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THE UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

Education, Self-Government and the Building of a First Nation

by

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Abstract

Aboriginal communities throughout Canada are examining the structure and effectiveness of provincial and federally run programs/organizations such as child services, health, justice, and education. This study attempts to capture the mindset of one particular community, the Peguis First Nation, in transition as the people struggle to move from a past of colonial domination and inferiority toward independence and retrieval of Aboriginal identity. Aboriginal people as oppressed people and the current self-government issue are key components to the study. The discussion on education (formal schooling and socialization patterns) also reveals the differences of perception between Aboriginal people and mainstream Canadians allowing us a glimpse into the issues Aboriginal face as original landowners of this country.

This exploratory case study provides a narrative from the Aboriginal perspective.

Whenever possible, transcribed data from participant interviews were used verbatim to give the reader a realistic portrait of the community and struggles they face.

Acknowledgments

This study is an example of the Peguis community's commitment to education.

Acknowledgment is given to ...

The Peguis Chief and Council and the Peguis School Board for giving permission for this research project to take place on the reserve as well as the financial support for my studies.

Acknowledgment is given to all of the interview participants who shared their thoughts, feelings and ideas.

Dedications

Dedicated to my family,
the community of Peguis
and the First Nations people of Canada.

Message from an Elder

You have a mind of your own,

and a heart of your own . . .

use these right to make life worth living for . . .

(Peguis Elder)

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The treaties are a connecting thread through the history of the relations between the first peoples and the newcomers Treaties represent relationships between distinct peoples or nations reached after discussion and negotiation.

reflected First Nation culture and tradition a pipe ceremony accompanied the agreement to symbolize the sacredness of the commitments.

The First Nations view treaties as sacred. They are to endure for as long as the sun shines and the rivers flow. They cannot be destroyed, ignored or forgotten. They cannot be wished away.

Ovide Mercredi, In the Rapids: Navigating the Future of First Nations

CHAPTER I: NATURE OF THE STUDY

Introduction

Current Aboriginal action focuses on overcoming social problems such as poverty, unemployment, improving standards of living, as well as building strong, healthy communities with quality social programs, economic development and employment. A major thrust in many First Nation communities is to rebuild organizational structures that are effective in restoring a people who have suffered through colonialism and oppression.

Many Aboriginal communities (Indian reserves) throughout Canada are in the midst of change brought about by the call for independence and takeover of programs administered by the Department of Indian Affairs. The structure and effectiveness of provincial and federally run programs/organizations such as child services, health, justice, and education, are being examined and questioned by Native People in their quest for independence.

This study hopes to capture the conceptualization of one particular community in transition as they struggle to move from a past of colonial domination and inferiority toward self-government and retrieval of Aboriginal identity.

Purpose of the Study

This research is an exploratory case study intended to provide a narrative from the Aboriginal perspective. The study attempts to portray as wide a picture of community perceptions as possible. The provision of statistical data is not a major concern. This research is intended to introduce the reader to the Peguis people of Manitoba and provide a glimpse into their thoughts, ideas, and struggles in seeking to build a healthy Aboriginal

community.

The exploratory process of this study targets the role of education in community development and Aboriginal growth. "Education" encompasses both formal (e.g. schools, books, curriculum) and informal systems (e.g. media, interactions between Aboriginal people and mainstream Canadians). Whenever possible, transcribed data from participant interviews were used verbatim to give the reader a realistic portrait of the community.

Need For Study

The data and research provided is significant to the selected community in that it is a considerable amount of research contributed by a community member, for the community, from a community perspective. This is significant in that it contributes a valuable portion of Peguis history.

The data and research provided may also contribute to the Native education "knowledge bank" and identify the issues that arise in regards to local control and self-government. This is especially important since the transfer of decision making power from federal government to Native leaders and their people is currently underway.

Boundaries of Study

- 1. Since reserves are affected by many sociological, political, economic and cultural factors, the findings of this study may be limited to the one site studied.
- 2. Policy will be reviewed as it pertains to the one reserve.
- 3. With respect to Native leaders, the Native community and the concept of self-government, this study focuses on Native perceptions i.e., Federal and Provincial government positions and options were not sought out in this study.

Assumptions

This research is written under a basic belief best reflected in the words of Ovide Mercredi, National Chief of the Assembly of First Nations, 1991-1997:

The treaties are a connecting thread through the history of the relations between the first peoples and the newcomers Treaties represent relationships between distinct peoples or nations reached after discussion and negotiation.

... the treaty negotiation and ratification ceremony reflected First Nation culture and tradition ... a pipe ceremony accompanied the agreement to symbolize the sacredness of the commitments.

The First Nations view treaties as sacred. They are to endure for as long as the sun shines and the rivers flow. They cannot be destroyed, ignored or forgotten. They cannot be wished away. (Mercredi, 1993, p. 66).

Additionally, this research assumed the following:

- 1. Local-control is a goal of Native communities; and is a step toward Native independence and self-government;
- 2. The concept of local-control invites co-operation from Native community members in building a preferred future;
- 3. Participants of the study felt free to express their opinions openly and honestly with a fellow band member.
- 4. Participants felt a sense of responsibility to ensure accuracy and honestly in their responses given that this research is building part of the community history.

Drawbacks of Interviewee as Community Member

It is only fair to point out that:

- 1. The researcher, as a Native person from the community studied, may bias participant options.
- 2. Participants may not have felt free to openly express opinions for a variety of reasons.

Thesis Overview

The following chapters will briefly review the literature surrounding growth of a nation and oppression of peoples through formal educational systems. The opinions of the people of Peguis will be presented and discussed. This thesis will focus primarily on the literature findings, and the opinions of the people of the Peguis First Nation. Research that in some way contributes to this area may help to give direction and guidance to those working in the "ranks" towards growth and independence.

CHAPTER II: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Introduction: Sociological Study

This study is an educational case study drawing strongly upon a sociological background. The literature review presented will seem scattered unless reader interpretation takes into account the following:

Sociological case studies attend to the constructs of society and socialization in studying educational phenomena. (Merrium, 1988, p. 26)

and

Educational case studies drawing upon sociology have explored such topics as . . . the actual verus the hidden school curriculum, the relationship of schooling to equalities and inequalities in society at large. (cited in Merrium, 1988, p. 26)

A literature review interprets and synthesizes what has been researched and published in the area of interest . . . they form part of the foundation for the new study at hand. (Merrium, 1988, pp. 61-62)

The literature review put forth may be deemed "unconventional" in regards to the perspective of First Nations education as a process of liberation for a colonized people. However, the perspective set out in the literature review comes from the interpretation of a First Nation individual linking "what's out there in the literature" with the personal reality and beliefs and interpretation of the researcher as a First Nation individual. Although the literature review is broad and may seem to span many theoretical ideas Merrium states; "all research should take account of the context and also the relevant forces outside the

unit being studied" (Merrium, 1988, p. 1).

The literature review for this research centers around three areas forming a philosophical basis:

- 1. Part one of the literature review discusses schools and socialization; this section briefly reviews Native education both past and present, including the topics of internal colonialism and school as socializing systems. These topics will be associated with the development of local control.
- 2. Part two discusses social transformation, the school and direction. Comparisons are drawn between First Nation self-government movements in Canada and social transformation. Two works will be focused upon. In the first, "Education Reform When Nations Undergo Radical Political and Social Transformation" (La Belle & Ward, 1990) the primary focus is on the concepts of pre-transformation and post-transformation characteristics of a nation undergoing change. The second work related to Aboriginal self-government is "Synthesizing Gramsci and Freire: Possibilities for a Theory of Radical Adult Education (Mayo, 1994). Gramsci and Freire's ideas will be drawn upon since both were involved in "an ongoing struggle against systemic, structural and symbolic forms of oppression" (Mayo, 1994, p. 125).
- 3. Part three examines the community-school concept and local control of Native educational systems.

Schools and Socialization

... A massive [Native] non-formal, self-educational campaign is under-way that, however obvious, is largely over-looked and goes unrecognized by formal

educational institutions such as schools. (Lipka, 1989, p. 221)

As First Nations begin a new era, the movement is toward band-controlled education, settling land-claims, self-government and educating/training people to accept the responsibilities that will be required of them in the new First Nation government system. As one Inuit man commented, "a guy can no longer be a hunter. A guy almost has to be a lawyer to understand what's going on" (Lipka, 1989, pp. 217-218).

The role of education through "local control" has bought about questions of school effectiveness, governance, and policy-setting in the context of community values and norms. Considering the high drop-out rate for Native youth from Canada's educational system, the following question is appropriate; "for whom and on whose behalf are educators working?" (Mayo, 1994, p. 135).

This question has been especially relevant to Native government systems which now have some control over their own educational system with the intent of developing education "for Native people by Native People".

Native leaders are now trying to get away from a past of "Colonialism". Colonialism being defined by Perley (1993) as:

- a. the forced, involuntary entry of the colonized group into the dominant society;
- b. the colonizing power adapting policies that suppress, transform or destroy native values, orientations and ways of life;
- c. manipulation and management of the colonized by agents of the colonized group; and;

d. domination, exploitation, and oppression justified by an ideology of racism, which defines the colonized group as inferior. (p. 119)

Summarizing the above list in a few key terms such as suppression, destruction, manipulation, domination and oppression helps to focus the history of Canada in regard to Native people. The past is common knowledge for many, the question is, "what role does the educational system play in enforcing actions such as the ones listed above, both in the past and present?"

Canada's history in regard to First Nations education is a grim commentary on relations between Native people and Europeans. Perley (1993) states that missionary and residential schools epitomized the defining characteristics of colonial education:

- a. geographic separation of schools and communities from which students came;
- b. the colonized were not consulted in the planning process regarding their education;
- c. parents performed no role in the determination of educational content;
- d. content had little to do with culture or society of the colonized;
- e. usually only primary education was provided;
- f. missionary schools emphasized moral training,
- g. the language utilized in schools was that of the colonizer;
- h. language of the colonized was devalued and discouraged:
- i. practical skills like agriculture and manual trades were emphasized;
- j. culture of the colonized was negatively evaluated;
- k. the history of the colonized, if given at all, tended to focus on tribal conflicts,

famines, and barbarism in contrast to the "peace and orderly progress" under colonial domination. (p. 121)

It is through band-controlled schools that Native people are struggling to take true control of their own educational system. However, there are problems in defining the true degree of band-control that actually exists in locally controlled schools:

Control implies that one has the ability to change, experiment, develop, and grow, it implies that one can identify needs and then plan and implement strategies to meet those needs, it implies that one can control income and expenditures, establish criteria for success, and have direct governance of one's own affairs. This is not the case when one refers to a band controlled education system. (Goddard, 1993, p. 165)

Goddard suggests the term "band-managed", keeping in mind that the majority of the teachers are non-Native, post-secondary Institutions, certification branches, provincial departments of education, and the Department of Indian Affairs decide certification of teachers, decide how and what should be taught. In other words,

We are still left with the majority society determining what kind of people we will be and left with the majority society determining how, and when we should teach what things so we will become what they want us to become. (Whyte, 1982, p. 26)

The view of education to "acculturate", which is defined as the process of adopting the cultural traits or social patterns of another group, especially a dominant one (Random House Dictionary, 1987) may be a difficult concept to accept, since it suggests a politically driven agenda. However, educators such as Freire argue that a neutral educational system does not exist. He argues that; "neutrality is a convenient alternative to saying that one is siding with dominant" (cited in Mayo, 1994, p. 135). Freire believes that schools are used by regimes to strengthen their power-hold in society.

This can be illustrated using the Canadian example of the current educational system teaching a history of Canada which emphasizes that it was built by the British and the French (the two Founding Nations). Teaching this type of historical perspective further destroys Native identity and self-esteem, continuing in the domination and oppression of First Nations people. Native students are socialized as to their position in this country through the educational system.

Present educational reform throughout Canada and the United States focuses on the concept of the community school, and site-based management. The community school concept tries to improve learning by adjusting the "nature of the curriculum to mirror the values and culture of a society" (Koens, 1989, p. 42). For Native people, the school system reflects the values of society, the dominant society. Young states; "schools reproduce the inequalities that already exist in society . . . indirectly if not directly legitimatize inequalities" (Koens, 1989, p. 387). The "hidden curriculum" of the school system, "instructs the student in what to value, whom to see as a hero, and what goals he can inspire to, while pretending to provide freedom of choice" (Friesen, 1981, p. 17).

Educators must question themselves as to whom, and on whose behalf they are working (Mayo, 1994). This question brings us to the realization that Canada's school system is far from neutral and far from including and working for the First Nations of Canada. As a result Native people are struggling to establish their own educational systems promoting an agenda of their choosing. Local control is viewed as the avenue for change.

Social Transformation: The School and Vision

Contemporary research on local control of education and the developing of locally controlled educational systems for First Nation youth must by necessity be intertwined with the concept of "self-government". The roots of self-government wind through Canadian Native history as well as current and future social direction.

The newly forming concept of self-government has been debated by Native people, government officials and Canadians as a whole. Self-government can be related to Stanley and Nelson's definition of social transformation as a means or process of transforming the state and status of a society based on justice and equality. In essence self-government is social-transformation. "Social transformation is defined as the continuing improvement of the society by applying social issues using the values of justice and equality as grounds for assessing the direction of social change to be pursued" (Stanley & Nelson, 1986, p. 530).

Definitions of self-government include phrases such as, "self determination", and "control of one's own destiny" words such as, "justice" and "equality" are also common denominators (Cassidy, 1991, p. 1). To my understanding the first two phases of self-determination and control of one's own destiny describe the outcomes of self-government. The last two words justice and equality are the rationale behind self-government.

Between the rationale and outcomes lies the self-government process - the building process that results in improvement of Aboriginal society. Self-government can be clearly defined as: "the development of parallel social, economic, cultural, and political institutions run by and for the benefit of the Aboriginal peoples" (Hylton, 1994, p. 10).

Changing Dominated/Dominant Power Relations

With the development of Canada as a nation, Aboriginal people have been placed in a powerless position by dominant society. Self-government gives Aboriginal people the power to make decisions for themselves and contravenes the established pattern of dominated/dominant group relations. Resistance to the self-government process may result since it contravenes the established dominant/dominated pattern. Canadians may view Native control of education and Native self-government as a challenge or a threat (Perley, 1993). Perley (1993) states that, "rather than viewing control of education as a challenge it should be viewed as a process of liberation for both the colonized and the colonizer" (p. 125).

The discussion so far has focused on Native self-government as a process. Although many Canadians are unaware of this process, social change is in progress. Frideres (1993) highlights current expressions of Aboriginal resistance to colonialism in the goal to achieve independence, namely:

- 1. Cultural resurgence;
- 2. Defense of territory, e.g. blockades;
- 3. Economic and political actions;
- 4. Reinterpretation of historical events;

5. Formation of inter-tribal and international networks

Frideres (1993) also describes Canadian government tactics to "resolve" overt expressions of resistance (e.g., Oka crisis, Cardston blockade) as effective in simply removing media attention from the situation and not effective in addressing underlying issues. Frideres further describes government tactics in negotiating with Native people as "stall, threaten, stall, coerce, stall..." (Frideres, 1993, p. 367).

Despite government delay, First Nation communities continue to struggle for the improvement of native society.

Progress differs depending on the reserve in question. Most reserves are still in the "pre-transformation" period of social change (La Belle & Ward, 1990). As Gramsci states:

... every revolution has been preceded by an intense labor of criticism, by the diffusion of culture and the spread of ideas among masses of men [sic] who are at first resistant and think only of solving their own intermediate economic and political problems for themselves who have no ties of solidarity with others in the same condition. (cited in Mayo, 1994, p. 128).

Solidarity of Aboriginal peoples of Canada is held back by isolation, reserve social problems, competition for funds, and lack of transportation.

In the second stage, the transformation period, there is a concern for practical training and literacy and there is a new sense of nationalism and pride (La Belle & Ward, 1990).

School and Community Direction - Education in the Change Process

Current literature also centers around schools striving to increase the health of the community. Healthy community means; "... positive and functional states of physical, emotional, spiritual, psychological and intellectual being of the individual and the collective" (Calliou, 1993, p. 27).

Healthy communities can be fostered through the community school concept, Olson states that the school and community should "identify needs, set priorities and organize appropriate educational measures to achieve those goals sought" (Calliou, 1993, p. 35). The literature on social transformation also supports the idea of schools as vehicles to help improve existing conditions,

Schools can and should be used to promote progressive social change. The schools have long been used to instil national loyalty, to prepare for war, to develop skills for business, to prepare "good citizens", to separate individuals into different roles in the society. (Stanley & Nelson, 1986, p. 528)

Locally controlled schools have the opportunity to work towards developing their own agendas. An agenda that will involve their communities and their children in a participatory learning process.

Deciding what constitutes a "good citizen", and designing schools to help that person explore options for his/her place in the community becomes a priority. Communities can decide what skills are required for autonomy, and work towards self-sufficiency. Local control can be viewed as an avenue to developing a vision to give children direction.

The vision is related to curriculum and it has also been proposed that the curriculum be "an etched reflection of established cultural reality" (Koens, 1989, p. 42). The cultural reality includes many factors depending upon the profile of the community. Calliou (1993) states;

Thus the role of the school and education are viewed . . . as active processes where individuals are engaged with contemporary problems that have an historical basis, in order to develop long-term solutions that are appropriate to local, cultural needs, under the direction of self-government and self-administration. (p. 39)

Addressing social problems in contemporary Native society will help to overcome the lack of Native student interest and motivation in the current educational system. The two motivational rules of "what is rewarding gets done", and we do "what we believe in, think to be good and feel obligated to do" (Sergiovanni, 1992, p. 45) become paramount. Teaching and learning with purpose and meaning fosters commitment. Freire advocates this when he speaks of learning "through a pedagogy of question" where "the culture of the learners increasingly becomes the basis of the learning process" (cited in Mayo, 1994, p. 136). Teaching involving social, economic, and political problems helps to create a curriculum that fosters group identity and cohesiveness. This type of social education implies changes to teaching materials (e.g., textbooks), teacher education and the curriculum, all of which focus on goals to achieve a vision of a preferred future.

How Schools Reflect the Community

The fledgling local control process, is usually a move toward disregarding the provincial curriculum in favor of teaching "culture"; or moving toward a slightly modified provincial curriculum. Whyte (1982) states;

... the emphasis in schools must be turned away from the almost exclusive focus on the conditions of the past, (except to enforce group identity through an understanding of cultural heritage), and turn instead toward a critical analysis of contemporary conditions and investigation and testing of future potential. (p. 28)

This may be interpreted in the First Nation context as Native heritage tied directly to Native rights therefore making heritage an essential aspect of education. However, heritage must be a reflection of the present through social dilemmas and interest of Native kids. To them, the past is not more important than the present, to preserve Native identity and self-esteem, Native heritage must be taught but so must current Native reality.

Additionally, Lipka warns that community based learning is more complicated that simply adding in "culture" or addressing community problems in the curriculum. He believes: that the school must be viewed as a resource to the community (Lipka, 1989, p. 216).

The view of the school as a service provider for the community is essentially a return of the educational system back to the parents. The school as a resource builds community consensus surrounding issues or skills and incorporates them in the curriculum. Lipka gives the example of the Eskimo communities of Yup'ik Alaska, which agreed to allow the

students to "step into the shoes" of their elders and simulate events community members were involved in. The school held classes such as "A Simulation: Native Corporation Business Ventures", and "The Alaskan Claims Settlement Act: A Land Selection Simulation" (Lipka, 1989, p. 221). He cautions:

- a) The school must follow the lead of decision-makers, elders and community members in developing curriculum. In many Native communities youth are expected to listen, learn and follow by example. Teachers and students are not expected to usurp authority and presume to "solve" problems. Issues can be discussed as can be decisions and implications.
- b) The school can be used to reinforce decisions and issues of the band.
- c) Consensus with band decision-makers is essential if the school is to be viewed as a resource of the community. (Lipka, 1989, p. 216)

The school can be viewed as a reinforcer for self-determination. The goals of the community and decisions of the community stake-holders should directly influence the school which in turn reacts by reinforcing through study the issues at hand. This type of educational system is along the lines of transformational outcomes based education which operates on three premises put forth by Spady:

- 1) What are the conditions that students will face in the future when they are assuming various roles in their adult lives?
- 2) What skills, knowledge, strategies and attitudes will they have to have to be

successful in those future contexts?

What learning experiences will facilitate their accomplishments? (cited in Earl,1993, p. 7)

Working with the community toward a vision produces commitment. School goals must be redefined to recognize and legitimatize community issues, thereby providing a semblance of legitimacy and usefulness to the school, which has always been viewed as separate from the community (Lipka, 1989). The school's "reason" for being on the reserve must be questioned as to whether it is there to disable or empower students and their communities (Cummins, 1986).

Empowering Native students through education is important. In regard to empowerment, one of Freire's concerns is with political literacy. This involves learning the dominant language to gain power and move from the periphery of political life. (cited in Mayo, 1994). This political literacy is essential for a community in transition. A strong foundation and infrastructure must be secure if the community is to support self-government. Band controlled schools will be faced with helping their kids overcome and cope with the feelings generated by a system that is controlled by the dominant society. This involves talking about feelings and situations, inequities and fallacies. History must be "confronted, mastered and transformed" (cited in Mayo, 1994, p. 134), this process will give Native students a voice in speaking for their rights. This is especially important in securing Native people's rightful place in Canadian society and in building Native self-esteem, pride and nationalism. Local control is the first step in building a system of Native empowerment.

Conclusion

Throughout this chapter we have followed the thread of local control in the context of First Nations growth and development. In summary, part one put forth ideas that schools become a reflection of the community, while acting as a resource to community development. Local responsiveness and First Nations nationalism were discussed as bases for curriculum development. The school was described as a "reinforcer to community development" and as a foundation for further self-determination. Educational change through local control was recognized as essential for First Nations growth and development.

As stated in the introduction to this chapter, the topics of the literature review form a broad based back-drop for the concept of local control. Although these concepts span many topics and are sociological in theory they relate holistically to teaching and learning in a First Nations context.

CHAPTER III: METHODOLOGY

Introduction

Chapter III discusses the theoretical orientation and research strategy employed for this study, Qualitative research theory is presented along with descriptions of data collection and analysis. The interpretation of the researcher and trustworthiness of the research is also discussed at the conclusion of the chapter.

Theoretical Orientation and World View

Chapter II stated that this study is an educational case study drawing strongly upon a sociological background: "Sociological case studies attend to the constructs of society and socialization in studying educational phenomena" (Merrium, 1988, p. 26). The world view described is a holistic one allowing understanding of multiple realities. Since qualitative research is a function of interaction and perception (Merrium, 1988), the case study method of inquiry was employed. As such:

The case study seeks holistic description and explanation. As Yin (1984) observes, case study is a design particularity suited to situations where it is impossible to separate the phenomenon's variables from their context. (Merrium, 1988, p. 10).

The study of community on the Peguis Indian Reserve became a study of education in its entire context- entire context encompassing both formal and informal systems. The perceptions of the Aboriginal participants revealed ideology and influence from formal schooling as well as informal constructs such as media and interactions of Aboriginal

people and mainstream Canadians. The sociological constructs of the society in which Aboriginal people are immersed is an important factor in understanding the perspective of the participants.

The study explores, as Merrium (1988) states, the constructs of society. As such, a naturalistic, qualitative research method was employed. Qualitative research interpreted as:

understand the meaning of an experience... qualitative research strives to understand how all the parts work together to form a whole. (p. 16)

... qualitative research assumes that there are multiple realities—that the world is not an objective thing out there but a function of personal interaction and perception.

... Naturalistic being defined as ... to observe, sense what is occurring in a natural setting - hence the term naturalistic inquiry. (p. 17)

The naturalistic, qualitative methodology employed were particularly suited to this study considering the First Nation holistic view of life and reality of perception. "... the qualitative case study can be defined as an intensive, holistic description and analysis of a single entity, phenomenon, or social unit" (Merrium, 1988, p. 60). As Merrium (1988) states:

I chose this paradigm because I believe that research focused on discovery, insight, and understanding from the perspectives of those being studied offers the greatest promise of making significant contributions to the knowledge base and practice of education. (p. 3).

Site Selection

The main purpose of the study was to gain insight into how local control of education impacted the building of a First Nation community- the site selected was an economically advanced reserves with a locally controlled school identified in a Canadawide exemplary school study. The site selected held potential to relate directly to education and community building.

Methods of Data Collection and Triangulation

... Use of multiple methods of collecting data is one form of what Denzin calls triangulation. Methodological triangulation combines dissimilar methods such as interviews observations, and physical evidence to study the same unit. (Merrium, 1988, p. 60)

Data collection was based on the concept of triangulation. Interviews, observations and in some cases written responses field notes were employed as sources of data.

Sampling

The holistic approach to obtaining data required sampling of participants from all segments of the community under study. Participants were selected employing two methods:

(a) random selection and; (b) criterion based sampling. This sampling is "nonprobabilistic" (Merrium, 1988) taking into account: ". . . the assumption that one wants to discover, understand, gain insight; therefore one needs to select a sample from which one can learn the most" (Merrium, 1988, p. 48).

For the purposes of this study the following sample was selected:

- 1. Community leaders of organizations related to education (Including the school principal, teachers, Chief and Council, School Board, Child and Family Services, etc.).
- 2. Elders.
- 3. Youth (Young Chief & Council, graduates and young-education students).
- 4. Community members (including a sampling of working parents, unemployed, welfare parents, and single mothers & fathers).
- 5. Religious & traditional leaders.

Random Selection

The elders, youth and community members involved in the study were randomly selected based on a arbitrarily, selected number applied to the Peguis Band list (special effort was made to include all major family names in the sample).

Criterion-Based Selection

Bogdan and Biklen (1992) state: "You choose particular subjects to include because they are believed to facilitate the expansion of the developing theory" (pp. 71-72).

Goetz and LeCompte (cited in Merrium, 1988) refer to this sampling type as criterion-based. Specifically, quota selection where researchers "identify the major, relevant subgroups of some given universe" (Merrium, 1988, p. 49). This form of sampling is "nonprobabilistic" taking into account: "... the assumption that one wants to discover, understand, gain insight; therefore one needs to select a sample from which one can learn the most" (Merrium, 1988, p. 48).

The religious, traditional leader participants and community organization leader groups were suggested by the Chief. They were chosen by the researcher specifically

because of their unique perspective and position within the community. Random selection in conjunction with criterion-based gives a more holistic picture of the community.

The sampling of the Peguis population was selected to provide a wide range of participants from different backgrounds within the community site. Bogdan and Biklen (1992) state:

If you cannot see everything and talk to everybody, you want to make sure that you sample widely enough so that a diversity of types are explored. You want to understand the range of materials and the range of perspectives present. (p. 67)

The Interview Process

Webb and Webb (cited in Merrium, 1988) state: "an interview is a conversation - but a conversation with a purpose" (pp. 71-72). Patterson explains further that the purpose of an interview is to find out things we cannot observe such as, thoughts, feelings, past situations or future intentions therefore we must ask people about these things thereby allowing us to gain insight into their perspective of reality (Merrium, 1988). In this case study, every effort was made by the interviewer to build an unthreatening atmosphere between interviewer and interviewee. As Bogden and Biklen (1992) state:

If you treat people as "research subjects", they will act as research subjects, which is different from how they usually act . . .

about their lives, their experiences, and particular situations, they model their interviews after a conversation between two trusting parties rather than a formal

question and answer session between researcher & respondent. (p. 47)

Interviews were semi structured based on the interviewee feelings toward the study (i.e. apprehension, anxiety, sadness). Semi structured interviews are "guided by a list of questions or issues to be explored, but neither the exact wording nor the order of the questions is determined ahead of time" (Merrium, 1988, p. 74).

Written consent was obtained from all participants, all but one agreed to have the interview process taped on micro cassette recorder, all interviews were transcribed.

Extensive written notes were also kept of each interview. Confidentiality was guaranteed to all participants.

Interviews were held in homes or in the workplace dependent upon the preference of the participant. In the majority of the cases the interviewees were interviewed individually, in one case a husband and wife interviewed together. One small group discussion with student representatives from the Young Chief and Council was held to heighten the comfort level of the youth and give them confidence to speak up. The focus group discussions were held over two eighty minute periods. The time frame for the field research project spanned from February 27, 1995 to April 1, 1995.

Contact with potential subjects for the study occurred after a lengthy discussion with the Chief of the Peguis Nation acquiring his permission and sanction for a study of community education. All subjects were informed of the discussion between researcher and Chief and assurance was given to all participants that the study was to further education only and was not intended to hold political implications.

Supporting Documentation

Supporting documentation was obtained from participants during the interview process. Community leaders offered various supporting documents such as workshop proceedings, research findings and previous studies as these topics arose in the interview conversation. Each document was numbered, categorized and placed in the research body of data.

Observations of participants during the interview process were also recorded through field notes. Student narratives were collected from ten grade twelve students during an eighty minute informal essay writing session focused on topics relevant to the study.

Data Analysis and Reflections on Interpretation

Introduction

Data are ordinary bits and pieces of information found in the environment . . . Whether or not a bit of information becomes data in a research study depends solely on the interest and perspective of the investigator. (Merrium, 1988, p. 67).

Data analysis for this case study is based on the interest and perspective of the researcher as a First Nation individual who has lived the life of an Aboriginal person on the reserve and in Canada. Education, formal and informal life experiences, all contribute to the data analysis presented to the reader. The literature review in chapter two "links specific findings to previous work" (Merrium, 1988, p. 63). Readers of this study are to realize that the literature review dramatically impacted interpretation of results. Merrium (1988) states: "The literature review can help in the formulation of the problem, in the selection of methodology, and in the interpretation of research results" (Merrium, p. 63).

Glaser (1988) also states: "Ideas, of course, make one theoretically sensitive, and the more ideas and the more they connect tend to make the analysis sensitive to what he may discover in his data" (Merrium, p. 63).

The research did not set out to "prove" any specific theory, however, increasing connections developed as research furthered and explored various avenues of data including the perceptions of the participants.

The context of the First Nation social strata within Canada became an important and unescapable factor to understanding the perceptions of the people involved in the study. Bogden and Biklen (1992) discuss the conceptual framework of cultural studies: "Cultural studies orientations insist that all social relations are influenced by power relations that must be accounted for in analyzing informant's interpretations of their own situations (p. 41).

Reliability

Reliability is not the focus of this study. Reliability interpreted by Agar and Heider (Bogden & Biklen, 1992) as "the expectation that there will be consistency in results of observations made by different researchers or the same researcher over time" (p. 48). Rather this study aims: "... to better understand human behavior and experience ... seek to grasp the processes by which people construct meaning and to describe what these meanings are" (Bogden & Biklen, 1992, p. 49).

Generalizability of Findings

Bogden and Biklen (1992) explain how generalization of findings relate to some qualitative research:

another way some . . . qualitative researchers approach generalizability is to think if they carefully document a given setting or group of subjects, it is the someone else's job to see how it fits into the general scheme of things. (p. 45).

The results of this study may or may not relate to some readers, and other researchers may or may not come up with different data and findings since interpretation of results is dependent upon the interpretation of the researcher (Bogden & Biklen, 1992).

Ethical Considerations

Bogden and Biklen (1992) state "ethics in research are the principles of right and wrong that a particular group accepts" (p. 49). In writing of the report and the data collection procedure the following were considered to be ethical guidelines:

- 1. The subjects' identities should be protected so that the information you collect does not embarrass or in other ways harm them. Anonymity should extend not only to writing, but also to the verbal reporting of information that you have learned through observation. The researcher should not relate specific information about individuals to others and should be particularly watchful or sharing information with people at the research site who could to use the information in political or personal ways.
- 2. Treat subjects with respect and seek their cooperation in the research. While some advocate covert research, there is general consensus that under most circumstances the subject should be told of your research interests and should give you permission to proceed. Researchers should neither lie to subjects nor record

conversations on hidden mechanical devices.

- 3. In negotiating permission to do a study, you should make it clear to those with whom you negotiate what the terms of the agreement are, and you should abide by that contract. If you agree to do something in return for permission, you should follow through and do it. If you agree not to publish what you find, you should not. Because researchers take the promises they make seriously, you must be careful as a researcher to be realistic in such negotiations.
- 4. Tell the truth when you write up and report your findings. Although for ideological reasons you may not like the conclusions you reach, and although others may put pressure on you to show certain results that your data do not reveal, the most important trademark of a researcher should be his or her devotion to reporting what the date reveal. Fabricating data or distorting data is the ultimate sin of a scientist. (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992, p. 54)

In the context of the study two areas require further discussion considering the sensitivity of the issues involved:

- 1. Consent and cooperation of present Native government leaders.
- 2. Fairness and objectivity are essential factors; unethical practices or miscommunication could result in immediate closed doors thus ineffective research results. Reserve settings also require relevancy to the participants involved.

In regard to ethics there was a strong sense of obligation to "do the right thing" bought about by dedication to the profession and to the First Nation people involved in the study. Bogdan and Biklen (1992) state of the qualitative researcher: "... ethics are

understood in terms of their life long obligations to the people who have touched their lives . . . " (p. 55).

Conclusion

This methodological chapter aims to highlight the importance of interpretation and perception throughout every strand of the data collection procedure. The presentation of the literature review in Chapter II gives the reader a First Nation contextual awareness and sets the stage for interpretation of results.

The preceding chapters have pieced together an interwoven picture of the role of the researcher in collecting and interpreting data. The piecing together of information was intended to give the reader an understanding of the context through which the researcher would be interpreting conversations, results and findings. Amidst all of the power struggles in Canadian society individual bands of Native peoples scattered across the vast expanse of Canada struggle to throw off the blanket of colonialism and oppression and build a healthy future. This thesis examines the struggle of one community, the Peguis First Nation after twenty-one years of local control of education and newly forming recognition of social position in Canada.

CHAPTER IV: COMMUNITY STRENGTH THROUGH VOICES OF THE INDIVIDUAL: AN INTERWEAVING OF THOUGHTS IDEAS AND OPINIONS IN THE BUILDING OF A NATION

If all we had was poverty to govern that would be devastating . . . (Chief Louis J. Stevenson)

Historical Context

The sections of Historical Context and The Context: Getting Your Bearings was reprinted from Kistinootin: Peguis Central School, Exemplary School Project Technical Report written by Archibald, Haig-Brown, Olson, Cochrane and Friesen (1986):

The history of the establishment of the Peguis Reserve gives some insight into the community as it is today and the accompanying complexity of the school's situation. For First Nations people, education and land issues are inseparable. Treaty #1 which addresses rights of the Peguis Nation and was signed in 1871, states, "Her Majesty agrees to maintain a school on each reserve hereby made whenever the Indians of the reserve should desire it." One of the keys to this school's success, a commitment to the children of all those who built, moved with, and make up the current community arises from this history.

Chief Peguis and a Band of Saulteaux Indians came from Sault Ste. Marie to the Red River in the latter part of the 1790s (Thompson, 1973, p. 1). Finding Cree camps where all the inhabitants had died of smallpox, the Saulteaux felt that this

place, no longer needed by others, could be their new home. They settled near

Netley Creek. Peguis worked closely with the European settlers who were moving
into the area. He converted to Anglicanism in 1838 bringing may other Band
members with him.

In 1871, seven years after Peguis's death, a treaty was signed "giving" approximately 48, 000 acres of prime farm land (St. Peter's Reserve) to the Saulteaux. About thirty years later, non-Native farmers with their eyes on the land persuaded government agents to negotiate a trade with the people for 75,000 acres of bush and muskeg further north. The "negotiation process" is a story in itself. In 1909, the people of St. Peter's moved to the current location of the Peguis Reserve. By 1911 the first school was built, one of the pre-cursors of the Central School. Churches followed with the Anglicans using the schools for some years and completing two churches by 1922 in South and Central Peguis. A third church was completed in North Peguis around 1925. A Roman Catholic Church was built in 1919 and even earlier, in 1912, the first Apostolic Chapel, "now known as Pentecostal" (Thompson, 1973, p. 56) was built in the North. A Pentecostal Church was built in the south in 1943. Today the Pentecostals remain a strong presence on the reserve as do the Anglicans. A growing commitment to traditional Native spirituality is also prevalent.

The Context: Getting your Bearings

An outsider coming to Peguis Reserve travels Highways 7 and 17 north from the Winnipeg Airport to the Interlake region of the province. This is the space on the

map with lake Winnipeg to the east, and Lakes Manitoba and Winnipegosis to the west. You drive through farm land much of the way. For miles before the reserve, fields and brush are interrupted only occasionally by small, plain farm houses, a rare feedlot filled with muddy cattle, or one of the scattered prairie towns, its streets lined with more stucco houses, a co-op, small stores, always more than one church, a hotel or motel, and several gas stations. Well into the fall, the combines and mowers are standing in the fields and running into the night. "Unusually late harvest this year ... rainy summer slowed the growing," the farmers say. Large round bales dot the hay fields; in one field, the hay lies still on the ground perhaps to be baled on the next fine day, left to rot, or even ploughed under. The brush is made up of smallish trees, primarily poplars, birch, tamarack and jack pine, as well as other shrubs.

The reserve, Treaty Number 1, Reserve 1B, has huge welcoming signs declaring it the largest reserve in Manitoba at 75,000 acres. In November of 1993, the line for population is blank--obviously numbers are changing. The Peguis Band membership clerk says at last count there were about 5200 registered band members and of those, 2300 live on the reserve. You turn west onto the reserve and drive for another ten or fifteen minutes to reach the school past more ploughed fields, low brush, and rural houses. You pass some more signs: one pointing out the Peguis Treaty Grounds, another listing various facilities and a third, the services and stores in the new Peguis Mall, visible from the highways. Next you pass the fire department, a police station and a public works department. New bleachers, constructed and painted by a summer youth project, frame the ball field. On the left,

a park is being developed beside the Fisher River.

As of January 7, 1998 the community boasts a much awaited new school building currently housing Kindergarten to grade five as well as an old school building for grades 6-12. Because of space shortage, the Nursery is located at another site. The two local schools provide education services for approximately 980 students. Next to the new school building is a new Early Childhood Centre scheduled for opening Spring of 1998.

Travelling through the community and entering local shops and/or restaurants one notices that the majority of employees are Aboriginal people. Chief and Council, Peguis School Board and school administration (principal/vice-principals) are all Peguis Band members. Directors of community social agencies (i.e., Child and Family Services, Alcare Treatment Centre, Senior Citizens Residence are Aboriginal and are Peguis Band members. Non-Aboriginal employees are primarily situated in the local hospital and school, although a high percentage of teachers and nurses are Aboriginal. In many ways Peguis fits the stereotype of a reserve . . . quiet houses along a main roadway, with some kids playing around outside, etc. In many ways, however, it doesn't fit the stereotype. Chapter IV allows readers to share the thoughts, feelings and ideas of those people who live in the houses and constantly struggle to build a better life for themselves - Canada's First Nations.

Starting Below the Surface: Oppression

Introduction

This study was intended to view the interactive relationship between school and community. It was stated in the previous chapter (cited in Merrium, 1988): "As Yin (1984) observes, case study is a design particularity suited to situations where it is impossible to separate the phenomenon's variables from their context" (p. 10).

This chapter on Starting Below the Surface: Oppression is a necessity to understanding the relationship between First Nations people within Canada. It is only from understanding the context of the life of a person that we can fully understand their perceptions. Starting Below the Surface examines underlying feelings of the participants. First we hear the Voices of the Youth, then a composition of conversations drawing in parents, elders and community leaders, and lastly, the teachers and the uniqueness of their position in Canada as the "teachers" of Canada's First Nation children.

The questions asked during the interview process were simply starting off points for open discussion. Interviewee's were given ample opportunity to talk in a relaxed atmosphere. Although "school" and "local control" were to be the focus of the discussions participant data also revealed a struggle for community self-determination and power. Societal socialization patterns, and the struggle to overcome inferiority through a meaningful education system also came to the forefront.

The conversations in this chapter are not intended to hurt or in any way cause separation between Native and non-Native groups. These conversations may not in any way be reproduced in whole or in part without the permission of the Peguis Band. The

discussion is an honest look at the impact of socialization for both Native and Non-Native Canadians past, present and future.

In traditional Native society learning from stories was the way our youth were educated. Learning from story-telling is the way we will proceed. The following excerpts were recorded during an interview focus session with the Peguis Young Chief and Council (similar to a student council). Students ranged in age from fifteen to seventeen years of age. The conversation has been edited for length.

Voices of the Youth

Researcher:

What do you see for Peguis down the line?

Student:

Peguis is starting to change, things will eventually come . . .

Student:

We have the recreation centre, baseball fields, tennis courts, a track . . .

Student:

Yes, but the kids go and wreck things. Like even our room here at the

school got wrecked. I was really mad, I just gave up.

Student:

I think kids need to be taught at a earlier age to take responsibility.

Student:

Some kids think it doesn't matter if they break stuff because the band

will give them another one.

Student:

. . . if people need money they could just go and ask the Chief and

Council.

Student:

Like when I went to school off the reserve, I had friends who had this discussion about how they would have to work really hard to get money to pay for their university and how it would be a real struggle . . . how my side they just had to go and ask for funding and they said the we get

this or that. They got really mad and we got into this be argument over it . . . (pause)

My friend felt really resentful because we got stuff . . .

Researcher:

How did you feel?

Student:

I didn't really say much because I knew it was a touchy issue, but I just let her vent her anger, I just sat there and said, "I know how you feel", and stuff like that. I told her that she should check out her own opportunities for funding through student loans and stuff.

Researcher:

You were asked to define what it means to be Native, what do you think about being Native.

Student:

In some ways it feels like . . . there is a beautiful and rich culture, but people don't make use of it and some people who do they have to hide and they are afraid to show it.

There is a lot of prejudice and hate because . . . I don't know either they [non-Native] are jealous of them [Native], or resentful. They [society] just look down of them because of the stereotyped image.

They [society] think we are drunks or that we do bad things.

Student:

Sometimes I think that they think we should live like the white people . .

Student:

... You can see it on T.V.

Researcher:

Is that where you picked it up from on T.V.

Student:

The rest of Canadians, the majority of Canadians they think we are

pampered because we get all of these rights.

Student: Why couldn't we live like the way white people do, like big cities and nice

houses, even mansions, and some of them are doctors and lawyers.

Researcher: Why do you think we have a hard time becoming doctors and lawyers and

stuff?

Student: Because we are put down and not given the support.

Researcher: Put down from who?

Student: F rom society.

Analysis

Young people tend to view things in black and white. All things are new to them. They watch and learn the rules of society. These students said what they thought, despite the implications of their politically loaded words. The teenage years are a time when they learn about the justices and injustices of the world. The life they live becomes an education system. This is the meaning of "socialization". Socialization defined by Random House Dictionary (1992) as: "a continuing process whereby an individual learns and assimilates the values and behaviour patterns appropriate to his or her culture and social position." Formal schooling plays a supporting role to the socialization patterns of the real world. The youth involved in the focus group were very open and candid with their feeling and experiences. They did not intend to hurt any particular group, whether it be their own people or mainstream society. They did however reveal a dark side of degradation and frustration.

They wanted independence for their people as well as fairness and dignity to believe

in "Indian" as a positive thing both on the reserve and in mainstream Canadian society.

"There is a lot of prejudice and hate because . . . I don't know either they [society] are jealous of them [Native people], or resentful?" (student interviews).

The other major factor arising from the conversation was the concept of inferiority. First Nations have a history of battling inferiority. The phrase "feelings of inferiority" had originally showed up in this portion of the manuscript to help describe the youth, however it was deleted because to a large degree the people of Peguis have overcome this. It would be misleading to say that this focus group felt "inferior", it would instead be more appropriate to say that the youth receive messages of inferiority from society and are in conflict because the people of Peguis deny these messages of inferiority. The students involved in the focus group, and one can assume Aboriginal youth in general, need direction and assistance in understanding their unique position in the country. During the interview session there were moments of apathy exhibited by the students. Apathy meaning lack of motivation or interest specifically in regards to Native studies, Native history and Native language. In the student essays as well, students equated "being Native" to facing racism and being put down. Unfortunately, many of these feelings of inequality are being left unaddressed. Calliou (1993) states:

Thus the role of the school and education are viewed . . . as active processes where individuals are engaged with contemporary problems that have a historical basis, in order to develop long-term solutions that are appropriate to local, cultural needs; under the direction of self-government and self-administration. (p. 39)

In essence, Calliou (1993) is advocating changing the education system to meet the needs of the student population. The question is, what kinds of structural changes are required to the educational system that will address or deal with the issue of oppression.

Freire advocates learning "through a pedagogy of question" where the culture of the learners increasingly becomes the basis of the learning process (cited in Mayo, 1994, p. 136). Teaching involving social, economic and political problems helps to create a curriculum that fosters group identity and cohesiveness. This type of social education implies change to teaching materials (e.g., textbooks), teacher education and the curriculum, all of which focus on goals to achieve a vision of a preferred future.

It is also important at this point to recognize that "culture" is not simply adding in traditional activities, as Whyte (1982) states:

The emphasis in schools must be turned away from the almost exclusive focus on conditions of the past, (except to enforce group identity through an understanding of cultural heritage), and turn instead toward a critical analysis of contemporary conditions and investigation and testing of future potential. (p. 28)

This may be interpreted in the First Nation context as Native heritage tied directly to Native rights, therefore, making heritage an essential aspect of education. However, current study of Aboriginal people as oppressed peoples, victimized by the system is bound to produce apathy and depression in the student population. Heritage must be a reflection of the present through social dilemmas and interest of Native students. To them, the past is not more important than the present, to preserve Native identity and self

esteem, Native heritage must be taught but so must current Native reality. As stated in Chapter II, Band controlled schools will be faced with helping their kids overcome and cope with the feelings generated by a system that is controlled by a dominant society and/or working towards changing the system.

The young people of Peguis who participated in the interview are to be commended for their strength in revealing their inner most thoughts and feelings in regards to their identity. It is heartening to hear that they see a brighter future for their community.

Voices of the Community

This section gives us a glimpse "under the surface" of feelings and thoughts that weave throughout the community. We hear voices of parents, elders and community leaders as they discuss the battle to keep the blanket of inferiority and oppression from smothering the reserve.

The questions asked during the interview were probes designed to dig deeper into responses given by participants. The responses were recorded during extensive discussions and have been edited for length.

Parents

The reason they [Aboriginal people] might be ashamed is because they hear people say things like, "They are nothing but drunken Indians".

Researcher:

Where would you hear people say these things?

Off the reserve. When you go in a store, if they think you are an

Indian they follow you around . . . as if I was going to steal something. And watching shows on T.V., the way they treat Indians . . . things like that, it seems that when you hear things on T.V. or hear things from people it's always putting Indians down. It seems like, "Well, they are Indian, they don't deserve that . . . they could do with what they have . . ."

I just know what it's like . . . I just picked up on it. I seen it on T.V., the way people treated us when we went to Winnipeg . . . it was like they were better than you. And from what other people on the reserve tell you . . . because it doesn't only happen to one person it happens to everybody.

Helen Betty Osborne, they have a movie about her now, I seen the movie.

Whenever I watch the movie I get really p---- off, I get really mad ... because of the way they treat Indians ... that whole town they treated her ... they talked about her like she was nothing ... didn't do anything about her murder, how many years before somebody even got charged for killing her? Just because she was an Indian, that whole town protected those killers because they were white. I don't think that all people who aren't Indians think Indian's are bad, it's just that a lot of people do think that way. Out of every ten people, maybe one person would say something good. I don't know what it's like when our kids from the school go away to university, I don't know what it's like for a kid to go away to school because I never got the chance to do it. I think the Chief and Council should send them to a place where there is only Native people, because when you go

somewhere where you feel like you are being put down . . . it's hard . . . people treat you bad and you don't want to stay around a place where you are getting put down all the time.

Because of the boarding school experience, there was that negative feeling
... a lot of us that went away, the boarding school experience brought us
down so much. It was like they would think, "you are only Indians".

Everybody should know their treaty right. I know that we ended up on the reserve because white people moved her, Indians they just have a little piece of land and that's it. They are all herded off to one spot, it's like you have to stay here you can't go off your reservation..it seems like we are outcasts from everybody else because everybody else is better than us. Except for the white people that you may meet that are really nice . . . that's what makes you feel that it could be different.

Teachers

It's disguised prejudice. It's very hard to pinpoint, if you don't know. I know, I go shopping for the school and when it comes to GST and PST, I have left stores in Winnipeg on different occasions because of racism towards Native people, one store in particular. The check-out lady was outright, outright disgusted, because we didn't have to pay GST and PST. I told her you aren't very knowledgeable lady, because this was in the treaty rights. A lot was given up for that piddle little tax that you want to collect so bad. I took my business elsewhere. I know that there is prejudice out there. I know it.

There was a girl in my grade nine class who was top of the class, she was working at a grade ten level. When she went to school in Fisher Branch [a neighbouring non-Native community], within two months I saw her and she had totally changed. It was like her spirit was broken . . . I felt really, really sad when I saw her and it really bothered me but I know Fisher Branch and there is outright prejudice there. It is still there. I don't know what happened, but she did quit, since then I have taught her children and everyone of them, even though they were bright, everyone of them quit

Elders

Researcher:

. . .

You said that you felt like a nobody, what did you mean?

In the business world, Indians have been handled like that, they have been handled like a nobody. In life we are all equal, but in business with the government . . . things are different.

That's what hurts a lot of people they don't want to be Indian because . . . I don't know why . . . but we are never going to turn into French-men or any other type of person.

Community Leaders

We still have that mentality that the white man is up here and we are down here [gestures with hands, two levels with Indians on the lower level]. Many people still think that we have to listen to what the white people say.

Researcher:

Why do you think that we have that type of mentality?

That mentality has been sown from the past. Planted in our thoughts . . . the old Indian agent concept.

We were told "you can't be an Indian and educated at the same time, it was one or the other". The teacher told us this, they were hired by Indian Affairs. It was a policy of assimilation.

It is not hard to define what it is to be Indian, it's easy. I always discover that when I work with Indian people they say, "It's hard to be a Indian". I thought about this and I thought to myself, "No way, it's not hard to be an Indian, it's easy to be an Indian because you can be yourself, you can be you". It must be hard for those people who can't accept who they are and they have to pretend and act for everybody. So I always tell people be who you are, if you are Native then be Native, it's easy. It's easier to accept who you are and to be who you are than trying to pretend that you are something else. I find that white people are dying to be Indians, and Indians don't want to be Indians.

Researcher:

Why do you think the Indians don't want to be Indians?

It is because of what the government system has done to Indians, it has outlawed

their ceremonies . . . they did so much . . . they *punished* people for trying to follow the traditional ways of their people. Christianity and the churches have completely made our people believe that anything Indian is bad, it's evil, it's witchcraft . . .

Indians are always sitting in the back and not saying anything, and thinking that maybe the white society has dominance over us, that has always been there. I think that it is coming to the stage now where people are starting to overcome that, and it's not easy.

I am sensitive to the needs of our students, society tells us to join the main stream but if that stream is polluted why should we?

Analysis.

The participants interviewed for this portion of "Starting Below the Surface" are more mature than the participants of the previous youth interviews. These participants are young mothers, middle aged married people, some are welfare recipients or working professionals. All have one thing in common, they are all Native, and have been through the formal/informal education system. They have denied inferiority and faced prejudice. Participants displayed various reactions to the attempted socialization of inferiority including anger and bitterness. The people exhibited a solid understanding of the past injustices against the First Nations.

One parent in particular discussed the murder of a Native lady from La Pas,

Manitoba.

whenever I watch the movie I get really p__ off, I get really mad . . . because of the way they treat Indians . . . the whole town treated her . . . they talked about her like she was nothing . . . they didn't do anything about her murder . . . Just because she was an Indian that whole town protected those killers because they were white.

This portion of the conversation reveals a mixture of emotions such as anger, hurt and a strong sense of unfairness and injustice. These feelings were also a apparent in other portions of various interview conversations,"... they *punished* people for trying to follow the traditional ways of life" (Community Leader).

The leaders of the community emit an understanding of what they have been taught from society; "... the white man is up here and we are down here [gestures with hands, two levels with Indians on the lower level] ... it was a policy of assimilation" (Community Leadership).

The media and the education system play important roles in sending messages to Aboriginal people:

... We were told "you can't be an Indian and educated at the same time, it was one or the other. The teacher told us this ... (Parent)

... When she [Native student] went to school in Fisher Branch [a neighbouring non-Native community], within two months I saw her and she had totally changed. It was like her spirit was broken . . . I felt really really sad when I saw her.

Unfortunately, it is difficult to affect change in society as to attitudes toward

Aboriginal peoples. However, control of education does give Aboriginal people the ability to ensure school empowers rather than disempowers Aboriginal youth.

For this generation of First Nations people there is a predominant feeling that life is hard, a constant struggle to believe in oneself. It is also apparent that inferiority messages are no longer being accepted by the leaders who represent the people, "Society tells us to join the mainstream but if that stream is polluted, why should we?" (Chief Louis J. Stevenson).

The breaking down of psychological barriers of oppression and inferiority become a must for community economic development, growth and survival. Removal of barriers also allows young people to walk into the future with dignity. As stated in Chapter III, the context of the First Nations social strata within Canada becomes an important an inescapable factor to understanding the perceptions of the people involved in the study.

The Meaning Behind Local Control

Peguis took over control of education from the Department of Indian Affairs jurisdiction in 1977. The people of Peguis defined local control in a variety of ways.

The following conversation is a glimpse of selected recorded interview conversations intended to give the reader insight into the people and their beliefs. Each mini-paragraph is taken from a different conversation, whether it be from an elder or young person, school board member, employed or unemployed.

Recorded Conversations

Researcher:

What does local control mean to you?

It means that finally, our people - Aboriginal people, not just the people of Peguis, but Aboriginal people as whole have the right to make their own decisions about life on the reserve - having to do with education, spirituality, politics, anything like that. Control by first Nations people, First Nations people creating systems for themselves. People being part of the process directing their lives.:

It's the "Straw man Syndrome"; Education in name only but nothing substantial to it. We have started putting some skeleton and flesh and bone on the meaning of local control but we still have many obstacles to face.

To me, local control . . . the word "control" means that you have power.

Local control is people running their own programs to better suit the needs of the community. It is only us that knows - each community has their own way of doing things. For Peguis, we live here, so we know what our people need.

It's just what the school is that's it. Not improving much, looking at my own kids and what happened to them there is no improvement.

The school board should be making the decisions with the involvement of the principal, teachers and the community.

Our people, Native people looking after the school, teaching in it and doing everything for our students.

I feel fooled by Indian Affairs. We don't have true control we administer a

government program, we don't have real control. We have budgetary restrictions the standards are not our standards.

It means that people on the reserve would be controlling their own destiny. Having control of their own educational system, the way they want to school to run.

Indian control of education, teaching about own ways, our ways of living but it's still run like a white school.

Local control of education means to me control of education by the people.

Local control of education means our own people looking after the school, setting policy for the educational programs here at Peguis. Giving direction

... the philosophy for the school.

All local control has meant up to this point is that Indian Affairs has given us the money to govern what they want. So we just administer the finances for them, that's all it has been so far. We haven't really moved out of the old traditional system, there hasn't really been any new developments, except we have more native teachers teaching in our school but they are still teaching out of the same old textbooks, they are still using the same old materials, nothing has changed

Local control means we would design and implement the type of educational program that is practical and relevant. The people have control to set direction for future development.

Local control of education: Oh, for sure its First Nations people taking care of their own - trying to meet the needs that other organizations or facilities couldn't meet in the past.

Researcher:

So do you think its true control?

Yes we make our own choices in reaching self-government.

Summarizing the Definitions

The definitions of local control show similarities as well as differences in opinions.

Compiling the Peguis interpretations of "Local Control" gives the following picture:

- 1. Control by Aboriginal people as opposed to Indian Affairs.
- 2. Control by the people of Peguis including the Peguis School Board and Chief and Council.
- 3. Control not only of Education but of our own lives, and "destiny". (Self-government)
- 4. Control to set direction for the future based on community needs.
- 5. Control defined as power.

The recorded conversations also revealed the contrast in opinion as to whether or not local control is true control or simply band management:

I feel fooled by Indian Affairs. We don't have true control, we administer a government program . . .

. . . all local control has meant up to this point is that Indian Affairs has given us the money to govern what they want.

It's the "Straw Man Syndrome" . . . we have started putting some skeleton and flesh and bone on the meaning of local control, but we still have many obstacles to face.

The Peguis voices in the debate echo the controversy outlined by Goddard in chapter II of the literature review where he points out that the majority of teachers are non-Native, the majority population decide the certification of teachers, decide how and what should be taught. Specifically Goddard (1993) states:

Control implies that one has the ability to change, experiment, develop, and grow, it implies that one can identify needs and then plan and implement strategies to meet those needs, it implies that one can control income and expenditures, establish criteria for success, and have direct governance of one's own affairs. (p. 165)

Chapter II also discussed the view of education to "acculturate", which is defined as the process of adapting the cultural traits or social patterns of another group, especially the dominant one (Random House Dictionary, 1987). Whyte (1982) states:

We are still left with the majority society determining what kind of people we will be and left with the majority society determining now, and when we should teach what things so we will become what they want us to become. (p. 26)

This same sentiment is reflected in the interview conversations from Peguis.

We haven't really moved out of the old traditional system, there hasn't really been any new developments, except we have more Native teachers teaching in our school, but they are still teaching out of the same old textbooks, they are still using the same old materials, nothing has changed . . . (Teacher/Parent)

A major theme arising from the data was the Peguis people having the power to implement educational programs to address community needs. Building an educational system that is "Peguis".

Breaking Down Barriers and Taking Risks

Strong community leadership also revealed the breaking down of psychological barriers of inferiority.

Recorded Conversation

I see the leadership in the community as really moving things and they took chances, risks on a lot of projects but it still worked out, it came through in the end. What if we would have said, "We can't do that because of this? What if it fails?". We never do things like that, we do things thinking, "This is what we have to do.

We have a continued development in the community, this is going to continue to expand, we see our own people succeed this gives a sense of realism.

I think there is definitely a movement within the community, but I think we can have more, and development can be more than what we have. I know it's scary but we've been with Indian Affairs so long now that it's time to get out on our own.

We think that reserves should have the best educational system in Canada, our own vocational schools . . . universities. More options more choice.

Look at the destructive effects these [alcohol and residential schools] have had on our people. We have to rebuild our society. Self-government is not totally new, its sitting down making our own priorities and decisions - running our own community.

A lot of communities don't take the risks that we do in terms of development. It's not a high risk factor, it's taking risks and doing things that you believe to be right.

A lot of people, they have been part of colonialist thinking, that they can't see themselves as really creating and doing things and we're past that.

What helped us, was putting our own people into positions and saying, its our people that have to do things. Even if we make mistakes and we don't do it as well as some people think we should do it, we are still going to do the best job that we can. Everything that has been created here has been created by our own people, ourselves, the people of Peguis. Everything that you see in this community happened because of people from Peguis, it did not happen because somebody from the outside came in and said, "You can do this or you can do that, we will let you do this, or we will let you do that."

People are saying, "It has to be this way, we want it this way instead of that way".

That's why I think there is a big impact because we hear these things and people feel the freedom to say those things. It's important that people know they have the right to say those things and they should exercise their freedom to say things.

When I think about education I think about the school, I think about those people that aren't part of it. Those that don't have the opportunities, I think we really have to refocus our energy to include them. It's important that we don't just take a part of our people with us in this movement, we must take all of them in the movement. That's why we focus on adult education, we talk so much about our grade twelves like they are so important, but it's also really important that we provide grass-roots education so that as a whole our families can become healthier. They can see that anything that you want to do can be done, and it is so easy to get there once you decide to do it. It's important to help people to get to those points emotionally and educationally. If we want to make the kids stronger academically we must work with the total family unit, because the student will only be able to go so far if their families aren't moving with them. They will go even further if their family is with them and sees the value of it.

Right now people don't want kids to go to meetings or take part in important things going on in the community, but how are kids going to understand what is going on - the decisions that are made. Not that we have to make the decisions, but it would be nice to be involved.

We must also remember that having an education doesn't matter if we loose our own identity, we can't forget where we have come from. We have to remember to identify with all the other people here on the reserve. Like the Chief for example, he knows how to feel the heartbeat of the community, he knows the people's sufferings and hurts and can identify with them.

We do quite a bit of work with the community organizations because there were conflicts that threw us together. Things work out good after. It is kind of interesting to see, they are sort of blaming each other for things that happen, so we put all of the cards on the table, and things work out. Its no good hiding things and trying to . . . nothing ever works out like that. You have to work together, and not against one another.

<u>Analysis</u>

Chapter II maintained that implementing meaningful reform for a locally controlled school must be done with a wide angle view of First Nation social position within Canada past, present and future as well as education based on community needs.

Educational change was suggested based on the following:

Schools reproduce the inequalities that already exist in society and indirectly if not directly legitimize inequalities. The school's structure and hidden curriculum are, in fact, the schools socializing agents. The teachers and administrators attitudes and the programs themselves broadcast clear messages to the students. The schools can and should be used to promote progressive social change. The schools have long

been used to instil national loyalty, to prepare for war, to develop skills/or business, to prepare "good citizens", to separate individuals into different roles in the society and to serve the interest of select groups in the society. (Stanley & Nelson, 1986, p. 528)

and

Reform is most appropriate and effective when initiated by those for whom the motivation is survival. (Lillie, Sanford, & Jayminn, 1991, p. 30)

The section on Breaking Down Barriers and Taking Risks reveals that the community and leadership is willing to take risks in order to improve their circumstances and ensure survival:

I know it's scary but we've been with Indian Affairs so long now that it's time to get out on our own (Community Leader).

... we think that reserves should have the best educational system in Canada, our own vocational school ... universities. More options, more choice (Parent).

From the discussion of the people of Peguis, it is clear they want to develop their own agenda for education and as Calliou (1993) states; "identify needs, set priorities and organize appropriate educational measures to achieve those goals sought" (p. 35).

From the interviews we can see that the leaders are willing to take the risks necessary to build a healthy community. The focus toward building a healthy community and the educational planning that takes place at the adult education level follows Spady's

line of thought although it has yet to fully translate into program development at the lower levels of the educational system:

- 1) What are the conditions that students will face in the future when they are assuming various roles in their adults lives?
 - 2) What skills, knowledge, strategies and attitudes will they have to have to be successful in those future contexts.
 - 3) What learning experiences will facilitate their accomplishments. (cited in Earl, 1993, p. 7)

The other important aspect that surfaced in the interview conversations was selfconfidence:

What helped us, was putting our own people into positions and saying, its our people that have to do things. Even if we make mistakes and we don't do it as well as some people think we should do it, we are still going to do the best job that we can. (Community Leader)

The interview process revealed, from all segments of the community, a renewed trusting of oneself as an able-bodied individual capable of making decisions and taking care of one's community and children. Sadly, this basic human right was robbed from Aboriginal parents under colonial domination. Placing aside doubt and breaking down psychological barriers of inferiority are paramount to building a healthy community.

The next section of this thesis is divided into: (a) Self-government: The Debate,

(b) Building a Community and Educational Planning.

This section gives us insight as to First Nation development and the resultant expectations for education. It is written under the assumption that a school that does not keep pace with its rapidly developing "Nation" will face a high degree of criticism and disapproval from the community it represents. Aboriginal education must reflect its people locally as well as on a national level.

Self-Government: The Context

Introduction

As in previous sections, the following dialogue is a composition of thoughts, concerns and ideas. The excerpts were collected from a variety of interview sources to give the reader a kaleidoscope view of self-government as seen by the people of Peguis. The excerpts selected are strongly representative of interviewee responses in general.

The Debate

We have to recognize that we have our own rights and the right to independence as a "peoples". We are recognized by the United Nations. Canada tries to deny us this by calling us a minority.

Self-government is not going to be any worse than the past, if people are afraid, look objectively . . . look at the devastating effect that outside control has had and compare to what self-government will give them.

In regard to self-government there are many different models that can be used, we could use a resemblance of the old system. The point of it is total control of our

lives . . . to set our own priorities.

I really don't know to much about it.

How can we prepare our kids when the adults aren't even prepared? How can the parents explain things to the kids when ever they don't know. There will be a lot of assuming and guessing taking place about self-government. The Chief and Council or somebody should organize a one day workshop to talk about these things - it would take away a lot of the mystery . . . along with mystery may come fear.

A lot of people don't know what self-government is, the kids should know now what their future is with self-government, even the older people don't know what it is . . . our leaders have to explain. They are pushing for self-government, they must know what they are pushing for. They have to let the community know what it is first, educate the community. I always wonder what will happen, I wonder if we will have to pay taxes. I'm scared of the future for our kids, that's why I want my own kids to go into something that they like so they will at least have a living. I'm really afraid of self-government for our kids.

Well, self-government has got its good points, its got its bad points, its just like any other form of government. I think if we have strong leaders we could probably be the strongest government ever made in this country. That is the way I feel about it because we are a strong people.

Analysis

Speaking to the people of Peguis did not clarify the exact definition of "self-government". It did however become obvious that there is much apprehension and fear in regard to change. The fear exhibited stemmed from the feeling of risking everything and wariness of a "tricky Canadian government" out to cheat Aboriginal people of their rights. A government Aboriginal groups see as representing the view of Canadians in general. If Aboriginal peoples have a poorly stereotyped image in the eyes of Canadians, the Canadian government has an even worse image in the eyes of Aboriginal people:

We must instill pride, be proud of what we are and who we are. Our number one contribution to this country is that we sacrificed our land. It's ironic that now we have to fight for land from the government for unfulfilled treaty land entitlements. We are like the plaintiffs and Indian Affairs is the defendant, jury and judge . . . it can't be this way, it offends justice. (Chief Louis J. Stevenson)

Self-government can be related to social-transformation: "Social transformation is defined as the continuing improvement of the society by applying social issues using values of justice and equality as grounds for assessing the direction of social change to be pursued" (Stanley & Nelson, 1986, p. 530)

Stanley and Nelson's definition of social transformation or process of transforming the state and status of a society based on justice and equality or as Hylton (1994) states ". . . the development of parallel social, economic, cultural, and political institutions run by and for the benefit of the Aboriginal peoples" (p. 10). It is also clear that both leadership

and community members believe they can build parallel social, economic and educational institutions. These concepts come through in the voices of the people of Peguis:

We think that reserves should have the best educational system in Canada, our own vocational schools . . . universities

I think if we have strong leaders we could probably be the strongest government ever made in this country.

This line of thought (i.e. building parallel institutions) not only appeared in regard to education and government, but also in the areas of justice and law enforcement, as well as care of the elderly. The community works hard to run things the way they think is right and just.

It is clear that leadership of Peguis involved in this study see systematic wrongs within the Canadian system that must be addressed "we are like the plaintiffs and Indian Affairs is the defendant, jury and judge . . . it can't be this way, it offends justice."

Summary

The people of Peguis have already began the long journey to self-government. If we think of self-government as a process of transforming the "state and status of a society" the people of Peguis can be considered to be moving toward self-governing status. Although they have funding restrictions applied to them, and have far to go in completely taking over all areas of band administration such as; health administration, band membership, justice and school curriculum. These people do see themselves as independent in the way they run their reserve and they are working towards establishing

the "rules" for themselves. This take-over of self-direction found its roots in the movement towards local control - education is drawn naturally into the process. The ideology of the leadership is reflected in the following quote:

The goal is to have our own reserve operating and controlling every aspect of our lives in relation to, not only our neighbours but with government, as a normal kind of thing . . . to get away completely from having to answer, or having to be subject to the whims, or control, or ideas, or supervision, of a bureaucrat in Winnipeg. (Community Leader)

Building a Community and Educational Planning

One of the factors that plays a major role in the development of this community is the importance placed on assessing community needs for future expansion. Peguis is similar to other bands in that it has a high unemployment rate. The employment opportunities have improved substantially over the last 15 years however are still well below the national level. Job creation and formal education through training programs based on needs is part of the community growth process. Consider the following response made by a community leader in regards to program development.

You almost have to take the band list and do research on your band membership list. We have isolated categories of people, we are starting to do some research in terms of ages. We want to see where they are at, where they have come from and what type of options they have. Your community development has to be based on those types of responses, not simply "I want to do this", because that's not

responding to the needs of the community. Responding to the needs of the community is actually seeing who is there and what they need. There is a difference, I can have a whole lot of ideas of what I want to do in my community, but unless it fits into the needs of the youth and everything else it will never fall together and development and progress won't happen. When I talk about development and progress it's based on where people are at—that is where I see the vision for our community. (Community Leader)

This train of thought can be found throughout the community; as in this rationale stated in a recent human resource survey:

[This survey] is intended to identify the skills and employment characteristics of the present and potential labour pool that is available in our community. Also included in the survey are the employers who would be able to define what job skills are needed in the local job market presently and in the future. Students are also included in the survey because they represent our future labour force. (Peguis Development Corporation, 1993, p. x)

Although many projects have yet to translate into actual jobs, some ideas and projects have been fully developed. Two perfect examples of the needs and resultant training can be illustrated using the Peguis New school project as an example. The community has been pursuing a new school building for many years. The community recognized new school construction as a job placement opportunity and quickly provided an adult training program training brick layers for the primarily brick structural work as

well as cabinetry makers for the interior work. Peguis prides itself in being able to take a large percentage of the construction portion of the project. This money earned in turn was rechannelled back into the community. This is but one example of needs assessments, adult educational planning and job placement, similar adult education examples involving teacher training and placement; licenced practical nurse training and placement; business management training and opportunity, etc., can be seen in the history of Peguis Reserve development. As stated in Chapter II, teaching and learning with purpose and meaning fosters commitment.

In addition, Freire advocates learning "through a pedagogy of question where the "culture of the learners increasingly becomes the basis of the learning process" (cited in Mayo, 1994, p. 136).

These ideas are visible at Peguis, consider the following excerpt taken from the introduction to an adult education document produced by Peguis Adult Education

Learning Centre: "[This document will] provide practice of note taking skills, add to personal development, and to assess community needs to combat family violence" (Peguis Adult Education Learning Centre, 1995, p. 1).

The document produced by adult students then suggests workshops and seminars on family violence related topics such as discipline, physical abuse, neglect, parenting, anger management, assertiveness training, empowerment.

As Freire advocates "teaching involving social, economic, and political problems help to create a curriculum that fosters group identity and cohesiveness. This type of social education implies changes to teaching materials (textbooks), teacher education and

the curriculum, all of which focus on goals to achieve a vision of a preferred future" (cited in Mayo, 1994, p. 136).

This aim of the Peguis School Board and community leadership toward job training and literacy through community based workshops and initiatives is providing the community with a strong sense of accomplishment, pride, and purpose. These ideas are in keeping with the second stage of social change where there is a concern for practical training and literacy and there is a new sense of nationalism and pride (La Belle & Ward, 1990).

Teachers and Communication

This section focuses on teachers in their dual role as Canadians and as "teachers" of First Nation youth. The uniqueness of their position is all but forgotten and definitely underplayed in Aboriginal studies.

Voices of the Teachers

Entering Indian Country [Non-Native teachers]

I was going to leave after two weeks, when I first came here I was devastated - I hated it. It was the first time in my life I was a minority . . . I felt like a minority. I remember walking in the mall here on the reserve and everyone stared at me. I didn't know anybody, I had no-one to talk to. I phoned my girl-friend a lot crying and saying I can't deal with this, if I make it to Christmas I'm out of here.

Christmas came, I stayed . . .

I look totally different at things. My mother and father and their generation are

very prejudice and racist. Totally. They are not outright and maliciously racist, they don't go around saying it to everybody or belittling people in public, but they have their little comments within their own race. They will say it to me or in conversation, and that's not just about Aboriginal people that's about all of races - everybody. They are very nice people, but that is the way they were bought up and they don't know any better. They have never taken the opportunity to get any information or to open their minds to changing their attitudes. When I came here, even some of my friends had misconceptions, and even I did to. You hear all these comments about Native people and none of them are true.

Plenty of times people ask me where I work, when I tell them Peguis they say, "Oh can't find a job anywhere else huh? It's to bad you have to be over there." That's always the first thing they say. I have had people ask me, "How is it to work with the Indian's are you scared?". I get really defensive, I tell them that I have never been scared while I was here.

Feeling Left Out

Most Peguis people are accepting, especially once they get to know you. But sometimes I feel that there is a lot of anger out there, I may not have had anything to do with it but I may get the repercussions of it. There is this feeling I get from the students that "your part of..."

I want the kids to see that I'm here and I like my job and I don't see them as

Aboriginal or White I see them as kids who want to succeed in the world and that's my job. I get attached to them as individuals rather than what race they're from.

It's like there is something there but we don't talk about it. Sometimes there is this void between Native and non-Native teachers where they kept to their clique group and if you venture over to the Native side then they disown you or they wonder "is she telling them stuff about us." I did start to get involved with one of the Native teachers.

I tried to stay away from the non-Native teachers clique, I got the impression that the non-Native teachers would . . . well they would have their little parties and their little things together and they would only invite the non-Native teachers. I felt like it was more of . . . they wanted to try to get together to feel the same thing to be comforted. It was more a comforting thing for them, they were not feeling part of it they were feeling like the "outsiders", and that's the way everyone there felt. I didn't like to go because there was only non-Native teachers there. I liked a lot of those people but I just felt like it was only a get together to complain and feel insecure. I didn't want to insecure, I wanted to feel part of the positive, I thought it was very negative. I understood why it happened it was just like people getting together who didn't fit in - to reassure one another. At least they had somebody that understood them, had the same problems.

So I was not part of that group anymore, and I think that they didn't really like the

fact that I ventured out to do other things. That is the perception that I got, that it was very hard to fit in, but as a non-Native teacher coming in here we need to be given opportunities to fit in to be part of things, and to talk about things, some of the problems we might face . . .

I have a Native friend who is a teacher. One day one of the new [non-Native] teachers came and asked us if we were going out to a party. The Native teacher said "no", because she wasn't invited. This new non-Native teacher didn't know what was going on yet because he was new, he was saying "Yeah, come on out to the party." He was embarrassed later . . .

Researcher:

So would you say that the younger teachers who are new are being socialized?

Yeah. I was really hurt by the whole thing and so was my [Native] friend. She should have been invited, she is young and single too. There was no reason why she should not have been invited [; aside from being Native].

Building Understanding Between the Two Groups

You know what really makes me angry? I get like \$ 300.00 taken off my cheque for taxes . . . I don't mind it when I see my money going towards programs and that, but when it goes towards paying for some [Native] groups to go to five conferences a year that's what gets me mad.

I am talking about non-Native staff. I have an idea of what is going on with them

when they stick in their little groups - what they are thinking and feeling pretty much, because you feel it from them within the school.

I used to be part of a clique, but I like all people and it bothered me that there was a cliquish thing going on, I don't know if it was done intentionally, but it was a bitching session with new teachers. Now it's better, there is more integration. I heard some of the discussions, I couldn't take it because my loyalty is here with Peguis.

In terms of Native and non-Native teachers, in my mind, it really doesn't matter who is teaching, as long as they are quality teachers. A lot of times when they try and do local control, sometimes they get a little overboard and try and hire all Native, I've known of other places where they have gone local control, and they've hired the opposite. It is kind of iffy there - to go either way.

Researcher:

I like the idea of quality teachers.

Yes, it doesn't matter what race they are. There is only one thing important, education, rather than the money, or for the one year experience.

People can find fault with everything, it's not perfect here and it will never ever be perfect because nothing in life is perfect but it's 100% better than other places. I have watched Peguis grow and I'm really, really proud of everyone's accomplishments, against all odds they did it.

Analysis

Teachers interviewed for this study ranged in age from young freshly graduated university students to older "veteran" teachers who had been with Peguis Central for many years. Both Native and Non-Native teachers took part in the study. The discussion focussed on a major variable; communication barriers between Native and non-Native groups.

The discussion revealed mixed feelings about the Native/non-Native relationship within Canada (e.g., feeling of non-belonging, differences of opinion as to Native treaty rights). A variety of reasons may cause teachers to split into a "us/them" behaviour. Lipka (1989) points out that staff have various ways of dealing with this behaviour specifically non-participation in discussion and focussing on teaching and tolerance instead of political or social separation. Lipka (1989) states, "tensions between small Native communities and the larger dominant society get played out by students, community members and teachers" (pp. 229-230).

Some non-Native staff also reveal that they do feel the separation between Native peoples and mainstream society. One teacher comments, "I have had people ask me, 'how is it to work with the Indians, are you scared?" Misconceptions and unresolved issues cause barriers to friendships, acceptance and the development of equal partnerships amongst Native and Non-Native groups. Teacher training becomes paramount to successful reform for First Nations schools.

Uncertainty and Power

Some of the teachers expressed fear/uncertainty in regards to working for a First

Nations government. One teacher comments:

Because we are non-Native teachers . . . They feel scared for their jobs. I think they need . . . I don't know even how to explain it to you, it's like sometimes . . . Example, a teacher got let go, nobody knew why, and that scared everybody right? I could go to the office or do something, they may see it as very serious but I don't know it's serious . . . so we need to know where we sit right away. It's like sometimes you can just p___ the wrong person off, and well that's justification enough to get rid of you, and sometimes that's really hard to take. Because you don't know, your unsure, you've done your job the best you can but because it's such a close knit community, you don't know who you may get mad.

Apprehension and/or the resultant fear is to be expected when employees are working in a newly forming system whereby the rules and policies may not be firmly established. Understanding how things work in a new culture is difficult, especially when the dominated/dominant power relations pattern is reversed. In other words, on the reserve it is Native leaders and the Native government system that are in the positions of power. Teachers on the whole expressed a need for communication to build understanding, trust and loyalty. As well, policy development outlining expectations lessons apprehension and makes the work environment a positive place.

Conclusion: Two Worlds

Final reflections upon the body of research in this chapter opens up two worlds of thought. In one world the messages of control, domination and ownership of "Canada's

Native People" is still an incredibly strong force. The conversations recorded from the Peguis Community clearly indicate feelings of oppression from "the system". This one world is kept at arms length but threatens to protrude into the community at every opportunity.

The recorded conversations also revealed another world rejecting of inferiority and oppression, alive with economic growth and development and the beginning of inward understanding of oneself as Aboriginal. Apprehension regarding the future of the community is also revealed. Apprehension in all areas, religion, education, medical services, justice, etc. "What is best for us and our children is the question. Become mainstream?" Go for self-government? Develop own curriculum or use provincial curriculum? Develop own child welfare act or use the provincial child welfare act? Traditional cultural beliefs or Christian religious beliefs? Go with provincial legal systems or Aboriginal justice systems?

These questions are all high stakes, because the decisions made guide the future. This study began with local control, the full impact and relationship between local control and self-government was greatly underestimated by the researcher. The questions asked during the interview included one on whether self-government should be taught in school which was intended as a "tack-on" question regarding current Native issues. Although leadership responded well to the question many interview participants did not respond well, they felt unsure and lacked confidence in searching for an answer, many declined comment.

Ironically, despite people being unable to define the phase "self-government", the

concept represents, in full blown capacity, education and community growth exhibited by Peguis First Nation. Self-government inexplicably becomes part of the Aboriginal world because it is part of current Aboriginal reality.

Chapter IV allowed readers to hear the thoughts, ideas, opinions and stories of the people in the community of Peguis. The voices revealed obstacles and struggles of Indigenous people in the past, in the present and in the future as well as the aspirations of both the individual and the community. Despite many doubts and hardships the community works hard at developing a people run owned and operated community where there is more to govern than poverty; a Nation.

CHAPTER V: EDUCATIONAL VISION AND FUTURE PATHWAYS Introduction

Chapter V of this study is intended to tie together the final thoughts and ideas that emerged from the research data. This chapter is divided into several sections.

- Educational Vision: (a) Education for Identity, Empowerment and Skill
 Development, (b) Education for Open-mindedness and Respect in the Search for
 Spirituality
- 2. Communication
- 3. Development of Teacher Awareness/Teacher Resource Material

It may seem unorthodox to be inserting interview data into Chapter V since this last closing chapter is usually reserved for recommendations and suggestions for future study. However, in keeping with the concept of self-government, the recommendations will come directly from the people of Peguis through a vision of education.

The vision is once again the voices of the people giving us an idea as to what the community sees as important/valuable in setting a meaningful education system. Each voice is a recommendation as to what must be built into the system.

The following is a piecing together of thoughts and ideas of participant interviews.

The vision presented is far from complete, it has been edited, unfortunately many good ideas had to be left out for practical literary purposes. The excerpts are taken from various interview transcripts and span from youth to elder including community leaders, teachers and school administration. The excerpts are non-identified to give all participants an equal voice in the development of the school vision.

Educational Vision

Education for Identity. Empowerment and Skill Development

The basis of self-government is "from the people for the people", this vision is from the people of Peguis for the people of Peguis. The following views on education come from all levels of Peguis society.

Recorded Conversation

Youth need strength and confidence in the future. The provincial curriculum misses this component. We need curriculum leadership, to ensure that the kids are getting what they are supposed to developing in the core areas. The Provincial system is not really made up to help our own students. If you look as all the graduates in the last few years you can see that they are all dropping out, quitting. Our children are not being readied to meet the outside world, a lot of them go out there and experience racism and prejudice. They go out there to universities and colleges and they can't survive . . . to be able to survive today and to make it in society as Native people you have to feel good about yourself. If you ask the kids at the school, "You know you are an Indian?" many of those kids still do not truly know that they are Indian.

Students have to feel good about their contribution to their country. Build up their strength and they can stand up to things like racism... we have limited content in terms of making kids aware of the rights they hold as Indian people—their human and civil rights.

We have to stress the difference between rescuing and supporting to develop independence, and that's where the problem is here now. For example, we make rules and regulations for kids, when they break the rules and the consequence comes, it never happens because we save them. The way it is now we do not give youth the opportunity to be independent, we make them dependent.

I really think that the kids have to be strong in verbal communication, not just sitting back and saying, "well, this person told me this and I'm just going to accept that." I think the kids should be taught not to accept things at face value. If someone tells you something question it, and as far as life skills, I think the students have to be taught their basic rights, if there is an injustice done to them, don't just accept it, do something about it. Other survival skills are the value of money, how to budget, how to seek out services that they need.

This is how I see our centre for the future developing. The training in the different fields of carpentry, mechanics, office clerical work, those kind of jobs should be introduced to the youth and have them train in those areas. Hopefully, one of our dreams is to build a youth vocational centre here as a focal point not only for youth of Peguis but youth from all over Manitoba and Canada.

For the youth of the future, I would like to see them being active in a political nature, not extreme, like AIM, but more involved. For them to be doctors and lawyers, to have that voice to say, "Yes, this is where I came from and I will be

representing my people."

We have to prepare our students for the information age as well as the service industry or if you will, entrepreneurship . . . where kids can get into their own businesses.

I like the idea of a young Chief and Council, it shows proper election procedure.

They should take them to the band office and show them the books, show them the negotiating that they have to do. Show them what the Chief and Council really have to do, the negotiating, dealing with the community, get them involved. Get them involved within the community and with the negotiating. To me if you do that then you are showing your youth

. . . the real world that they are going to have to deal with.

I really think that they should be making students politically aware, right now.

The kids have to know something about self-government, I don't know how we teach it when, we don't know what it is ourselves. I guess there has to be an educational process put in place somewhere down the line.

Education for Open-mindedness and Respect in the Search for Spirituality

Every person should have an open mind, what if that child grows up to be a social worker? That social worker has to have an open mind to every belief and they have to fully understand the various choices that an individual may make. A client may want to go to a Pentecostal Church, Anglican Church or to a medicine man.

the social worker has to know what's involved in each.

It's so nice to hear the elders talk, they always say that we have to realize that we all have to accept everyone's beliefs, it's okay to have your own beliefs, but we shouldn't put down somebody else's. We have to be accepting of the Traditional beliefs and the Christian beliefs.

The school first of all must respect the wishes of the parents. Anything that we do must be okay with the parents and must be okay with the students. Everyone must be comfortable with what we do in the school, that is most important. If people don't want something and if they are uncomfortable then it can't be a part of the school.

Analysis

Future direction in the community depends upon the leadership of Peguis and the people involved in the process. Decisions made are based upon needs and priorities.

This locally controlled school in itself is a prime example of one of the organizations with a mandate of high expectations. Two underlying principles are:

Development of programming based on student and community needs; curriculum based on community consensus.

Chapter II stated that the fledgling local control process is usually a move to either of two extremes, disregarding the provincial curriculum in favour of teaching "culture"; or moving toward a slightly modified provincial curriculum. Whyte (1982) states;

... the emphasis in schools must be turned away from the almost exclusive focus on the conditions of the past, (except to enforce group identity through an understanding of cultural heritage), and turn instead toward a critical analysis of contemporary conditions and investigation and testing of future potential. (p. 28)

The educational vision of the Peguis community follows Whyte's line of thinking exactly. Parents, leaders and elders know what they want their kids to learn:

- strength, confidence and independence;
- education for identity, empowerment and skill development;
- political literacy and communication skills;
- open-mindedness and respect in the search for individual spirituality
- options and choices in strong educational programming.

It is the challenge of the school and community to build and educational system that reflects community aspirations.

Communication

Participants in the study also stressed the importance of communication: "It takes everybody to educate a child, everybody has a role to play whether its the home, school, other organizations in the community; at one time that was the way of Indian people (Elder).

The new way of talking or communicating includes phrases such as, "networking" or "interagency collaboration". Regardless of terminology the concept of working together is an important principle that arose in the data.

Development of Teacher Awareness/Teacher Resource Material

Another important area for development is teacher awareness and teacher resource material. As one teacher states:

There hasn't been enough research completed or enough things put together so that a teacher can just pick up this thing and say okay this is what's being taught in Manitoba for Native Awareness, Native History. Just like how you pick up a Grade 8 Math book, its there you know...

Having textbooks written from the First Nation perspective is a major area requiring development. Gramsci states (cited in Mayo, 1994): "It is not only the dominant culture which has to be mastered . . . but also knowledge of history history too needs to be confronted, mastered and transformed" (pp. 133-134). First Nations history must be confronted and transformed to Indigenous world view and curriculum development intertwined and supported with production of locally produced books.

The second major factor involved in First Nation education is teacher training. If educational change is to occur the following must be taken into consideration:

A major reason previous attempts at educational reform have been unsuccessful is that the relationships between teachers and students and between schools and communities have remained essentially unchanged [dominating/dominated]. The required changes involve personal re-definitions of the way classroom teachers interact with the children and communities they serve. (Cummins, 1986, p. 18).

In other words, curriculum changed from a rather simplistic one of including socially appropriate materials, to including, "the internal dynamics of the school, the relationship between the school and community, and the dynamics between the community and larger dominant society" (Lipka, 1989, p. 217).

Simply stated adding in "traditional culture" is not enough, the "two worlds"

(Aboriginal and mainstream) discussed in the previous chapter must be examined and teachers trained to understand the current platform of First Nations. Teachers who address their personal beliefs and those of mainstream Canadian society in regards to Aboriginal rights become dedicated quality teachers committed to First Nation education.

Conclusion

Chapter II focused on school as socializing agents as to position in society, i.e., colonialism and education for Aboriginal peoples in Canada. Chapter II also discussed self-government as the continuing improvement of Aboriginal society resulting in self-determination and control of one's own destiny. Along with self-government came discussion on dominated/dominant power relations and education in the change process as well as building of parallel educational, economic, and political institutions.

Chapter IV introduced us to the community of Peguis in an attempt to understand the view of the Aboriginal people living daily under the present system that shapes their lives. We heard that on an intergenerational basis, from the youth to elder that the constructs of society place Aboriginal people on a lower level of the country's social strata. We also hear from both Aboriginal people and non-Aboriginal Canadians (teachers) that communication barriers do exist in this country between Aboriginal groups

and mainstream society. Lastly, we review Peguis as a community no longer accepting the inferiority conferred upon them. The conclusion as to whether or not Aboriginal self-government does relate to social-transformation of a nation will be left to the discretion of the reader.

The study of education on the Peguis Reserve related to many issues in regards to Aboriginal peoples in Canada today. The educational vision set by the community was in direct contrast to the defining characteristics of colonial education as stated in Chapter II.

- a) geographic separation of schools and communities from which students came;
- b) the colonized were not consulted in the planning process regarding their education;
- c) parents performed no role in the determination of educational content;
- d) content had little to do with culture or society of the colonized;
- e) usually only primary education was provided;
- f) missionary schools emphasized moral training;
- g) the language utilized in schools was that of the colonizer;
- h) language of the colonized was devalued and discouraged;
- i) practical skills like agriculture and manual trades were emphasized;
- j) culture of the colonized was negatively evaluated;
- k) the history of the colonized, if given at all, tended to focus on tribal conflicts, famines, and barbarism in contrast to "peace and orderly progress" under colonial domination. (Perley, 1993, p. 121)

The First Nations communities have suffered under the colonialist educational system. The original language of Peguis has been virtually wiped out. However, the community still struggles to retain its identity. Education is just one facet of many areas requiring community development, for now the community of Peguis finds itself in the transition period between leaving colonialism and entering self-government. During this transition period communication, education and determination become paramount.

In Chapter IV Peguis community members defined local control and self-government as arising out of necessity to take charge of their own lives. Chapter IV also compared needs with educational planning as well as glimpsed into the thoughts of the teachers hired to carry out the education programs for the community.

Chapter IV proposed an educational vision based on the words of the community.

Stressed was the following:

- education for strength, confidence and independence;
- education for identity, empowerment and skill development;
- education for political literacy and communication skills;
- options and choices in strong educational programming.

Chapter V suggested further development in the areas of teacher training and development of Aboriginal resource materials. The comparison between the community's vision/dream of quality educational programs in comparison to the colonialist system gives readers an idea of the amount of work the First Nation must complete toward development of a strong educational, political and economic system parallel to the current Canadian government system.

Despite on-reserve efforts to instill in the youth pride and ideas of a brighter future, it is disheartening to realize that the colonial system of "Aboriginal inferiority" undermines the healthy development of First Nations youth. However, present off-reserve movements towards anti-racist education and the recently released report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal peoples are positive steps towards altering the dominated/dominant power relations within Canada.

It is equally important to realize, however, that many Aboriginal communities such as the Peguis First Nation, are currently working towards overcoming the stereotypes by building a strong community. Education and empowerment through local control of community organizations is viewed by many as the avenue for positive change.

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Appendix A: Parent, Community leader, and Elder Interview Guide

Prior to the interview, discuss approval of the study, the nature of the study and matters of anonymity and confidentiality. Try to ease into the interview by discussing the tape-recorder and how it makes people uncomfortable, reassure participant and help the person to feel at ease. Record the person's position and name. Advise the interviewee to:

- a) take their time answering questions,
- b) be as candid and honest as possible.
- 1. First, I would like to ask you what comes to mind when you hear the phrase "local control of education".
- 2. What are some of the things you think are important to the education of our children?
- 3. Do you think our kids should cover Native issues such as "self-government", and Native treaty rights in school? Why or why not?
- 4. As a community member your view is very important to me; I would like to know if you feel the school meets our needs? Why or why not?
- 5. How do you feel the community effects school policies and/or teaching practices?
- 6. Are there any particular areas (eg. subject matter, behaviour policy, teaching practices, etc.) that you feel needs to change in the school?
- 7. What are some of the things you like about the school?
- 8. a) The school has a vision statement and school goals, do you feel the community should be involved in setting the vision? Could you explain why you feel this way?
 - b) If yes, how do you think this could be accomplished?
- 9. a) What type of relationship do you have with the staff of the school?
 - b) Do you find any differences between the Native and non-Native teaching staff.

Could you explain further please.

- 10. Who do you think most influences how well a student does in school. Why?
- 11. a) What do you see in the future fir the students attending the school?
 - b) Do you think the school system is preparing them for their future? Why?
- 12. If you had one message for students what would it be?

Well that is all the questions I have; before we finish though, is there anything else you would like to add?

Appendix B: Teacher/Principal/School Board Interview Guide

Prior to the interview, discuss approval of the study, the nature of the study and matters of anonymity and confidentiality. Try to ease into the interview by discussing the tape-recorder and how it makes people uncomfortable, reassure participant and help the person to feel at ease. Record the person's position and name. Advise the interviewee to:

- a) take their time answering questions,
- b) be as candid and honest as possible.
- 1. First, I would like to ask you what come to mind when you hear the phrase "local control of education".
- 2. What are some of the things you think are important to Native Education?
- 3. Do you feel the school adequately meet needs of the community? Why or why not?
- 4. Do you know of any constraints toward local control? Could you explain in more detail please?
- 5. How do you feel the community effects school policies and/or teaching practises?
 What are some of the problems that arise? Benefits?
- 6. Are there any particular areas (eg. Subject matter, behaviour policy, teaching practises, etc.) that you feel needs to change in the school?
- 7. What are some of the things you like about the school?
- a) The school has a vision statement and school goals; do you feel the community should be involved in setting this vision? Could you explain why you feel this way?b If yes, how do you think this could be accomplished?
- 9. a) Do you think our youth should cover Native issues such as "self-government", and Native treaty rights in school? Why?
 - b) Do you foresee any problems with covering topics such as these? How do you

think the kids would react to such topics?

- c) How do you feel about discussing Native issues in class? Can you give me an example?
- d) Do you find any differences between the native and non-native teaching staff in regards to teaching, community relations, etc,?
- 10. Are there any conflict situations that are unique to teaching in a local control school?
 Can you give me an example?
- 11. Have you had to make any changes in the classroom unique to teaching in a Native school? How? In any areas in particular?
- 12. What type of relationship do you have with the community? Why?
- 13. Who do you think most influences how well a student does in school? Why?
- 14. a) What do you see in the future fir students attending school?
 - b) Do you think the school system is preparing them for their future? Why or why not?
- 15. If you had one message for students what would it be?

Well, that is all the questions I have, before we finish though, is there anything else you would like to add?

Appendix C: Student Interview Guide

Prior to the interview, discuss approval of the study, the nature of the study and matters of anonymity and confidentiality. Try to ease into the interview by discussing the tape-recorder and how it makes people uncomfortable, reassure participant and help the person to feel at ease. Record the person's position and name. Advise the interviewee to:

- a) take their time answering questions,
- b be as candid and honest as possible.
- 1. First, I would like to ask you what comes to mind when you hear the phrase "local control of education".
- 2. What are some of the things you think are important to Native education?
- 3. a) Do you think students should cover Native issues such as "self-government', and Native treaty rights in school?
 - b) Do you see any problems with covering these topics?
 - c) If you do discuss these topics, how does it make you feel?
- 4. What would you say if someone asked you why you have treaty rights?
- 5. Are there any particular things that you feel need to change in the school?
- 6. Have you ever experienced racism? How do you deal with it?
- 7. What type of relationship do you have with the staff of the school? Do you find any difference between the native and non-native teachers?
- 8. Who do you think most influences how well you do in school. Why?
- 9. a) What type of future do you see for yourself? What about your friends?
 - b) Do you think the school is preparing you for the future? Why or Why not?
 - c) Are you going on for further education? If not, why? If so, do you think you will return here some day to live? Why or Why not?

Appendix D: Letter to Chief and School Board

108-4510 Valiant Dr. N. W. Calgary, Alberta T31-0X9

February 24, 1995

Peguis First Nation General Delivery Hodgson, Manitoba R0C-1N0

Peguis School Board & Peguis Chief and Council:

Re: Thesis requirement for completion of Masters of Education Administration

As the band may be aware I have been residing in Calgary for the past year and a half completing my Masters Degree in Education Administration. I have completed the required course-work an am now beginning the thesis stage in my program. I hope to finish by late spring or early summer. I have completed the proposal for my study and would like to submit it to you for permission to fulfill this requirement on the Peguis Reserve.

Since my home has always been Peguis, I have a vested interest in channelling my time and energy into the educational system of our own community. Having taught at Peguis central School, the Assiniboine College Nursing Program located on reserve, and tutored at the adult education centre, I feel I have a lot to offer the community in regards to ideas for educational improvement.

Since my arrival in Calgary I have kept up with the activities at the school and know that curriculum development is a priority. I spoke to Mrs. McPherson and she mentioned that the school Board has undertaken several studies designed for school improvement. "Where we came from, and where we will be going in the future" were focal points for these studies - coincidentally, my research focuses on school and community vision. My time here in Calgary has been concentrated on youth and their vision of the future. I have spoken to several groups of Native kids on setting and achieving goals, motivation and future. I have also spent some time lecturing at the university, helping to prepare

education students as to teaching in reserve schools.

If this proposal is approved I would work with both the school and community leaders in finding the voice of the youth and parents. I hope that you (the school Board & Chief and Council) would in some-way find my research valuable for your own use.

To summarize my proposal, I am interested in the relationship between school and community and setting and achieving school vision. If approved I hope to interview the Chief and Council, school board and school administration, teachers, community elders, the young Chief and Council, senior high students, parents, and other persons in positions dealing with youth. The total number of interviews should amount to approximately forty. This number should give me a good representative cross-sample of the vision people hold for the future of the children on our reserve in regards to the educational system.

I am hoping that the School Board and the Chief and Council view this study as a chance to communicate and interact with reserve members about the school and what they see for the future of our children. Thank you for your time, I sincerely hope that you will give this proposal serious consideration. I will contact you in regards to your response to my request. Please call any-time, my number is (403) 247-2239.

Sincerely,

Cynthia Spence

c.c. Peguis School Board
Peguis Chief and Council

Appendix E: Consent Form

Research project title:

First Nation Education:

The School and Community Quest for Vision

Purpose of Research:

To help First Nation educators and policy-makers focus in on the issues and concerns involved in the education of Native youth, and to bring forth information and/or recommendations to help improve the education of Native youth.

Researcher:

Mrs. Cynthia Spence is undertaking this project as partial requirement towards a Masters Degree in Education Administration through the University of Calgary. Contact phone number: Calgary -(403) 247-2239; Manitoba - (204) 645-2393 (messages).

Participant Information:

As a potential participant, I have been informed, to an appropriate level of understanding, about the purpose of this research project, the nature of my involvement, and any possible risks to which I may be exposed by virtue of my participation.

I agree to participate in this project by participating in an interview with the researcher.

I understand and agree that:

- * My participation is voluntary and I have the right to withdraw from this research at any time without penalty;
- * The researcher has a corresponding right to terminate my participation in this research at any time;
- * Participation or non-participation will have no effort on my position within my agency;
- * All data will be kept in a secure place inaccessible to others;

- Confidentiality will be assured in the following manner:
 - Names of subjects will not be used in the written results unless the participant specifies name usage on the consent form. Any information given in confidence or asked to be "off the record" will be deleted.
- * Anonymity will be assured in the following manner:
 - Names will be changed and identities concealed in any written or verbal documentation.
- * The participants will be able to read or obtain the research reports or other "writeups" in the following manner:
- Each person can review their transcribed interview and ask to delete statements.

 I HAVE READ THE CONSENT FORM AND I UNDERSTAND THE NATURE OF

 MY INVOLVEMENT IN THIS RESEARCH PROJECT. I AGREE TO PARTICIPATE

 WITHIN THE ABOVE STATED PARAMETERS.

 I wish to remain anonymous ____ (check here if desired)

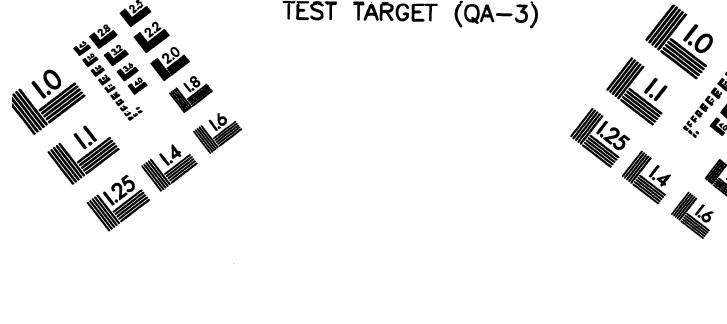
 Parents, Teachers and students will be referred to in any documentation as Parent A,

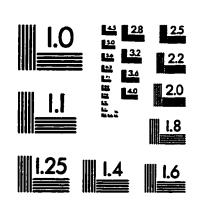
 Parent B, Student A, Student B and so on.

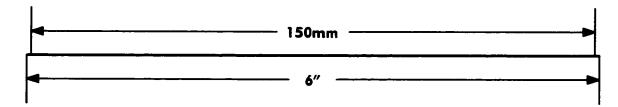
 Name ______ Signature ______

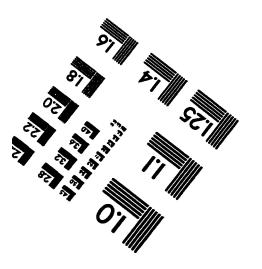
 Date _____ Researcher

Thank you for your participation! An educational partner, Cynthia Spence











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