

THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

PERCEPTIONS OF PARENTS IN SELECTED METIS  
COMMUNITIES CONCERNING THE COMPOSITION  
OF A DESIRABLE SOCIAL STUDIES PROGRAM

by

JAMES CHRISTOFFER BALNESS

A Thesis

Presented to the Faculty of Graduate Studies  
In Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree  
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## ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to identify the perceptions of parents in selected Metis communities concerning the composition of a desirable social studies program at the junior high school level for students in their communities.

A questionnaire of 35 items was developed and distributed to respondents in selected Metis communities. The questionnaire examined perceptions in four areas. These areas were concepts and perceptions of the school system, attitudes toward preservation of Metis culture, perceptions of the role of social studies and attitudes about the possible functions of a course in Metis history.

The results were analyzed by two methods. The responses were first assigned a value of one to five and a mean score was calculated for each item. A percentage positive, neutral or negative response was then calculated for each item. The results were recorded in a series of tables.

The survey showed that Metis parents value an education for their children, that they feel Metis parents show an interest in their child's progress in school and that they do not feel that a student should drop out of school in order to help the parents. The respondents had negative feelings toward the present social studies course. The respondents also felt that the use of a Native language should be retained, that Metis history and heritage should be preserved and that non-Metis students of Manitoba would benefit from a study of Metis history. The respondents also felt that a social

studies program should help preserve Metis history and heritage. The study showed a very strong feeling on the part of the Metis respondents that a course in Metis history at the junior high level would have positive results not only on Metis children but on non-Metis as well.

As a result of the findings the study recommends that more thought must be given to causes of absenteeism, to methods of encouraging the preservation of a Native language and to the implications of a Metis history course on Metis and non-Metis students. The study recommends that teachers for Native schools should be carefully selected and that the effects of graduates from special training programs on education should be researched. The study further recommends that the content of social studies programs in Metis schools should be changed and that any new content should have practical application in the life of the student.

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## Chapter 1

### INTRODUCTION

Teachers of social studies generally adopt the principle that the local community should act as a beginning point for the development of curricular activities. However, except for a few teachers and curriculum developers, there has often been very little contact with the local community. Developers of social studies curriculum guides appear to be a group working in isolation with their main concern being the requirements and needs of the textbook publishers and the availability of materials.<sup>1</sup>

This lack of contact with the local community is noticeable in Metis communities, despite the fact that many new learning materials and kits have been developed within the past decade which have a high Native-oriented content.

### STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The purpose of this study was to identify the perceptions of the parents in selected Metis communities in the Camperville area of Manitoba as to a suitable social studies program at the junior high level. An attempt was made by questionnaire and interviews to

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<sup>1</sup>The author's personal experience while a member of the Elementary Curriculum Seminar, July 6-17, 1964 at the Manitoba Teachers College in Winnipeg. This feeling was reinforced while a member of the Curriculum Committee responsible for the development of the Junior High School Social Studies Curriculum authorized by the Manitoba Department of Education for use in Manitoba schools.

determine elements which they felt should be present in social studies curricula used in schools responsible for the education of their children.

#### SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PROBLEM

At the present time the Indian and Metis peoples are becoming increasingly articulate in presenting their educational and economic goals to government agencies and other groups through such bodies as the Manitoba Metis Federation. As an awareness of their goal grows, Native people will be increasingly concerned with the problem of education. One important area is the social studies program.

Social studies has the potential for a widespread effect on peoples' lives because it includes an extensive latitude of subject matter, contains the history and the heritage of a people and often acts as a vehicle to transmit the story of a people with bias and prejudice, although usually without deliberate intent. The construction of a social studies curriculum should receive thoughtful concern, for although its shortcomings may not be as dramatically noticeable as an inability to read and write, the results of the shortcoming are just as dramatic. Combs emphasizes this central issue when he says, "The humane qualities are absolutely essential to our way of life--far more important, even, than the learning of reading, for example. We can live with a bad reader; a bigot is a

danger to everyone."<sup>2</sup>

The problem of identifying essential elements of a social studies program for Metis students is significant. This is an area in which Metis peoples might maintain their positive values and influence the dominant society by clearing away many of myths concerning Natives and Native culture that the White society has shaped into its version of history.

Because it is now possible in Manitoba schools to focus on the study of ethnic or religious minorities such as the Icelanders or Mennonites in order to meet the needs of a local area, the development of a social studies program that includes units of Native studies for any Native community becomes possible and essential.

The basic problem however centres around the merits of such a program in the education of Metis children for their future role in society. Some balance must be found between giving a child a positive self-image and providing him with a set of attitudes, skills and understandings that can be used to advantage in later years. This reflects the views put forward by Kirkness when she discusses the objectives of Native education.

It is to assist the Indian or Metis person to obtain the education and skills he requires to enable him to live and work in the place of his choice. I think the key word here is choice. That is a privilege we should all enjoy.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Arthur W. Combs, Educational Accountability. Beyond Behavioural Objectives (Washington, D.C.: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, 1972).

<sup>3</sup>D. Bruce Sealey and Verna J. Kirkness (ed.), Indians Without Tipis (Winnipeg, Manitoba: William Clare Limited, 1973).

## DEFINITION OF TERMS

A list of some of the terms as they are used in this study follows:

Community. The town, village, or farming, fishing and trapping area that serves a group of people and is regarded by them as being their distinct place of reference or livelihood.

Indian. Those people who are registered by the Federal Government and granted legal status under the Indian Act of 1951.

Local control. Control by the people of a community over such aspects of the educational process as hiring and firing of teachers, courses of study and the prescribed texts, sources of financing within the community, decisions as to the allocations of monies from government grants, and the size and location of school plants. This should also include length of the school day and the school year so as to make optimum use of school facilities and other local facilities.

Metis. Any person of Native ancestry who is not an Indian as defined by the Indian Act of 1951.

Native. Any person who is a descendent of an aboriginal. The term is used to include both Indians and Metis.

Native spokesman. A Native who fulfills one of the following capacities:

- i. A person who is recognized by Natives as speaking on their behalf due to his elected position in one of their

organizations, e.g., chief of a reserve, president of the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood, vice-president of a region of the Manitoba Metis Federation or the chairman of a local of the Manitoba Metis Federation.

ii. A person who is considered to be speaking of Native peoples by the members of the dominant society because of the exposure of his views via the news media, e.g., Johnny Yesno, C.B.C. radio announcer; Chief Dan George, actor and speaker; Harold Cardinal, author and speaker.

iii. A person who is actively involved in Native activities of some type in his community and is regarded by parents as being a local authority.<sup>4</sup>

Social studies. A subject including several distinct disciplines, e.g., geography, history, sociology, anthropology, economics, whose purpose is to provide the student with a background of knowledge and concepts which aids him in becoming an informed and intelligent member of his society.

This definition of social studies is in general agreement with one put forward by the Manitoba Teachers' Society at a time of curriculum revision.

Generally speaking, the social studies course should lead the child in an ever widening circle of experiences from his own environment to other geographical areas of the world, and to other

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<sup>4</sup>An interesting and informative discussion of the power structure in a Metis community is contained in Chapter 4 of Kenneth Woodley's study, An Ethnographic Study of a Typical Metis Community in Manitoba (Faculty of Graduate Studies, University of Manitoba, 1977). Many of the authority structures of Woodley's study would be similar to those in the communities dealt with in this study.



times in the past. These experiences should provide him with a background of concepts which will enable him to become a useful citizen in<sup>5</sup> a democracy and an intelligent member of the world community.

#### LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

This study was limited to the residents of Metis communities in one region of Manitoba. The region chosen was Camperville because of its large number of Metis families, the apparent pride of the people in their Metis culture and the apparent interest of the parents in education.

Because of the small sampling the perceptions of the people who replied are not valid as a basis for making judgments as to the desired elements for a social studies curriculum in other regions although some elements may be similar.

A further limitation was imposed by the nature of the questionnaire. The questionnaire consisted of three sections: personal data, the questionnaire and open-ended. The tendency of the choice-type questionnaire to channel responses was partly offset by the open-ended section and interviews.

This study was not meant to test any hypothesis. It might lead to further studies concerning the actual construction of curriculum models in social studies, as well as their testing and evaluation.

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<sup>5</sup>Manitoba Teachers' Society, "The Curriculum of the Elementary School. A Brief Presented to the Seminar on Elementary Curriculum," Winnipeg, July, 1964, p. 21.

## ORGANIZATION OF THE REMAINDER OF THE THESIS

Chapter 2 contains a review of recent literature related to this study, considered in three major areas. The first area is a brief survey of literature in the United States pertaining to programs in which there have been adaptations in social studies for the education of Native students. The second area is a survey of literature in Canada pertaining to social studies adaptations at the junior high school level for Native students. The third section is a brief survey outlining social studies development in Manitoba to meet the needs of Native students.

Chapter 3 is a survey of the history of Metis education in Manitoba.

Chapter 4 describes the design and procedure of the study including the questionnaire format, the sample surveyed and the survey technique.

Chapter 5 outlines the results of the questionnaire and the analyses of the results.

Chapter 6 summarizes the findings of the study and presents an interpretation of the results. The chapter concludes with an interpretation of the implications of the findings with recommendations for the designing of a social studies curriculum at the junior high level for Metis students of the region.

## Chapter 2

### A REVIEW OF RELATED RESEARCH AND LITERATURE

#### INTRODUCTION

The literature relating to social studies programs in Native schools was examined in three areas. A search was made of the literature describing studies in the area of social studies and the Native student in the United States of America. Very little pertinent information related to Metis students was available. This literature is discussed in the first section.

The second area examined was literature and research pertaining to studies in the area of social studies and Native students in Canada, other than the province of Manitoba. The literature pertaining to this area was more extensive than that surveyed in the previous section. However most of the literature described programs being used in schools for Indian rather than Metis students. This literature is discussed in the second section of the chapter.

The third area surveyed was literature and research describing social studies programs for Native students in Manitoba. Although somewhat sparse, material is available pertaining to Metis students. This literature is discussed in the third section of the chapter.

SURVEY OF LITERATURE IN THE UNITED  
STATES OF AMERICA

Although extensive literature exists to indicate the concern of educators in the United States for cross-cultural studies there is a scarcity of research concerning school programs for students of Metis or mixed Native-White ancestry. The reasons for this lack of literature would be difficult to determine, although the Metis in the United States may have assimilated into either the surrounding White or Indian societies. The distinction that is made in Canada between Indian and Metis, status Indian and non-status Indian does not exist to the same degree in the United States. Thus much of what can be said about programs developed for the use of Indian students in the United States may also pertain to students of Metis background.

A search of the literature describing social studies programs geared to non-Whites in the United States reveals programs developed for use in schools having populations of Spanish-Americans, Puerto Ricans or Blacks. Very few programs have been developed for Indians, and none for Metis. Bentham found this same shortage of literature in his study of programs serving Indians in the five western states of Arizona, Idaho, Montana, Nevada and New Mexico.

Bentham says, "A search of the literature revealed that little research has been reported on the characteristics of public school programs for children from Indian reservations."<sup>1</sup> Bentham's study

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<sup>1</sup>W.J. Bentham, Jr., Characteristics of programs in public schools serving Indian students from reservations in five western states (Doctor of Education Thesis, University of Oklahoma Graduate College, 1965), p. 5.

indicates that during the mid-60's the aim of public school education for Indian students in the United States appeared to be integration or assimilation. In the study one superintendent reported, "Our Indian children are fully integrated and in all ways are the same as white children."<sup>2</sup>

A contrasting attitude is shown by the programs developed by Bryde<sup>3</sup> for use in Indian schools of South Dakota. This program is a deliberate attempt to develop a course in social studies by which traditional Indian values can be retained by Indians as they move into the Whiteman's world, thus gaining the best of both cultures.

During the 1960's American educators became increasingly aware of problems faced by Native students in the public schools. This was perhaps an outgrowth of the growing concern expressed by writers for the civil rights of minority groups that was a general trend during that era. This increasing concern in recent years was reflected by the attempt to provide teachers and librarians in the United States with materials on American Indians. One such example was the annotated bibliography of materials, both fact and fiction, published in 1973 for use in both White and Native schools.<sup>4</sup>

A survey of the literature describing social studies programs in schools of the United States shows a lack of provision for any

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<sup>2</sup>Bentham, ibid., p. 55.

<sup>3</sup>John F. Bryde, Modern Indian Psychology (Vermillion, South Dakota: University of South Dakota, 1971).

<sup>4</sup>An Annotated Bibliography of Young Peoples' Books on American Indians. Indian Education Curriculum Bulletin No. 12 (Albuquerque, New Mexico: Bureau of Indian Affairs, Department of Interior, January, 1973).

special needs of students of Metis ancestry. This is consistent with the 'melting pot' concept of American social development which tends to lead to assimilation more rapidly than the Canadian 'mosaic' concept.

#### SURVEY OF THE LITERATURE IN CANADA

A survey of the literature and research pertaining to the education of Native peoples in Canada indicates a wide interest in the topic. Groups of writers of Metis, Indian and White background have written on the subject of Native education with the result that there is now a substantial body of material available. Few writers, however, have dealt mainly with Metis students although several provincial Metis organizations have examined the topic of education. The Metis organizations in the western Canadian provinces appear more active than others in their research. Few studies however dealt primarily with the social studies curriculum. Therefore this section examines the available literature on a wider scope than from social studies alone. The related literature provides a broad context from which a social studies curriculum can be examined. Considerable discussion was given in the related literature to the need to increase a positive self-image in the Native student, the need to preserve the cultural values of the Native community, the awareness of Native organizations that they must make an effort to provide special materials and courses for their children and the growing desire of Native communities for local control of education. Studies and reports that reflect this broad context are outlined in the following pages.

A request for information on educational policy or special

social studies programs developed by various non-status Indian or Metis associations across Canada brought a limited response.<sup>5</sup>

In her survey of programs used in Native schools in North America, MacLean<sup>6</sup> recommended that it was of prime importance to include Native cultural content in the curriculum. A further recommendation was that the history portion of social studies courses should be set up to educate non-Native peoples about the background of Natives.

This view is similar to one put forward by the Manitoba Metis Federation in its interim policy paper on education.<sup>7</sup>

MacLean's findings further suggest that cultural alienation is a major factor leading to problems in Native schools.

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<sup>5</sup> Although only guesses can be made as to the reasons for the limited number of replies the following were considered:

(i) Some Metis and non-status Indian organizations are relatively young. Frequent moves may occur with corresponding changes in address. One letter was returned as undeliverable.

(ii) Some organizations may have concentrated on other priorities than education as they developed. One reply indicated that educational policy was still being formulated.

(iii) Some organizations may have been overburdened with enquiries or may have developed a policy of ignoring surveys.

See Renaud, Education and the First Canadians (Toronto: Gage Educational Publishing Limited, 1971), p. 63, where he states, ". . . a moratorium must be placed on surveys of all kinds to identify needs. Indians are literally fed up with them, if you will pardon the expression, as being seldom, if at all, productive."

The author received a similar message from a Metis lady during his visits to a Metis community. A quite understandable idea put forward was that if any more surveys were to be made, Metis should do them rather than outsiders.

<sup>6</sup> Hope MacLean, A Review of Indian Education in North America (Toronto: Ontario Teachers' Federation, 1972).

<sup>7</sup> Manitoba Metis Federation, "Education: Policy Paper of the Manitoba Metis Federation." Mimeographed interim report, May 1, 1975, p. 16.

Two factors seem paramount in accounting for the difficulties which Indian children have in school and which result in their dropping out. These are cultural alienation, which leads to progressive psychological withdrawal from all that school implies, together with "progressive retardation" (which may be a factor in creating alienation).<sup>8</sup>

An interesting attempt to use social studies to combat alienation in a school serving both White and Native students was recorded in a study by Hall.<sup>9</sup> A program in cross-cultural studies was designed by the school staff to expose students and their parents to various Indian cultures. The staff hoped to increase White understandings of Native culture and also increase Native appreciation of their own heritage. Although involving interesting concepts of time-tabling and cross-grading, a major problem emerged in the evaluation of the program. The study concluded that because of distrust between the two groups of Natives and Whites and because of some negative feelings by individuals much more work had to be done to reduce prejudice and conflict in schools serving Native and White students.

A study by Berger<sup>10</sup> attempted to determine categories of primary interest and concern to Native families. In this study the term "Indian" was used in a wide definition which appeared to include Metis. Berger found that the three main concerns of the Native families that had been interviewed were culture and heritage,

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<sup>8</sup> MacLean, ibid., p. 26.

<sup>9</sup> D.M. Hall, Mahjetahwin ("The Beginning"). A Cross-Cultural Program (Ontario: Roseneath Centennial School, 1972).

<sup>10</sup> Allen Berger, et al., A Report on Indian Education: (A) In-Depth Study of Nine Indian Families; (B) Memory and Reasoning in Native Children: An Effort at Improvement Through the Teaching of Cognitive Strategies (Edmonton: Alberta University, 1972).



education and the family. The report takes a more optimistic view of White-Native relations by pointing out the willingness of Natives to accept Whites who display an open or friendly attitude first.

In a brief to the Alberta government in 1970 the Metis Association of Alberta deplored the failures of programs imposed from above on the schools having Metis students. In seeking a reason for the apparent failure the association suggested:

It is seen now that the people themselves must define their own needs in their communities and actively work out their own solutions to those needs. . . . For native people, a major barrier to our successful participation in our own development is our lack of formal education.<sup>11</sup>

Bowles<sup>12</sup> describes a community college on the Blackfoot Reserve at Gleichen, Alberta. The college is described as having "no curriculum as such," no grades and no admission standards. The tentative curriculum suggests a course on "Indian lore and culture." The college concentrates on basic adult education with an unconventional approach to timetabling and prerequisites. By working with adult education the community college appears to be gaining experience in community control and developing courses without being tied down by regulations governing students of legal school age.

An example of an attempt at curriculum modification at a school concerned with integrating Native students into a White urban

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<sup>11</sup>Metis Association of Alberta, "Brief to Congress on the future of education" (Edmonton: 1970), in Hugh A. Stevenson, et al. (Ed.), The Best of Times the Worst of Times Contemporary Issues in Canadian Education (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada, Limited, 1972), p. 129.

<sup>12</sup>Richard P. Bowles, James L. Hanley, et al., The Indian: Assimilation, Integration or Separation? (Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice-Hall of Canada, Limited, 1972).

community is described by Lavigne. The project was carried out in St. John School, Prince Albert as part of a Local Initiatives Project in 1970.

Lavigne reported that the project was, ". . . instituted to encourage the discovery and use of instructional materials which would be more suitable for students of northern schools, especially those with Indian backgrounds."<sup>13</sup>

Although the designers of the project developed behavioural objectives, developed a unit and an instructional kit, evaluated the unit and recorded the results, no formal classroom lessons were given to the students.

Although no formal lessons were ever taught on the Indian culture and heritage and no set lesson tasks were ever assigned, although teachers never lectured or expounded unless students specifically asked them to do so, although no examinations were ever given, the students surprised everyone by the tremendous amount of research and creative work they did.<sup>14</sup>

This report suggests that materials of high interest value and learning capability for a social studies curriculum can be developed by a school community.

The growing interest of provincial governments in aspects of education relating to Native people is reflected in a report of the Alberta Department of Education. An activity of the Curriculum Coordination section was stated as, "conducting a study of the legal

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<sup>13</sup>Solange D. Lavigne, "Canada's Indian Heritage," A northern instructional project (Saskatoon: Saskatchewan Journal of Educational Research and Development, University of Saskatchewan, Vol. 2, No. 1, Fall, 1971), p. 17.

<sup>14</sup>Lavigne, ibid., p. 22.

basis of curriculum decision-making in Alberta."<sup>15</sup> The committee apparently studied various aspects of community control. The committee recommended, "that curriculum development ensure input from learners, parents, teachers, school systems"<sup>16</sup> as well as the Alberta Department of Education. The Department of Education had already apparently taken steps in that direction for under activities for 1973-74 are listed such items as the establishment of a Cross-Cultural Education Curriculum Committee including members from the Native communities to develop guidelines for curriculum development.

An example of a handbook developed for use in schools is one written by LaRoque. The book was meant for use by educators in out-of-classroom situations as well as for use by teachers as a source book for social studies classes. Although the developers of the project suggest the book has a wide range of uses, they are realistic about its ultimate value. They hope, "Defeathering the Indian should be useful to policy-makers at all levels, to administrators, to classroom teachers, to curriculum developers . . ."<sup>17</sup> but realize, "However, the ultimate value of this handbook will be determined by the extent to which the suggestions contained therein become a part of the reader's daily actions, attitudes and decisions relative to Native people."<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Alberta Department of Education, "The Sixty-Ninth Annual Report, 1974" (Edmonton: Department of Education, 1975), p. 31.

<sup>16</sup> Alberta Department of Education, ibid., p. 31.

<sup>17</sup> Emma LaRoque, Defeathering the Indian (Agincourt, Canada: The Book Society of Canada Limited, 1975), p. xiii.

<sup>18</sup> LaRoque, ibid., p. xiii.

The importance of these daily attitudes, actions and decisions are emphasized by King in a case study of a residential school for Indians in the Yukon. He reached the conclusion that the residential school, "constitutes a social enclave almost totally insulated from the community within which it functions."<sup>19</sup>

He suggests that the Indian child therefore creates an artificial self in order to live in the impossible social order. King criticizes White society as being unwilling to give political and economic power to the Natives while foisting on them an idealized moral order in the form of Christianity. The teachers are caught up in the problems of bureaucracy and hierarchy, and according to King this cancels out any value they may have.

In a paper on Native children and the curriculum Sealey maintains that there has been a flurry of activity centred around curricula with one result being, "The negative bias of curriculum has been replaced by an equally insidious evil; that of the positive bias toward Native people."<sup>20</sup> This has led to an accompanying lack of objectivity. Contributions of Native cultures to world civilization has been over-emphasized.

Sealey goes on to point out that a major problem for designers of curricula is one of opposing realities. Native people see reality

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<sup>19</sup>Richard A. King, The School at Mopass. A Problem in Identity (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1967), p. 86.

<sup>20</sup>D. Bruce Sealey, "Children of Native Ancestry and the Curriculum"; Terence Morrison and Anthony Burton (ed.), Options: Reforms and Alternatives for Canadian Education (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada, 1973), p. 200.

in a different way from Europeans. An example of this different view of reality is apartheid. In discussing apartheid, Sealey says:

It does not follow, therefore, that all Native people wish to change the apartheid system. Although the system is frustrating, it is also a guarantee of cultural perserverance. The reality of apartheid, no matter how distasteful, is an important factor which cannot be ignored by the developer of curricula.<sup>21</sup>

The survey of literature pertaining to the education of Native students covered a wide spectrum of ideas ranging from assimilation and integration to segregation. There was general agreement that Native studies was an essential part of a social studies curriculum. There was also general agreement that some amount of local control or input was important. In his paper Sealey raised the issue of local control coming into conflict or meeting resistance from educational institutions which move toward centralization and a growing bureaucracy. This drive toward centralization is being met by the counterforce of increased diversity among peoples. Sealey explains this as occurring because the original tribal diversity of Native peoples has been intensified with added urban, rural and isolated diversity, with English, French and Native language diversity, and with diversity caused by the amount of acculturation undergone by the Native person. Because of these factors he recommends, "The curriculum embodied in the curriculum plan must vary from community to community as does the population of learners."<sup>22</sup>

The picture that emerges from a study of the related literature is relatively clear on four issues--a postive self-image

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<sup>21</sup>Sealey, op. cit., p. 201.

<sup>22</sup>Sealey, op. cit., p. 202.

for the Native student is essential, Native cultural values should be preserved, Native organizations should play an active role in curricula development and local control of education should be encouraged.

#### SURVEY OF THE LITERATURE IN MANITOBA

Several persons and groups have written on a number of aspects of Native education in Manitoba. However a survey of literature shows that there has been very little research in the field of curriculum in social studies for Native children in the schools of Manitoba. The interim policy paper on education of the Manitoba Metis Federation indicated its awareness of the problem in the social studies curriculum by stating:

Whether in the north, rural Manitoba or in urban areas new curricula has (sic) to be developed which can help the Metis youngster realize that he or she is the child of a noble people. Programs which give expression to Metis culture and values have to be developed. They must be part of a unified program of Native studies. Nor should access to this learning be denied to white children. Metis have much to learn from white society but white society has much to learn from us. We have been the determinant factor in the development of western Canada. A program of Native culture, including elements of Metis history, our values and our arts should help the white child see us as we really are. As our image changes for others, so will it change for our Metis children. Both groups will see us as we are--an independent resourceful people with a long and proud history. The false stereotype will vanish.<sup>23</sup>

The policy paper suggests that the old social studies courses were not suitable for Metis children. It envisions a new social studies program which would be beneficial to both Metis and White students by reducing false stereotyping.

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<sup>23</sup>Manitoba Metis Federation, op. cit., p. 16.

Goucher (1967)<sup>24</sup> in a study conducted at Cranberry Portage to identify factors of curriculum that caused drop-outs among the Native students of the school found that according to teachers social studies is the most difficult subject to teach. The survey of teachers found that 43 per cent of the teachers stated there was a lack of appeal in the social studies course and that 40 per cent of the teachers felt there was no need to have the same social studies course as in the south.

According to the students surveyed, social studies was not even listed as being helpful or important in gaining a job. No questions were asked about any subject as to its potential use beyond gaining a job. However one cannot assume that Native students show interest in subjects only because of the potential job-gaining possibilities. That the social studies program failed as a worthwhile subject is evident by the attitude of the students. Their attitudes, as reflected by the teachers' comments, indicate that the students did not regard the social studies program presented to them as having any relevance.

A survey conducted among Indian students of Manitoba by the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood<sup>25</sup> shows that there is a high drop-out rate among Indian students. One conclusion reached was that the drop-out rate was increasing rather than decreasing. According to the survey

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<sup>24</sup>A.C. Goucher, The Dropout Problem Among Indian and Metis Students (Calgary: Dome Petroleum Limited, 1967).

<sup>25</sup>Manitoba Indian Brotherhood, "Education is failing the Indian," A survey conducted by the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood, Local Initiatives Program, 1972.

one of the commonest reasons for dropping out of school is the claim by the students that they are not interested. One can assume that the students see no relevancy in the courses provided for them.

Although the survey dealt only with Indian students, the Manitoba Metis Federation concluded that a similar drop-out rate was true for the Metis. In alluding to a survey of Indian School Leavers (1966) by the Indian Affairs Branch the Manitoba Metis Federation said:

We suspect that this statistical tale of slaughter in the schools might represent the facts, not only for Indian children, but also for our Metis children. We know as we did in 1969, that our children are not doing well in schools.<sup>26</sup>

Sealey (1972) in investigating the effects of oral English programs on the academic achievement of Native students enrolled at the grade nine level of Frontier Collegiate found that most of the problems interfering with the academic progress of Metis students were based on language. As a result of this finding he recommended:

All subject areas should be oriented towards the development of spoken and oral English skills, and, in the important grade nine year, the content of subject areas should be of secondary concern except as it is used as the medium for English language instruction.<sup>27</sup>

This recommendation has serious implications for social studies which is a subject heavily dependent upon the language skills of the student. If this recommendation is accepted, then the content of the social studies program becomes of secondary importance. A

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<sup>26</sup>Manitoba Metis Federation, op. cit., p. 6.

<sup>27</sup>D. Bruce Sealey, A Study of the Effects of Oral English Language on School Achievement of Indian and Metis High School Students (Master of Education Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1972), p. 95.



locally developed curriculum in social studies at the junior high level could conceivably fulfill the criteria of serving as a vehicle for the instruction of the English language, as well as containing material of high interest level to the Metis student and promoting the positive self-image referred to by the Manitoba Metis Federation interim policy paper.

A study made by Adams (1972) indicates the type of content that would be valuable to Native students in a social studies program. Although the study took place in Saskatchewan, the findings should be valid for Manitoba where similar Native communities exist. Adams states:

In addition the answers from the interviews show that native people desire social education, such as civil rights information, welfare laws, courtroom knowledge, etc. These are the practical issues that affect them in their daily lives.<sup>28</sup>

Adams makes a further observation that has significance to developers of social studies curricula for students in Native schools. He points out a dilemma faced by the Native student when he says:

On the one hand, Metis and Indians are drawn towards white society by the force of the white-ideal, but on the other hand, from experience and reality they know they will be prevented from integrating into it. In their answers nearly 100% stated that the (whiteman's) education system was very important; yet nearly 100% wanted native teachers and native history.<sup>29</sup>

In his paper on Native students and curricula Sealey<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>28</sup>Howard Adams, Ph.D., The Outsiders, An Educational Survey of Metis and Non-treaty Indians of Saskatchewan (Saskatoon: Metis Society of Saskatchewan, June, 1972), p. 47.

<sup>29</sup>Adams, ibid., p. 18.

<sup>30</sup>Sealey, Children of Native Ancestry and the Curriculum, op. cit.

indicates that language arts, social studies and science are examples of unfit curricula. He cites as examples that Metis children learn British history complete with dates, names and places but have little knowledge of Metis history. Their studies include the Pacific salmon, date palms and cactus plants when instead they should be studying the whitefish, the spruce forest and birch trees. However there is an indication that teachers in some schools<sup>31</sup> educating Native students are making these adjustments on their own.

Within the past decade the Manitoba Department of Education has authorized changes in the social studies curriculum which recognizes the different needs of Native students. A few course outlines have been developed for limited use. At present the social studies curriculum at the junior high level is undergoing a tentative revision, but there is no evidence that any drastic changes in content or presentation will be undertaken.

An interesting example of Native-oriented material developed within Manitoba is the Tawow kit.<sup>32</sup> The kit contains a wide variety of material on both Indian and Metis topics and explores several contemporary issues facing Native peoples. Of special interest is the fact that the kit was developed by a group of classroom teachers and educators as part of a Canadian Studies Foundation project. It can

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<sup>31</sup>Observations by the author in classrooms in the Interlake area of Manitoba. Basic examples of modifications are language arts classes in reading based on stories developed by the students' own experiences.

<sup>32</sup>D. Bruce Sealey, Al Thiessen, et al., Tawow (Agincourt, Canada: The Book Society of Canada Limited, 1975).

serve as a model for other classroom teachers to develop a kit of material of high interest level adapted to the community in which they teach.

The majority of the literature surveyed as pertinent to the Metis students and the social studies curriculum agreed that new programs in social studies must be developed. These programs should include units on social issues that Native persons face in everyday life. Most writers agreed that a social studies program for Native students must enable them to cope with the realism of the world of the dominant White culture while allowing them to retain pride in their Native cultural heritage.

## Chapter 3

### A SURVEY OF METIS EDUCATION IN MANITOBA

#### INTRODUCTION

The history of education of Metis children in Manitoba can be broken down roughly into four periods. The first period encompasses the years prior to the Selkirk Settlement. The second period takes in that period from the Selkirk Settlement until the Red River Insurrection of 1870 and the movement of many Metis from the newly formed province of Manitoba. The third period covers the events from 1870 until the end of World War II. The fourth period encompasses the time from World War II until the present. During the four periods the process of education was affected by the underlying conflict between the basic philosophies of the two groups from which the Metis trace their ancestry.

To the European an important role of education is to transmit and develop scientific knowledge by which nature and the world can be dominated. To the Indian education is a continuing process from birth to death during which knowledge and successful techniques of adapting to nature and surviving in the environment are mastered. Thus the Metis have a heritage of two opposing fields of thought whose effects can be seen in the educational systems of the present day.

#### INDIAN BACKGROUND TO METIS EDUCATION

Before the coming of the Europeans the Indian peoples,

although of varying cultures, had developed an educational system that had enabled them to adapt to, and survive in, their surroundings. That their system was successful is attested to by the fact that groups had developed complex cultures in a wide variety of environments ranging through deciduous woodlands to prairie grasslands and sub-Arctic tundras. Their system had also allowed some groups to move successfully from one set of surroundings to another as shown by the movements of such peoples as the Cree and Ojibway.

Among the Indian peoples education was begun at an early age and was informal in nature during the first several years. Much of the cultural knowledge was transmitted before puberty through games, play and mimicking adult activities.

By puberty education for boys and girls became more formal and was pursued separately. Boys were taught the necessary skills of hunting, fishing and trapping while girls were instructed in methods of preparing foods, clothing and other necessities from materials they had gathered or that had been provided for them by the men. Once having completed the specific rites that marked the end of their childhood, the Indian children were accepted into the adult society.

Prior to puberty there came a gradual separation of education for boys and girls. By about ten years of age brothers and sisters began to avoid each other because of the learned incest taboo. The curriculum during this age period began to vary for male and females.<sup>1</sup>

The formal education of the Indian person did not necessarily

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<sup>1</sup>D. Bruce Sealey, The Education of Native Peoples of Manitoba (Monograph, Faculty of Education, University of Manitoba Press, 1980), p. 6.

For a detailed account of the education of Saulteaux children see Chapter 2 of the manuscript.

end with the acceptance of the person into adult society. In cultures such as the Saulteaux, select adults could continue their education through the Mideywiwin society.<sup>2</sup> This society was organized somewhat like a European university with entrance requirements, fees, degrees of proficiency and recognized teachers. In 1925 the Government of Canada prohibited the ceremonies and forced the various lodges underground.

When the European and Indian cultures came into contact in Manitoba through the fur-trade both cultures were modified. Europeans adopted some Indian foods, implements and survival techniques while Indians adopted some European weapons and tools that were on a superior technological level to their own. The contact between the two cultures, however, had a far more devastating effect upon the Indian culture than upon the White culture.

As they passed from the stone age to the iron age it became apparent that the rapid cleavage from the past had so weakened the social bonds of the Native communities that their education system could no longer fulfill its task of transmitting the ancient cultures. Indeed, the former cultures were no longer adequate to the needs of the people.<sup>3</sup>

Following the signing of the treaties and the setting aside of reserves, the educational system of the Indians was faced with a direct challenge from European society. The Canadian government and the churches attempted to assimilate the Indian people while protecting them from the culture shock that was occurring. The

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<sup>2</sup>A.I. Hallowell, "The passing of the Mideywiwin in the Lake Winnipeg Region," American Anthropologist, XXXVIII (1936).

<sup>3</sup>Sealey, The Education of Native Peoples in Manitoba, op. cit., p. 10.

industrial schools and residential schools are examples of attempts to protect and educate Indian children. Schools were largely managed by churches and assisted financially by government grants of money.

The Christian churches and the government of Canada have been accused by many writers of trying to mould Indian education to their own ends during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It is not the purpose of this study to trace the history of Indian education beyond those facets that have affected the Metis. The history of Indian education has been examined by such writers as Newfield,<sup>4</sup> Lysecki,<sup>5</sup> Vallery,<sup>6</sup> Gustafson,<sup>7</sup> Rempel<sup>8</sup> and Sealey.<sup>9</sup>

The failure by the government and church schools to fill the gap caused by the breakdown of the Indian educational system is pointed out by Vallery.

The European contact with the Indian civilization weakened the old social bonds of the community, and directly and indirectly contributed to the breaking down of the old educational system, without replacing it with another as adequate.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>G.M. Newfield, The Development of Manitoba Schools Prior to 1870 (Master of Education Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1937).

<sup>5</sup>J.E. Lysecki, Education Manitoba--North of 53 (Master of Education Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1936).

<sup>6</sup>H.J. Vallery, A History of Indian Education in Canada (Master of Arts Thesis, Queen's University, 1942).

<sup>7</sup>R.W. Gustafson, The Education of Canada's Indian Peoples: An Experience in Colonialism (Master of Education Thesis, Department of Educational Foundations, University of Manitoba, 1978).

<sup>8</sup>A. Rempel, The Influence of Religion on Education for Native People in Manitoba Prior to 1870 (Master of Education Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1973).

<sup>9</sup>Sealey, The Education of Native Peoples in Manitoba, op. cit.

<sup>10</sup>Vallery, op. cit., p. 15.

Gustafson is typical of those writers who picture the Indians as being deliberately exploited by the government, the churches and the economic interests.

The Hudson's Bay Company found it to their benefit to support all attempts at education as the educated Indian was thought to be more industrious and reliable and, therefore, the Company could expect greater numbers of furs from these "educated" Indians. . . . A religious and economic alliance was thus struck to benefit both trader and missionary. The Indian's value system was attacked by the missionary, his nomadic life-style was condemned; he was a victim of starvation; he was the tragic target of economic exploitation at the hands of the Hudson's Bay Company.<sup>11</sup>

There can be little doubt that the effect of the governments and churches' attempts to educate the Indians did not bring about the assimilation that had apparently been hoped for. Gresko regards the efforts in some groups as being unsuccessful.

They (the Cree) did not respond passively to government and missionary plans for them and their children. Rather, they persisted in their traditional patterns of life and resisted the industrial schools' programs with their own educative program.<sup>12</sup>

Gresko goes on to claim, "The sun dance presented a parallel educational system designed to oppose that of the government and the missionaries,<sup>13</sup> with the final result that, "In every case, Indian

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<sup>11</sup>Gustafson, op. cit., p. 168.

See Lysecki (p. 58) for what appears to be the basis for Gustafson's position. The author's experience as a Hudson's Bay Company employee at Bathurst Inlet and Moose Factory in the early 1950's does not support the theory of the Hudson's Bay Company as an exploiter. On the contrary, in many areas posts were maintained that were no longer economically feasible because of the Company's social conscience.

<sup>12</sup>Jacqueline Gresko, "White 'Rites' and Indian 'Rites'. Indian Education and Native Responses in the West, 1870-1910" in A.W. Rasporich (ed.), Western Canada Past and Present (Calgary, Alberta: University of Calgary, McClelland and Stewart West, 1975), p. 164.

<sup>13</sup>Gresko, op. cit., p. 175.



society was sustained or even reinforced in its aboriginal economic and social patterns to the same if not to a greater degree than these were changed."<sup>14</sup>

The true evaluation of the result of the European impact on the Indian educational system probably lies somewhere between the view of the Indian as being powerless in the face of colonialistic exploitation by the government, the missionaries and the Hudson's Bay Company and the view that of the Indian as being highly successful in resisting government and missionary pressure on their educational system.

A strong Indian rights movement appeared during the 1970's, led by spokesmen who had apparently made use of the European-type education offered to them. The modern day Indian rights movement has been paralleled by a similar movement among the Metis. It would be precarious to assume that the Indian attempts to retain their own culture against White encroachment caused the Metis to do the same. However, there are many Metis, such as those living on the fringes of Indian reserves or in isolated communities, who identify with Indian culture more closely than with White culture. To such people, the Indian background to their educational beliefs is an aspect that cannot be ignored.

#### METIS EDUCATION PRIOR TO THE SELKIRK SETTLEMENT

The Hudson's Bay Company was granted a charter to trade in that area that now encompasses all of Manitoba as well as other areas in

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<sup>14</sup>Gresko, op. cit., p. 180.

1670. Within a few years the liaisons between Native women and White traders of both the Hudson's Bay Company and the independent companies had produced numerous children of mixed blood. The education of these children was apparently left in the hands of the parents. One would expect the child to be educated in Indian ways by the mother or maternal uncles, while receiving some encouragement for a rudimentary European education from the father.

There appears to have been some difference in culture choice made by the Metis children depending upon the father's background.

Their maternal background, the Indian, gave them a broad knowledge of the traditional ways. Yet their association with a White father gave them a competitive spirit, a knowledge of other ways; and often an access to the knowledge contained in books. . . . The mixed-bloods could become nomads of the woods and plains or they could become as Europeans and be governed by the pen and the plough. The Metis chose neither one, but pulled both ways incessantly and sought a compromise between European and Indian ways; between paganism and Christianity; between hunting and agriculture.<sup>15</sup>

The Scottish-Metis in many areas tended to assimilate toward the White society of the father, while French-Metis often assimilated toward the Indian culture of the mother.

There was a difference however, in the fate of the children of these mixed unions. In the case of French-Indian marriages the movement was toward the Indian way of life. The North-West Company had plenty of French-Canadian labour, and there were few places with the Company for Metis children. It was different with the smaller Scottish-Metis group. It was often cheaper for the Hudson's Bay Company to employ the son of a Scottish father and an Indian mother who was on the spot than to import another man from overseas. Some were thus employed, and some sons of officers of the Company were often sufficiently educated by their fathers to accept such posts. The daughters of such marriages were in demand for marriage by other post officials. Thus the trend was

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<sup>15</sup> Sealey and Lussier, The Metis Canada's Forgotten People (Winnipeg: Manitoba Metis Federation Press, 1975), p. 15.

toward absorption into the white group.<sup>16</sup>

There is strong evidence that among Scottish-Metis, "many were well educated, for their fathers would send promising sons to school in Montreal or even Europe."<sup>17</sup> Hill also speaks of Metis who were former Hudson's Bay Company men as being wealthy, looked up to in the neighbourhood and settled in fine houses near Grand Rapids (the present day Lockport) or Fort Douglas.

A specific example of this type of education given to Metis youth is that of Cuthbert Grant.

But it is probable to the point of certainty that Cuthbert Grant was brought east and baptized in preparation for his being sent to relatives in Scotland to be educated. It was not uncommon for the bourgeois of the fur trade to do so. . . . John Stuart, a cousin of the elder Grant and uncle of Donald A. Smith, sent his two sons to Scotland in this fashion.<sup>18</sup>

Possibly there was more incentive and opportunity for the mixed-blood children of the Hudson's Bay Company officers to acquire an education.

It often happened that, as the Scots and English held the rank of gentlemen in the fur trade, their half-breed sons were given a better start in life and a training which did not oblige them to seek their living with their rifle like the sons of the poor voyageurs. If they indicated any aptitude for learning these sons might be sent to schools in England or Scotland. On their return, some, like Moses Norton, rose in the service of the fur trade, others settled down to farm and to take a leading part in the life

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<sup>16</sup> Canadian Association of Social Workers, "The Metis in Manitoba" (Winnipeg: Manitoba Branch, Provincial Council of Women, 1954), p. 6.

<sup>17</sup> Douglas Hill, The Opening of the Canadian West (London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1967), p. 32.

<sup>18</sup> Margaret Arnett MacLeod and W.L. Morton, Cuthbert Grant of Grantown (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1963), p. 5.

of their community.<sup>19</sup>

However education was not neglected among the French-Metis by those individuals who had the money and time to pursue it. Two young Metis women who were to play an important part in education in the Red River in later years are examples.

The two Nolin girls were in no way typical of the frontier. The girls, and a few of the Nolin boys, had had several years of schooling in Montreal in the 1790's, while the family resided at Sault Ste. Marie. This kind of travel and education was available only to a few children of wealthy frontier merchants.<sup>20</sup>

One can assume that the average French-Metis child would receive very little formal schooling on the European pattern during the formative years of the eighteenth century. The movement after food and game and the nomadic conditions of the Metis family's existence because of the father's work would preclude the development of a formal type of educational system in the European manner. Because of the life-style, the Indian education as conveyed by the heritage of the mother would be more useful. For this reason, although there were basic similarities between the Scottish-Metis and the French-Metis, a distinction was drawn between the two groups by many Whites.

The education of the Metis children was not left entirely in the hands of the parents. Because the Hudson's Bay Company realized the value of having educated Metis youth in the vicinity of their

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<sup>19</sup>G.F.G. Stanley, The Birth of Western Canada A History of the Riel Rebellions (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963) p. 9.

<sup>20</sup>Donald Chaput, "The 'Misses Nolin' of Red River" in The Beaver (Winnipeg: Hudson's Bay Company, Winter, 1975), p. 16.

posts, an interest was displayed in education. As a result three teachers were sent out in 1808. Peter Sinclair, James Clouston and George Geddes were to teach in the northern forts and were paid an annual salary by the Company.<sup>21</sup> The Hudson's Bay Company efforts at education were not very successful.

No success came of the Company's well intentioned efforts. Failure marked them on a variety of accounts. They lacked a well considered plan for one thing, and often the schoolmasters found it more interesting and more profitable to go fur-trading than to continue in the less fascinating and less remunerative work of teaching school.<sup>22</sup>

It would appear that the education of Metis children was successful in the years prior to the Selkirk Settlement, with the effects continuing into the following period. Many Metis had become successful in their chosen life-style, whether living near a Hudson's Bay Company post and assimilating into the White commercial culture such as Norton, or following the traditional life-style of the hunter and plainsman such as Cuthbert Grant. This success was due to a large extent to the influence of the Hudson's Bay Company and the White fathers.

#### PERIOD FROM SELKIRK SETTLEMENT UNTIL 1870

By the beginning of the nineteenth century the Metis were increasing in numbers and appeared to be successful in the process of

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<sup>21</sup>F.H. Schofield, The Story of Manitoba (Winnipeg: S.J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1913), Vol. I, p. 415. Cited by Sealey, "The Education of Native Peoples in Manitoba," p. 14 and Newfield, "The Development of Manitoba Schools Prior to 1870," p. 34.

<sup>22</sup>Newfield, op. cit., p. 34.

developing a new culture.

By 1810 the Metis were firmly established across the West and South into what was to become United States' territory. Wherever buffalo or furs were to be found, there also were the Metis. Not yet a cohesive group, they needed a catalyst to mould them together.<sup>23</sup>

By 1825 three events over which the Metis had no control had taken place, each having a long-range and lasting effect on their culture and development. The first of these events was the founding of the Red River Settlement in 1812. This placed an agricultural community in the midst of the traditional hunting grounds and across the canoe routes of the North West Company. Although the settlement also added a substantial White element there was very little inter-marriage or effect on Metis culture from this aspect. The problems faced by the settlement, and the solutions attempted by the authorities of the settlement, however, soon awakened a consciousness in the Metis as to their claims to the land. These feelings were encouraged by the North West Company for its own benefit.

The second event was the union of the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company in 1821. This withdrew the element of active support to the Metis claims of aboriginal rights to the land, but not before the concept had taken firm root. The claim was to be officially recognized by the Canadian government by the end of the period. The union also caused several posts to be closed down for a North West Company post and a Hudson's Bay Company post in close proximity were no longer needed. As a result many Metis workers and freighters now became surplus. Without work, they were forced to

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<sup>23</sup>Sealey and Lussier, op. cit., p. 29.

move, and often chose homes in the Red River Settlement. The Hudson's Bay Company encouraged this movement to the vicinity of the Forks by providing the Metis with grants of land on which to settle and begin farming as well as other necessities. The third event was the decision by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1823 to encourage further large groups of Metis to move to the Red River settlement area. The boundary survey had located the large Metis community of Pembina as being in the United States, and American traders were moving into the area. Many Metis decided to make the move northward from Pembina under their leader Cuthbert Grant. The Metis were eventually given land grants on the White Horse Plains where they formed the community of Grantown, now St. Francois Xavier. From here the Metis could organize their buffalo hunts, and also act as a buffer between the Sioux Indians and White settlers of the Red River settlement.

With large groups of Metis concentrated in relatively small areas, and being encouraged to settle down to an agricultural type of life-style, it was now possible to attempt the establishment of permanent churches and schools. The Catholic Church quickly made use of the opportunity.

It is not the purpose of this study to trace the political or economic effects of these events on the development of the Metis as a nation. Each event however affected all facets of the life, and thereby the education, of the Metis.

When Lord Selkirk had made arrangements for his settlement, one of his concerns was the education of the settlers. A school-master, Francis Swords, had been brought out with the group of settlers in 1812 but had been sent back to England from York Factory

and never made the trip to the Red River settlement. The first school established in the settlement appears to be a short-lived one taught by John Matheson. "Thus the first school established at Red River functioned for five months at most, and probably only three. The colony's attempt to establish a school had failed."<sup>24</sup> This failure was due to the dispersal of the Red River settlers in June of 1815 due to natural calamities and the pressure of the Metis under North West Company encouragement.

These extracts fix the date of the opening of the first public school in Manitoba, and settle for all time the question as to whom belongs the honour of being Manitoba's first pedagogue. It does not belong to the English Anglican, Harbridge, or to the French Catholic, Provencher, but to the Scotch Presbyterian, John Matheson.<sup>25</sup>

It is doubtful that the small school set up for the Kildonan Scots could have had much influence on the education of the Metis during its short life.

Lord Selkirk took a direct interest in education on his arrival at the colony in the summer of 1818. To this end he encouraged Joseph Provencher to come to the Red River to establish a Catholic mission and school. Within a few years the Catholic Church was working among the Metis with schools at Pembina, St. Boniface and some of the larger camps of the buffalo hunters.

Newfield citing St. Boniface church records says of 1819,

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<sup>24</sup>Raymond Bailey, A Historical Study of Public Education in West Kildonan to 1959 (Master of Education Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1966), p. 83.

<sup>25</sup>Newfield, op. cit., p. 35.



"During the winter some sixty pupils attended school at Pembina,"<sup>26</sup> in reference to schooling among the Metis. There is some indication that there was as large a group of students being taught by priests in the buffalo hunter's camps.

Although the missionaries valued schooling and wished to extend education among the Metis,

. . . the fact that the educational work of the missionaries was so little appreciated by the Canadians or half-breeds, accustomed to a free and easy life on the plains where the possession of literary accomplishments was of little use, made the work of the missionaries extremely difficult.<sup>27</sup>

Bishop Provencher also concerned himself with the education of Metis girls. He had contacted a Pembina fur-trader named Nolin in hopes of getting one of his daughters to teach school, but with little success. However in 1829, Provencher succeeded in having the father and two daughters move to St. Boniface.

Finally, in January of 1829, Angelique and her older sister Marguerite opened the first school for girls in western Canada, in St. Boniface. The students were mostly daughters of French and Cree or Ojibway parents, though some Metis of Scottish background also enrolled their daughters.<sup>28</sup>

The educational system under Catholic Church continued to expand.<sup>29</sup> The first two graduates of St. Boniface College were a French-Canadian named Senecal and a Metis youth from Pembina named Victor Chenier in 1823. In June, 1844, Sisters Valade, Lagrave, Coutlee and La France

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<sup>26</sup>Newfield, op. cit., p. 16.

<sup>27</sup>Newfield, op. cit., p. 18.

<sup>28</sup>Chaput, op. cit., p. 16.

<sup>29</sup>For a detailed discussion of the growth of the Church schools under the Catholics see the previously quoted writings such as Sealey, Newfield, Lysecki, Belton, Gustafson and Rempel.

of the Grey Nuns arrived at the Red River and by the following summer had 80 children in their classrooms.

They board twenty or thirty girls, and, for compensation, give them an education beyond that of most district schools in the United States. The languages used are English and French, and the subjects principally taught are reading, spelling, the catechism, grammar, sacred history, arithmetic, geography, English history, Canadian history, ancient mythology, vocal music, and the piano-forte, as well as the doctrines and practices of the Catholic religion.<sup>30</sup>

In August, 1845, Fathers Aubert and Tache of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate arrived as teaching missionaries. The range of the Catholic church schools again expanded.

The educational work of the Catholic Church flourished despite great distances to remove Metis settlements and buffalo hunter's camps, and the difficulty of having Metis children attend school regularly. Although some schooling was available as far west as Edmonton, the centre of schooling was in St. Boniface. By the last half of the nineteenth century the fruits of the Church's efforts in education were becoming evident.

Some of the early pupils of Provencher were becoming important men in the settlement. In 1855 Francois Bruneau, former pupil of Bishop Provencher, occupied a seat in the colonial council. A few years later, 1857, September 19, three other half-breeds were admitted into the same select circle, by becoming members of the Council of Assiniboia. The recognition accorded these men can be looked upon as a result of a contribution made by the Catholic schools.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>30</sup>Manton Marble, "To Red River and Beyond" in Harper's New Monthly Magazine No. CXXIII, Vol. XXI (August, 1860), p. 315.

<sup>31</sup>Newfield, op. cit., p. 27.

For an account of Metis members of the Council of Assiniboia see Lionel Dorge, "The Metis and Canadian Councillors of Assiniboia," The Beaver, Summer, 1974 and Autumn, 1974.

The Catholic Church had concerned itself primarily with the French-speaking Metis. The education of the English-speaking Scottish-Metis became a concern of the Anglican Church and the Church Missionary Society which took over the efforts started by the Hudson's Bay Company.<sup>32</sup>

The Rev. Mr. John West had arrived in 1820 as chaplain to the Hudson's Bay Company. On his arrival at York Factory he proposed a plan, suggesting, ". . . that one hundred of these half-breed children from scattered forts were to be brought to Red River. There they were to be housed and maintained at the Company's expense, and educated under Mr. West's direction."<sup>33</sup> The Company expressed interest, granted Mr. West 100 pounds but had other commitments which did not allow it to give the plan full backing. The half-breed boy Henry Budd was brought from York Factory as the first pupil. Henry Budd later became an ordained Anglican minister and worked among the Cree in the Pas region.

The Red River Academy depended upon pupils from the northern posts, and was organized like a private school in England of that period with a similar curriculum.

There is no doubt that the more advanced subjects--Latin, Greek, Euclid, English Literature, and Geography--were neither interesting nor useful to the young teen-aged youngster of mixed blood. Whatever the reason, attendance declined. The Red River Census for 1845 showed 14 boys and 9 girls at the Academy.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>32</sup>Thomas F. Bredin, "The Red River Academy," The Beaver (Winnipeg: Hudson's Bay Company, Winter, 1974).

<sup>33</sup>Newfield, op. cit. p. 36.

<sup>34</sup>Bredin, op. cit., p. 14.

Under the Church Missionary Society, Anglican parishes quickly expanded from the original St. Johns northward along the Red River. Possibly because of the smaller number of Scottish-Metis the work of the Anglican Church did not become as widespread as that of the Catholic Church. Anglican efforts were concentrated largely in the Red River colony with pupils sent in from the Company's northern posts.

Despite the understandable reluctance of many Hudson's Bay Company factors to send their children the great distance from their northern posts to the Red River schools, there appears to be agreement that the schools were necessary and adequately fulfilling their functions.

The children of this Country do the best that is brought up in this country (sic)--all those that have been educated in Europe acquire a kind of Pride that unfits them for the customs and habits of this country.<sup>35</sup>

Racial prejudice also seems to have made its appearance in the country by this period.

. . . but half-breeds as they are called has no chance there (sic) nor are they respected whatever their abilities may be, by a parcel of upstart Scotchmen who now hold the power and Controle in the concern . . .<sup>36</sup>

Despite the charge of prejudice aimed at the 'parcel of upstart Scotchmen' by Sutherland, very little was thought to exist by outsiders who had contact with the Hudson's Bay Company. Foster also

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<sup>35</sup> John E. Foster, "Rupert's Land and the Red River Settlement, 1820-70," Lewis G. Thomas (ed.), The Prairie West to 1905 (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1975). Citing a letter from Chief Factor James Sutherland to his brother in Scotland, dated August 8, 1831, p. 53.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., p. 53.

cites a letter from Joseph Cook dated July 29, 1846 to the Lay Secretary of the Church Missionary Society (Anglican) pointing out that mixed-blood teachers received lower pay than their European counterparts, were treated as common labourers and were expected to do work that Europeans were not asked to do. The Reverend Wm. Cockran in a letter of August 5, 1847, points out that the missionary, Mr. Hunter, is at fault in treating his mixed-blood associates in this manner and that the Hudson's Bay Company would never have behaved like that to its mixed-blood interpreters or post masters. Scottish-Metis were apparently being trained and being given positions as school teachers in some northern posts, but were not receiving full encouragement or appreciation for their efforts.

Two other groups that had some influence on the education of the Metis were the Presbyterian schools of the Scottish settlers and the Wesleyan (Methodist) missionaries. Unlike the Catholic and Anglican church schools, the Presbyterians received little financial backing from the Hudson's Bay Company, the Council of Assiniboia or mother churches in Scotland. As a result the Presbyterian school system developed along different lines that were later to affect the development of school districts in Manitoba. The Presbyterians developed a trustee system of organization and a tuition fee system of financing. This helped change the educational system in the Red River area from a parochial one as under the Catholic and Anglican Churches to one of a private school system. It also allowed a change of focus from a religious oriented curriculum to a more business oriented curriculum. These schools gave training to many half-breed sons of Company servants.



Schools preparing for business life as well as other schools were established. Chief among these was a school opened by Mr. Gunn of St. Andrew's. . . . His commercial school was conducted at his own home for the sons of the Hudson's Bay Company factors and traders so they might be fitted for the Company's service in which they were to succeed their fathers.<sup>37</sup>

The educational system of the mid-nineteenth century was working under several handicaps.

Let it be remembered that here there is no law and no general provision for education; that the houses for the most part are sparse, that the parents are careless and indifferent, and that, though the charge for education is but ten shillings a year, scarcely one child in ten pays for his schooling, while to insist on payment would drive two-thirds away.<sup>38</sup>

Despite these handicaps, progress was being made in the development of a formal school system as used in a White society.

During the nineteenth century education had been made available to the Metis on a large scale. The results of this availability however were never uniform and of a consistently high standard. Although men such as Cuthbert Grant, Louis Riel, John Norquay and Alexander Isbister were well educated, as well as dozens of others who became influential in the Metis community or provincial affairs, the majority of the Metis appear to have acquired very little education. In some cases an educated Metis seems to have deliberately turned his back on the purpose of his education as seen from the White viewpoint.

In St. Boniface, the school was well established and Provencher, now Bishop, hoped that an exceptionally intelligent half-breed, Victor Chenier, would begin classical studies and become a priest. Apparently in 1825, Victor upset the Bishop by quitting school and going to live with his family at Pembina, where he earned a

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<sup>37</sup>Newfield, op. cit., p. 70.

<sup>38</sup>Marble, op. cit., p. 315.

livelihood as a buffalo hunter. Not even the offer of the teacher's position at Pembina would change Victor's mind.<sup>39</sup>

An interesting contrast to Chenier is Henry Budd who apparently fulfilled the hopes of the Anglican clergy by using his education to become an ordained minister of their church and carrying on work among Native peoples.

This attitude of the Metis toward education is also reflected in the writings of some travellers of the times, ". . . they are very illiterate, few or none being able to read or write, . . ."40

Although this was Clouston's general impression of the Metis at Pembina he qualifies his statements later by admitting,

. . . the Sons are generally farmers or Buffalo hunters with little or no education, and the young ladies seldom appear except to join in the dance. Some of them however, are well educated and very pleasant girls, . . .41

Yet by 1869 the Metis people had a large enough group of educated men to form a provisional government, make up a list of rights or demands (albeit with the help of the Catholic clergy)<sup>42</sup> and carry on negotiations with the government of Canada. One cannot picture this being done by a group of illiterates. However in discussing the formation of the province of Manitoba and the subsequent dispersion of the Metis, many people speak of the Metis as

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<sup>39</sup>Sealey and Lussier, op. cit., p. 46.

<sup>40</sup>Elaine A. Mitchell, "Clouston Goes to Pembina," The Beaver (Winnipeg: Hudson's Bay Company, Autumn, 1961), p. 53.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., p. 54.

<sup>42</sup>See Stanley, The Birth of Western Canada, p. 248 in discussing petition of French-Metis near Edmonton, "owing to the lack of educated leaders among them, can only be explained by the supposition of ecclesiastical support."

being cheated out of their land scrips by unscrupulous people who took advantage of their ignorance. The Metis are pictured by them as an ignorant group who did not realize the value of a land title, even though the lack of title had been one of the chief causes of the Red River Insurrection. One would imagine that it was not ignorance caused by lack of schooling that caused the Metis to sell their land scrips. Sealey and Lussier put forward a much more plausible explanation of the situation.

One year a Metis had land, but the next year it was taken away for redistribution. White immigration was pouring into the province and often, when a Metis went to claim the land granted to him, he would discover an immigrant family firmly in possession. Most half-breeds despaired of ever getting their land and sold the paper rights to speculators for a few dollars. Convinced that they would never secure justice concerning land, many didn't even bother to claim it, but simply moved west.<sup>43</sup>

By the end of the period beginning with the founding of the Red River Settlement and ending with the Red River Insurrection the French-Metis had emerged as a 'new nation,' had had a brief half-century of flourishing as a dominant force and then had been forced into moving to maintain their life-style of plainsman and hunter.

They had attempted to fuse two life-styles--the hunting, fishing and trapping of their Indian mothers with the agricultural and commercial life-style of their White fathers. They had made a choice of an educational system based on that of traditional Indian culture. They had, with apparently few exceptions, turned their backs on the educational system for their White fathers. They had not developed their own school system, although the Presbyterians of the

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<sup>43</sup>Sealey and Lussier, op. cit., p. 97.



Red River settlement with much fewer numbers had given them a model. One would imagine that a school system controlled by the community, steered by elected trustees and financed by the users would have had some points of appeal to the Metis. Although there must have been French-Metis, other than the Nolin sisters, capable of teaching, the Metis appear to have made no attempt to encourage their own people to provide a formal educational system on a White model. Apparently they were quite successful in adapting the informal Indian model to their use. They made use of Catholic parochial schools, but even here were seldom aggressive in seeking out methods of establishing a formal educational system that the churches could have used to full advantage. As a result the Metis entered the next period of their history ill-equipped to develop an educational system that would serve the changing needs being forced upon them by the unfolding of history.

#### METIS EDUCATION FROM 1870 UNTIL WORLD WAR II

With the arrival of the Wolseley Expedition sent out to maintain law and order in the Red River Settlement in 1870, the Metis found themselves in an uncomfortable position. Many of the troopers were Ontario Protestants who looked with contempt upon the French-speaking Metis and regarded the execution of Thomas Scott as a vindication for illegal acts on their part. Instead of maintaining law and order many became involved in disturbances, fights and

killings as in the murder of Elezear Goulet.<sup>44</sup> As a result of incidents such as this many Metis decided to move out of the vicinity of the Red River Settlement. This caused a fragmentation of the Metis nation into three groups. The largest group remained within the boundaries of the newly-formed province of Manitoba. A second group joined the Indian bands of the prairies. The third group moved to the North Saskatchewan River areas where they attempted to retain the traditional Metis life-style.

The New Nation had split into three separate groups in this period of history. Approximately half had elected to remain in the newly created province of Manitoba and to struggle for a place in the new society. Within this group, many were extremely successful and slow assimilation into the English and French-speaking groups began to change their life-style. A sub-section of this group moved outside the boundaries of the province to form small settlements along the lakes of Manitoba, where they became fishermen and trappers. The second group reverted to completely nomadic life on the plains and did so in conjunction with the Indians. The process of assimilation was as inevitable for them as for those left behind in Manitoba. The main difference was that they were so rapidly assimilated into the Indian culture that they were soon indistinguishable from them. The third group, those who fled to the central and northern parts of what is now Saskatchewan and Alberta, retained the semi-settled life-style of small farmers and buffalo hunters. They continued to see themselves as a unique people and clung to the ideal of the New Nation. From this group would come the impetus for the Northwest Rebellion of 1885.<sup>45</sup>

Many of the Metis who remained in Manitoba assimilated into the White society and made important contributions to the development of the province. It is not the purpose of this study to document such

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<sup>44</sup>For a description of the mood of the troops see Hugh A. Stevenson, "The Prime Minister's Son Goes West," The Beaver (Winnipeg: Hudson's Bay Company, Winter, 1963) or Joseph K. Howard, Strange Empire The Story of Louis Riel (Toronto: Swan Publishing Co. Ltd., 1965), Chapter X.

<sup>45</sup>Sealey and Lussier, op. cit., p. 107.

political and economic successes of this group. Their educational history would be tied to that of the White group into which they assimilated.

The educational system of Manitoba underwent a change following the creation of the province. Until 1870 the Catholic Church had exerted a dominant influence over the education of French-speaking Metis, providing them with missions and schools.

The Catholic Church has confined its attention chiefly to the Indians, and the Indian half-breeds of French origin. Schools and convents have been erected, and maintained in a considerable number of places throughout Manitoba and the Northwest Territories.<sup>46</sup>

In 1890 the Manitoba School Act was passed which changed the traditional educational system of the province. A public school system was developed that was non-denominational in scope and was financed by public taxation. Denominational schools could still function, but without public support.

The famous Education Acts followed, virtually a copy of the School Act of Ontario with the provisions for separate schools omitted. The public school system was in effect a system of non-denominational schools, with religious exercises permitted.<sup>47</sup>

Public financing was withheld from the Catholic and Anglican Church schools. This situation exists at present, with a variety of approaches of various provincial governments as they meet the problem of educational financing. "The legal ground for this action was the

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<sup>46</sup>George Bryce, "Bryce on Education in Manitoba," Chapter XXV in British Association for the Advancement of Science Montreal Meeting, 1884, Canadian Economics (Montreal: Dawson Brothers, Publishers, 1885), p. 298.

<sup>47</sup>P.B. Waite, Canada 1874-1896 Ardous Destiny (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1971), p. 247.

contention that the church schools in the Red River before the union had received no support from public taxation."<sup>48</sup> As a result of the Education Acts the position was reached by the end of the nineteenth century that was to extend to the present day. Publicly financed schools, open to the children of the residents of the school district, were established wherever the need was evident. Parochial schools would still be operated by the Churches. "Before the end of 1896 an agreement had been reached: denominational schools would not be part of the public school system."<sup>49</sup> Those Metis who remained within the province of Manitoba after 1870 thus fell under the school system that would tend to assimilate them into the White society. Their choice to remain in the province had possibly been predicated on their belief that they could successfully assimilate and on their acceptance of White society values. As such the educational history of this group would merge with that of the surrounding White community.

A sub-group of this assimilating group had remained in the vicinity of Manitoba, but had moved outside the boundaries of the province as established in 1870. The boundaries that established the 'postage stamp' province were located at the 49<sup>0</sup>N parallel on the

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<sup>48</sup>W.L. Morton, The Kingdom of Canada (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1963), p. 381.

<sup>49</sup>John S. Moir and Robert E. Saunders, Northern Destiny A History of Canada (Toronto: J.M. Dent and Sons Ltd., 1970), p. 351.

Educational matters were covered by Section 22 of Statutes of Canada; First Parliament, 33rd Victoria, 1870 in "An Act to amend and continue the Act 32 and 33 Victoria, Chapter 3; and to establish and provide for the Government of the Province of Manitoba." The provincial legislature could make laws in relation to education, with the rights of the denominational schools and Protestant and Roman Catholic minorities guaranteed.

south, the  $96^{\circ}\text{W}$  meridian on the east, the  $50^{\circ}30'\text{N}$  parallel on the north and the  $99^{\circ}\text{W}$  meridian on the west. Those Metis families who set themselves up as trappers and fishermen founding settlements along the shores of Manitoba's lakes in places such as Oak Point, St. Laurent and Grand Marais would be near the edges of the provincial boundaries. Because settlements such as Grand Marais were outside the provincial boundaries, the Manitoba School Act did not provide for their educational needs. The cost of setting up a school, providing a teacher and supplying materials was beyond the financial means of the settlement and education was often neglected.

The areas selected by the Metis were often sub-marginal and did not provide an adequate financial footing for growth. The pressures brought on the Metis by land-seeking by White immigrant settlers taking up homesteads and the second dispersion of the Metis following the Northwest Insurrection caused further problems.

Contrary, therefore, to our ethnic villages, our Indian and Metis reserves and settlements did not come into existence out of a free choice and enthusiasm of the founding generation. Said founders did not settle down freely and in a bold attempt to make a fresh start in life. They more or less grudgingly agreed to stay put because it was more and more difficult to live elsewhere and because this was the best way not to interfere with European settlement.<sup>50</sup>

When the boundaries of Manitoba were enlarged in 1881 to its present eastern and western boundaries and north to  $52^{\circ}51'\text{N}$  parallel, many of these settlements fell into the new boundaries. With the

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<sup>50</sup>Father Andre Renaud, "The Possible Development of Ethnic Groups of Indian and Metis," The University of Manitoba, Resolving Conflicts--A Cross-cultural Approach (Winnipeg: Department of University Extension and Adult Education, 1967), p. 129.

final extension of Manitoba's boundaries to 60°N parallel in 1912 all Metis settlements, in theory, were the benefactors of the public school system. This will be examined in more detail later in the chapter.

The histories of the two groups of Metis who left Manitoba and its vicinity are of interest, but are not central to this study. However events in the development of their educational systems have parallels and similarities to that of the Metis of Manitoba.

Apparently some of the Metis who moved out of the province to lead a life of buffalo hunting and freighting still made use of the facilities at St. Boniface during the first few years after the dispersion of 1870. In most cases the education of the children of these buffalo hunters and freighters must have been brief and sporadic.

Marie Gervais decided it was time for her two older girls to have an education and using some of the money left in trust for this purpose, she enrolled them in St. Boniface Convent.

At the end of two years, Mother Gervais decided her girls had had ample education and made arrangements to have them leave the convent.<sup>51</sup>

The account is interesting in that one of the girls referred to was Marie Rose who had been born on October 18, 1861. The money mentioned as being left in trust was left by her father who died on January 15, 1871 when she was nine years old. Marie Rose was married to Charles Smith on March 26, 1877 when she was 15 years old. Somewhere between the time of the death of her father when she was nine

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<sup>51</sup>Jock Carpenter, Fifty Dollar Bride Marie Rose Smith--A Chronicle of Metis Life in the 19th Century (Sidney, British Columbia: Gray's Publishing Limited, 1977), pp. 42 and 44.

and her marriage when she was 15 she had acquired two years of schooling at St. Boniface. The account also gives some indication of the education and wealth of some Metis families by 1870. Her father, Urbain Delorme, had made a will and had left land for his sons and money for an education for his daughters, although still a relatively young man at the time of his death. Delorme may not have been typical of the Metis of the time, but the impression he gives the reader does not coincide with some of the descriptions made by travellers of the slovenly lack of concern for the future that supposedly characterized the Metis of this period.

In other cases deliberate attempts to set up school districts were made, often quite successfully. Some Metis families from the White Horse Plain settled around the Catholic missions near Fort Qu'Appelle in Saskatchewan. By 1874 a mission church and school were established at St. Laurent (Saskatchewan). Priests of the Roman Catholic Church also conducted school at Batoche's house at Batoche and Boucher's house at St. Louis. Finally in 1884 government support for a school enabled St. Antoine de Padoue to be built as No. 1 Roman Catholic Public School in the North West.<sup>52</sup> Other schools were quickly established between 1884 and 1886. Old residents of the Red River such as J.B. Boucher and Samuel McDougall were among the trustees elected. Apparently the Metis from the White Horse Plain had brought with them a tradition of education and regarded the White society type of education as a value.

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<sup>52</sup>Sally Clubb, "Red River Exodus," Arbos (Saskatoon: Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation, January-February, 1965).

Not all attempts were as successful. One example is the attempt to set up Metis reserves in Alberta after 1896 on four townships given to a syndicate headed by Catholic Church personnel.

It was obvious, however, that the Metis were not enthusiastic about agricultural labour. They tilled small fields and raised large gardens, but their most successful efforts were in raising cattle. To the despair of the priests, once their immediate needs were satisfied, the Metis were not concerned about expanding their farms or herds. Yet this was necessary if enough surplus wealth was to be generated to finance schools, churches, roads, and other social amenities that were desired by the priests for the Metis and seemed necessary if a transition to White ways was to be achieved.<sup>53</sup>

The experiment ended in failure when the priests encouraged French-Canadian families to come, hoping the intermixture would lead to assimilation. Bitterness developed on the part of the Metis, who sold their lands and moved to unoccupied lands nearby.

It would appear that Metis groups who settled outside Manitoba handled education in many different ways. Some valued the White educational system and set up their own system soon after 1870. Some sent their children back to Red River for short exposures to White education. Others did little to encourage education on a White model even when it was being actively promoted in their midst.

The educational picture of Metis settlements in rural Manitoba during the period up to the end of World War II is rather dismal. The results of the educational system are evident, but the causes are still open to question.

Some writers see the cause of the lack of education as being centred in the Metis themselves. Their nomadic life-style,

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<sup>53</sup>Sealey and Lussier, op. cit., p. 137.



restlessness and present-oriented philosophy are cited as major factors contributing to the failure of education.

The restlessness of many Metis makes employers reluctant to hire them, or willing to hire them only for casual, low-paid labouring jobs, usually of short duration. The education of the children is interfered with by this nomadic mode of life, so that the children commonly do not become qualified for anything better than unskilled labouring jobs.<sup>54</sup>

The nomadic life-style and frequent moves had a negative effect upon the education of the children who were raised during the first half of the twentieth century. As a result many received no schooling, and their level of education sank below that of their parents.

The need to move the entire family as fur, fish and flesh were sought meant that schooling was impossible for the children. The literacy rate of the younger generation declined from even the low level of the parents.<sup>55</sup>

Other writers see the Metis attitude toward education as being a deliberate policy of rejection of the White society's educational system.<sup>56</sup> Spaulding holds that the rural Metis community is integrated not only on the common opposition to Whites but also on kinship-based internal organization. He posits that isolated Metis communities use deviant behaviour and activities to compensate for the insecurity and powerlessness of their situation and as a method of rejecting White culture while identifying themselves with Indian tradition.

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<sup>54</sup>Canadian Association of Social Workers, The Metis in Manitoba, op. cit., p. 11.

<sup>55</sup>Sealey and Lussier, op. cit., p. 137.

<sup>56</sup>Philip Spaulding, "The Social Integration of a Northern Community: White Mythology and Metis Reality," in K. Davis (ed.), Northern Dilemma: Reference Papers Vol. I (Bellingham, Washington: Western Washington State College, April, 1971).

French<sup>57</sup> disagrees with this position and claims that his studies indicate that the plight of the Metis is not that they retain features of the Indian culture, but that they have moved from an aboriginal value system to a lower-class Euro-Canadian poverty value system. As a result the Metis have fallen into a more shackled position than the Indians. French concludes, rather pessimistically, that should the dominant White society offer opportunities to the Metis, the offers will be of little avail because the opportunities will not be used.

Other writers shift a large share of the blame for the low educational success of the Metis during this period to the White society. They cite examples of prejudice and rejection that were common in the period between 1870 and World War II. In many cases because Metis families were squatters on crown land and were not paying school taxes, local rate payers refused to allow Metis children into the local schools. The White taxpayers refused to assume the responsibility for educating Metis children. In some areas the Church apparently continued to be the main source of education for Metis children until after World War II.

Up until two years ago there were no school facilities whatever, as the nearest white school would not accept these children. Classes are now held in the church. The present enrolment is 42, the children coming from a radius of five miles. The classroom is much too small for the needs of the community and there are at least 25 other children who receive no schooling whatever. There are several pupils, aged 12-15 years who have just started in

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<sup>57</sup>Cecil L. French, "Social Class and Motivation Among Metis, Indians, and Whites in Alberta," in Davis, ibid.

Grade One.<sup>58</sup>

One reason given for the poor educational achievement of Metis children during this period was their nomadic life-style and down-grading of the value of education. A second reason given was the prejudice and deliberate policy of the White taxpayers who refused to assume the responsibility for educating Metis children whose parents were squatters in nearby areas. A third cause of the low educational achievement of the Metis is tied to the depression of the 1930's and the generally poor economic conditions of those times. Not only did the Metis suffer, but many White communities in western Canada faced difficulties in keeping local schools open as money became scarce, teachers' salaries fell and population shifts occurred. In Metis communities, which often did not have as strong a financial base as surrounding White communities, schools were forced to close as local money and provincial grants became scarce. As a result a new phenomenon appeared--the 'orphan schools' of the depression years.<sup>59</sup> These unofficial schools functioned until the end of World War II.

Whatever the causes, by the end of World War II the Metis in

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<sup>58</sup> Canadian Association of Social Workers, op. cit. in the 1949 printing. This was a reference to a case study of a Metis community in western Manitoba. The date would indicate that at the end of World War II Metis children were being denied education in public schools in some rural areas. The example leaves open the question of why the Metis community had no school of its own, as there appeared to be enough pupils to support a school of at least two classrooms.

<sup>59</sup> For a brief description of these schools see Sealey, "The Education of Native Peoples in Manitoba," op. cit., p. 53. Apparently the schools were funded from surplus funds each spring and operated unofficially. The teachers were university students or unemployed teachers who taught a basic curriculum during the summer months in any building that would serve as a classroom.

Manitoba were not benefiting to the full extent possible from the provincial educational system. One room school houses were being built in rural communities across Manitoba, and White students were receiving a minimum grade eight education, while the town high schools offered further education for those who could afford the time and effort. While the educational level of White students had not fallen below that of their parents, this was not always true for the Metis.

In a study of four small Metis communities in northern Manitoba, Redekopp found that the educational attainments of the residents was generally lower than that of the province as a whole.<sup>60</sup> The sample showed that in Thicket Portage 24 per cent of the household heads had no formal education, 22 per cent had grades one to four, and 34 per cent had grades five to eight. In the community of Wabowden the sample showed that 23 per cent of the household heads had no formal education, eight per cent had grades one to four, 37 per cent had grades five to eight and 26 per cent had grades nine to 12. In both cases almost one-quarter of the household heads had no formal education. If we assume that the household heads were adults with families at the time of the survey, they may have been born during the 1930's. They should have received their education (or total lack of education) during the period under discussion; that period prior to the end of World War II.

The period from 1870 to the late 1940's witnessed a tremendous

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<sup>60</sup>H.I. Redekopp, "An Analysis of the Social and Economic Problems of Four Small Communities in Northern Manitoba: Wabowden, Thicket Portage, Norway House and Oxford House" (Master of Education, University of Manitoba), 1968.

change in the Metis nation. From a people who were unified in thought and culture to a great degree before 1870, and who regarded themselves as a New Nation, a great fragmentation had taken place. Some Metis had chosen to move geographically to a lesser or greater distance from the Red River with a resulting change in their culture. One group assimilated into the White culture, one group assimilated into the Indian culture, and the third group made a valiant effort to retain the traditional Metis culture. Added to these differences were the changes brought about by their choice of urban, rural or isolated community as a dwelling place. These choices affected the educational level they were able to attain, and caused a further shift in the concept of the Metis as being a unique people. By the end of this period the diversity among those claiming to be Metis was perhaps greater than the similarity between them.

#### METIS EDUCATION FROM WORLD WAR II TO THE PRESENT

In the decades following World War II there appears to be a growing feeling among the Metis people that an education in the traditional White system is necessary. However a great amount of dissatisfaction with the present educational system is apparent among some groups. As a result several changes are taking place. The success or failure of these changes is yet to be gauged.

By the end of World War II the situation in regards to the education of Metis children, especially in rural and isolated areas, was deplorable, although there were some glimmerings of hope. The Manitoba Department of Education was aware of the shortcomings and was making attempts, with such innovations as the 'orphan schools,' to

provide a modicum of educational opportunities to students in isolated settlements.

This period of history, however, had many people re-assessing the value of the White society type of education for Native peoples. As the felt needs for the White society's material goods such as radios, plumbing, automobiles or electric appliances developed among the Metis, education as a means of acquiring these goods took on a new value. Not all people, however, saw education as being a panacea for those problems encountered by the Metis as they moved into the industrialized post-war society. In fact some spokesmen claimed that White education, instead of helping to solve problems, became a problem in itself of major proportions. The value of the educational system as it existed became a topic of avid discussion during the 1960's not only among Native peoples, but among elements of the dominant White society as well. The Indian and Metis became more vocal about educational concerns at a time when White society was caught up in a debate centred around continuous progress, confluent education and student initiated programs.

Several solutions were put forward to the problems involved in education. Some spokesmen thought in terms of compensatory education and developed a new jargon that spoke of culturally deprived students or educationally retarded pupils. Equal opportunity to education became a major concern to educators not only in Manitoba but all across North America.

A second solution to educational problems among Native peoples is shown by the growth of Native education projects from coast to coast in Canada. Manitoba acquired its fair share, and is currently

committed to the education of Native teachers to be placed in classrooms having a large percentage of Native students.

A third solution to educational problems put forward by many parties was that of local control. This was in keeping with the trend to more local participation in community affairs that was prevalent during the 1960's and 1970's. Some writers pictured local control as the ultimate answer to educational problems while others regarded the concept with caution.

At the beginning of this period, right after World War II, the Metis living in rural and isolated areas had not made much progress in acquiring the White culture education that was standard across the province.

For the Metis, living in a blend of Indian and white culture, education poses a problem. As they lose pride in their Indian culture, the native crafts and skills of the past are no longer taught the children, and as their children begin to attend the regular schools they meet prejudice, and frequently outright rejection, from the white population. As a result of the inaccessibility of schools in rural districts, and the difficulty of adjustment to the routine of the classroom, together with the upsetting influence of many moves, the majority of Metis children have had very little formal education up to the present.<sup>61</sup>

Those Metis families that lived on the fringes of White communities or Indian reserves were apparently in worse condition than those who lived in predominantly Metis communities. On the fringe of a White community the Metis family met with open hostility and prejudice in many cases. By the late 1950's Metis children were still being denied admittance to public schools in some rural areas on the grounds of being non-taxpayers or as possible carriers of

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<sup>61</sup>Canadian Association of Social Workers, op. cit., p. 17.

disease.

Inadequate diet, lack of parental understanding of what education might do for children, discrimination against Metis in some schools, coupled with poverty which forced children to become wage earners at the earliest possible age, combined to keep the educational level low.<sup>62</sup>

On the fringes of Indian reserves the Metis may have met with less prejudice, and may have actually had relatives on the reserve, but was faced with government legalities and restrictions. The term "Indian" is defined in the Indian Act of 1951, and the people falling within the term are subject to the legal restrictions of the Indian Act as well as the provisions of the treaty negotiated with that band. Among items of most treaties are provisions for education and health care. Because they were not Indians, the Metis had no claim on the educational services available to the residents of the reserves. As a result the educational level of the Metis on the fringes of Indian reserves was often on a much lower level than that of the Indians.

It can be said that the doors of education are open to native students to obtain a high school education. This has been the case for Indian students for many years but for many Metis students this became a reality only in 1965.<sup>63</sup>

Those Metis families living in predominantly Metis communities were better adjusted than either of the other two groups.

While the majority of the citizens of predominantly Metis communities are living under substandard conditions, they are usually better adjusted to their conditions than those living on

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<sup>62</sup>Sealey and Lussier, op. cit., p. 151. On the same page the authors cite instances of town council decisions to have Metis families who have moved into the towns investigated and removed if possible. There is also the example of school board minutes denying admittance to children of a Metis family on suspicion of illness. Some of the incidents occurred as recently as 1958.

<sup>63</sup>Sealey and Kirkness, op. cit., p. 146.



the fringe of or in predominantly White communities. . . . The Metis living in predominantly Metis communities have not assimilated as much of the White culture but they are better integrated in that their role in relation to White citizens is more clearly defined. . . . A few predominantly Metis communities have fringe settlements of lower class Metis but in the community itself the citizens do not all assume marginal roles. Their communities need a structure to function and within that structure there is a place for people who have achieved different levels of advancement.<sup>64</sup>

Camperville, Thicket Portage and Wabowden are examples of communities that are classed as predominantly Metis by Lagasse's standards. Lagasse had identified 16 areas that accounted for 52 per cent of the total Metis population of Manitoba in 1959. Although the population figures totalled only 23,579 Metis in Manitoba in 1959, Lagasse estimated that when considering such factors as natural population growth and the increase in the area of the province since 1870 there could be between 100,000 and 200,000 people in Manitoba who could claim some Indian ancestry. The figures would indicate that there has been a very large group of Metis who have assimilated into either the White or Indian cultures.

Those Metis who had moved to urban centres in search of a better life had often been unsuccessful. Although the percentage population of Metis and Indian peoples of any large city will be relatively small, they often form a much larger percentage of the low-income population. Regardless of racial background, the student from a low-income family appears to face difficulties when encountering the middle-income culture of most White society schools.

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<sup>64</sup>L.H. Lagasse, "A Study of the Population of Indian Ancestry Living in Manitoba," Vol. I (Winnipeg: Department of Agriculture and Immigration, Queen's Printer, 1959), p. 72.

For example, children who are of Indian, Metis, or Eskimo extraction constitute a relatively small proportion of the low-income population. Yet a number of CTF's member organizations gave the problems of these children priority because of their severity. . . . In general, it was the opinion of our Members that the educational problem presented by Canadian-born urban poor of European or British extraction was numerically largest, but that the educational problem presented by the native Canadian (Indian, Eskimo, and Metis) rural or urban, and by Negroes, is most severe and least easily solved.<sup>65</sup>

As an outgrowth of the concern about the poor achievement of Metis children in White culture schools, consideration was given to the value of the education to the Metis student. A large proportion of the writers condemn the present situation, with very few coming out in defense. Typical of the negative opinions as to the effect of schooling on Metis youth are those put forward by the Metis Association of Alberta. Several interesting points are raised, and although referring to Alberta, one can assume that similar conditions exist in Manitoba. The brief claims, "His school is a foreign institution because it is an extension of white culture rather than Metis culture."<sup>66</sup> The brief claims that as a result most Metis boys drop out of school by grade eight, although some girls may continue to grade 10 or 11. This is an indication that women often get higher education than men, and is borne out by the example of Lac La Biche. "Of the parents of the Lac La Biche area school children, about half the fathers and a third of the mothers had no formal education at all."<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> Canadian Teachers' Federation, The Poor at School in Canada (Ottawa: Canadian Teachers' Federation, March, 1972), p. 145.

<sup>66</sup> Metis Association of Alberta, op. cit., p. 129.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., p. 130.

Similar conditions for Manitoba are given by Lagasse as part of his findings. Lagasse compared not only male-female educational attainment but that of the people interviewed to their parents.

Twenty-three percent of the people interviewed in rural Manitoba had received no education whatever. Questions about the schooling which their parents had received showed that 69 percent had never been to school. . . . The average school leaving grade for the interviewee was grade 5.84 and for their parents, grade 5.42. As a rule, women had reached a slightly higher grade than men but there again the difference was less than one full grade.<sup>68</sup>

This high percentage of no formal education for heads of households was also reflected in the findings of the study done by Redekopp referred to previously in the chapter. The Alberta Metis Association claims that according to their study the school system is actually a cause of student drop-out before senior high school is complete.

"The contradictions between the school system's values and ways of operating and the needs of the Metis people are so huge that Metis students are virtually forced to drop out by the grade 9 level."<sup>69</sup>

A similar negative conclusion about education for Native peoples was reached by Riffel in his study. "Education for Native Peoples has downgraded their culture and failed to equip them with the knowledge, life, and job skills they require."<sup>70</sup>

Sealey comments on the cosmetic changes in the educational system. Apparently the high hopes for changes in the educational

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<sup>68</sup> Lagasse, op. cit., p. 218.

<sup>69</sup> Metis Association of Alberta, op. cit., p. 131.

<sup>70</sup> J.A. Riffel, J. Burelle and J.P. Kelly, "The Quality of Life of Native Peoples: A Discussion Paper and Research and Development Prospectus" (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, 1972), p. 17.

system that accompanied the building of new school plants was soon shattered.

The pleasure of seeing well-equipped modern schools being built in areas of Native population lessened when it was discovered that these schools were no more educationally effective than the primitive shacks they replaced.<sup>71</sup>

Whereas many writers may regard the present educational system and its effect on Metis students in a negative way, most regard the efforts in education as having been made with at least a feeling of goodwill and concern on the part of White society. Gustafson takes a much stronger stand, holding that the dire effects of education on Native people are the results of a deliberate policy of colonialism on the part of elements in the dominant White society.

. . . education has been a tool of cultural colonialism, either legitimizing the dependency through subtle racism and the self-fulfilling prophecy or in a negative manner by not equipping the Indian Peoples to escape from the situation.<sup>72</sup>

A further condemnation of the present educational system is put forward by Adams. The main objection raised is that those Natives who succeed in university are lost to the Native society because they join the White world or the education allows the Native to return and become an oppressor of his own people.

For example, most native young people who succeed in high school or university come to reject their own culture and people and see their success in the white world. . . . To these young people their future in the native nation is now bleak and forbidding, they divorce themselves from native society. Because of the powerful influence of institutional racism, higher education cannot be considered as a solution to the problem of Metis and Indians. In fact, higher education actually causes greater harm

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<sup>71</sup>Sealey, *Children of Native Ancestry and the Curriculum*, op. cit., p. 200.

<sup>72</sup>Gustafson, op. cit., p. 264.

because it leads potential scholars and leaders permanently away from the native nation. It entrenches white supremacy attitudes, and trains Metis and Indians to become the new educated oppressors, rather than creative participants of the native society.<sup>73</sup>

The observation is interesting in that it was made by a fully acculturated Native whose work would indicate that he is still sympathetic to the Native cause.

The Metis student in urban schools is also faced with problems that lead to condemnation of the system by writers. Holt<sup>74</sup> puts forward the view that most children fail because they are afraid, bored and confused. Although not primarily discussing Native students, his observations are pertinent to Native children in urban and rural schools who are faced with a curriculum that is foreign and unpleasant to them. Holt posits that real learning in this situation is almost nil, and that apparent learning is an act that children have evolved to beat the system.

Katz is a further example of a speaker who identifies the educational system as a cause of problems rather than a solution to a problem. He holds that the school creates a situation that causes the student to turn to juvenile delinquency or other deviant behaviour. "Both drug abuse and juvenile delinquency have as one of their major causes what is called the 'alienation syndrome' and it is in the

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<sup>73</sup>Adams, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

<sup>74</sup>John Holt, How Children Fail (New York: Dell Publishing Company, Inc., 1964).

creation of this syndrome that the educational system is implicated."<sup>75</sup>

In the face of this general condemnation of the educational system as faced by Metis students there seems little that can be said in support. A study by Van Camp<sup>76</sup> of former Frontier Collegiate students indicates that there are a few positive feelings toward the educational system. Van Camp's findings show that there was a desire for a Native oriented curriculum. The former students also indicated a high regard for education. The students appear to accept the idea that an education is necessary for success in society. The findings showed that the respondents regarded themselves as successful despite the shortage of job opportunities near their homes.

The students questioned in this study may not have been typical of the Metis students of the northern communities in that they had been exposed to the educational facilities at Frontier Collegiate and possibly regarded these in a positive way.

Frontier Collegiate had been developed especially as a residential high school to serve the Native students of northern Manitoba. In 1965 the provincial government had placed the special schools scattered throughout the north under the jurisdiction of Frontier School Division #48. Later the former Canadian Armed Forces base at Cranberry Portage was purchased and renovated as the

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<sup>75</sup>Dr. Philip Katz in lecture in Great-West Life Building as reported by Wally Dennison, Winnipeg Free Press and printed in Manitoba Metis Federation News, Vol. I, Issue 13, July-August, 1974, "Education System Key Factor in Juvenile Delinquency: Katz."

<sup>76</sup>K.R. Van Camp, "A Descriptive Study of Ex-Frontier Collegiate Students" (Master of Education, University of Manitoba, 1971).

collegiate to serve Frontier Division.

During the 1950's many of the schools in the northern areas were under the Official Trustee or the Supervisor of Special Schools. During the early 1950's there was also a shortage of teachers in Manitoba with the result that many young people with no teacher training were issued permits to teach and sent out to staff rural one-room schools.<sup>77</sup> In his 1957 report Lagasse found that a disproportionate number of permit teachers were being used in schools with Native students.<sup>78</sup> He found that schools under the Official Trustee and the Supervisor of Special Schools hired more than one-third of the permit teachers in the province, although they employed only five per cent of the teaching force. Five per cent of public school teachers during that year were on permit, but 50 per cent of teachers in special schools with Native people were permit teachers, and 20 per cent of the teachers with the Official Trustee were on permit.

These were the types of conditions that had to be improved by the formation of Frontier Division. Frontier Collegiate has met with wide acceptance among the Metis of the north, and is an example of a positive educational development during this period. The present

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<sup>77</sup>The author's personal experience in 1953 when he applied for a teaching position in the first week of September, and was sent out by train the next day to a one-room country school. His only qualifications were an interest in teaching, a complete grade 12 standing and an age of over 18 years. In 1959 he was teaching in a school within 70 miles of Winnipeg under the Official Trustee. The school remained under the Official Trustee until the formation of the present school division.

<sup>78</sup>Lagasse, op. cit., p. 133.

trend of small local high schools in many northern communities and the practice of Metis parents of boarding their children in nearby towns has caused a drop in enrolment from its initial high point.

The establishment of Frontier School Division has been of tremendous benefit to Metis people. Over the years it has upgraded school buildings, constructed teacherages, improved the quality of teaching, established school libraries and a residential high school (coupled with alternative home placement). None of this could have been possible without the development of a school division with access to special government funding.

As Frontier began to meet its educational obligations, people in the communities became more aware of the importance of education and began to develop an interest and concern for the improvement of education.<sup>79</sup>

In attempting to solve educational problems of Native students, educators became caught up in a popular debate of the 1960's. During that period minority groups became very vocal as to their rights and the methods of attaining them. The majority of the dominant White society appeared willing to take on a load of guilt as the cause of the problems and became involved in helping solve the problems they had caused. The problem of equal education opportunity became central to the ensuing debates. People on one side of the debate held that equal access of schooling was sufficient. By this position:

Equal education opportunity is provided when all segments of the population have an equal opportunity to compete for the benefits of the education system.

The school is placed in the passive role of being responsible simply for making available the opportunity to learn. The task

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<sup>79</sup>Manitoba Metis Federation, Policy Paper on Education, op. cit., p. 23.



of benefitting from the opportunity is left to the child.<sup>80</sup>

This view was an outgrowth of liberal ideas of the previous century which held that if an opportunity for betterment was provided, an intelligent person would make use of the opportunity. Those who chose not to use the opportunity had only themselves to blame.

This position was opposed by the group who held that equal opportunity was not enough. They pointed to the impossibility of some people to use the opportunity because of lack of background knowledge, lack of motivation or lack of preparedness. They looked to the product instead, and spoke of equal benefit of education. This was held as being superior to equal opportunity on two counts. Equal benefit would overcome the negative aspects of an economically or culturally deprived home and would promote cultural differences as positive values.

The discussion of equal benefits led to the problem of judging if equal benefits had accrued, with side discussions on testing educational objectives. As an answer to the problem of objective and subjective testing behavioural objectives and educational accountability became fashionable in the 1970's. Combs gets at a central issue with his question: ". . . to what extent can any person, teacher or not, be held accountable for another person's

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<sup>80</sup>T.A. Arciniegra, "The Thrust Toward Pluralism: What Progress?" Educational Leadership, Vol. 33, No. 3, December, 1975 (Washington, D.C.: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, 1975), p. 165.

behavior?"<sup>81</sup>

The same question, in almost identical words, must have been asked by thousands of educators.

LaRoque makes a worthwhile insight into the whole problem that faced not only Native education but the whole field of education in the 1960's and 1970's. In discussing the concept of being culturally impoverished she says,

While the devastating effects of poverty cannot be belittled, the confusion between physical and cultural needs must be questioned. This confusion is best revealed within the specialized language; in particular, the indiscriminate use of three phrases: "educationally retarded," "economically impoverished" and "culturally deprived"--in that order. Inherent in this jargon is an underlying assumption that failure in school must mean poverty at home which usually means cultural deprivation (whatever cultural deprivation means). Another point which should be made is that there are significant differences involved with regard to doing badly in school, being poor and having no culture.<sup>82</sup>

She points out an inherent assumption of compensatory education in the following pages of her discussion.

It has been my impression in the last several years that many teachers have bent over backwards for their Native charges. They have done so with good intentions, which is praiseworthy. And to be sure, working with Native children with extra care and patience has probably been warranted in some cases.

Still, treating these children so specially that they are set apart from other students is an indication of something besides good-heartedness. It reflects having low expectations of them as a group, and failing to see them as individuals. It is not trusting them to be competent on their own.<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>81</sup>Arthur W. Combs, Educational Accountability. Beyond Behavioral Objectives (Washington, D.C.: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, 1972), p. 33.

<sup>82</sup>LaRoque, op. cit., p. 56.

<sup>83</sup>Ibid., p. 65.

The official position taken by most educational groups during the early 1970's is reflected by the recommendations made by the C.T.F. in their publication of 1972. The recommendations are of the type that are made by equal access to schooling theorists as well as those who advocate equal benefits. "Special programs of many sorts are needed to counteract the school-related deprivations and disadvantages endured by the poor."<sup>84</sup> Among the many recommendations presented to the federal government by the Canadian Teachers' Federation was an idea that had already been initiated in Manitoba in August of 1971. The C.T.F. recommended, "17. THAT the federal government provide financial assistance to institutions of higher education to enable them to develop appropriate courses for teaching the teachers of Canada's native peoples."<sup>85</sup>

That most provinces took cognizance of recommendations by interest groups such as the C.T.F. is shown by the number of projects that appeared in Canada within the next few years. The projects were primarily geared to the education of Native peoples.

Four examples of these projects in Manitoba are IMPACTE, BUNTEP, PENT and the Winnipeg Education Centre. As well the provincial government made changes in the curriculum which allowed Native studies to become part of school programs in certain instances.

IMPACTE is the acronym for Indian and Metis Project for

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<sup>84</sup>Canadian Teachers' Federation, op. cit., p. 146.

<sup>85</sup>Ibid., p. 165.

Careers through Teacher Education. The literature<sup>86</sup> describes IMPACTE as a teaching training program that serves as a career ladder for native people who wish to become qualified as elementary school teachers in Manitoba. The courses are conducted through Brandon University, Faculty of Education. Tuition is paid for the students who also receive a monthly subsistence allowance.

In the first few years of the projects existence there were some complaints about the students' performance. "One of the most frequent complaints against some of the IMPACTE students was absenteeism. There is no agreement however as to why absenteeism is a problem."<sup>87</sup> Reasons suggested for the absenteeism included no consequences for poor attendance, unsatisfactory relationships with the supervising teacher and a myriad of personal difficulties. The claim was made that if there were racism in the schools, IMPACTE brought it right out into the open. In dealing with the question of racism, More claims, "The native Indian teacher education programs are not racially based, but are based on the common needs of a racial group--a fine difference but an extremely important one."<sup>88</sup>

During the questionnaire survey for this study, several young

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<sup>86</sup> Arthur J. More and Jack H. Wallis, "Native Teacher Education A Survey of Native Indian Teacher Education Projects in Canada" (Canadian Indian Teacher Education Projects (CITEP) Conference, September, 1979).

<sup>87</sup> Manitoba Department of Education, "IMPACTE--Indian-Metis Project for Careers through Teacher Education" (Winnipeg: Manitoba Department of Education, 1973), p. 9.

<sup>88</sup> Arthur J. More, "Indian Teacher Education in Canada," A paper presented to The Canadian Education Association Conference, Winnipeg, Manitoba, September 27, 1979, p. 9.

women who were IMPACTE students at Camperville filled out the questionnaire. There did not appear to be any male students among the group.<sup>89</sup> These young women were the group of 12 who had been chosen by a selection committee to attend classes being given by visiting professors from Brandon University.

BUNTEP (Brandon University Native Teachers Education Program) is described as being concerned with the preparation of teachers for the north. It is an off-campus program. Graduates are required to complete a 4-year Bachelor degree program. This project is funded by the Manitoba Department of Education.

PENT (Project for the Education of Native Teachers) is described as a project aimed at training Indian teacher aides to become qualified elementary school teachers. The project is designed for those Native students who cannot get away from their homes for regular academic classes in university. The five-year course is funded by several groups. The claim is made that the student is not being paid to study, but to do a job.

The Winnipeg Education Centre is described as a field-based inner-city teacher education program to train inner-city residents as teachers for core-area schools. The students are not always Native, but usually about 50 per cent are. The Winnipeg Education Centre appears to follow the theory of compensatory education by reserving

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<sup>89</sup>Manitoba Metis Federation, "Camperville IMPACTE Centre," in Manitoba Metis Federation News, Vol. I, Issue 14, September, 1974.

The brief article names the 12 women who were chosen and the members of the selection committee. It would be interesting to know if there was something about IMPACTE that favoured women being interviewed and selected, e.g., educational qualifications.

places for persons who have not had the opportunity for post-secondary education because of social, economic and cultural reasons.

Statistics on the number of graduates of these projects are of interest. IMPACTE claims 95 graduates of which 25 are teaching. The low percentage of teachers would make one wonder about the objectives of the course. Is it possible that almost 70 per cent of the graduates could not find a position in elementary schools of Manitoba? If so--what are the reasons--prejudice in White division school boards where the graduates applied for positions or lack of teaching positions in Native communities? At present the project is being phased out with no new recruitment of students. Was there a misunderstanding of the role of IMPACTE so that students used it as a vehicle to collect monies as if it were another government make-work project? PENT makes a point of insisting that its students are not being paid to study, but are being paid to do the work of a teacher aide while improving their qualifications. BUNTEP claims 32 graduates are teaching out of a total of 47 graduates. This is a better ratio than that of IMPACTE. PENT claims 71 out of the 77 graduates are teaching. This high proportion may be because the teacher aide was able to move into a teaching position within the school in which training took place. Winnipeg Education Centre claims that 30 out of 50 graduates are teaching, with several working for Indian organizations. Four of the graduates have acquired Bachelor of Education degrees.

Three of the four projects appear to be successful but their full effect on Native education will not be known for several years.

A study in Saskatchewan of ITEP (Indian Teacher Education Program) students which would be similar to IMPACTE or BUNTEP found that there had been a 63 per cent discontinuee rate in the program. Reasons given for the drop-out rate included length of time away from home, lack of academic background, age, lack of completion of assignments due to such factors as loss of materials, too lengthy assignments, unclear directions or student's unhappiness with his own performance. The study concluded that, "It appears that the present ITEP model of teacher education may be more oriented to people from an urban setting than those who have recently lived in reservations or in northern communities."<sup>90</sup>

As a further aid to solving the problems in Native schools the Curriculum Branch of the Manitoba Department of Education authorized a series of optional courses of study for Native children. These programs were social studies programs from grades one through 12 and an elementary language arts program. However the social studies modification in many places became an Indian Studies course which was of questionable benefit to Metis peoples. One finding of the present study was that Metis parents want a change from a traditional western European history course at the junior high level, and want a course in Metis history in its place.

Another solution to the problems facing Metis students in education is that of local control. Local control has a great appeal

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<sup>90</sup>Don C. Barnett, "Preliminary Findings in the Indian Teacher Education Program at the University of Saskatchewan," Saskatchewan Journal of Educational Research and Development, Vol. 5, No. 1 (Saskatoon: University of Saskatchewan, Fall, 1974), p. 35.

to many people as an answer to some of the basic problems encountered in educating Metis children. However local control involves a great many facets, some of which can become problems in themselves.

Many Native communities in the north were put under the Official Trustee primarily because the parents were unable to assume financial control or to exercise local control by electing trustees and taking responsibility for the educational decisions. The nomadic life-style of some Metis families coupled to the low educational achievement of many heads of households who could stand for office made the election of an efficient school board more difficult than for a White agricultural community in the south. In most rural areas of Manitoba, before the institution of the present school divisions, local control was a very real aspect of the educational system. The local ratepayers elected trustees who had the responsibility and authority to make numerous decisions that affected the welfare of the school. They were present in the district, were known to everyone and pressure could be brought to bear on them by concerned parents. In many northern communities as well as some communities in the south the people for some reason did not exercise these responsibilities. In 1958 Metis communities such as Camperville, Grand Marais and nearby exclusive beach-resort of Victoria Beach were under the Official Trustee. This usually had a dire effect upon the local school district. "The most serious consequence of the abolition of local school boards in favour of an Official Trustee is the loss of local interest in the operation of



the school."<sup>91</sup> An Official Trustee was appointed because there was internal dissension among the board members or mismanagement, because there was a lack of local interest in the school or because the local people lacked the necessary knowledge and skill to run the school. Whatever the reason, the appointment of an Official Trustee usually had several predictable outcomes. Minor repairs of the school plant were neglected for there was a lack of motivation for parents to get involved. This was often followed by an attitude change on the part of the teacher toward his responsibilities. Many people now picture the school divisions as being too impersonal because of their large size and advocate a return to a system similar to the local school boards of the pre-60's. They forget that the system will not work if people are not willing to take responsibilities. A look at the percentage of people who make use of their ballot during school board elections at present should give some indication of how well local control might work.

The problem of local control also involves the problem of financing. As long as government grants paid by the broad tax base of the dominant White society is needed to finance large parts of the educational program, local people will have to be accountable to outsiders for how the money is spent. Despite block grants which allow greater flexibility in spending, records and accountings must be made. This future-oriented budgeting of money is consistent with White values but may clash with traditional Native values with a whole series of resulting problems.

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<sup>91</sup>Lagasse, op. cit., p. 122.

It seems reasonable to assume that local control, as defined in Chapter 1 of this study, will not be a reality for some years. Some local control is feasible, but full local control with contrasting or differing policies formed in each community would impose an intolerable burden on any central administration.

The Manitoba Metis Federation in its interim policy paper on education considered the question of local control in three areas: northern isolated, rural and urban. For the northern areas it recommended that the advisory committee of Frontier Division be expanded to become a unitary division board of trustees, and that local committees should be allowed to choose from a list of options ranging from becoming independent school districts to remaining under Frontier Division. In rural and urban areas the policy paper advocated more Metis involvement in education with information given to Metis parents as to the factors involved in becoming active members of the local school boards. For the urban areas the policy paper makes recommendations that would involve the parents in decision making at the local school level.

To counter the feeling of distance between the elected school board and the citizens in the local neighbourhood, it is recommended that every urban school have an elected education committee with real decision-making powers in educational matters of a local nature.<sup>92</sup>

This recommendation would require some very real cooperation between the education committee, the principal and staff of the school and the school board. It would involve the parents at a very crucial

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<sup>92</sup>Manitoba Metis Federation, Education, op. cit., p. 26.

educational level, and could be similar to the board of trustees of the one-room country schools but with the extra tier of division school board members.

Most educators agree with the concept of local control. A few regard local control as the only solution to the educational problems of Native communities, but others are more cautious. Adams takes a cautious view when he discusses the issue.

At all times the local native people must be involved in the initiation and planning of these educational programs. In the beginning it will likely be largely a learning experience. It would need to be a genuine democratic community control, and not a middle-class centralized, pseudo-representative type of authority.<sup>93</sup>

How long the learning process would last is open to question. Different Native communities would exhibit different rates of maturation. The point that Adams is making is that the Native people want a real local control which may be different than the type of local control that members of the White society would be willing to grant them.

Father Renaud points out a difficulty in local control brought about by the structure of many Native settlements. The people who live in the community have had little experience in local control, while those in control have few ties to the community.

Contrary to the usual local community, Indian and Metis settlements are responsible for very little locally except the birth rate. Practically all administration and other services (stores, trades, etc.) are in the hands of "outsiders," over which they have no direct control of any kind and who are usually at the end of a long chain of command and, therefore, incapable of identifying themselves whole-heartedly with the local community

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<sup>93</sup>Adams, op. cit., p. 32.

where they live.<sup>94</sup>

Gustafson outlines a series of benefits possible through local control which he claims are based on the findings of his study.

Local control has proven successful in bettering self-concept, in involving the community, in increasing student attendance, in making education relevant to the child's society, and in fostering greater academic success.<sup>95</sup>

Few people would argue about the beneficial effects of local control to the local people. The problems entailed in its successful institution however may be enough to keep it in the realms of wishful thinking for decades to come. In an earlier reference the Metis Association of Alberta pointed out one problem. A major barrier to the successful participation of the Metis people in their own development is their lack of formal education. It would appear that the Metis could make a success of formal education if they had local control of the educational system, but they cannot obtain effective use of local control of the educational system unless they have had a successful formal education.

#### SUMMARY

The history of the education of the Metis people of Manitoba was surveyed in four broad periods. The Indian background to Metis education was examined and found to exert influences that are still present in many Metis communities. Prior to the Selkirk Settlement the Hudson's Bay Company, for humanitarian as well as economic

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<sup>94</sup> Renaud, "The Possible Development of Ethnic Group of Indian and Metis," op. cit., p. 128.

<sup>95</sup> Gustafson, op. cit., p. 265.

reasons, lent its support to the attempts of the White fathers to provide an education based on that of the White culture. The historical survey showed that many Metis were able to merge the teachings of both the Indian and White cultures to their benefit. This period of the history of education of the Metis contains many accounts of success. This melding of the White formal education system with the Indian traditional system continued throughout the following period of history that ended with the Red River Insurrection of 1870. During this period the Catholic and Anglican churches became the dominant influence, setting up schools in conjunction with their missions while often receiving financial grants from the Hudson's Bay Company. The effects of the religious dominance from this second period of history can still be traced in some Metis communities to the present day.

After the dispersion of the Metis from the newly-created province of Manitoba in the years following 1870, education on the formal White style tended to be neglected by those Metis who moved westward in an attempt to retain the traditional Metis buffalo-hunting life-style. Those Metis who integrated with either the White or Indian cultures adopted the educational system of the surrounding culture. The historical survey found that the period until the end of World War II was one of hardship for many of those Metis who had chosen to retain a separate Metis culture based on the foundations created by the "New Nation." As the buffalo declined in numbers and White settlers encroached on areas the Metis had settled, these Metis were often faced with economic poverty or prejudice which lowered their educational attainments in the White system. The survey found

that as a result many heads of families had no formal schooling. After World War II there has been a gradual improvement in educational opportunities for the Metis people.

It was within this historical context that this study was undertaken. The parents of a Metis community were surveyed as to their perceptions of a suitable social studies curriculum at the junior high school level for children of their community. One section of the questionnaire examined the feelings of the parents toward the retention of Metis history and heritage through the use of a social studies program.

The survey instrument that was used to gather these perceptions is described in Chapter 4. The analysis of the questionnaire is contained in Chapter 5. Chapter 6 contains conclusions and recommendations based on the survey.

## Chapter 4

### DESIGN OF THE INSTRUMENT

The procedure followed in this study can be broken down into three main components. The first component is the survey and review of related literature which is discussed in Chapter 2. The second component is a brief survey of the history of Metis education and the history of the area surveyed. The third component is the interview program which consisted of three basic steps. The first step was the designing of a questionnaire that would measure the perceptions of a group of people on the various aspects of social studies programs at the junior high level on the education of Metis children. The second step was conducting the survey to gather the perceptions of the group. The third step was analyzing the results gathered by the instrument. A brief description of the instrument follows.

The questionnaire consisted of three sections. The first section was designed to elicit personal data in eight categories. The second section was an eight-page questionnaire containing 35 questions. The third section was one page that allowed the respondent to the questionnaire to express a written comment.

The first section of the questionnaire elicited the type of information that enabled the collected data to be analyzed in terms of age group, sex, family status and educational background. The format allowed the person being interviewed to check off the answer that most closely corresponded to his personal data. This brief section allowed

any answer in the questionnaire to be collated under one of eight headings.

The second section of the questionnaire consisted of an eight-page questionnaire consisting of 35 questions. Responses were set up on a Lickert scale graduated from one to five. The 35 questions were not grouped in the questionnaire, but for the purpose of tabulating the results four different aspects of education and Metis culture were identified.

The first aspect dealt with the concepts and perceptions of the school system. The feelings to these were elicited by questions one, two, three, five, eight, 10, 11, 13, 28 and 29.

The second aspect examined attitudes toward the preservation of Metis culture. These attitudes were tested by questions 12, 16, 22, 23, 26, 27, 30, 31, 34 and 35.

The third aspect considered the perceptions of the role of social studies. These perceptions were gathered by questions four, seven, 15, 17, 20, 21, 24, 25, 32 and 33.

The fourth aspect was the attitudes about the possible functions of a course in Metis history. The attitudes were elicited by questions six, nine, 14, 18 and 19.

The 35-item questionnaire evolved as follows. A list of questions was discussed with two colleagues who identified problems of clarity and repetition. Thirty-five questions were chosen and the revised questionnaire was then submitted to the two colleagues for final approval and suggestions.

The third section of the questionnaire consisted of one page which enabled the person completing the questionnaire to give further



information through writing or to arrange for an interview. This technique was used to enable the person to express his opinions without being led to preconceived answers or without being limited to a choice set out by the questionnaire.

A copy of the questionnaire is contained in Appendix A.

One hundred copies of the questionnaire were prepared to be given to individuals in the area being surveyed. Difficulty was encountered in some instances and a final total of 62 questionnaires was distributed. One of the difficulties encountered was a resistance by some people to being interviewed. Several people indicated that they had been surveyed and questioned on a wide variety of topics and did not want to be bothered with another survey. This difficulty has been referred to in Chapter 2. Some other people indicated that they felt unsure about answering the questions and did not want to become involved in the survey. Although there was no outright hostility one or two people indicated a feeling of uneasiness with strangers. In all cases no effort was made to leave questionnaires where there was doubt as to the person's willingness to complete the questionnaire.

The questionnaires were enclosed in a stamped self-addressed envelope. The people being questioned were asked to return the completed questionnaires in the envelope that had been provided.

The Lickert Method of Summated Ratings was chosen to measure the degree to which people completing the questionnaire felt in agreement with each statement. In discussing the Lickert scale, Best says,

. . . the Lickert Method of Summated Ratings, which can be carried out without the panel of judges, has yielded scores very similar to those obtained by the Thurstone method. The coefficient of

correlation between the scales was reported as high as +.92 in one study.<sup>4</sup> Since the Lickert-type scale takes much less time to construct, it offers an interesting possibility for the student of opinion research.<sup>1</sup>

The Lickert scale was considered satisfactory as an instrument to gather the feelings and opinions being sought in the survey.

The respondent indicated the degree of agreement by circling a number from one to five to indicate one of five possible categories for his choice. On the scale one corresponded to a feeling of 'very little' agreement and five corresponded to a feeling of 'very much' agreement with the statement.

The responses were assigned values of one to five. With one exception a high score indicated a favourable response and a low score indicated an unfavourable response. The one exception was item five where a response of one or 'very little' was considered to indicate a favourable response.

Responses were received from 24 of the 62 people who had accepted the questionnaire. This gave a response rate of 38.71 per cent. The responses were scaled and a percentage response on each item was calculated.

Five of the 24 respondents identified themselves in the third section. Four of the 24 respondents included a written comment. Three of the 24 respondents indicated that they did not wish to be interviewed. Two of the 24 respondents indicated an interest in

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<sup>1</sup>John W. Best, Research in Education (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1959). The footnote 4 referred to in the quote cites Allen L. Edwards and Katherine C. Kenny, "A Comparison of the Thurstone and Lickert Techniques of Attitude Scale Construction," Journal of Applied Psychology, 30:72-83, February, 1946.

further contact and discussion.

Based on the information gained from an analysis of the feelings and attitudes expressed by the respondents to the questionnaire, this thesis will propose changes or modifications that should be considered for a social studies program in a Metis community.

## Chapter 5

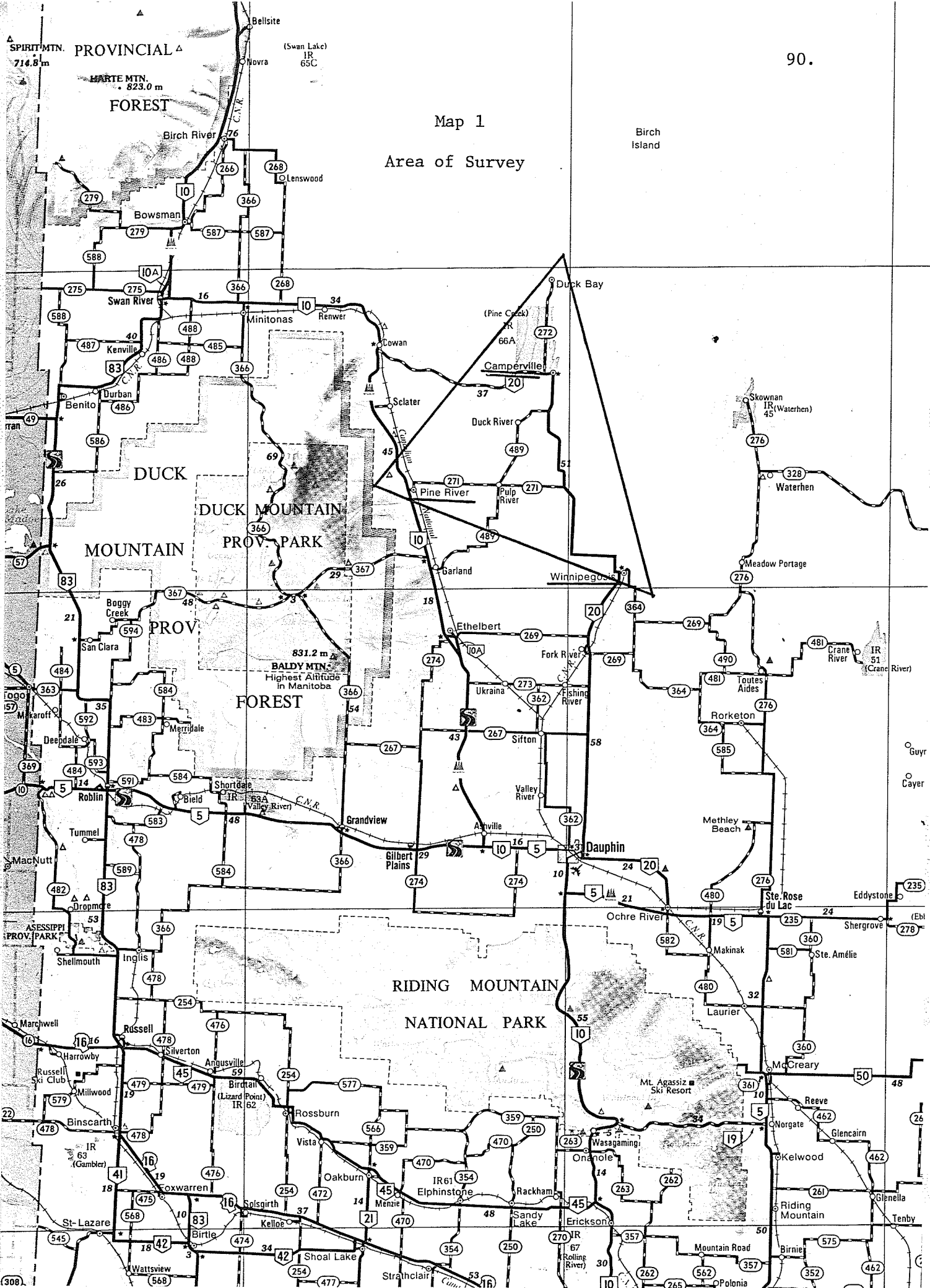
### HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this study was to identify the perceptions of parents in selected Metis communities in the Camperville area of Manitoba as to a suitable social studies program at the junior high school level. The geographic area surveyed extended from the west shores of Lake Winnipegosis westward to Pine River, and between Winnipegosis in the south and Duck Bay in the north. The major part of the study was conducted at Camperville.

Camperville is located approximately 120 kilometres north of Dauphin (Map p. 90). The town has a population of approximately 800 people with over 90 percent of the people being of Metis extraction. The community was formed in the early nineteenth century by Metis families who had moved from the Red River area of the White Horse Plain and the community of St. Laurent on the east shore of Lake Manitoba. The men often worked as employees of the Hudson's Bay Company. The permanent settlement gradually evolved as the families turned to hunting, trapping and fishing. The first Metis families in the Camperville area were from that group of Metis who were developing the "New Nation" concept in the Red River Valley. This may partly account for the attitude held by many of the present-day inhabitants of Camperville that the Metis are a people with a unique history and culture.

The town, unlike those of dominantly White communities of

Map 1  
Area of Survey



similar size, is laid out in a haphazard fashion. However, the new housing developments are set out in the geometric pattern of streets and rows of houses that is common to White towns. The area had been surveyed in 1909. Nine lots each approximately two and a half miles long and one-sixth of a mile wide bordering on Lake Winnipegosis were laid out. The Roman Catholic Church received title to one lot, the Hudson's Bay Company received title to another and the remaining seven were taken by private families. Land south of the surveyed area was left as a "Half-breed Reserve." In 1925, lots were surveyed in the "Half-breed Reserve." However, for various reasons no Metis families filed for title to the lots, and in 1956 the land reverted to the crown. From this it would appear that many of the Metis families in Camperville are without title to the land they occupy.

The Roman Catholic Church has been active in the vicinity since 1840. Stone mansions from Red River began the construction of a large residential school in 1894. The school was completed in 1897, but this did not improve education for the Metis to any great extent because the Catholic Church focussed its attention on the Indians of the area. The influence of the Catholic Church on the community in its early development is indicated by the fact that it soon had title to three of the nine lots and in 1914 was largely responsible for having the community adopt the name of Camperville.

In 1933 Camperville was provided with its own school which was operated by Benedictine nuns. In 1966 the people chose to become part of Duck Mountain School Division rather than Frontier School Division. The school in Camperville served the needs of the elementary students. The junior and senior high school students were bussed to

the predominantly White town of Winnipegosis about 50 kilometres to the south.

On March 14, 1973 the Metis high school students bussed in from Camperville staged a sit-in at the Winnipegosis Collegiate. The students charged that they were victims of racism and discrimination practiced by some members of the town and school. As a result of the sit-in 22 students were suspended and the alleged leader of the demonstration was expelled. In the discussions that followed between the representatives of the community, the representatives of Duck Mountain School Division and the representatives of the Manitoba Department of Education tentative proposals were put forward. A high school for the combined communities of Camperville, Duck Bay and Pine Creek was discussed as well as a large degree of local control.

It was this educational controversy with the underlying implications of local control, the possibility of the development of different social studies programs for the school and the apparent pride of the local people in their Metis culture and heritage that served as a backdrop for this study.

#### ANALYSIS OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE

The findings of the attitudes or feelings of the correspondents to the questionnaire are given in this chapter. Responses to the individual items are set up in tables.

Table 1 shows the scaled score assignments to the questionnaire items. The responses were assigned a value of one to five with the value one corresponding to the choice of one or 'very little' and the value of five corresponding to the choice of five or 'very much.'

Item five was weighed in reverse because dropping-out of school was considered for the purpose of the survey to have a negative value. For item five the scale was a value of five for choice one to a value of one for choice five.

Table 1  
Scaled Score Assignments to Questionnaire Items \*

| Response | Assigned Scale |
|----------|----------------|
| 1        | 1              |
| 2        | 2              |
| 3        | 3              |
| 4        | 4              |
| 5        | 5              |

Table 2 is given on the following page. The mean score for Table 2 was calculated by determining the total scaled value of the responses, and calculating the mean to two decimal places. The mean score was three. Scores between 2.26 and 3.75 were arbitrarily chosen as the outer parameters on each side of the mean score. A score of 2.25 or under was chosen to indicate a negative attitude to the questionnaire item. A score of 3.76 or over was chosen to indicate a positive feeling to the questionnaire item. The negative or positive score range was narrower than the median range. The narrower range was chosen to eliminate marginal answers centred around the mean.

The findings of Table 2 show that the respondents had



Table 2  
Scaled Value Frequency of Responses  
to Questionnaire

| Item<br>Number | Scaled Value Frequency |    |    |    |    | Mean Score<br>3 |
|----------------|------------------------|----|----|----|----|-----------------|
|                | 1                      | 2  | 3  | 4  | 5  |                 |
| 1              | 0                      | 3  | 9  | 5  | 7  | 3.67            |
| 2              | 0                      | 1  | 6  | 4  | 13 | 4.21            |
| 3              | 2                      | 6  | 1  | 12 | 3  | 3.33            |
| 4              | 5                      | 8  | 3  | 6  | 2  | 2.67            |
| 5              | 15                     | 3  | 5  | 1  | 0  | 4.33            |
| 6              | 0                      | 3  | 2  | 8  | 11 | 4.13            |
| 7              | 2                      | 3  | 6  | 7  | 6  | 3.50            |
| 8              | 4                      | 11 | 3  | 1  | 4  | 2.57            |
| 9              | 0                      | 2  | 4  | 6  | 12 | 4.17            |
| 10             | 3                      | 7  | 9  | 5  | 0  | 2.67            |
| 11             | 4                      | 8  | 5  | 2  | 5  | 2.83            |
| 12             | 12                     | 3  | 5  | 4  | 0  | 2.04            |
| 13             | 5                      | 10 | 4  | 4  | 1  | 2.42            |
| 14             | 0                      | 3  | 5  | 3  | 13 | 4.08            |
| 15             | 1                      | 7  | 4  | 6  | 6  | 3.38            |
| 16             | 3                      | 1  | 2  | 4  | 13 | 4.00            |
| 17             | 7                      | 6  | 8  | 1  | 2  | 2.38            |
| 18             | 3                      | 0  | 3  | 7  | 11 | 3.96            |
| 19             | 3                      | 0  | 2  | 4  | 15 | 4.17            |
| 20             | 2                      | 6  | 10 | 5  | 1  | 2.88            |
| 21             | 3                      | 1  | 5  | 5  | 10 | 3.75            |

Table 2 (continued)

| Item<br>Number | Scaled Value Frequency |   |    |   |    | Mean Score<br>3 |
|----------------|------------------------|---|----|---|----|-----------------|
|                | 1                      | 2 | 3  | 4 | 5  |                 |
| 22             | 1                      | 3 | 0  | 4 | 16 | 4.29            |
| 23             | 0                      | 1 | 8  | 4 | 11 | 4.04            |
| 24             | 0                      | 2 | 7  | 9 | 6  | 3.79            |
| 25             | 0                      | 2 | 16 | 3 | 3  | 3.29            |
| 26             | 6                      | 5 | 4  | 8 | 1  | 2.71            |
| 27             | 1                      | 3 | 6  | 8 | 6  | 3.63            |
| 28             | 0                      | 3 | 19 | 2 | 0  | 2.96            |
| 29             | 0                      | 4 | 13 | 4 | 2  | 3.17            |
| 30             | 5                      | 6 | 4  | 5 | 4  | 2.88            |
| 31             | 0                      | 4 | 4  | 7 | 9  | 3.88            |
| 32             | 0                      | 1 | 3  | 5 | 15 | 4.42            |
| 33             | 3                      | 2 | 6  | 5 | 7  | 3.48            |
| 34             | 3                      | 0 | 7  | 5 | 9  | 3.71            |
| 35             | 4                      | 3 | 3  | 5 | 8  | 3.29            |

negative feelings to item 12 regarding the teaching of Western European history.

The findings of Table 2 show that the respondents had positive feelings toward 13 of the 35 items on the questionnaire. Two of the items referred to the parents' perception of school. The respondents felt that their children should get a high education and that students should not drop out of school to help their parents. Four of the items dealt with the preservation of Metis culture. The respondents felt that a Native language should be preserved, that Metis history and heritage should be preserved, that non-Metis students in Manitoba would benefit from a study of Metis history and that Metis people are proud to acknowledge their heritage. The respondents showed a positive feeling to two items that examined the role of social studies. They felt that a social studies program should help to preserve Metis heritage and history and should stress similarities of culture.

The questionnaire contained five items that referred to history as part of the social studies program. The respondents indicated a positive feeling toward all five items. They felt that Metis history should be taught in schools that have Metis children. They felt there is a value in teaching the history of ethnic groups. The respondents also felt that Metis history should be part of the social studies program in Manitoba high schools and that such a course would help preserve Metis heritage. They also felt that a course in Metis history in high school would help Metis students be proud of their heritage.

The findings of Table 2 show that the respondents had neutral feelings on the remaining 21 items of the questionnaire.

The findings of Table 3 show that the male respondents had positive feeling for 16 of the 35 items on the questionnaire. This was three more items than the positive response from the total group as shown by Table 2. The male respondents had a negative feeling to six items on the questionnaire. This was significantly higher than the number of items with a negative response from the total group of respondents. The male respondents showed a neutral response to 13 of the 35 items on the questionnaire. The findings of Table 3 show that male respondents had more positive feelings, more negative feelings and fewer neutral feelings than the total group of respondents.

The findings of Table 4 show that the female respondents had positive feelings to 11 items on the questionnaire. This is a lower positive response than both the total response and the male respondent response. The female respondents had a negative response to one item. This item was item 12 and corresponded to the total response as shown in Table 2. The female respondents had neutral feelings on 23 of the 35 items on the questionnaire. This was a larger neutral response than that of the total respondents and almost twice the neutral response of the male respondents. Table 3 and Table 4 show that the male respondents showed more positive and negative feelings to the items of the questionnaire. The male respondents showed fewer neutral responses to the items than did the total respondents and the female respondents.

The percentage responses for Table 5 were calculated by first regrouping the responses into three categories instead of five as on the questionnaire. The responses one and two were combined. This was done to group together all the responses that showed a negative

Table 3  
Scaled Value Frequency of Male Response  
to Questionnaire

| Item<br>Number | Scaled Value Frequency |   |   |   |   | Mean Score<br>3 |
|----------------|------------------------|---|---|---|---|-----------------|
|                | 1                      | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |                 |
| 1              | 0                      | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 3.40            |
| 2              | 0                      | 1 | 1 | 0 | 3 | 4.00            |
| 3              | 1                      | 1 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 3.20            |
| 4              | 1                      | 3 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 2.20            |
| 5              | 4                      | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 4.60            |
| 6              | 0                      | 0 | 0 | 2 | 3 | 4.60            |
| 7              | 0                      | 0 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 4.00            |
| 8              | 2                      | 2 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 2.00            |
| 9              | 0                      | 0 | 1 | 0 | 4 | 4.60            |
| 10             | 0                      | 2 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 2.80            |
| 11             | 0                      | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 3.40            |
| 12             | 2                      | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 2.00            |
| 13             | 1                      | 1 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 3.20            |
| 14             | 0                      | 0 | 1 | 0 | 4 | 4.60            |
| 15             | 0                      | 3 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 3.00            |
| 16             | 0                      | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 3.80            |
| 17             | 1                      | 2 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 2.20            |
| 18             | 0                      | 0 | 0 | 1 | 4 | 4.80            |
| 19             | 0                      | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 5.00            |
| 20             | 0                      | 3 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 2.60            |
| 21             | 0                      | 0 | 0 | 2 | 3 | 4.60            |

Table 3 (continued)

| Item<br>Number | Scaled Value Frequency |   |   |   |   | Mean Score<br>3 |
|----------------|------------------------|---|---|---|---|-----------------|
|                | 1                      | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |                 |
| 22             | 0                      | 0 | 0 | 2 | 3 | 4.60            |
| 23             | 0                      | 0 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 4.40            |
| 24             | 0                      | 0 | 0 | 2 | 3 | 4.60            |
| 25             | 0                      | 0 | 4 | 0 | 1 | 3.40            |
| 26             | 2                      | 2 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 2.00            |
| 27             | 1                      | 1 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 3.20            |
| 28             | 0                      | 1 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 2.80            |
| 29             | 0                      | 1 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 2.75            |
| 30             | 2                      | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1.80            |
| 31             | 0                      | 2 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 3.00            |
| 32             | 0                      | 0 | 0 | 1 | 4 | 4.80            |
| 33             | 0                      | 0 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 3.80            |
| 34             | 0                      | 0 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 4.40            |
| 35             | 0                      | 2 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 3.00            |

Table 4  
Scaled Value Frequency of Female Response  
to Questionnaire

| Item<br>Number | Scaled Value Frequency |   |   |    |    | Mean Score<br>3 |
|----------------|------------------------|---|---|----|----|-----------------|
|                | 1                      | 2 | 3 | 4  | 5  |                 |
| 1              | 0                      | 2 | 7 | 4  | 6  | 3.74            |
| 2              | 0                      | 0 | 5 | 4  | 10 | 4.26            |
| 3              | 1                      | 5 | 1 | 10 | 2  | 3.37            |
| 4              | 4                      | 5 | 3 | 5  | 2  | 2.79            |
| 5              | 11                     | 3 | 4 | 1  | 0  | 4.26            |
| 6              | 0                      | 3 | 2 | 6  | 8  | 4.00            |
| 7              | 2                      | 3 | 6 | 3  | 5  | 3.32            |
| 8              | 2                      | 9 | 3 | 0  | 4  | 2.72            |
| 9              | 0                      | 2 | 3 | 6  | 8  | 4.05            |
| 10             | 3                      | 5 | 7 | 4  | 0  | 2.63            |
| 11             | 4                      | 7 | 3 | 1  | 4  | 2.68            |
| 12             | 10                     | 2 | 3 | 4  | 0  | 2.05            |
| 13             | 4                      | 9 | 4 | 1  | 1  | 2.26            |
| 14             | 0                      | 3 | 4 | 3  | 9  | 3.79            |
| 15             | 1                      | 4 | 4 | 5  | 5  | 3.47            |
| 16             | 3                      | 0 | 1 | 3  | 11 | 4.06            |
| 17             | 6                      | 4 | 6 | 1  | 2  | 2.42            |
| 18             | 3                      | 0 | 3 | 6  | 7  | 3.74            |
| 19             | 3                      | 0 | 2 | 4  | 10 | 3.95            |
| 20             | 2                      | 3 | 9 | 4  | 1  | 2.95            |
| 21             | 3                      | 1 | 5 | 3  | 7  | 3.53            |

Table 4 (continued)

| Item<br>Number | Scaled Value Frequency |   |    |   |    | Mean Score<br>3 |
|----------------|------------------------|---|----|---|----|-----------------|
|                | 1                      | 2 | 3  | 4 | 5  |                 |
| 22             | 1                      | 3 | 0  | 2 | 13 | 4.21            |
| 23             | 0                      | 1 | 7  | 3 | 8  | 3.95            |
| 24             | 0                      | 3 | 7  | 6 | 3  | 3.47            |
| 25             | 0                      | 2 | 12 | 3 | 2  | 3.26            |
| 26             | 4                      | 3 | 4  | 7 | 1  | 2.89            |
| 27             | 0                      | 2 | 6  | 6 | 5  | 3.74            |
| 28             | 0                      | 2 | 15 | 2 | 0  | 3.00            |
| 29             | 0                      | 3 | 10 | 4 | 2  | 3.26            |
| 30             | 3                      | 3 | 4  | 5 | 4  | 3.21            |
| 31             | 0                      | 2 | 3  | 5 | 9  | 4.11            |
| 32             | 0                      | 1 | 3  | 4 | 11 | 4.32            |
| 33             | 3                      | 2 | 4  | 3 | 6  | 3.32            |
| 34             | 3                      | 0 | 6  | 4 | 6  | 3.53            |
| 35             | 4                      | 1 | 2  | 4 | 8  | 3.37            |



feeling to the item. Response three was retained as the neutral response. Responses four and five were combined to group together those responses that indicated a positive feeling to the questionnaire item. The percentage response in each group to the total responses to the questionnaire item was then calculated.

A percentage limit of 62.5 per cent was arbitrarily chosen to measure the positive, negative or neutral responses. The cut-off percentage of 62.5 was chosen to ensure a significant majority response to any item. This criteria eliminated the possibility of a conflicting response that would have been possible with a choice of 50 per cent as the cut-off. Thus a percentage response such as 50 per cent for one and two, zero per cent for three and 50 per cent for four and five would be classed as neither positive, negative nor neutral by the criteria of 62.5 per cent. Any item that received a response of 62.5 per cent or higher in one of the categories was considered as indicating an attitude in that category.

The findings of Table 5 show that the respondents had negative feelings on three items. These items were eight, 12 and 13. Table 5 shows a stronger negative response than Table 2 in which only item 12 was given a negative response. The respondents had negative feelings toward teaching western European history as part of the social studies program in their area. They did not feel that parents had sufficient background in social studies and did not feel that teachers were doing a good job.

The findings for Table 5 show that the respondents had positive feelings for 15 items. Items three and 21 are shown as having positive feelings in Table 5 but not in Table 2. Table 5 shows

Table 5  
Percentage Response to Questionnaire Items

| Item Number | 1 or 2 | 3    | 4 or 5 |
|-------------|--------|------|--------|
| 1           | 12.5   | 37.5 | 50.0   |
| 2           | 4.2    | 25.0 | 70.8   |
| 3           | 33.3   | 4.2  | 62.5   |
| 4           | 54.2   | 12.5 | 33.3   |
| 5           | 75.0   | 20.8 | 4.2    |
| 6           | 12.5   | 8.3  | 79.2   |
| 7           | 20.8   | 25.0 | 54.2   |
| 8           | 65.2   | 13.0 | 21.8   |
| 9           | 8.3    | 16.7 | 75.0   |
| 10          | 41.7   | 37.5 | 20.8   |
| 11          | 50.0   | 20.8 | 29.2   |
| 12          | 62.5   | 20.8 | 16.7   |
| 13          | 62.5   | 16.7 | 20.8   |
| 14          | 12.5   | 20.8 | 66.7   |
| 15          | 33.3   | 16.7 | 50.0   |
| 16          | 17.4   | 8.7  | 73.9   |
| 17          | 54.2   | 33.3 | 12.5   |
| 18          | 12.5   | 12.5 | 75.0   |
| 19          | 12.5   | 8.3  | 79.2   |
| 20          | 33.3   | 41.7 | 25.0   |
| 21          | 16.7   | 20.8 | 62.5   |
| 22          | 16.7   | 0.0  | 83.3   |
| 23          | 4.2    | 33.3 | 62.5   |

Table 5 (continued)

| Item Number | 1 or 2 | 3    | 4 or 5 |
|-------------|--------|------|--------|
| 24          | 8.3    | 29.2 | 62.5   |
| 25          | 8.3    | 66.7 | 25.0   |
| 26          | 45.8   | 16.7 | 37.5   |
| 27          | 16.7   | 25.0 | 58.3   |
| 28          | 12.5   | 79.2 | 8.3    |
| 29          | 17.4   | 56.5 | 26.1   |
| 30          | 45.8   | 16.7 | 37.5   |
| 31          | 16.7   | 16.7 | 66.7   |
| 32          | 4.2    | 12.5 | 83.3   |
| 33          | 21.7   | 26.1 | 52.2   |
| 34          | 12.5   | 29.2 | 58.3   |
| 35          | 29.2   | 12.5 | 58.3   |

that the respondents feel that Metis parents show a great interest in their child's progress in school and that they feel a social studies program should make a student proud of his heritage.

The findings of Table 5 show that the respondents had neutral feelings for two items. These items were 25 referring to content and work habits and 28 referring to permissiveness. The findings of Table 5 show that there were no strong attitudes or feelings on 15 items in the questionnaire. The two items showing neutral feelings combined with the 15 items showing no strong feelings are smaller in total than the 21 items of Table 2 that indicated neutral feelings on the part of the respondents.

Table 5 shows that the respondents had negative feelings for three items, positive feelings for 15 items and neutral feelings for two items. There were no strong feelings or attitudes on the remaining 15 of the 35 items on the questionnaire. No category in the 15 items fell within the chosen criteria of 62.5 per cent or more of the respondent choice.

The individual items are examined in the following tables. Each table shows the scaled value of the total response, the percentage total response, the wording of the item and the findings. Both the scaled value and the percentage response are those of the total group as shown in Table 2 and Table 5. The comparison of the two responses shows a variance for some items in positive, negative or neutral feelings because the choice of the criteria allowed a narrower grouping for Table 2 than for Table 5.

Both the scaled value and percentage response show that the respondents feel partially neutral when considering Metis parents'

power to make themselves heard by the people who run the school system. Half the respondents had a somewhat positive feeling to the item. (See Table 6 below.)

Table 6

## Scaled Value and Percentage Response to Item One

| Scaled Value | Percentage Response |      |      |
|--------------|---------------------|------|------|
| 3.67         | 12.5                | 37.5 | 50.0 |

Item One: To what extent do you feel that Metis parents can make themselves heard by the people who run the school system?

Table 7

## Scaled Value and Percentage Response to Item Two

| Scaled Value | Percentage Response |      |      |
|--------------|---------------------|------|------|
| 4.21         | 4.2                 | 25.0 | 70.8 |

Item Two: To what extent do you feel that Metis parents want their children to get a high education?

Both the scaled value and the percentage response show that the respondents had a strong positive feeling that Metis parents want their children to get a high education.

For item three the respondents indicated that they felt to some degree that Metis parents show an interest in their child's progress in school. (See Table 8 on page 107.) Although the scaled value showed a neutral position the percentage response was on the positive borderline criteria.

Table 8

## Scaled Value and Percentage Response to Item Three

| Scaled Value | Percentage Response |     |      |
|--------------|---------------------|-----|------|
| 3.33         | 33.3                | 4.2 | 62.5 |

Item Three: To what extent do you feel that Metis parents show a great interest in their child's progress in school?

Table 9

## Scaled Value and Percentage Response to Item Four

| Scaled Value | Percentage Response |      |      |
|--------------|---------------------|------|------|
| 2.67         | 54.2                | 12.5 | 33.3 |

Item Four: To what extent do you feel that the present social studies programs in the schools in this region are suitable to the background of Metis students?

The scaled value and percentage response both show a neutral feeling. Responses indicate that a somewhat negative feeling outweighed the positive feelings.

Table 10

## Scaled Value and Percentage Response to Item Five

| Scaled Value | Percentage Response |      |     |
|--------------|---------------------|------|-----|
| 4.33         | 75.0                | 20.8 | 4.2 |

Item Five: To what extent do you feel that students should drop out of school to help their parents?

Both the scaled value and the percentage responses show that the respondents do not feel that students should drop out of school to help their parents. Both scales were at a high positive rating.

Table 11

## Scaled Value and Percentage Response to Item Six

| Scaled Value | Percentage Response |     |      |
|--------------|---------------------|-----|------|
| 4.13         | 12.5                | 8.3 | 79.2 |

Item Six: To what extent do you feel that Metis history should be taught in schools responsible for the education of Metis children?

Both the scaled value and percentage response showed the respondents felt that Metis history should be taught in schools responsible for the education of Metis children.

Table 12

## Scaled Value and Percentage Response to Item Seven

| Scaled Value | Percentage Response |      |      |
|--------------|---------------------|------|------|
| 3.50         | 20.8                | 25.0 | 54.2 |

Item Seven: To what extent do you feel that present social studies programs present Indian and Metis peoples as one group with the same culture and heritage?

Both the scaled value and the percentage response show that the respondents had neutral feelings concerning the present social studies program as presenting Indians and Metis as one group having the same culture and heritage.

Table 13

## Scaled Value and Percentage Response to Item Eight

| Scaled Value | Percentage Response |      |      |
|--------------|---------------------|------|------|
| 2.57         | 65.2                | 13.0 | 21.8 |

Item Eight: To what extent do you feel that Metis parents have sufficient background to help their children with social studies homework?

Although the scaled value indicates a neutral feeling, the percentage response shows a significant group of respondents have negative feelings to item eight. The respondents do not feel that Metis parents have sufficient background to help their children with social studies homework. One respondent declined to answer.

Table 14

## Scaled Value and Percentage Response to Item Nine

| Scaled Value | Percentage Response |      |      |
|--------------|---------------------|------|------|
| 4.17         | 8.3                 | 16.7 | 75.0 |

Item Nine: To what extent do you feel there is value in teaching history of ethnic groups at the junior high school level?

Both the scaled value and the percentage response had a strong positive weight. The respondents feel that there is value in teaching a history of ethnic groups at the junior high school level.

Both the scaled value and the percentage response show the respondents had a neutral feeling to item 10. The smallest



percentage of respondents felt that Metis children view their teacher as a friend and helper in their studies. (See Table 15 below.)

Table 15

## Scaled Value and Percentage Response to Item 10

| Scaled Value | Percentage Response |      |      |
|--------------|---------------------|------|------|
| 2.67         | 41.7                | 37.5 | 20.8 |

Item 10: To what extent do you feel that Metis children think of their teacher as a friend and a helper in their studies?

Table 16

## Scaled Value and Percentage Response to Item 11

| Scaled Value | Percentage Response |      |      |
|--------------|---------------------|------|------|
| 2.83         | 50.0                | 20.8 | 29.2 |

Item 11: To what extent do you feel that teachers think that Metis children are good students?

Both the scaled value and percentage response show that the respondents had neutral feelings to item 11. Half of the respondents had the negative feeling that teachers do not think of Metis children as good students.

Both the scaled value and percentage response show that respondents had negative feelings toward teaching western European history as part of the social studies program in their region. (See Table 17, page 111.)

The scaled value shows a neutral feeling by the respondents,

but the percentage response shows a negative feeling on the part of the respondents to item 13. Many did not feel that teachers were doing a good job in their area of instructing Metis children. (See Table 18 below.)

Table 17

## Scaled Value and Percentage Response to Item 12 \*

| Scaled Value | Percentage Response |      |      |
|--------------|---------------------|------|------|
| 2.04         | 62.5                | 20.8 | 16.7 |

Item 12: To what extent do you feel that western European history should be taught as part of the junior high social studies program in schools in this region?

Table 18

## Scaled Value and Percentage Response to Item 13

| Scaled Value | Percentage Response |      |      |
|--------------|---------------------|------|------|
| 2.42         | 62.5                | 16.7 | 20.8 |

Item 13: To what extent do you feel that teachers in this area do a good job of instructing Metis children?

Both scaled value and percentage response show positive feelings by respondents to item 14. The respondents feel that Metis history should be taught in junior high schools of Manitoba. (See Table 19, page 112.)

Both scale value and percentage response show that the respondents had a neutral feeling to item 15. Half the respondents

indicated a positive leaning in their feelings that the present social studies program was of a benefit to Metis children in later life. (See Table 20 below.)

Table 19

## Scaled Value and Percentage Response to Item 14

| Scaled Value | Percentage Response |      |      |
|--------------|---------------------|------|------|
| 4.08         | 12.5                | 20.8 | 66.7 |

Item 14: To what extent do you feel that Metis history should be a part of the social studies programs in the junior high schools of Manitoba?

Table 20

## Scaled Value and Percentage Response to Item 15

| Scaled Value | Percentage Response |      |      |
|--------------|---------------------|------|------|
| 3.38         | 33.3                | 16.7 | 50.0 |

Item 15: To what extent do you feel that the present social studies program is valuable to Metis children in later life?

Table 21

## Scaled Value and Percentage Response to Item 16

| Scaled Value | Percentage Response |     |      |
|--------------|---------------------|-----|------|
| 4.00         | 17.4                | 8.7 | 73.9 |

Item 16: To what extent do you feel that the use of a Native language should be preserved?

Both the scale value and the percentage response show that the respondents had a strong positive feeling that the use of a Native language should be preserved. One respondent declined to answer.

Table 22

## Scaled Value and Percentage Response to Item 17 \*

| Scaled Value | Percentage Response |      |      |
|--------------|---------------------|------|------|
| 2.38         | 54.2                | 33.3 | 12.5 |

Item 17: To what extent do you feel that the present social studies program helps a person earn a better living?

Both the scale value and the percentage response show the respondents had a neutral feeling on the value of the present social studies program to help a person earn a better living. A sizable group indicated negative feelings to the item.

Table 23

## Scaled Value and Percentage Response to Item 18

| Scaled Value | Percentage Response |      |      |
|--------------|---------------------|------|------|
| 3.96         | 12.5                | 12.5 | 75.0 |

Item 18: To what extent do you feel that a course in Metis history at the junior high school level in Manitoba would help to preserve Metis heritage?

Both the scale value and the percentage response show the respondents felt that a course in Metis history would help to

preserve Metis heritage.

Table 24

## Scaled Value and Percentage Response to Item 19

| Scaled Value | Percentage Response |     |      |
|--------------|---------------------|-----|------|
| 4.17         | 12.5                | 8.3 | 79.2 |

Item 19: To what extent do you feel that a course in Metis history at the junior high school level would help the Metis students be proud of their heritage?

Both the scaled value and the percentage response show the respondents have positive feeling to item 19. They feel that a course in Metis history at the junior high school level would help Metis students be proud of their heritage.

Table 25

## Scaled Value and Percentage Response to Item 20

| Scaled Value | Percentage Response |      |      |
|--------------|---------------------|------|------|
| 2.88         | 33.3                | 41.7 | 25.0 |

Item 20: To what extent do you feel that the present social studies programs enable a student to become a more useful citizen?

Both scaled value and percentage response show a neutral feeling on the part of the respondents to item 20. The largest group of respondents had neither positive nor negative feeling toward the present social studies programs as enabling a student to become a more useful citizen.

Table 26

## Scaled Value and Percentage Response to Item 21

| Scaled Value | Percentage Response |      |      |
|--------------|---------------------|------|------|
| 3.75         | 16.7                | 20.8 | 62.5 |

Item 21: To what extent do you feel that a social studies program should make a student proud of his heritage?

Both the scaled value and the percentage response show that by the criteria chosen the respondents had a marginally positive feeling to item 21. There was very little negative feeling, but no strong positive feeling that a social studies program should make a student proud of his heritage.

Table 27

## Scaled Value and Percentage Response to Item 22

| Scaled Value | Percentage Response |     |      |
|--------------|---------------------|-----|------|
| 4.29         | 16.7                | 0.0 | 83.3 |

Item 22: To what extent do you feel that Metis history and heritage should be preserved?

Both the scaled value and percentage response show the respondents have strong positive feelings that Metis history and heritage should be preserved. This was the only item on which no respondent took a neutral stand.

Both the scaled value and the percentage response showed the respondents had a positive feeling in item 23. They felt that non-

Metis students would benefit from a course in Metis history at the junior high school level. (See Table 28 below.)

Table 28

## Scaled Value and Percentage Response to Item 23

| Scaled Value | Percentage Response |      |      |
|--------------|---------------------|------|------|
| 4.04         | 4.2                 | 33.3 | 62.5 |

Item 23: To what extent do you feel that non-Metis students in Manitoba would benefit from a study of Metis history as part of the social studies program at the junior high school level?

Table 29

## Scaled Value and Percentage Response to Item 24

| Scaled Value | Percentage Response |      |      |
|--------------|---------------------|------|------|
| 3.79         | 8.3                 | 29.2 | 62.5 |

Item 24: To what extent do you feel that social studies programs should stress basic similarities between different cultures?

Both the scaled value and the percentage response show positive feelings to item 24. A large group of respondents felt that social studies programs should stress basic similarities between different cultures.

Both the scaled value and the percentage response show the respondents had strong neutral feelings on item 25. The respondents did not show either strong negative or positive feelings as to the relative importance of the content or the work habits encouraged by

social studies programs. (See Table 30 below.)

Table 30

## Scaled Value and Percentage Response to Item 25

| Scaled Value | Percentage Response |      |      |
|--------------|---------------------|------|------|
| 3.29         | 8.3                 | 66.7 | 25.0 |

Item 25: To what extent do you feel that the content of social studies programs is more important than the work habits that it encourages?

Table 31

## Scaled Value and Percentage Response to Item 26

| Scaled Value | Percentage Response |      |      |
|--------------|---------------------|------|------|
| 2.71         | 45.8                | 16.7 | 37.5 |

Item 26: To what extent do you feel that non-Metis people have a positive attitude towards Metis history and heritage?

Both the scaled value and the percentage response show the respondents had a neutral feeling to item 26. A fairly large percentage of respondents indicated a negative feeling. They did not feel that non-Metis people have a positive attitude to Metis history and heritage.

Both the scaled value and the percentage response show the respondents had a neutral feeling on item 27. By both criteria there was a slight positive feeling that the government should fund alternative schools for Metis communities. (See Table 32, page 118.)



Table 32

## Scaled Value and Percentage Response to Item 27

| Scaled Value | Percentage Response |      |      |
|--------------|---------------------|------|------|
| 3.63         | 16.7                | 25.0 | 58.3 |

Item 27: To what extent do you feel that the government should fund alternative schools for Metis communities?

Table 33

## Scaled Value and Percentage Response to Item 28

| Scaled Value | Percentage Response |      |     |
|--------------|---------------------|------|-----|
| 2.96         | 12.5                | 79.2 | 8.3 |

Item 28: To what extent do you feel that schools should be permissive?

Both the scaled value and the percentage response show a strong neutral feeling on the part of the respondents. The respondents show no strong feelings on whether or not schools should be permissive.

Table 34

## Scaled Value and Percentage Response to Item 29

| Scaled Value | Percentage Response |      |      |
|--------------|---------------------|------|------|
| 3.17         | 17.4                | 56.5 | 26.1 |

Item 29: To what extent do you feel that schools demand less of Metis children that they are capable of doing?

Both the scaled value and percentage response show that the respondents had neutral feelings to item 29. Over one-quarter of the respondents felt that schools demand less of Metis students than they are capable of doing. One respondent declined to answer.

Table 35

Scaled Value and Percentage Response to Item 30 \*

| Scaled Value | Percentage Response |      |      |
|--------------|---------------------|------|------|
| 2.88         | 45.8                | 16.7 | 37.5 |

Item 30: To what extent do you feel that Metis children are aware of their heritage?

Both the scaled value and the percentage response show that the respondents had neutral feelings to item 30. The findings show that there were more negative feelings than positive feelings on the part of the respondents. Almost half the respondents did not feel that Metis children are aware of their heritage.

Table 36

Scaled Value and Percentage Response to Item 31

| Scaled Value | Percentage Response |      |      |
|--------------|---------------------|------|------|
| 3.88         | 16.7                | 16.7 | 66.7 |

Item 31: To what extent do you feel that Metis people are proud to acknowledge their heritage?

Both the scaled value and the percentage response show that

the respondents had positive feelings to item 31. The respondents indicate that they feel Metis people are proud to acknowledge their heritage.

Table 37

## Scaled Value and Percentage Response to Item 32

| Scaled Value | Percentage Response |      |      |
|--------------|---------------------|------|------|
| 4.42         | 4.2                 | 12.5 | 83.3 |

Item 32: To what extent do you feel that a social studies program should help preserve Metis history and heritage?

Both the scaled value and the percentage response show that the respondents had very strong positive feelings to item 32. The respondents felt that a social studies program should help preserve Metis history and heritage.

Table 38

## Scaled Value and Percentage Response to Item 33

| Scaled Value | Percentage Response |      |      |
|--------------|---------------------|------|------|
| 3.48         | 21.7                | 26.1 | 52.2 |

Item 33: To what extent do you feel that a social studies course should provide skills that enable a person to make a better choice of work or place to live?

Both the scaled value and the percentage response show that the respondents had neutral feelings as to the function of social studies to provide skills to enable a person to make a better choice

of work or place to live. One respondent declined to answer.

Table 39

## Scaled Value and Percentage Response to Item 34

| Scaled Value | Percentage Response |      |      |
|--------------|---------------------|------|------|
| 3.71         | 12.5                | 29.2 | 58.3 |

Item 34: To what extent do you feel that a knowledge of Metis history and heritage makes you feel a better person?

Both the scaled value and percentage response show the respondents had a neutral feeling to item 34. However there is a marginal feeling to the positive side of the scale indicated by the responses. The respondents feel more positive than negative that a knowledge of Metis history and heritage makes them feel a better person.

Table 40

## Scaled Value and Percentage Response to Item 34

| Scaled Value | Percentage Response |      |      |
|--------------|---------------------|------|------|
| 3.29         | 29.2                | 12.5 | 58.3 |

Item 25: To what extent do you feel that Metis organizations are doing a satisfactory job of preserving Metis history and heritage?

Both the scaled value and percentage response show that the respondents had no strong positive or negative feelings on item 35. More than half of the respondents felt that Metis organizations are

doing a satisfactory job of preserving Metis history and heritage.

The percentage responses to the questionnaire items were tabulated under the four areas discussed in Chapter 3 and at the beginning of Chapter 4. The four tables are presented on the following pages. Each table is accompanied by a statement of the findings for the table.

The percentage responses to the items relating to the respondents perception of the school system are tabulated in Table 41. Ten items are in this category. These 10 items are one, two, three, five, eight, 10, 11, 13, 28 and 29.

Table 41

Percentage Response to Questionnaire Items  
Related to Respondents Perception of the  
School System

| Item Number | 1 or 2 | 3    | 4 or 5 |
|-------------|--------|------|--------|
| 1           | 12.5   | 37.5 | 50.0   |
| 2           | 4.2    | 25.0 | 70.8   |
| 3           | 33.3   | 4.2  | 62.5   |
| 5           | 75.0   | 20.8 | 4.2    |
| 8           | 65.2   | 13.0 | 21.8   |
| 10          | 41.7   | 37.5 | 20.8   |
| 11          | 50.0   | 20.8 | 29.2   |
| 13          | 62.5   | 16.7 | 20.8   |
| 28          | 12.5   | 79.2 | 8.3    |
| 29          | 17.4   | 56.5 | 26.1   |

Table 41 shows that the respondents had positive feelings on three items. These items were two, three and five. The respondents feel that their children should get a high education, they feel that parents are interested in their child's progress in school and they do not feel that a student should drop out of school to help parents.

Table 41 shows that the respondents had a negative feeling to two items. The two items were eight and 13. The respondents do not feel that Metis parents have sufficient background to help their children with social studies homework. The respondents do not feel that the teachers of the area are doing a good job of instructing Metis children.

Table 41 shows the respondents had a strong neutral feeling on one item. That item was 28. They are neutral in feeling that schools should be permissive. The respondents had no strong positive or negative feelings to item 28.

The percentage response by respondents to questionnaire items relating to the preservation of Metis culture was tabulated in Table 42. Ten items were in this category. The 10 items were 12, 16, 22, 23, 26, 27, 30, 31, 34 and 35.

Table 42 shows that the respondents have positive feelings on four items. These items are 16, 22, 23 and 31. The respondents felt that the use of a Native language should be preserved, that Metis history and heritage should be preserved, that non-Metis students in Manitoba would benefit from a study of Metis history as part of the social studies program at the junior high level and that Metis people are proud to acknowledge their heritage.

Table 42 shows the respondents had a negative feeling to one

item. The item was 12. The respondents did not feel that western European history should be taught as part of the social studies program in junior high schools in the region being surveyed.

Table 42

Percentage Response to Questionnaire Items  
Related to Preservation of Metis Culture

| Item Number | 1 or 2 | 3    | 4 or 5 |
|-------------|--------|------|--------|
| 12          | 62.5   | 20.8 | 16.7   |
| 16          | 17.4   | 8.7  | 73.9   |
| 22          | 16.7   | 0.0  | 83.3   |
| 23          | 4.2    | 33.3 | 62.5   |
| 26          | 45.8   | 16.7 | 37.5   |
| 27          | 16.7   | 25.0 | 58.3   |
| 30          | 45.8   | 16.7 | 37.5   |
| 31          | 16.7   | 16.7 | 66.7   |
| 34          | 12.5   | 29.2 | 58.3   |
| 35          | 29.2   | 12.5 | 58.3   |

Table 42 shows that the respondents had a neutral feeling to none of the items. Item 22 to which the respondents were strongly positive had no respondent replying in category three. Category three was considered to be neutral in this survey.

The percentage response by respondents to questionnaire items relating to the role of social studies in the junior high school was tabulated in Table 43. Ten items were in this category. The 10 items were four, seven, 15, 17, 20, 21, 24, 25, 32 and 33.

Table 43  
 Percentage Response to Questionnaire Items  
 Related to Role of Social Studies at the  
 Junior High Level

| Item Number | 1 or 2 | 3    | 4 or 5 |
|-------------|--------|------|--------|
| 4           | 54.2   | 12.5 | 33.3   |
| 7           | 20.8   | 25.0 | 54.2   |
| 15          | 33.3   | 16.7 | 50.0   |
| 17          | 54.2   | 33.3 | 12.5   |
| 20          | 33.3   | 41.7 | 25.0   |
| 21          | 16.7   | 20.8 | 62.5   |
| 24          | 8.3    | 29.2 | 62.5   |
| 25          | 8.3    | 66.7 | 25.0   |
| 32          | 4.2    | 12.5 | 83.3   |
| 33          | 21.7   | 26.1 | 52.2   |

Table 43 shows the respondents had positive feelings to three items. The items were 21, 24 and 32. The respondents felt that the social studies program should make a student proud of his heritage, that the social studies program should stress basic similarities between cultures and that the social studies program should help preserve Metis history and heritage.

Table 43 shows that the respondents had no negative feelings to any item.

Table 43 shows that the respondents had a neutral feeling to item 25. The majority of respondents took a neutral position on the



question of the importance of content in social studies as compared to the work habits that a social studies program encourages.

The percentage response by respondents to questionnaire items relating to the function of courses in Metis history was tabulated in Table 44. Five items formed the category. The five items were six, nine, 14, 18 and 19.

Table 44

Percentage Response to Questionnaire Items  
Relating to the Function of a Course in  
Metis History in the Social Studies  
Program

| Item Number | 1 or 2 | 3    | 4 or 5 |
|-------------|--------|------|--------|
| 6           | 12.5   | 8.3  | 79.2   |
| 9           | 8.3    | 16.7 | 75.0   |
| 14          | 12.5   | 20.8 | 66.7   |
| 18          | 12.5   | 12.5 | 75.0   |
| 19          | 12.5   | 8.3  | 79.2   |

Table 44 shows that the respondents had positive feelings to all five items in the area of the function of a course in Metis history in the social studies program at the junior high level. The respondents felt that Metis history should be taught in schools responsible for educating Metis children. They felt there is a value in teaching a history of ethnic groups at the junior high level. A smaller number of respondents felt that Metis history should be a part of the social studies program in the junior high schools of Manitoba.

A substantial majority of the respondents felt that a course in Metis history at the junior high level in schools of Manitoba would help preserve Metis heritage. A large majority of the respondents felt that a course in Metis history at the junior high school level would help Metis students be proud of their heritage.

Table 45

Comparison of Male, Female and Total Scaled Value  
Response to Questionnaire Items Related to  
Respondents Perception of the School  
System

| Item Number | Male Response | Female Response | Total |
|-------------|---------------|-----------------|-------|
| 1           | 3.40          | 3.74            | 3.67  |
| 2           | 4.00          | 4.26            | 4.21  |
| 3           | 3.20          | 3.37            | 3.33  |
| 5           | 4.60          | 4.26            | 4.33  |
| 8           | 2.00          | 2.72            | 2.57  |
| 10          | 2.80          | 2.63            | 2.67  |
| 11          | 3.40          | 2.68            | 2.83  |
| 13          | 3.20          | 2.26            | 2.42  |
| 28          | 2.80          | 3.00            | 2.96  |
| 29          | 2.75          | 3.26            | 3.17  |

The scaled value response of Table 45 shows that there was no great variance between the feelings of the male and female respondents to the questionnaire items in this section. The male response was not as positive as the female response for item two. Female respondents felt more positively that Metis parents want their children to get a

high education. Male respondents were more positive than female respondents to item five. The male respondents felt more strongly than the female respondents that students should not drop out of school to help their parents. The male respondents were much more negative in their response to item eight than the female respondents. The male respondents did not feel that Metis parents have sufficient background to help their children with social studies homework. On all other items in this section the scaled value response indicated a neutral feeling for both male and female respondents.

Table 46

Comparison of Male, Female and Total Scaled Value  
Response to Questionnaire Items Related to  
Preservation of Metis Culture

| Item Number | Male Response | Female Response | Total |
|-------------|---------------|-----------------|-------|
| 12          | 2.00          | 2.05            | 2.04  |
| 16          | 3.80          | 4.06            | 4.00  |
| 22          | 4.60          | 4.21            | 4.29  |
| 23          | 4.40          | 3.95            | 4.04  |
| 26          | 2.00          | 2.89            | 2.71  |
| 27          | 3.20          | 3.74            | 3.63  |
| 30          | 1.80          | 3.21            | 2.88  |
| 31          | 3.00          | 4.11            | 3.88  |
| 34          | 4.40          | 3.53            | 3.71  |
| 35          | 3.00          | 3.37            | 3.29  |

The findings of Table 46 show that male and female respondents

agreed on four items. These items were 12, 16, 22 and 23. Both male and female respondents had negative feelings to item 12. They did not feel that western European history should be taught as part of the junior high social studies program in schools in the area being surveyed. Both male and female respondents had positive feelings to the other three items. They felt that the use of a Native language should be preserved, that Metis history and heritage should be preserved and that non-Metis students in Manitoba would benefit from a study of Metis history as part of the social studies program at the junior high school level. The male respondents had a negative feeling to item 26 while the female respondents had a neutral feeling although leaning toward negative. Male respondents did not feel that non-Metis people have a positive attitude towards Metis history and heritage. Male respondents also had a negative attitude to item 30, while female respondents had a neutral attitude but leaning toward positive. Male respondents did not feel that Metis children are aware of their heritage. Female respondents had a positive feeling to item 31, but male respondents had a neutral feeling. Female respondents felt that Metis people are proud to acknowledge their heritage. Male respondents had a positive feeling to item 34, while female respondents had a neutral feeling. Male respondents felt that a knowledge of Metis history and heritage makes them feel better persons.

Male respondents showed strong feelings on seven of the 10 items and neutral feelings on three of the items on the questionnaire. Female respondents showed strong feelings on five of the items and neutral feelings on the other five items of this section of the

questionnaire.

Table 47

Comparison of Male, Female and Total Scaled Value  
Response to Questionnaire Items Related to  
the Role of Social Studies at the Junior  
High Level

| Item Number | Male Response | Female Response | Total |
|-------------|---------------|-----------------|-------|
| 4           | 2.20          | 2.79            | 2.67  |
| 7           | 4.00          | 3.32            | 3.50  |
| 15          | 3.00          | 3.47            | 3.38  |
| 17          | 2.20          | 2.42            | 2.38  |
| 20          | 2.60          | 2.95            | 2.88  |
| 21          | 4.60          | 3.53            | 3.75  |
| 24          | 4.60          | 3.47            | 3.79  |
| 25          | 3.40          | 3.26            | 3.29  |
| 32          | 4.80          | 4.32            | 4.42  |
| 33          | 3.80          | 3.32            | 3.48  |

Table 47 shows that both the male and female respondents had positive feelings on one item. The item was number 32. Both male and female respondents felt that a social studies program should help preserve Metis history and heritage.

The male respondents showed a positive feeling to four other items. These items were seven, 21, 24 and 33. The male respondents felt that the present social studies programs present Indian and Metis peoples as one group with the same culture and heritage, that a social studies program should make a student proud of his heritage,

that social studies programs should stress basic similarities between different cultures and that a social studies program should provide skills that enable a person to make a better choice of work or place to live.

The male respondents showed a negative feeling to items four and 17. They did not feel that the present social studies program in the schools of the surveyed region are suitable to the background of Metis children and they did not feel that the present social studies program helps a person earn a better living.

The scaled male responses were neutral on three of the 10 items. The scaled female response was neutral on nine of the 10 items of this category.

Table 48

Comparison of Male, Female and Total Scaled Value  
Response to Questionnaire Items Related to  
the Function of a Course in Metis History  
in the Social Studies Program

| Item Number | Male Response | Female Response | Total |
|-------------|---------------|-----------------|-------|
| 6           | 4.60          | 4.00            | 4.13  |
| 9           | 4.60          | 4.05            | 4.17  |
| 14          | 4.60          | 3.79            | 4.08  |
| 18          | 4.80          | 3.74            | 3.96  |
| 19          | 5.00          | 3.95            | 4.17  |

Table 48 shows that the male respondents had very strong positive feelings on all items in this category of the questionnaire.

Their positive feelings were much stronger than those of the female respondents. The female respondents had positive feelings for all items except item 18. On item 18 the female respondents felt neutral with a strong positive bias. The female respondents do not feel as strongly as the male respondents that a course in Metis history at the junior high school level in Manitoba schools would help to preserve Metis heritage.

#### INTERVIEWS AND PERSONAL CONTACTS

Interviews were held with five respondents who had indicated an interest in discussing some of the items raised in the questionnaire. These interviews took place in an informal fashion over several weekends. No formal notes or tape-recordings were made while the interview was in progress. As soon as possible afterwards, the impressions and feelings conveyed by the respondents were written down. Although not all people requested anonymity, there was a general feeling that the person being interviewed did not wish to be quoted directly. The impressions and perceptions gathered were therefore not identified as being those of any specific person. Although the interview data was not gathered in the same format as the questionnaire data, the perceptions and feelings conveyed by the people who granted interviews form a considerable portion of the data that was collected. A brief outline of the main points makes up the final part of the chapter.

For some reason, possibly the seasonal work pattern, more women were contacted than men. The women were also more inclined to grant an interview or discuss topics than were the men. Among the

women a wide variety of reactions was evident, ranging from refusals to offer any help with the questionnaire to offers of introductions to other people who could be of help. All of the women showed pride in their Metis background, and in discussion pointed out the need for social studies courses to heighten the awareness of the children to their Metis heritage and culture. The term "social studies" was generally assumed to mean "history," and little discussion was given to other areas in the social studies curriculum. The perceptions of the women were that history should not be of a kind that reinforced the stereotyping of the Metis or Indians with pictures of the past. Both men and women felt that a weakness of present history courses was the disappearance of the Metis from any discussion after the Northwest Insurrection of 1885. They felt that history should take account of the Metis as they are today.

The women, especially the younger ones who may have been in their twenties, appeared to have assimilated to the White culture to a greater degree than the men. Some of the women were IMPACTE students and this may have accounted for their awareness of problems in education and the ease in which they presented ideas. On only two occasions were unpleasant situations, both with overtones of racial prejudice, encountered. On the first occasion the woman indicated that she was frustrated by "White" people interviewing, surveying and generally making a nuisance of themselves in Metis communities. On the second occasion during a stop at a local business a woman claimed that she was not being treated in an acceptable manner by the White businessman because she was a Metis. On both occasions the women appeared to exclude "White" as being part of their heritage. In this,



they were echoing a common dominant White society definition of "Metis" as being a person of mixed-blood but with a down-playing of the White element. The men gave this impression more often than the women, at times seeming to display an undercurrent of hostility toward Whites. It may be that in their daily work, the Metis men are faced with prejudices that bring about this reaction.

Most of the people interviewed made statements to the effect that they regarded a study of Metis history and heritage as being of great importance to their children. Several also added that Metis history should be taught in schools across Manitoba. By these comments they reflected the perceptions that had been shown in the questionnaire. This was the most common item to be raised during any interview. When questioned as to the content of a social studies program, the usual feeling was that the content, while preserving Metis heritage, would have to cover modern day issues. There was some uncertainty about the modern issues: One person suggested that these would involve a study of the government, its powers and various agencies, local issues of the community and pressures and problems faced by Metis communities and the possible solutions.

In discussing the school system all the people interviewed agreed that schooling was important to the future of their children. One person expressed the concern that if subjects in Metis schools were changed, the children may have problems if they move into other schools in the future. This person indicated that if there were relatives in Winnipeg, and given an opportunity, the ideal solution to the problem of senior high school education would be to send the older children to Winnipeg. It was apparently felt that training

would be available in the city that would enable the student to prepare for a steady job.

A short summary of the five interviews and the impressions that were gathered is given below.

Interview with A: This person felt very strongly that Metis history and heritage should be preserved, but showed concern that an attempt to preserve Metis history might be through courses that gave a false picture of Metis life or ignored the present. "A" felt there was no need for European history, but that a history of the Indian, the Metis and the Whiteman in Canada could be studied. "A" pointed out that only Whitemen seem to have a modern history in textbooks while Indians and Metis are ignored. This would cause a problem in finding suitable texts.

Interview with B: This person felt that a short course in Metis history would be beneficial to both Metis and non-Metis students, but was more interested in other aspects of the social studies program. "B" also questioned the role of geography in school, and pointed out that the social studies course should include a study of the government and how the government is involved in daily life. One of the concerns of "B" was that changes in subject matter might make it more difficult for students to move to different schools in the future.

Interview with C: This person felt strongly that there was a need for social studies courses to heighten the awareness of the children to their Metis culture and heritage. This person felt that non-Metis could also benefit from a study of Metis history and that perhaps this awareness of Metis history would help cut down on

misunderstanding. "C" had a very positive attitude toward education, and felt that a Metis person could keep certain traditions in the home. The future however would affect both White and Metis lifestyles, and these changes would have to be accepted. The social studies program could help the student gain pride in his Metis background, but education should prepare the child for the future.

Interview with D: This person showed hostility to the present courses in school and some hostility to Whites in general. "D" felt that the Metis had been victims of the educational system for many years, but were now going to make changes. "D" was perhaps the most outspoken in giving the impression that the Metis were a unique people and as such needed an educational system that was geared to their special needs. These needs were not being met by the present courses in school, and there would be no fast, ready-made answers.

Interview with "E": This person maintained that the preservation of Metis history and heritage was very important, and yet appeared to be fully acculturated into White society. "E" had a very positive outlook on the future and gave the impression that the Metis would remain a unique people because many of the younger Metis were now more aware of various problems and the ways in which these problems could be met. "E" felt that many of the younger people were also willing to get involved in questions of education or social problems. These types of topics would be more fitting for a social studies program than the present history course. "E" also felt that not all Metis communities were alike, but that they had a common history and heritage that could be studied in school.

Some general impressions and perceptions were gathered in an

informal fashion at the Third Annual Metis Days held in Winnipegosis on July 11 to 13, 1975. Although on the surface the gathering appeared to be a giant picnic with horse-racing, fiddling, jigging and other traditional Metis forms of entertainment, there were elements of serious political discussions taking place. Power figures among the Metis of Manitoba were present and were readily identified. The impressions gathered from the participants during those days was that the Metis people were undergoing a growing awareness of themselves, that they were excited about the educational, social and economic issues facing them, and that solutions were finally going to be found.

Perhaps these feelings could best be summarized by sections from the brief sent by the people of Camperville to the Minister of Education during the education incident at Winnipegosis in the spring of 1973. Three points from the brief were echoed in various forms by the people who granted interviews. These three points were statements concerning the uniqueness of Metis culture, the need for modern content in the curriculum and the role of education.

But the people of Camperville did not wish their children to be "melted" into a homogeneous mass. We are Metis people who have a unique history, a unique culture and wish our children to gain a deeper knowledge of it through their studies.

The curriculum of the school denied the Metis students an opportunity to learn the content relevant to themselves. In the curriculum it was as though Metis and Indian people did not exist except in ancient times.

Our horizons have expanded. We realize now that education is the key to our search for equality and that the only resources we

fully own are our children.<sup>1</sup>

This study was conducted during the summer of 1975 when "Metis pride" may have been reaching a peak. There can be little doubt that during the 1970's Native peoples became more aware of their problems, their needs and the possibilities of attaining their needs. It would seem probable, however, that if the same study were to be conducted at any time in the near future the basic findings would be the same.

#### SUMMARY

The responses to 35 items from the questionnaire were recorded in a series of tables. An arbitrary limit of 2.25 or lower was used as a scale to record negative feelings by respondents to the items for the tables. An arbitrary limit of 3.76 or higher was used as a scale to record positive feelings by respondents to the items on the questionnaire.

A percentage response of 62.5 per cent or higher was arbitrarily chosen to record either positive, negative or neutral feelings of respondents to items on the questionnaire. The percentage response was recorded in three categories, but only those over 62.5 per cent were considered as pertinent to this study. This method caused a fourth category to appear in some tables as being neither positive, negative nor neutral. This category was rejected in the study as not indicating a feeling in any direction.

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<sup>1</sup>Parent's brief to the Minister of Education cited in Six Metis Communities. Bruce Sealey (ed.) (Winnipeg, Manitoba: Manitoba Metis Federation Press, 1974).

Of the 35 items on the questionnaire, the percentage response showed that the respondents had positive feelings of 15 items. They had negative feelings to three items and neutral feelings to two items. The feelings of the respondents to the remaining 15 items were not categorized as positive, negative or neutral. No category in this group of 15 items received 62.5 per cent or higher as a percentage response.

The tables comparing male and female responses show that males responded with fewer neutral feelings than females.

The personal interviews that were given reinforced the basic findings of the questionnaire. The Metis in the surveyed area value education, but see themselves as a unique people. Their educational system will have to preserve a pride among their children in their Metis heritage as well as preparing them adequately for the future.

## Chapter 6

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Within the last decade there has been an increasing interest in Native rights with much of the activity centred on Indian demands. To a lesser degree the Metis have put forward their concerns and have gained some share of public attention. One area that has been raised as a pressing concern by some Metis groups is that of education.

This study has been concerned with the field of social studies and the perceptions of Metis parents as to a desirable social studies program. The principal method of gathering the perceptions was by means of a questionnaire distributed to people in selected Metis communities. The scope of the study was limited to the group of Metis respondents in the Camperville area of Manitoba.

A survey of the related literature discussing social studies programs for Native studies in the United States, Canada and Manitoba comprised Chapter 2. Chapter 3 entailed a brief survey of the history of Metis education in Manitoba. Chapter 4 described the survey tool used to gather perceptions from the sample group. The findings of the questionnaire were tabulated in Chapter 5. A discussion of the findings of the survey will comprise the next section of the chapter.

### PERCEPTIONS RELATED TO THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

Ten items of the questionnaire elicited perceptions of the

school system from the respondents. The total response (Table 41) showed that respondents had positive feelings to three of the 10 items. The respondents felt that Metis parents want their children to get a high education. This was reinforced by their feeling that Metis parents show interest in their child's progress in school and that students should not drop out of school to help their parents. Although Table 45 showed that male respondents were not as positive as female respondents that Metis parents want their children to get a high education, they were very positive that students should not drop out of school to help their parents. The possible reasons for this feeling could bear further study, especially when considered in terms of the high drop-out rate alluded to in the related literature. Perhaps the male respondents have seen more negative consequences to dropping out than the female respondents and are therefore more against the practice. It may be that they see no need for a student to drop out in order to help the parents. Given the economic conditions and high rates of unemployment current in some areas of Manitoba, dropping out of school in order to help may be a futile effort. Whatever the cause, the respondents showed that Metis parents feel an education is desirable.

The respondents had negative feelings on two items in this category. They are apparently aware of a lack of background in social studies on the part of Metis parents which affects their ability to help their children with social studies homework. Coupled with the feeling that parents lack background knowledge is the feeling that teachers in the area are not doing a good job of teaching Metis children. This finding is reflected in the related literature by the



study of Goucher. In that study the teachers found social studies the most difficult subject to teach and lacking in appeal. It would be interesting to see if any change would take place if the program were changed to include units on Native studies. Perhaps then the parents would have sufficient background knowledge to help their children, the course would become more appealing and teachers would have less difficulty presenting the course. With less difficulty encountered in teaching the course, teachers might possibly be perceived as doing a better job of instructing Metis children.

The respondents had a strong neutral feeling on the question of permissiveness in school. Perhaps there was some confusion as to what the term entailed. The Metis parents were not unique in this uncertainty when consideration is given to the current discussions taking place in dominant culture schools with respect to discipline, permissiveness, frill subjects and basics.

#### PERCEPTIONS RELATED TO PRESERVATION OF METIS CULTURE

Ten items on the questionnaire elicited feelings related to the preservation of Metis culture. The respondents had positive feelings on three items. They felt that the use of a Native language should be retained. For some reason the female respondents had stronger feelings than the male respondents that a Native language should be preserved. It may be that the female respondents saw the retention of a Native language as an asset while male respondents were not sure. It would be interesting to know if any respondent saw the preservation of a Native language as a liability in acquiring

proficient use of English as used by the dominant society. Sealey's study referred to in the related literature indicates that most of the academic problems faced by Metis students are based on language. Although the question of preserving a Native language by the use of a social studies program is largely academic, Metis parents will have to give the subject of Native language preservation serious thought.

The respondents also felt that Metis history and heritage should be preserved. This feeling may be tied to the rejection of western European history as a suitable part of the social studies program in their area. Perhaps the respondents felt that major social studies concepts such as the emergence of a culture, conflict and revolution, societal change, progress and adaptation can be more clearly presented with reference to Metis history than to any other.

The respondents also felt that non-Metis students of Manitoba would benefit from a study of Metis history. This is in keeping with the Manitoba Metis Federation policy statement that the study of Metis history by non-Metis students would help them get a more accurate view of history and eventually reduce false stereotyping. It is interesting to note that male respondents did not feel that non-Metis people have a positive feeling toward Metis history. It is possible that these problems are intertwined, and as non-Metis persons become exposed to Metis history some of the negative attitudes would disappear.

A further disparity of feelings was shown on the question of acknowledging Metis heritage. Male respondents felt that Metis children were not aware of their heritage. Male respondents were not sure if Metis people were proud to acknowledge their heritage, but

felt that a knowledge of Metis history and heritage made them feel better as persons. On the other hand, female respondents were not sure if Metis children were aware of their heritage, but felt that Metis people were proud to acknowledge their heritage. However they were not sure if a knowledge of Metis history and heritage made them feel better as persons.

Although there was general agreement that a Native language and Metis history and heritage should be preserved there was some uncertainty as to what effect these were having on the people. These feelings are reflected in the dominant society as well, where groups that assimilate into the surrounding culture still retain vestiges of their heritage even if only in cultural displays.

#### PERCEPTIONS RELATED TO THE ROLE OF SOCIAL STUDIES

Ten items in the questionnaire related to the role of social studies at the junior high level. There was general agreement that a social studies program should help preserve Metis history and heritage. The respondents apparently felt that this was one of the prime functions of a social studies program in their area.

Female respondents were neutral on the other nine items. They were not as sure as the male respondents as to what the role of social studies was.

The first five items of Table 43 and Table 47 examine the role of the present social studies programs, while the last five items elicited feelings as to the role of any contemplated course in social studies. It is interesting to note that all five items relating to the role of the present social studies program the total scaled value

response (Table 47) and the percentage response (Table 43) show that the respondents had no strong negative, neutral or positive feelings. The respondents apparently had very mixed feelings on what the present social studies program was accomplishing in terms of the five roles suggested by the questionnaire. The reaction of possible roles for social studies were more concrete in that three of the last five items were given a positive total percentage response and one was given a neutral response (Table 43).

Male respondents tended to give fewer neutral responses than female respondents. They felt that a social studies program should make a student proud of his heritage, should stress basic similarities between different cultures and should provide skills to enable a person to make a better choice of work or a place to live. The last item reflects the stand taken by Kirkness that education must enable a person to make a choice in these matters. It is also related to the findings by Adams that the Metis people want information and skills in the practical aspects of their daily lives.

The male respondents felt that the present social studies programs presented Indians and Metis as one group with the same culture and heritage, that the present programs were not suitable for their children and that they did not help a person earn a better living. This could be interpreted as a negative feeling to three of the five items. The implications are that the feelings toward the present social studies programs are far from positive. The findings indicate that the respondents felt that there was little of value in the present courses.

PERCEPTIONS RELATED TO THE FUNCTION OF A  
COURSE IN METIS HISTORY

Table 44 and Table 48 show that there are five items in this category. Both tables show that all five items received a positive response by the total group. The male respondents were overwhelming in their positive response; in one case (item 19) responding with the highest scaled value response possible.

The respondents felt that there is a value in teaching a history of ethnic groups at the junior high school level, that Metis history should be taught in schools responsible for the education of Metis children and that such a course would help Metis students be proud of their heritage. These findings can be considered in the light of the previous findings that there was a feeling that children were not aware of their Metis heritage and that Metis people were generally not proud to acknowledge their Metis heritage. The respondents apparently feel that a course in Metis history in the local schools would have several beneficial effects. No item on the questionnaire raised the question of the content of a course in Metis history. However, the respondents did not visualize a course in Metis history as being directed solely at Metis students. They felt that a course in Metis history should be a part of the social studies programs in junior high schools of Manitoba and that such a course would help preserve Metis heritage.

The Metis parents could be correct in their feelings that a course in Metis history would be of value to all junior high school students in Manitoba. Their feelings that such a course would help preserve Metis heritage may not result, but other benefits should

accrue. The Manitoba Metis Federation suggests the benefit would be the elimination of false stereotyping. Perhaps a growing tolerance and understanding of both Native and White cultures would result.

#### IMPLICATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

Of the 35 items on the questionnaire several were marked consistently by the respondents as being items on which they had strong feelings. The respondents showed that they felt Metis parents were interested in their children's education and wanted them to continue in their schooling. This is contrary to the widespread feeling among Whites that Native peoples do not appreciate schooling and show little interest in having their children attend regularly. Studies have shown that the drop-out rate and the absentee rate among Native students is a prime concern to provincial authorities and Native organizations. The contrast between the apparent ambitions and hopes of the Metis parents for their children to attend school and the actual attendance of the pupils requires further study.

The study showed some discontent on the part of Metis parents with the teachers in the schools. They did not feel that teachers were doing a good job of teaching their children. The implications are that there is some misunderstanding on the part of the teachers in expectations of student progress or that teachers, despite good intentions, are ineffectual because of their dominant culture bias. It would be interesting to know in what way the Metis parents feel that the teachers are not doing a good job of teaching their children. The implication is that the parents have expectations for the teaching of their children that are not being met.

The study responses pointed out quite clearly that western European history was not considered suitable for the social studies program in schools of the region being surveyed, and that respondents felt that Metis history should be part of the program. The implication is that the Metis history should replace western European history as content in social studies programs at the junior high level. A further implication is that this change would minimize related problems of lack of knowledge of their heritage in Metis children, lack of interest in the social studies program by the students and lack of sufficient background knowledge in social studies of parents which hinders them in helping their children with homework.

The findings of the study indicate that many of the respondents were unsure of the purpose of the present social studies program. This implies that the role of social studies is not well defined in the minds of the parents and students. Social studies is apparently a subject that is taught without having any perceived value. This has significance in that it places a burden on the teacher of social studies to justify the studying of the subject to the community.

The study indicated a strong feeling on the part of Metis parents that a course in Metis history would have a positive effect on their children. The implication is that such a course should be developed and put into practice. Any developer of curricula, however, would have to avoid the danger of producing units that attempted to improve the self-image of the Metis student by romanticizing Metis history. The value of the courses could also be destroyed by failing to make them pertinent to present day needs of the pupils.

For many years in Manitoba there has been a void in social studies at the junior high school level. This void was created by the lack of a definite course with Canadian content. The present three half-courses in history and three half-courses in geography leave little room for the student to investigate his own heritage in any great depth. With the current revision of the social studies curriculum at the provincial level, some attention should be given to increased Canadian content. If enough flexibility is provided in a revised curriculum, schools for Metis students as well as schools in other communities can present meaningful courses of high local interest. This would enable one of the main concerns of Metis parents as expressed by the respondents to this study and by their provincial organization in its policy paper to be met.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS

The following recommendations are based on the findings of the study and the related literature. No attempt has been made to create an exhaustive list of recommendations, but rather the aim was to outline possible approaches to some of the concerns raised in the study. The recommendations have not been placed on any scale of priority.

1. More thought must be given to the causes of absenteeism and the drop-out rates among Metis youth. Closer consultation between educational authorities and Native peoples as to their educational ambitions for their children and the proposed methods of achieving these ambitions should take place. Some hope must be given to Metis people that their suggestions for change will be listened



to and acted upon.

2. The teaching staff in Native schools must be carefully selected. Different criteria are needed for selection than in White schools in urban areas. The staff should not only have had courses in cross-culture but should have awareness of the academic problems faced by a speaker of a Native language in learning English as a second language. A willingness to gain some knowledge of the Native language used in the community would be useful. Understandings of the power structure within rural and isolated Native communities and some awareness of the community structure is essential if the teacher is to take a positive role in the educational processes within the Native community.

3. The effect of graduates of such programs as IMPACTE on school staffing and increased effectiveness in education should be researched. This research should be initiated and completed by local educational authorities.

4. Thought must be given by curriculum developers to methods by which various subjects, including social studies, can encourage the preservation of a Native language.

5. The content of social studies programs in Metis schools should be changed to reflect the desire of the Metis parents to have Metis history rather than western European history.

6. The content of units in the social studies program should have practical implications in the life of the student. These practical aspects should be tied to contacts the student will have with government agencies, future employers and suppliers of services and goods.

7. Consideration should be given by local education committees of the Metis communities to the implications of attempts to preserve Metis history and heritage not only on Metis youth but also on non-Metis residents of the area. Educational practices should discourage division and feelings of separation and encourage feelings of genuine interest and understanding.

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APPENDIX A Questionnaire

APPENDIX B Letter to Mr. F. Guiboche

APPENDIX C Reply from Mr. F. Guiboche

APPENDIX D Sample of letter to Metis and Non-Status Indian  
Associations

APPENDIX E Reply from Native Council of Canada

APPENDIX F Reply from OMNSIA

APPENDIX A

Winnipeg,,Manitoba  
R

Dear Sir:

As a student in the University of Manitoba I am seeking my Master of Education degree in the field of cross-cultural studies. My thesis will include a survey of the opinions of various people of Metis background concerning the social studies programs in the schools attended by their children or acquaintances.

My advisor at the university, Professor D. Bruce Sealey, has suggested that the Camperville area would be a suitable region to survey, not only because of the historic Metis settlements that make up the area but also because of the interest in education shown by the people.

I have already received some support and encouragement from various members of the Manitoba Metis Federation, and would appreciate your help in completing my survey. Would you be kind enough to spend some time checking off the items in the enclosed questionnaire.

Sincerely yours,

Jim Balness

PERCEPTIONS OF A SOCIAL STUDIES PROGRAM  
FOR JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOLS IN A METUS COMMUNITY

QUESTIONNAIRE

- PART I BASIC DATA  
PART II STRUCTURED QUESTIONS  
PART III OPEN-ENDED QUESTIONS

This questionnaire is made up of a number of questions, some of which can be answered by placing a check mark in a blank or by circling a number on a line scale. You are asked to complete all parts of the questionnaire. Many of the questions ask about your feelings on a topic. Information supplied by you will be kept confidential by not being identified with you personally. Only the compilation of the results will be made public.

I would appreciate the chance to interview as many people as possible in reference to a set of open-ended questions. If you are interested and feel that you could help, would you please indicate this on the last page of the survey form so that I can contact you later.

Please return the completed questionnaires to me by using the enclosed envelop.

MR. J. C. BALNESS  
WINNIPEG, MANITOBA  
R

PART I BASIC DATA

1. Sex of person interviewed. Male \_\_\_\_\_ Female \_\_\_\_\_
2. Age of person interviewed. Under 20 \_\_\_\_\_ 20-25 \_\_\_\_\_  
25-30 \_\_\_\_\_ 30-35 \_\_\_\_\_ 35-40 \_\_\_\_\_ Over 40 \_\_\_\_\_
3. Highest level of education you have completed:  
Primary (grades 1-3) \_\_\_\_\_  
Elementary (grades 4-6) \_\_\_\_\_  
Junior high (grades 7-9) \_\_\_\_\_  
Senior high (grades 10-12) \_\_\_\_\_  
University or other \_\_\_\_\_
4. Are you still studying or taking courses to improve your your educational qualifications ? Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_
5. Are you presently  
Single \_\_\_\_\_ Married \_\_\_\_\_ Widow(er) \_\_\_\_\_
6. Number of your children now in school  
0 \_\_\_\_\_ 1 \_\_\_\_\_ 2 \_\_\_\_\_ 3 \_\_\_\_\_ 4 \_\_\_\_\_ or more \_\_\_\_\_
7. Number of children in the following grade levels  
K-3 \_\_\_\_\_ 4-6 \_\_\_\_\_ 7-9 \_\_\_\_\_ 10-12 \_\_\_\_\_
8. Place of residence: Town \_\_\_\_\_ Out of town \_\_\_\_\_



PART II STRUCTURED QUESTIONS

This part of the questionnaire contains questions concerning

1. your feelings and perceptions about education
2. the role of social studies programs in the school
3. preservation of Metis heritage
4. role of courses in Metis history in social studies

You are asked to answer all the questions to the extent that you feel that the statement is true. Each statement is scaled from 1 to 5, or from "very little" to "very much" as in the example below:

|             |   |   |   |           |
|-------------|---|---|---|-----------|
| very little |   |   |   | very much |
| 1           | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5         |

---

Please circle the number which most appropriately indicates your opinion concerning each item. If you feel doubtful, choose the number which is closest to your opinion.

1. To what extent do you feel that Metis parents can make themselves heard by the people who run the school system?

|             |   |   |   |           |
|-------------|---|---|---|-----------|
| very little |   |   |   | very much |
| 1           | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5         |

---

2. To what extent do you feel that Metis parents want their children to get a high education?

|             |   |   |   |           |
|-------------|---|---|---|-----------|
| very little |   |   |   | very much |
| 1           | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5         |

---

3. To what extent do you feel that Metis parents show a great interest in their child's progress in school?

|             |   |   |   |   |           |
|-------------|---|---|---|---|-----------|
| very little |   |   |   |   | very much |
| 1           | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |           |

---

4. To what extent do you feel that the present social studies programs in the schools in this region are suitable to the background of Metis children ?

|             |   |   |   |   |           |
|-------------|---|---|---|---|-----------|
| very little |   |   |   |   | very much |
| 1           | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |           |

---

5. To what extent do you feel that students should drop out of school to help their parents ?

|             |   |   |   |   |           |
|-------------|---|---|---|---|-----------|
| very little |   |   |   |   | very much |
| 1           | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |           |

---

6. To what extent do you feel that Metis history should be taught in schools responsible for the education of Metis children ?

|             |   |   |   |   |           |
|-------------|---|---|---|---|-----------|
| very little |   |   |   |   | very much |
| 1           | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |           |

---

7. To what extent do you feel that present social studies programs present Indian and Metis peoples as one group with the same culture and heritage ?

|             |   |   |   |   |           |
|-------------|---|---|---|---|-----------|
| very little |   |   |   |   | very much |
| 1           | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |           |

---

8. To what extent do you feel that Metis parents have sufficient background to help their children with social studies homework ?

|             |   |   |   |   |           |
|-------------|---|---|---|---|-----------|
| very little |   |   |   |   | very much |
| 1           | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |           |

---

9. To what extent do you feel there is value in teaching a history of ethnic groups at the junior high school level ?

|             |   |   |   |   |           |
|-------------|---|---|---|---|-----------|
| very little |   |   |   |   | very much |
| 1           | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |           |

---

10. To what extent do you feel that Metis children think of their teacher as a friend and helper in their studies ?

|             |   |   |   |   |           |
|-------------|---|---|---|---|-----------|
| very little |   |   |   |   | very much |
| 1           | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |           |

---

11. To what extent do you feel that teachers think that Metis children are good students ?

|             |   |   |   |   |           |
|-------------|---|---|---|---|-----------|
| very little |   |   |   |   | very much |
| 1           | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |           |

---

12. To what extent do you feel that western European history should be taught as part of the junior high social studies program in schools in this region ?

|             |   |   |   |   |           |
|-------------|---|---|---|---|-----------|
| very little |   |   |   |   | very much |
| 1           | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |           |

---

13. To what extent do you feel that teachers in this area do a good job of instructing Metis children ?

|             |   |   |   |   |           |
|-------------|---|---|---|---|-----------|
| very little |   |   |   |   | very much |
| 1           | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |           |

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14. To what extent do you feel that Metis history should be a part of the social studies programs in the junior high schools of Manitoba ?

|             |   |   |   |   |           |
|-------------|---|---|---|---|-----------|
| very little |   |   |   |   | very much |
| 1           | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |           |

---

15. To what extent do you feel that the present social studies program is valuable to Metis children in later life ?

|             |   |   |   |   |           |
|-------------|---|---|---|---|-----------|
| very little |   |   |   |   | very much |
| 1           | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |           |

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16. To what extent do you feel that the use of a Native language should be preserved ?

|             |   |   |   |   |           |
|-------------|---|---|---|---|-----------|
| very little |   |   |   |   | very much |
| 1           | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |           |

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17. To what extent do you feel that the present social studies program helps a person earn a better living ?

|             |   |   |   |   |           |
|-------------|---|---|---|---|-----------|
| very little |   |   |   |   | very much |
| 1           | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |           |

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18. To what extent do you feel that a course in Metis history at the junior high school level in Manitoba would help to preserve Metis heritage ?

|             |   |   |   |   |           |
|-------------|---|---|---|---|-----------|
| very little |   |   |   |   | very much |
| 1           | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |           |

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19. To what extent do you feel that a course in ,etis history at the junior high school level would help Metis students be proud of their heritage ?

|             |   |   |   |   |           |
|-------------|---|---|---|---|-----------|
| very little |   |   |   |   | very much |
| 1           | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |           |

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20. To what extent do you feel that the present social studies programs enable a student to become a more useful citizen ?

|             |   |   |   |   |           |
|-------------|---|---|---|---|-----------|
| very little |   |   |   |   | very much |
| 1           | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |           |

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21. To what extent do you feel that a social studies program should make a student proud of his heritage ?

|             |   |   |   |   |           |
|-------------|---|---|---|---|-----------|
| very little |   |   |   |   | very much |
| 1           | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |           |

---

22. To what extent do you feel that Metis history and heritage should be preserved ?

|             |   |   |   |   |           |
|-------------|---|---|---|---|-----------|
| very little |   |   |   |   | very much |
| 1           | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |           |

---

23. To what extent do you feel that non-Metis students in Manitoba would benefit from a study of Metis history as part of the social studies program at the junior high school level ?

|             |   |   |   |   |           |
|-------------|---|---|---|---|-----------|
| very little |   |   |   |   | very much |
| 1           | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |           |

---

24. To what extent do you feel that social studies programs should stress basic similarities between different cultures ?

|             |   |   |   |   |           |
|-------------|---|---|---|---|-----------|
| very little |   |   |   |   | very much |
| 1           | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |           |

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25. To what extent do you feel that the content of social studies programs is more important than the work habits that it encourages ?

|             |   |   |   |   |           |
|-------------|---|---|---|---|-----------|
| very little |   |   |   |   | very much |
| 1           | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |           |

---

26. To what extent do you feel that non-Metis people have a positive attitude towards Metis history and heritage ?

|             |   |   |   |   |           |
|-------------|---|---|---|---|-----------|
| very little |   |   |   |   | very much |
| 1           | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |           |

---

27. To what extent do you feel that the government should fund alternative schools for Metis communities ?

|             |   |   |   |   |           |
|-------------|---|---|---|---|-----------|
| very little |   |   |   |   | very much |
| 1           | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |           |

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28. To what extent do you feel that schools should be permissive ?

|             |   |   |   |   |           |
|-------------|---|---|---|---|-----------|
| very little |   |   |   |   | very much |
| 1           | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |           |

---

29. To what extent do you feel that schools demand less of Metis children that they are capable of doing ?

|             |   |   |   |   |           |
|-------------|---|---|---|---|-----------|
| very little |   |   |   |   | very much |
| 1           | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |           |

---

30. To what extent do you feel that Metis children are aware of their heritage ?

|             |   |   |   |   |           |
|-------------|---|---|---|---|-----------|
| very little |   |   |   |   | very much |
| 1           | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |           |

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31. To what extent do you feel that Metis people are proud to acknowledge their heritage ?

|             |   |   |   |   |           |
|-------------|---|---|---|---|-----------|
| very little |   |   |   |   | very much |
| 1           | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |           |

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32. To what extent do you feel that a social studies program should help preserve Metis history and heritage ?

|             |   |   |   |   |           |
|-------------|---|---|---|---|-----------|
| very little |   |   |   |   | very much |
| 1           | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |           |

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33. To what extent do you feel that a social studies course should provide skills that enable a person to make a better choice of work or place to live ?

|             |   |   |   |   |           |
|-------------|---|---|---|---|-----------|
| very little |   |   |   |   | very much |
| 1           | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |           |

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34. To what extent do you feel that a knowledge of Metis history and heritage makes you feel a better person ?

|             |   |   |   |   |           |
|-------------|---|---|---|---|-----------|
| very little |   |   |   |   | very much |
| 1           | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |           |

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35. To what extent do you feel that Metis organizations are doing a satisfactory job of preserving Metis history and heritage ?

|             |   |   |   |   |           |
|-------------|---|---|---|---|-----------|
| very little |   |   |   |   | very much |
| 1           | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |           |

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PART III OPEN-ENDED QUESTIONS

I would appreciate discussing the social studies program followed by your children, your feelings about the present program and possible revisions, and your suggestions as to what you feel a social studies program for Metis students at various grade levels should entail. It may be that you wish to make some comments on the questions contained in PART II of this questionnaire.

If possible I would record as much of our conversation as deals with education on tape. Only the compilation of the results will be used in my study, and you will not be identified personally if you did not wish to be.

If you feel you can be of some help and assistance would you kindly indicate below:

Your name \_\_\_\_\_

Where you can be contacted \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Thank you for your time and assistance.

Jim Balness.

APPENDIX B

Winnipeg  
R  
July 2, 1975.

Mr. F. Guiboche  
Metis Academy  
Camperville, Manitoba.

Dear Mr. Guiboche,

Professor D. Bruce Sealey has told me that you could be a possible source of advice and assistance in my studies this summer. He is my advisor on the committee examining my thesis on a Master of Education program in cross-cultural studies.

I am interested in surveying a selected group of Metis people for their feelings and opinions concerning the social studies programs at the junior high level. I have chosen the Camperville region as the site of my survey because of the apparent interest shown by the people in education, curriculum revision, and the various aspects of local autonomy. I would like to spend several weeks beginning in mid-July in the Camperville area, not only conducting the survey but also camping, boating, and meeting people.

Would it be possible for me to contact you at the Metis Academy on the weekend of July 19th? I would appreciate any assistance you could give me in helping me become acquainted with your community, the people, and the educational system of the region.

Sincerely yours,

# *Manitoba Métis Academy Inc.*

P.O. Box 10  
Camperville, Manitoba  
R0L 0J0

July 7, 1975

Jim Balness

Winnipeg, Manitoba  
R

Dear Jim:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of inquiry of July 2, 1975.

With respect to your request for my personal assistance, I wish to recommend to you at this time, in view of my individualistic views regarding the education system, that you approach other members of the community of Camperville PRIOR to meeting with me. Some of these members could include:

Ken Woodley, Principal, Camperville School  
Alma Pangman, Teacher and Parent  
Viola Hunter, Trustee, Duck Mountain School Division

I am confident that these individuals would be more than willing to assist you in your orientation to our community as well as in the preliminary stages of your survey.

Perhaps during the final week of your sojourn in Camperville, you shall be prepared to discuss with me the concept of the Manitoba Metis Academy in which case I may be contacted by telephoning 524-2440. At such time, you shall have presumably acquired a general overview of the community's attitudes toward education per se.

Trusting that this acknowledgment should be of some benefit to your upcoming academic pursuits, I remain...

Your truly

Guiboche  
Sr-General

FG/jpb

APPENDIX D

Winnipeg, Manitoba  
R  
October 14, 1975

B.C. Association of Non-status Indians  
144 West Hastings Street  
Vancouver, British Columbia

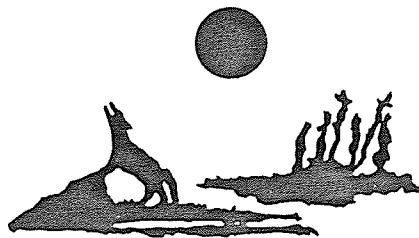
Dear Sir:

As a teacher in the St. Vital School Division of Manitoba working in cross-cultural studies, I would like to obtain copies of position papers or recent policy statements by your organization regarding the education of Metis or non-status Indians in British Columbia.

I would appreciate any information you can give me as to the availability, source, and cost of such materials.

Sincerely yours,

Jim Balness



# NATIVE COUNCIL OF CANADA

(MÉTIS and NON-STATUS INDIANS)

LE CONSEIL NATIONAL DES AUTOCHTONES DU CANADA

PRESIDENT  
GLORIA GEORGE  
VICE-PRESIDENT  
DUKE REDBIRD  
SECRETARY-TREASURER  
FRED JOBIN  
HONORARY-PRESIDENTS  
GENE RHEAUME  
A. E. BELCOURT

77 METCALFE ST., SUITE 200  
OTTAWA, ONTARIO K1P 5L6

TELEPHONE 613-238-3511  
TELEX 053-3301

December 11, 1975

Mr. Jim Balness

Winnipeg, Manitoba

R

Dear Mr. Balness:

The Native Council of Canada acts as an information clearing-house on education. The responsibility for the initiation, development and operation of specific programmes for our people rests with the provincial and territorial associations who are members of the Native Council of Canada.

In Manitoba, our member association is the Manitoba Metis Federation, 301-374 Donald St., Winnipeg, phone: 204-942-2565. I suggest that you contact the organization for information regarding their education policy. The education director would be a good resource person.

Raoul McKay, Head of the Native Studies Programme, University of Manitoba is an excellent source of information on the education of Metis and Non-Status Indian children.

I have enclosed a copy of a proposal presented by the Native Council of Canada to the Ontario Student Awards Programme.

I have also included a list of publications of the Manitoba Metis Federation Press. Some titles will be of great interest to you.

Yours sincerely,

Michael A. Dagg  
Information Resources Co-ordinator

**MEMBER ASSOCIATIONS:**

- YUKON ASSOC. OF NON-STATUS INDIANS • THE METIS ASSOC. OF N.W.T. • B.C. ASSOC. OF NON-STATUS INDIANS • METIS ASSOC. OF ALBERTA • METIS SOCIETY OF SASKATCHEWAN • MANITOBA METIS FEDERATION • ONTARIO METIS AND NON-STATUS INDIAN ASSOC. • LAURENTIAN ALLIANCE OF METIS AND NON-STATUS INDIAN INC. (QUEBEC) • NEW BRUNSWICK ASSOC. OF METIS NON-STATUS INDIANS • NON-STATUS INDIAN AND METIS ASSOCIATION OF NOVA SCOTIA
- INDIAN AND METIS ASSOCIATION OF NEWFOUNDLAND AND LABRADOR • PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND ASSOCIATION OF METIS AND NON-STATUS INDIANS

APPENDIX F

ONTARIO METIS AND NON-STATUS INDIAN ASSOCIATION

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5300 YONGE ST., SUITE 208  
WILLOWDALE, ONTARIO  
M2N 5R2

(416) 226-2890



February 16, 1976

Mr. James Balness  
Winnipeg, Manitoba  
R

Dear Mr. Balness:

In regards to your letter requesting position papers or policy statements on education for our organization, I am afraid our association has not yet developed policy statements on education.

However, I am enclosing a copy, of what is later to be developed into pamphlet form, some of the concerns of our education department.

I hope this will be of some assistance to you.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Daniel Russell  
Assistant Director  
Education Department

DR:ec  
Enc.