

A Study of the Attitudes of Slavey
Indian Parents Toward Education
in Hay River

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to determine the attitudes toward education of the Slavey Indian adults at Hay River, Northwest Territories. An attempt was made to solicit opinions of the minority ethnic group on the present formal educational programs as well as what changes, if any, they perceived as necessary in these programs to meet their needs.

Ten households were randomly selected to provide a sample of Slavey adults for interviewing purposes. The interviews were conducted from a previously designed questionnaire to determine their attitudes toward the existing formal education programs under the following topics: participation, Indian content, home-school relationships, and teacher training. The findings were then analyzed and several recommendations were made on the basis of the perceived needs of the Slavey adults.

It was found that education was viewed by the Slaveys as a utility which could be used to enhance the employment opportunities of the children. The adults viewed education as necessary in terms of learning to read, write and speak the English language; however, beyond this their conception of formal education was very limited. Several proposals were presented by the adults for making the school a more meaningful institution for the Slavey adults.

The results indicated a need for some major revisions in the school programs to include the indigenous minority culture of the Slavey Indians. Recommendations were made on curriculum development and inclusion, teacher training, recruitment and orientation, school-community relationships, teaching in and of the Slavey language and involving the Slavey adults in

the participation of educational decision making. The study also points out the futility of developing educational policy for the Slaveys instead of developing policy, programs and facilities with their full co-operation and participation.

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Chapter I

Problem and Procedures

Introduction

An essential ingredient to an effective educational system for the North is the involvement of the people themselves. The ultimate issue is whether the present school system continue to function without this essential involvement or whether a new system of education has to evolve to permit this co-operative participation.

Consultation with the people of the community will harvest specific insights into the educational needs of the people.

Spindler (1967) states that when education is studied at the community level, the relationships between the home and the school, education and social systems, education and the cultural settings become more meaningful. If we expect the home to reinforce what the school is attempting to do, it is imperative that we incorporate the wishes, desires and values of all cultures in order that the school can become an inter-cultural experience.

Hay River, Northwest Territories was the site wherein the problem involved in this study was observed while the author served as a high school teacher in that community.

The writer became curious as to why there was such a low percentage of Slavey students enrolled at that high school. He had transferred from the Indian village at Fort Providence where the overwhelming majority of pupils enrolled in the school were Slavey. Before the transfer, the

author knew that the Hay River Indian Band was larger than the Fort Providence Indian Band and consequently anticipated teaching at least a fair percentage of Indian students at the high school. Much to his surprise, the researcher found that there was only one treaty Indian enrolled during the 1970-71 school year. The total enrollment was 239 students (Principal, Hay River, personal communication, November, 1971).

The Problem

What are the specific attitudes of Slavey parents toward education:
(vis a vis)

1. Participation?
2. Teacher Training?
3. Indian Content?
4. Home-School Relationships?

Amplification of the Problem

Further expansion of the four factors of the study are as follows:

1. Participation: Do Indian parents wish to have some choice in the decisions that determine where their children will attend school?
2. Teacher Training: What knowledge and skills do parents prefer teachers to have who teach their children?
3. Indian Content: Do the Slavey parents desire the curriculum to include language, values and lifestyles of their own culture?
4. Home-School Relationships: What types of relationships do the Slavey parents prefer to be established between the home and the school?

Procedures

The procedure followed in this study was the interview technique.

from a pre-designed questionnaire. The instrument was utilized in an attempt to determine the attitudes of the Indian parents toward the existing educational programs. A secondary purpose of the questionnaire was to determine what changes were necessary in the present educational programs that would meet the needs of the Slavey parents.

The questionnaire. The instrument used for measuring the Slavey attitudes was previously used by Carriere (1966) in Saskatchewan and by Lawton (1970) in the Northwest Territories. Carriere's questionnaire was slightly modified by Lawton as a major thrust of the Lawton study was to measure attitudes toward local control of education by the Dogrib people at the newly proposed school at Edzo in the Northwest Territories whereas Carriere was primarily interested in Saskatchewan. Some of the minor changes that were made in the questionnaire for the study at hand were made in the areas of home and school relationship and the matters specifically pertinent to the local people in Hay River. The questionnaire included in Appendix A measures the attitudes of Slavey parents in the following four areas: (1) participation, (2) Indian content, (3) teacher training, and (4) home-school relationships.

Although Carriere had previously tested the questionnaire in a pilot project in Manitoba, the researcher retested the questionnaire with graduate students at the University. All the graduate students had previous experience in cross-cultural communication both with native people who had a working knowledge of the English language and through an interpreter. No changes had to be made to the questionnaire after the pilot project with the graduate students and it was assumed to be valid for purposes outlined in the study. Some of the graduate students were

excellent at role playing and this provided valuable insight to the researcher when the interview program was conducted in the field.

Background and preparation for field research. Initial contacts were made with the Hay River Indian Band Council in May of 1971, before the researcher left the community of Hay River. He had been in a teaching position and left to return to the university.

As a result of elections, the Hay River Indian Band Council had Daniel Sonfrere as their new chief and contacts were continued in April of 1972. Several discussions were held with the Chief and after the third walk across the river ice the Chief stated that he was impressed that the researcher had walked across the river ice with the overflow of the river becoming increasingly higher. The Chief also stated that teachers and educators did not cross the river to the Indian Villages to discuss education problems and progress of Indian children.

Permission was granted; moreover excellent co-operation was obtained from the Chief who not only consulted with the Band Council but helped to describe to the members of the band the purpose of the interview program.

The Indian Band Council of Hay River asserted their interest in the findings of the study. The researcher made a firm commitment to comply with the request of the members of the Indian Band Council that they be informed of the results. Previous experience and training sensitized the author toward the native people who had been continuously surveyed and studied without permission or request by researchers. An example of this type of studying is made in that the standing joke in the Northwest Territories is that each native home has at least four occupants -- two parents, one child and an anthropologist.

The technique and interview. A random sample of ten parents was made from a Treaty list provided by the Area Clerk of the Hay River Area Territorial Office. This list was compared to one supplied by the Northern Health Services Office in Hay River in order to check for accuracy.

Prior to the actual interviews, home visits were made and interviews were scheduled. Some of the homes were purposely visited in the afternoon in order to avoid embarrassment that might be encountered by awakening permanently employed shift workers or they who may have been unemployed and who may have been asleep.

There was ample time allowed for each interview in order that each word and question could be thoroughly understood.

The questionnaire was used only as a guideline. The spirit of the question was of primary importance, not the specific wording of the question. If the questions were not understood the interviewer rephrased the question in such a manner that the meaning of the question remained unchanged.

Answers to the questions on individual interviews were recorded on the questionnaire. This was done in such a manner that the flow of the conversation was generally uninterrupted and as inconspicuous as possible. A tape recorder was also used for recording the interviews and these were played back for purposes of cross-checking the written answers on the questionnaire with those recorded on tape. An interpreter was available and used in only one interview.

The interviews were all conducted in the homes of the Slavey parents except for one parent who could not make the time appointed for the interview in his home and as a result, the interview was conducted on the east bank of the Hay River where the interviewer sat on a fallen log and the

interviewee on a tree stump. Some of the families who lived on the east bank of the river were preparing to move across to Vale Island where they would reside until such time that spring breakup was over and the threat of a flood was over.

The researcher also made a special effort to interview Sarah Sibbeston who is blind and Jimmy Sibbeston who was very old and who had many interesting stories to tell. One story that Sarah had learned from Jimmy and which Jimmy began and Sarah completed was a legend of the first man on the moon. This man was a Slavey and not an American. The researcher recorded the legend on tape and played it back to Sarah and Jimmy. There was also a great amount of knowledge that Jimmy Sibbeston had concerning the background of the Slavey people, their places of birth and the family trees of the people.

Two interviews were informally conducted with single Slavey men to seek out their attitudes toward education. These interviews were conducted in a car when the researcher was driving from Vale Island to the mainland and continued on in the mainland.

Of the five interviews conducted with the Euro-Canadian group, four were done in their offices and one was done in the home of the "interviewee."

Source of data. The data which was gathered in this study used the following method of acquiring this information. A random selection of Indian parents from the total population was chosen from a list provided by the Territorial Government in Hay River. This sample included approximately twenty percent of the population. The interviewing was done by the researcher who had previous experience with interviewing people. An

interpreter was available but was used in only one interview; the remaining interviewees had a command of the English language which was adequate to carry on a conversation in that language.

Analysis. The answers to all the questions were tabulated onto a master questionnaire according to each of the topics outlined. These are described in the results of the findings of the study. Each specific section of the compiled responses to the questions on the topics were analyzed individually for purposes of interpreting the attitudes of the Slavey parents included in the study.

A sample of the answers to the questionnaire is included in Appendix B.

In summary, the research was conducted over a five year period of time. The problem was brought from the field in 1971, the interviews were conducted from the University in 1972 and the study was interpreted and developed into a thesis during the last four years.

Delimitations

The results of this study do not reflect the attitudes of all the parents who live in Hay River, Northwest Territories but only the Slavey Indian parents who lived on the eastern bank of the Hay River in the Indian Villages in 1972.

The study was concerned with only one minority group of native people who reside outside of the town limits. Observations made in this study may relate very highly with Indian northern education throughout Canada; however, the purpose of this research was not to generalize beyond the community level. The purpose of this study was to find out what a certain minority group saw as a requirement for the transformation of the

educational system into a system which meets their needs.

Assumptions

1. It was assumed that the interview procedure used to gain this information was valid.
2. It was further assumed that the questions were similarly understood by all the interviewees.
3. The study assumed that the responses of the interviewees which were expressed were true opinions on each item of the instrument.

Definition of Terms

A list of terms used in this study and their definitions is included.

Attitude. Allport's definition which is a synthesis of the varied definition of the word is used in this study. An attitude is a mental and neural state of readiness organized through experience, exerting a directive or dynamic influence upon the individual's response to all objects and situations with which it is related. (Allport, 1967, p. 8)

Community. This term will be used in reference to the town of Hay River as well as the Slavey Indian people who live on the east bank of the Hay River in the two Indian villages.

Indian. This term refers to the people who retained Treaty status after the revised Indian Act of 1951.

Local control. This refers to the establishment of local autonomy in education by the community where a local school board would have control and direct operations of school programs and facilities.

Metis. Those people who are of Native Ancestry (but not defined as Indian) including those who were formerly of Treaty status but who have been enfranchised and are no longer of Treaty status.

Native. For the purpose of this study, the term refers to people of Indian, Inuit (Eskimo) and Metis ancestry.

Northwest Territories. This refers to the area as it is presently known and includes the area within the boundaries formed in 1905 when the provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta became separate entities.

School committees. For the purpose of this study, this term will be used to denote locally or regionally organized committees which would have the function of advising the Department of Education on policies which affect the education of their children in the schools which these committees represent. It may be interchanged with the term Advisory Board on Education.

Significance of the Study

Various studies which have been carried out on integrated education have concluded that the problems of native education have not been solved. Agreements were made between the federal and provincial governments without consultation with the local Indians and Eskimos. Agreements were made to either buy or rent space within the existing public education system. Very little consultation was done at the community level with the various ethnic and cultural groups to find out whether the dominant Euro-Canadians wanted the native people to attend their schools.

In the 1962 version of the Indian Affairs Branch's Field Manual, the educational authorities from that Branch state their policy toward school integration explicitly:

The Indian Affairs Branch is convinced that where possible, Indian children should be educated in association with children of other racial groups. When non-Indian day schools are conveniently located, the I.A.B. is prepared to enter into agreements with authorities operating these schools to make possible the admission of Indian children. (Section 11.00, Paragraph C)

The provinces and territories often build new facilities without instituting any major changes in programs which reflect the cultures of the local people. Furthermore, the parents are alienated from their children while they attend schools in other settlements, learn different values, speak different languages and are educated in different cultures. This is especially true of students who are of the high school level of education and/or age. It is certainly true of Indian students at Hay River where only one Treaty Indian was enrolled in the high school with a total population of 272 students (Principal, Hay River, personal correspondence, March, 1972).

Outline of the Remainder of the Thesis

Chapter I deals with a statement of the problem and outlines procedures by which perceptions of adult Indian residents were sampled. Chapter II covers the literature pertinent to the problem of the study. Chapter III deals with the background of the peoples and the development of Hay River. The fourth chapter discusses the findings from the interviews and the fifth chapter summarizes, draws conclusions and makes recommendations for program changes as analyzed from the interviews and through the literature review.

Chapter II

Review of Literature

The purpose of this chapter is to review the literature pertinent to the necessity of having Indian parents meaningfully involved in the formal aspect of the education of their children. The literature review includes: a brief historical overview of Indian Education in Canada, Indian participation in decision-making in education, Indian curriculum content in schools, home-school relationships and teacher training in inter-cultural education.

A Brief Historical Overview

The education of Indians in Canada is a federal responsibility, as outlined in the British North America Act (1886), Section 91, Subsection 24. The Indian Act clearly outlines this responsibility. Section 115 states:

The Minister may provide for and make regulations with respect to standards for buildings, equipment, teaching, education, inspection and discipline in connection with schools.

However, the government's ideas of its responsibilities are anything but clearly defined. Eleven Treaties were signed between the government and the Indians from 1871 to 1921. Treaty 8 (1952) of 1899 stipulates:

Her Majesty the Queen agrees to pay salaries to teachers to instruct the children of said Indians as to Her Majesty's Government of Canada may seem advisable. (p. 13)

Although the Government of Canada was directly responsible for the education of Indians, it did little to develop education programs and

facilities for Indians and, indeed, seems to have made efforts to avoid its responsibility.

A Joint Parliamentary Committee of the Senate and House of Commons was established in 1946 with the task of revising the Indian Act. The revised Act of 1951 specifically authorized the Minister of Indian Affairs to enter into direct agreements with the following bodies:

1. provincial governments;
2. the commissioners of the Yukon and Northwest Territories;
3. public and separate school boards;
4. religious and charitable organizations.

These are outlined in the Revised Statutes of Canada (1970) Vol. IV (pp. 42, 48-49). During the fifties and sixties the federal government made contracts with provincial and territorial governments to educate Indian children. There is no evidence of attempts to involve Indian parents in the decision making process. It is true that there was token consultation before agreements were made; however, the Indian people were left with no voice in the decision making process.

In 1954 Diamond Jenness, one of Canada's and indeed North America's foremost authorities on Indians, reflected on the history of Indian administration in Canada.

The Indian administration did not ask; its job was simply to administrate, and like many custodians, it was so involved in the route of its custodianship, especially since the fulfilment of the purpose would sign its own death warrant. Neither did Parliament nor the Canadian people ask how long,...their attitude seemed to be that the less heard of the Indians the better. (p. 98)

Almost twenty years later Andre Renaud, O.C., chairman of the Indian and Northern Education Program at the University of Saskatchewan, in an article published in the Northian Newsletter (December, 1971) states that

because of the transfer of education programs for Indian people from Indian to non-Indian sector, there has been failure.

Consequently, of all the social groups in Canada, the descendants of our first Canadians are the worst off economically, politically, culturally and in every other way. They and their ancestors are the least known and appreciated. Only six percent of their children go beyond grade ten and only a fraction of one percent reaches university. (pp. 2-3)

In short, the British North America Act, versions of the Indian Act and the Treaties provide the skeletal outline for the administration of Indian Education in Canada. Since 1951 the Federal Government has entered into agreements with the provinces and Territories so that the latter provide educational services. The forgotten agency is the Indian people. The documented failure of most previous attempts at schooling for natives makes the search for new solutions imperative.

Indian Participation in Decision Making in Education

Carriere (1966) in his study to determine attitudes of Indian parents toward existing education systems in Saskatchewan found that:

It appears from the collected data that education is an institution of the non-Indian society, governed and controlled by same, but one that the Indian community accepts in order to survive within the larger society. (p. 30)

Lawton (1970), in his study of the attitudes of Dogrib parents at Rae-Edzo, Northwest Territories, also found (pp. 85-86) that the school was viewed as a Euro-Canadian institution by the Indians and that although the Dogrib parents realized that it was important to learn the English language they did not fully appreciate the value of education and, in fact, resented formal education because it was a threat to the preservation of their native culture. The Dogribs also mistrusted the government officials and the teachers and hoped that the latter would eventually

gain some understanding of the Dogrib ways.

Probably the most extensive work ever done in Indian Education in Canada was the research edited by Hawthorne (1967). In two volumes, he analyzed all the problems associated with Indian Education and a major portion of that study covered the alienation of the Indian parents from the schools. The study found that this sense of alienation seemed to be prevalent throughout the generations:

The sense of alienation among Indian youth seems to be traceable through the generations. The very elderly people have perceived the change in reserve life, but they are not personally involved in them. The parental generation is not very secure. They have status neither in Indian society nor have they succeeded in non-Indian society. They express bitter feelings about the lack of educational opportunity and decry the lack of employment at the same time as they cling tenaciously to the belief that education will mean employment and a better way of life for their children. At the same time a school generation has already gone and with it has come the realization that schooling did not guarantee employment and that life is not better. (p. 117)

When Sindell and Wintrob (1969) looked at cross-cultural education in the north, they stated that one reason for northern schools not adequately responding to local conditions is due to the administrative structure and the lack of parental involvement in making decisions concerned with education. Some of the other reasons covered native content and teacher training, both under investigation in this study.

...Indians and Eskimos, because of their minority status, have had little or no authority over the selection of school locations, curricula or personnel. A centralized governmental bureaucracy has controlled the formulation of educational policy and goals, the recruitment of staff and the determination of curricula. Almost all teachers in northern Canada are Euro-Canadians, trained in and for southern Canadian institutions. While often very dedicated, most of these teachers have had no special training for northern living or teaching children in a cross-cultural context. (p. 5)

Renaud, in the Quance Lecture delivered at the University of

Saskatchewan in 1971, stated that because of the major differences between the socio-cultural aspects between the home and the school, the parents do not give positive reinforcement to the values, cultures and languages taught in the school. Wintrob and Sindell (1969) noted that although the parents wish that their children would learn the English language and attend school for a few years in order to have better opportunities for employment, they are "opposed to prolonged education because of its negative effects upon their children" (p. 7).

A study of the Sioux adolescents in South Dakota by J. Bryde (1966) concluded that there were severe identity conflicts among children in the eleven to sixteen year age group. These findings and conclusions are very similar to those of the Wintrob-Sindell studies in Canada. It is important that we understand the conflict that youth encounter if they decide to continue their education in order to compete in the urban-industrial society and decide to accept schooling as a means of advancing into the competitive world, against the parent's wishes, or without support from the parents. Severe identity conflicts for the children are the sure result.

The studies and writings of Carriere, Lawton, Hawthorn, Sindell and Wintrob, Renaud and Bryde, with one voice, emphasize the need for parental participation in both the administration and the day to day reinforcement of what goes on in the school. Unless that participation is obtained, the efforts of the school is doomed to failure.

Local Control of Indian Education

Since the Indian Act was revised in 1951, there has been evidence of transfers from Ottawa control of education to the provinces and the two

territories. On April 1, 1969 control of education was transferred from Ottawa to the new capital of the Northwest Territories at Yellowknife for the Western Arctic and one year later this administrative transfer was made for the Eastern Arctic. Mr. B. C. Gillie, Director of Education, stated in the Annual Report of the Commissioner of the Northwest Territories (1968): "With the establishment of [the] Territorial Government in Yellowknife, the aim of bringing the responsibility of education closer to the people concerned has been realized" (p. 52).

Many experts have researched the control of education. Dr. Lipset, Professor of Government and Social Relations at Harvard University, is considered to be one of the foremost authorities on local control of education. He believes in a variation of local control of education. The central debate waged over education has seen evidence presented for centralization on one side and arguments for decentralization on the other quarter. Historically, this topic has been studied from different perspectives; the left, which believe that education should be the responsibility of local authorities; and the right, which have advocated centralizing authority and tax revenues in the hands of larger government. Bowers and Associates (1970), in their book Education and Social Policy: Local Control of Education, give insight as to the division of the two schools of thought on local control.

The left has traditionally favoured using government to equalize the distribution of assets and opportunities. The right, therefore have advocated centralizing authority and tax revenues in the hands of larger government units, which in turn can redistribute them to the underprivileged. (p. 22)

Centralization has occurred in most countries around the world.

Bowers (1970) described the decentralization of educational administration before larger School Units were introduced into the provinces.

The price of having 5,000 or more local school boards was inadequate education in many parts of the province, badly trained and poorly paid teachers..., limited facilities and isolation from the larger culture for many children." (p. 35)

In his book, Agrarian Socialism, Lipset (1971) describes the improvements in the school system when larger school units were introduced into Saskatchewan. He concludes that "the local school boards and the like -- all these may encourage participatory democracy and local control -- but few want to pay the economic, cultural and social price" (p. 38).

His solution is somewhere in the middle of centralization and local control. He states that the higher government authorities should not only provide monies, but should set high minimum standards as well. "To professionalize education and raise standards, pressure and higher norms must come from outside the community." He visualizes this becoming a reality through the higher governments providing incentive grants for innovations in school programs and curriculum. The local authorities, on the other hand, should be given as much authority as feasible.

Lipset (1971) claims that local control can also be a very conservative force:

School administrators will be reluctant to experiment, to adopt new methods -- particularly the more costly ones -- if these create political issues. And the smaller the school district and the greater its control by local citizens, the more inhibited the administrator will be. Small articulate groups may veto reforms. (p. 34)

The opposite alternative, complete centralization and control by the federal bureaucracy, has obvious deficiencies where all issues have to be resolved at a central level. A good example of this type of bureaucracy existed with the Department of Indian Affairs in Canada and the Territorial Government in the Northwest Territories.

Clearly, the problem may become severe on either end. The problem tends to resolve itself somewhere in the middle when maximum benefits of federal monies for educational programs are evenly distributed throughout the country and consequently minimize regional economic disparities, while at the same time allowing for local autonomy to develop at the community level. Bowers (1970) states:

On the lower levels of education, however, we still get enormous variations among localities and states and provinces. The property tax ban for schools simply does not permit equalization, and would not even if all communities were equally dedicated to first rate education... (p. 36)

It is apparent that the use of the base of property tax would appear to be too limited for good public education. It would also appear that we have a fight on our hands if we wish to create and maintain good public education systems. Money is the prerequisite for effective action. Bowers (1970) continues the argument for local participation.

If one accepts this type of philosophy, local control could make educational decisions without having to pay for all the shots. This type of philosophy would appear sound, as every community differs in tradition, nationality, ethnic background, sets of values, economic bases, geographic features and social and political structures.

The majority of Indian communities differ significantly from their Canadian counterparts, yet the school generally represents the middle class values of the counterparts and thereby alienates the Native Canadians from the school. The National Indian Brotherhood of Canada realizes this and summarized its position on local control as follows:

Until now, decisions on the education of Indian children have been made by anyone and everyone, except the Indian parents. This must stop. Band Councils should be given total or partial [control], depending on local circumstances, and always with provision for eventual complete autonomy, analogous to that of a provincial or territorial school board vis-a-vis a provincial or territorial Department of Education.

An analysis of cross-cultural education in the north by Sindell and Wintrob (1969) states that one reason for northern schools not adequately responding to local conditions is due to the administrative structure and a lack of parent involvement in making decisions concerned with education. A recent study was done on community-guided education in the Canadian Arctic by Murphy (1973) who pinpoints the culprits even more accurately:

While official directives concerning northern education seem to be promising and sometimes commendable, very often they do not get by the stage of official lip service because of a lack of comprehension from the administrators, the teaching staffs and the concerned populations. (p. 153)

The majority of the programs have been planned, staffed, funded and put into operation without participation on the part of the native child's parents. This form of benevolent colonialism, according to Lawton (1970), had done little to close the gap between the teacher and the student.

Lawton (1970) found that there was a need for the participation of the Indian people in the education decision making process. This study also found that the current attitudes among the Dogrib Indians were such that their children did not receive a great deal of encouragement from parents to pursue their formal education beyond learning the basics of the English language. The school was considered to be an alien institution designed for the Euro-Canadian population.

He also found that most of the opposition to the idea of locally controlled schools came from the transient Euro-Canadians. These people did not consider Fort Rae to be their homes; therefore, they were most anxious

to have their children receive a formal education which would be identical to that available in southern Canada. Since the Territorial Government had always provided that kind of program in northern schools, the Euro-Canadians did not want any changes in the situation.

This study also found that the more permanent Euro-Canadians that were residents of Fort Rae viewed the proposed local innovations for local control by Dogrib people at Edzo as necessary. Their way of life differed from the Dogribs, but they had developed an understanding of the indigenous people that the less permanent counterparts had not. The thinking of the more permanent Euro-Canadians augered well for chances of success at the newly proposed locally controlled school at Edzo.

Another major conclusion of Lawton's study was that an educational program must be carried out among all residents of Fort Rae before the proposed innovations for Edzo were implemented. This was found to be essential for purposes of the local people identifying with the responsibilities as well as the possibilities for a community school being developed at Edzo.

A study done in southern Saskatchewan by Shimpo and Renaud on integrated education identified a lack of involvement in the decision making process by Indian parents as a roadblock to education.

Hawthorn (1968), a work that was commissioned by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development to investigate education of Canadian Indians, found that school committees were limited in finances and responsibilities; however, it also concluded that the "record of school committees in general seem favourable" (p. 42).

The House Standing Committee on Indian Affairs (1971) tabled a report for a school which Indian people could build themselves. This Parliamentary

Report on Indian Education focused on two issues which concerned Indians across Canada. According to Levaque (1970), these were:

- 1) the drive of the federal government to transfer responsibilities in education to the provincial governments; and
- 2) the lack of consultation with Indian parents at all levels of functioning. (pp. 8-9)

This report made one specific recommendation for education committees of Indian people. It was:

That the setting up of education committees continue to be encouraged and that their scope and function be widened in consultation with regional Indian associations and parents, to include a role in improving community attitudes toward education. (pp. 8-9)

A recent policy paper was presented to the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development by the National Indian Brotherhood. Indian Control of Indian Education formulated statements on philosophy, goals, principles and directions which they state must form the foundations of any school program for Indian children. In 1973 the Minister gave official recognition to this policy paper and thereby approved and committed the Department to the implementation of the proposals contained therein. Two suggested goals for Indian education were:

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

A further conclusion of this policy paper is that Indian people are the best judges of the kind of school programs which can contribute to their goals without causing damage to the child.

We must, therefore, reclaim our right to direct the education principles recognized in Canadian society: Parental Responsibility and Local Control of Education, Indian parents must seek participation and partnership with the Federal Government, whose legal responsibility for Indian education is set by the treaties

and the Indian Act. While we assert that only Indian people can develop a suitable philosophy of education based on Indian values adapted to modern living, we also strongly maintain that it is the financial responsibility of the Federal Government to provide education of all types and all levels to all status Indian people, whether living on or off reserves. (p. 3)

If these recommendations are to be carried out there would have to be immediate consultation with Indian people at the local, provincial or territorial and national level. The future of local control of Native education in Canada will be determined by the bureaucratic administrative government and its actions. If we can expect more than lip service from the government at the various levels, it is paramount that governments begin consultation with and involvement of the Indian people immediately.

This philosophy calls for the provision of funds to the local authorities in order that they may choose among a variety of alternatives in programs. Schools are one remaining area where local citizenry is motivated to participate and is able to do so. Participatory democracy at the grassroots level would allow for Native parents to have a voice in the decision making process of education at the community level. This would overcome one of the major roadblocks to Native adults in the involvement of education. It could also aid in the development of an Indian identity of the adolescent, as the curriculum could include the aspects of the Indian culture which the adults choose.

Several Indian communities have implemented the philosophy of local control. Probably the best known native controlled educational centre is the Rough Rock Demonstration School which lies in the centre of the Navaho reserve in Arizona. Roussel (1960), in his doctoral dissertation, found that although Navaho parents initially were no more receptive to formal education than their American Indian brothers throughout North America, a

survey conducted once the school was in operation by Forbes (1968) showed that the parents who had their children attending the school were keenly aware and knowledgeable of the educational programs and objectives of the school. The study of this program in 1967 showed that Navaho parents who did not have children attending the school were not as knowledgeable of the school, its programs and objectives as parents who had children attending the Demonstration School. This research concluded that, "they were very pleased with the community school and that it might be profitable to expend greater efforts and a little more money into the development of the community school project" (p. 168).

Local control gives opportunity to develop leadership among the people. They, in turn, can provide the direction and self-determination so needed in education.

In Lawton's study done at Fort Rae in the Northwest Territories, it was evident from research that Indian parents were not aware of how they might influence the school to include the teaching of Indian cultures, values and languages, but they did want to have some control of the school.

The Indian people wanted to preserve the culture and they saw the school playing a part in the process. They were unaware of the exact role that the school could perform;...but it was evident that the Dogribs definitely wanted a voice in the decision making process in order to have some influence over the changes occurring in their lives and the lives of their children. (p. 86)

The new locally controlled school became a reality at Edzo and the Dogrib Indian parents were given the opportunity of controlling the school. Initially they planned the Jimmy Bruno School and family hostel and later controlled the finances and hired all personnel who were involved with the educational programs and its facilities. By 1976 they had successfully completed their fifth year of administration.

In summary, both schools are examples of what can be done through consultation and co-operation between the Indian parents and those in charge of education. An important aspect of local control is to provide real leadership, direction and self-determination in education.

The National Indian Brotherhood states that the Band Council should determine the relationship which should exist between the Band Council and the school committees and that the terms of reference will have to be clearly defined by the Band Council in order that co-operation between the two would be ensured and that local control can become a reality. This Policy Paper (1973) goes on to outline the responsibilities of the local educational authorities and demonstrates that the writers desire for continued development of school committees to a stage where the Band would control funds and educational authority which is necessary for an effective decision-making body. The writers list the essential areas of authority as follows:

1. budgeting, spending and establishing priorities;
2. determining the types of school facilities required to meet local needs, e.g. day school, residence, group home, nursery, kindergarten, high school;
3. directing staff hiring and curriculum development with special concern for Indian languages and culture;
4. administering the physical plant;
5. developing adult education and upgrading courses;
6. negotiating agreements with provincial, territorial or separate school jurisdictions for the kind of services necessary for local requirements;
7. co-operation and evaluation of educational programs both on and off the reserve;
8. providing counselling services. (pp. 6-7)

The Arctic Institute of North America carried out a three month research project edited by Murphy (1973) which was published in three reports. Their research on community guided education was conducted in five Northern Canadian communities, three of which were located in the

Western Arctic, one in Baffin Island and one in Arctic Quebec. They concluded that:

1. In the North, the whole population can be in a state of more or less ignorance, of non-participation, simply because of the way in which the education system is set up.
2. It was evident that northern Native people were interested in having their children initiated through school programs to their own way of life, their own history and their national culture...they saw the community teachers as their representatives vis-a-vis the children, to the cultural identity... an identity that the school, like other structures conceived without their participation, has placed in a seriously threatened position.
3. It seems that generally the project permitted a crystallization of each regular teacher's attitude toward community-guided education.
4. Through the local school committees and community meetings held throughout the project, the Native people showed that they were interested in what went on in the school and that they could effectively contribute to the planning of the school program.
5. The community guided education project has certain value for giving Northern Native children a better knowledge of their cultural heritage and national identity. (pp. 47-50)

Indeed, these conclusions demonstrate that a real commitment to the involvement of Native parents can bring about active participation in the decision making process of educational programs as well as aiding in the development of the Native culture and identity.

The researchers concluded the three projects with an epilogue that pinpoints their main considerations. Some of them are:

1. New initiatives be subject to ongoing evaluation with full participation of all those who take part in the initiatives or are affected by them.
2. Local school committees are a top priority in the opinion of the task force members. No other structure could better ensure the peoples' participation in northern schools education. No more is it possible or acceptable to continue asking Native people to subscribe to an educational policy or adhere to its objectives and validity without their significant involvement and understanding....local committees must be established in each northern community, no matter what its size, according to schedule to be adhered to by all concerned.

pp. 133-34

Policy statements and recommendations for local control of education

have been made by the Department of Education, Government of the Northwest Territories. These are outlined in Survey of Education: 1972, and are summarized below:

1. Those communities which have achieved town status be encouraged to establish school districts within the corporate boundaries.
2. That the communities which show a desire to establish locally elected school boards through a petition of the majority of the electors may be permitted to incorporate such a body.
3. That the existing policies which encourage the establishment and development of local and regional school committees be promoted more extensively. (p. 105)

The author has to agree that the majority of the recommendations made in the survey are commendable; however, with respect to the development of local control of education in towns where the native people are in a minority both in numbers and in socio-political organizations, there is no assurance that native people can have representation on school committees or school boards.

The National Indian Brotherhood quite emphatically stated in the Policy Paper (1972) which had been accepted by the Department of Indian Affairs that:

There must be adequate Indian representation on provincial and territorial school boards which have Indian pupils attending schools in their district or division. (p. 7)

A. Richard King, professor of education at the University of Victoria, in a recent analysis of the Survey of Education (1972) and the Elementary Curriculum Handbook (1972) states: "No great publicity has attended this development; nonetheless it is worthy of a great deal of attention from the rest of Canada" (p. 2).

He analyzed the Department's recommendations for School Ordinances to be amended to allow for local control, to remove compulsory attendance, and for the encouragement of cross-culture educational philosophy as very

promising.

Perhaps a parallel significance at the level of systems is the Northwest Territories' policy to allow for local autonomy in the control of schools, including all phases from establishment of objectives and curriculum to employment of personnel and determination of daily or annual operation schedules. This has begun already and local community variations become immediately operative -- some places alter the annual school year to fit the community subsistence pattern; others offer primary instruction in native language; variables in the infusion of local and native cultures appear; urban vocational and college prep schools increase and broaden their scope. (p. 3)

Should this philosophy be fully instituted in all schools where Native children are in attendance, then indeed the Northwest Territories could be an example for the rest of Canada and the rest of the world.

King demonstrates his knowledge of cross-cultural education and the problems encountered in the attempts to develop true integration when he states, "Opposition and rejection may be expected, both within the education group and among a powerful set of the immigrant community." He also reflects his understanding of this latter's thinking:

The former has a great vested interest in the training, the programs and the system which form their own occupational qualifications; the latter (the new exploiters) generally do not commit themselves to a lifetime in the north and tend to want a replication of the southern provincial school systems for their own children so there will be as little change as possible when they manage to become sufficiently affluent to 'go outside' again. Neither of these groups, nor both together, constitute a majority of the territorial population; but they exist and have relatively strong voices. (1972, p. 1)

The Man in the North project edited by Murphy (1973) also states that the administrators must make real attempts at developing local control of education.

Indeed the supreme power that is in fact vested in the non-elected local and regional white administrators very often leads them to arbitrarily stop, modify or delay any initiatives, even if endorsed by the people concerned. With the introduction of real School Committees, their administrative behavior would cease to depend solely upon their own unquestioned and often highly sub-

jective motivations, and instead by in control of elected representatives of the people. (p. 154)

There are a number of reasons for the present lack of representation of Native parents in the larger communities within the Northwest Territories. Two major roadblocks would appear to be the negative attitudes of the Euro-Canadians toward integrated education, and the lack of real commitment by educational administrators in initiate democratic participation at the grassroots level.

The researchers at the Indian and Northern Education program at the University of Saskatchewan submitted a proposal for the development of the school at Rae-Edzo to the Territorial Department of Education in 1969. Their prediction at that time proved to be true, "that the most successful school programs would be those that are the creation of the community -- not created by us or other professionals" (p. 8).

This proposal made suggestions that the school could carry out intensive experimentation and demonstration which were implemented into the school programs and facilities. These are valid for any cross-cultural situation and are proposed by authorities in inter-cultural education.

1. School-community integration and parental involvement.
2. Cultural identification and revitalization.
3. Home and School visitation, exchange and co-operation.
4. Language development and teaching English as a second language.
5. Native language learning.
6. Pre-service and in-service staff training and orientation.
7. Pre-school, adult and community education.
8. Community development.
9. Dormitory living.
10. Guidance and counselling.
11. Auxillary services, such as evaluation, recreation, art, finances, social work and school learning materials centre.
12. Curriculum development. (p. 8)

Not only do researchers, the government of the Northwest Territories, the Arctic Institute of North America and the National Indian Brotherhood

agree that there must be Indian participation in decision making, but the Territorial Metis Association, Indian Brotherhood and Tree of Peace have declared themselves in no uncertain terms. A good example is the Tripartite Education Committee's presentation to the Northwest Territories Teachers' Association assembly in Yellowknife. The authors of the document list their reasons for demanding Indian participation in educational decision making. The document is included in Appendix D.

In summary, the federal government has not been committed to its responsibilities for Indian education as outlined in Treaties with the Indian Band Councils. There has been no real commitment toward consultation or involvement of Indian people in the decision making process which affects their children through education. The school is viewed by Indian parents as an alien institution.

The writings of Lipset and Bowers outline the advantages and disadvantages of centralized versus local control. The National Indian Brotherhood places itself squarely on the side of local control with other agencies providing the wherewithall. Sindell and Wintrob, Lawton, Shimp and Renaud, Hawthorn and the Watson Report all place themselves in the same league. Rough Rock and Rae-Edzo demonstrate that local control is feasible. The National Indian Brotherhood Policy Paper, The Man in the North Policy Project, The Survey of Education, 1972, Richard King, The Elementary Handbook and the researchers of the Indian and Northern Education Program in the Rae-Edzo proposal all detail ways in which local control could be brought into actuality.

Native Curriculum Content

Perhaps the most significant advancement in Indian Education is the

current attention being given to building curricula that are culturally relevant. The National Indian Brotherhood assert the importance of developing such materials and programs. They state that "unless a child learns about the forces which shape him: the history of his people, their values and customs, their language, he will never really know himself or his potential as a human being" (Policy Paper, 1972, p. 9).

The content that the child learns in school and his whole school experience should reinforce and contribute to the image he has of himself as an Indian. The National Indian Brotherhood Policy Paper (1972) makes several recommendations for improving inter-cultural education instruction in schools. These are summarized as follows: appointing native people to curriculum staffs, the removal of textbooks or other teaching materials which are negative, biased and inaccurate, augmenting Indian content in curriculum to include courses in social sciences etc.; co-operating with Indian people in developing Indian studies' programs at all levels; and eliminating the use of I.Q. and standardized tests for Indian children (p. 10).

The policy paper also states that it is imperative that in addition to helping Indian children learn about their culture and heritage, programs should provide opportunities for non-Indian pupils to gain more accurate perception of Indian people and their contributions to the nation as well as to combat the stereotyped images that are perpetuated.

The curriculum handbook, Elementary Education in the Northwest Territories, also outlines the need for teachers to guard against unnecessary propagation of Euro-Canadian values.

The white anglo-saxon atmosphere of the average classroom can be very real. Virtues such as getting ahead, acquisition of material goods -- applying oneself to a task in the hope of future awards --

virtues which we ourselves question in today's society -- can be ingrained in the Euro-Canadian society. (p. 7)

The core of Indian values that are different from Euro-Canadian and dominant culture American societies have been documented by a number of researchers: Elementary Education in the Northwest Territories (1972), Forester and Little Soldier (1975), Kehoe (1975), and Zintz (1970). All agree that there are basic differences between the two cultural groups. The following comparison table is used to present the values from each society in Elementary Education in the Northwest Territories (1972, pp. 7-8).

EURO-CANADIAN

Man must harness and cause the forces of nature to work for his benefit.

Man lives in the present and uses the present to prepare for improvement in the immediate future.

All men should strive to climb the ladder of success. In this sense success can be measured by a wide range of superlatives: first, the most, the best, etc.

Success will come from hard work and will be measured by material possessions, the extent to which one can command others to work for him, etc.

People should save for the future: "A penny saved is a penny earned," "take care of the dollars and the pennies will look after themselves."

ATHAPASKAN-ESKIMO

Nature will provide for man if he will live in harmony with it and obey its laws.

Life is concerned with the here and now. Accepting nature in its seasons, we shall get through the years, one at a time. If the things I am doing now are good, doing these same things all my life will be good.

The influence of the elders is important. Young people lack maturity and experience. A man seeks perfection within himself -- not in comparison with others.

Man should work to satisfy present needs. Accumulating more than one needs is selfish.

Share freely what you have. One of the greatest virtues is giving. "He who has plenty while others are in need is shamed."

EURO-CANADIAN

Life is orderly and regulated by clock times. Punctuality is vital for the operation of organizations in an industrialized economy.

Change is a progress and progress is essential. Therefore, change is accepted as the norm and man must strive to achieve continuous change.

There is a scientific explanation for all events and all behaviours.

It is necessary to be aggressive and competitive in order to attempt to go ahead.

Each individual shapes his own destiny. Self-realization is limited only by individual capacities to excel and achieve.

ATHAPASKAN-ESKIMO

Time is always with us and there is time available to do all things, if not now then later. Of what value is promptness if people are not ready?

The old ways may be followed with confidence and respect. Change should be approached cautiously and treated with respect.

Folk lore, mythology, the supernatural, magic may be used to provide adequate explanations for some behaviours and events.

It is preferable to remain submerged within the group until such times as one's specific skills and/or assistance is called for. There is no need to seek overtly to lead or attempt to dominate.

The group is more important than any individual.

The Elementary Curriculum Handbook also has very valid suggestions for building on the strengths that the child brings with him to the school. The implication is that the teacher must determine the child's strengths prior to developing the learning program.

Further to the above, the handbook is divided into specific subject areas and contains some excellent guidance in subjects such as art, kindergarten, language arts, mathematics, outdoor education, physical education, science and social studies. The underlying importance of teaching

from the known to the unknown is continuously repeated and the concept of using the environment and involving the native people in the education program is inherent in the philosophy outlined therein.

The Survey of Education (1972), Department of Education, Government of the Northwest Territories, outlines objectives and goals for inter-cultural education. The objectives are similar to those of the National Indian Brotherhood in the Policy Paper. A summary of the recommendations is as follows:

- To develop in all students an appreciation of the folklore, legends, history and art of the Canadian society.
- To develop in students a greater awareness of the Inuit, Indian and Metis contributions in the growth of the Northwest Territories and rest of Canada through a study of history.
- To study the role of the Indian treaties in the history of the native peoples in Canada and the present day implications of such treaties.
- To study the aboriginal claims of non-treaty indigenous people. (p. 13)

Teaching in the native language. One of the most difficult components of inter-cultural education is that of teaching in the mother tongue during the primary years of education. Gillie (1972) makes one specific recommendation in the Survey of Education for the development of programs for teaching in the native language during the primary years of education.

It is recommended that the School ordinance be amended to permit the use of Eskimo [Inuit], French and Indian languages and languages of instruction in the primary levels. (p. 30)

Other specific recommendations describe the need for the teaching of the native language in the school because of its important role in preserving culture and language.

The Elementary Education Handbook (1972) recognizes the difficulties of diagnosing the language of the child from the major subdivisions of Athapaskan Indian and the Inuit languages; and, moreover, the importance

of recognizing that within each language there are dialect differences.

Suffice to say that because of the complexity of the language situation a considerable measure of responsibility rests with the school and the settlement to develop their approach to languages in terms of the needs and conditions of their community and its children. (p. 80)

The Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (1969) states that, "First members of non-British, non-French cultural groups should have the opportunity to maintain their own language and culture within the education system" (Vol. IV, p. 138). There are, however, educators who are not convinced that native people should have the right to be educated in the mother tongue if they so chose.

Kjolseth (1973), in Bilingualism in the Southwest, asserts that:

The relevant issue today is not simply monolingual vs. bilingual education, but more essentially what social goals will serve the needs of the majority of ethnic group members and what integrated set of program design features will effectively realize them? (p. 16)

The total effect which schooling has on the community is not thoroughly understood. To take one perhaps unusual example of this, Wolcott (1967) points out in his book on education in an Indian community on northern Vancouver Island that the closing down of the school took away the very reason for continued existence of the village and it was abandoned.

In summary, Forester and Little Soldier, Kehoe, Zintz, the Department of Education, and Kjolseth all depict the importance of giving equal representation to the native Canadian and Euro-Canadian history, values and cultural attributes in curriculum materials and programmes of study. The importance of culturally relevant materials, factual knowledge about the native heritage, their cultural contributions to the development of the North American society can not be ignored and must be taught. It is imperative that, in order to develop cultural pride and self-esteem, the

Indian content must be included in inter-cultural educational programs if these schools are to be more than a Euro-Canadian institution.

Home-School Relationships

Kneller (1965) identified the importance of parental identification and involvement in his book Educational Anthropology: An Introduction. He states that if the school can interest the parents in their children's education, it has gone a long way toward overcoming cultural differences. Teachers and administrators must gain the confidence of parents who regard the school merely as another alien power, alienating their lives. (p. 130)

Hawthorn (1968) found that one of the major problems associated with Indian Education was that the school programs did not reflect the needs of our first Canadians -- the Indians. He asks if we can expect the native parents to reinforce at home what the school teaches unless the school meets the desires of the native parents. He further states that it is a right of Indian parents to retain their culture and emphasizes that by having the schools teach the Indian values, language and all aspects of the Indian way of life is one method of preserving culture. "The right of Indians to educate implies that school programs for them must enable them to progress and develop while maintaining their own identity" (p. 166).

Lawton (1970) in his study of Dogrib parental attitudes toward education in Fort Rae found that there was a need for the improvement of home-school relationships and the participation of the Indians in the educational decision making process. This study also found that the native parents wished that their children would learn the skills necessary for survival in the forests surrounding the community and included the skills

of hunting and trapping animals (p. 11).

Carriere (1966) found that although Indian parents were in favour of formal education for their children, they would not actively support it because the school did not reflect their way of life. He summarized the findings of the study as follows:

...education, whether or not a part of their cultural system, is necessary; parents desire a system which allows children to remain within a family structure and therefore a Reserve system; education at this point appears to be an institution imposed upon them and as yet not integrated, nor understood, into their way of life. (p. 32)

The Elementary Education Curriculum Handbook (1972) of the Department of Education, Government of the Northwest Territories, outlined the need of schools to take into consideration the cultures and aspirations that the people have for their school. "The important thing to realize is that education must be sensitive and responsive to the aspirations people have for their school and the quality of education offered to their children" (p. 6).

The curriculum proposed by the Department can not be effective without the involvement of the people from the homes. It specifically calls for:

The involvement of Northern people in the classroom program is a vital necessity. The type of curriculum as outlined herein simply will not be effective without drawing upon the talents of settlement resource people. In a cross cultural setting, co-operative learning situations which involve the fully certified teacher and the uncertified lay person in a team teaching arrangement can do much to realize the aims and objectives of northern education. (p. 10)

This document further elaborates on the methods of bringing the community resource people to the school. Such resource people may be volunteers; they may be contract employees; or they may be hired through casual funds. Regardless of the manner of involvement that is appropriate to their needs,

the language, cultural, outdoor environmental skills, arts and craft skills that can be brought to bear and included within the regular school program will greatly enhance the overall effectiveness and value of the learning situation (p. 11).

The research conducted by the Arctic Institute of North America, edited by Murphy (1973), agrees that the process of the local school adopting new approaches that will take into account the special nature of the native environment in the Canadian North and, in fact, the process has started in the Northwest Territories:

But the practical involvement of the community at large in the school system has not yet found a systematic way to express itself, especially in the Western Arctic and in northern communities where the white population is particularly large.
(p. 8)

The Man in the North Task Force (1973) on education set up some precise criteria to judge the success of any formula implemented. These criteria were:

- to give northern native children, through the school, a better knowledge of their history, of their forefathers, and of the culture
- to stimulate northern native school children's pride in what they are
- to increase the interest of the local community in the school
- to encourage the local native residents to become involved in planning, implementing and assessing school curriculum programs
- to enhance the interest of school staff in community guided education (p. 9)

Johnson (1968) in his book Navaho Education at Rough Rock depicts the kind of participation by teachers which can be advantageous to the home and the school.

The teachers...visit the home of each pupil at least twice a year accompanied by a child and usually an interpreter, they discuss the child's school work with the parents. Roussel also encourages each non-Indian teacher to live with a family in a hogan or one of the small houses for a week. (p. 41)

The importance of teachers establishing good relationships with the homes is emphasized in the Elementary Education in the Northwest Territories (1972).

School-community interaction becomes exceedingly difficult when the teacher lives in one compound and the settlement people live elsewhere. In too many settlements it is possible for teachers to go back and forth to work each day and literally never set foot in the real community in which they live. This cocoon-like existence only lends substance to the unreality of education. Teachers have to cross the invisible barriers if any sort of dialogue with their community is to be established. (p. 12)

In summary, Kneller, Hawthorn, Lawton, Carriere, the curriculum philosophy of the Department of Education, and the Man in the North writers all demonstrate the need for the school to interest the community members to actively participate with the aspects of program development and instruction in the school. The necessary process of incorporating the culture, language, values and lifestyle of the people in the school programs will bring fruition. The home will support a school philosophy that considers the parents' aspirations for the education of their children .

Johnson and the Department of Education's philosophy emphasized the importance of the teachers going to the homes for purposes of demonstrating to the Indian parents that they are concerned and interested in the education of each native child. The necessary dialogue, involvement and participation would seem to be paramount in inter-cultural education.

Teacher Training for Intercultural Education

A number of studies have been conducted on the problems of the high rate of school dropouts. Although there is not a complete consensus on the cause of the problems, several studies have concluded that the students' poor self-image and personal esteem are directly linked to the problem.

Bryde (1970), in a scholastic failure and personality conflict study, found that validating the native culture and heritage was essential for purposes of developing personal identity and self-esteem. Wintrob and Sindell (1969) found serious identity conflict in Indian students from the Misstassini region of Ontario and Quebec. The researchers give several reasons for this problem:

1. the negative attitudes of many of these teachers toward the cultural patterns in Indian communities they serve;
2. the failure of the schools to adapt to meet the needs of the community;
3. the lack of special training for teachers in northern communities; and
4. the dearth of indigenous teachers. (p. 16)

Bryde (1970), Honigman (1965), Lawton (1970), Schalm (1968), Survey of Education (1972), and Zintz (1969) make similar recommendations from their findings when they studied Indian and Inuit education from different perspectives.

There is no doubt in the minds of the majority of the scholars who are involved in native education that we should "Indianize the schools," by placing Indian classroom teachers and administrators in schools where inter-cultural education is in operation.

Kaltsounis (1972) presented his views in the following manner:

The best way to begin to Indianize the schools is to penetrate them with qualified Indian teachers. These teachers will be able to create a school atmosphere in which Indian children will feel comfortable. They will be able to persuade more Indian children to stay in school and through education lead them to power. The Indian teachers will be able to stand up for the rights of Indian parents and achieve closer co-operation between school and community. They will know Indian history and culture and will be able to not only include it in curriculum guides but to teach it with respect and purpose. (pp. 291-293)

During the last fifteen years major changes have occurred in program development for training teachers in inter-cultural education. Undergra-

duate Indian studies have been organized at several universities across Canada; however, the majority of the teachers who are presently teaching natives are Euro-Canadians. Very few have instruction in inter-cultural education. Levaque (1972) states that:

Only a small percentage, probably less than 15% of the teachers working for the Education Branch, and if anything a lower percentage in the provincial system, have specialized training in the teaching of Indian and Eskimo children, in acculturation problems or have any background training in anthropology. Probably less than 10% of the primary grade teachers teaching Indian and Eskimo children in federal and provincial systems have any knowledge of the maternal language of the children they are introducing into the educational system. (pp. 8-10)

Renaud, in an address delivered at Brandon University entitled The University and the First Canadians, emphasized that mature entrance status provided means of young Indians entering university.

Indian studies are being organized at Trent, Rochdale, Saskatoon and your university (Brandon). Brandon, in particular, has taken the lead last year in making university resources more accessible to young Indian adults who did not have the normal university entrance requirements. (pp. 2-3)

The Northwest Territories Teacher Training Program was initiated at Yellowknife in September of 1968, even before the transfer of responsibility of education was made from Ottawa to Yellowknife. This was a one year experimental program and the graduates were given positions in classrooms in where, hopefully, the majority of the people were receptive to these new teachers and where the cultural background of the teacher was similar to that of the community. These 13 teachers proved to their professional colleagues and to the Department of Education that they were capable of teaching and consequently, in September of 1970, the program continued with a new group of 18 northern teacher trainees. At the end of two years of training at Fort Smith and at the University of Alberta in Edmonton, these people were granted an interim Northwest Territories

Teacher's Certificate. Recommendation 148 of Survey of Education, Northwest Territories (1972) states that the "Department should continue and expand and improve the Northwest Territories Teacher Education Program" (p. 78).

The second seminar of Man in the North edited by Murphy (1973) of the Arctic Institute of North America summarized the need for native teachers in the following way:

At present in the North, the basic problem in education is that of interesting native teachers in and getting them into schools especially at the primary levels. It is a well known fact in education that it is in these primary grades that a child learns to express himself freely, which is more important than the amount of knowledge that can be gained. One of the most important factors, therefore, is the native language which allows this clear expression. At present, there are very few full-time native teachers at these crucial levels when in fact every primary position should be filled by them. (p. 101)

The Policy Paper (1972) of the National Indian Brotherhood states:

The Federal Government must take the initiative in providing opportunities in every part of the country for Indian people to train as teachers....The need for native teachers is critical...qualifications of teachers and counsellors of Indian children should include required courses in Indian history and cultures. As far as possible, primary teachers in Federal, provincial or territorial schools should have some knowledge of the maternal language of the children they teach. (p. 29)

The House Standing Committee (1971) stated the following when they analyzed the teacher training section of the National Indian Brotherhood's Policy Paper:

13. That Canadian universities and colleges be encouraged to initiate university and college courses both at the undergraduate and post graduate levels in Indian studies including Indian history, culture, language, anthropological studies relating to the aboriginal peoples of North America, guidance counselling, community and social work studies, giving special attention to the Indian, Eskimo and Metis peoples of Canada.
14. That the primary objective should be the setting up of additional teacher training and teacher assistant programs.

15. That consideration be given to providing additional resources to Indian and Eskimo organizations in particular, earmarked for the specific purpose of encouraging parental involvement in education and fostering more positive community and home attitudes toward education. (p. 9)

It would seem that the policy of training teachers at the community levels where parents may become involved in the process of identifying and participating in education is becoming a reality. The Man in the North three month experiment proved that it could happen; Brandon University is presently in its second year of operation and Northern Saskatchewan will have a program in operation in September of 1976.

The importance of initiating programs of teacher instruction at the community level is summarized by Murphy (1973) in the following manner:

It is more important to suggest, without neglecting the essential aspect of consultations, that new initiatives be subject to ongoing evaluations with full participation of all those who take part in the initiatives or are affected by them. Such evaluations have become the real challenge of the second phase in the northern education revolution, a phase that consists in bringing the school to the people instead of considering it as a laboratory for the elite. (p. 153)

Both the Department of Education, Government of the Northwest Territories and the Northwest Territories Teachers' Association recognize the importance of inter-cultural teacher instruction for Euro-Canadian teachers. This has been policy, or at least recommendations for policy, since the Survey of Education was formulated in 1972. Gillie (1972) states that inservice training as well as orientation for teachers new to the north is important. Recommendation number 154 of the Survey of Education states:

Other things being equal, preference should be given to teachers who have Intercultural Northern Teacher Training or who have experience teaching in intercultural situations. (p. 79)

Recommendation number 169 mentions the importance of university

courses that deal directly with concerns of northern education.

The Department of Education should encourage Canadian Universities to establish summer school programs in all aspects of northern teaching. At the same time, the possibility of establishing such courses in a northern setting should be investigated. (p. 84)

Orientation for teachers new to the north is covered in recommendation number 176 and states that:

The Department of Education should expand its present orientation programmes for teachers on initial appointment. Negotiations with a university should develop a three-week credit course with emphasis on inter-cultural considerations which are so important for teachers who are coming north for the first time.

Attendance at this course would be a condition of employment. (p. 86)

The Northwest Territories Teachers' Association recommendations perhaps are more clear and relevant. These include nine specific recommendations as outlined in the Survey of Education (1972). In summary,

- that every new teacher be given a special orientation course prior to teaching in the Northwest Territories. The first part of this course would familiarize the new teacher with the many problems [cultural, educational, etc.] involved in northern education. It would be most desirable if a university would provide this section of the orientation. The remainder of the orientation should be provided in the community or region where the teacher is to be located....The whole orientation process would require at least a month.
- that the Northwest Territories make every effort to hire teachers who have received their training from a university which offers a northern oriented teacher training programme such as that offered by the University of Saskatchewan.
- that a comprehensive In-service training programme be developed to provide special training which cannot be obtained through normal sources. That school time be provided for this type of training.
- that the "professional isolation" which a teacher faces in the Northwest Territories be overcome through frequent trips to conferences and workshops both in and outside the Northwest Territories.
- that accommodation and training be provided for classroom assistant, as long as they are needed.
- that pre-service bursaries be available to prospective teachers to take their teacher training in northern oriented courses such as that offered by the University of Saskatchewan.

- the ideal of the community teacher is good. (pp. 206-211)

Bryde, Gillie, Wintrob and Sindell, Honigman, Lawton, Schalm, Zintz, Kaltsounis and Renaud all list the reasons for the need of native teachers. Such programs as the Northwest Territories Teacher Education Program demonstrate the feasibility of developing programs to encourage native people to enter the teaching profession. The recommendations of the Survey of Education, the National Indian Brotherhood, Man in the North Project, Standing Committee of House of Commons on Indian Affairs and Northern Development and the Northwest Territories Teachers' Association all provide a wealth of advice on the preparation of the "better equipped" teachers for northern schools.

Chapter III

Background of the People

The Northwest Territories is one of the most fascinating areas of Canada for many reasons. Some of the most intriguing features of this vast land are the complexity of the cultures coupled together with the educational, political, social and economic development of the people.

The land mass of the Northwest Territories is one and a third million square miles and approximately thirty thousand citizens inhabit this gigantic last northern frontier. The combined native people total slightly over fifty percent of the population. The aboriginal native residents are Inuit (Eskimo), Athabaskan Indians (Dene) and Metis. Individually any one of these ethnic groups is definitely a minority (Annual Report, Department of Information, 1975).

The finances of the territorial government continue to be controlled by the federal government in Ottawa and in that respect the Northwest Territories are still very much a colony and do not have equal status to the provinces south of the 60th parallel. In one aspect the territorial government does have a great deal of autonomy; this is specifically in the ability to legislate. Some interesting developments have recently occurred in the Department of Education. The curriculum philosophy has been developed and includes an inter-cultural philosophy of education. This curriculum requests that equal emphasis be placed on the values, customs and cultures of both the Euro-Canadians and Native Canadians. A more radical component of the elementary curriculum proposes that where ever the majority of the children in school speak one of the Athabaskan

Indian languages or Inuktitut, the instruction should be in that language during the primary years or for the first three years of the child's education.

The elementary handbook for Curriculum Development, Elementary Education in the Northwest Territories (1972), describes this philosophy of teaching in the native language.

One of the most important strengths the child may bring to the classroom setting is his capability in terms of his mother tongue. In those settlements wherein the mother tongue is the language of common currency the learning program at the kindergarten through grade three levels is to be carried on in the mother tongue with English being introduced gradually, and specifically taught as a second language. (p. 3)

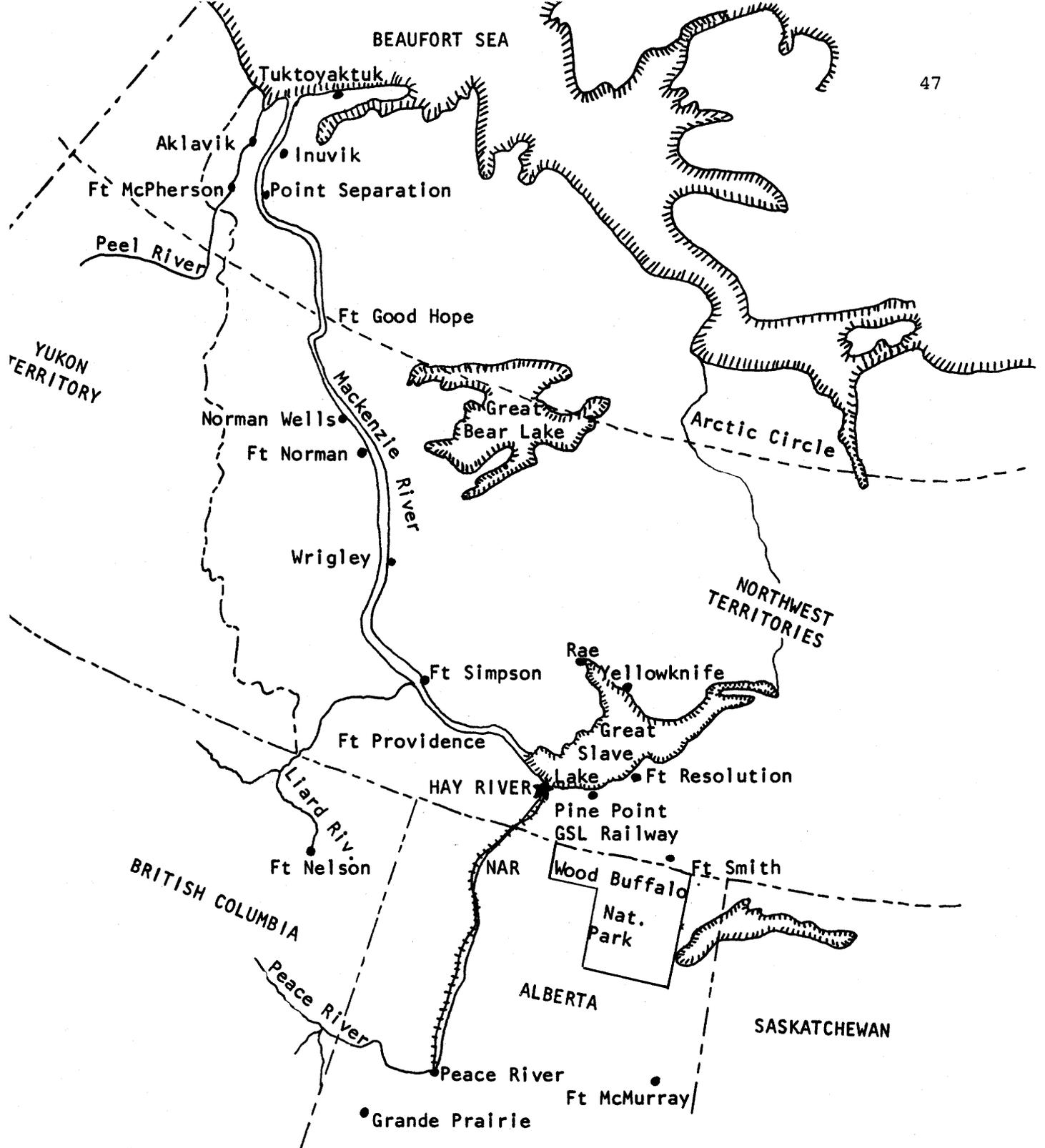
The educational philosophy proposed by the Department has been accepted and steps have been taken to adopt this philosophy in the kindergarten classrooms only in the smaller, more isolated, predominantly native communities. This is especially true of the Inuit communities where the dominant culture is Euro-Canadian. The best examples of these larger Euro-Canadian centers are: the city of Yellowknife, the towns of Hay River, Inuvik, Fort Smith and the hamlet of Fort Simpson in the western Arctic and Frobisher Bay in the eastern Arctic.

Site: Hay River

The town of Hay River is situated at the termination of the Hay River on the southern shore of the Great Slave Lake, some seven hundred miles north of Edmonton, Alberta on the Mackenzie Highway, or 40 miles north of the 60th parallel which is the southern boundary of the Northwest Territories.

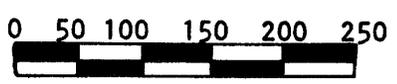
The People

The two major cultural groups of the town are native and Euro-Canadian.



MAP 1

REGIONAL SETTING
HAY RIVER



The dominant culture of the town is definitely Euro-Canadian. The native ethnic groups are Slavey Indian and Metis.

The latest ethnic statistical breakdown available from the Bureau of Statistics was 1967 and at that time the Inuit who had worked on the Great Slave Lake were residents of the town.

Table 1
Ethnic Origin of Inhabitants
in Hay River

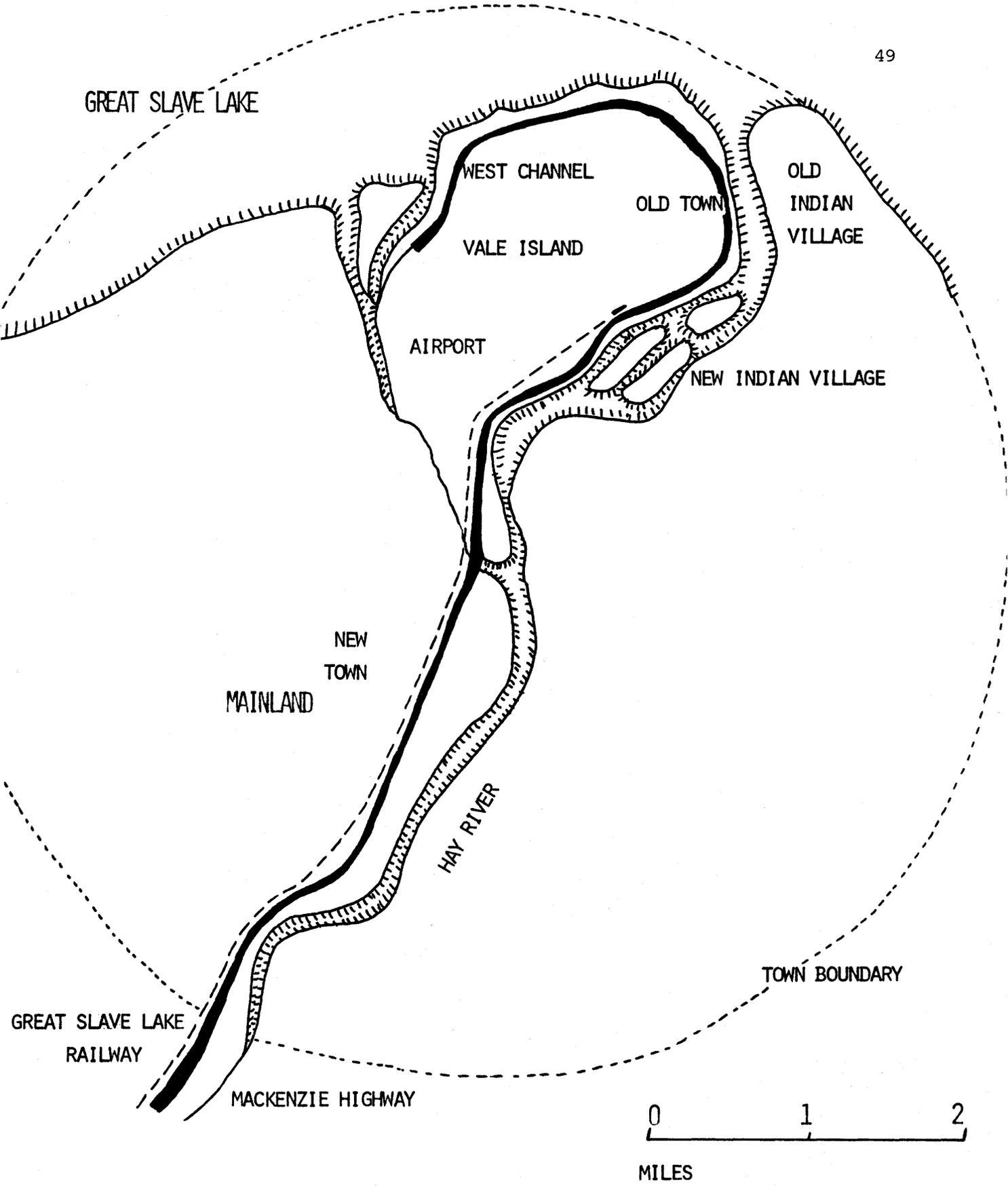
| ETHNIC ORIGIN | NUMBER | PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION |
|-------------------------|--------|--------------------------|
| Treaty Indians | 223 | 11.6 |
| Non Treaty Indians | 145 | 7.6 |
| Inuit (Eskimo) | 25 | 1.3 |
| Metis | 241 | 12.5 |
| Others (Euro-Canadians) | 1,287 | 67.0 |

D.B.S. Manpower Test Survey, 1967
Town of Hay River Office Records
Wallace, 1966

Thirty-three percent of the total population were native. Since 1967 the town of Hay River has grown very rapidly and the ratio of natives to whites has decreased proportionally. The Inuit people have since left the community. The present population of the town is over 3,000 people.

The Town

The delta of the Hay River divides the town. Map 2 demonstrates that the western channel reaches out and encircles Vale Island. There is a bridge across the narrowest point of the western channel. This bridge



MAP 2

TOWN OF HAY RIVER, N.W.T.

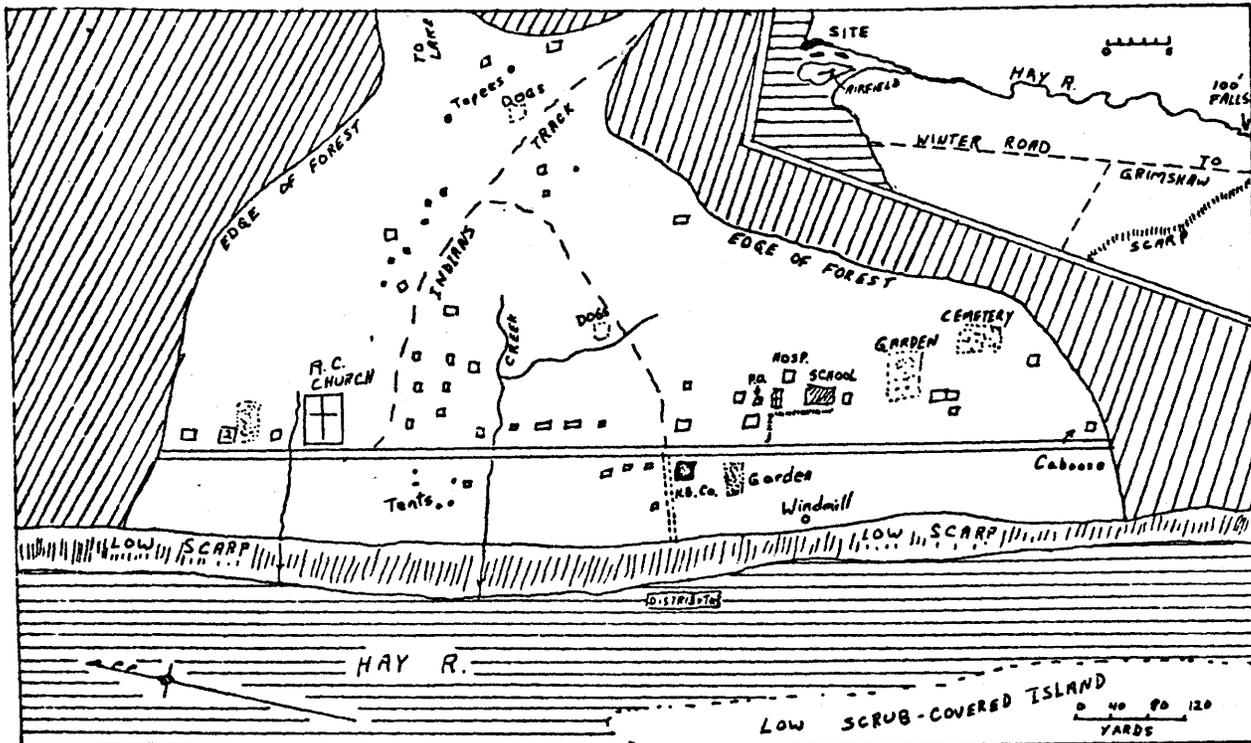
linked the mainland to the island in a south to north direction and provides both rail and highway transportation accessibility to Vale Island.

The main branch of the river continues on in a northeastern direction where it broadens out and encircles three separate small islands before it empties into the Great Slave Lake. As a result, Vale Island is completely surrounded by waters of the river on three sides and by the waters of the Great Slave Lake on the north side. The main branch of the Hay River also divides the new subdivision located on the mainland approximately three miles south of the old townsite on Vale Island from the Indian Village on the eastern shore of the Hay River.

Overview of Development

The history of the development of the town is not unlike other northern settlements in that initial European presence was made for purposes of trading with the Indians. The first contacts made with the Indians were on the east bank of the Hay River where a fort was build at what is presently known as the Old Indian Village. The first permanent Anglican Mission was established in 1893 and this was located in what presently is referred to as the Old Indian Village today. Map 3 demonstrates that there have been many different locations and sections added to the community since that time.

Carney (1971) in his doctoral dissertation, Johns (1973) in his research on the history of the education in Hay River and Fumoleau (1975) on his research into the treaties 8 and 11 found that the first permanent boarding school was opened in the Fort Hay River in 1894 when 40 pupils were enrolled in the day residential school. Although Johns makes reference to Myles' (1965) book, Emperor of the Peace, there is a conflict



A Mackenzie Dooms Day: 1944 by Griffeth Taylor in the Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, Vol. XI, No. 2 (May, 1945), p. 208. Johns, 1971, p. 36

MAP 3

HAY RIVER, 1944

in the dates as Sheridan Lawrence supposedly accompanied Reverend March to the site of Hay River in the spring of 1895 to erect a mission for the Anglican Church. Since Myles based much of her research on the memories of the Lawrence family while the former research was done for purposes of recording history and finding meaning, the year 1894 has been accepted as the more accurate of the two dates mentioned.

The development of the fort continued and students were transported down the Mackenzie River from as far away as Aklavik and the Arctic coast to the Anglican Mission at Hay River and the Roman Catholic Mission at Fort Providence. Johns (1971) and Goller(1971) found from the Sessional papers that these two mission schools were the only permanent schools in operation for a number of years before and after the turn of the century.

A hospital was soon established and an R.C.M.P. barracks was built in 1924 (Annual Report, 1971, p. 2). A Roman Catholic Mission was built in the community. The Anglican Residential School continued to operate until 1938 when the church decided to establish a school nearer the mouth of the Mackenzie River at Aklavik.

In 1944 Hay River was well developed and had the services of a school, two missions, a hospital, the Hudson's Bay Company trading post, an air-field, and a winter road connecting Hay River to Grimshaw, Peace River and points south.

It is interesting to note the absence of an R.C.M.P. post on Map 3 but according to Annual Report of the Government of the Northwest Territories Hay River had an R.C.M.P. post on the east bank of the Hay River as early as 1924.

Sergeant Frank Cook, the first R.C.M.P. officer in Hay River, 1924. The detachment was located on the east side of the Hay River where the Indian village is now located. (p. 2)

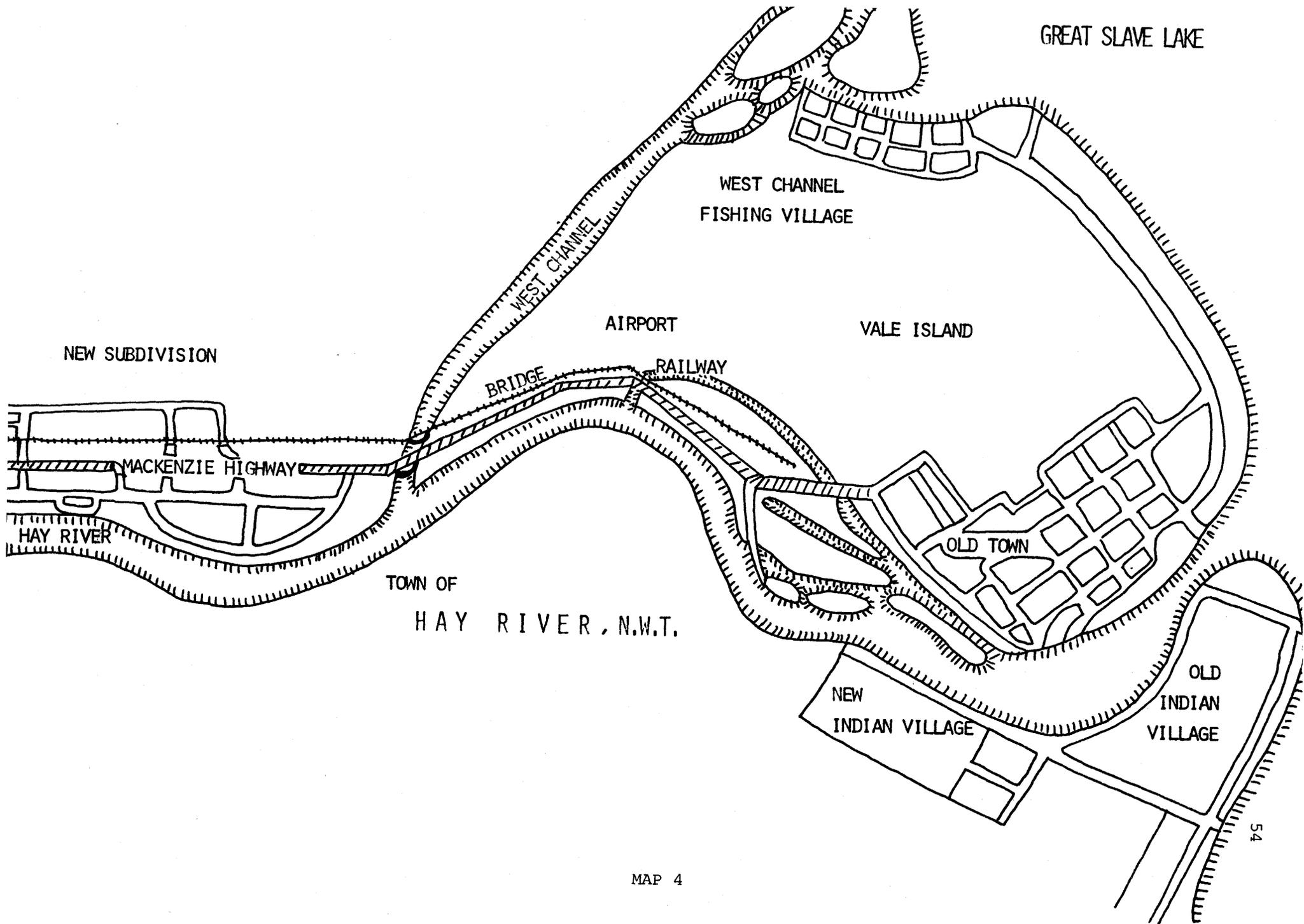
Fumoleau (1975) found that the R.C.M.P. detachment was established in Hay River in 1925. (p. 335)

The move to Vale Island. A decision to build the Mackenzie Highway on the west bank of the Hay River and a bridge across the narrowest point of the west channel were probably the two most influential decisions that hindered the growth of the east bank of the river and gave new importance to Vale Island. It is also interesting to note that the Island was named after Reverend Canon A. J. Vale, a principal of the St. Peter's Mission School for the Anglican Church for over twenty years (Johns, 1973, p. 25).

Map 4 demonstrates the present road system, the Mackenzie Highway that was built in 1948 (Wallace, 1966). The completion of the all weather road from Peace River north to Hay River brought many whites from southern Canada as it was feasible to do commercial fishing. Johns (1971) found that the whites who settled on Vale Island soon petitioned the Indian Affairs Branch for a new school and that a new four-room school was opened in 1949. (p. 37)

The R.C.M.P., nursing station, the Hudson's Bay Company and the churches also relocated on the island and new commercial and private enterprise was established. The village continued to grow at a very fast rate. Wallace (1966) found that since 1948 the total population had grown by five hundred and twelve percent. (p. 33)

The Indian people who lived in the Indian Village were left out of the very heartbeat of the life that the community had to offer in terms of social, economic, political and educational development. Carney (1971) found that the similar segregation of natives and whites occurred in other communities in the north.



Although a central aspect of post war federal northern policy was to integrate indigenous groups into 'national life and activities,' many problems were encountered which frustrated the achievement of this goal. Within the Mackenzie, the white group rose from twenty-eight percent of the population in 1941 to fifty-four percent of the total twenty years later. Differential white movements to settlements like Aklavik or Fort Smith led to the establishment of exclusive white settlement zones, apart from indigenous groups. A similar, if not more marked segregation, occurred in Inuvik. In Hay River and Yellowknife, the main centres of private enterprise, most political and economic activity was limited to the white business section, with the native remaining subject to the usual stereotyping placed upon them by the white majority. (p. 24)

The move to the new subdivision. Due to an ice jam at the forks of the Hay River, the waters overflowed the low banks and completely flooded both Vale Island and the Indian Village. The majority of the citizens were evacuated by aircraft to other northern communities such as Yellowknife, Fort Smith and Fort Simpson. As a result of this disaster, the Minister of Indian Affairs, Arthur Laing, decided that the settlement should be relocated on higher elevation, further upstream from the delta of the Hay River. This decision was reported in the Tapwai Newspaper reports in 1963 as well as in the Hub Newspaper in 1973. Subsidies were provided to businesses that relocated, government houses were relocated and private homes were moved into the new subdivision where planned streets and roads were quickly constructed. Much of the commercial enterprise associated with fishing and barge transportation remained on the island. Soon new homes and business establishments were added in the rapidly growing subdivision. The town planners advised the Town Council to zone all of Vale Island for commercial development. Much of the commercial business was moved to the new subdivision and the government services also gradually moved. There was much reluctance on the part of some residents to relocation and this was especially true of the fishermen who lived in

"West Channel."

The rezoning of the island to an industrial zone encouraged the development of shipyards and dockyards where the Great Slave Railway meets the waters of the Great Slave Lake and the water transportation begins. It is here that the major shipping companies of the western Arctic begin the long barge hauls across the Great Slave Lake and down the Mackenzie River to the Arctic Ocean. The river traffic provides communities adjacent to the Mackenzie River and those on Great Bear lakeshore and on the Arctic coast with annual supplies. Water transportation has greatly increased during the late sixties and early seventies with the advent of exploration for natural gas and oil on the Mackenzie Delta and Arctic coast.

The new Indian village. A new land area was chosen for the establishment of a new Indian village some two miles south of the first Hay River or Old Indian Village site. A new type of low cost housing was developed in the new Indian Village and some Slavey families accepted these small houses; others decided to remain in the old Indian Village. Other low cost housing for native people was built in the late sixties and some families decided to make the move from the old Indian Village to the new subdivision south of Vale Island. There was a great amount of animosity shown toward these particular homes on the part of the native people because of the design of the homes and the crowded condition of the area. This was especially true of the "Disney Land" area which was named by reason of the general crowded appearance of the specific area.

Economic base: The continued growth of the town is dependent primarily on the economic activities which the town supports. Hay River,

unlike many other northern communities, has a broad economic base in that the town is less dependent on government support than other communities. The three major economic activities are transportation, fishing and communication but transportation is paramount.

The town is served by four modes of transportation: highway, rail, air and water. The all weather Mackenzie Highway has many long areas paved north of High Level, Alberta. The Mackenzie Highway separates at Enterprise some 40 miles north of the border and has one arm encircling the Great Slave Lake west to the Mackenzie River where one can cross the river by ferry during the summer or ice bridge during the winter. It then continues on to Fort Providence, Edzo and reaches Yellowknife where the road ends its northern reach. The eastern arm branches out toward Pine Point and extends eastward to Fort Smith. Another branch of the highway system continues on westward from the south side of the river at Fort Providence to Fort Simpson. These systems of the Mackenzie Highway make Hay River the hub of road transportation.

The Great Slave Railway (CNR operated) serves the community of Hay River and extends onward to the lead zinc mines sixty miles to the east of the town of Hay River.

Instrument landing equipment is installed in the new air terminal. The airport has facilities for landing air craft in all types of weather. The runway has been recently extended and can accommodate aircraft as large as a Hercules or Boeing 737. There are presently scheduled daily flights south to Edmonton and north to Yellowknife by Pacific Western Airlines. These services are complemented by several aircraft companies which charter flights.

Northern Transportation Company and Kaps Transportation operate

shipping companies from shipyards located on Vale Island. Both companies have a large fleet of modern vessels and barges operating out of Hay River. Since water transportation continues to be the most economical means of transporting supplies to the Arctic, these companies have experienced a considerable economic boost owing to the recent exploration of non-renewable resources.

The economic thrust experienced by the town has not been experienced by the native people. Table 2 portrays the gloomy truth of the Indian and other minority native group household incomes in 1967. From the table it is evident that those at the lowest end of the economic level are the Slavey Indians with Treaty status. Those earning \$2,000 or less in 1967 were 87.4 percent of the total Indian population whereas only 36.2 percent of the Euro-Canadians were in that same economic bracket.

The skills required for the positions afforded by the town's economic boom are met through the recruitment of southern non-natives. The income levels of the native people is indeed very meagre and almost totally below the level of the poorest of the poor in Canada.

Housing

Previously reference was made to the geographic isolation and the segregation of the Indian from the amenities of the community. In 1967 the housing assessment records show that none of the homes in the Indian Villages had any electricity, telephones, water supply, sanitary sewer services, internal plumbing or central heating. Slavey housing conditions as described by Wallace in 1966 were generally little more than shacks and ramshackled in appearance. Housing has not greatly improved subsequently and if anything it has depreciated in value. Power was supplied

Table 2
Income Levels, 1967

| ETHNIC GROUP | ANNUAL HOUSEHOLD INCOMES (\$) | | | | | | | | | | TOTAL* |
|-------------------|-------------------------------|------|---------------|------|---------------|------|---------------|------|----------------|------|--------|
| | 0- 1999 | | 2000- 3999 | | 4000- 5999 | | 6000- 7999 | | 8000 & OVER | | |
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | & | |
| Treaty Indian | 97 | 87.4 | 11 | 9.9 | 2 | 1.8 | 1 | 0.9 | - | - | 111 |
| Non-Treaty Indian | 32 | 56.2 | 15 | 26.3 | 6 | 10.5 | 4 | 7.0 | - | - | 158 |
| Metis | 60 | 59.3 | 20 | 19.8 | 17 | 16.8 | 3 | 3.0 | 1 | 0.9 | 101 |
| Eskimo | 3 | 37.5 | 1 | 12.5 | 3 | 37.5 | - | - | 1 | 12.5 | 8 |
| Others | 271 | 36.2 | 143 | 19.2 | 149 | 20.0 | 112 | 15.1 | 69 | 9.2 | 744 |
| Total | 463 | 45.3 | 190 | 18.6 | 177 | 17.3 | 120 | 11.8 | 71 | 6.9 | 1021 |

* Total of reported incomes

Source: Dominion Bureau of Statistics Manpower Test Survey, 1967

Town Planners Hay River

to the people of the New Indian Village in 1974.

Of the 44 homes in the Indian Villages in 1969, town records show that only four were assessed at a value of between \$2,501 and \$5,000 and there were no Indian homes at over the \$5,000 value at that time. There were hundreds of homes in both the "old town" and the "new town" that were in the category of \$5,000 and over.

Housing discrepancies between the native and non-native people in the community were and continue to be extreme in value, in services provided and in appearance. Houses in the Indian villages are of a very poor type and very small.

Unemployment

The unemployment rate is the highest for native people of all ethnic groups in Hay River. In the ethnic breakdown of statistics from Statistics Canada in 1967, 62.3 percent of the Treaty Indians were unemployed whereas the "others" group had a very low rate of only 2.4 percent. It should be noted that when this research was conducted (1972) there was a major thrust to employ native people. A private local company was formed called Work Arctic and the Indians provided the necessary labour for menial tasks of clearing bush with axes from the land where the proposed road was to be built south from the Pine Point Highway 12 miles south to the new Indian Village. The purpose of the road was to fulfil a request from the Indian Band Council to have an all weather road linking the villages with the town. This would facilitate medical evacuations, fire services and school buses could have been utilized once the road was constructed.

Education

The new Diamond Jenness Secondary School opened its doors to students in September of 1972 for the first time. This new school was evidently not built for the Indian students from the villages. There is also a very low percentage of native students who attend the school from the town (Personal Observation, 1972). This is ironic because the school was designed by Doug Cardinal, an Indian architect. The school was named in honour of one of North America's most famous outstanding anthropologists, Dr. Diamond Jenness who spent a lifetime observing and documenting native Canadian cultures.

There are a few reasons for a poor representation of Indians in the schools located in Hay River. Perhaps one of the most influential factors is that the total alienation of the native people in general and more specifically the Slavey people's values, culture, and language by the dominant culture.

A lack of an all weather road between the town and the Indian villages certainly contributes to the geographic isolation and alienation of the Indian parents and students from the town of Hay River. Another interesting factor is that Hay River is the only community in the Northwest Territories that has a high school and no residence where students may live while they attend school. As a result, it is the policy of both the Department of Social Assistance and the Department of Education to send students to other northern communities hundreds of miles away from home. Students reside in hostels for ten months of the year while they attend classes.

Since this research was conducted (1972), the Indian Band Council has been actively involved in the development of their own destiny. They have

made demands to the various governments at the federal, territorial and municipal levels. It is important to note here that the land on the east bank of the Hay River has been declared Reserve land for the Hay River Indian Band. This is the first Indian Reserve that has been established in the Northwest Territories. More information on the demands and developments of the Indian Band Council of Hay River is inclosed in Appendix C.

Summary

The town of Hay River is experiencing a rapid growth rate due to its strategic position. It is the distributing centre for the western Arctic. The economic base of Hay River is diversified and much broader than other northern communities which are one economy based, such as government or mining. The town is probably experiencing the fastest growth rate in the Northwest Territories. It is obvious that those who are benefitting from this boom are the multi-national corporations, the large companies and the townspeople who are involved in enterprise. Certainly the native people who live in the Indian Villages or in the town itself are not benefitting from the economic boom.

Geographic, societal, economic and educational isolation have all played a part in the underdevelopment of the Indian Villages especially and to a lesser degree, to all native people who live in the community.

It may be argued that the native people, and especially the elders, chose not to become assimilated into the mainstream of the townlife; but rather chose to maintain their Indian identity, culture, values and community lifestyle. Chief Smallboy and his band who moved off from the Hobbema Band into the foothills in Alberta may be a good example.

Several major plans were made that helped in the alienation of the Indians. Some of the major decisions include the move of facilities and services from the Old Indian Village to Vale Island and the project involved with the development of the new subdivision and relocation of business establishments and residents onto the mainland. Another interesting development was the location of the New Diamond Jenness Secondary School on the mainland and a lack of an elementary school facility for the Indian children and students on the east bank of the Hay River.

Essential to the development of the Slavey people socially, economically, culturally and educationally is the involvement of the people themselves. In order for this to transpire, meaningful consultations must begin with the Slavey so that the parents become involved in the development that will affect their lives and the lives of the children.

Chapter IV

Analysis and Interpretation of Results

Respondents and the Conditions Under Which They Lived

All of the Hay River Slavey parents interviewed had children attending school. Representatives of the ten families were interviewed to determine attitudes towards involvement of parents in school programs, curriculum content, home-school relationships and teacher training. Eight of the parents selected resided in the Indian Village; two others lived in the new subdivision.

The educational background of those interviewed ranged from no formal schooling to grade ten. One interviewee stated that he had only one day of formal schooling. The average level of academic achievement was approximately grade four. Of those who had received formal education, all had attended the mission residential schools at Hay River and/or Fort Providence.

All of the interviewees could carry on a conversation in English with the exception of one individual. In the latter case, the services of an interpreter were required.

All of those interviewed stated that they wished to remain living in Hay River with their families. The following reasons were given for wanting to continue living in Hay River: they had employment or wished to find permanent employment in the town, friends and relatives were living in Hay River, they wanted to live in that community while their children were young and attending school, their homes were in that

community.

The income and consequent standard of living was normally at a subsistence level but was somewhat higher at the time of the interview because six of the men had temporary employment provided by a locally organized company called "Work Arctic." Most were only seasonally employed and had to rely on welfare during some time of the year such as spring break-up when hunting is poor and fishing virtually impossible. Trapping is fading as a means of livelihood as animals are becoming more scarce because of the inroads of the town on animal habitat. Fishing and hunting still provide supplementary food supply for the family.

Government built housing which all respondents occupied was of poor quality. The two houses in the new subdivision were larger, had partitions to set off bedrooms, and possessed central heating, electricity, radio and television sets. The homes in the Indian Villages were much older (especially moreso in the old Indian Villages). All were overcrowded and without the services of electricity, central heating, running water or sewage services or roads. Only one of those interviewed had a car; two had boats; not one had a skidoo; all had tile on the floor and two had telephones.

All of the respondents stated that they wished to continue living in their particular subdivision of Hay River. The two in the new subdivision saw the advantages available in that locale, i.e. electricity, roads, schools, telephones and close proximity to stores and hospital. The respondents who were residents of the Indian Villages specified their preference for living in these communities as: closeness to the bush which is handy for procuring firewood by dogteam, the peace and quiet of the environment and the closeness to nature. They did wish however for at

least one telephone so that medical, police and fire protection services could be obtained in times of necessity. The residents of the Indian Villages were also optimistic, as represented by individuals interviewed, that a road would be built to connect the villages to the town of Hay River.

Participation of Parents in School Program

Questions 6-19 of the questionnaire dealt with the participation of the parents' preference of school system and their thoughts on local control of education.

Preference of school system. The majority of those interviewed had children previously or presently attending both the day school in Hay River or a residential school in another community. The representative parents were asked of their preference for type of school they wished their children to attend. All preferred to have their children attend a school in Hay River during the children's elementary years. Two parents asserted that if they were given an opportunity they would send their children to an Indian school where their children could learn the Slavey language and to be proud of their culture and ancestral heritage.

All of the respondents perceived education as a necessity and some of the replies were as follows:

Because they need education for jobs.
It is important for children to go to school nowadays.
So they learn. Kids need education for jobs.
Education is necessary for people who want to work.

Other stated that it was important for children to learn to read, write and speak the English language in order to be functional in that language.

There were no affirmative replies to the question of whether or not parents had been pressured to send their children to school. One parent

stated that she would refuse to send them to school where the children would have to live in a student residence.

The questions as to where the parents would prefer to send their children to high school were answered in seven out of ten cases with statements to the effect that it didn't matter as the children could decide for themselves once they were of high school age. This seems to illustrate the generalization that there is a cultural difference between Euro-Canadians and Native Canadians in the treatment of adolescents in that the Slavey parents expected the teenagers who were sixteen years or over in age to make adult decisions for themselves.

Further questioning as to whether the parents would allow their children to quit school or attend another school revealed that the parents would not allow the children to make up their own minds while they were in elementary school but once their children reached the high school level the students would be allowed to make their own decisions on attendance.

Interviewees stated that they wished to have their children at home while the children were young and some suggestions were made that there be a primary school on the east bank of the Hay River so that the little children could more easily get to school, especially during times of break up of the river ice in spring and during fall "freeze up."

All replies agreed that the children should attend school from kindergarten to grade six in Hay River at a day school where the children could be at home at night.

There was no evidence of a direct complaint about the way the children were treated in school and all stated that their children did not complain about the manner of treatment in school. However, when the question was specifically asked as to what these complaints were, three

respondents answered in the following manner:

My kid has too much homework. I don't know why there should be so much homework when the kids are in elementary school. He doesn't like religion. That new math is something else. I can't help them with it.

Only two respondents could offer anything positive about what their children liked about the school. One cited "art" as a favored subject and the other respondent answered in the following way:

He likes to read about Indians. One time he brought a book home from the town library and he read it right through that same night. That's good for the kids. They should teach them about Indians [in school programs].

The importance of education. The concensus of the parents was that they would not allow their child to quit school while very young or in elementary school. Four of the parents specifically stated that when the child was older they would allow the child to make his own decision. Three of the interviewees stated that they didn't know whether they would allow their child to quit school or require him to attend another school.

All of the ten respondents replied that they wished that their children would obtain at least a high school education. Three of the respondents thought education beyond grade twelve was necessary for their children. None of the respondents could forsee their children making a living off the land when they were adults. Trapping was seen as a hard way of life as compared to office jobs. Hunting and fishing were viewed as being difficult jobs where luck played a major role in success.

The parents were asked whether a government employee or a hunter had a better way of life; the answers were all interpreted to mean that the government employees did have a better way of life. In addition to the above observation, they stated that security associated with a steady

income was a factor or major difference between these two types of jobs. Another factor, which was stated, was that trapping would be almost completely phased out in approximately ten years time.

Here are some of the reasons which the respondents gave which led to the above interpretation:

Trapping was good in the old days when there were more animals and very few jobs.

Trapping these days is not very much. Fishing is sometimes not very lucky. If you have a government job you make sure that you get pay anyways.

Cause nowadays trappers don't get much money as they used to [get for furs]. A steady job is a lot better.

They [government or company employees] have more money than a trapper. Not too many people trap now.

They [government or company employees] have better jobs. Trapping is not a good life. It is very hard for the women especially [who have to live on a trapline].

In general, the parents' attitude toward education was that it is necessary for the purposes of learning to read, write and speak the English language; moreover, they thought that education was seen as a requirement for preparing and enhancing opportunities for employment. This employment was not seen as making a living off the land, but that type of employment which offered a permanent position with the security and income which was associated with this type of work. Formal education was seen by the adult Indian people as a means of achieving this goal. Their aspirations for the youth is to have the security and facilities offered through such employment. Education was perceived as the means through which their children could have a better standard of living and attain "the good life." Beyond the utilitarian understanding, the parents did not seem to realize the value of education.

Five made affirmative response to the question as to whether they, the parents, had visited the school where their children attended. Some

answered by saying that they had been to the children's school during a "parent's day" and two stated that they had been to Fort Smith by bus during "graduation day." However, when the question was asked if they knew their child's teacher only one stated that they had been to the school during the current school year. Three stated that they hadn't been to school this year and one parent asserted that she was going to attend the next parents' day.

It is important to note that none of the parents had stated that they had ever met any of the teachers in the homes although one reference was made to teacher visits in the following way, "They used to do that. It was good."

The combined attitudes toward the importance of education was interpreted as meaning that education was viewed as a utility and should be utilized for purposes of obtaining permanent positions with the government or companies. Beyond this utilitarian comprehension, the value of education was not expressed by the respondents.

Local control. The respondents gave a unanimously negative answer when questioned if they had any say about the operation of the schools their children attended. There was no evidence given as to how this involvement might be achieved as all ten responses were "I don't know." When the interviewees were further questioned on the involvement in decision making about the operation of the school, two stated that they did not want any voice in educational decision making. Two wished to be involved in the operation of the schools which their children attended and two stated that "they", which was interpreted to mean the Euro-Canadians, should control the school. These replies were as follows:

They should know what they are doing.
The government should have control because they have all the money.

Six replies were simply "I don't know."

The interviewees were asked "If it were possible for the community to completely control the operations of the school, would you want this?" Six answered yes, one answered no and gave his reasoning by further stating that the whites would dominate locally controlled education in Hay River and therefore he wouldn't want local control. The remaining respondents stated that they didn't know or had no opinion.

When the question was asked how local control could become a reality or what type of organization the interviewees would like to have in order to institute locally controlled education, three gave answers that reflected some knowledge of local control. One stated that parents could attend Home and School meetings and they could learn how the school was operated and how local control is organized. One suggested that Indians can manage a school and develop their program if "others" were not interested or willing to allow Indian culture to be taught in the schools in Hay River. Another reply that made specific reference to a locally controlled school by native people was answered as follows:

Like the one in Rae-Edzo, they [Dogrib Indian School Board] are doing it now. It would be good [to have an Indian controlled school in Hay River].

The remaining seven of those interviewed stated that they didn't know how local control could be established.

Generally, there was a poor reflection of knowledge on the part of the respondents toward the educational philosophy that the Department of Education had proposed in respect to School Committees, Advisory Boards of Education and local autonomy. This is a curious fact and could be

interpreted to mean that the interviewees were not interested in Advisory Boards or School Committees as these committees have only advisory power and do not have the right to make decisions that affect the lives of their children. The interviewer assumed this not to be the case because Home and School organizations were suggested as a means of involvement by at least one of the respondents. An interpretation of the combined replies was that the interviewees were not knowledgeable of the policies of the Department of Education in regard to the stages of development of local autonomy in educational decision making. The researcher also concluded that the Department of Education would have to expound on its policies and philosophy through consultation, in the future, if identification and participation of the local Slavey people is expected to become a reality.

Indian Content As Part of the School Curriculum

All of the respondents replied affirmatively when they were questioned if they knew and mixed with white people. Some added the following comments:

Not very often.

Whenever I have a chance.

Very few here, but, I did in Yellowknife.

The interviewees added that this contact was generally associated with government employees in their offices or in hotels. These two contacts were cited by five of the respondents. Four mentioned stores, three selected jobs, and three indicated sites for meetings, such as homes, neighbours, nursing stations, churches, schools, hospitals or other places of congregation. Of those two who selected other places, both volunteered the liquor store as a place where they contacted white people.

The second part of this question was asked to find out the reasoning behind their choice to mix or not to mix with whites. The question was answered in the following way:

I would mix with white people just to get friendly if I was in another town just all alone (one Indian) of course.
 I'd try to make friends.
 I don't mind mixing with white people.
 The ones that you meet seem to be nice (whites).
 I don't care about the colour of a person's skin, or how long his hair is, it's what they say that I've learned to judge people on.

Four of the respondents did not elaborate on why they would choose to mix, or not, socially with Euro-Canadians. The combined responses were positive and there was no evidence of prejudice toward Euro-Canadians by those interviewed.

Five specific questions asked to determine the attitudes of the interviewees toward Indian curricular content in the schools.

The questions specifically designed to determine the amount of time that the Slavey language was used in the home brought the following results found in Table .

Table 3

Usage of Slavey Language

| | |
|------------------|-------|
| Sometimes | Five |
| Half of the time | Three |
| Always | One |
| Usually | One |

These responses were interpreted to mean that although Slavey was spoken in the home by the majority of the people, English was also used in the

home and that it was not necessary for the children to speak Slavey to their parents as the parents could understand English well enough to carry on a conversation.

The respondents all stated that it was important to preserve the Indian language and culture. The reasoning behind these affirmative statements was qualified by the following five comments:

Yes, a little bit, otherwise in a few years from now it will all be forgotten.

The kids should learn to speak the language.

The kids should learn the language and the history of how Indians lived.

I think it should be preserved, some of it anyway, otherwise the present generation will now know how Indians helped those early explorers up the Mackenzie River and so on.

Yes, it is important to preserve the Indian culture; they should keep it up.

The cultural aspects listed on the questionnaire and the number of affirmative responses to each question provided the following results as found in Table .

Table 4

Aspects of Indian Culture

| Cultural Aspects | No. |
|------------------|-----|
| Language | Ten |
| History | Six |
| Tradition | Six |
| Religion | Six |
| Other | Two |

Language was perceived as the most essential cultural element and

chosen by all of the interviewees. History, tradition and religion were chosen in six cases and two responses were that other cultural aspects were important. This latter was further clarified as sewing in one instance and Indian handicraft in another.

To the question "Do you think that your child should be taught the Indian culture at school?" all respondents replied in the affirmative. These responses were interpreted as a very strong indication that the Slavey adults wished to have the schools take a lead in teaching the Indian culture to the child for purposes of developing ancestral and cultural pride in the child. Some of the replied that further illustrated their reasoning for the cultural teaching are reflected by statements that follow:

If they learned the language in school there they wouldn't be so shy to speak Slavey at home.

We need people who can speak Slavey now and pretty soon we won't be able to find interpreters who can translate in courts.

The language is going and when the kids come back from hostels they say that they have forgotten how to speak their language.

Yes, if they learn in school, then maybe they would be proud to be Indians.

Too many [adolescents] are trying to be whitemen; they drive around in cars and drink.

I have only one day of school and I have a job. Look at all those guys out of school and not working! What do they learn and they're educated?

The Slavey parents were especially interested in having the school take a lead in teaching, especially the language and the culture of the Indians. The prevalent anxiety that was present in the homes was primarily due to English becoming increasingly the language of communication on behalf of the Slavey people.

Home-School Relationships

The responses to the question as to whether the teachers should be

more involved in the community were indecisive and indistinct. Although some previous answers did partially answer this question by stating that teachers should visit houses for purposes of discussing the children's progress and problems, beyond that the responses were rather vague. Four replied with a simple yes, one stated that "teachers should come out into the bush with me" and the remaining five simply stated that they did not know. The interviews were not clear as to what role teachers should or could play in the establishment of school-community relationships. The researcher's interpretation of this question was that it was one of the most difficult but the attitudes expressed were interpreted to mean that the Slavey interviewees did not understand what or how the teachers role could be effective in the establishment of home-school relationships as nine of the responses were simply "I don't know." This lack of identification with education programs present in Hay River was reflected in several other responses to the questions on this topic. The most enlightening and a very valid criticism offered by one of those who added on to the "I don't know" category of replies was that teachers could explain report cards in such a way and in a language that the Slavey parents could interpret the pupils' progress.

In general, the attitudes of the Indian adults interviewed were that whites did not discriminate against Indians in Hay River. Six stated that they had not experienced any personal discrimination while the remaining four answered as follows:

Not the ones [whites] that I know.

Maybe, some of them, huh?

I don't know.

Some of them might discriminate, but there are good and bad and many different kinds of people who will help you if you give them a chance.

These responses were interpreted to mean that while no personal discrimination was experienced by the majority of the respondents, the remaining four knew of some cases of discrimination by whites against Indians but were unable to cite specific cases of discrimination.

When the question was asked if the interviewees thought that Indians were prejudiced against whites, five stated "no;" however, the following statements were also made:

Maybe some do, I don't.

I don't know. If whites make fun of Indians when they are drunk, white people are drunkards too. Nobody is perfect.

It's up to the individual, some people feel discrimination, others don't.

I don't mix that much.

It [discrimination] is starting I guess. Well we can't seem to get together on things anymore.

These statements were interpreted to mean that there was a chasm developing between the two cultures and that the Indian interviewees themselves wished for understanding and better relationships between the two major cultural groups.

The respondents were asked if they felt that the school could play a role in improving the relationships between the Euro-Canadians and native Canadians. Eight replied in the affirmative and two did not know whether the school could improve the relationship. Some of the suggestions for improving the relationships were that the school could do more for the parents if the teachers came to the home and discussed a problem when the child was in trouble or before the problems became so great that the child would learn to dislike school. Others suggested that all children in school could learn about the Indians in the school programs. One suggestion was made that teachers and other community workers should learn to speak Slavey in order that the children would also learn and be encouraged to

try to converse in the Slavey language.

Teacher Training

The majority of the respondents took a position that teacher training in inter-cultural education was necessary. Although only five answers were affirmative, four answered by saying that they didn't know. One also replied that it was up to the individual teacher. The consensus of the eight who asserted a reply seemed to exhibit agreement with the idea that teachers should have training in native studies.

When the question was asked "Would you like to have an Indian teacher for your child?," four answered yes, one answered by stating that it didn't matter but that the important criteria that a teacher should possess was a knowledge of the Indian lifestyle. Five stated that they didn't know. The combined response was not very strong in favour of Indian teachers.

Indeed, this is very curious. However, there were also two teachers who were graduates of the Native Teacher Training Program and who were teaching in Hay River in 1972. One of the two was very fluent in Slavey and the other teacher was well qualified in inter-cultural education and a metis himself. There was no mention made of these two teachers and it was assumed that the interviewees did not know these teachers and consequently had no basis upon which to judge the differences between Indian and non-Indian teachers.

Five of the interviewees thought that the people of Hay River should have some say as to who should teach school in Hay River. Four also stated that they didn't know and one answered by saying "no." When the "why" question was asked, it was quite evident that the majority of the

people interviewed did not understand who was in control of teacher recruitment or how teacher recruitment was conducted by the Department of Education in Yellowknife.

Some of the answers which reflect the three variations are as follows:

Yes, someone in Hay River should, because then you would have someone to go to besides the principal [if your child had problems in school].

No, the government [should recruit the teachers] because it has all the money anyways.

I don't know. I never went to any of the meetings. We should go to the Home and School meetings.

Euro-Canadian Attitudes Toward Education

The five interviews that were conducted with the dominant Euro-Canadian culture included representatives of people in positions of authority. Both educators and non-educators were interviewed.

Participation. It was evident that the Euro-Canadian did have a great degree of participation in the education programs in Hay River, especially in terms of a Home and School Association that had continuously functioned for a great many years. It is interesting to note that the president of the Home and School Association had been a teacher during the past three years (1970 to 1972).

Although an Advisory Board of Education had once been organized in Hay River, it was not active at the time that the interviews were conducted (April, 1972). The Area Superintendent of Education had proposed to the townspeople that the St. Paul's Elementary School and the old Hay River High School (Camsell School) would accommodate children from Vale Island and that Princess Alexandra Elementary School would serve the children who lived on the Mainland. This "area representative" concept was

proposed as a means of resolving a busing problem and although the Town Council adopted the proposal in principle, the Commissioner of the Northwest Territories did not accept the proposal. Commissioner Hodgson's statements were to the effect that he had been advised by the Educational Advisory Board not to institute area representative schools in Hay River. The issue had not been settled when the interviews were conducted and it was very much a concern to the Euro-Canadian interviewees.

The concept of local control had also been repeatedly discussed by the Department of Education and the opinion of the Euro-Canadian was that the town was not ready for local control at that stage. Various reasons were given but the interpretation of all of the reasons was that increased property and business taxation was feared by the property owners and consequently those individuals were against this proposal. Another statement was given, "All hope was lost for local control by the people when the Roman Catholic (St. Paul's) School was forced to close in June of 1968."

Three specific references were made about the Rae-Edzo School that was locally controlled by the Dogrib people. The consensus was that local control of native people was not highly regarded as a solution to the problems of Indian Education by the Euro-Canadians interviewed and was interpreted to be a threat to the Euro-Canadians who did not want a radical education program for their children.

Indian content. The majority of the Euro-Canadians stated that the Indian culture was "dead" and that what was left was not worthy of preservation. The Euro-Canadians did not accept the inter-cultural philosophy proposed by the Department of Education and stated that they thought that

their children would not "fit" into the provincial programs when they returned to southern Canada. The most threatening situation to these parents was the concept of teaching Slavey. They were knowledgeable of the proposal included in the Elementary Curriculum Handbook and ridiculed the inter-cultural philosophy contained therein. One interviewee, however, did state that although in her opinion there was prejudice on the part of some Euro-Canadians in Hay River toward native people, she wished that her children would learn about the Indian culture. She stated that she held no prejudices and would be willing to permit her children to marry a native person if they so chose.

Home-school relationships. The majority of the interviews were completely negative in their attitude toward the Indian people becoming involved in educational programs. Some suggestions were made to the effect that if they wanted a school for themselves they could build one on the east bank of the river; however, the interviewees also added that the locally controlled school at Edzo was not functioning.

One interviewee again stated that the Slavey people who lived in the Indian Villages were completely isolated from the school and town and indeed the villages were classified as ghettos. Further elaboration demonstrated that the interviewee worked very closely with native people in the fishing industry for a great number of years and had an historical understanding of the development of Hay River and the isolation of the Slavey people by the various government bureaucracies.

Teaching training. Generally the topic was of least interest to those Euro-Canadians; however, continued reference was made to teacher turnover and administration during the interviews. Two references were

made to the Native Teacher Training Program at Fort Smith, one was negative and one was positive. The negative comment was in regard to an Indian teacher who was not a graduate from that program but from southern Canada and the experience was in a different community but the presence of stereotyping was not realized on the part of the interviewee. The positive reference was made in respect to the two native teachers who were presently teaching in Hay River schools. The context of the reference was made in relation to native employment and not knowledge or skills that the native teachers could offer the children.

Summary

It was evident that the Slavey parents were not participating in the decision making process, the programs of instruction or any home-school relationships. Consequently, Indians did not identify with the educational philosophy of the Department of Education or the programs of the schools where their children were in attendance.

They perceived education as a necessity for purposes of learning the English language. However, they also resented the fact that their children did not learn the Slavey language and the Indian culture and viewed the schools as alien institutions dominated and controlled by Euro-Canadians which alienated their children from the Slavey culture and from the parents and the elders. The resentment in the Slavey homes of what the Euro-Canadian schools were attempting to do with their children was a primary reason for a lack of reinforcement in the home of what the schools were attempting to do. Moreover, parents wished that their children would become enculturated in the Indian culture. They viewed the school as playing a role in the development of programs that would make the Slavey

children proud of their cultural heritage and further encourage them to speak the language through the teaching of Slavey in the schools.

While the Slavey parents did not understand the educational administrative hierarchy, they were willing to become actively involved in the decision making process that affects their lives and the lives of their children. While they believe that teachers should have inter-cultural educational training and a knowledge of the Slavey language, they were vague as to how the home-school relationship could be improved. One interviewee did state that the teachers could make home visits for purposes of improving communication. The majority felt that there was a definite need to Slavey adults to become actively involved in the educational processes of developing inter-cultural experiences for their children.

The Euro-Canadian group was the most negative toward including native culture in school curriculum. This group also did not want to establish local control of education.

Chapter V

Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations

This study was concerned with determining the attitudes of Slavey parents in Hay River in the area of their participation in decision making in educational matters. They were asked what factors they considered important to be included in the education of their children. As well, Indian parents were questioned as to how home-school relationships could be improved. Finally, the parents were asked for their considerations on teacher training and how teachers might be better prepared to teach their children.

What follows is a summary of the attitudes and views of the parents. The recommendations from the study and those for further research follow out of these attitudes and from the review of literature.

Conclusions

After the results were analyzed and interpreted a number of conclusions were drawn. These conclusions answer the questions outlined in summary and as follows:

1. It is evident that the present educational programs are not meeting the Slavey parents' perceptions of their children's cultural needs. The school is viewed as a Euro-Canadian institution alienating the children from the Slavey parents and elders. The parents do not identify with the administrative hierarchical structure or understand the policies of the Department of Education. Albeit, the parents are interested in having their children learn the English language in school they do not reinforce

at home what the school is attempting to do because education is perceived as a utility only and necessary because it may help the children to obtain permanent employment associated with the good life. The parents indicated a willingness to participate with the school and the programs.

2. The Slavey parents defined a need for their children to be taught those aspects of the Slavey culture and way of life necessary for their children to develop an appreciation, understanding, pride and personal identity inherent in self-development and personal growth and contribution to the Canadian mosaic.

3. There was evidence that there is a need for the relationships between the home and school, Indians and Euro-Canadians, and schools and society to be enhanced. The parents perceived the school as playing a leading role in the development of these relationships.

4. The Slavey parents wished that teachers would have inter-cultural education training pertinent to the skills and knowledge necessary for enculturating the Slavey pupils through a demonstration of fluency in language and cultural lifestyles.

5. The Euro-Canadian group interviewed seemed to have developed a resistance to the development of local control of education; however, the Euro-Canadians in Hay River seemed to dominate the local schools and attempted to maintain programs similar to those in southern Canada. The maintenance of educational programs similar to the Euro-Canadian provincial systems were perceived as necessary for the facilitation of a smooth transfer back to southern Canada.

Recommendations

The following recommendations are derived from the present study.

1. It recommended that before any further developments of education are instituted for the people of Hay River, a thorough familiarization and identification program be conducted which would allow the Slavey adults to become familiar with the policies of inter-cultural education expounded by the Department of Education.

2. It is recommended that an education committee be immediately organized under the auspices of the Hay River Indian Band Council.

3. It is recommended that the Department of Education, Government of the Northwest Territories, initiate the community dialogue through the Indian Band Council and that ample time and consultation be devoted for purposes of establishing an educational committee.

4. It is recommended that the Slavey parents decide whether they wish to elect or appoint representative members to such an educational committee.

5. It is recommended that an outcome objective of the educational committee be local control of education and that an appropriate budget be established that would allow for the necessary travel and consultation inherent in the process of identification and participation in decision making.

6. It is recommended that a kindergarten program be established immediately and that future plans include the teaching in Slavey during the primary years of education.

7. It is recommended that aspects of the Slavey culture be incorporated into the curriculum in a scope and sequence that best facilitates learning for all students in Hay River and that local Slavey Indians be

included in the policy formation, the formulation of the concepts to be developed, and the production of the necessary curricular materials.

8. It is recommended that the schools initiate programs that would facilitate better home-school relationships and that the program include bringing the adults to the school as well as taking the children and teachers into the community and environment. The climate of the learning experience should be such that the elders of the community would feel that they are an integral part of the teaching of their children from the community.

9. It is recommended that teachers who are able to speak the Slavey language be recruited to teach in the primary school program and that all recruits have the necessary knowledge of the Slavey Indian cultures, values, and lifestyle as well as the skills necessary to teach in an inter-cultural community.

10. It is recommended that an inservice training program be initiated for teachers and interested community members. One form that should be valid is to conduct an inter-cultural university class in the community. This class should be available to anyone without having prerequisites and should include community members of the Slavey culture who may act as resource people.

Recommendations for Further Research

1. The culture, language, religion and history of the Slavey people is almost totally unresearched and such research would be valuable for the development of understanding in inter-cultural education.

2. Research is required in the areas of incorporating the values, cultures and languages of both Euro-Canadian and Native Canadians in

integrated educational systems. This is especially crucial in the larger, more urbanized communities where the minority of the people are of native ancestry.

3. Research in the differences between Euro-Canadian and Native Canadian attitudes toward education, cultures, values and language that the school does and should incorporate would further the knowledge of inter-cultural education.

4. Value differences between minority ethnic groups such as Mennonites and Canadian Indians would be welcomed in the inter-cultural realm of knowledge.

5. Further research and experimentation in the area of teacher instruction for native peoples of Canada who presently do not meet the requirements of most universities would be helpful.

6. There is a need for the development of materials that would aid in the teaching in the mother tongue during the primary years of education and in the native language as a second language during the high school years.

7. Research is needed that would demonstrate methods of establishing local control of education where and when a minority ethnic group could have decision making powers and representation in programs as a majority cultural group.

8. More research is required in training, orientating, recruiting and retaining Euro-Canadian teachers. The present turnover rate in Northern Canada would seem to be very detrimental to the education systems.

It has been assumed for well over one hundred years that the native culture was not worthy of preservation, and that the only way to learn

in school and to contribute to society was through the English language. Because of stereotyping and ethnocentric blinders, the native values such as sharing, living in harmony with nature, the methods of making group decisions have been ignored. The native values have very real implications for the world preservation of ecological balance and food production. We travel across the global world to seek solutions to international problems when in reality the answers lie in our own backyards.

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APPENDIX A

The Questionnaire Used in the Interviews

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR INTERVIEWS

1. Place of Residence: Old Town (Vale Island) ()
 New Town ()
 Old Indian Village ()
 New Indian Village ()
- A. Setting the Scene
- a) Name of Interviewee:
- b) Age:
- c) Religion: Roman Catholic ()
 Anglican ()
 Pentecostal ()
 B'hai ()
 Indian ()
 Other ()
- d) Education (grade completed): ()
 trade school ()
- e) Main informant (to be answered after interview)
 Those who assisted:
2. Are you presently: married ()
 widowed ()
 divorced ()
 deserted ()
 common-law ()
3. If married, where were you married?
4. How long have you lived here?
5. Do you plan to stay here permanently?
- a) If yes, what are the advantages?
- b) What are the disadvantages?
- c) Would you like to move?
 Why?

B. Preference of School System

6. a) Do you have any children going to school now?
 b) How many? (if yes to 6)
7. a) Do you think that it is important (necessary) for your children to go to school?
 b) If yes, could you tell me why?
8. Which type of school would you prefer your children to attend?
 a) Day school in Hay River ()
 b) Residential school in other settlement ()
 c) Indian school ()
9. Where are your children presently attending school?
10. Have you ever felt pressure on you to send your children to school?
 a) If yes, could you tell me how?
11. Where would you prefer your children to attend school between kindergarten and the 6th grade?
 Why?
12. Where would you prefer your children to attend school while they are in high school?
13. a) Have you ever felt any pressure on you to send your children to a certain school?
 b) If yes, could you tell me how?
14. a) Do your children sometimes complain about the way they are treated in school?
 b) If yes, could you tell me what these complaints were?
15. What are some of the things your children like about their school?
16. If your children would want to quit school or go to another school would you let them?
17. How much education would you like your children to get?
 elementary ()
 high school ()
 higher education ()

26. How much do you speak your language?
- | | |
|------------------|-----|
| never | () |
| sometimes | () |
| half of the time | () |
| always | () |
| usually | () |

27. Is it important to preserve the Indian way of life?

28. What aspects of Indian culture would you like to keep?

- | | |
|-----------|-----|
| language | () |
| history | () |
| tradition | () |
| religion | () |
| others | () |

29. Could you teach the Indian culture?

30. Do you think your child could be taught the Indian culture at school?

31. Is your child taught any aspects of the Indian culture in school?

E. Teacher Training and Recruitment

32. Do you think your child's teacher needs special training in the Indian way of life?

33. If yes, how do you think this can be done?

34. Would you like to have an Indian teacher for your child?

35. a) Do you think the people of Hay River should have some say in who should be teaching school?

b) Why?

F. Home-School Relationships

36. Do you think the teachers should be more involved with the home and the community?

If yes, what type of role do you see them performing?

37. a) Among the white people that you know do you feel that they are prejudiced against the Indians?

b) Why?

38. a) Do you think the Indians are prejudiced against the whites?
b) Why?
39. Do you feel that the school could play a role in improving the relationship?

G. Income and Level of Living

40. Does the head of the household have a job?
41. Does the interviewee consider himself self sufficient or must he depend on welfare?
42. Check if the householders have the following items:

| | |
|-------------------|-----|
| car | () |
| boat | () |
| skidoo | () |
| television | () |
| electricity | |
| radio | () |
| iron | () |
| telephone | () |
| linoleum on floor | () |
| washing machine | () |
| refrigerator | () |
| indoor plumbing | () |
| separate bedrooms | () |
| magazines | () |
| weekly newspapers | () |

APPENDIX B

A Sample of Responses to
the Questionnaire

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR INTERVIEWS

1. Place of Residence: Old Town (Vale Island) ()
 New Town ()
 Old Indian Village ()
 New Indian Village (✓)

A. Setting the Scene

- a) Name of Interviewee:
 b) Age:
 c) Religion: Roman Catholic ()
 Anglican (✓)
 Pentecostal ()
 B'hai ()
 Indian ()
 Other ()
 d) Education (grade completed): (4)
 trade school ()
 e) Main informant (to be answered after interview)
 Those who assisted:
2. Are you presently: married (✓)
 widowed ()
 divorced ()
 deserted ()
 common-law ()
3. If married, where were you married? Hay River
4. How long have you lived here? All of my life
5. Do you plan to stay here permanently? Yes
 a) If yes, what are the advantages? I like the quietness
 b) What are the disadvantages? We should have power and a phone
 c) Would you like to move? No. It's too noisy in Hay River town.
 Why?

B. Preference of School System

6. a) Do you have any children going to school now? Yes
 b) How many? (if yes to 6) two
7. a) Do you think that it is important (necessary) for your children to go to school? Yes
 b) If yes, could you tell me why? So they could get a job
8. Which type of school would you prefer your children to attend?
 a) Day school in Hay River (✓)
 b) Residential school in other settlement ()
 c) Indian school ()
9. Where are your children presently attending school? Hay River
10. Have you ever felt pressure on you to send your children to school? No.
 a) If yes, could you tell me how?
11. Where would you prefer your children to attend school between kindergarten and the 6th grade? Hay River
 Why? It's good to have them home at nights when they are still small.
12. Where would you prefer your children to attend school while they are in high school? It's up to them.
13. a) Have you ever felt any pressure on you to send your children to a certain school? No.
 b) If yes, could you tell me how?
14. a) Do your children sometimes complain about the way they are treated in school? No
 b) If yes, could you tell me what these complaints were?
15. What are some of the things your children like about their school?
 I don't know.
16. If your children would want to quit school or go to another school would you let them? Not while they are still young
17. How much education would you like your children to get?
 elementary ()
 high school (✓)
 higher education ()

26. How much do you speak your language?
- | | |
|------------------|-----|
| never | () |
| sometimes | () |
| half of the time | () |
| always | () |
| usually | (✓) |
27. Is it important to preserve the Indian way of life? The kids should learn to speak the language.
28. What aspects of Indian culture would you like to keep?
- | | |
|-----------|-----|
| language | (✓) |
| history | (✓) |
| tradition | () |
| religion | () |
| others | () |
29. Could you teach the Indian culture? If I had to but they should learn with their friends.
30. Do you think your child could be taught the Indian culture at school? Maybe - when they are young during the first few years (of schooling)
31. Is your child taught any aspects of the Indian culture in school? Once he brought a book home on Indians from the library in town and he read it right through.
- E. Teacher Training and Recruitment
32. Do you think your child's teacher needs special training in the Indian way of life? I don't know.
33. If yes, how do you think this can be done?
34. Would you like to have an Indian teacher for your child? I don't know.
35. a) Do you think the people of Hay River should have some say in who should be teaching school? Yes
- b) Why? I don't know.
- F. Home-School Relationships
36. Do you think the teachers should be more involved with the home and the community? Yes they should come around like they used to before.
- If yes, what type of role do you see them performing?
37. a) Among the white people that you know do you feel that they are prejudiced against the Indians?
- b) Why? Some people might be prejudice but not all.

38. a) Do you think the Indians are prejudiced against the whites? No
 b) Why?
39. Do you feel that the school could play a role in improving the relationship? Maybe they could teach how the Indians used to live long ago.

G. Income and Level of Living

40. Does the head of the household have a job? Yes
41. Does the interviewee consider himself self sufficient or must he depend on welfare? Welfare is used but tries not to be dependent upon it.
42. Check if the householders have the following items:
- | | |
|-------------------|-------|
| car | () |
| boat | (✓) |
| skidoo | () |
| television | () |
| electricity | |
| radio | () |
| iron | () |
| telephone | () |
| linoleum on floor | (✓) |
| washing machine | (✓) |
| refrigerator | () |
| indoor plumbing | () |
| separate bedrooms | () |
| magazines | () |
| weekly newspapers | () |

APPENDIX C

Indian Villages 1976

Indian Villages 1976

The Slavey Indian Band Council has been very active since April of 1972 and as a result they have been successful in negotiating a reserve of land with the Federal Government. Several specific requests have also been made from the Territorial Government and as a result of numerous meetings, planning-sessions, and continuous work, there presently is a road that has been built north from the Pine Point Highway to the Indian Villages. Although this is not an all-weather road, it is used during the summer when it is dry enough to permit vehicular traffic. Several Indian people do now have vehicles and electricity is provided for the people who live in the new Indian Village.

A one room portable classroom has been set up with Christine Horsey, a Slavey Indian teacher. She will be returning to teach for a second term at the "Indian Village School." She had 13 pupils enrolled from kindergarten to grade two during the 1975-76 school year. There is no teacherage provided and consequently the teacher can not reside in the villages but must return to the town of Hay River on a daily basis.

Miss Horsey stated that she does teach in the Slavey language when children do not understand English. Pupils are taught on an individual basis. The teacher uses the environment of the students for curriculum development. Although the average of attendance could be improved, Miss Horsey hopes to improve upon this aspect. She also hopes to encourage native parents to come to school where they could learn to identify with education and hopefully, also, contribute through parental involvement. The school visits may also begin during the next school term as facilities and supplied should not be as demanding on the teacher during the second

year of the school's operation. During an interview on August 9th, 1976, Miss Horsey stated that when the school was first opened a meeting was called by the Department of Education and attended by many of the parents and Department officials. Although there then seemed to be much enthusiasm on the part of the parents, this enthusiasm has not lasted as there was virtually no follow-up.

APPENDIX D

Tripartite Education Committee's Presentation
to the Northwest Territories
Teachers' Association Assembly

April 1974

Tripartite Education Committee's Presentation to
the N.W.T.T.A. Assembly
(April 1974)

The Tripartite Education Committee, which is made up of one representative each, of the Metis Association, the Indian Brotherhood and the Tree of Peace, have as a primary concern, at the present time, the proposed changes to the Education Ordinance of the N.W.T. This priority was established for us at the Joint General Assembly of the Metis Association and the Indian Brotherhood in Fort Good Hope this past summer. The resolution which was passed unanimously by the delegates at that time contains the following:

"Whereas, the Government of the Northwest Territories is proposing to change the N.W.T. Education Ordinance, this Assembly demands that these changes not be presented to the Council of the N.W.T. until such time as our people have the opportunity to express their views, and further
That the Government of the N.W.T. supply our organizations with sufficient funds to solicit those views."

That mandate was very clear. The Native organizations then responded to the Assembly's demand by setting up what is now the Tripartite Education Committee, whose sole responsibility was to deal specifically with getting the Ordinance delayed and, to obtain community input for legislation. On this basis, then, we have not taken any view towards the proposed changes until we have received sufficient feedback from the communities to their satisfaction.

In recent years, concern by the native people in the N.W.T. towards the education system has stemmed mainly from their lack of involvement in

the education process, and, insofar as their rights are concerned, they have been largely ignored. Responsibilities in education, at the best, have seemed scattered and confusing. How much control the native person in the community has over the kind of education he or she feels is necessary for his or her child is not known and is questionable. Most of the questions which we ask or have raised come, very rightly, from the conditions we find the young people in today, and, the fact that our way of life has not been and is not adequately represented in the schools. From the beginning, the questions were there but only recently have they begun to be heeded and looked at more seriously. With the system's poor history of response, lack of involvement occurred. The concern has always been there, even though there was not a full understanding of the process.

Perhaps a more important reason to consider in contributing to this lack of involvement. Historically speaking, the Indian people have never had the legislative power granted them to control education as they would like. From the B.N.A. Act to the Indian Act and the Treaties, they were assured that their children would receive an education, and, that teachers would be provided but everything else was a matter of them being legislated to. As Canadian citizens we are entitled to certain rights and, as Indians, other special rights. With such legislation as it now stands and so much going for us, can we not take advantage of what we have now to obtain control for Indian people in the decision-making process? The answer is no. Why? For one thing, the past has shown this not to happen and only recently have a few Indian-controlled schools come into being with no idea of what control they do carry. Secondly, the system of administration and process of legislation, as it now exists, is alien to native people in many respects and much of these rights, basic or other-

wise, have not been explained to them for their meaningful participation. Even if this were adequately done, there are still many loopholes within existing legislation which can be drawn upon to upset this process of decision-making to happen. Everyone wants to be able to control their lives to the extent that it is meaningful for them to live it. Certainly we, as Indian people and as Canadian citizens, have the right to be involved and to be able to control those areas of life which have the most meaning for us. It seems now that these rights and the need to have some decision-making power can best be assured the Indian people by being written into the law and done specifically. Perhaps in this way we can best be sure of how much control we do have and to take advantage of it meaningfully. At this stage of our work, then, is where discussion with the people in the communities is of vital importance that they understand the role of legislation and specify clearly the amount or areas of control they desire. Anything less from us would be mere tokenism. And it is this very issue of lack of involvement which brought about the setting up of the Tripartite Committee. In the drafting of the Education Ordinance, there was no consultation or very little done at the community level and their views were lacking in that draft. A sure repeat of history.

What the Committee has done, then, along with other groups was to get the Ordinance delayed in Council and to obtain some funds from the Department of Indian Affairs to travel to all the Indian communities to insure that their views are expressed. We are not in the process of writing up specific information on the Ordinance itself which will be translated and put on tapes to be sent out to the communities. After this is done, I have been hired by the Committee to travel to each place to talk with individuals and groups to obtain their views and concerns. I want to

point out here that all the native organizations in the N.W.T. are making an attempt to put together this ordinance and once community input is obtained from across the Territories, we will be meeting together to work on the necessary changes.

Through all of this there is one additional point which should be made clear. That is in respect to the position of the Indian people in relation to the Federal Government and the Territorial. Traditionally, through the Treaties and the Indian Act, it is Federal Government responsibility which we recognize and still adhere to as opposed to that of the Territories in matters which concern Indian people. As far as education goes, the Minister of Indian Affairs can enter into an agreement with the Commissioner of the N.W.T. concerning education of Treaty Indian children. However, this is without the consent of the Indian people and we therefore must hold the Federal Government to its responsibility until they see fit to consult us meaningfully. In this respect and in view of the pending settlement of the land claims and with revision of the Indian Act underway, we maintain our stand with the Federal Government. Where we fit and how has yet to be fully established and is still a concern.

Finally, INDIAN CONTROL OF INDIAN EDUCATION. How do we view our future in the field of education? How will the system fit? What we see for ourselves and we would hope that the proposed Education Ordinance will provide is that we can eventually control Indian Education. As for the system. With all its problems and those it creates or perpetuates, we view their role as one where we can consult in terms of expertise which will be needed and it playing a vital resource role in our desire to help ourselves. There was one concern expressed yesterday that the N.W.T.T.A. align their organization with that of the native organizations. This is

a very serious point to consider in view of some of the questions you may ask yourselves. What will your role be? as an organization and as teachers and individuals. Can this organization accept Indian and all native communities controlling their own schools with all the implications that come with it. Who will the teacher be answerable to? the Department, colleagues or the community. How will this affect the legislation you are now considering? Perhaps the communities will not want control, perhaps they or some will want full control. It is not for us to say that full control is desirable at the present time but the questions are worth considering in view of the past lack of involvement of native people in their own education, and their present desire to have that involvement occur meaningfully.