CULTURAL DEVELOPMENTS IN MUSKEG LAKE AND
THE IMPLICATIONS FOR CAREER EDUCATION

A Thesis
Submitted to the
Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of
Master of Education
in the
Indian and Northern Education Program
College of Education
University of Saskatchewan
Saskatoon

by
[c] Harry James Lafond
September 1988
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TITLE OF THESIS  CULTURAL DEVELOPMENTS IN MUSKEG LAKE AND

THE IMPLICATIONS FOR CAREER EDUCATION

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DEGREE  Master of Education

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Abstract

As a guidance counsellor, the author has found a lack of the resources necessary to help Cree students through self-concept development. The Cree are from an oral culture and have not documented the resources they use within their culture to help their children develop positive self-concepts. The Saskatchewan Department of Education has developed a Career Education curriculum to facilitate teaching of self-confidence, social awareness and work cluster explorations. The children from Muskeg Lake Reserve attend school in Marcellin, Saskatchewan, a non-Cree community. The people from Muskeg Lake must become involved in the implementation of career education for their children. They can best do this by becoming resource people to the teachers of the program.

The findings of this study showed unique cultural traits exhibited by the Cree of Muskeg Lake. The people believe in and live a life centered on the extended family which is reflected in the settlement patterns, child-raising and social interaction. The grandparents spend much of their time interacting with grandchildren.

Informants interviewed in this study identified the importance of sports to the pride and well-being of the
community. Young boys begin early to strive for athletic excellence. They receive community and peer recognition to establish personal status and prestige.

Religion permeates the total life of the individual and the community. This was true traditionally of the Plains Cree, and according to the informants in this study, is still true of the Cree of Muskeg Lake. The trend among some Band members to re-discover Cree spirituality shows a concern for the spiritual well-being of the individual and a re-affirmation of Cree cultural practices.

The findings of this study indicate the possibility that the Career Education Curriculum statement of philosophy reflects the Muskeg Lake holistic perceptions of the world. The school and the Muskeg Lake Cree have the responsibility to ensure that Cree cultural traits in religious ceremonials in sport, in settlement patterns and in social interactions are reflected in the content and strategies of the program.
Acknowledgements

I want to thank Dr. A. Dyer for the many months he patiently waited for my work and then painstakingly reviewed the work with me. I needed and appreciated his encouragement to complete the project especially when time seemed to be running out. I extend my appreciation to Dr. C. King for understanding the difficulty I was encountering in completing this work. Grateful appreciation to Dr. C. Littlejohn for agreeing to be part of the supervision committee, to Mrs Freda Ahenakew, the external examiner and to Dr. W. Stephan and Dr. D. Koenig for graciously agreeing to replace absent committee members.

I want to acknowledge the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation for their financial help through the Harold Fullerton Jubilee Scholarship.

Grateful acknowledgement to the Mistawasis and Muskeg Lake Band Councils for their support. They recognized the importance of the work and temporarily released me from my duties to conduct the research. The Muskeg Lake Band Council has continued to support my research through their recognition of its importance to the community.

This research could not have happened without patient assistance from the informants who must remain anonymous. They willingly answered questions and told their stories.
A special thank you to the members of my large extended family for their belief that I could complete the research. A special mention to Georgina Venne who inspired me at my Bachelor of Education party to continue to work towards this graduate goal.

My own family, my wife Germaine and children Sarain, Jolon, Mika, and Alanis suffered through the whole project. Dad took up the computer, Dad was not available for ball games, Dad was gone to the university. They patiently encouraged me to finish "that" thesis.

Finally, I want to thank all those people in Muskeg Lake who provided me with time, information and tea. I hope this research reflects the community's perception of itself. I hope other Muskeg people will take up the pen to continue this very important story.
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CHAPTER 1

Statement of Intent

1.1 Background

The children of the Muskeg Lake Cree community have been attending the public school in Marcelin for twenty-seven years. In a recent meeting (April, 1986), one of the Cree educators summarized her frustration with the twenty seven-years of experience with the Marcelin School system in these words:

... sending our children to Marcelin is like buying a new car and never being able to drive it...

After twenty-seven years, she felt no closer to influencing the course contents, the teaching strategies, the curricula and the administration of the school where Muskeg Lake children attend. The sense of community control of education is missing. A powerful tool in the formation of community and cultural identity is not in the hands of the Muskeg Lake Cree. Foremost in the minds of the Cree involved with education in Muskeg Lake are the effects of assimilative or integrative programming in the school. The Cree of Muskeg Lake feel powerless to evaluate the systematic disruption of their culture. The resources for such action are practically non-existent. Currently, the band receives funding from the government of Canada to pay
for tuition, transportation and supplementary funding for supplies and teacher support personnel. The community suffers from chronic unemployment and operates without a substantial economic base and therefore cannot take innovative steps to take control of its community education.

The issues are no less different when governments introduce innovations to the curricula of the school. The Muskeg Lake Cree can and do make representations to the Blaine Lake School Board in respect to changes which affect their children. But the power remains in the hands of the Board who have final decision making power as defined in the tuition agreement signed jointly by the Board, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada and the Muskeg Lake Band. The power of the Muskeg Lake Band is primarily based on the strength only of its political influence.

In the late seventies, the Department of Education began implementing a career education curriculum in the classrooms. The career education curriculum for Divisions I and II is incorporated into existing curricula

...the approach in Division I and II is to integrate Career Education into existing curricula.²

The strategies outlined in the career education manual direct that the components are intended to be used within the activities in language arts, arts, health, social studies and all other subjects where the teacher perceives
It to be relevant.

The curriculum states that the student will

...become aware of, explore, appreciate and
develop personal attitudes, aptitudes,
interests, hopes and dreams.5

The document continues to explain the purposes of
introducing this subject into the classroom.

Career education is intended to influence
the knowledge, attitudes and skills that
the student develops in relation to the
self...It is a series of growth experiences
that is developmental in nature...In Saskatchewan,
in Division I and II the focus is on the
awareness stage of career development...
The focus for Career Education in Saskatchewan
for Kindergarten and Division I and II is on
awareness of self, others and careers...4

The objectives of the curricula for grades K through six
are to enhance the child's self-awareness. The student
will subsequently develop an awareness of his environment
and begin to explore the world of work.5 Variables such as
self-awareness, environment and work are culturally
determined and defined.6 Educators cannot assume that the
recommended instructional strategies, the resource contents,
the structured contents prepared for the dominant
population group in Saskatchewan (non-Indian) are
necessarily relevant to the Cree student. The Cree has a
unique cultural, political, social and economic background;
the career education curriculum must be evaluated and
modified to address these differences.

In another publication, written by a selected group of
educators, the Department of Education (Saskatchewan) further clarified objectives as they apply to Indian and Metis students. In its report to the Minister of Education, the Indian and Metis Curriculum Review Committee stated that:

the school curriculum and educational institutions transmit positive and accurate information to aid Native students in developing a positive self-image and cultural identity, so that they may better learn to deal with their own reality.

If Natives students, specifically Cree students, are to develop a positive self-image and a firm cultural identity, then the problem which must be addressed concerns the inadequate and outdated information on the cultural background of these Cree students.

The restricted time frame under which teachers operate is another important issue. They will, under pressure of time, use what is most readily available to them in fulfilling the learning objectives set in the curriculum. If the list of resources given in the curriculum guide does not contain references to provide materials relevant to Cree students, it is not likely that these students will receive any relevant role models. In Canada, teachers lack the information to provide Cree role models. Most existing resources identify non-Cree models doing things in a non-Cree environment.

Teachers presenting career education in the classroom to
the whole class are forced into presenting culturally biased information. They work under the assumption that the curriculum guides are applicable to all students. They assume that the resources available to them are culturally valid. Finally, they assume that the instructional strategies outlined in the guides are relevant for all individuals in the classroom.

It is the intention of the writer to address this problem for the Muskeg Lake students. Before there can be a valid implementation of this curriculum, the resources for the career education curriculum and the background knowledge of the students' culture must be studied and recorded. This is especially true when considering the stated objectives of the two documents from the Department of Education (Saskatchewan).

1.2 Statement of the Problem

To implement the provincial career education curriculum in Marcellin School, the teachers need background knowledge regarding the culture of the Muskeg Lake Cree students. This study has collected some of this cultural knowledge from some Muskeg Lake members and analyzed it and drawn implications for implementation of the career education curriculum in Marcellin School.
1.3 Definition of Terms

Career Education: A conscious and continuous effort by the public through the school to help students to achieve positive self-concept, successful decision-making and problem solving. It is an effort made to help students understand themselves, their environment and the world of work. The Saskatchewan curriculum begins in years 1 to 6 by emphasizing the personal, social and emotional development of the child. During these initial years, the curriculum is operationally misnomered and it would be more accurate to refer to it as a self-concept and social development program. In the latter grades, 7 to 12, career education becomes the more accurate title. The program is organized to facilitate student understanding of work, careers and decision-making processes.

Ceremonialism: the performance of rituals by people as an expression of their common beliefs of the supernatural.

Culture: The way people live. It is

...shared behavior and ideas which are cumulative, systemic, symbolic, and transmitted from generation to generation extragenetically.

Cultural developments: The results of continuous changes on the way of life of a specific group through the effects of
Internal and external stimuli.

**Economics:** The activities in which people engage to obtain money.

**Holism:** The theory that

...all things are interrelated. Everything in the universe is part of a single whole. Everything is connected in some way to everything else. It is only possible to understand something if we understand how it is connected to everything else.\(^1\)

**Manufacturing:** Those characteristic activities people engage in to satisfy their aesthetic, economic and social needs.

**Religion:** An organized system of beliefs based on customs, traditions and teachings. "It is a statement of belief in gods and God, in a world of spirits and a world or worlds that lie beyond the one in which we have our home."\(^2\)

**Social Life:** The activities in which people are characteristically involved for personal satisfaction and development of interpersonal relationships.

**Subsistence:** The activities characteristically employed by people to support themselves and their families in response to basic needs of food and shelter.
1.4 Significance of the Study

The relationship of culture and career education is a new field of study especially as it affects the Cree of Saskatchewan. In the area of education, this research has the potential to influence the political relationship between the Cree and the provincial Department of Education. The methods and findings of this research have the potential to provide the Cree with a stronger knowledge base from which to negotiate for curriculum changes to reflect Cree culture.

Other Cree reserves can use the procedures and methods outlined in this study to document their own culture developments. This information can become a source of strength when implementing local control. The documented cultural information can become the basis for program and curriculum decision-making by school committees and administrators.

Locally, the information from this research can be very useful to the board of trustees, principal and teachers for evaluating current career education programming in Marcellin School. The documented cultural information provides a framework from which evaluators can judge the cross-cultural relevance of their teaching methods and course content.

For the writer, the information in the study enhances counselling activities. He can make the cultural
Information and interpretations available to teachers. In Muskeg Lake, the writer can provide the school committee and band council with the findings of the study and help them to use it when making decisions about the education of their children in Marcellin School.

1.5 Limitations

Initially, the respondents were required to complete Questionnaire I (refer to Appendix A). Part B of the questionnaire required the respondents to select informants from the community whom they thought could give accurate information on specific topics. There may have been discrepancies associated with the criteria used by the heads of households to chose the key informants. The family factions evident in Muskeg Lake may have influenced individuals to select informants on criteria irrelevant to the actual stature of the persons as local historians.

There were limitations set by the informants' understanding of the concept of significance. Informants may have dealt with this issue of significance as it affected their own family rather than the community. It was very important to identify alternate sources of information as a check on this limitation.

The scope of the study was limited by time constraints.
Although it is desirable to maintain continued contact with informants in order for them to tell completely the story of the community, this could not be done in a few months.

Problems arose in generalizing the findings of the study to other Cree communities in Saskatchewan. The establishment of the reserve system and the implementation of Treaty Six socially, economically and religiously isolated the Cree bands. The Cree bands have experienced different evolutions with some distinctive culture variations.

1.6 Delimitations

The writer concentrated on the cultural developments of one Cree community, Muskeg Lake Reserve. Other communities, outside events, and non-members have had their effects on the Cree of Muskeg Lake. These outside influences were considered only for their effects on Muskeg Lake.

The thrust of the study was the cultural developments of Muskeg Lake in the period between the signing of Treaty Six, 1876 to the present. The main emphasis was, however, on developments of recent times because of their relevance to the research focus of this study.
1.7 Summary

Culture is a necessary component of career education. For the Cree of Muskeg Lake, this component has not been addressed by the purveyors of the education system. The Muskeg Lake community has not supplied the tools to the teachers in order for them to provide culturally relevant instruction. This research addressed the process from the perspective of the Muskeg Lake Cree.
Notes

1 Alpha Lafond, Muskeg Lake Education Authority Meeting, April 1986.


3 SDE, 3.

4 SDE, 7.

5 SDE, 3-4.

6 Diane P. Studebaker, Native American Career Education (San Francisco: Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development, 1979), 2.


8 Studebaker, 2. MACNCR, 1.


10 SDE, 2.


12 The Four Worlds Development Project, Twelve Principles of Indian Philosophy (Lethbridge, Alberta:
University of Lethbridge, 1982) n.p.

CHAPTER 2

Review of Literature

2.1 Introduction

The review will present the historical background of the Cree of Muskeg Lake within the framework of cultural change and the conflict theory. The review will examine the relationship of cultural change and the conflict relationship which has existed between the Cree and the non-Cree for the past three hundred years. Within that development, the writer will establish the necessity of understanding the connection of individual self-concept development to the dynamics of what is happening to that person's culture group. It is important to understand the self-concept development of that individual in the context of dynamics which originate from an outside group, specifically the classroom and the school. For instance, is the implementation of the career education curriculum relevant to the culture and the self-concept development of the Cree child from Muskeg Lake? To answer this question, we must first know the current culture of the Cree child from Muskeg Lake.
2.2 Culture

It is no accident that a young mother depends on her mother to help with childcare. ohkoma (child's grandmother) will take over some of the duties of training the young mother in the care of her newborn child. This is only a small part of a total spectrum of learned behaviors peculiar to this organized group of people which has established itself as a separate entity from other groups.¹ This group can be identified and recognized for its characteristic activities, attitudes, beliefs, habits of thinking and emotion.² Through selection, environmental influences, and conflict, learned behaviors have been established and identified as consistent with what the group believed to be good. The learned patterns are integrated into a whole culture whose "structural interrelation" of all elements forms its contours.³

For example, Joe from culture A is interviewed about the use of alcoholic drinks during wedding celebrations. He expresses a definite opinion about the destructive effects of alcoholic drinks to the community. He is especially concerned about the effect of alcohol abuse on the young adults of the community. Shortly after the interview, Joe is observed using alcoholic drinks at a wedding and becoming inebriated. Culture A teaches behaviors considered to be good for the community. These behaviors become the rules
and standards through which the group measures the quality of community membership and growth. However, this "ideal culture" is not necessarily followed and members of the culture are stimulated into a variable range of behaviors which reflect the real culture.\textsuperscript{4} The individual is taught and encouraged by the group to strive for the ideal culture, although living in the context of the group's real culture. The tension within the members as they live through the tension between the real and ideal culture is the source of life and internal change for the cultural group.

2.3 Change

The group's culture undergoes constant internal change stimulated by the members' endeavour to narrow the gap between the real and the ideal culture. Simultaneously, the cultural group is bombarded by external stimuli that results in constantly changing behaviours. The cultural group is constantly evaluating these changing behaviours and identifying what is consistent with the ideal culture of the group.

A dramatic event affecting great culture change among the Cree of the North Saskatchewan River occurred in 1876. The Cree of Muskeg Lake sat down to discuss the terms of a treaty with the British government. They had many problems
to be addressed at these negotiations and they had their own way of dealing with these problems. The chiefs and headmen came together and discussed the issues until consensus was reached by the people of the band.

One hundred and twelve years later, Muskeg Lake people consider employment problems, education problems, land use problems and social problems through the band council meeting using vote and band council resolutions to make decisions. The problems faced by the people of Muskeg Lake have changed and so have the solutions to the problems. The Band has been forced to change its governing process because of rules established in the Indian Act. The Act defines the election of the chief and the council. It legislates the procedures to be followed by the Band and Indian and Northern Affairs Canada when implementing social, education, land and membership programs. The Muskeg Lake people have responded to these pressures by re-aligning their own government process to expedite external relationships with Canadian institutions.

Change is taking place in all human societies at all times. Sometimes it is sudden and catastrophic, as when a system of government is destroyed by revolution and replaced by a different one; sometimes it is gradual and hardly perceptible, so that even the members of the society themselves scarcely notice it...

The process of social change affects the structures of a cultural group's social organization. Francis E. Merrill states that:
...social change...means (a) that given individuals assume different positions in the social structure, and (b) that the positions themselves are subject to change.8

The changes in the culture occur from decisions made by individuals within and outside the system. These changes bring about results with varying side effects. The side effects are usually beyond the immediate expectations of the actor should the conditions favor a change.9

Although cultural change may be radical, it is never total. It occurs partially, affecting first one part of the system then another. Although it may be obvious that significant changes have occurred in a social structure, the basic framework remains long after the visible features have changed. For example, size of the family may be dramatically changed in a cultural group through external and/or internal forces; however, the family interrelationships among the members may remain the same.

In the phenomenon of cultural change, Francis E. Merrill states that changes occur as "sequential change". He is referring to the explosion effect of change. The shock waves of change in one institution are felt in other institutions within the culture.10 Some changes may be termed minor in the sense that the effects they produce on other institutions are insignificant. Others are more fundamental. Change in one institution may cause radical changes in most or all other institutions. Although the
effects of change in one system can be distinguished and linked to all parts of the system, no one part of that system can be said to be the most important source of change. As Parsons says: "there is a 'plurality of possible origins of change'." It can also be said that no single theory of social change can be considered to be all encompassing or that a theory is so general that it purports to "encompass the complex reality of social change.

2.4 Self-concept

From the culture, the individuals learn

...what meanings to attach to the events of (their) world, and especially to the behavior of others, so that (they) can make some sense of those events and know how to respond to them.

Through this process, the individuals of the culture develop identities which allow them to respond to their environment according to their learned behaviours. They develop a sense of belonging to their cultural group and they respond to each other, to events, to stimuli from the context of their culture. Identity issues emerge when problems develop whose solutions lie within the context of other cultures.

During their research with the Cree of the Waswanipi area in Quebec, Wintrob and Sindell (1972) identified two essential principles for the prevention of identity confusion among Cree youth (as being)... (1) the validation of the student's self-image and the
strengthening of his self-esteem as a Cree and as an Indian, and (2) the effective involvement of Cree adults in the formulation of educational policy for their children.14

An implication of the first principle is the necessity of knowing the cultural milieu of the student to ensure validation of the student's self-image. Schools set up to serve the needs of Cree students would be required to organize their programs to reinforce the self-esteem of the Cree student. Indications from studies and student performance statistics are that schools have not given this part of the Cree student development the priority it should receive.15 The link between academic development and positive self-esteem has been the focus of formal and informal research. Elder Lawrence Tobacco, addressing an education group, spoke of the misplaced priority of teaching more to the head than to the heart. His experience and observations have shown him that teaching to the heart forms the basis for a strong development in the academics.16 Ross addressed the issue from the holistic perspective. He saw the necessity of teaching the student in an environment which addresses all levels of cognitive and affective development.17 Holistic education and teaching from the heart direct attention to the importance of self-esteem development in the over-all development and growth of the student.

Reasoner18 and Gilliland19 have found a direct
relationship between self-esteem, academic, emotional and social growth. Student self-esteem develops through self-appraisal. The student perceives how others think of him through interactive behaviour or avoidance of it. Another mode of self-esteem development occurs when students set down goals of performance and evaluate their own successes and failures. Gilliland has found in his research that positive self-esteem is essential to success and a good life within the appropriate cultural context. The student experiencing a high degree of positive self-esteem is motivated, exhibits clear thinking and can perform with concentrated effort. Reasoner has found that:

... students with high self-esteem learn at a faster rate, retain more, respond positively to challenges, demonstrate a high degree of acceptance of others, and exhibit a strong sense of personal responsibility for their actions. Experience has shown that general achievement levels can be raised by focusing on the self-esteem of students.

2.5 Conflict

The Cree student entering a non-Cree classroom faces the challenge of adapting to a system foreign to his cultural background. According to Wintrob, students experience identity conflict when leaving the home milieu and entering the non-Cree milieu of the school. The home environment teaches culturally different values from those taught by the
school environment. The home environment provides resources and teaches strategies from its cultural world for coping while the school tries to do the same from a different cultural perspective.

While the Cree student comes to school with his objectives based on the cultural and social background of the reserve community, the school creates an environment with objectives to dispossess the student of his culture and to reshape the student to the objectives of the dominant non-Cree culture. The dominant-subordinate relationship between the Cree and the non-Cree creates a state of constant tension and conflict which permeates the classrooms, as expressed through attitudes, methodologies, course contents and administration. The state of tension and conflict creates problems for all cultures involved but especially for students from the subordinate culture. These people experience greatest pressure to continually respond to problems with new solutions; solutions very often taken from the dominant culture and very foreign to the subordinate culture.

The historical relationship between the Cree and the non-Cree is an example of teetering power structures. Some institutions of the non-Cree have shown strengths and have developed dominant pressures that are capable of disrupting the same institutions among the Cree without themselves
being subject to similar disruption upon contact and competition. Social conflict can be defined as existing...

...where the goals of one group are pursued in such a way as to ensure that the goals of another group cannot be realized...²⁴

Although conflict is an integral part of change, the role it plays in the process can seldom be assumed. When there is a balance of forces, the result may well be obstruction to change rather than change. The cultures themselves are not internally static but the relationship between the two cultural groups is relatively unchanging. This obstructed condition can also be a time of acculturation for both groups, with each cultural group borrowing from the other to their own advantage.

The introduction of new variables can affect the delicate balance of power, thus affecting the relationship between cultural groups. New strengths and new weaknesses from new variables result in a constant flux in the relationship. Simultaneously, the two cultures are trying to maintain a balance in the relationship between themselves. The lack of equilibrium results in a subordinate/dominant relationship between the two cultures.

Catastrophic social change is being forced on the Cree especially through the vehicle of non-Cree education processes. Once the non-Crees exhibit behaviour based on the belief of their racial and cultural superiority, they
begin educational, social, political and economic processes to assimilate the subordinate culture to their own. They work long and hard to accomplish this task, using formal education as the primary tool.25

2.6 Culture, Education, and Career Education

According to Banathy

...the individual's cultural heritage and the cultural context in which he or she exists are extremely important to his or her development.26

Further to this statement, Banathy states that "...the individual's development is best aided by nurturing his uniqueness".27 These statements were made by Banathy when investigating the state of career education for Indian people in the United States. In Saskatchewan, the Indian and Metis Curriculum Advisory Committee identifies and supports the same ideas. It states in the list of principles and guidelines that "...the cultural experience of all students will be used as a learning base".28

The guidelines and principles also state that "...a variety of instructional approaches will be used to accommodate a variety of learning styles".29 On both sides of the 49th parallel, the Indian and Metis peoples have stated similar ideas about the kind of education they want to experience. Their position demands that education must come
to their students in the most relevant and supportive fashion to ensure optimum academic, social and cultural development.

Terry Tafoya, an Pueblo psychologist, is currently investigating the teaching strategies of Indian cultural groups. Part of his investigation centres on the oral education process. Through a Coyote legend, he illustrates the holistic nature of this teaching tool. He compares it to the non-Indian "...linear and discursive nature of conventional American education" Tafoya concludes his article by contrasting the worldviews of two very divergent cultures but asserts that they are not mutually exclusive.

The lesson of Coyote's eyes is that one must be flexible enough to be able to switch worldviews when appropriate.

In the cross-cultural classroom, teachers, students and administrators require the skills and opportunities to switch worldviews when appropriate.

The programs currently offered in Divisions I and II in Saskatchewan schools make assumptions inconsistent with the cross-cultural nature of school populations. The rationale for career education states that in order for students...to live productively and deal effectively with problems, students need knowledge about the environment and an understanding of others...Career Education adds knowledge about the nature and meaning of work, the economic structure...(and)...worker responsibilities.

Nowhere in the career education handbook is there anything
to qualify these assumptions. Terms such as productivity, effectiveness, problems, environment, work and economic structure are fraught with cultural meanings reflecting those of the dominant society. Issues of cultural bias must be addressed and clarified to make the cultural milieu of the cross-cultural classroom relevant to all minority cultures. If these issues are not addressed and understood from the cross-cultural perspective, the effectiveness of the career education program is in jeopardy. Implementation will lead to alienation of the student from the minority culture and rob the student of the dominant group opportunity to experience cross-cultural understanding.

Another assumption expressed in the career education handbook and in the foundations of North American non-Indian education is the interrelationship of education and productivity. However, Reinhart asserts that

...the nature of the relationship remains obscure. For instance, it is possible that education may not have equal benefits for blacks, women, teenagers, and other special groups. Obviously, discrimination is an important variable.34

The Canadian experience of Indian and Metis people in education and productivity has reflected this assumption. Historically, the Industrial Schools of the early 1900's were set up to change the Indian child to become a non-Indian worker exemplifying the non-Indian work ethic.35 Non-Indian educators believed that "the White way was the right
way". This thinking has filtered down to the present in Saskatchewan. The content of the Career education curriculum is still proclaiming that everyone must be prepared for the job market. Teachers are taught to perpetuate the belief that everyone fits in the national productive mosaic of Canada as perceived by the dominant culture and economic group. In northern Saskatchewan and on Saskatchewan reserves, traditional roles and traditional forms of work are not recognized for their value and worth within the culture of the students. The roles of the hunter, elder, medicine man, and artist are not made components of the career education information packages. Teachers are not taught the skills to use this information, nor are they provided with the resource materials to modify programs to suit the needs of the Indian student.

In the early school years knowledge about and attitudes towards the self are emphasized. The program outlined by the Department of Education in Saskatchewan works through three phases: awareness, exploration and preparation. This program is modelled on the American system. In the awareness phase, the student is expected to become aware of his personal potential. The student is encouraged to be introspective at the same time becoming aware of his family, peers, and community. The program gradually moves the student into the exploration stage. The program activities (individual, small and large
group) stimulate exploration of personal attributes and their relationship to the family, social and community environments. The student is encouraged to begin setting long term career goals in response to the exploration exercises. In the final stage, grade 7 to 12 students are prepared to make the transition from the school into the work world. The emphasis is on continued development of personal goals based on knowledge of self and career clusters.

The programs established in the United States for schools with significant Indian and Metis populations have also developed three phase programs. The phases are derived from psychological understandings of the developing student. Career education, which is a continuing and developing process through life, is geared to a certain extent to the needs and individual experiences. The American experience in career education reflects an understanding that each student develops differently. Consequently, the main thrust has been the recognition of cross-cultural dynamics in child development. The American cross-cultural educators have experimented to make career education programs fit the student rather than the student fit the program. Two American educators, Studebaker and Smith have seen and worked out plans to make career education culturally relevant for Indian children. These educators have sought to present career education from the
perspective of the student. They have tried to make the concepts of career education understood within the framework of the student's value system.

In the Saskatchewan case, the curriculum adopted a philosophy similar to that of the American curriculum. The Saskatchewan curriculum states a philosophy that recognizes differences in individual physical, emotional and social developments. The philosophy also recognizes the importance of the student's personal development in preparing for eventual career selection. However, the content is culturally unidimensional. Systematic training for teachers is non-existent and finally, in Saskatchewan, the program receives low priority compared to language arts, mathematics and science.

2.7 Summary

Phase one of the career education curriculum in Saskatchewan sets up processes and activities to address self-concept development in the student. Phase two explores the status of the individual in the community and begins to establish the groundwork for phase three where the student is introduced to the world of work and the careers associated with that world. The curriculum portrays a linear development of the student. First, the child must know himself and then his community and finally the work
world of that community. In the processes of forming self-concept, the child receives and interprets messages coming from his family, peers, culture and outside forces (e.g. school). If these messages are conflicting and appear to be incongruent, the stage is set for garbled messages to the developing self-concept of the child. As Wintrob and Sindell's studies have shown, children under these conditions begin to experience alienation from their culture, their families and their schools.

Culture is an ever changing phenomenon and needs to be studied at regular intervals to ensure that accurate culture based information is available to educators. These teachers need cultural information to teach to the needs of the Indian child. In order for teachers to reinforce the self-concept development of their students, they require up-to-date cultural information on those students.

Currently in Saskatchewan, the teachers have very scant information on the cultural background of the Cree child. The information available on the Cree culture is from the 1930's. There are no recent studies to show the effects of technological changes, wars and Indian veterans, institution changes and government policies. The culture studies required to provide teachers with information to deal relevantly with their students need to be conducted from the perspective of the Cree community. Non-Cree people need to
hear the Crees tell about themselves and how they see the world. The Crees need to tell the world their dreams and how they wish to achieve these dreams.
Notes


3 Hoebel, 163.

4 Hoebel, 169.


11 Merrill, 486.

12 Merrill, 486.

13 Fred Plog and Daniel G. Bates. *Cultural Anthropology*


Gilliland, 58.

Gilliland, 58.

Reasoner, 2.

Ronald M. Wintrob and Peter S. Sindell, "Culture


25 Catherine Littlejohn, "Religious Imperative," History of Indian and Native Education in Western and Northern Canada: Class EdInd. 810.3, University of Saskatchewan, July 1983.


27 Banathy and Studebaker, 4.


29 Minister's Advisory Committee, 3


31 Tafoya, 21-33.

32 Tafoya, 32.


37 Saskatchewan, 3.


41 Ross, D., 6.

42 Diana P. Studebaker, *Native American Career Education*


44 SDE, A Teacher Handbook for K-12 Career Education: An Overview
CHAPTER 3

Research Methods

3.1 Introduction

If a reader wishes to know about the Cree of 1876, some published information is available. Dlon2 and Ahenakew3 wrote about the Cree from the Cree perspective. Other writers like Mandelbaum,4 Fisher,5 Kennedy6 wrote from the perspective of the non-Cree researcher. After 1876, the Cree reluctantly pioneered a lifestyle which has received scant attention by writers and goes relatively unnoticed in Canadian history.7 Some specific topics have been addressed by academicians. Alone, they present a partial picture of the cultural and historical developments among the Cree. This study presents the story from the Cree perspective emphasizing the present, a period in time lacking written documentation about the culture of the Cree. The writer gave the informants the opportunity to speak about their story of their times in Muskeg Lake.

3.1.1 Basic Research Methods

The research information was gathered through a combination of participant observation, questionnaires and interviews.

The writer, as a resident of Muskeg Lake community,
has been intimately connected with the community since 1978 after a 14 year absence from the reserve. Active involvement in the social life, education committees, band council, church councils and youth development projects has provided a way for close observation into the cultural dynamics of the community.

In order for the cultural story of Muskeg Lake to be told, the writer recognized the need to seek out qualitative information and to use procedures suited to the community, informants and research objective. Some Muskeg Lake members have never attended school, some are reluctant to communicate in writing, some are primarily Cree speakers and others are only English speakers. The use of the questionnaires facilitated the gathering process with those people who were comfortable with writing in English. The interview worked well for those people who were reluctant to write or preferred to communicate in Cree.

The research objective was to document a cultural development case study of a reserve community in a context of an historical background through the four main informants’ autobiographical information.

3.2 Primary Sources

Specific people in Muskeg Lake are recognized by the Muskeg Lake community to have expertise in specific areas, events and times. The selection of informants was a
critical decision. It was necessary to involve the community in identifying the most reliable informants. From this list the writer selected the individuals to be interviewed.

3.2.1 Phase One

Initially, the writer visited each household and gathered information from the head of the household using Questionnaire I (refer Appendix A). This part was done in a two week period. The target was to contact a minimum of forty households.\(^8\) Seventeen heads of households were contacted and fifteen agreed and completed Questionnaire I. Subsequently, seven young adults agreed to complete Questionnaire I to make a total of twenty-two completed questionnaires. Of the sixty-five households, five were not suitable candidates for the initial interview. Their emotional and mental conditions prevented their contribution to the study. Of the sixty-one households, the writer interviewed 24.5%.

Three interviewees were senior adults with limited or no facility to read the English language who needed the writer to read Questionnaire I to them and to record their responses. For two of these senior adults, the writer clarified the directions and terms using the Cree. The writer had become aware of their need through previous contact with the two respondents. The remainder of the
respondents completed Questionnaire I requiring only minor clarifications from the writer.

The first seven students to enter the band office on a particular day were asked to participate by completing Questionnaire I. All seven agreed. The young adults ranged in age between fifteen to twenty years. They did not qualify as heads of households. This criterion initially prevented them from contributing to this study. The young adults formed a significant group in the community as shown by the attention they had received through special band administration programs like sports, extra-curricular support, summer employment and counselling. Their perceptions of the community were needed to complement the perceptions of the adults and seniors of Muskeg Lake.

Questionnaire I was organized into four categories: (1) social life, (2) subsistence/economic activities, (3) religion/ceremonialism, and (4) manufacturing. These four categories were taken from Mandelbaum's study of House People Cree in 1940. The same categories formed the basis of his research. The Muskeg Lake people belong to the Cree sub-group identified in the 1940 research. Comparisons could be made about the culture developments that occurred between the end of the 19th century and the present.

The writer observed the cycle of activities and events in Muskeg Lake and used this information to select the 9 to
11 items for each of the four categories. These four categories and their series of items provided the tool to collect a cross-section of information on Muskeg Lake.

Each head of household and young adult was asked to review the list of items and then to prioritize them from 1 to 9, 10 or 11 depending on the number of items. Number 1 signified the most important and number 9, 10 or 11 as the least important. This prioritizing exercise provided the writer with a tool to obtain the respondents' perceptions of what was most important in their personal experiences. The objective was to isolate a series of items ranked as most important by the total group and to use these items as the basis for phase two of the study. The writer was able to limit the scope of the research by using only these high priority items.

Part two of Questionnaire I required the respondent to identify two people from the community whom the respondent knew to be the most knowledgeable in each specific item. Under column A, the respondent wrote the name of the person most knowledgeable and under column B, the name of the person who could be a replacement for the one listed under column A.

The completed questionnaires were divided into four age groups. Group 1 was the young adults ages 15 to 20; group two was adults between the ages of 20 and 29; group three
was those between ages 30 and 39 and the final group was those over the age of 40. The last group included those people who either attended residential school or never attended school at all. Those ages 30 to 39 were people who made the transition from the residential to the public school, those ages 20 to 29 were people who attended only the public school with few exceptions, and those ages 15 to 20 were students still in the public school system.

To collate the information from the ranking of items in Questionnaire I, the writer assigned weighted values to each number. The assigned values depended on the total number of items in the category (e.g. in a 10 item list, number one was assigned the value 10 while number 10 became the value one). The values for each item from the 22 questionnaires were added together. The final totals showed the composite priority rankings from the 22 respondents (refer Appendix C).

The names in columns A and B were recorded according to each item and beside each was noted the number of times they were selected by the 22 respondents.

The next step was to cross-reference the high priority items with the most frequently selected names. Five names coincided with 11 high priority items.

The respondents identified the items sports and family histories in Category I. In the next category, the items
hunting/trapping and trades received equal priority. Under Religion/Ceremonialism, they identified the items sacraments and mass as priorities in that order. Finally, under Manufacturing, the respondents identified the item housing as top priority and cooking as second. Reviewing the four categories, the respondents gave first priority to sports and the second to housing with the sacraments only two points behind in third place. The other topics followed significantly lower in priority.

The same two people were identified by the respondents to address both the topic of sports and housing. The respondents identified one person for family histories, mass, sacraments and cooking. A fourth person was chosen for family histories and cooking. The final person identified was to deal with hunting/trapping and traditional religion. This person was unable to participate in the study.

3.2.2 Phase Two

Once the topics and the informants had been identified, the writer prepared variations of Questionnaire II according to topic (see Appendix B). The five instruments were prepared to be used as interview tools and as questionnaires.

Three of the informants were senior adults while the other was an adult. The two oldest informants were female.
Initial contact with the informants established their willingness to participate. The writer fully explained the processes of the study and the method by which the informant had been selected by the community to speak on the specific item. By knowing about the selection procedure, the writer established the prestigious status of the informant in the community. At the second meeting, the writer explained the purpose of the questionnaire and interview.

Once the interview had started, the writer allowed the informants the freedom to follow their train of thought providing some strategic questions when required. The writer attempted to establish trustful rapport and a relaxed atmosphere by asking questions which allowed the informants to move from personal experiences to the more difficult task of community analysis. The writer played the role of the listener, which helped to create a storytelling atmosphere. This procedure was particularly effective with the two senior informants.

Two informants preferred to complete the questionnaire. One requested an interview after completing the questionnaire. The interview was used primarily to clarify questions and to expand on responses to questions.

Two of the informants allowed tape recording during the interview. One informant spoke Cree during most of the interview.10
In the study about Muskeg Lake, the writer also used information from five interviews on the history of Muskeg Lake to supplement the information from the four informants. This was necessary to present a continuous historical flow to the information received from this study. All five people were senior adults ranging in age from fifty to eighty-four. The writer made minimal use of their information to avoid possible distortion of the information from the four main informants.

3.2.3 Phase Three

The writer organized and reviewed the information from the priority rankings, interviews, questionnaires and observations with the purpose of identifying patterns in:

a) community behaviour;

b) beliefs (religion, politics, economics, etc.);

c) important events and their significance to the Muskeg Lake community;

d) important activities (individual and community) and their significance to the Muskeg Lake community;

e) historical developments and their significance to the community.

Once this collation was completed, the writer reviewed the consequences this information about the Muskeg Lake Cree community would have on the implementation of Division I and II career education curriculum at Marcelin School.
3.3 Secondary Sources

The research from primary sources was supplemented by research of institutions closely involved with the Cree of Muskeg Lake. The search dealt primarily with seeking out information from historical sources on the life cycle of the Cree from periods where the informants did not give information.

Further information on the life cycle of Muskeg Lake was available in the Oblates of Mary Immaculate Archives, Grandin Province in St. Albert, Alberta. The Oblate fathers worked in the Muskeg Lake community for 104 years. The contents of their Muskeg Lake residence were removed to the archives in St. Albert, Alberta. Some written work was available detailing the Oblate Fathers' work in Muskeg Lake community. This information became essential to provide specific names and dates to the history of the Roman Catholic church in Muskeg Lake.

The Indian and Northern Affairs Canada resources were available for the study of Muskeg Lake history. Significant research in land claims settlement has been done by D.C. Venture Associates, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, in land claims settlement. This research was used by the writer. The research outlined the negotiations between the residents of Muskeg Lake and outside agencies in the surrender of reserve lands.
Finally, transcripts of taped interviews conducted by local students in 1970-71 and 1980-81 were used by the writer. A photograph collection begun in 1984 was also used by the writer.

These sources helped to fill in gaps of information which became evident during the course of the interviews. This information was especially helpful to the writer to see the evolutionary flow of the dynamic cultural components the four main informants were unfolding through the interviews and questionnaires.
Notes

1 The main sources of cultural information on the Cree of Saskatchewan are from published works by David Mandelbaum (1940), Joseph Dion (1979), Ahenakew (1973) and John Milloy (1972).


6 Jacqueline Kennedy, "Qu'Appelle Industrial School: White 'Rites' for the Indians of the Old North-West" (M.A. Theses, Carlton University, 1970) n.p.

7 Kennedy, n.p.

8 There are approximately sixty-five households in
Muskeg Lake. The number fluctuated with the seasons because of urban employment, school and the cold of winter. Young adults were those individuals who had not set up households, still attending school and were at times identified by the community as part of the adult population. The senior adults of the community were given recognition as independent households whether they actually live by themselves, with family members or were residents of nursing homes (off-reserve).

9 Mandelbaum, 51, 81, 105, 157.

10 The interviews with the two oldest informants were characterized by a holistic approach to the discussion about the lifestyle of Muskeg Lake people. They presented their information in a series of descriptions about the cultural and historical events of Muskeg Lake. The two other informants preferred to concentrate their information in the questionnaires. Their information was characterized by specific treatment of items and segmented presentation of information about Muskeg Lake.
CHAPTER 4  
Muskeg Lake: A Cultural History

4.1 The Community

Shortly after the signing of Treaty Six at Fort Carlton, Northwest Territories, Kee-too-wa-han and his Nehiyawak followers agreed to settle at the foot of the Thickwood Hills. The site chosen was the land bordered on the west side by Muskeg Lake and extending to the east for six miles. It was immediately adjacent on the north to the Mistawasis Reserve. From south to north Muskeg Lake extended for seven miles. At the time of the land selection, it was approximately a day’s ride to Fort Carlton on the North Saskatchewan River.

Looking at the maps of 1988, Muskeg Lake is about 100 kilometres straight north of Saskatoon. It is 13 kilometres north of Blaine Lake, 10 kilometres west of Marcellin and 8 kilometres west of Leask. The residents have immediate access to Highway 40 to the east and Highway 12 to the west. The community is within a one hour drive from three major urban centres: Saskatoon, Prince Albert and North Battleford. Public transportation (bus) to these urban centers is available daily (except Sunday) from Leask, Marcellin and Blaine Lake.
In February, 1988, there were fifty-seven occupied homes in Muskeg Lake Reserve. The latest billing from the provincial library system identified two hundred forty-three residents. The count was taken from the 1986 census. From this number, sixty-three were school aged children attending Marcellin School and another seven attending the nursery/kindergarten school on the reserve.

Currently, Muskeg Lake people have the services of a half time nurse through the Department of National Health and Welfare. The Muskeg Lake Health Station is manned by a full time Community Health Representative. Every Tuesday morning, a doctor from Blaine Lake holds clinic hours at the health station. The people have the option of using these services or using the medical taxi for the services available in the urban centres and those of the Shellbrook Clinic. A Health Committee is organized by Muskeg Lake women to provide volunteer services, fundraising charities, health education workshops and senior citizen services.

Next door to the health clinic, a full time teacher instructs four and five year old children at Muskeg Lake Nursery/Kindergarten School. The residents have had this service since the mid-1960's. The remaining school years are spent in Marcellin School where the Band has purchased education services from the Blaine Lake School Division. When financial support is available, the Band institutes
upgrading programs, but these are usually temporary measures, ending when the money is completely expended. In emergency situations where children have to be removed from their homes for their own safety, they are enrolled at St. Michael's Residence in Duck Lake, Saskatchewan. In some cases, parents have requested to have their children attend the Residence in Duck Lake. These parents' decisions are usually accommodated provided they show good cause to the Band Council for their decision.

For post-school training, the students are required to apply to institutions outside of the community. It usually involves moving to one of the neighbouring urban centres. The only exception is in the plumbing and gasfitting trade. The students have the option of attending the Muskeg Lake Satellite College. Here, trainees can obtain their pre-employment certificate in plumbing and gasfitting. They can then continue their training and work experience to obtain a Journeyman's ticket in that trade.

Other federal government agencies interact with the Muskeg Lake administration to provide services to the residents. The R.C.M.P. come from Blaine Lake to patrol the reserve roads and to investigate criminal activities. Since the late 1970's, an Indian Special Constable has worked with the Muskeg Lake community through the Blaine Lake detachment. He is scheduled weekly for office hours at the
Muskeg Lake Band Office. At Band Council meetings, the officers report to council on the work performed on the reserve.

Very little business is done at the Band level without the services of Indian and Northern Affairs Canada through its district office in Saskatoon. This agency acts as the trustee for the people of Muskeg Lake as defined by the Indian Act. They perform duties as intermediaries between the Muskeg Lake members and the federal government. They advise in the economic, political and social developments of the community and they also act as resource banks in the administration of band business. It is through this body that Muskeg Lake receives program funding to administer the business on behalf of its members. Through this agency, Muskeg Lake is able to administer education, roads, water and sewer, housing, welfare, social and recreation programs.

Programs introduced by Manpower Canada are available to Muskeg Lake if they are relevant to the community. Consequently, there has been employment for the residents through make-work projects and special project applications. In addition, some members have benefitted from the training programs available through Manpower Canada.

The people are nominally all Roman Catholics. Their parish, Muskeg Lake/Aldinam has received continuous service since 1878. During the mid-1800’s, the Oblate Fathers’
presence permeated the fabric of social and spiritual life in the Northwest Territories. Kee-too-wa-han and his band no doubt felt the influence of the Oblate Fathers from the Roman Catholic Church prior to the signing of Treaty Six in 1876. Two years later, the first Oblate Father moved into the Muskeg Lake community to pursue conversion to the Roman Catholic faith. In 1894, the leaders of Muskeg Lake surrendered forty acres of land surrounding the church site. The land was used to help the priest to make a living while providing service to the people of Muskeg Lake. Over the 110 years, the residents and the priests have erected three churches using local resources such as lumber from Muskeg Lake and labour from the people.

From 1878 to 1956, there was always at least one resident Oblate priest in Muskeg Lake. The last three Oblate Fathers served the community while residing in Leask. The final Oblate, Father George Roussel, left the service of the community on July 15, 1986. At this point, a new era began for the Muskeg Lake residents. Father Z. Grabowski began to provide Sunday service from Leask community. His immediate goal was to encourage the Muskeg Lake parishioners to take over their own business affairs and to become more independent in programming from the influence of the priest.

During the years the Oblate Fathers provided service to Muskeg Lake, the parish boundaries extended beyond Muskeg.
Lake Reserve to include a large area to the north and to the west. Although these boundaries have remained the same on the Prince Albert Diocesan maps, since 1986 most of the parishioners from these two outside areas have moved to Marcellin and Leask parishes.

4.2 Social Life

4.2.1 Family

The question "What was the strength of this family (respondent's own nuclear family: husband, sons and daughters)?" prompted Informant A to begin unravelling the dynamics of her own experiences and beliefs about the family. She began with her idea of love. The Informant described the strength of her family to be a positive force built from individual relationships within her family group. The nature of the force between herself and each of her children sustained the union of the family group through the crises of growing up and becoming independent. During the course of the interview, the informant defined the concept of love through examples from her experiences and through her value system.

For raising her family, Informant A identified protection as the key factor in her relationships with her children. Despite the pain of separation when children
began to assert their independence, the role of the parent was to remain as a support mechanism to children, sometimes into advanced adulthood. Another informant expressed a similar idea about the importance of maintaining the protective role for the children, especially the male members of her family.\textsuperscript{10} In the community of Muskeg Lake, there were nine cases of male adult children continuing to reside with one or both parents. In seven cases, the adult male children had moved from the home for brief periods but had returned to re-establish residency with parents.\textsuperscript{11}

Recognizing the values taught by parents and grandparents, informant A stated that she models her roles as mother and grandmother on these values. During her childhood, her maternal grandmother played a very important role in the families directly connected to her. At an advanced age, she took in five grandchildren and raised them to adulthood. During this time informant A and her brothers and sisters spent a considerable amount of time interacting with the members of their grandmother's home. The grandmother was counsellor, teacher and mother to the grandchildren who had become her own and to those, like informant A, who came regularly to visit. During these visits, the grandmother repeatedly spoke of the important value of respecting the married state and the family unit. She strongly advised her granddaughters against the practice
of "fooling around" with married men.

The extended family (grandparents, aunts, uncles and some cousins) was important to the growth of the nuclear family unit. As much as it was desirable for adult children to set up separate homes, it was necessary that consistent contact was maintained between brothers and sisters; between parents and children; between grandparents and grandchildren; and between aunts/uncles and nephews/nieces. Informant B had taken into her home two of her grandchildren and the year before she had three grandchildren living with her. As grandmother, she feels that she has a lifetime of experiences to draw from and could contribute to the emotional, spiritual and social well being of her grandchildren. Despite the close contact she tried to maintain with children and grandchildren, she found her children and grandchildren were unable to recognize the importance of the family history she had to offer to them.

Across the reserve from Informant B's home, another home exemplified the values of the extended family. Informant A was raising two grandchildren. Her story was that of a knitting project:

We grew up together as a family. There was no such thing as talking about putting them into a home. There was no such thing, I never heard of it. People grew up, and I always say..., it is like knitting. The stitches never fall, you keep on knitting. They are knitted within the family. The moral implication for the grandmother was the cultural
压力接受支持机制的角色。文化压力意味着，一个家庭成员（在这种情况下，通常是祖母）需要介入核心家庭，并为儿童提供一个在危机中的替代家庭。

在研究的当时，共有十三个案例，其中一个家庭成员介入并接管了对儿童的照顾。还有其他案例，其中祖父母成为了孙子的半日托养人。他们成了定期的保姆，社区活动的运输者，以及周末和假日的父母。孩子们从核家庭转移到扩展家庭非常顺利。所有各方都视这种做法为一种习惯，儿童也非常期待这种安排。

在成长的岁月里，父母的角色是将道德秩序灌输给他们的孩子们。信息员A报告了与父母一起共进晚餐的时光，他们讨论了尊重的重要性。为了表示尊重，她的父亲教会了她诚实的重要性。信息员A特别记得她的父亲告诉她，诚实是对别人的尊重和对他人财产的尊重。

两位信息员都自觉地教导他们的孩子，并且他们自己也被父母教导了成为正直的可贵价值。
self-sufficient. Informant B spoke of the importance in going to school and then "not letting the grade twelve go to waste". In Informant A's family, her mother worked outside of the home to provide an income. After finishing residential school, it was the family expectation that Informant A would seek out employment and contribute to the family income.

Although Informant B considered formal education to be essential for the self-sufficiency of the individual, she did not attend school at any time. This has not deterred her from being self-sufficient. Her story is full of examples where she worked to maintain and sustain the well-being of her family. Informant B tells about the skills she learned from her husband and her neighbours. She spent many days gathering berries and then canning them for winter use. She remembers seeking out duck nests in the spring time and using the eggs for food. Her husband taught her to snare small game. With this experience, she caught rabbits for food, weasels and squirrels for their furs. She learned to trap beaver and mink and sold the furs to the local store owner in Leask. She told affectionately of watching a neighbour raise chickens and then trying it on her own. "It became a sickness for me," she says, "If I don't have any I miss them." From the chickens, she fed eggs to her family and cooked the meat for school lunches.
Both Informant B and her husband did odd jobs in the community to earn some income for the family. While he worked with carpentry, she went into the bush to cut posts from willow, logs from spruce and tamarack and firewood from poplar. These she sold to local buyers as well as customers from Blaine Lake. She remembered spending hours braiding and undoing a rug so she could master the art of braided rugs. From this experience, she found another means of providing her family with some income. From these diverse ways of creating income, Informant B lived out her stated belief in the importance of becoming self-sufficient. Finishing grade twelve and going into post school training was the way she believed her children and grandchildren could become self-sufficient in the 1980s.

As much as Informant A spoke about the encouragement she provided for her children to finish high school and post school training, she provided many examples from her own story of living the values she teaches. From the time she settled in Muskeg Lake and began to raise her family, she had worked at gardening, chicken raising, and berry picking to help support the family. Whenever available, she accepted jobs to supplement the family income. According to her, it was necessary to be involved with work outside the home to make sure her children had the resources to finish high school and to be confident in pursuing post school
training.

Both informants emphasized the importance of being consistent.\textsuperscript{15} They stated the importance of starting and finishing activities. This was especially evident in their discussion of formal education. To them, finishing school was of the utmost importance. They argued that education holds hope for a more successful social and economic future. Informant A introduced the importance of physical work. She related situations where she enjoyed being with one of her sons who liked to work in demanding physical work. Throughout the interviews, both informants spoke positively of physical work and emphasized its value as a source of self-sufficiency, personal accomplishment and economic well-being for their families.

When asked what they considered to be the most deleterious force against the family in Muskeg Lake, the informants, without hesitation identified the abuse of alcohol as the greatest threat affecting the well-being of the families. Informant A stated, "Alcohol destroys the family." Informant B spoke of the negative effects of alcohol on her efforts to maintain the economic well-being of her family.
4.2.2 Community Life

The family formed the foundation for the latticed patterning of community life in Muskeg Lake.\(^\text{16}\) The ordinary daily events of the community during the informant’s childhood, adolescent and early adult life were punctuated by specific highlights like weddings, church picnic, the Shrine, and New Years.\(^\text{17}\) The informant identified important family expectations during those years affecting play and work during childhood, and adolescence. In the early adult period, the family established the rules of courtship and economic activity. Finally, the informant briefly dealt with personal goals and how these were affected by the family and the community.

The bride’s family usually accepted the responsibility of planning the wedding and paying the costs. Variations to this arrangement depended on a number of factors such as family resources, type of pre-nuptial relationship and inter-family relationships. According to Informant A, the marriage ceremonies were celebrated in the Muskeg Lake Catholic church. The usual custom following the morning ceremony was the procession of the wedding party back to the home for dinner and dance. In the period between 1925 to 1950, the main means of transportation in Muskeg Lake were horse-drawn vehicles. These were gaily decorated and the procession to one of the parents’ homes was very often
announced with shotgun blasts. The dance that followed and sometimes ran simultaneously with the wedding dinner lasted all night. It was not unusual for a wedding party to last more than one night. The furniture was hauled outside, the stoves were pushed against the wall. The fiddler accompanied by a guitarist or accordion player played the jigs, reels, waltzes, two steps and breakdowns. It was common practice for the dancers to go for breaks outside to find alcoholic drinks purchased from local bootleggers or from local homebrew suppliers.\textsuperscript{18} During the intervening day, the guests went home to rest and to take care of chores (feeding animals, milking cows, picking the eggs).\textsuperscript{19} After the wedding the married couple would settle into their own home or live with either of the parents until such time they could build their own house.

There were predictable, yearly events celebrated by the people of Muskeg Lake. Although these events have continued to the present in a changed form, the respondents spoke of the Shrine and the New Year celebrations of the 1920s to the 1950s.

On July 16, people from Muskeg Lake every year loaded up their vehicles and made the pilgrimage to St. Laurent on the banks of the South Saskatchewan River, about 10 kilometres southeast of Duck Lake. This was primarily a religious event with some social overtones. Informant A told about
the relatives her family met at the Shrine from places like Green Lake, Saskatchewan. The Shrine was a place where people could get together and renew old acquaintances. Sometimes, it was the only occasion where relatives and friends could meet each other and "catch up on family news". During the event, there was much visiting and drinking tea. The Shrine usually consisted of numerous religious activities such as mass, processions, reciting of the rosary, blessing of the sick, blessing of religious articles, confessions and singing.

Until about 1950, the people from Muskeg Lake would travel by horse-drawn vehicle. It would take two days to make the journey. The pilgrims would very often stay after July 16 to participate in other events such as the sports day at Duck Lake and visit the residential school. During the 1950's and into the present, the people have changed their mode of transportation to cars, trucks and campers. In 1988, the site was full of campers, tents and trucks. People began to arrive two to three days prior to July 16th to vie for the most desirable camping spots and to prepare themselves for the intensive two days of religious activities.

Another important event occurred six months after the Shrine. Informant A remembered that her uncle was always the first to arrive at their home on New Year's Eve to wish
everyone happiness and to feast on bannock and meatball soup. The people from Muskeg Lake spent the Eve and New Year's day travelling around in their sleighs visiting friends and relatives. They were required by custom to eat at each home they visited. Very often, the day would be followed by a dance at a home. Again, the fiddler would spend the evening playing dances like the quadrille or the drops of brandy. Children were taken along on these trips. They actively participated in the celebrations through their own games. They also listened and watched the adults. As hosts, the older girls helped in the setting of the table and preparation of the feast. Informants A and E spoke of these events as important bonding forces for families and friends. They met with relatives. They strengthened friendships. They learned to be hostesses and guests all on the same day.

During the latter years of adolescence into the early adult stage Informants A and E recalled the vigilance with which they were chaperoned by adult members of their families when going to dances or going to the movies in Leask. It was not uncommon for the mother to accompany the daughter when she was being courted by a young man. The informants were both female and did not make references to the conditions set for young men of comparable age. It would appear from informal interviews with men from the same
age group as the informants that the chaperoning was not as strict as it was for the female members of the family. Informant A remembered that she was not allowed to attend the Sunday afternoon soccer games without the company of an adult chaperone.

Changing lifestyles, television, differing social perspectives have all contributed to changes in these family and community norms. The informants spoke freely of their youth but were reluctant to analyze the present. They were still struggling with the impact of the 1980's on their families and found it difficult to speak of their struggles.

4.2.3 Sports

The informants who spoke of the family and the lifecycle of the community and made repeated references to the Church picnics and the Sunday afternoon gatherings at the sports (picnic) grounds. An integral part of these gatherings were the sporting events organized for competition and recreation. Every year these gatherings occurred regularly through the summer months until the early 1960's when they began to be replaced by more individualized activities (picking berries, attending sports days, attending pow wows, visiting, watching T.V., going to the lake, golfing, ball tournaments). In 1988 there are no
regular Sunday afternoon gatherings. There are gatherings but these were sporadic and organized for definite purposes like slow pitch tournaments, fastball tournaments, heritage days, summer games. On some summer evenings, small family groupings meet at the sports (picnic) grounds for a game of slow pitch or soccer. Despite the changes which have occurred in the last thirty years in the social life of the community, sports continues to be of central interest among the residents of the community.23

From 1895 to 1959 when Muskeg Lake children attended the Duck Lake residential school, the boys participated in aggressive, active, team sports like hockey and soccer. The girls did not have the opportunity to be actively involved in any sports other than skating, sledding and playground games. The sport organizers and coaches for the boys emphasized excellence. Successive winning teams in hockey, with one provincial winner in 1950 tell the story of the coach’s impact on the Indian students.24

The seniors25 of Muskeg Lake reminisced fondly of Basil Manitokan’s speed on the soccer field, Frank (Patchy) Arcand’s agility in goal and Dave (Big Coach) Greyeyes’ leadership ability in both soccer and hockey. The fond memories extend beyond the individual abilities to the types of teams that were formed to bring honor to the community. They remember the All Star team from Saskatoon that played
exhibition games against an English team. Three members of the Muskeg Lake team were selected to play on this All Star team: Dave Greyeyes, Albert Arcand and Frederick (Sonny) Lafond.26

Another clue that pointed to the importance of these teams to the community and to individual families was the presence of photographs. Families were very proud to bring out their well-worn photographs of teams from 1930s and 1940s. The owners of these pictures told stories about the people in these pictures and talked about the team member's abilities in the sport.27

Hockey and soccer have been important to many people and through many generations. Muskeg Lake has had a very long history of playing these sports which have become integral to community dynamics.

The majority of the Muskeg Lake children have attended Marcelin School. Sports were emphasized in the Division III and IV levels which coincided with adolescence and young adulthood. Both girls and boys were involved in volleyball, basketball, track, hockey, curling, badminton and fastball. The adolescent boys were very committed to being on the school teams and being good players.28 Most boys from Muskeg Lake tried out for teams.29 At the adolescent stage, the girls showed significantly less interest than the boys in these sports. Consequently, few girls from Muskeg Lake
tried out for junior teams and were not committed to personal and team excellence in the sport as witnessed among the boys.

From pre-school to adult life, the parental and community support for sports increased as measured by attendance at games. In hockey, very few parents attended to watch children's games but the number increased as the age group of the team increased. The senior (adult) teams received community support at games and tournaments. Whereas the men's teams received considerable attention and support, the women's teams (fastball, broomball, and slow pitch) were not given the same recognition and support.\textsuperscript{30} In recent years, the men's hockey and fastball teams have travelled considerably to participate in tournaments at Andarko, Oklahoma, Regina, Batoche, Saskatoon and Edmonton. The women have participated locally at Mistawasis, Leask, and Muskeg Lake. The impetus has not been there to develop a women's team that would play ball seriously enough to travel to tournaments like the Canadian Indian Women's Nationals.

The community was small (about 200 hundred people), and there were several organizations raising funds from this population. There was no steady economic activity to facilitate fundraising and only a limited amount of money was accessible to fundraisers. Financially, the sport
groups from pre-school to the adult level depended on the local band council for funding. Fundraising activities were organized to subsidize the teams' finances; however, the band council entertained requests from the teams for assistance especially when long trips were planned. The youth receives considerable financial support from the band council. Their registration fees were paid through the education section of the band government. Children were able to participate fully in school sports and off-reserve leagues through the extra-curricular bussing from the band council. In some instances, adolescents received further support through sponsorship to extra training in specific sports (hockey school, volleyball workshops, summer camp).

The people of Muskeg Lake have built up a spirit of competition, community pride, and team pride through sports. The people of the community, through sport, have provided a vehicle for positive self-concept development to occur among their male members. Informant D assessed the community and stated that sports were necessary for Muskeg Lake people: "It pulls the people together, when we had good teams, it brought the reserve pride." Informant C saw sports as an investment in the future of the community: "Sports gives kids something to aim for." It also provided the individual with an opportunity to develop "the natural ability of the Muskeg athlete." Both Informants C and D emphasized the
necessity of recognizing the community investment in sports. They want to see Muskeg Lake spend more energy and money in developing the sport program for the young people. As they see it, we must "foster the competitive spirit of Muskeg people".35

4.3 Religion/Ceremonialism

The traditional Cree religion was characterized by a belief in a "great spirit" that was felt to be a life-giving force...present in every object. Everything had a sacred life of its own. The invisible spirit entered most visible things: rocks, grass, hills and animals like eagles and buffaloes. Thus their spirits could commune with the souls of men.36

To the Cree mind, the ideal in the life of any man was the development of a harmony with the forces of nature characterized by respect and knowledge of this natural environment.

The grandparents played a special role by formally educating the members into the ideology, religion, history and mythology of the Cree. It was the role of the grandparents to tell the child stories and lessons dealing with the required concepts.37 From the grandparents and medicine men the young Cree learned about ceremonies and began to apprentice early to participate accurately when
their time came.

During the fur trade, the ancestral Cree of Muskeg Lake migrated westward from the northern forests in search of increased trade. In the process of moving onto the fringes of the Canadian Plains, these Cree adapted their way of life to accommodate the new environment. Sporadic periods of war and peace marked this era of Cree history. The movement west displaced other peoples who were reluctant to make room for the newcomers. During this period of shifting alliances and conflict, the Cree evolved a religious ceremonialism reflecting the influence of peoples from the Plain's regions. The Cree began to practice the Sundance ceremonies peculiar to the Plain's regions.

The Sundance served a variety of functions.

The four day annual ceremony...combined the functions of church, school, clinic, theater and law court, when economic life was intertwined with religious ritual.38

Individual Cree pledged the Sundance to honor, request or appease the spirit world in this way. It was a dynamic and educational experience for the youth.

Changes were forced onto Cree religious practices. The shifting fortunes of the Cree in their relationships with the Europeans in the late 1800s brought pressures to abandon Cree lifestyle and to assimilate into the European way.

In Muskeg Lake, the people allowed the Oblates of Mary
Immaculate priests to do their work among them. In 1878, Father Julien Moulin was allowed to establish residence in Muskeg Lake. From this centre, the resident priests served outlying communities to the north and west of Muskeg Lake for about thirty years.³⁹

In 1890, Bishop Grandin, o.m.i. began the process to establish an Industrial school in his diocese. Four years later, the boarding school started in Duck Lake. The first principal was Father M. Paquette, o.m.i. He left Muskeg Lake to take the principalship and then proceeded to recruit students from Muskeg Lake, Mistawasis and Sandy Lake Reserves.⁴⁰

During their years in the Duck Lake boarding school, the Muskeg Lake students missed out in participating in ceremonies of significant socializing value like the Sundance. This ceremony disappeared from Muskeg Lake during these early years. In the boarding school, children were taught that Indian religion was heathenistic and evil. When Muskeg students returned home during the summer months, they tended to become only passive observers of these ceremonies rather than participants. They were taught to avoid pagan practices under pain of mortal sin and eternal damnation. Concurrently, the local priests were teaching the same message to the parents and grandparents in Muskeg Lake.

The priests counselled, taught, preached, and threatened
the people of Muskeg Lake to attend church every Sunday for mass and benediction. The people were strongly encouraged to attend church every first Friday of the month as well as all days considered to be days of obligation by the Roman Catholic Church. While this was happening on the reserve, the children were being trained to practice their Roman Catholic faith in the same rigorous, scheduled format.

During the 1930s and 1940s, Informant A remembered the early rising at the residence so everyone could be lined up and marched to the chapel for church service. She recalled the rosaries they recited; the benedictions they attended. Every function (meals, classes, play) began with common prayer recitation.

In Muskeg Lake, people attended church regularly through all the seasons. In 1913, the residents began to haul logs to build a larger church because the chapel was too small for the congregations. From 1893 to 1949 the Muskeg Lake church establishment included the Aldina Post Office. According to Informant A the rigorous implementation of the mass obligation and the presence of the post office helped to maintain the high church attendance. The presence of the post office established the church as a center of activity in the community for purposes other than religion. Other phenomena developed concurrently with church attendance. People spent time after the Sunday morning mass to
socialize, picnic and play sports. In the afternoon they attended the benediction service. For the young adults and the older adolescents, church was an opportunity to meet with friends and a time to meet with the opposite sex.

During the period from 1930 to about 1962, the young people in Muskeg Lake were home bound much of the time. The girls especially were supervised by the parents and not allowed to venture to any function without some type of chaperoning.

Informant A recalled the Corpus Christi processions that were organized. People from miles around the reserve came to participate in this ceremony. They came not only for religious ceremonies such as this but also for secular activities. They came to the work "bees" to clean the church and graveyard. During these community affairs, each family brought along food to picnic and socialize. It was common practice to bring the children along. They were expected to perform some of the tasks but were allowed time to play and heighten friendships.

The three church structures were built from volunteer labour. The present structure was raised in 1953 through volunteer work. Informant B recalled that her husband worked on the interior carpentry to help finish the church.

To raise funds for the church and to ensure that the local priest would have sufficient resources to do his work and remain in the parish, the people of Muskeg Lake agreed
in 1894 to cede forty acres of land surrounding the church for use by the Oblate priests. The parishioners from outside the reserve were expected to pay tithes based on their income for the year.

To supplement the financial well-being of the parish, each year the people organized a bazaar. Here they sold meals, played bingo, and gambled on crown and anchor. The children played the fish pond while the adults sold baking, raffle tickets and lunch baskets.

The priest became totally involved in the community. Father Beaudry o.m.i. spent time hunting and trapping with the Muskeg Lake people. Others, like Father Paradis, o.m.i. became involved in coaching and managing hockey teams. Some priests worked hard to help people overcome personal problems. Father Beaudry o.m.i. worked with individuals on alcoholism. With his counselling, the people suffering from alcoholism would pledge sobriety for specific periods of time. He was able to perform many of these difficult roles through his ability to speak Cree fluently. Socially, the priest’s home was a meeting place for card games. Informant A remembered that many people learned cribbage (card game) from the priest. The priest became a very influential person in the community. His sphere of influence exceeded the bounds of spiritual affairs going into social and economic issues and even into politics.
A combination of events led to a significant decline in church attendance. The administrative and ceremonial changes introduced in the 1960s by the Roman Catholic Church leadership took away many of the tools and mechanisms used by the clergy to maintain rigorous control of the parishioners. At about the same time, Father G. Menard, o.m.i. became pastor of Muskeg Lake in 1956. He closed the rectory and moved into the town of Leask. The post office had already closed in 1949. The people did not have direct access to the priest as they had between 1878 to 1956. The church could no longer be a social centre and the priest was no longer directly involved in the community in areas other than religious ceremonies. There was no longer a "live-in" religious leadership for the Muskeg Lake residents. The priests lost the personal contact with individuals on the reserve once they ceased to be involved in community affairs.43

In recent years (1985-88), individuals in the community have begun to express and revive religious practices reflecting traditional Cree beliefs and ceremonies. In 1987, an elder of the community and a practicing Roman Catholic expressed her belief to the writer that Indian religion was compatible with her Roman Catholic upbringing. She felt that she could safely explore her faith under the aegis of traditional Indian thinking and ceremonies without
compromising her Christian faith.\textsuperscript{44}

In 1983, Father J. Haskall integrated Indian and Roman Catholic ceremonies at the St. Laurent Shrine, Duck Lake, Saskatchewan. Many people from Muskeg Lake were present and participated in the event. From this experience, a mixture of elders and young people came back to Muskeg Lake assured for the first time that they could believe in the goodness and rightness of the Cree religious way.

In 1974, at the funeral of a young man, the mourners watched in silence as a family member wrapped the coffin with a blanket as had been done in traditional Cree burials. One senior adult commented to the writer after the funeral that it was not proper for people to bury their dead in that manner. In 1987 at another funeral, an Elder was invited to participate in the funeral mass and to pray to the four directions. The congregation became involved in the ceremony. Some members related their reluctance to become involved in practices not accepted by the Roman Catholic Church. The priest presiding at the ceremony welcomed the opportunity to incorporate Indian ceremonialism into the funeral rite. In 1988, Muskeg Lake celebrated a homecoming. The day started with a mass with two priests concelebrating. The ceremony began with a procession led by a group of Cree singers. The main celebrant used sweetgrass from the Cree ceremonial paraphernalia to perform the penitential rite.
The people were given the opportunity to use the sweetgrass to prepare themselves for the ceremony and all participated. Again the priests welcomed the opportunity to incorporate Cree ways into the Roman Catholic rite. One participant requested that the parish give the people an opportunity to pray in similar ways at a memorial mass.

In the community and in the schools, the people are talking more comfortably about Cree religion and its importance to the people of Muskeg Lake. In June, 1987, the writer was involved in helping parents from Muskeg Lake fill out applications forms to send their children to the residential school in Duck Lake. Without exception, all eight parents/guardians requested that their children receive instruction in Cree religion while at the residential school. During July, 1988, ten parents allowed their children to attend a culture camp where the young people participated in the sweat lodge ceremony, Indian dancing, Elders' teachings, Indian singing and survival skills. From this camp, four of the youths have expressed a desire to be involved in the sweat lodge ceremonies.

One adult from Muskeg Lake is currently in training with an Elder from the neighbouring reserve to start his own sweat lodge.

Even though only a small group attend the Sunday mass regularly, a majority of the people from Muskeg Lake have
continued to request Catholic baptisms, confirmations, weddings, wakes and burials. For special occasions (memorial masses), families of the deceased attend that particular ceremony. Christmas and Good Friday are two special occasions where a larger numbers have come to the ceremonies. During these special occasions, there is a noticeable air of tension. The newcomers have felt uncomfortable with the unfamiliar pace of the ceremony. They have not recognized the different parts of the mass and have not known how to become actively involved.

Bishop Morand from the Prince Albert Diocese was invited in 1985 to perform the confirmation ceremony for the adolescents of the community. These applicants were required to attend a three month preparation period. At least one parent was required to accompany his child. The participation rate in the program was 75 to 80 per cent. The students came regularly and parents attended with them. The parents became actively involved in the preparation program. In 1987, the school sent out a questionnaire requesting parental direction in the area of religious instruction. From grade one to grade six, few parents from Muskeg Lake failed to respond to the questionnaire. The majority of the parents wanted their children to receive religious instruction in the school.

Informants A, B, E and senior adults from Muskeg Lake
have placed great importance on the role of religion in the lives of Muskeg Lake people. The evidence gathered showed that religion was an important issue. The religion and ceremonialism of the Muskeg Lake people encompass the beliefs that early missionaries introduced. Muskeg Lake religion and ceremonialism goes beyond church and mass attendance. The people have maintained cultural traits where religion continues to permeate the total life cycle of the individual.

4.4 Housing and Trades

4.4.1 Introduction

Photographs taken by Father Cochin, o.m.i. during his residence in Muskeg Lake (1901-1903) showed three homes used by the people. One picture showed a family in front of two tepees. Standing to the right of the tepee was a buggy and horse. The tepees appeared to be made from cloth (possibly a canvas-type material). The front tepee appeared to be about sixteen to twenty feet in diameter. The rear tepee was slightly smaller and looked to be well used judging by the discoloration of the material from weather and smoke. In the other two pictures, families posed in front of log homes with mudded exteriors. In the first picture, the log home was a single-level, one-room structure. It appeared to be about 16 feet by 20 feet with a slanting shingled roof.
The second picture showed a two story-house, it appeared to be slightly longer than the building in the first picture.46

The home Okemasis built for the Andrew Lafond family in 1912 was made of logs.47 The initial structure was about twenty by twenty-four feet. After 1912, an addition was constructed from logs to the south of the building. This addition was about the same size as the original structure. The logs were chinked with mud and straw. The interior walls had a card-board like covering finished with whitewash. The home was last used as a residence in 1977. It was identified as a Muskeg Lake historic site.

Another photograph from the Harriet Arcand collection showed the partially constructed home of J.B. Lafond. The two-storey home was made of logs. The structure was of two sections forming an L shape. This home was constructed on the eastern centre of the reserve.

Where the creek leaves the lake, James Greyeyes built a two-storey log home. The home was finished in stucco-type on the exterior and finished with board on the inside. The main floor had a kitchen/dining room, a living room and one other small room. The upstairs had two bedrooms. The front yard of the home had an orchard of crabapple, plum and gooseberry bushes. The Greyeyes family resided in this home from the 1930s to the early 1960s.

The log homes described were built through the efforts
of the homeowners. They were responsible for pulling the logs and preparing them for construction. The owners provided the lumber and all materials to complete the homes for occupation. Once the homes were constructed and the home occupied, the owner was responsible for the maintenance and improvements. The people had a spirit of independence and were willing to take the steps to provide for their own survival and comfort.\textsuperscript{48}

Local people became known for their skills in working logs for construction. Okemasis built homes in the early part of the century. The Andrew Lafond home is still standing after seventy-six years. Informant B spoke about her husband who was a recognized carpenter and sought after by band members for his skills. She remembered instances when he would decide to build a new log home and move his family. Informant B learned carpentry skills from her husband. He had made a conscious effort to teach her carpentry skills in order for her to become independent.

About twenty-eight square miles of the east side of the reserve was sold to provide land to non-Indian World War I veterans. After the land sale in 1919, homeowners on the east side of the reserve were displaced without compensation for buildings and improvements. J.B. Lafond lost his home. Others like Bernard Venne, and George Greyeyes lost homes as a result of this land sale. Some of the owners were able
to receive some funds from the land sale to rebuild their homes.49

After World War II, Muskeg Lake veterans were able to apply for assistance from the federal government to build homes and to settle. The applicants were expected to haul the logs and provide the labour. The assistance program provided additional supplies to finish the homes. Several of these homes were built at this time by returning veterans.

4.4.2 Current Housing

Federal government housing policies for reserves began to change dramatically during the 1960s. Before 1960, the federal government provided minimal support to the Band government to build homes. Indian and Northern Affairs Canada changed strategies by increasing housing funds and taking complete construction and maintenance responsibility.

Initially, Muskeg Lake people who wished to benefit from the new programs had to apply and make a down payment. They were expected to provide the forms for cement, the gravel, dig the basement and provide the labour. The building supplies were paid from federal money.

From the 1960s to the present, housing has become a band government issue. In 1988, a member could make application
to the band council for a new home or renovation. The Band council assessed the needs of the applicants and made allocations shortly after April 1st (beginning of the fiscal year). In past years, new family groups have been given priority. Until 1978, single-parent families were not considered for housing allocations. Since then the policies have changed, and single-parent applications have been given consideration.50

Once the house allocations were made, the contracts were tendered out to construction companies. The work was supervised by the band administration. In most cases, the occupant was not involved during the construction of the home. Since 1985, the band has established procedures to control construction quality. An inspector from the Saskatoon District Tribal Council inspected the work at specific stages of the construction. His report was presented to band council and it was then the council's option to act on the report and recommendations. The homes built since the late 1970s were constructed with water, sewer and electricity. In 1988, of the seventy-four homes, one was without running water and sewer.

A contractor from the reserve perceived an improvement in labor attitudes because of the tendering system as compared to band operated projects. The employees of the contractor worked better compared to those in make-work
projects, band operations and the welfare system programs.\(^{51}\) In 1987, the housing tender went to a company from Muskeg Lake. The workers employed by the construction company were from Muskeg Lake. According to Informant C, by creating employment on the reserve, the project kept the money circulating in the community. The band administration saved money in travel expenses, materials and equipment by giving the contract to a local company. There was criticism lodged against the use of local companies by some members of the community. The complaints dealt with the fear that quality would deteriorate, assuming local people could not perform the work of the required trades (carpentry, plumbing, electrical).

The band administration hired thirty full and part-time employees. The three resident farmers and the construction company provided additional seasonal employment.

Informants C and D spoke about the advantages of living in Muskeg Lake and working at their trades from that base. For Informant C, moving back and establishing his family here gave him the opportunity to provide a service to the community while his children grew up in the context of the extended family. He referred to the market on the reserve and in the neighbouring communities for the construction business. Financially, treaty benefits provided the workers with tax rights they otherwise would not have if they moved
off the reserve to work. For Informant D, the move back to Muskeg Lake had financial benefits. He did not have to worry each month about rent. He had more friends than he did while he lived in cities like Saskatoon and Calgary.

Both Informants C and D were carpenters and both expressed concern at the abuses they saw from a minority of house occupants. Informant D stated that ownership or the sense of ownership has to become part of the process before individuals can begin to take pride in their homes. In order for this to happen, current policies have to be changed to facilitate this process.

4.4.3 Settlement Patterns

Informants A, B, C and D repeatedly made references to the importance of the extended family. Informant C took into consideration the importance of the extended family when deciding where to locate his family. He built his home one hundred feet from his mother's home and was soon joined in the yard by his sister's family. This is a repeating pattern in Muskeg Lake. Families have established settlement patterns to reflect close extended family interactions and interdependence (refer to map). The New Village on the northwest side of the reserve has broken this settlement pattern. The band administration was attempting
# Family Clusters on Muskeg Lake Reserve

<table>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Greyeyes II</td>
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<td>78, 80</td>
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<td>Ledoux</td>
<td>47, 48</td>
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</table>
to establish a village and building homes according to a plan based on non-Indian standards (consulting company was non-Indian).

Settlement patterns were also affected by land use practices. Muskeg Lake used the claim of possession method. Members applied to band council and the federal government to obtain a land certificate to occupy and use specific pieces of reserve land. These certificates were inherited by descendents but had to be ratified by band council and the federal government. The claim of possession certificates could be sold and exchanged with appropriate band council and federal government ratification. The existence of the certificates restricted the land areas which could be settled by people who did not possess land. They either had to request permission from owners to build on C.P. land or restrict themselves to small portions of remaining band land.

4.5 Summary

The Cree of Muskeg Lake have undergone phenomenal cultural changes since the signing of Treaty Six in 1876. The Cree culture has been under strong pressures to change with the intrusions of non-Cree into its territories, its economy, its politics and social life. The changes intensified in 1876 when Muskeg Lake Reserve came into
official existence.

The people tried to adapt to reserve life and forged a lifestyle somewhere between the Plains hunter and the hockey hero. Under the pressures of a foreign education system, foreign religion, foreign economic system and foreign political system, the Cree of Muskeg Lake have made adaptations to their lifestyle to ensure their survival. The family has continued to function as the main socializing force ensuring that the Muskeg Lake people identified themselves as an entity. The members have continued to receive support from the extended family and have brought these relationships with them into the school. Evidence of the strength and influence of the extended family can be seen in the settlement patterns found among the Muskeg Lake Cree.

During the 112 year history since Treaty Six, marriage celebrations have continued to be social occasions bringing the community together to dance and drink. Technological changes have affected the transportation but the procedure of marriage ceremony followed by a meal and dance has persisted. Other social events developed but have changed in form in response to pressures introduced primarily by outside forces. The New Years' visiting, as experienced by the Informants during the 1940s, has disappeared to be replaced by different ways of celebrating the event.

Religion and ceremonialism, in outward expressions, have
changed from the practice of Plains Cree beliefs to that of the Roman Catholic Church. The role of religious beliefs in the lives of the members has continued to be integral in the total life cycle of the community. Freedom from the pressures to abandon Plains Cree beliefs has allowed the revival of a Cree ceremonial life among some of the Muskeg Lake members. The Cree desire for a personal quest of the spiritual world has re-emerged both through the Roman Catholic Church and Plains Cree beliefs.

Where once, warriors and hunters went off for days to bring back meat and glory to their bands, hockey players have taken their place. They have brought prestige to their families, teams and community. Young boys have watched carefully biding their time when they also would be in the Muskeg Lake limelight through their athletic accomplishments.

Historical developments in housing have shown a decrease in occupant involvement in the construction and maintenance of the structure. Where once the people of Muskeg Lake had depended on their own resources to build their own homes, federal government intervention since the 1960s have taken away this responsibility. Informant D analyzed the housing situation and recognized the need for the community to revive some sense of ownership.
Notes


2 Muskeg Lake is marked as Paddling Lake on Saskatchewan maps.

3 Muskeg Lake Satellite College is operated jointly by the Saskatchewan Indian Institute of Technology and the Saskatoon District Tribal Council. They offer a thirty-two week program in pre-employment plumbing and gasfitting. The funding is through Manpower Canada. Saskatchewan Institute of Applied Science and Technology, Kelsey Campus personnel supervise the content of the program.


"3. (1) This Act shall be administered by the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, who shall be the superintendent general of Indian Affairs."

5 DIAND, p. 1.

"(h) 'Indian moneys' means all moneys collected, received or held by Her Majesty for the use and benefit of Indians or bands".


Lamontagne, 54. Muskeg Lake was known as Aldina Mission until 1986. In 1893, Aldina Post Office was established and managed by Father J.P. Paquette, o.m.i. In 1914, it was moved to the rectory of Our Lady of Pontmain Church in Muskeg Lake. It was permanently closed on August 24, 1949.

Until the towns of Marcellin and Leask became established, Aldina (Muskeg Lake) was the social and spiritual centre for the Cree on the Reserve, the Metis from the Thickwood Hills and the French settlers surrounding Muskeg Lake. The founder for the town of Marcellin is buried in the Muskeg Lake Cemetery as are many of the Metis and French from the surrounding country.


A variable which may have an impact on this phenomenon and requires further investigation is the high ratio of male individuals involved in seasonal and part-time employment. Currently another variable may have an impact. The policies in Muskeg Lake allow the allocation of homes to
single parents. This variable also requires further investigation to ascertain the reasons for the prolonged residency of male children with parents.


14 Informant A worked with the University of Saskatchewan, Extension Division teaching cooking in different Indian communities. She also worked with the Federation of Saskatchewan Indians as a community development worker. During these same years, she was the first Justice of the Peace in Muskeg Lake and also the first Indian woman to hold that position in Saskatchewan.

15 Informant B referred to some of the negative attributes her children were exhibiting as being personality attributes acquired from non-Cree influences. Specifically, she referred to the lack of consistency exhibited by some of her children. They do not seem to want to finish activities once started. A number of her sons have not completed high school, a fact she referred to repeatedly during the interview.


17 Both Informants A and B were interested in giving information about their adolescence and early adult lives which is the period from about 1928 to about 1950. Although the researcher's goal was to obtain information primarily
about the present, this information is important in establishing a continuous picture of the cultural developments in Muskeg Lake during the period between the signing of Treaty Six and 1988.

18 During this period in Saskatchewan history, it was not legal for status Indians to purchase alcoholic drinks from the local retailers. Indians were subject to fines or jail terms if caught buying, selling or using alcoholic drinks. It was not until the early 1960s that legislation was passed to allow Indians to purchase alcoholic drinks legally. When this legislation came into effect, Muskeg Lake held a referendum to decide whether alcohol could be brought and used on Muskeg Lake Reserve. A "dry" reserve referred to those bands who had voted to ban alcohol from their lands.

19 Dancing was a very important part of the social life of Muskeg Lake community. Informants A, B, E and a number of other residents spoke nostalgically of the "good old days". The common community practice was for individuals to plan dances in their homes and to send out the invitation for all dancers, fiddlers and callers. Dances could occur as often as once a week.

20 Informant E, interview with author, 13 July 1983.

21 For the purposes of this research and because of identifiable stages found in Muskeg Lake, the early adult
stage was that period immediately following release from the residential school. From this period (1920s to 1950s) to the present the community has gone through changes to accommodate the changes that come from keeping the children at home for school rather than sending them to the residential school. In some families, grade twelve was the time when children began to be accepted as young adults. In other families, the ages of 15 and 16 marked the beginning of the young adult.

23 Informant D, interview with author, 8 April 1988.
25 The seniors referred to in this portion of the research were those individuals in Muskeg Lake who were between the ages of sixty and ninety-one.
29 In 1987, there were 10 boys from Muskeg Lake and 4 from the Marcellin community on the junior boys volleyball team. At this level, 10 boys from Muskeg Lake out of a possible 12 made the team while four from the Marcellin Community out of a possible 10 played. From the Muskeg group, one tried for the team and then stopped playing and the other was too old for the junior team. One boy from
Marcellin tried out for the team and stopped while the other five did not try out for the junior team at all.

38 Pohorecky, 34.
39 Lamontagne, 90-93.
41 Lamontagne, 90-93.

45 The writer was familiar with the church dynamics through his involvement with the Parish Council from 1980 to 1988. The writer has been involved with Bishop Morand in planning out strategies for Indian involvement in the operations of the Prince Albert Diocese.

46 Saskatchewan Provincial Archives, Cochin Collection C 6779-6786 (19b).


CHAPTER 5

Implications For Teaching Career Education in Divisions I and II

5.1 Some Implications

It is necessary for school and community to coalesce their objectives and establish steps to deal with the cross-cultural problem. The information contained in this research begins the process of establishing the cultural and historical background for the melding of objectives and methodologies between community and school.

Two of the informants interviewed about the religion, family histories and social life of the community used an holistic approach to the topics. It could be concluded that their children and grandchildren experienced a similar mode of communication in everyday affairs. These children may have entered school perceiving their environment holistically, with communication skills that reflect an holistic socialization. Initially, it is important for the school to recognize this basic cultural difference from non-Cree students and to provide an accommodating environment for these Cree children. Career education, especially in the early grades, is holistic in philosophy. The curricula is intended to be blended through the other subjects in the
school program. This is a desirable philosophy for the Cree student, but administrators and teachers must ensure that this philosophy is put into action in the classroom. Teachers come from an instructional background that emphasizes segmentation, so it becomes difficult for these teachers to implement programs which require a complete reversal in approach from their own learning experiences.

The emphasis placed on the role of the extended family members among the Cree presents a basic difference from non-Cree emphasis on the nuclear family. The parents are not necessarily the most influential people in the lives of their children. At Muskeg Lake, there is continuous interaction among extended family members. The grandparents are expected to participate actively in the rearing of the children. This is a Cree trait persisting from the culture of 1876 and still practiced in the Muskeg Lake community. There are strong alliances between cousins, uncles and aunts, and siblings based on their interactions in the community. Older siblings are expected to take care of younger family members. Relationships develop between cousins which mimic those of siblings because of the close interaction of their extended families. The influences on the child's development come from the total family.

Career education is concerned with human development. The curriculum is meant to facilitate human development. In
order for this to happen in the classroom, the teacher must be aware and be equipped to work with the knowledge that the Cree student comes from family experiences that are uniquely his own. The student has a unique perception of the concept of family. In the year one program, the child is to learn about himself and the family. The teacher must be sure to deal with this very basic concept from the perspective of the Cree child. The consequences of failing in this area may lead to confusion about the value of the Cree student's own experiences. It may create denial within the student and eventually an identity conflict.

In the 1876 Cree culture, the senior members of the families were expected to accept the role of teacher. This was especially evident when the individual excelled in an area or skill considered important by the community. The school and the classroom can become an extension of the family processes. The teacher can become a facilitator of cultural information by approaching the experts and bringing them into the classroom. Community members can bring their knowledge to the classroom and share with the young students.

Elder, Lawrence Tobacco, spoke of the need to return to traditional priorities of teaching to the heart to strengthen the head. Career education is organized in Divisions I and II to address this issue. Self-concept
development is teaching to the heart. Professional non-Cree counsellors have identified the importance of building a healthy self-concept as the means to increased academic success.

Experts are available in the communities like Muskeg Lake who can work with the teacher in the teaching of value systems, cultural traits, specific ceremonies and family relationships.

Important concepts like adoption, foster home and work, may be discussed even in a grade one classroom. The extended family is a type of foster care program within the Cree culture. This care is extended to family members as a natural interaction of the system. In the classroom, this concept must be handled with care and complete understanding.

Informants in this study expressed the importance of being self-sufficient and independent. They showed evidence that members of the community are expected to seek independence and self-sufficiency with the support of the family. Children are given the tools to make choices and are required early in their development to make important choices. Under the guidance of a Cree elder, these same students are required to experience ceremonial life and seek out their answers. The elder provides the guidance and points out the tools to the student. Teachers can
capitalize on this form of learning. Teachers can extend this form of learning in the classroom by using strategies which require the student to seek out the answers.

The interviews showed that the emotional, spiritual and social growth of the child is very important to the people of Muskeg Lake. This is Muskeg Lake's affirmation of Lawrence Tobacco's position that Cree people must work to have their educational priorities recognized by the non-Cree. Career education should be given priority to facilitate Cree student success in the education system.

Sport appears to be a key component of Muskeg Lake lifestyle especially for the adolescent and young adult males. Observations made by the writer specifically in this area showed that the community spends more money in sports and sport related activities than it does in other recreational activities. Most of the money is spent on male dominated sports like fastball, hockey, summer games and extra-curricular games. Sports are a source of prestige and status for adolescent boys and young adult males. The adolescent boys spend considerable time perfecting sporting skills and take great pride in being top players on school teams. If their skills warrant, they graduate very quickly into the young adult world. This is especially evident in fastball and hockey. Fourteen and fifteen year olds are included in adult fastball and hockey.
The informants in this study showed a keen interest in successful athletes and successful teams. The community has its list of sports heroes from all generations. Through community support (elected positions), some of these heroes became leaders in other fields. Three became chiefs and many others became councillors. Others are given recognition in the community through storytelling. The details in the stories show the interest with which particular careers have been followed by the fans.

When a community defines its status and prestige through sport, it then becomes a priority among its members. Children entering school have already been taught to be sports conscious and to excel. The boys begin in the early years (7 to 12 years old) to work at their skills and to excel on the sports field. Self-concept development for the boys is inextricably linked to sports achievement. This emphasis is a strength of the community and should be given careful and serious consideration when planning and implementing career education in the early grades.

Self-concept development involves and addresses issues such as friendship, personal goals, family, work, recreation, and prestige. Many of these issues can be addressed through sport. Informant D recognized the value of sports for developing community pride. Teachers can use this information to provide students with opportunities to
study community dynamics through their local sports heroes. Interaction with their heroes can provide the students with an understanding of the sacrifices and demands of being an athlete, a leader, and a member of Muskeg Lake.

Sport is an excellent vehicle through which administrators and teachers can invite active participation in the school. Using sports gives the Muskeg Lake students role models in the school to facilitate self-concept development. Special sporting events are welcome strategies to invite volunteers and guests to the school.

Findings of this study showed that there is concern and interest in Muskeg Lake for involvement in ceremony and belief. There are key stages where overt religious observance is evident: baptism, marriage, death and special occasions. The community is currently going through a stage where individual band members are seeking out religious experiences based on traditional Cree spirituality. The history of the community shows that religion is central to the culture of the Muskeg Lake Cree. The Roman Catholic Church was a central figure in the community until the 1960s. At present, individual members are seeking out and re-discovering their Cree roots through religion. They are blending the two traditions and drawing the youth towards this trend. The interest and concern for Cree spirituality crosses all generations from the grandmother who asked to
have more Cree tradition in the Mass to the adult obtaining his sweatlodge, and the youth asking questions during a Native Studies course. Traditional Cree spirituality teaches the latticing of religion into the total fabric of a person's life.

The religious experience is an important part of the child's world and he brings this experience to the school. It is important for the school to give this cultural feature empathetic understanding and to use this strength in bringing the child successfully through its system. In preparing the self-concept program, the school must address the spiritual component of the child's experiences. The school, the teacher and the communities are all responsible to ensure students receive the tools they need to be successful.

The trend towards increased Cree spirituality will pose some problems for the teacher and principal. Students may be required to encroach on school schedules to participate in Cree ceremonies. When a student has to be absent from school to prepare for a sweatlodge ceremony, the teacher and student will need to communicate adequately to prevent misunderstandings. Any lack of empathy from the teacher may cause students to doubt their Elders and their own goals. The Muskeg Lake community is responsible for ensuring communication exists to make teachers aware of the spiritual
demands put on students. In the classroom, the school can address the issue of religion honestly by using the experts in the community to talk to students.

Traditional Cree counselling methods can be sought to help the teachers and students cope with problems. Elders in the classroom may be a valuable resource in dealing with self-concept problems among Cree students.

The Cree child comes to a classroom bearing with him the teachings of a spiritual world that he understands in the context of his wholeness. It is the responsibility of the school and the home to build on this important component of the child's self-concept.

In the later stages of the career education curricula, the students are exposed to the concept of working for monetary gain. Muskeg Lake is a community with scarce economic resources. The students are exposed to a limited number of occupations. Farmers, carpenters, and secretaries are the main role models present in the community. There are traditional occupations which supplement the family economy. Hunters bring in meat for the family and trappers sell their furs while woodcutters haul their birch to the towns. In exploring the work world, the teacher must know the social and economic conditions of Muskeg Lake.

The settlement patterns of the reserve give evidence to the strength of extended family relationships. Students
coming from this cultural milieu will perceive group activities differently from students whose culture emphasizes the nuclear family. If the teacher can use this information to his advantage, it may promote self-concept development in the child through recognition of his worth to the group.

5.2 Further Research

This research dealt specifically with four categories and provided some historical information about these four categories. There are critical areas that need further research and some areas not addressed in this study which need to be researched to complete the total picture of the Cree world in Muskeg Lake. Childrearing practices, educational processes, economics, politics, history, beliefs, life cycles are only some of the areas which need comprehensive treatment. This information is absolutely essential for teachers and schools. They need to know what kind of students they are receiving.

The informants in this study readily provided information that was historical and autobiographical. They were reluctant to analyze the life cycle of the community and did so sparingly. Researchers will need to use other methods and instruments to obtain a greater understanding of
the community.

It is difficult and sometimes impossible for informants to address issues of alcohol use and drug abuse on the family, social aberrations, living on welfare, family disputes, crime. Each of these topics must be addressed but the methodology of this study did not allow for their inclusion.

The people of Muskeg Lake responded cooperatively to their involvement in the research. The writer's accommodating approach and his appeal to the generosity of the informants provided the impetus for people to open their doors and to pour the tea through long sessions of talking and listening. The informants were most helpful in situations where they were allowed to direct the interviews to their own comfort and security. Questionnaire II set the guidelines for the writer during the interviews. The informants responded to the questionnaire in the mode most comfortable. This format suggests a useful approach for further and more difficult research.
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APPENDIX A

Questionnaire I: Search for Informants
QUESTIONNAIRE 1: SEARCH FOR INFORMANTS

Name: ___________________________ Date: __________

Age: ______

A) Rank the following items in order of their importance to you. Put number one (1) for the most important and rank to ten (10), the least important.

B) Under column A, write the name of the Muskeg Lake person who you know can give the truest information on the item.

Under column B, write the name of the Muskeg Lake person who you know can be a good substitute to the person under column A.
### Category I: Social Life

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RANK</th>
<th>ITEM</th>
<th>COLUMN A</th>
<th>COLUMN B</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>games</strong> (cards)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>sports</strong> (fastball, soccer, hockey, broomball, slowpitch)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>handgame</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>bingo</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td><strong>crime and justice</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>dance</strong> (old time, modern, Cree traditional, round dance)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>family histories</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>picnic</strong> (sports day)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>singing</strong> (hymns, popular, Cree traditional)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>playing music</strong> (guitar, violin, organ, drum)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>drinking</strong> (going to the bar)</td>
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### Category II: Subsistence/Economic Activities

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<td>hunting/trapping</td>
<td>________</td>
<td>________</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>farming (grain, cattle,</td>
<td>________</td>
<td>________</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mixed, horse)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>woodcutting</td>
<td>________</td>
<td>________</td>
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<td></td>
<td>band administration (chief,</td>
<td>________</td>
<td>________</td>
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<td></td>
<td>band staff, councillor)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>soldier</td>
<td>________</td>
<td>________</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>medicine (nursing, midwife,</td>
<td>________</td>
<td>________</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cree traditional)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>trades (carpentry, taxi,</td>
<td>________</td>
<td>________</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bus driving, labourer,</td>
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<td>road grading)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>teaching (teacher-aide,</td>
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<td>Cree traditional)</td>
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<td>gathering (roots,</td>
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<td>wild berries)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>gardening</td>
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### Category III: Religion/Ceremonialism

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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>traditional Cree religion</td>
<td>(sundance, vision quest, pipe offering, sweat lodge)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>sacraments (wedding, baptism, confirmation)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>mass</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>cathechism</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>wakes/funerals</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>retreats</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>clergy (priests, nuns, preachers, Cree traditional leaders)</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>feasts</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>pilgrimage</td>
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## Category IV: Manufactures

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>housing</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>clothing (cloth material, tanned hide)</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>community buildings (hall, church, school)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>community structures (bridge, picnic, booths)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vehicle construction/repair (sleigh, wagon, auto)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>roads</td>
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<td></td>
<td>ornamentation (beadwork, painting)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>cooking (cake specialties, catering)</td>
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<td>mud plastering</td>
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Notes

1 The headings for this questionnaire are taken from Mandelbaum's 1940 study of the Cree in Saskatchewan.
APPENDIX B

Questionnaire II
MUSKEG LAKE COMMUNITY

INTERVIEWS: SET # 2

NAME: Informant C and D

AGE:

EDUCATION:

OCCUPATION:

RECREATIONAL AND COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES:
TRADES

A. Describe how you became involved in the construction trade.

1. Why did you move back to Muskeg Lake?
2. What is the importance of your trade to the community?
3. What are the short term effects of practicing this trade from Muskeg Lake on you and your family?
4. What are the long term effects of practicing this trade from Muskeg Lake on you and your family?
5. What are the short term effects of practicing this trade from Muskeg Lake on the Muskeg community?
6. What are the long term effects of practicing this trade from Muskeg Lake on the Muskeg community?

HOUSING

A. Describe how housing is presently handled in Muskeg
Lake Reserve?

1. What are the advantages of this system?
2. What are the disadvantages of this system?

B. What is the response/reaction of community residents to this system?

C. What are the short term effects of this system on the community?

D. What are the long term effects of this system on the community?

E. Was this system always used in the community?

1. If not, what are the improvements of this system to previous systems?
2. What are the regressions of this system?

F. Describe the condition of housing on Muskeg Lake Reserve?

G. What is the future of housing in this community?

SPORTS AND SPORTING EVENTS

A. Describe your involvement in sports.

B. Who is most involved in sports during the school years from grade one to twelve?
C. Among the members who are not in school, who is most involved in sports?
   1. Can you account for the differences from the school stage to the adult stage?
D. What are the effects of sport involvement
   1. on politics?
   2. on the local economy?
   3. on the social organization of Muskeg Lake?
E. If you had total control
   1. what would you most want to change in sports?
   2. what would you most want to remain unchanged?
MUSKEG LAKE COMMUNITY

INTERVIEWS: SET # 2

NAME: Informant A

AGE:

EDUCATION:

OCCUPATION:

RECREATIONAL AND COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES:
Church

A. Tell me your experiences with the church.
B. What are the most significant events you remember about the church in your own life?
C. Why did people attend church during the 1930’s and 1940’s?
D. Why do people attend church in 1988?
E. What events of Muskeg Lake are connected with the church?

1. How are these events and the church connected?
F. What is the overall effect of the activities and teachings of the church on the lifestyle of the Muskeg Lake people?
G. If you were able to make changes, what changes would you make on the church in Muskeg Lake?

SOCIAL LIFE

A. Compare the lifestyle of your own childhood to that of your children and that of your grandchildren.
B. As a child, what were the important events of your family during a one year cycle?
C. In your opinion, what are the important social
events during a one year cycle in Muskeg Lake?

1. What is the most important event?
2. Why is it the most important?
3. Describe your experiences from all the important social events.

FAMILY

A. Describe your family.

1. What is an important belief about the family you see most often expressed in your own family?
2. What forces hold your family together?
3. How do you and your family consciously keep your family together?
4. What is the greatest destructive force that threatens the family in Muskeg Lake?

B. Tell me about your family when you were an adolescent?

1. Tell me of some events, people, ideas which you remember most clearly from these times.
2. Tell me about your happiest memory from these times in your life.
3. What was your unhappiest memory?
4. What was the strength of this family?
5. What was the weakness of this family?

C. What is your opinion of passing on family history from one generation to the next?
   1. How is family history passed on in your family?
   2. Is there one person in your family who is most concerned about family history?

COOKING

A. Describe your experiences in cooking.
   1. Where did you learn the art of cooking?
   2. How important has it been to you in the past?
   3. How important is it to you now?

B. In your life in Muskeg Lake, who were and/or are the great cooks?
   1. Describe their cooking?
   2. How were they given recognition in Muskeg Lake for their ability?
   3. Why was/is cooking important?
MUSKEG LAKE COMMUNITY

INTERVIEW: SET #2

NAME: Informant B

AGE:

EDUCATION:

OCCUPATION:

RECREATIONAL AND COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES:
SEWING (CLOTHING)

A. How long have you been involved in sewing?
   1. Who taught you?
   2. Why were you taught to sew?
   3. Are you teaching your family?
   4. What are the benefits to you and your family from this skill?

B. Which other people in Muskeg Lake are well known for sewing?
   1. How important is sewing today as compared to thirty years ago?
   2. Why would there be a difference?

GARDENING

A. Describe how long you have been gardening.
   1. Who taught you to garden?
   2. Why were you taught?
   3. Are you teaching anyone?
   4. How are you teaching them?
   5. What did you grow in the garden when you were a little girl?
   6. What did you grow in your garden when you were first married?
7. What do you grow in your garden now?

B. Are there as many people gardening today as there were when you were first married?

1. Why is there a difference?
NAME: Informant
(Unable to interview)
AGE:
EDUCATION:
OCCUPATION:
RECREATIONAL AND COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES:
HUNTING AND TRAPPING

A. Tell your story of how you hunt and trap.
   1. How long have you been involved in hunting and trapping?
   2. Who taught you?
   3. Is it important for your children to know how to hunt and trap?

B. How many people from Muskeg Lake hunt and trap?
   1. What do they hunt and trap?
   2. Where do they hunt and trap?
   3. Why do they hunt and trap?

TRADITIONAL RELIGION

A. Tell me about your beliefs.
   1. How do they affect your daily life?
   2. Why do you think you were identified as an informant in traditional religion?
   3. How did you become involved?
   4. Tell me about your experiences?
   5. Are these beliefs to be passed on to your children?
   6. How can they be best passed on to your children?
APPENDIX C

Questionnaire I: Results of Ranking Exercise
### RANKING RESULTS

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