à provoquer une prise de conscience des besoins éducationnels chez les parents et les joueurs politiques clés. Les recommandations sont placées dans le contexte des questions historiques sur l'éducation autochtone et comprennent le développement de structures pour la préparation et le soutien des professionnels en éducation des Premières nations.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND: THE POLICY CONTEXT

The policy paper, *Indian Control of Indian Education* (1972), issued by the National Indian Brotherhood (N.I.B.) stated that Indian people must "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" (1972,3).

Placing responsibility for education in the community and in the hands of First Nations peoples re-established a tradition broken in the late 1800's with the creation of residential and day schools initally run exclusively by the churches and then by the Federal Department of Indian Affairs in conjunction with the churches. Transitions to provincial school attendance, enabled by legislation in 1951 allowing the federal government to contract with the provinces for the provision of school services, perpetuated the divorce between First Nations parents and their children's education. Twenty years (1951-1971) of public schooling which was intended to support assimilation of First Nations students with Anglo-European-Canadians saw 95% of the First Nations students never completing secondary school (Ashworth, 1979).

These efforts by churches, federal and provincial schools, to destroy First Nations language and culture in the name of education are the background of the *Indian Control* policy paper; a turning point in Canadian First Nations education. It is an example of a concrete initiative by First Nations people to regain control of, and affirm the validity of, their own way of life.[2] "They are redefining political, economic, and social priorities ... (and) control over education lies at the heart of this process" (Barman, Hébert and McCaskill, (1987).

Guided by the two principles of parental responsibility and local control, the policy paper made recommendations across the spectrum of educational services and issues. One key area identified for development was training programs for native teachers and counsellors stressing that:

1. Efforts in this direction require experimental approaches and flexible structures to accommodate the native person who has talent and interest but lacks minimum academic qualification.

2. Because of the importance to the Indian community, these training programs must be developed in collaboration with the Indian people (National Indian Brotherhood, 1972, 18).

Training First Nations teachers is a key component in improving First Nations education. First Nations teachers are knowledgeable in, or have access to, their languages and cultures and can help children to maintain continuity with their heritage. First Nations individuals in professional positions serve as role models for young people. They encourage and support the aspirations for educational success of First Nations youth and create awareness and appreciation of First Nations achievement for students from diverse cultural backgrounds (Wyatt, 1977a, 1977b, 1985).

Finally, training First Nations teachers addresses the broader societal issue of employment equity. In the public and allied sectors, the Federal government has instituted policies and implemented procedures to develop employment equity for women, visible minorities, aboriginal people and the disabled. Training and employing First Nations teachers is important within the First Nations communities but also in addressing employment equity and affirming basic rights in society at large (Abella, 1984).

For these reasons, and those outlined below, the Faculty of Education at Simon Fraser University collaborated with three First Nations communities in British Columbia in developing and implementing programs to train First Nations teachers in Mt. Currie (1973-78); Spallumcheen in the North Okanagan (1977-81); and Prince Rupert (1981-85). This study focusses on the graduates' experiences in seeking, and gaining employment and advancing their careers. The focus is on the relationship of their career development to the principle of local control and indicates how the varying social contexts of different communities may effect the implementation of the principle of local control.

Discussions and planning proposals in each of the three communities stressed the critical need to locate the programs in the local communities in order to enable the development of programs that gave opportunity for:

1. on-going input of local education authorities,
2. adaptation to local cultural resources,
3. participation by individuals with talent and interest whom, for economic and family reasons, were not able to relocate to the university campus,
4. stabilization of the teaching force, i.e. training local people who would have a commitment to teaching native children and who would be familiar and comfortable with the cultural milieu in which they would be working,
5. development of an education system based on values and principles appropriate to the home community.

In view of the N.I.B. principles and recommendations and local community concerns, a program was designed which allowed student teachers to complete, in their local community, all work required for standard teacher certification. University instructors travelled to communities to teach courses and a full time

resident faculty associate served as a tutor and practicum supervisor.[3] All practica were done in local classrooms (both in band controlled and public schools). Trips to campus for special events such as conferences and for summer courses were optional.

FOCUS OF THE STUDY

Previous research broadly documents the processes and issues involved in implementing these community based teacher education programs (Wyatt, 1977b). In the present research the focus is on the evolving careers of 48 individuals who were enrolled in these programs. A primary objective is ascertaining the effects of community based programming on individual career development. Interviews and questionnaires were designed to gather data on the following: how many students had completed the program, what level of certification or degree completion they had reached, types of jobs (teaching or non-teaching), job location (home community or not), ethnic background of clientele (First Nations, Non-First Nations) and employer. In gathering this information respondents also provided a substantial amount of related information about their experiences seeking a job and advancing their careers. Analysis of the data revealed several important issues: factors affecting choice of employment, factors affecting choice of community training, and perceptions of community views of First Nations teachers. Additional issues raised but not commented upon as elaborately were professional development, parental involvement, relationships with school boards, the need for First Nations teachers and curriculum. This information can be useful in designing future programs, particularly those which are attempting to suppport the principle of local control.

NATIVE TEACHER EDUCATION PROGRAMS AND THEIR GRADUATES

The most up-to-date survey of native teacher education programs and the literature on them is provided by Lawrence (1985). The focus of his study was a description of all 20 Canadian programs and a determination of the number of certificated and degreed individuals prepared by them. He identifies two main categories in the literature: descriptions of existing programs, and evaluations of specific programs (1985, p. 12).

Lawrence reports a total of 369 degreed and 725 certified First Nations teachers in Canada, a total of 1,094 aboriginal people licensed to teach. As well, at the time of the study (1984), 885 students were registered in programs. Data from the present study will be reviewed in relationship to these figures. He notes the works of Wyatt (1977a, 1977b, 1978-79) as the only source analyzing native teacher education from the perspective of local community control.

More and Wallis (1980) categorize native teacher education programs into three types:

1. *orientation and support:* in which preparation for entry into a regular on-campus program is offered,

2. *significantly altered:* largely based on regular teacher education programs but with additions such as Indian studies, increased practicum and some off-campus components,

3. *community based:* the locus of control is in the community with a greater degree of native control than in the other types.

This categorization is useful in characterizing the programs under review in this study.

Martyn (1984) in "Retention by Native Communities of Status Indian Graduates of Teacher Education Programs," considers the employment of graduates of programs in Manitoba. This data is especially pertinent because under More and Wallis' categorization, the three Manitoba programs fall, as do the S.F.U. programs under the heading community based. Specific comparisons between Manitoba and S.F.U. will be made at the end of this paper, in the section on cross-program comparisons.

GATHERING INFORMATION ON S.F.U. GRADUATES

Two instruments, a 24 item questionnaire and a one hour follow-up interview, were used to gather data. The first 12 items on the questionnaire requested demographic information and employment history, with brief job descriptions and explanations of periods of unemployment. Items 13 to 18 asked for information on factors affecting decisions about where and with whom (First Nations, non-First Nations) the respondent was working. Items 19 to 23 focussed on experiences in the teacher education program and the relationship of these to careers. In particular the respondent was asked to identify whether he/she selected to come to campus; if, so, why, and feelings about the on-campus part of the program. They were also asked whether, and in what ways, the program affected community perceptions of First Nations education. Item 24 invited respondents to make additional comments about their experiences in the program and/or current professional and personal activities.

All 48 graduates from three programs were contacted by phone to verify mailing addresses and to inform them that they would be receiving a questionnaire requesting information on their employment history and factors affecting their employment. Anonymity was assured and questionnaires were identified by code numbers. Interviews were conducted by a First Nations teacher from another province pursuing graduate work at Simon Fraser University.

Data on educational levels of entrants was available through university records. Thus even where there was less than 100% response, data on this item is complete. Information on employment history was obtained directly from individuals and in some cases, where this was not possible, from a network of former supervisors and colleagues who had maintained contact with the individual.

Data from questionnaires and interviews were tabulated and categorized separately for each program site. This allows cross-program comparisons and identification of differences in local economy, demography and educational

facilities which are part of the context of student teaching and employment. Profiles of each community are presented in chronological order of program development. These are followed by summaries and analysis of data from each program. Cross-program comparisons provide the basis for interpreting the data. Interpretation is followed by recommendations for future programming.

THE S.F.U. PROGRAMS

Educational and Community Profiles

Mt. Currie (1973-78)

The joint development of the Mt. Currie Community Based Native Teacher Education Program by the Faculty of Education at Simon Fraser University and the Mt. Currie (T'zil) School Board is thoroughly documented (Wyatt 1977a, 1977b, 1978). A review of the developments in the community based school is chronicled in "The Mt. Currie Community School: Innovation and Endurance" (Wyatt-Beynon 1985).

A striking achievement since the 1985 publication was the opening, in October 1986, of a new school. It is located at the site of a new community housing development. The school and the school board now take their name (Xit' ol acw) from the new location which was selected because it is high above the valley bottom and out of the flood plain.[4]

The population of Mt. Currie is approximately 1,200. The community is located 200 km northeast of Vancouver in the Pemberton Valley and is easily accessible (a 2 and 1/2 hour drive) from Vancouver. The nearest non-First Nations community, 8 km from Mt. Currie, is the town of Pemberton (population 350) with both an elementary and a secondary school. The economy of the region is based on farming and logging. For the First Nations community fishing is also a mainstay. Employment opportunities in the service sector have increased in the last five years with the development of a major ski resort 50 km down the valley at Whistler.

Mt. Currie is one of the largest First Nations communities in B.C. The Lil'wat language is one of the Interior Salish family of languages. At present most of the children attending the school, (nursery to Grade 12) are bussed 10 km from the old village site; but as young families grow, and many take up residence in the new housing development, the children will be within walking distance of the school.

The original philosophy of the school was to incorporate native Lil'wat language and culture into the curriculum as well as to follow the B.C. curriculum guidelines. Parental involvement is seen as very important. The school's finances are administered by a locally elected education board. Other educational programming in the region comes from Capilano College which has provided non-credit and credit courses requested by the community. In 1989, 11 of the school's 15 teachers were Lil'wat people trained in the S.F.U. program. Practicum placements for the teacher education program were all in the local band controlled school.

North Okanagan (1977-1981)

The teacher education program run from the Spallumcheen reserve was initiated by the band to serve students in the North Okanagan region. The population of Spallumcheen itself is approximately 375, insufficient to warrant a program for that community alone. Spallumcheen is situated adjacent to the small town of Enderby (pop. 1,700), twenty km from the larger center of Salmon Arm to the north west (pop. 11,000); and 35 km from Vernon to the south (pop. 20,000). Spallumcheen served as a center for recruiting from the region, including the Okanagan band in Vernon (population 800). The economy of the region is based on farming, orchards, logging and tourism. Native community efforts in economic development focus on these areas as well. The dominant cultural and linguistic background was Okanagan (like L'ilwat, one of the interior Salish family); however there were students from each of the following locales as well: Lytton, B.C., Saskatchewan, and California. Each of these individuals had some connection through family to the North Okanagan region.

At the time the program was started there were a small number of local band initiatives in education. The teacher education program was envisioned as one part of a network of band controlled development including curriculum, a locally controlled school, and the administration and transfer of social welfare programs (including care of foster children), from both the provincial government and the federal Department of Indian Affairs (D.I.A.). A major development for Spallumcheen was bringing back to the reserve children who were in foster care and, establishing group homes in the community for them.

The major development in curriculum was a project centred in Penticton, funded by seven bands and five school districts. The materials produced are designed to be integrated into the provincial curriculum primarily in the areas of social studies and language arts. Reports from individuals working on these indicated a high level of receptivity from some of the public school districts in both the planning and implementation stages. Spallumcheen has a locally controlled elementary school (nursery to grade 7) in operation since 1981. The Okanagan band runs its own pre-school (ages 3 and 4) but continues to send its older chidren either to the private Catholic or public schools in Vernon.

In comparison to the Mt. Currie program, The North Okanagan Teacher Education Program was focussed on a region rather than a single band. Participants were drawn from a number of communities each of which was smaller than Mt. Currie. Program development efforts, i.e. locally controlled school and curriculum were similar but not focussed in any one locale. Neither was there any clear networking or collaborative efforts by the two major First Nations communities. All practicum placements were in the provincial public schools in Enderby, Salmon Arm and Vernon.

Prince Rupert (1981-1985)

At the time the program was initiated Prince Rupert was one of the few centers in British Columbia which was not yet suffering from an economic recession. New building was evident and the construction of a terminal to serve the Northwest BC Coal Project was providing employment and contributing to the

economy overall. Housing prices were comparable to those in Greater Vancouver, at that time, the highest in Canada. Logging, lumber mills and fishing, as well as the commercial port, are the mainstays of the economy. Commercial fishing plays a major role in the First Nations economy. Located 800 air km and 1,500 km (by road) north of Vancouver on the coast of British Columbia, Prince Rupert, population approximately 16,000 is a major commercial center for the province.

Community initiative for the native teacher education program in Prince Rupert came from the Northwest Tribal Council which represents First Nations groups throughout the region on a wide range of political, social, educational and economic concerns. Concurrently, the program was strongly endorsed by the Prince Rupert School District and its key administrators: the superintendent and directors of instruction.

Students in the program were drawn from all of the village communities in the region. These include the coast Tsimshian bands at Kitkatla, Port Simpson, Metlakatla, Hartley Bay and Port Edward; the interior Tsimshian (Gitksan) bands at Hazelton, and the Haida nation in the Queen Charlottes. (Only the coast Tsimshian villages are served by the Prince Rupert School District.)

Each of the coastal villages (except Melakatla) has a local school for students from kindergarten to grades 8 or 9. Upon entering secondary school students must move to Prince Rupert (ferry and/or air service to the villages is too lengthy and/or too costly to allow commuting). The village schools, administered until 1976 by the Department of Indian Affairs are presently part of the Prince Rupert School District. This was negotiated under an agreement supported by the local bands which determined not to take over administration of the schools. A primary factor influencing this decision was the perception that the level of service provided by the District was high and would be, with local band input, a more secure arrangement than a transition to local authorities.

The (Interior) Tsimshian area is served by both provincial schools and village band controlled schools. There are five band controlled schools in the region around Hazelton. The arts and education center at the K'san village run by the Gitksan-Wet'suwet'en Tribal Council provides a cultural focus for Tsimshian culture in this area.

Nine of the nineteen entrants to the teacher education program had worked at a provincial or a band run school in the following capacities: home-school coordinator (5) native language teacher (1), teachers' aide (1), pre-school teacher (1), curriculum consultant (1). All practicum placements were in provincial schools either in Prince Rupert or the villages.

Other educational resources in the area included a program to train Tsimshian language teachers co-sponsored by the University of Victoria and the Prince Rupert School District; a satellite campus of Northwest Community College; a regional public museum in Prince Rupert run with the input of First Nations resource people and, programs on First Nations culture for the schools. The District had also hired a part-time curriculum developer to work with Tsimshian resource people and a community advisory board, in developing Tsimshian curriculum for use in the elementary grades.

QUESTIONNAIRE DATA AND INTERVIEWS

Educational Levels and Current Employment

Table 1 summarizes data on educational levels of graduates. Tables 2, 3, and 4 summarize data on employment of graduates (question 5 to 18 on the questionnaire).

The figures in Tables 2, 3 and 4 represent current occupations only. Not all teaching careers have been continuous. Individuals have taken time off for educational leave. All who are now in other lines of work have had from three to four years of teaching before retraining or taking other jobs. Only one individual (North Okanagan) has never been employed as a teacher. The figure on continuous employment in teaching are as follows: Mt. Currie (11 of 22: 50%); North Okanagan (5 of 9: 55%); Prince Rupert (9 of 15: 60%).

Table 1

Educational Levels of Teacher Education Graduates

	Mt. Currie	North Okanagan	Prince Rupert
Entrants	26	14	19
Graduates	22 (85%)	9 (66%)	15 (79%)
Bachelor degrees (5 years)	8 (36%)	3 (33%)	5 (33%)
Standard certificates (3 years)	12 (55%)	6 (66%)	10 (66%)
Non-certificated	2 (9%)[5]	—	—

Table 2.

Current Employment of Teacher Education Graduates: Mt. Currie

JOB	EMPLOYER		
	Public District	Band Authority	Other
Teaching	0	12 (1 in another community)	
Home School Coordinator	0	1 (in another community)	
Consultant on First Nations Education	1	0	
Land Claims Research		1 (in another community)	
Band Administration		2	
Privately Employed			1
Homemaking			2
Graduate Work or Continuing Ed.			2
TOTAL = 22	1 (4%)	16 (73%)	5 (23%)

Table 3

Current Employment of Teacher Education Graduates: North Okanagan

JOB	EMPLOYER		
	Public District	Band Authority	Other
Teaching	2 (1 in another region)		
Daycare Supervisor	1		
Counselling			
Education		1	
Alcohol		1	
Educational Research		1	
Program Admin. & Development		1	
Retraining (unrelated to educ.)		1	
Unemployed			1
TOTAL = 9	3 (33%)	5 (56%)	1 (11%)

Table 4

Current Employment of Teacher Education Graduates: Prince Rupert

JOB	EMPLOYER		
	Public District	Band Authority	Other
Teaching	4.5	2	
Home School Coordinator	2.5		
Educational Research		0.5	
Social Work		1	
Fishing			1
Grad Work or Degree Completion			2
Unemployed			1
TOTAL = 15	7 (46%)	3.5 (23%)	4 (27%)

Comparisons with other Canadian Programs

In preparation for comparing educational and employment data from one S.F.U. program site to another, it is instructive to first compare them with data available on other Canadian programs. Lawrence's (1985) research provides information on the numbers of individuals with certificates and the number with degrees as of 1983-84. By this broad measure S.F.U. programs compare favourably with other programs across Canada.

The only programs for which there is employment data are those at Brandon University in Manitoba reported on by Martyn, and at U.B.C.[6] Unfortunately only

Table 5

Numbers of Degreed and Certificated First Nations Individuals Across Canada

Province	Degrees	Certificates
Nova Scotia	0	16
New Brunswick	54	0
Quebec	26	0
Manitoba	67	278
Saskatchewan	81	206
N.W.T.	16	129
Alberta	61	12
Ontario	0	31
British Columbia	64	53
	369 (33%)	725 (66%) (1983-4)
S.F.U.	16 (36%)	28 (64%) (1985)

numerical data are available with no indication of the processes of personal decision making and hiring which individuals experienced. The numbers of S.F.U. graduates employed overall, compare favourably with the numbers from U.B.C., with U.B.C. having a higher percentage employed in public schools and S.F.U, having a higher percentage employed by bands. Note, however, that six of the U.B.C. graduates are employed by a public district with an all native board, and virtually all native student population (Nishga). If this were identified as a band controlled, rather than a public district, the percentages for U.B.C. would be 30% band, 34% public.

The Manitoba programs, with the highest percentage of employment, were all based in communities with band controlled schools. S.F.U.'s overall employment figures are favourably affected by the Mt. Currie program. The U.B.C. program operated out of regional centres (comparable to Prince Rupert), and while it is administered with First Nations community input, the only instance in which it has operated in conjunction with a band operated school is in the Nishga community in the Nass Valley.[8]

With the information on S.F.U. set in the context of information on other Canadian programs, a comparison of rates and types of employment of graduates in the three S.F.U. programs will serve as background for analyzing key issues in the careers of graduates.

Rates and Types of Employment
For comparative purposes three factors will provide the focus for looking at data on employment:

1. overall rates of employment;
2. overall rates of employment in education-related fields (includes social work and alcohol counselling, but not fishing or ranching);
3. employment specifically as classroom teachers.

Table 6

Employment of First Nations Teachers from Three First Nations Teacher Programs.

| | Number of Trained Teachers | Education Related Employment | | |
		Band	Public	Totals
Brandon	27 (1984)	23 (85%)	?	23+ (85%+)
SFU	44 (1985)	20.5 (46%)	11 (25%)	31.5 (71%)
UBC[7]	79 (1985)	18 (22.5%)	33 (41.5%)	51 (64%)

Table 7

Employment Comparisons – Three S.F.U. Programs

	Mt. Currie	Spallumcheen	Prince Rupert
Overall Employment	18 of 22 (82%)	7 of 9 (77%)	12 of 15 (80%)
In Education Related Fields (including teaching)	14 of 18 (77%)	7 of 7 (100%)	11 of 12 (92%)
As Classroom Teachers	12 of 18 (67%)	2 of 7 (29%)	7 of 12 (58%)

In analyzing these figures it is necessary to consider the implications of employment, which is not as a classroom teacher. Employment in education-related fields is a good overall index of receptivity of employers. However, the perspective expressed by most of the graduates was that their professional objective was to be a classroom teacher. At graduation it was the most sought after position and seen as a critical indication of acceptance and recognition of professional ability. For these individuals, trained to interact daily with children in a classroom, working in community liaison only, is perceived as a step, or more, removed. It also put quite a few individuals back in jobs they had had before entering the teacher education program. While they feel they are better prepared for these formerly held positions they are concerned that they are still perceived by their colleagues or employers as paraprofessionals. In addition, for those who are counselling, several years of classroom experience will be required before they can get *bona fide* counselling credentials. The possibility of doing classroom teaching seems to be less likely the longer they stay in non-instructional roles.

The three programs are within a 5% point range on overall employment.[9] For those employed, the percentage differences of employment in education-related fields are much greater, with a 23% point difference from the highest to the lowest. However, the greatest differences emerge in the percentages employed as classroom teachers, with a 38% point difference from the highest to lowest. It is also important to view these percentages in relation to First Nations student populations in each community respectively.

The interpretive section of this paper explores relationships between this data and variables relating to the social/community context in which the programs

Table 8
Relative Percentages of First Nations Teachers and Students in Three Areas[10]

Program	Students		Classroom Teachers	
Prince Rupert	First Nations	1,300 = 30%	First Nations	7 = 2.5%
	Non-First Nations 3,900		Non-First Nations 240	
North Okanagan (VernonlArmstrong/ Enderby)	First Nations	350 = 4%	First Nations	1 = .2%
	Non-First Nations 9,300		Non-First Nations 508	
Mt. Currie	First Nations	250 = 100%	First Nations	12 = 75%
	Non-First Nations 0		Non-First Nations 16	

operated. Differences in the contexts in which the three programs operated appear, as well, to have influenced other aspects of the participants experiences in developing their careers. These influences are assessed in the following sections.

Key Issues in Career Development

Table 9 gives a summary of key issues for each program which were identified in response to open ended questions which invited respondents to identify what had been key issues in their career development. The individual responses were grouped into 5 main categories: factors affecting choice of employment, factors affecting choice of community training, program quality, perceptions of community views and other issues.

Factors affecting choice of employment. The desire to work at home and the desire to work with First Nations children are closely allied but the former is seen in personal terms of emotional security and living economically. The latter is seen as a commitment to others: acting as role models for students and taking responsibility for improving their education and future.

Both Mt. Currie and Prince Rupert respondents showed strong motivation to work at home. Perhaps because they were initially drawn from a wider area, the North Okanagan students did not expess this sentiment. Respondents in all three programs were also strongly motivated to work with First Nation students.

Only in Mt. Currie was there a strong indication of community politics affecting employment of particular individuals, and leading directly to non-renewal of several contracts.[11] In the single case in Prince Rupert where political factors were identified they were seen as broad anti-native sentiment. North Okanagan reported the highest percentage in the category: "no jobs available." These are accurate reflections of the contexts in which individuals were seeking employment. It raises some interesting questions about employment of First Nations graduates in general, which will be explored more fully in the next section on interpretation of data.

Factors affecting choice of community training. Economic and family factors were the most common, in all programs, for favoring training in the community.

Table 9
Summary of Key Issues in Career Development

	Mt. Currie n=15	North Okanagan n=6	Prince Rupert n=12
Factors Affecting Choice of Employment			
Desire to work at home	15		12
Desire to work with First Nations children	15	6	12
Political Factors	4 (27%)		1 (8%)
No teaching jobs available	2 (13%)	3 (50%)	1 (8%)
Pursuing education	2 (13%)		1 (8%)
Return to home community (away from training site)	1 (7%)	2 (33%)	2 (17%)
Factors Affecting Choice of Community Training			
Economic	15 (100%)	6 (100%)	4 (33%)
Family	14 (93%)	6 (100%)	3 (25%)
Lack of confidence in ability to adjust (outside home community)	10 (66%)	3 (50%)	
Educationally appropriate	3 (20%)		
Program Quality			
Number attending on campus	7	2	6
Quality of community program high	7 (47%)		12 (100%)
University program of higher quality	1 (7%)		
University experience benificial	3 (43%)	1 (50%)	6 (100%)
Importance of support groups (especially on campus)	3 (43%)	2 (100%)	6 (100%)
Perceptions of Community Views			
First Nations			
Negative		2 (33%)	4 (33%)
Positive			
Ambivalent	15 (100%)		
Non-First Nations			
Negative		4 (66%)	8 (66%)
Positive	2 (13%)	2 (33%)	4 (33%)
Other Issues			
Professional development	15 (100%)	6 (100%)	12 (100%)
Parental involvement	11 (73%)	2 (33%)	7 (64%)
School board relationships	9 (60%)	1 (16%)	4 (33%)
Need for First Nations teachers	5 (33%)	3 (50%)	8 (66%)
Curriculum	6 (40%)		

In Mt. Currie all of the students were concurrently employed as teachers or aides in the band controlled school. Severing ties with the community to go the university campus would have been economically devastating to them. Almost all students in every program had families with young children (43 of the 48 were women). Attending campus courses for longer than a summer would have meant moving families or living apart from them. Others mentioned that even if they could manage financially and make arrangements to bring their families they would find it stressful to adjust to living outside their community.[12]

The educational appropriateness of the community location is exemplified in this comment:

> "... doing my course and teaching here in the community has been far more rewarding for me (compared to previous experiences at a university) because I've been able to keep the focus on the needs of our children; whereas if I went on campus for all my training I would have lost that focus."

Lack of, or low confidence in, ability was prevalent in Mt. Currie and to a somewhat lesser degree a factor in the North Okanagan. It was given minimal importance in Prince Rupert.

Program quality and perceptions of on-campus work. The programs were designed to provide in an off-campus setting all the requirements of the on-campus standard teacher certification program. However, a number of students in all programs selected to take course work on campus during the summers or over a more extended period. Some did this to widen their course selection and/or to pursue professional certification and degree completion.

Time on campus provided an opportunity for students to compare the quality of training with that offered in the community and for all but one these were seen as equal. Participating in the on-campus program gave added personal confidence based on experiencing success in the standard program. In respondents' perception it also makes them more credible in the eyes of community members, First Nations and non-First Nations. Presence of a support group of students from the community was seen as a critical component in the success of the on-campus experience. Students noted that they received more personal attention at the community site and in no instance has on-campus experience been a determining factor in persuading anyone to pursue a career outside of their own (or other) communities.

Perceptions of community views. In Mt. Currie all respondents interviewed, indicated some concern with the level of support in their own community for First Nations teachers. All indicated recognition of two groups of parents: those who are supportive and those who are still skeptical about the abilities of First Nations teachers.

In general, respondents from the North Okanagan felt the community was not as supportive as it could be. Two comments indicated that First Nations teacher education programs are viewed as sub-standard, with First Nations students having to prove themselves at a "white" university before they will be hired. Positive comments dealing with the public school district(s) were in reference to

personal support from a sponsor teacher and district support for the Okanagan curriculum project. Negative comments dealt with disillusionment and negative perceptions related to not being hired for teaching positions.

The Prince Rupert respondents perceived that education was not a priority in band politics and that public relations work was needed to bring recognition to education objectives. Evidence of some success in this area was the support of the First Nations community in bringing well-known First Nations artists and writers to the schools as resource people.

All respondents working in close proximity with non-First Nations people point to supportive personal and professional relationships with individual colleagues. However, there was a general perception among respondents that non-First Nations teachers are threatened that their jobs are being taken, that First Nations professionals have to work harder to prove themselves, and that they are still perceived in stereotyped ways.

In regard to perceptions of the non-First Nations community and its attitudes toward First Nations Teachers, Prince Rupert and the North Okanagan gave very similar responses. For Mt. Currie the opinions of the non-First Nations community were not of very much concern.

Other issues. The most important other issue for respondents in each program was their own ongoing professional development. They saw the need to continue their education whether towards a professional certificate, undergraduate or a graduate degree. The next most important issue was the need to increase parental involvement and the need for more First Nations teachers. Increased parental involvement was seen as a key factor in the future development of First Nations education and more specifically in improving their own effectiveness as teachers.

The significant difference among programs was in the suggestions about how to increase and improve the quality of parental involvement. The Prince Rupert respondents, working with parents who had children in the public schools, consistently suggested that as professional educators, they needed to take the initiative in teaching parents skills they need to support their childrens' educational efforts. They had begun to do this, but felt a need for a more coordinated effort and especially for more time-out from their other duties to do this. Building their own professional network was seen as a way of strengthening the support they could give to parents and of heightening First Nations community awareness of the important role of education.

In the North Okanagan the same need was identified but no clear strategy suggested. In Mt. Currie the issue of parental involvement was paramount but it was expressed not in terms of teachers taking the initiative with parents but vice-versa. In only one or two instances in Mt. Currie did individuals see it as their responsibility to assist parents in becoming more actively involved in their children's education.

INTERPRETATION: COMMUNITY INFLUENCES ON RESPONDENTS PERCEPTIONS

Comparison of responses from the three communities suggests that the type of community in which individuals seek and gain employment is an important

influence on the rates of employment, the respondents' perceptions of their status and the issues affecting their personal lives. While all First Nations teachers in this study shared common concerns, the character of these appears to be modified by salient characteristics of the community setting.

Mt. Currie, with the highest percentage of classroom teachers, has a relatively large community-run school with a clearly articulated philosphy of employing First Nations people as teachers. The Prince Rupert region combines a variety of factors, (band run schools, provincial schools in First Nations villages and initial strong commitments on the part of both First Nations and public school administrations to train and employ First Nations teachers). Each of these lends support to the employment of First Nations teachers. Budget cuts and changes in administration in the public district are contributing to an erosion of initial commitment by the district; nevertheless support when compared to the North Okanagan is still high.

Unlike Prince Rupert, in the North Okanagan, there was no broad coalition of First Nations organizations supporting and backing either the training or the employment of First Nations teachers. The communities with their own schools do not employ any First Nations teachers and the public districts gave no overt support to the training program.

The small percentage of individuals employed as teachers in the North Okanagan appears to be associated with the absence of First Nations and non-First Nations community support for their training and employment. While this support may exist among individuals, it has not been articulated at the level of public policy. The individual graduates have no official source of support in their search to do the work they were trained for. Comparative employment figures in the three districts illustrate this. While Prince Rupert figures are low they are still higher than those in the North Okanagan.

If we can extrapolate from this small sample we could venture the hypothesis that the objectives of local control, vis-a-vis teacher employment, are potentially best achieved when bands run their own schools. However, this introduces an element not present in the public system: political or factional concerns affecting employment of particular individuals. Whether or not, and to what extent, First Nations teachers are employed in public districts also has a potential dimension, but it tends to be diffused across the group of First Nations teachers as a whole, rather than directed at a particular individual or individuals who are perceived as members of opposing political ("family") factions within the community.

Regional factors also seem to have an effect on the social and educational backgrounds of the student prior to entering the program. Mt. Currie is a relatively self-contained community in the midst of a rural, sparsely populated farming region. The North Okanagan First Nations communities are more linked into the surrounding communities than is Mt. Currie, and they are in a relatively rural but much more densely populated setting. They have greater contact with the non-First Nations community than do Mt. Currie residents. Prince Rupert is an important commercial center. Through the fishing industry, the Native people in the region have strong links to the non-First Nations community, and industry, and a solid economic footing. Combined with a traditional cultural background

which emphasizes material display, oratory and commerce, they are more integrated into the economic life of the region in which they live, than are individuals in Mt. Currie and the North Okanagan. These factors may have an overall influence on the students' confidence in their abilities. In addition, in Prince Rupert, all but two graduates entered the program having completed secondary schools. In the North Okanagan program, half had secondary school diplomas and in Mt. Currie one-third had completed secondary school. This is explained in part by the eight year span between the start of the Mt. Currie program and the beginning of the program in Prince Rupert. During this time there was a heightened consciousness among young people about completing secondary school and an increased availability of Adult Education programs for grade 12 completion.

The differences in response to perceptions of community views given by the members of the three communities also appear related to differences in the social contexts in which they were living and working. In Mt. Currie, where respondents had worked from 6 to 11 years with First Nations students in a band run school, the pervasive feeling was that parents were alternately supportive and critical of First Nations teachers; implying that parents could not come to terms with teachers' higher status and dealt with this by critizing their ability. Overall, teachers were not devastated by this phenomena; they felt it more as a source of annoyance, given that their objective was to commit themselves to helping their own people. Most saw a small improvement over the years in this relationship and expressed a sense of willingness to endure it; hoping that it would continue to improve. In the North Okanagan and Prince Rupert about a third of respondents felt First Nations parents were negative towards them and had several specific posititive suggestions as to how they might go about changing this. More importantly they felt that First Nations political groups, both at the band and regional and provincial levels needed to make education a priority and advocate golas and objectives of First nations education in the community at large.

Judging from the comments of the respondents in this study, community concern with educational objectives appears to have waned sincethe publication of the policy paper developed by the National Indian Brotherhood 15 years ago. When First Nations educators turn for political support to band councils, provincial and/or national organizationseir perception is that this support is not there. Having achieved the status of professionals they feel they are now expected to accomplish, on their own, all the goals and objectives identified in the policy paper.

All individuals interviewed shared this perception; their responses to it fell into two categories. One view was that teachers felt they were working on behalf of parents and school boards; they were making all the effort and taking all the initiative, and were getting no response. Generally those holding this view were also looking to thir band councils, to parents and education authorities forprofessional support and nurturance; an extension of the relationship they had while they were in teacher training.

The other view was that there was a political necessity for band authorities and provincial and national organizations to give political support to First Nations

education.[13] The individuals in two regional groups (North Okanagan and Prince Rupert) saw themselves as potential facilitators of this process. They saw possibilities for First Nations teachers providing professional/personal support for one another (rather than getting this from the band or parents) and furthering their objectives by being advocates and initiators. Vis-à-vis parents, they saw the need to help them improve their skills in supporting and guiding their children rather than identifying them an important source of approval and acceptance.

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

As set out 15 years ago in the National Indian Brotherhood Policy Paper, First Nations professionals are a cornerstone in achieving control of education, whether this is done within the framework of a public or a private school system. Data from this study indicates that:

1. commmunity-based programming plays a key role in making training available to First Nations people,
2. graduates of these programs place a priority on working in their home communities with their own people,
3. employment of graduates as classroom teachers is highest in band controlled schools and next highest where public, school district and band support are in evidence. Absence of support from both sources appears to make it very difficult for graduates to obtain employment as classroom teachers.

The training and employment of First Nations teachers are only the first steps in reaching objectives for local control of education. Data from those individuals who are employed indicate key issues which must be dealt with once employment is achieved. There seems to be a rough order in which individuals identify and/or resolve these.

1. The first issue is self-confidence in professional ability. This can come from a variety of sources but until it is achieved there appears to be a reliance on parents and employers for approval and support.
2. The next is concern about the political role of band authorities. Having dealt with issues of personal efficacy, professionals start examining the role and contributions of political bodies. At this point individuals may resolve that no progress will come until band politicians once again take up the cause, or they may resolve that in the absence of initiative from the band they need to take action themselves.
3. Awareness of First Nations colleagues as a source of support, personal and professional, seems to give new energy to resolving a variety of issues: parental involvement and advocacy of First Nations education objectives, such as the need for more native teachers, are of prime concern.

This series of issues leads to recommendations vis-à-vis the training of First Nations teachers to work in their home communities, and the overall future of First Nations teacher education.

1. The addition of an on-campus component to community based programs. Where this has been possible it builds the trainees' confidence in their own abilities as well as enhances their image in the community at large (First Nations and non-First Nations). Support for at least one and possibly two, six week summer sessions during the course of the program would assist in achieving program goals.

2. Creating networks of First Nations professionals within a region. This entails on-going development of a small scale local support system encouraged and stimulated by regular Professional development could focus on topic such as techniques for initiating and maintaining a support group, and working with parents.

3. Creating networks of First Nations professionals in the province. This would require the coordinated effort of representatives of each region in identifying areas of broad concern. Past provincial conferences have dealt with presentations on curriculum projects. In contrast, the focus of efforts here could be on maximum effectiveness in band controlled and public schools in such areas as developing community and political support. A professional association or interest group of First Nations teachers, either within the provincial teachers' organizations or independent of it, could serve this purpose.[14]

After fourteen years of training First Nations educators at Simon Fraser University it is clear that preparing First Nations teachers is only a first step in achieving a variety of objective in First Nations education. It is now necessary to look broadly at key areas for future development.

A major need in the years to come is for training more First Nations teachers. At the time or writing there were approximately 467,000 students enrolled in schools in British Columbia. Of these, 12,450 were First Nations or approximately 2.7 %. By contrast, of the province's 30,000 employed teachers approximately 100 or .3% were native (80% are graduates of U.B.C. and S.F.U. native teacher education programs).[15] If employment of First Nations teachers were proportional to numbers of First Nations students, we would need nine times the current number of teachers. It has taken fifteen years for U.B.C. and S.F.U. to train approximately 80 First Nations individuals currently employed in careers in education. What is our agenda for future training, and what should it be? While advocating neither greater speed nor lower standards, we must not conclude that these programs have achieved their objectives. We must seek new ways of recruiting yound First Nations people to teaching and extend university services in assisting them to develop the skills they need to succeed in university programs.

The challenge of First Nations teacher education cannot be met by the universities alone. As demonstrated in this study, the local communities, and school districts also have a role to play; firstly as encouragers and supporters and secondly as employers. They must have the confidence to overcome the stereotyped perceptions and discriminatory actions which can victimize First Nations professionals and deny them opportunities to prove their potential.

First Nations teachers are one key component in opening educational opportunities for all First nations people. Broadening oppportunities and promoting success are at the foundation of all First nations initiatives to control their destiny.

Success in community government and economic development rely on a well-educated First Nations populace. Political leadership needs to be cognizant of this as it shapes social, economic and political policies. And finally, continued financial support from D.I.A. and renewed support from the provincial government are critical in the ongoing development of First Nations professionals.

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NOTES

[1] At the time these programs were created native was the preferred term of reference. The preferred term in British Columbia is currently First Nations.

[2] Historical information on First Nations education is drawn from Ashworth, M.C. (1979) and Hawthorn, H. (1967).

[3] A faculty associate is an experienced teacher, trained by the university to supervise student teachers.

[4] Previous flooding in the valley destroyed and damaged many houses.

[5] The two non-certificated individuals did all of the coursework for a standard certificate and a good deal of work towards a Bachelor's degree but did not do any practica. Both were employed by the Board in education related administrative positions which precluded involvement in a practicum. Both nevertheless wished to pursue education coursework.

[6]Figures provided by Native Indian Teacher Education Program at U.B.C.[7]Of 79 UBC trained teachers, 7 (9%) are in post Baccalaureate programs, 14 are self-employed, homemakers, or not employed and 7 could not be reached for information. (U.B.C., N.I.T.E.P. News, 1987).

[8]In addition, unlike the S.F.U. program it requires all students to spend one full calendar year on campus.

[9]The category, overall employment, includes only individuals doing salaried work. Thus homemakers and those participating in continuing education programs are working but, they are, nevertheless, not salaried members of the work force.

[10]The figures in this table represent respectively the Prince Rupert School District, the Public Schools in Vernon, Armstrong and Enderby (N. Okanagan) and Mt. Currie. Hence two of the individuals from Prince Rupert employed as classroom teachers by bands in the Hazelton area are not counted in this table, nor is the one teacher trained in the North Okanagan and currently employed in the Kootenays.

[11]In Mt. Currie a court decision ordered that teachers who were dismissed would have to be reinstated or paid damages. Three of the four settled for damages feeling they could not comfortably work at the school any longer.

[12]For many of these, all or a large part, of their own education was in residential schools away from their home community. A good deal of this experience was negative. For others, who had attended elementary school in Mt. Currie, they had had to move out of the community to enroll in secondary schools.

[13]They have clearly identified the ascendency of land claims as an issue for local government and provincial and national organizations. Nevertheless they still feel the need for political effort in the area of education.

[14]The B.C. Native Indian Teachers' Association, active and supportive in the early stages of the teacher training programs at S.F.U. and U.B.C. is no longer functioning. As the number of native professionals has grown the networking seems to be more local and less centralized than it was in the 1970's.

[15]Figures on non-First Nations students and teachers were supplied by the B.C. Teachers' Federation. Figures on First Nations students in the province were supplied by the Department of Indian Affairs, B.C. Region. These figures were supplied in 1989.

BIOGRAPHY

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PERCEIVED ANXIETY DIFFERENCES AMONG RESERVATION AND NON-RESERVATION NATIVE AMERICAN AND MAJORITY CULTURE COLLEGE STUDENTS

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Abstract One hundred and fifty Native American and non-Native American undergraduates from a state university and a local community college located on the Northern Cheyenne Reservation in Montana were administered the State-Trait Anxiety Inventory (STAI) and questions designed to assess college experiences and attitudes. Results indicated that Native American college students who leave home to pursue a college education perceive their environment as significantly less friendly than those who attend Reservation colleges. Second, Native American students are significantly more pessimistic about their abilities to achieve their academic goals than their non-Native American counterparts. Finally, Native Americans score significantly higher on the STAI than non-Native Americans. The present study, while circumscribed in focus, provides support for the importance of cross-cultural norms and special considerations for members of minority cultures operating in majority culture institutions.

Résumé Cent cinquante étudiants américains de 1er cycle, autochtones et autres, inscrits à une université d'état et à un collège communautaire local situé dans la réserve Northern Cheyenne dans l'état du Montana ont subi le "(STAI) Inventaire des traits d'angoisse de l'état", et des questions destinées à évaluer les expériences et les attitudes envers leur éducation collégiale. Les résultats ont démontré que les étudiants autochtones qui quittent

leur foyer afin de poursuivre leurs études collégiales perçoivent leur environnement comme étant beaucoup moins accueillant que ceux qui fréquentent le collège de la Réserve. Dèuxiemement, les étudiants autochtones sont considérablement plus pessimistes sur leur capacité de mener à bien leurs buts académiques que leurs homologues non-autochtones. Enfin, les autochtones abtiennent des résultats considérablement plus élevés à l'échelle du "STAI" que les non-autochtones. L'étude actuelle, quoique limitée, renforce l'importance d'établir des normes applicables à toutes les cultures, et d'accorder une considération spéciale aux membres des cultures minoritaires fonctionnant dans les institutions de la culture majoritaire.

The effects of the cultural incompatibilities that await prospective Native American college students is a topic of great concern for many of these students and their families (Cummins, 1988) as well as the institutions interested in minority student retention. Although there is little question as to the existence of such a stressful transition, research in this area has been sparse (Kennedy, 1974; LaFramboise, 1988; McDonald, 1978; Moses, 1980).

The dramatic lifestyle changes resulting from leaving home and assuming the role of full time student are certainly difficult for all prospective college students (Nezu, 1986). The majority of beginning college freshmen do not, however, experience the total cultural upheaval that confronts many Native American students (Bryde, 1966; Cummins, 1988). Hence, the transition from rural reservation high school graduate to urban college freshman has the potential to produce a significant amount of anxiety (LaFramboise, 1988; McDonald, 1978).

An education beyond their local high schools is certainly a goal of many young Native Americans (McDonald, 1978). Attainment of that goal, however, is often difficult for Indian students (LaFramboise, 1988). This difficulty originates from a variety of sources. Differences in cultural values, unfamiliar academic standards, overt manifestations of racial prejudice, and other factors create a new environment for the Native American student that is often overwhelming and sometimes excessive, causing many to return to the reservation (Bryde, 1966; McDonald, 1978).

The history of the schooling of the American Indian has often been fraught with obstacles (Eder & Reyhner, 1988; McDonald, 1978). Lutz (1980) maintains that there is an elitist and ethnocentric context in which education of the indigenous inhabitants of North america has occurred. He documents a progression of imprisonment, racism, slavery, forced acculturation, physical and emotional abuse, and general dehumanization of the tribes of the Americas in an attempt to 'civilize' and educate them.

Cummins (1988) presents the notion of "institutional racism". This term refers to an attitude assumed by a school or other institution which is composed of a set of assumptions about a minority culture in its midst. These assumptions often lead to policy change, or at least prejudicial treatment - often in spite of the best intentions of the educators (Cummins, 1988).

The disconcerting picture of the Native American educational milieu presented by Lutz (1980) and McDonald (1978) is multiplied when one realizes that education is a desperate necessity for Native American cultural survival (NACIE, 1980).

Evans (1980) surveyed the value orientations of Indian and non-Indian college students at a Midwestern University. The results of his study showed that Native American students were definitely undergoing a shift in cultural values, or, acculturation. As he reports, "The Indian preferences indicate reordering of the values toward what is commonly held to be the value orientation ordering of the non-Indian people." (Evans, 1980:127).

The notion of poor Native American college performance due to anxiety is corroborated by Whiteman (1978). She states that not only is the student faced with the mighty task of re-evaluating cultural values, but they are also assailed by hostile attitudes from people back on the reservation. This often becomes a mutual exchange if the student chooses to defend their own choices. Such stresses and anxieties may lead to pressures and maladjustments, as well as impaired functioning in the classroom (Whiteman).

Bryde (1971) points out that anytime the Indian student leaves home for an education, he or she is assailed with a depression and loneliness that is only multiplied by the rejection of relatives. This attitude toward educated Indians starts at the grade school level with the children who are sent to boarding school. Increases in magnitude if the student continues on into High School, and often culminates in severe rejection and hostility when the student reaches college. It seems that the cost may be greater for the Indian student who leaves home in pursuit of an education than it is for the non-Indian student (Bryde, 1971; Whiteman, 1978).

This uneasiness seems a probable cause of anxiety and stress, if one adheres to the findings of Bryde (1971), LaFramboise (1988), Cummins (1988) and McDonald (1978). If, therefore, the Native American student is feeling more stress and anxiety than the average non-Indian college student, academic performance and longevity in school should be affected by this anxiety (Whiteman, 1978). Patton and Edington (1973) identified the Indian student's problems staying in school and completing college programs as one of the major diffculties in Native American higher education.

The literature and reference material which pertains to the Native American college student is rare. What literature is available tends to be more theoretical than empirical. The literature pertaining to anxiety is quite plentiful however. It is clear that several instruments have found favor as reliable measures of anxiety and stress (Endler & Edwards, 1982).

It was the goal of this study to gain a better understanding of Native American's college anxiety experiences. It was believed that through the assessment of levels of reported anxiety among Native American students from a reservation college and state university, potentially valuable information might be gained. This information would comprise essentially two components. First, data comparing Native American with majority culture anxiety experiences would be obtained using a well standardized assessment device.

Second, Native Americans from a reservation college and a non-reservation state university could be compared on the above measure of anxiety, as well as on their respective attitudes towards college life and their self-rated probability of success.

METHOD

Subjects: One hundred and fifty undergraduate volunteers from Dull Knife Memorial College (DKMC) and the University of South Dakota (USD) were solicited for participation in this project. Students from USD were comprised equally of fifty Native American, and fifty non-Native American undergraduates. Fifty Native American subjects from Dull Knife Memorial College (DKMC) a local community college located on the Northern Chyenne Reservation in southeastern Montana comprised the third group of this study.

Apparatus: All participants were administered a demographics information survey, the State-Trait Anxiety Inventory (STAI), and five questions designed to assess college experiences and attitudes. The five items were: (1) I generally enjoy being a college student; (2) College is too difficult for me; (3) Everyone has been freindly to me here; (4) My high school prepared me well for college; and (5) I can easily see myself graduating from college. These items were scored on a 5 point strongly agree to strongly disagree Likert format. The STAI was chosen as the measurement instrument for this study because: (1) it is concise, (2) it is uncomplicated, (3) it is thorough, (4) a large portion of the normative population consisted of college students, (5) it is easy to administer and score, and (6) it correlates satisfactorily with other self-report measures of anxiety (Spielberger et al, 1977). The STAI provides estimates of current anxiety levels (state) as well as more long-term or general (trait) anxiety.

Procedure: Calls for volunteers were made during a series of lectures and workshops presented at USD and DKMC concerning stress and anxiety. Volunteers from USD were also solicited from undergraduate pschology classes and the USD Tiyospaye Council Indian Club.

Volunteers fulfilling the criteria for Groups 1-3 were administered the demographic information section, the five college experiences and attitudes items, and the STAI. Upon completion of the survey packet, subjects were debriefed.

RESULTS

Respondent Characteristics: The USD Native Americans had a mean age of 25.7 years, with more females (58%), than males (42%), responding. This group consisted predominantly (80%) of members of the various Sioux tribes represented in South Dakota, Montana, North Dakota, and Nebraska. Blood Quanta recorded ranged from 25 to 100 percent, with a mean of 53 percent. These Native American students had a mean of 3.9 years off the reservation.

The mean age of the non-Native Americans was younger at 20.7. The student profile of this group reflected more males (60%) than females (40%).

The DKMC group was the oldest of the three groups, with a mean aqe of 27.8.

These subjects were also predominantly female (76%). Of the 50 subjects in this group, only four were of tribes other than Northern Cheyenne. They had the highest mean blood quanta of the two Indian groups at 66.7 percent. Group 3 had also spent the most time on (25.1 years), and the least time off (2.7 years) the reservation.

Analyses of Variance: Seven, two way analyses of variance were performed, with the three groups (Dull Knife Native Americans, USD Native Americans and USD non-Native Americans) and sex serving as blocking variables. The dependent measures assessed in these analyses were: the STAI State and Trait total scores and the five college experience items. When a significant group main effect was obtained, Duncan Multiple Range tests were used to determine the relationships among groups.

For the STAI, significant heritage and sex effects were found for both the State and Trait scales. The State scale group main effect ($F=3.36$, df=2, 144, $p<.05$) resulted from scale mean scores for the USD Non-Native Americans of 36, which placed them in the 61st percentile for undergraduates, as compared to a score of 42.7 (75th percentile) for the USD Native Americans and 42 for the DKMC group. Although the two NativeAmerican groups appear similar on this measure, the Duncan Multiple Range test indicated that only the USD Native American sample was significantly different from the majority culture students. The DKMC group was not significantly different from either of the other groups. This result indicates that Native American non-reservation college students reported a significantly higher degree of transient (State) anxiety than the majority culture control group.

The analysis on the STAI Trait scale also obtained a significant heritage effect ($F=5.32$, df=2, 144, $p<.01$). Duncan Multiple Range tests indicated that the two Native American groups differed significantly from the non-Native American group by a minimum of 5 points. Native American students from both colleges scored higher than non-Native Americans, with DKMC Native Americans scoring slightly higher than USD Native Americans.

The STAI main effects for sex ($F=3.78$, df=1, 144, $p=.05$, and $F=8.14$, df=1, 144, $p<.01$ for State and Trait scales respectively) were characteristic of earlier STAI results, indicating that females tend to score significantly higher on both scales than males (Spielberger, 1977). The group by sex interactions were not found to be significant for the STAI scales.

The item, "Everyone has been very friendly to me here", produced a significant group main effect ($F=3.72$, df=2, 144, $p<.05$). DKMC Native Americans agreed with the statement significantly more than USD Native Americans, with USD nonNative Americans in between and not significantly different from either.

The item, "My high school prepared me well for college", also exhibited a significant group main effect ($F=8.58$, df=2, 144, $p<.0001$). Both Native American groups disagreed significantly more with this item than the non-Native American group.

Likewise, a significant main effect for heritage was found for the item, "I can easily see myself graduating from college" ($F=5.88$, df=2, 144, $p<.01$). The results indicate that Native American students, especially those from DKMC, are

significantly more pessimistic about their potential for college success than non-Native Americans. No other significant effects were found in these analyses.

In order to determine if significant associations existed between demographic and dependent variables for Native Americans, Pearson Product Moment correlation coefficients were computed on the combined Native American groups. During this analysis, concerned only with the Native American groups, the following observations were made. Increased negative endorsement of the item, "I generally enjoy being a college student" was moderately correlated with increases in both STAI scales (State: r=.43, p<.001, Trait: r=.37, p<.001). Students who admit to not enjoying being a college student, would most likely display signs of elevated anxiety. In that same vein, it was also found that increased endorsement of the item "College is too difficult for me" was moderately correlated with increased scores on both STAI scales (State: r=.44, p<.001, Trait: r=.32, p<.001).

Between-scale correlation coefficients for the STAI were quite high for the all-Native American sample (r=.72, p<.001).

INTERNAL CONSISTENCY

Chronbach's alpha was computed for the Native Americans' responses on both STAI subscales. The STAI State scale obtained an alpha of .88, and the STAI trait scale obtained an alpha of .89, both scores indicative of good scale stability for the Native American subjects.

DISCUSSION

The first major finding of the present study was that both state and trait anxiety levels as measured by the STAI varied as a function of sex and heritage. For state related anxiety, the USD Native Americans had significantly higher anxiety scores than their non-Native American, USD counterparts. While the Dull Knife Native Americans were not significantly different from either of the other groups, they were closer in their anxiety scores to USD Native Americans than to the non-Native Americans. On the trait scale, both Native American groups had significantly higher anxiety scores than the non-Native Americans. Clearly, Native Americans report higher levels of anxiety than non-Native Americans.

A significant sex effect observed in these analyses indicated that females reported higher levels of anxiety than their male counterparts. These results support previous research with the STAI. Because no significant group by sex interactions were found, it is clear that both Native American and non-Native American females score significantly higher on the STAI Trait and State scales than their same heritage male counterparts.

The second important finding of the above analyses was that the two Native American groups did not differ significantly on state and trait anxiety scores. This finding did *not* support the belief that the cultural barriers and dissonance discovered by first year Indian college students leaving the reservation and home for an education at a state university would produce higher levels of self-

perceived anxiety than those who stayed behind to pursue their education at a local, reservation college.

Several factors may account for the lack of significant differences in reported anxiety between the Native American groups. Environmental (reservation) factors may be a major contributor to the higher-than-anticipated levels of anxiety reported by the DKMC students (LaFramboise, 1988; McDonald, 1978). The high degrees of poverty, suicide, unemployment, and chemical abuse may be having an impact on reservation Indian students. Family and cultural pressures may also contribute to higher levels of perceived anxiety for this group (Bryde, 1971; Cummins, 1988).

Another possible explanation for the lack of significant difference between the two Native American groups may be a function of the instrumentation employed. The STAI, although an excellent tool for the assessment of global anxiety perceptions, may not have tapped the proper realms of the Native American cultural and affective disposition that might produce the anticipated differences.

The analysis on the five college attitude questions produced some intriguing and statistically significant results. In three out of the five questions, Native Americans responded significantly differently than non-Native Americans. Unlike the STAI scale responses, females responded similarly to their male counterparts across all three groups for these items. USD Native Americans felt that people were less friendly to them than the other two groups. DKMC Native Americans were the most comfortable with their social environment, with USD non-Native Americans falling in between. Native Americans from both groups also maintained that their high schools had not prepared them well for college. Both observations reflect contentions of other available research and literature (Ahler, 1988; McDonald, 1978).

Of particular importance to the present study was a wide disparity in self-confidence in academic ability between Native American and non-Native American students. Native American students were significantly more pessimistic about the likelihood of their graduating from college than non-Native Americans.

Several limitations are inherent in the present study. The first limitation involves the relatively small number of Native American students surveyed. However, approximately 50 percent of the available Native American students at each college participated in this study. This number is felt to fairly represent the samples involved and is felt large enough to satisfy the requirements of the statistical analyses.

A second limitation of the present study involves the instrumentation used. The STAI had not been standardized on a Native American population. The resulting STAI scores, however, appear psychometrically sound and are felt to represent an important first step in providing self-reported anxiety distributions for Native Americans.

In spite of the above methodological and practical concerns, it is believed that the results of this study may allow for a better understanding of the needs and attitudes of Native American college students. Given the results of this study, local reservation colleges need to be aware that they are serving a population of students that is, in general, equally anxious about being in school as their

counterparts in larger, nonreservation universities. Educators must also be aware of the fact that, on the average, their Native American students are experiencing higher levels of perceived anxiety than the non-Native American students around them. This finding should have a major impact on University minority retention programs.

To summarize, the present study's survey of Native American college students' attitudes provided results that indicated the following points. First, Native American college students who leave home to pursue a college education at a state university perceive their environment as significantly less friendly. Second, Native American students are significantly more pessimistic about their abilities to achieve their academic goals than their non-Native American counterparts. Third, Native American students feel significantly more strongly that their high schools did not prepare them as well for college than do non-Native American students. Programs geared toward assisting Native American college students such as Upward Bound, Special Services, and Financial Aids must be aware of these implications.

Future research with this population is imperative. Research with Native Americans is not the same as for non-Native Americans, as there are many cross-cultural issues that, if not acknowledged or addressed, may lead to invalid data or misrepresentation of the people being studied. The present study, while circumscribed in focus, provides support for the importance of cross-cultural norms and special considerations for members of minority cultures operating in majority culture institutions.

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BIOGRAPHIES

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ANNOUNCEMENT

The January Issue will be a Special Issue dealing with Native Mental Health. The Special Issue will focus on three main target areas:

1. Native Mental Health Research

2. Native Mental Health Training

3. Native Mental Health Service Delivery

Papers for all three sections are invited. The research papers should follow the A.P.A. Manual of Style.

Dr. Arthur L. McDonald is serving as the Guest Editor for this Special Issue. **For more information contact:**

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NATIVE LIBERTY, CROWN SOVEREIGNTY: THE EXISTING ABORIGINAL RIGHT OF SELF-GOVERNMENT IN CANADA. BY BRUCE CLARK. MONTREAL & KINGSTON, LONDON, BUFFALO; MCGILL-QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1990

Table of legislation, table of cases, notes, appendix, bibliography, index. XXVI &259 pp.

B ruce Clark's *Native Liberty, Crown Sovereignty* provides ample room for legal, and political debate about the existing right of Aboriginal self-government. In this context, the author takes an approach to the Aboriginal right of self-government which adds to the current mix of legal and political reasoning.

In the presentation of his arguments, Clark challenges the legal community, and the Aboriginal leadership to re-examine their positions with respect to the issue of self-government. Indeed the author maintains that the legal community and the courts have adopted an approach which denies the basis for the recognition of the existing right of self-government. On the other hand, Clark warns that the current approach by Native leaders may lead to re-entrenching the right of self-government in a weaker form.

The author adopts his conclusions on the basis that the right of self-government of the Aboriginal peoples continues to exist and is recognized and affirmed within the constitutional framework of Canada. This, Clark maintains, has its basis in the historical/constitutional developments with respect to what is now known as Canada. In this connection, he states that there are 24 constitutionally binding imperial statutes, imperial orders-in-council and federal acts which recognized the Aboriginal right of self-government, and have not to date been abrogated.

The writer further maintains, however, that by imperial legislation adopted in 1803 and 1821 the right of self-government was restricted to civil matters. In other words, the right of self-government over criminal matters had been curtailed.

After making his case, Clark cautions Aboriginal leaders about the dangers of negotiating a specific inclusion of Aboriginal self-government in the constitution. He maintains that it is already provided for, and any new inclusion will relegate the existing inherent traditional right to a mere delegated municipal form. He

does however acknowledge that this existing right does not carry with it the necessary financing for the exercise of the self-government right.

In this connection, Clark foresees that the Aboriginal leadership may decide to negotiate a specific inclusion of the right, which would address the corresponding issue of financing of self government. On the other hand, by choosing to stick with the existing right, Aboriginal governments would be able to exercise a right of taxation as part of the overall right of self-government.

Without prejudging the validity of Clark's analysis and propositions, his study of this area of the law adds an interesting dimension, and should not be dismissed out of hand. Personally, it reminds me of a third year paper I prepared for a constitutional law class wherein, based on imperial enactments, I came to a similar conclusion with respect to Metis land rights.

CLEM CHARTIER
SASKATOON, SASKATCHEWAN

BETH BRANT EDITOR: *A GATHERING OF SPIRIT: A COLLECTION BY NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN WOMEN* TORONTO: WOMEN'S PRESS, 1988

A Gathering of Spirit aptly describes the contents of this book. Sixty-one Indigenous women from Canada and the United Stated have shared their thoughts and feelings in a number of areas; the result culminating in an international spiritual assembly for others who read these works. The majority of the contributions are poems, some are short stories and a few are letters and thoughts. However each production has the capacity to stir the emotions particularly for the reader who has "been there".

One of the most impressive aspects of these authors is that they emanate mainly from "women yet unheard" (Introduction:9). As Brant states "I want the voices traditionally silenced to be part of this collection. So I wrote to prison organizations in the U.S. and Canada. I made contact with the anti-psychiatry network, Native women's health projects. I sent to everyone I could possibly think of and then looked for more" (Introduction: 9). Brant's efforts were certainly rewarded as it seems that each contributor gave from the heart. Gayle Two Eagles in the poem "The Young warrior", although speaking of the Lakota, parallels the overall intent of the collection that "being Indian is worth fighting for" (119).

The authors are 'warriors' in many ways. Their writings and biographies illustrate that daily living has often been a battle. Many of the authors have experienced poverty, psychological anguish, and a host of institutional and society injustices. In spite of these there arises, like Marilou Awiakta's simple principle, "Grandmother's power. She sings of harmony, not dominance. And as her song rises from a culture that repeats the wise balance of nature: the gender capable of bearing life is not separated from the power to sustain it" (Amazons in Appalachia: 126). Thus the authors in their own way have struggled, sometimes desperately, to birth a path for other Indigenous women's voices to be heard in the literary realm. From their efforts, it is hoped, readers will appreciate not only the experiences that have been shared but the battle that has been fought in order to share them with us.

If there is any doubt that this book should be considered as essential reading then I suggest that Nan Bernally's poem "Rug of Woven Magic" be read first. Nan recounts her grandmother weaving rugs. Indigenous women's writings have, like grandmother's hands "deftly moved among the strands mystically creating

a design that ...created rugs so beautiful from seemingly very little" and these writings like Nan's grandmother's rugs took "in all that you spoke. You became a part of what you made, for in it was your beauty, your wisdom, your pride" (199-200). It is encouraging to realize our history is beginning to be told by Indigenous people and we are finally being afforded the opportunity to participate in contributing to the literary world.

It is not uncommon for accomplished writers to become critical of what is deemed necessary for literary style and impose rules to regulate any aspiring neophyte. Brant was aware of this as were the contributors. Yet they forged ahead regardless of the acclaim or displeasure that possibly lay in their path; the reason being they did have something very worthwhile to say. It has been said with grace and dignity. My hope is that more will follow.

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AMERICA IN 1492

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America in 1492, ed. Alvin M Josephy (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1991)

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ANNOUNCEMENT

Reader: Essays in Reader-Oriented Theory, Criticism, and Pedagogy is a semiannual publication addressing reading, literature, visual images, and student writing. Recent titles include the following: "Women Reading/Reading Women," and "Reading the Image." Future essays will address such topics as reading early nineteenth-century American fiction; theories, stories, and conversations of literature; defining the profession by our practice of response; and reading Dúrer's *Melencolia I.* *Reader* is published in the fall and spring at yearly subscription rates of $8.00 for individuals ($10.00 outside the U.S.) and $10.00 for institutions ($12.00 outside the U.S.). Address inquiries to:

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The Journal of Indigenous Studies is a refereed semi-annual journal published by the Gabriel Dumont Institute of Native Studies and Applied Research. As a natural extension of the Institute's mandate to serve the goal of self-determination for Indigenous peoples, the journal provides the academic world with a voice on Indigenous issues which comes from the Indigenous community itself.

This journal is a forum through which Indigenous peoples can engage in academic discussions about issues which they feel are important and for academics to engage in a dialogue with Indigenous peoples over academic issues. We invite manuscripts from authors within and outside of Canada. Articles in English, French or an Indigenous language will be published with abstracts in either English or French and Cree Syllabics so that the members of the Gabriel Dumont Institute community can read the academic arguments in their own lanaguage.

The Journal of Indigenous Studies invites original, unpublished manuscripts and essays that are solidly researched and well written. Manuscripts which contain traditional Indigenous knowlegdge must be validated by people from that cultural group who are recognized as having traditional knowledge. Oral sources must be credited in the same rigorous manner that written sources are. Manuscripts should begin with a separate page containing the title of the article, the name(s) of the author(s), affiliation (institution or Indigenous group) and the date of submission. Name(s) of author(s) should not be displayed elsewhere. All copy including notes and captions, should be typed and double spaced with generous margins. Four copies of the manuscript should be sent with a self-addressed envelope. Where suitable, manuscripts should follow the Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association (APA), third edition. Manuscripts should not be longer than 40 pages and abstracts should be between 100-150 words.

Blind review procedures are followed for all contributions to the **Journal of Indigenous Studies** The decision to publish an article rests with the editor in consultation with the Associate Editor and the members of the Review Board.

La Revue des Études Indigènes est une revue savant à comité de lecture anonyme, publiée deux fois par an par l'Institut d'Etudes Autochtones et de Recherche Appliquée Gabriel Dumont (Gabriel Dumont Institute of Native Studies and Applied Research). Cette revue a pour but de fournir une tribune overte pour la diffusion de la recherche, la discussion et l'échange d'idées. Elle cherche à rejoindre un vaste éventail de lecteurs, francophones et anglophones, canadiens et étrangers, parmi les universitaires et la grand ppublic, qui s'intéressent aux études indigenès. Ces études porteront sur l'administration, l'anthropologie, les arts, l'écologie, l'éducation, l'ethnographie, la santé, l'histoire, la langue, le droit, la linguistique, la littérature, les sciences politiques et la sociologie, mais ne se limiteront en aucun cas à ces domaines.

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