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POINTS OF IDENTIFICATION.

EDUCATIONAL
DYNAMICS IN THE RESERVE SCHOOL
SYSTEM

by

BARBARA E. BLACKMAN

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND

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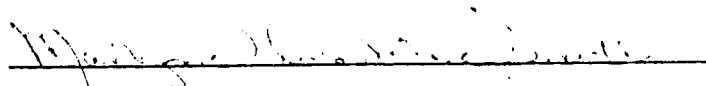
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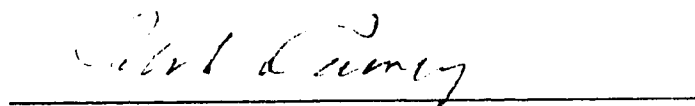
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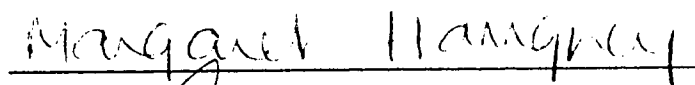
The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled **POINTS OF IDENTIFICATION: EDUCATIONAL DYNAMICS IN THE RESERVE SCHOOL SYSTEM** submitted by Barbara E. Blackman in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of **MASTER OF EDUCATION** in **INTERNATIONAL/INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION**.

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ABSTRACT

The reserve education sub-system is a system generally considered to be problematic and incapable of fulfilling its educational mandate. Furthermore, both the research and practice found within this system tend to associate the educational difficulties with deficit cultural/social dynamics.

The purpose of this study was to determine whether these deficit cultural/social dynamics were indeed the primary cause of the malaise the reserve education sub-system usually experiences. In order to ascertain if this was indeed the case, the primary focus of this research was on the systemic variables located within the reserve education sub-system.

The research for this study was conducted using a qualitative methodology. Information was collected by conducting interviews with six people who represented five band-controlled schools.

An analysis of the data indicated that the rigid parameters combined with an absence of autonomy and control found in the reserve system, (internal colonial model), replicated itself within the education sub-system. This resulted in those individuals involved within the educational realm holding each other, rather then the system

in which they worked, accountable for the difficulties the school was experiencing. A further consequence was that the interactive dynamics became defined using deficit cultural/social constructs.

It was concluded that if the distinctive problems that occur in the reserve education sub-system are ever to be redressed there needs to be a greater focus, both in the research and practice on the underlying system/agency/processes found within this education sub-system.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Finally, I would like to acknowledge and offer my love and thanks to my three young sons - Benjamin, Justin and Logan. They were my inspiration to do this research.

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CHAPTER ONE

EXPERIENTIAL IDENTIFICATION

> It is crucial that whites in the audience find
> points of identification - points of empathy
> with themselves - to create a situation where
> they merely empathize with those less fortunate
> than themselves is another kind of theatre...
> (Smith, 1993:90)

Introduction

I have lived in the Native world for almost half my life. After the birth of my first child, I looked around and reflected in the way that mothers often do - on how I could make this world a safer, more accepting place for my child. I decided to go into education. I am a teacher who majored in intercultural education with the intention of going North to work in a First Nation's community. This I did for three years.

I thought as a teacher I might be able to give the children a respite from the constant bombardment of the outside world and allow them to enjoy being *who* they were rather than *what* they were not. Of course only to a small extent, was I able to do this. My teaching experience was one of the most draining and emotionally exhausting endeavours I have ever undertaken. I wept at the futility of

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my efforts and at the destruction that occurred within that school.

My discussions with colleagues and friends leads me to believe that this destruction is common in many reserve schools and I despair. The Native elders talk about patience, always believing that given enough time and proper guidance people will walk a true path. I am an impatient young woman ...

Position Identification

When I came back to university to begin this research, I struggled for a long time with the ethical considerations of what I was about to undertake. I finally came to the realization that my discomfort was caused by my focus on what I considered to be incompetent individuals found in the reserve school sub-system. I am grateful for the niggling little voice in the back of my head that kept telling me there was something not quite right in my initial evaluation of the situation and that I had better attempt to remove myself from the narrow parameters in which I had grounded myself.

Removing myself from this interpretation of the situation helped me to realize that when I went to teach in that reserve school I had stepped into another "reality", (the reserve system). For awhile I lived in this reality,

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(although still somewhat removed because of my position as a teacher). It was a reality I found both confusing and frustrating. When I stepped back into my own reality, (outside society), after leaving the community, there was a choice of two paths to follow.

The first choice would have been to simply dismiss the experience by attributing its existence to the deficiency of those who had existed within this educational reality at the same time as I had. The second path, and the one I chose to pursue, was to attempt to discover what exactly was occurring in the reserve education sub-system that I had so recently left.

Having chosen this path, I then had another choice to make. Would I remain outside this "other" reality and examine the situation from a position distanced, separated and which placed me apart, or would I attempt to examine the situation from a position which placed me back inside the "other" reality?

If I was to do this, I decided I would have to examine my own experience in terms of its similarities to the experiences of those other individuals with whom I had worked inside this reality. To lay cultural dissimilarities and personal bias aside and actively seek out points of identification through reflection on the experience however, is a leap which is extremely difficult to make. It requires

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that to the best of our ability we shed our hegemonic trappings and personal bias - to in fact, deny the reality we know and are familiar with.

In choosing to examine the situation from a personal position, it was necessary to shift the focus from the other participants to myself. (We are all basically egocentric and unless an experience touches us personally in a manner such that we can identify ourselves with other individuals in the situation, our perception and understanding cannot be personally empathetic). I came to understand that if I personally could say - I can understand why this is happening for other people because it also happened to me - then I could establish a point from which to proceed which was not distorted by a perception defined by individual or social actor deficiency.

It seems to me, that while we can never completely understand another's reality, we can partially share the circumstances of the experience. In order to do this, it is necessary to locate points of empathy for ourselves within these circumstances. To exist and participate in the reality of the circumstances is the precursor to establishing these points of empathetic identification for ourselves within this reality and subsequently with those who have shared the same circumstances of experience.

Most importantly, within *cultural parameters* this personal identification creates a connection to the "others'" reality, (reserve population), as it makes the experience intelligible and understandable at a personal level. It provides a reference of similarity which can be used as a point of identification with the "others'" - a bridge between the two cultural realities, (the reserve system and the Canadian system). This in turn means, that although we can never exist within the reality of the "others'", (the reserve population), we can stand in a closer position on the outside parameters because of the thread of shared circumstances of experience.

Of the points of identification this research will offer, the first will therefore be personal in nature as it was my own experiences which initially moved me to explore this education sub-system.

The School Experience

The community in which I taught was fairly isolated, with the nearest town being 100 kilometres away by road. Until approximately 1965, the community led an existence which required very little contact with the outside world. However, in 1965 a road was built into the community which opened it up to that outside world.

In 1986, the year that I and the rest of my colleagues arrived in the community, the Band had taken control of their education. The previous staff had resigned and consequently the entire staff, save one member, were new.

The school was one in which I would teach for three years and an experience that gave me more than I will ever be able to repay. The people in the community were kind, generous and embraced me as one of their own. They will always have a place in my heart and I thank them....

The initial contact with the community was one of welcome and enthusiasm. Once we had all settled ourselves, the teachers attended a three day cross-cultural workshop. At the end of this workshop, we participated in a feast and tea-dance hosted by Chief and Council. The teachers were then assigned a community liaison person and with classlists in hand, teachers and liaisons went around the community introducing themselves to the parents and families of prospective students. Finally, the last three days before school opened were spent organizing our classrooms.

Reflecting back on this first year in the school, brings to mind a general impression of great enthusiasm, energy, cooperation, creativity, tolerance and optimism on the part of the school staff. This excitement I might add, was also reflected in the community. Perhaps the strongest indicator of this was the attendance rate which

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for that first year was seventy percent, a dramatic increase from the thirty five percent attendance of the previous five years. The staff, students and community were all happy with what appeared to be happening in terms of connection and positive growth.

That year, there were approximately 250 children enrolled, and 17 staff which included, 14 teachers, a principal, a vice-principal as well as a full-time librarian and psychologist. There were also nine paraprofessional and support staff members in the school.

The school's organizational structure was based on the standard Alberta education system. It followed the K-9 pattern for grouping the students and used the Alberta curriculum as its knowledge base. Within these general parameters however, educational philosophy and vision was disorganized and confused. There were also no clear educational objectives or goals or any determination on how these might best be achieved.

Cultural concessions consisted of a "cultural" program which saw different elders come into the school and interact with the various classes. This however, was done in a culturally inappropriate manner, with the elders being taken to different classrooms at specific times to "talk" to the students. There was also a small amount of community resource material that had been developed for the social

studies and language curriculum. Finally, the Band had hired T.A's,(teaching assistants), from the community to assist the teachers and students in the classroom with the language barrier and course instruction.

As the year evolved, the structural component of the school become increasingly malfunctional. This seemed to be the result of the inordinate amount of power and control the administrator held. In September, the organizational structure of the school lacked a superintendent and an Education Director so the principal decided to assume both these positions. By January, he also held the position of vice-principal, having relieved the staff member who held this position, of his administrative duties. When an Education Board was finally established in early February, the teachers were forbidden access by the principal to this Board or Chief and Council.

This created rigid and restrictive boundaries for both the teachers and community. It meant in essence, that all the power rested in one man's hands and that the checks and balances usually in place were missing. Change could only be brought about in the school through one person, (the principal), and this caused considerable difficulties for both school and community.

Regardless, many of the staff still held the belief that the problem was simply a communication "blockage" which

could be surmounted. They thought that it was their inability to communicate their concerns that was the major impediment in trying to elicit the administrator's help and support.

The second year, which began with the same teachers and administrator, reflected a general atmosphere of enthusiasm, energy, cooperation, tolerance and optimism, much as the year before. The one identifiable difference was a disillusionment with the administrative process. This loss of trust led to a partial withdrawal of the staff from the administration. Despite this, teachers still believed that their primary goal, which was to be successful within their own classrooms, could be achieved.

The school however, in terms of organizational structure was becoming progressively more disorganized and chaotic. There began to be a noticeable increase in crisis and the school established a crisis management pattern[1] as it began to move from crisis to crisis. These crisis situations would be "reacted" to, but would never be resolved in any consistent or concrete manner.

As the school year progressed, two critical incidents occurred which further strained the education sub-system. The first was the dismissal of the principal in March, by the Board of Education. He was replaced by a member of the

staff. The second was the dissolution of the Board of Education by Chief and Council.

As a result of these incidents, teachers began to experience increasing doubt and anxiety. The energy level dropped and mutual cooperation among the staff began to erode. There was yet a further withdrawal from the administration and political manoeuvreing became the manner in which issues were redressed. Factions began to appear and sporadic attempts to get the school back on an educational track failed, due to the lack of support of other social actors within the school and community. The respect and cooperation between the community and the school began to lessen which was reflected by a drop in attendance.

Over the year the school atmosphere became permeated by insecurity, frustration, tension, anger, impotence, powerlessness and indifference. The school sub-system exhibited increasing crisis management characteristics. Staff meetings were spent mostly in trying to deal with these crises, leaving little time for anything else.

The third and final year saw the staff,(still the same group), become increasingly isolated, alienated, uncooperative, anxious, uncommunicative, apathetic and exhausted. Two distinct factions emerged within the school which were designated as the inner and outer sanctums. Any energy left in that third year was used up in anger or

despair and was directed either at other members of the staff and administration or at the community.

The community also reacted to the strain and expressed its displeasure in a number of ways. Attendance dropped to 50% and vehicles and teacherages were broken into and vandalised.

The school at this time also seemed to completely lose its educational focus. The junior high students were all streamed into a vocational program, (Integrated Occupational Program), and spent much of their time painting murals on the wall. While the elementary grades still followed the Alberta curriculum, education standards fell and the children grew increasingly behind in their academic programs. The cultural program simply disappeared. Although the teaching assistants still participated in the school, elders and cultural programs were no longer included within the educational framework.

At Christmas time, the kindergarten teacher resigned and the principal, instead of seeking a qualified replacement, gave his wife, (who was not accredited), the kindergarten position.

It was at this point that I took the initiative to speak to the principal about the situation as I saw it. Having received no satisfactory response, I decided to speak to the rest of the staff. Many spoke of their own job

security, community responsibility, or of allowing an
outside agency to deal with the situation. Others of the
staff did not want to rock the boat, because they felt it
would be disruptive to the children.

At this point INAC, (Indian and Northern Affairs
Canada), was then contacted about the situation. INAC sent
two consultants who visited the school, listened to our
concerns, smiled agreeably, and left. There was never any
action taken by INAC to remedy the situation.

I then decided to discuss this situation with my
colleagues from the community. I discovered that not only
did their concern mirror my own, but they were willing to
take a stand on the issue. After debating the best way to
approach the situation, the paraprofessionals and other
support staff from the community decided that the best
procedure was to draw up a letter of our concerns, take it
to the parents of the children in the kindergarten and have
them sign the letter. This was done and sixty signatures
were presented to Chief and Council.

However, instead of removing the wife from the
kindergarten position which was the intent of the letter,
Chief and Council fired the principal. The rest of the year
was spent by all in an oppressive atmosphere and reflected
an attitude of waiting out the year.

Analysis

Before beginning an analysis of this personal experience, it is necessary to speak to the problematic issue of connecting theory to practice. It is much easier when removed from a situation, to hypothesize and analyze why events happened. It is also much easier when distanced, to be critical of the situation in terms of structure, process and agency.

However, we are all human beings with hopes, aspirations, beliefs, biases and emotions. To be personally involved in the reality of a situation makes it difficult if not impossible to remain detached and objective, and to avoid becoming emotionally involved in the process. Theory is easy to expound upon. To apply theory to practice is often much more difficult. One reason for this is that very often those involved in the reality of a situation are expending all their time and energy simply trying to cope and survive within the constraints which govern them.

I make this statement as a qualifier to the research. It is important for the reader to know that while much of the research explores the educational dynamics the social actors are engaged in, the focus of this research is not directed towards these social actors themselves. Instead, this research will direct its attention to the system in which the reserve school resides.

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However, in order to identify alternative systemic explanations for the educational malaise these schools tend to experience, I thought it was essential to first explore the social actor dynamics which currently exist within the reserve school sub-system. It was only after an examination of these dynamics that it was possible to move myself from a subjective position within the dynamics to one that was relatively objective and which encompassed an overall picture of the educational situation.

Cultural Perception and Definition

Fundamental to understanding the reserve education sub-system which I experienced, is the concept of culture. How the outside personnel came to know and understand their surroundings and those in it was intrinsically important to the maintenance of this school sub-system.

The first and most obvious aspect of this issue concerns itself with educational parameters and content. The school curriculum and structure supported the knowledge and values of the dominant society. With the exception of the social studies units of course material based on the local community and culture, the educational curriculum was a strictly "outside" set of knowledge areas and skills taught by outside teachers. However, this was what the community also desired. Richard King in his article, *Role*

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Shock in Local Community Control of Indian Education in Canada, notes that,

> For all the destruction and dissatisfaction with
> the federal school system, the mystique of
> conventional schooling as the pathway to success
> and the importance of "basics" in schooling are
> deeply rooted in the consciousness of the
> community(1987:61).

Within this education sub-system, the community and school were not at odds with each other in their belief that education was both important and desirable. The staff went with the explicit purpose of teaching the children the knowledge and skills that the Canadian education system expected them to acquire. I sincerely believe that this was how the community also defined and perceived the educational situation. What we encountered was not a situation in which the school and community had different goals, but a sub-system none of us really understood or were capable of navigating.

What is of particular significance however, is that when the situation in the school began to deteriorate those school social actors from "outside" defined the deterioration using deficit parameters. As time progressed and it became increasingly difficult to fulfill our roles as educators, the "logical" explanation for what we were experiencing became the inadequate or incompetent manner in which other participants were behaving rather then the sub-

system in which we were working. While these parameters
included all of the social actors involved in the school,
most noticeable was the focus on those school actors from
the community.

Native "culture" became synonymous with deficit.
Cultural variables became a justifiable explanation for many
of the stances taken within the school and led to both
negative and positive ethnocentrism. Simply by being
perceived as *different*, the children were treated and
educated accordingly.[2]

It was this connection between culture=community
deficiency=educational malaise, which shaped the lenses from
which the outside teaching personnel viewed the situation.
The identification of cultural/community deficit combined
with the marginalization of culture to a subject area, a
topic to be taught, blinded those from the outside to any
other understanding of what they were experiencing.

Birth of a School

Turning now to the school and its relation to the
larger reserve system, I will discuss the underlying
systemic factors which I believe shaped and influenced our
behaviour. In trying to understand and make sense of those
three years, I started to look for patterns that might help
to explain what had happened. What eventually surfaced was

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in many ways analogous to birth. The school appeared to actually replicate the community structure, system management and actor reaction.

Community Structure/Social Dynamics

Of foremost importance to the existing reserve system is the structure which defined the community parameters. The community lived within artificially contrived boundaries and was governed by a rigid external structure based on the internal colonial model. There was an internal government, (Chief and Council), established to administer the edicts of the external management, (Indian and Northern Affairs Canada). This rendered Chief and Council virtually powerless. Despite the illusion of control, the Band administration could make very few really autonomous decisions without the approval of INAC.

This created a system where the arena for addressing community issues was very restrictive. This inability to make any real decisions meant that no matter how desperately a situation needed to be redressed, very often it was impossible to do so. Inevitably, this led to crisis management. When there is no base policy or plan established to constructively create, implement or support basic change, piecemeal solutions become the only alternative. This type of problem resolution is generally short-lived due to a

general absence of structural support and support from participants acting in the system.

Because of the oppressive framework that encompasses this system, the community tended to pull away from the leadership. For this reason, council meetings were always poorly attended. As well, the existence of factions within the community were widespread and nepotism and political manoeuvreing abounded, simply as a means of dealing with the situation in terms of resource acquisition and access to the power base.

These parameters also contributed to the community members focusing on and blaming other members within the system for the chaos. Continually blocked from being able to deal in a constructive manner with the real problems which exist, people experience frustration, anger, apathy, withdrawal and indifference. Since they have no other channel of recourse this negative emotional energy is often directed at other individuals within the community.

School Structure/Social Dynamics

There seemed to be a direct correlation between the structure and dynamics found within the community and those found in the school. My examination of this educational experience suggested that the school had in structure,

social actor reaction and mediating processes become a holograph of the community system.

The school, for example, like the community seemed to be governed by a repressive framework. The administration appeared to be caught in the same type of paradoxical position as Chief and Council in that they were expected to run the school and its educational program yet had very little real power to do so. Accountable to the Band, it was often council rather then educational agendas that the administration gave priority to within the school. This led to disjointed, confused and impotent administration which in turn led to crisis management. The fragmented organization and operation of the community appeared to have transferred itself into the education sub-system.

Is it coincidental that when placed in the reserve system, the school staff reacted in a manner identical to people in the community? Over the course of three years the staff moved from one characterized by enthusiasm, initiative and open communication to one of disillusionment, indifference and hopelessness. They believed that nothing they did or said would make a difference or have any visible impact.

It appeared that the general reaction to having to deal with these types of systemic constraints was essentially to focus on others within the community and school on a

personal level. In a manner parallel to that of the community, this led to factions, political connivance and minimal participation at staff meetings.

Given that the outside school personnel were supposed to have all the knowledge and skills necessary to "function" within society and were well-housed and financially stable, suggests that those trying to manage in such a constricted and artificial environment found it extremely oppressive and destructive.

For me, it also raised the question of whether the educational malaise found on reserves was due to cultural dynamics. Could it be instead the structural configurations and incumbent processes which were responsible for many of the difficulties reserve schools experience? Could this explain why children did not do well, parents chose not to become involved, conflicts arose between community and school, there was a constant turn-over of teachers and why culture became the moral basis for the interpretation of the situation by outsiders ?...

Summary

In order to explore this question in relation to the reserve education sub-system, I decided to begin with an examination of the seminary model of education the Jesuits attempted in the 1600s. One of the first models of education

developed for the Indian population of New France, it seemed a proper starting point from which to investigate the development and growth of the reserve education sub-system. The next chapter will explore this model and offer the historical points of identification deemed significant to this study.

NOTES

[1]Crisis management is a management style in which the focus of the organization is directed towards crisis. This leaves little time for the basic objectives and goals of the organization.

[2]Kleinfeld notes four different types of teachers in her typology of teaching styles. The first she defines as traditional. These teachers are those who are negatively ethnocentric, expecting nothing from the children because they simply aren't capable. The second type of teacher Kleinfeld discusses is the positive ethnocentric teaching style. These teachers expect nothing from their students for exactly the same reasons. The distinction between the two is the first style is based on cultural wrongness, the second on cultural rightness (Kleinfeld,1972).

CHAPTER TWO

HISTORICAL IDENTIFICATION

Introduction

Current educational research and practice in the field of Native education tends to be presentist and non-reflexive in its consideration of historical parameters. However, to attempt to move forward without first looking back is self-defeating for all those involved in the reserve education sub-system. Furthermore, this trend in the research and practice, ensures that the understanding and knowledge necessary to establishing an educational foundation from which to proceed will never be forthcoming.

This chapter has been included in order to provide the reader with an historical context. To have a working knowledge of a particular situation, it is necessary to explore its origins. Not to do so, is to approach understanding from a synchronic position. This results in limited knowledge and therefore distorted analysis, which is inevitably false in its conclusions. Therefore, the exploration of how and why current day practices in the reserve education system have evolved needs to begin at its genesis, and trace a path to the present.

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In order to have an understanding of the educational system in place on reserves today, this chapter will investigate one of the first types of education used for the Indian population. This is the seminary school developed by the Jesuit superior Paul Le Jeune.[1] Some of the more prominent constructs identified within the present educational domain will be used to elucidate this model.

These include educational paradigm, philosophy, policy, goals and objectives, curriculum and student criterion. As well, the affects of this type of education on the individual will also be examined; specifically the issues of resistance and alienation.

The Jesuits and Indian Education

The Jesuit order came to New France in 1625, when three Jesuit priests joined a group of Recollect friars at Quebec. One of their primary objectives in making the journey was to christianize and civilize the Indians who resided in parts of present day Quebec and Ontario. This section of the chapter will attempt to place their work, in the decade that followed, within a specific educational context.

The primary sources used for this purpose are three volumes of the *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, (Thwaites, 1897), which contain correspondence from Father Paul Le Jeune to the French provincial of the order in

Paris. The volumes chosen deal with a proposed educational program for a small number of Huron and Algonkian children that began in 1636 and ended five years later.

Perhaps most noticeable in the Le Jeune letters was the messianic mentality of the order at the time. In keeping with their activities elsewhere, the Jesuits make continual and constant reference to their divine mission of converting the inhabitants of the country to the glory of God and civilized life. For example, in 1634 Le Jeune writes in reference to his proposal of a seminary,

> But if the little Hurons, or the children of more distant tribes are kept here, a great many advantages will result ... And, lastly, we shall obtain, by the grace of God our Lord, the object for which we came into this distant country; namely, the conversion of these nations (Thwaites,1897(c):155).

It was with fervour and unerring faith in their Christ and his offer of salvation that the Jesuits came to the new land.[2] In much the same manner as many who work in the field of Indian education today believe, the Jesuits thought that not only did they have the best interests of the Indian at heart, but that they would also be able to provide enlightenment for those who lived in such uncivilized conditions.

The second most prominent theme that stands out within the texts, is the Jesuit's perception of the nature of the

people with whom they were in contact. Le Jeune was appalled at the strange and savage life these people lived occasionally making reference to the untamed nature of the Indian in his letters. He writes,

> There is nothing so difficult as to control the tribes of America. All these Barbarians have the law of wild asses, - they are born, live and die in a liberty without restraint; they do not know what is meant by bridle or bit. (Thwaites, 1897,(c):61).

Yet, despite a general consensus within the journals, Le Jeune, (Thwaites,1897,Vol.(c):229-241), devotes an entire chapter to the description of the positive attributes of Indians.

This chapter relates that the physical attributes of the Savage were in many ways superior to that of the French. Le Jeune notes that generally both the minds and souls of the people were of good quality. He also points out that, within their own communities, they have neither ambition nor avarice, have a patience that far surpasses the French, take compassionate care of one another and abound with generosity. However, at the end of the chapter, Le Jeune dismisses these qualities when he notes,

> It will be seen in the course of this relation, that all I have said in this chapter is very true; and yet I would not dare to assert that I have seen one act of real moral virtue in a Savage (Thwaites,1897(c):239).

The Jesuits then, appeared to consider these positive characteristics insignificant in comparison to those qualities they found offensive. It was within this mental context that the Jesuits came to believe that all that was necessary to remedy the situation was "education and instruction". The Indians were perceived as having the ability to learn and change, if given the right environment and exposure to civilized doctrine. It was not the basic characteristics of the Indians that were deficient, but their lifestyle. It was from this didactic base, that the educational paradigm and subsequent constructs of moral education were conceived.

Consequently, the Jesuit educational system, which encompassed both formal and informal education, reflected a number of fundamental strategies employed to achieve religious and cultural redemption. Cornelius J. Jaenen, identifies four phases of Amerindian education in New France; Education of Children in the Mission Field, Education of the Elite in France, Day Schools on Reductions and the Establishment of Boarding Schools (1986:48,50,52,54).

Education in the Seminary

The focus of this section, will be on the establishment of the seminary at Notre Dame des Anges, near Quebec. This

seminary, for all intents and purposes, was structured and run in much the same manner as many of the residential schools of the later period.[3] It was an institution based on the Jesuit educational paradigm and policy and encompassed specific objectives, curriculum and pedagogy.

Among the objectives of the Quebec seminary, the one of primary importance was that of conversion, including assimilation into the French culture and religion. It was hoped that after the children had been transformed, they would either marry people of French background or go back amongst their own people to continue the work of the Jesuits.

> These little girls, brought up Christians and then
> married to French men, or baptized Savages, will
> draw as many children from their nation as we
> shall desire(Thwaites,1897(b):103).

There were however, other objectives besides conversion for the establishment of the seminary. One of the most important was to establish trade relations with the Indian people. By developing an economic connection through the children, it was hoped to keep the Indian trade and alliance with the French rather than the English.

Another purpose for establishing the seminary was to establish political control. Not only were the Indian children desired in order to create good relations, they

were used as protection by the French if relations went sour. It should be noted that the economic and political agendas were usually reciprocal as the Indian population had as much interest in the economic and political ties as the Jesuits did.

> I wished particularly to speak about obtaining their children and beginning a Seminary, as a matter of the greatest importance to the salvation of these Nations and to the success of the gentlemen of the Company for their children will be as so many hostages to us for the safety of the French who are among them and for the strengthening ' of our commercial relations (Thwaites,1897(b):63).

From the beginning, the seminary was used to accommodate several objectives which had no relevancy to *formal* education.

In terms of curriculum, children were brought to the seminary for a year's duration in which time they were submerged in a program which consisted of French culture, language, religious doctrine and domestic curriculum.[4] Le Jeune's(Thwaites,1897,(d):63-65), description of a typical day in the life of one of these children is as follows. Arising in the morning they prayed and then proceeded to the Chapel, where they attended Mass. They then had breakfast after which they spent the first part of the morning learning to read and write. The latter part of the morning

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was spent studying the Catechism. The children were then given lunch and went back to the Chapel to pray again. The first part of the afternoon was spent in reading instruction. The end of the afternoon was devoted to recreational activities and the children were free to go and occupy themselves. They were then given supper and after examining their conscience and praying one more time were sent to bed.

The Jesuits also apparently had some criteria for whom they would accept into the seminary. These included docility, submissiveness, cheerfulness and appropriate appearance. In describing the children at the Quebec seminary, Le Jeune wrote,

> They were contented, cheerful and obedient... for they were unmistakably endowed with very excellent qualities for Savages(Thwaites,1897(d):49).

Thus, the basic educational model historically found in Indian education was first attempted. It supported the core objectives of assimilation, economic and political control, and had a curriculum mandate which postulated basic education. This system was built employing student criteria which demanded above all else the filial characteristics of compliancy and obedience.

The seminary however, met with many difficulties. Its greatest problem appears to have been the large gap between the Jesuits stated objectives and what they were able to

accomplish. This lack of success in meeting their
objectives was partly related to problems with financing.
For example, obtaining the necessary capital required to
erect the buildings and feed and clothe the children was a
constant struggle.

> Great expenses are incurred in order to win these
> nations. They must be well-lodged and well fed: and
> yet these Barbarians imagine that you are under
> great obligations to them(Thwaites,1897(d):47).

The other prominent educational difficulty that the
Jesuits faced in their mission to christianize and civilize
the Indian population, was the nomadic nature of some of the
tribes, especially the Montagnais and Algonkins. For this
reason, there was a great deal of effort on the part of the
Jesuits, to instil the desire for a sedentary life among the
Indians. Le Jeune writes of this desire noting that,

> The reason and many others that I might give, were
> I not afraid of being tedious, make me think that
> we shall work a great deal and advance very little
> if we do not make these Barbarians stationary
> (Thwaites,1897(d):115).

The Jesuits also ran into educational problems of a
different nature. These were the issues of resistance and
alienation. Resistance was perhaps of greatest concern to
the priests as it was encountered on both a group and
individual level. It was often with great trepidation that

the Indian people gave up their children. In Volume Six of

Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, (Thwaites,1897), there

is a description of a meeting between the priests and

several bands of Hurons for the purpose of taking some of

the children back to the Seminary for instruction. It

provides a detailed account of the amount of time, money and

effort required on the part of the Jesuits to obtain the

children. An elaborate feast was held, many presents were

distributed and it is apparent that there was a great deal

of pressure applied, before any children were allowed to

accompany the priests.

> They [the Indian parents] said that the children
> were dependent upon their parents, that the way
> was rough and wearisome, that the mothers had
> tender hearts. We replied to them that our
> mothers' loved us, and that we sent up yonder
> children that were not less loved by their
> parents than the little Hurons were by theirs;
> that there was no hesitation about letting us
> take this long journey as a mark of our love for
> them; and that they should imitate us in this
> respect if they wished to cultivate our
> friendship(Thwaites,1897(b):89).

On an individual level, the Jesuits also faced

continual resistance to their educational objectives. It was

a constant battle to try to keep the students isolated from

their communities. Many references are made in the journals

to the difficulties involved in directing the students away

from their culture and family and keeping them focused on the Jesuit program.

> In the absence of the savages they obey tolerably well, but when the savages were encamped near us, our children no longer belonged to us and we dared say nothing(Thwaites,1897(c):89).

In an attempt to solve this dilemma, the Jesuits implemented an isolation policy. They established the seminary away from the tribes in order to remove the children from the influence of their families and societies.

> I would hope that in two years Father Brebeuf would send us some Huron children; they could be instructed here with all freedom - being separated from their parents. Oh what a great stroke for the glory of God, if that were done (Thwaites,1897(c):83).

The Jesuits also encouraged educating the children in France. During this time period,(1636-1640), several children were sent to France. It was reasoned that by doing this the students would be completely isolated from the corrupting influences of their barbaric way of life and would be converted with greater ease and success. As Le Jeune states,

> ...nevertheless, in order to wean them from their native customs and to give them an opportunity of learning the French language, virtue and manners, that they may afterwards assist their country

women, we have decided to send two or three to France(Thwaites,1897(b):145).

While resistance was uppermost in the Jesuits' mind the issue of alienation was also of concern and was, in hindsight, of far greater consequence. The priests did such a fine job of converting some of the children that they rejected themselves and their origins and came to identify themselves as French rather then Huron. As Le Jeune remarks, "they pride themselves on living in the French way and if one of them commits some act of rudeness; they call him 'Huron'(Thwaites,1897(d):75).

Consequently, this most sought after conversion created an unforseen dilemma. There were some students who would have nothing to do with their people. The most intriguing case mentioned in these journals is in regards to a young man named Pierre. Having returned from France[5], Pierre was instructed to go back among his people,(the Huron), and learn the language he had forgotten, so that in the future he would be able to work among them. Le Jeune writes,

> He did not wish to go even saying - they are forcing me; but if I once go there, they will not get me back as they wish...I may add that I have not seen a savage so savage or so barbarous as he is(Thwaites,1897(c):87).

Le Jeune's letters then, if examined from an educational perspective, lend themselves to some extremely interesting analysis. From a broad perspective, it can be

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noted that as early as the 1600s, economic and political issues are based, linked and validated on the perceived morality of the situation and tied closely to the educational system.

Evidence of the fundamental base on which the present reserve education sub-system was built and some of the paradoxes which reflect themselves in this system are also found. These include the rationale for the educational objectives and curriculum implemented by the Jesuits in order to achieve their larger vision. There is strong evidence of educational policy directed towards assimilation and conversion based on isolation practices, as well as a domestic curriculum which revolve around a nexus of religious doctrine.

The primary problems of resistance and alienation of the child so historically prominent in the system are also apparent. The model examined reflects the inherent difficulties this system of conversion and social control produce.

It is significant, that the Jesuits, after attempting to use the seminary in order to christianize and civilize the Indian population in New France, by the 1640s had come to the realization that boarding school arrangements were not a particularly viable or constructive course to follow. After less than a decade, the Jesuits came to the conclusion

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that it was neither practical or humane to use boarding schools as a means of francisizing the Indian populace.

> Little by little, there was a realization on the part of the educators that Amerindian cultures were not easily eradicated, that traditional beliefs were well rooted, and that the colonial environment favoured many of the Amerindian customs and practices... Traditional European educational system and philosophy, not to speak of methodology and curriculum, could not be imposed on such a novel and unique situation and be expected to produce the same results as in New France(Jaenen,1986:59-60).

Summary

The tradition of regressive and non-reflexive policy which exist today in the reserve education sub-system was first experimented with in the 1600s. The Jesuit educational endeavours that had been so unsuccessful in the seventeenth century found themselves resurrected by British and American Protestant missionaries after the conquest of New France in 1760. Their efforts were somewhat similar to what the French had attempted but more persistent and long-lasting. Donald Wilson(1986:64-65) writes,

> Throughout Canadian history from the time of Champlain's arrival in New France in 1608, there have been three basic views of Indian-White relations: integration or assimilation of Indians into the White culture which, although often a numerical minority, remained dominant because of its technological power over the Indian; biracial harmony or coexistence between the races by which

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both Europeans and "civilized" Indians would live
in mutual co-operation; and segregation of the
Indian from the White population by means of
reserves....Significantly, the same three views
persisted during the "British" and "Canadian"
periods of Canada's history.

Unlike the Jesuits however, who abandoned their effort
to maintain Indian seminaries, Protestant missionaries in
places like Upper Canada never ceased in their efforts to
make this system work. As a consequence, variations of
residential education continued to be a factor in Indian
schooling.

The foundation upon which Native educational policy and
practices were built has never changed its basic tenets.
These tenets include educational philosophy and practice
based on moral superiority, ownership, rescue and repetitive
praxis. However, as time passed the foundation upon which
the structure was laid became increasingly submerged and the
social actors became the primary focus. As a consequence,
the pedagogical tools used for the implementation of this
educational policy became progressively more sophisticated
and decidedly more dysfunctional.

Furthermore, while the hidden agendas of economic and
political control have continued to underlay the foundation,
the major theme still appears to be the uplifting of the
Indian to a "human" level through education for conversion.

Essentially, the Native population have been until

recently, effectively isolated, marginalized and allowed only minimal room to manoeuvre within the confines of the system, (including that of education), that was designed exclusively to transform and control them. When they have not been able to comply or have in fact refused to do so, it has been identified as a deficiency in terms of their cultural heritage. The education sub-system which exists within the reserves is a product of four hundred years of misdirected and contradictory perceptions and beliefs.

The first section of the next chapter will present a brief summary of the current research which concerns itself specifically with the social actors involved in Native education. This research is representative of the focus the research and practice have taken in addressing the malaise the reserve education sub-system currently experiences. The last section of the chapter will provide a description of the methodology employed in this study.

NOTES

[1]Paul Le Jeune was born in July, 1591, at Chalonssur-Marne,
France. His parents were Huguenots but, upon attaining his
majority, he became a Catholic, and entered the Jesuit
novitiate, in Rouen, Sept.22, 1613. Pursuing his studies at
La Fleche and Clermont, he became an instructor at Rennes
and Bourges, and, later, professor of rhetoric at
Nevers(1626-28)and at Caen(1629-30). He then spent two
years as a preacher at Dieppe, and two years more as
superior of the residence there. On the return of the
French to Quebec, he came to the colony as superior of the
Canadian mission(Thwaites,1897:(c).

[2] The initial Amerindian mission of the Jesuit was short-
lived. They were sent back to France in 1629 when Quebec
and other settlements along the Saint Lawrence were seized
by British naval forces. They set out for New France again
in 1632 following the Treaty of Germain-en
Laye(Thwaites,1896(a).

[3]The idea of a seminary for Indian boys was first proposed
in Le Jeune's Relation of 1634. It opened in 1636 and closed
five years later. Not more then a score of Indian boys ever
attended the institution(Roger Magnuson,1992).

[4] Of the first six pupils at the seminary only one saw out
the year. Two died and three returned home
(Thwaites,1898:(d).

[5]Pierre-Antoine Patetchoanen, "who, five years ago,(1620-5)
was sent into France by our religious of Kebec; after having
been taught and instructed in the doctrines of the faith, he
was baptized and named by the deceased M.le Prince de
Guimenee, his god-father, Pierre Antoin, who maintained him
at his studies up to the time fo his death, until the child
became so well versed in the Latin language, and so good a
frenchman, that having returned to Kebec, our religious were
obliged to send him back for a little while to his parents,
so that he might regain the ideas of this native tongue,
which he had almost forgotten"(Thwaites,1897:(c).

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH IDENTIFICATION

Introduction

Only a brief summary of the conclusions that have been drawn from reading the literature in Native education will be presented because the research in this study incorporates historical literature in some detail as part of the work in Chapter Two and other theoretical points of identification and case studies are employed for developing the theoretical work in this study.

In the literature, education on reserves is generally described as substandard, problematic and wrought with tension. This tension occurs mostly between the school as an institution and the community and is reflected in the relations between the various actors. Often this research uses a cultural paradigm as its base for interpretation in that it appears to offer one main explanation for the inability of these schools to fill their educational mandate. This is culture.

On a macro level, economic, political and social disparities specifically connected to culture are often cited as external variables which contribute to the tension,

misunderstanding and basic failure of this school sub-
system.

> People readily assert that education is important
> and useful and that if one wants employment it is
> essential. In reality, behaviour and day to day
> conversation indicate clearly that education has
> little meaning to Indians as a group. Few ₋ndians
> know other Indians who are employed because they
> are educated(Hawthorne Report,1967:118).

Within the school, research generally concerns itself
with the students. It focuses primarily on styles of
learning, language, academic achievement and social
dynamics. These issues are also defined within cultural
constructs.

> When Indian and non-Indian children appear at
> school initially their expectations are different,
> they perceive things differently,their familiarity
> with the material phenomena of the school is
> different and their behaviour is governed by a
> differing sets of rules(Hawthorne,1967:127).

This type of cultural analysis is also often applied to
outsiders who work within reserve educational parameters.
Much of this research has focused on teachers in the
classroom. It has looked at their teaching styles,
attitudes and overall ability to teach Native children.
The general consensus is that teachers are usually
unsuccessful in their educational endeavours. This is

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often attributed to the cultural background from which they
come and their insensitivity to Native culture.

> The fact that Indian life is so alien to Anglo
> teachers intensifies their efforts to remodel
> children. They attempt to shape children's
> attitudes, skills and classroom behaviours into
> familiar patterns. These efforts whether carried
> out by gentle, coaxing, programmed reinforcement
> or harsh and punitive methods result in a lack of
> participation on the part of Indian children in
> their own education and a high drop-out rate
> (John,1976:331).

Teacher Education

Of considerable significance to the field of Native
education is the training teachers receive. The main
concern is that the formal education of outside teachers and
administrators does not usually include any type of cross-
cultural education.

There is much written about the type of teaching style
found in reserve school classrooms when there has been no
cross-cultural training. What stands out is the large
amount of human destruction and small amount of education
that takes place within these teacher's classrooms.

Ethnocentric and morally right, these teachers embody
the inclusive assumptions and beliefs of the larger society.
While they feel that Native and Inuit children should be
made to feel important, they also believe that it has to be

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on the teacher's terms. Their outlook is reflected in the
position they take within the classroom.

> One of the things I try to instill is not to lie
> or steal, because by nature they are that way...
> The child has many habits that need to be broken
> (Wax,1964:69,73:citing teachers interviewed).

Conversely, it has also been found that when school
personnel do receive cross-cultural information, it too
proves problematic. This is because usually the information
tends to focus on the differences teachers will encounter in
the reserve school. The explanation for these differences
is generally grounded in culture. This creates exactly the
same barriers to education that having no cultural training
precipitates in the classroom. For example, in Judith
Kleinfeld's exploration of teachers in Inuit classrooms she
remarks that,

> ....the sophisticate in an all Native classroom
> could do serious harm. Interested in the psychology
> of Native-White differences they reinforced the
> students sense of being different. They might
> socialize village students into the stereotyped role
> behaviour that their anthropological studies had led
> them to expect(1972:32).

Implications of Cultural Research

Reserve education and research that has been based on
a cultural paradigm has created a number of difficulties.
Whatever the surface interpretation offered, there is often

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a subscription to the implicit individual difference=deficit mode of thought so characteristic to Western society. This generic use of cultural variance is employed as the standard explanation for the failure of the Native people to adapt themselves to White *culture* and White people to adapt themselves to Native *culture*. This includes the limited success both have had within the reserve education sub-system.

There is very little offered which reflects the broader context of the situation. By employing the concept of culture as the main construct for interpretation, there is a legitimation of the educational model and subsequent negation of the underlying forces at work.

For this reason it appears that for outside social actors who choose to work within the reserve school sub-system there is little understanding of the underlying historical and structural reasons for the frustration they experience in trying to educate children in reserve schools. So much of their work is of a reactive nature that the despair, anger or resignation they experience is often directed towards the people vis a vis culture, rather than towards the historical and structural circumstances.

While it would be naive and equally damaging to assert that cultural/social dynamics are of no consequence in reserve school education, the research in the field of

Native education has not been particularly reflexive in its consideration of whether these differences are in fact the base of the tensions that both reserve and the school systems experience.

What has further confirmed this observation is that periodically data has surfaced which did not support the cultural explanations the research proposed. One such example of this type of data emerged in a study done by Rodney Clifton. Clifton(1988:332), in his study on the attitudes of Native students asked, "How much pressure do your parents or guardians put on you to think about going on for further training?"

He found that overall, Native students were subjected to a great deal more parental pressure than children from the dominant society. From the Native or Inuit perspective, academic achievement and education in general were considered extremely important. Most parents wanted their children to receive a "good" education and believed that it was important if the children were to succeed in later life.

Further on in his research, he also questioned the students about what features of White society Native people considered most appealing? Clifton reported (1988:67) that, "35 % of the Indian sample indicated that education was the most salient aspect of non-Indian culture".

A further example of data which were not supportive of the general cultural/social theoretical constructs the research seemed to favour was observations on teachers who were identified as being successful in classrooms which contained Native students. It was enlightening to read that these identified teachers based their classroom philosophy on respect for the child and a belief in the child's inherent ability to succeed. Kleinfeld(1972:35) notes in her typology of teaching styles that "supportive gadflies",

> ...tend to be highly successful with both urban and village students in both integrated and all-Native classrooms. These teachers created a personally warm environment and at the same time demanded a lot from their students.

Murray Wax(1964:75), who participated in a study on a Sioux community school in the United States, also came to the same conclusion. While it is but a passing reference in his research, his remarks further substantiate Kleinfeld's observations.

> There are a few teachers who develop fine classrooms and teach their pupils a great deal. These teachers are difficult to describe because they are remarkably different in background and personality and some are "real characters" in the sense that this word was used fifty years ago. In general, they differ from the less successful instructors in that they respect their pupils. By this we mean that they treat them as if something worthy of respect is already there. If a child errs they imply that this is not because he is innately stupid but because he is not using the

intelligence he possesses. They also differ from other teachers in that most of the statements they make about their pupils are positive.

It was research and observations such as these, along with personal experience, which suggested that a re-evaluation of the cultural parameters, which generally defined the research, was necessary. This required a search for other previously unconsidered variables which might explain the structure/agency/process dynamics found in reserve schools.

Conclusion

The applied use of the cultural=deficit paradigm in the literature, regardless of the language in which it is disguised, has proven less then successful in alleviating the difficulties reserve populations have in accessing education within the reserve school.

Unfortunately, this type of appraisal is difficult to change. Supported by all manner of myth and rhetoric, the underlying perceptions which give meaning to this type of categorisation and deficit identification stand directly in the way of those involved within the Native educational domain, preventing them from truly understanding how the reserve school sub-system operates or the real roles that the participants play in maintaining it.

Methodology and Design

This section of the literature review will outline the nature of the study which was undertaken in this research. It will explore the various methods employed to examine and give meaning to the reserve school sub-system and social dynamics. The primary focus however, will be on the method in which the data for Chapter Four was obtained, compiled and analyzed. A description of the methodology, the participants, sampling procedure and the ethical considerations will be presented along with a brief discussion of the data collection and subsequent analysis.

Nature of the Study

Experiential Data

After considering what information might help to guide this research, the decision was made to employ three types of information.

The first type of data included is experiential in nature for it was from my own experience in a reserve school that I initially came to the research. These data represent a compilation of my observations and reflections on this experience when there was the opportunity to examine the situation from an objective position. During this exploration, I discovered that patterns were emerging which could not be explained solely through the constructs of

agency, deficiency and culture. From this work, I came to
the conclusion that the sociological use of the concept of
system provided the most explanatory power. I therefore
attempted to lay those patterns out in a way which might
make sense based on sociological theoretical constructs and
historical research.

Historical Data

The second type of data chosen to be included, is
historical in nature, for I wanted to discover exactly how
and why the reserve school sub-system came into existence
and how it had evolved into its present form. This
historical research has been incorporated into the thesis as
a foundation from which to build. Without this basic
understanding, it would have been impossible to come to any
legitimate conclusions in the analysis of the present
reserve school sub-system.

Interview Data

To use only personal experiential and historical data
however, was not adequate. For this reason, interview data
were also employed. It was necessary to find out whether
what I had experienced was an isolated incident or was
indicative of the education sub-system in general. For this
reason, the research participants chosen were from different
communities and held various positions within the sub-
system. This allowed me to examine whether the issues which

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emerged were specific to a community or were more widespread in the general reserve education sub-system.

Interviewing others who worked within the reserve schools also allowed me to evaluate my perceptions of the situation. When my observations were validated, these data played a further role by offering other insight and understanding into what I had experienced and helped further refine the central themes that I had discovered.

Research Parameters

I decided to   ploy a foundational premise which supported two theoretical presuppositions. The first was a decision to remove cultural theoretical concepts from consideration in the analysis of the reserve school sub-system. The second was the utilization of a neutral rather then a deficit model. The parameters of this research were therefore designed with the intent of looking at what exactly it is that makes it difficult for those individuals involved in the reserve education sub-system to do their job and the context in which these difficulties occur.

Sample

The sampling procedure was one which involved selecting people who were knowledgeable about reserve schools. The participants were identified through work, friendship and student networks. The participants were also chosen to

allow as diverse a sample as possible given the scope of the work, but formal sampling processes were not used. The six people interviewed held different positions within the schools, from outside consultant to inside consultant to principal to teacher. Three of the people interviewed were male and three female. Three were Native and three were White. Five different band-controlled schools were represented in my data through these people. The rationale for the mix of people and positions was based on the assumption that if what was inhibiting growth and/or success was not specifically cultural in nature, but could be identified throughout the education sub-system regardless of ethnicity or position, then perhaps there were other previously unconsidered factors at work which were affecting the education sub-system's ability to implement its mandate.

Methodology

The methodology employed in this research has been defined as sociological ethnogr:phy. It is ethnographic in that it utilizes a participant interview technique. he qualitative analysis of the information collected is also ethnographic. However the data have been analyzed using sociological constructs. This was done in order to identify interactional patterns which might affect the involved

social actors from either implementing or accessing
education in reserve schools.

Ethical Considerations

When I requested interviews from those I had decided
would be appropriate candidates for this research, I began
by explaining the purpose of the research and the extensive
role they would play if they agreed to participate. I
promised that their anonymity would be ensured by my
deleting any reference to the location in which they worked,
their names and any distinguishing characteristics. I also
reassured each individual that everything they related would
remain confidential. A consent form was provided for each
participant to sign with the understanding that this form
did not bind them in any way to participation if they
decided to withdraw.

Data Themes

Of the themes I had noted, there were two that
continually surfaced. The first was that it did not appear
to be specific cultural dynamics but the manner in which the
sub-system mediated structure, agency and process that was
responsible for the general educational malaise reserve
schools experience.

The second significant issue that emerged was that this
tension and misunderstanding appeared to be related to

communication and interactive processes. This knowledge and my own understanding of the reserve school sub-system defined the parameters and focus I set for my research.

Data Collection

In obtaining my data, I followed a basic ethnographic research procedure. I selected my ethnographic focus, held interviews and compiled notes on both the interviews and my observations of what was being related.

The data collected for this part of the research was obtained strictly through unstructured, informal interviews. In the interviews only one question was asked and that was, "What difficulties do you have trying to do your job?" This one question generated discussions which lasted anywhere from two to four and a half hours. After each session, the interviews were transcribed and notes compiled. In her text on ethnographic research, Dobbert notes that,

> Information is first gathered at the descriptive
> level through use of open ended interviews asking
> the informant general questions about the whole of
> the situation under study(1982:130).

I then presented a rough draft of the notes I had compiled on the interviews to each participant. I requested that they check the work for accuracy of language and what had been presented in terms of their perceptions.

Data Analysis

A domain analysis which required the creation of
semantic categories allowed me to focus within a more
specific context. The research participants were contacted
once more in order to check their perceptions of the
semantic categor'.   '.o discuss these categories in
greater depth. rc.   '. tes(1982:133),

> In the n'... .' ..ch step, the fieldworker seeks
> to discover '.. classif.catory principles behind
> each important category discovered. The discovery
> process contains two separate activities: seeking
> definitions and uncovering relationships between
> categories.

After the second round of interviews a taxonomic
analysis was utilized in order to further elaborate, refine
and connect the different domains and subcategories
together.

> At the comparative level the goal is to understand
> the principles that create the categories, and
> that result in the division of unitary categories
> into subcategories, with often very subtle
> differences between them. Thus comparative
> questions are not "what" questions but "why"
> questions that seek inclusion principles or
> exclusion principles(Dobbert 1982:133).

The major themes that emerged from the taxonomic
analysis were then critiqued using sociological constructs.

An attempt was made to identify the interactional themes
which correlated to structure, social actors and process.

Summary

The strong focus, both past and present that the
culture=deficit model has commanded in the field of Native
education, would seem to suggest that the situation is open
to no other interpretation. The next chapter however will
offer points of identification presented within a structural
framework. It will examine the parameters of the reserve
education sub-system as well as some of its incorporated
process and social actor dynamics. It is a system that
appears to preserve itself through interactive processes.
The literature would seem to suggest that these interactive
processes work to ensure that the blame for problems or
failure gets placed on the social actors within the sub-
system rather then on the sub-system itself. This in turn
denies those individuals which exist within its parameters,
the power and ability to do what would be more congruent
with the explicit goals of the education sub-system.

CHAPTER FOUR

THEORETICAL IDENTIFICATION

Introduction

This chapter will lay out the theoretical points used as a base for this study. It will then take these general constructs and apply them to aspects of Native education that have been previously identified in the research. These theoretical points of identification will be explored through the investigation of four studies which address the education of subordinate groups within Western society. The main emphasis however, will be on the Native population in Canada. Of the case studies examined, three of the four investigate specific areas within Native education. The fourth is a study done by John Ogbu on a community of blacks, the Burghersiders, in the United States. The research that has been chosen will be examined using the internal colonial model as a general theoretical framework. Within this defined context, the review will peruse some of the prominent characteristics which delineate relations and precipitate some of the educational difficulties repressed groups experience.

This overview of the literature will begin with an examination of John Ogbu's model of the patron-client

relationship. Ogbu uses this dyad to explain the disparity of educational equality and achievement for these groups. Schaef and Fassel's work, which identifies specific interactive processes in a closed system will be also be investigated in relation to the case studies. Zelditch's *Analysis of Equilibrium Systems*, will be then be employed to interpret the systemic maintenance of the internal colonial model.

Finally, there will be a brief discussion of current educational discourses which speak to redressing the difficulties suppressed groups currently experience. This discussion will also explore some of the intrinsic and perplexing entanglements these stances contain in their attempts to enlighten and liberate.

Internal Colonial Model

The internal colonial model is one which has been widely utilized in the academic discourse which focuses on specific subordinate groups within Western society. These are groups who have been placed in a separate political, economic and social system within the parameters of the dominant society. A comprehensive framework, the internal colonial model addresses the predominant system's relationship with artificially created secondary systems contained within its boundaries.

Wall(1987:21), notes that Van den Berghe has

established a set of four criteria which indicate the

presence of internal colonialism within a system. They are

as follows;

1. rule of one ethnic group (or coalition of such groups)
over other such groups living within the continuous
boundaries of a single state.

2. Territorial separation of the subordinate ethnic groups
into 'homelands', 'native reserves' and the like with land
tenure rights distinct from those applicable to members of
the dominant group.

3. The presence of an internal government within a
government especially created to rule the subject groups.
With a special legal status ascribed to the subordinate
groups who have a corporate, group status that takes
precedence over their individual status.

4. Relations of economic inequality in which subject
peoples are relegated to positions of dependency and
inferiority in the division of labour and the relations of
production.

All three of the case studies which speak to Native

education, concern themselves with some aspect of having to

work within system parameters such as those described by Van

den Berghe. Celia Haig-Brown for example in her book,

*Resistance and Renewal: Surviving the Indian Residential

School*(1988) attempts to analyze resistance and adaptation

in the residential school within the context of outside

domination. Richard Kings' article, *Role Shock in Local*

Community Control of Indian Education, (1987) investigates

what he defines as "role shock" when the "dominated people"

attempt to take over their own education. Denis Wall's

Ph.D. thesis on *Internal Colonialism and Northland School*

Division #61: A Context for Decision-Making (1987), analyzes

the incipient changes that occurred in the Northland School

Division when its "clients" were allowed to participate in

the decision-making process.

Patron-Client Relationship

A theme common to all three of these case studies is

that of the patron-client relationship. This type of

relationship is standard in the structure and interactional

processes established in the colonial model. In the Native

educational domain, the patron-client dyad was initiated in

the residential schools and continues to the present day.

This model is highly illuminating as it identifies one of

the underlying reasons for many of the unsolvable problems

intrinsic to Native education. In his discussion of the

patron-client model, Ogbu(1974:143) writes,

> Teachers, as representative of Taxpayers and of
> the dominant ethnic group, represent the power
> structure. Teachers decide when, where, why, and
> how they will interact with parents. Many regard
> themselves as service oriented patrons and expect
> Burghersiders to reciprocate with manifest
> interest and cooperation if their "problems" are
> to be solved.

Considering the nature of the system, which is one based on social control, it is a given that this type of relationship would develop over time.

However, while it is a predominant motif in the current literature it is often defined and presented from an ahistorical perspective. Both Ogbu(1974:254), and Precourt (1982:442), insist that to view educational development from a synchronic orientation is unproductive and delusive in understanding the educational difficulties of groups governed by a repressive model. The patron-client relationship is a core obstacle in educational matters, yet it is almost insidiously intangible. It has become psychologically ingrained in the mindset of the dominant group and so has become accepted as reality.

Assheton-Smith(1975:5),in her paper, *Native Education and Social Control: Application of a Model,* describes a model which exemplifies this type of interactional system. The model symbolizes relations between two people, ego and alter. The first pair of letters in the set refers to ego and the second pair to alter. The first letter of each pair represents the individual as defined by the other in the interaction system, the second letter as he defines himself. In the recalitrant model, a-a /b-a is one in which alter insists

that his behavior does not need to change while ego believes that he is deficient in some way. This type of interactional system is a cornerstone of the colonial system.

In Richard King's work, the focus is on what happens when there is an attempt to modify both structure and the implicit patron-client relationship found in this model vis a vis education. King(1987:58), comes to the conclusion that structure and status-role security, (patron-client relationship), are of fundamental importance within the educational system.

> After a difficult transitional year the community requested an outside evaluation. An evaluation team was formed, composed of two retired former provincial school administrators. The report recommended the adoption, with some local modification, of provincial school regulations as basic policies along with conventional school district structures for organization and administration of the school. Recommendations of the evaluation team were warmly endorsed by the school board and rapidly adopted as official policy.

What he does not take into consideration, is that the intrinsic nature of the patron-client dyad was neither addressed nor substantially altered in the community. The school was still supplied and run by outside personnel, who for all intents and purposes, retained their dominant position in the educational relationship.

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Wall's work is reflective of the patron-client format at an administration level. He documents the changes that occurred when Northland School Division modified their structure to allow the "client" to participate at the decision and policy making levels. Wall argues that the relationship changed by allowing the LSCB's, (Local School Community Boards), to participate in the decision-making process. However, what he fails to address is that although the LSCB's were included in the administrative processes, the structure, content and processes of the Division were still determined and controlled by the dominant group.

In his discussion on the changes that took place, Wall writes that the processes making up the decision-making of the division were in the main aimed at supporting these imposed structures; but the processes themselves were defined by the participants(1987:176).

Wall accepts the illusion of participation and control and validates this in his thesis. However, there is still no discernible change in the patron-client format nor the structure of the internal colonial system in which it functions. What emanates from this type of "change" is actually an example of a systems technique for maintaining the social control equilibrium. By keeping the participants focused and involved within the process sphere, the illusion that they are effecting change is maintained while in fact

there is simply a further solidification of the system and
its patron-client dyad.

Haig-Brown defines and perceives the patron-client dyad
from the perspective of the classic dominant/dominated
struggle within the system. Her focus is on the "cultural"
resistance to the oppression. She writes,

> Of particular significance is the resultant clash
> of these cultural notions with the systematized
> European-influence life at the residential school.
> The rigid time schedules, the dearth of family
> contact even amongst siblings, and the constant
> supervision and direction accompanied by severe
> punishments for deviation were aspects of a way of
> life foreign to Shuswap children(1988:24).

An important consideration absent from Haig-Brown's
analysis is that the system in which patron/client dyad
operates actually fosters *resistance/adaptation* in order to
maintain its power and control over internally governed
groups. This equilibrium is created within the educational
domain of suppressed groups through the conveyance of a
double educational message. The first half of this message
relays the repressive society's belief and perception that
it is the basic "deficiencies" of the secondary groups which
need to be rectified. This, the dominant society maintains,
can only be accomplished through the subjugated group's
adoption of mainstream culture and education.

The other side of the message passed on to subjugated groups however is that of future failure. For suppressed groups, there is never any real hope of equal status and incumbent rights and so no real concrete venue from which to redress the basic social and economic "deficiencies".

> At the bottom of the list of priorities for both parties was an introduction to basic reading, writing and arithmetic. The cultural invasion was clearly acknowledged, detailed and documented (Haig-Brown,1988:69).

Ogbu(1974:255), cites this mixed message as one of the basic reasons for the limited educational success of involuntary subordinate groups. While parents tend to believe that education is the way in which their children will obtain equal status and opportunity, at the same time they are smart enough to realize that given the constraints imposed upon them even with a good education their children are at a disadvantage in terms of economic and social opportunities. This leads to educational resistance and adaptation. The subordinate groups adjust their educational usage in order to fit their constrained needs.

For Ogbu, this is the axis upon which the educational dilemma faced by those who are internally repressed rests. There is a disturbing incongruency in how the people involved define the situation in terms of process. While there is little dissension on the general objectives of

education, which may be defined as education = individual/group status equality within the system, the two groups engage in completely divergent processes in their pursuit of this goal. Those dominated feel that education is important in order to assuage their current submerged position. They believe, that only with a good education, will they be able to alleviate some of the disparity that they experience in terms of economic and political power.

The dominating group also endorse this educational objective for the internally governed groups. However, they embody totally different concepts and processes in the pursuit of this goal. The basis for the colonizer's reality is the belief that the dependent group must change socially and culturally before they can take any real advantage of the education offered them.

Their definition of the situation is one based on Western psychological and social concepts. The focal point of this definition is the subordinate group's social environment which is believed to be the root cause for the perceived inability of the secondary groups to benefit from the education offered them.

> As for Burghersiders their attitudes toward education and the effort they make in school are greatly influenced by their experiences with teachers and other Taxpayers. The two groups, teachers and Burghersiders do not agree as to what constitutes the "problems" of Burghersiders

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education, the causes and their cures. Thus the relationship between them contributes to maintaining the school failure in the neighborhood. These different definitions of the situation create confusion, misunderstanding, general chaos, and little advancement of either educational goals or more equitable access to economic and political resources or the subordinate groups(Ogbu,1974:256).

These contradictory understandings of reality are an obvious explanation for the "lack of communication" and the considerable stress and tension that generally occurs between the two groups which is often addressed in Native education literature. John Ogbu(1974:142) in his study on Burghersiders, notes that an asymmetrical patron-client relationship between teachers and Burghersiders makes "meaningful communication" between the two groups difficult.

Unfortunately, the situation that both groups find themselves in is the manifestation of a closed and artificially constructed system. It is a system which has propagated itself through myth, deception and illusion. Because both groups have been historically immersed in this deception they accept it as reality. Consequently, they spend their time and energy working at cross-purposes in their efforts to solve the problem of how best to educate the children. This ensures the survival of the system and the continual repression of the internal populace.

Positive self-definition and identification are but the beginning point in a prolonged struggle against

an intricate array of myths, false histories, contradictory values, and institutionalized forms that oppress our minds in the seeming unending ways that threaten to engulf us(Wall,1987:216).

Closed System Process

The concept of closed system processes is also applicable to the internal colonial model. Schaef and Fassel(1988), identify the closed system as one that is maladaptive in terms of process. It presents very few options to the individual in terms of roles and behaviors or even the thinking and perceptions a person can recognize and pursue.

The explicit purpose of closed system processes is to protect the equilibrium of the closed system. These processes maintain the system's symmetry by focusing and involving the actors in the interactional dynamics required to keep the system's structure and form operational. The ability of these interactional processes to focus social actors on each other is the result of their reactive nature. This allows individuals little opportunity to step out of the situation to examine and therefore understand what is really occurring. Subsequently, the system maintains its basic function of social control.

There are a number of specific processes which the authors attribute to this type of system and many of these have a direct correlation to underlying problems found in

the reserve school system. Schaef and Fassel(1988:139), for example, identify several communicative processes which are characteristic of closed systems. Among these is the process of inferior and deficient communication. Communication is usually problematic in a dysfunctional organization and is a symptom of a larger, more pervasive problem.

Schaef and Fassel(1988:150), note that closed systems are also skilled at eliminating significant communication which might make change more likely. One of the predominant means of dismantling communication in a closed system is through dishonesty. When dishonest communication and practices become established in an organization, two levels of communication are exhibited: what is said and what is meant, or stated and unstated goals. In educational terms this translates into curriculum/hidden curriculum, patron/client, autonomy/assimilation, equality/repression.

It is not a particularly astute observation to note that this is a truism found in the educational message and practice that the church, schools and government have historically passed on to the Native people governed by the colonial system.

The final characteristic which marks closed system communication processes is the manner in which communication is used to secure power. Power is maintained by providing

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only partial information. This in turn puts the power in
the hands of a few manipulators who have access to more
complete information(Schaef and Fassel,1988:169). The
internal colonial model is an archetype instituted in order
to ensure control and power over those the dominant
structure wished to subsume. By allowing only incomplete
and distorted information to be disseminated it maintains
its control over these groups.

> Regimes can get away with considerable deviations
> from their avowed ideals, since they control
> powerful organizations and material resources
> including the communication facilities, which can
> define much of the reality involved
> (Collins and Makowsky,1989:132).

A second noted idiosyncratic process of a closed system
is that of projection. Projection is a psychological
process used when an individual attributes his/her own
needs, desires, feelings to others. At an institutional or
organizational level it occurs when the organization refuses
to take responsibility for what is happening within its
boundaries. Furthermore, this projection of responsibility
is always connected with judgement and blame. There is a
dualistic mindset present which establishes sides and
defines situations as either with or against. This process
mechanism ensures that other groups and individuals are

perceived as either good guys or bad guys(Schaef and Fassel,1988:148).

This characteristic is also prevalent in the reserve school sub-system. It is found in Native/White, education board/school, administration/teacher, teacher/student and administration/community relations. It is this characteristic of dualism that undergirds the reserve school sub-system and which appears responsible for much of the internal chaos and strong focus on individual deficit.

Another formidable process which marks a closed system is that of confusion and chaos(Schaef and Fassel,1988:158). There is very little real proficiency in the institution. When there is progress, it is the result of an inordinate amount of effort. Furthermore, this lack of growth is the very thing that the systemic confusion is meant to hide. The process mechanism also tends to produce confused thinking processes which are logical and rational but obsessive and paranoid.

One of King's observations in his research was that when the educational transition began to fall apart,"An incipient paranoia began to be manifested. Almost any question from anybody elicited an initial reaction of wondering who wanted to know and why"(1987:57).

The inherent confusion in a closed system tends to precipitate crisis. Shaef and Fassel(1988:161), identify

crisis as another process which occurs in the closed system. Crisis serves two basic functions. First, it allows people to feel and react in a system where they are not usually allowed to do so. Second, it enables the management to assume an unhealthy amount of power on a daily basis.

The argument could be made that the internal colonial system, within which the reserve populace resides, utilizes these processes of confusion and crisis to further deflect the focus away from itself and maintain its control.

For the closed system and those who work within, form becomes the key to solving all the problems(Schaef and Fassel,1988:172). (Wall,1987:157) for example, argues that one of the main changes at the process level within the division was the incorporation of the LSCB's, (Local School Community Boards),into the decision-making as well as more clearly defined distinctions between decision-makers. People who participate in this type of closed system often believe that if they can just perfect the form the difficulties they are encountering will cease to manifest themselves.

Finally, Schaef and Fassel(1988:165), note that the most prevalent problem in a closed system is that the structure of the system is not established to be congruent with the mission of the organization. In fact, the structure actually interferes, is counterproductive or

completely eliminates the possibility of accomplishing the purpose.

This type of a system creates a situation in which the actors involved, constantly attempt to effect change based on information and understanding that is fallacious and by utilizing processes which are self-defeating.

> But it must be remembered that the imposed structures provided an arena for considerable influence. That dependency was supported by the administrators. The administrators again could be thought of as "agents" of colonialism. But they were most likely unwitting accomplices to colonial domination. It must be re-emphasized that the other participants in these events were also accomplices by the mere fact that they participated; but again they were unwitting and they lacked the power to structure the events. Thus the influence of administrators may come from the macro-social contexts within which they have to operate(Wall,1987:150).

Analysis of Equilibrium Systems

Morris Zelditch(1955:402), in his *A Note on the Analysis of Equilibrium Systems*, defines an equilibrium system as two or more units, x1,x2,...xn related in such a way that a change in x1 will be followed by a change of state in the remaining xj...xn which in turn will be followed by a change in the state of xi etc. This general statement of system is of some benefit in explaining how the internal colonial system and the identifiable processes

which ensure its survival continue to be the major
educational barriers for those involved in Native education.

When educational systems are allowed to evolve
naturally within a local context, it appears possible for
both the external and local systems to establish positive
integration and equilibrium. However, when the subordinate
system has been contrived and established using synthetic
and forced methods, the attendant processes which mediate
the structure and agency become maladaptive and destructive.

Since the two systems are symbiotic, the underlying
processes which serve to maintain the internal colonial
group find their way back into the predominant system. To
again turn to Assheton-Smith's paper, analyzing interaction
systems in which one member("a"), who is deemed to be normal
or healthy, is trying to change another("b") who deemed to
be mentally ill, deviant, or deficient in some way, the
following observation is made,

> The goal of the interaction system or generally
> any similar a:b interaction system is that "b"
> will undergo change and eventually become "a", no
> longer deficient in the society. One danger of
> such interaction is that influence and change will
> flow in the wrong direction and "a" will become
> "b" so instead of creating an a:a system one
> creates instead b:b system(1975:3).

Essentially, the primary system contaminates itself.
This results in both groups subscribing to and perpetuating

unproductive and destructive interactional processes. This results in chaos, confusion, crisis and general stasis of the system. The outcome for the education sub-system on reserves is generally an inferior, deficient, problematic and self-defeating type of system.

Structure and Hegemony

The concept of hegemony h··· a ··· ndamental connection to the internal colonial structure and the reserve education system. Apple(1981:110) in his article, *On Analyzing Hegemony*, takes the position that educational issues are at root, ethical, economic and political, the first very often justifying the second and third. When reserve systems display dysfunctional characteristics this is often the base from which outsider's interpretations and conclusions are reached. The logic of the posit··· follows this general sequence of thought. Being morally corrupt,(the social pathos the reserve reflects), is the reason for the economic failure of the community and subsequent rationalization for the necessity of the internal-colonial governance.

Giroux(1981:420), writes that traditionally divorced from class, power and conflict the concept of culture has been reduced to an anthropological or sociological object of study that has not only obscured more then it has revealed

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but also more often then not has tilted over into an apology for the status quo.

In hegemonic terms, the system directs the focus towards the social actor's culture which masks the actual reality of the situation. In relation to the sphere of reserve school education, this translates into belief perceived as *fact*, that it is the reserve population's *choice* of lifestyle that prevents them from benefiting from the educational system. The world view of the outsider is eventually forced to preclude any other notion of interpretation defined as it is in these cultural terms.

Perhaps, Gramsci sums up the pervasiveness of hegemonic reality best when he writes,

> Hegemony is a whole body of practices and expectations; our assignments of energy, our ordinary understanding of man and his world. It is a set of meanings and values which, as they are experienced as practices, appear as reciprocally confirming. It thus constitutes a sense of reality for most people in societ ... but always the selectivity is the point; the way in which from a whole possible area of past and present, certain meanings and practices are chosen for emphasis, certain other meanings and practices are neglected and excluded. Even more crucially, some of these meanings are reinterpreted, diluted or put into forms which support or at least do not contradict other elements within the effective dominant culture(cited in Apple,1981:114).

Given the overwhelming nature of the internal colonial

system and its inherent devices for maintaining boundaries

and social control, establishing counteractive measures is

somewhat problematic. There are several prominent fields of

educational research which address this systemic malaise.

The general focus of these fields is on the creation of

strategies that can be employed to dismantle this system's

boundaries. It is these discourses to which I now turn.

Current Educational Discourse

Present research in the area of hegemony, education and

suppressed groups within the dominant sphere encompasses a

number of theoretical discourses. While not specifically

addressing the reserve populace, they nevertheless offer

venues for redressing the present hegemonic position in

which colonially governed peoples find themselves. Central

to these theoretical stances, is the role that educators

working within these domains must play in order to effect

positive change. Several of the more prominent of these

theories will be briefly addressed and the incumbent

problems involved in the actual application of these

theories to educational reality will be discussed.

Critical Pedagogy

Critical pedagogy is concerned with educational

strategies which have as their base constructs of

antiracism, antisexism, and antidomination. The work of people like Giroux and Mclaren for example, attempt to apply these types of pedagogical strategies to the issues of domination and resistance using historical constructs. Giroux(1981:422),in his article, *Hegemony, Resistance, and the Paradox of Educational Reform,* discusses the need for an analysis of the interface between structure and agency within a historical account that links the development of a given class to those social and economic forces that were instrumental in forming it. By doing this, people are able to ground themselves contextually in history, thereby establishing a base from which to understand themselves and their current place in the system. By understanding the reality of their situation they then have an essential tool to empower their liberation.

This stance has considerable merit. Historical understanding of the dynamics which have instigated the suppression are indeed a primary requisite to developing strategies in order to sever the social, economic and political bonds that bind these groups.

However, if the concept is examined in greater depth, it is apparent that the hegemonic premise it is attempting to dismantle is still fundamentally intact. Grounding people within a historical context still labels and places the marginalized group within specific historical parameters

from which they are expected to perceive reality. Repressed groups are still only allowed one identity or sphere in which to move and this appears inevitably to be couched in dominant/dominated terms. Subsequently, this allows only limited room for identification and movement.

It follows that it is important to be cautious using this type of pedagogy in the classroom. The question of who determines what the rationality and focus will be becomes of major concern. Is it the submerged population or those who already in power who set the parameters for the istorical design and subsequent dialogue? It is obviously those in power who, for the most part, still define and determine the historical context and account and therefore the dialogue which ensues.

Post Modernism and Feminist Critique

Pedagogy in relation to postmodern thought and feminist critique appears essentially bound not to reason but to subjectivities and partial narrative. Some of the concepts which emanate from this field of study are also of benefit in addressing the current state of internally repressed groups.

Ellsworth(1989:314), for example, writes that Martin and Chandra Mohanty envision collective struggle that starts from an acknowledgement that "unity" interpersonal, personal

and political - is necessarily fragmentary, unstable, not given, but chosen and struggled for - but not on the basis of sameness. She goes on to write (198?:316), that no one affinity group could ever "know" the experiences and knowledges of other subjects who are split between the conscious and unconscious and cut across by multiple, intersecting, and contradictory subject positions.

This in essence means that we can never truly understand nor interpret another's experience or subjectivity either historically or in the present. Given this, the issue of how knowledge is addressed within the classroom becomes extremely significant. Do educators, based on the understanding that it impossible for them to understand the "other's" position, allow the other to define and discover where and how they fit? This is an extremely difficult position from which to manoeuvre, given the educational parameters in which teachers work.

As well, this theoretical stance is problematic as it tends to deny the rational or the ability of people to take action based not on subjectivity but on a common goal. Postmodern/feminist pedagogy in this regard seems to magnify Marx's, "alienation of the individual" to a point where no real movement appears to be possible.

Educator as Agent of Transformation

The last concept to be discussed is that of the educator as an agent of transformation. Apple(1981:112) writes that there are three basic tenets which need to be applied in relation to education if the educator is to be an agent of transformation. The first is identifying the school as an "institution", the second is the knowledge forms and the third is that the educator must see himself situated within its larger nexus of relations. However, within the hegemonic context that has been described, the educator, even if grounded in Apple's suggested tenets, still faces a significant barrier in attempting to implement development and change within the educational domain. This barrier is the fact that individuals working within the school, both those belonging to the community and those who offer their assistance are constantly caught between what the dominant system states as its objectives and what it will in fact permit. Educators therefore are often caught in an intermediary position which restricts their movement in terms of pedagogical change.

Summary

The system of social control established by the dominant culture has wrought a number of irons which are proving difficult to unlock. All three of the case studies

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examined which pertain to Native education exhibit characteristics identified in the theoretical literature which addresses itself to this subject. The internal colonial model outlines the manner in which the sub-groups have been encapsulated economically, politically and socially and effectively removed from general society. The patron-client dyad demonstrates the perceptional and subsequent interactional difficulties which occur when both the outside and inside social actors attempt to alleviate the disparities of the submerged group. The concept of closed system processes shows the havoc this type of system plays with interactional dynamics, thereby further securing the positions held by the primary and secondary groups.

Finally the equilibrium analysis demonstrates how both the structural and process levels in the larger society become contaminated locking the entire malfunctioning system in place. All are apt descriptors of the reserve system and its structural, agency and process dynamics.

It would appear that the internal colonial system has created a labyrinth that will be laborious to unravel. If education is to be the string which guides internally repressed groups out of this maze then the role attendant participants and processes play in maintaining this system will have to be researched in greater depth and with a focus

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which has so far been lacking in the literature written on Native education.

Having identified and examined some of the systemic theoretical constructs and incorporate interactive processes in relation to a sample of the research currently being done in the field of Native education, the next chapter will offer current points of identification within the reserve education sub-system. These points were provided by those who presently work in reserve schools. It is a chapter comprising of their observations and reflections on the reasons for the current malaise this education sub-system is experiencing.

CHAPTER FIVE

THEMATIC IDENTIFICATION

Introduction

This chapter represents a compilation of the research participant's observations on what they believed was interfering with their ability to do their jobs within the reserve school sub-system. The six individuals whose interviews provided the data base for this research all held different positions within this system and were an outside consultant, two local band consultants, a principal and two teachers. The purpose of this research was to take the data collected from the interviews and identify common problematic areas. A comparative analysis was then applied to the noted areas which produced the following prevalent themes.

External System Parameters/Control

It was apparent from the interview data, that the structural configuration of the education sub-system on reserves is an important factor in the difficulties that Band-controlled schools are experiencing. Up until recently this sub-system was completely controlled by INAC, (Indian and Northern Affairs Canada), whose mandate was political,

economic and social rather then educational in nature. As a result Band-controlled schools have inherited an out of date and inadequate system.

The outside consultant who was interviewed, had worked for many years with Indian Bands. He had also worked for INAC and therefore had a comprehensive understanding of their philosophy and practice. Much of what he talked about centered around the need to get proper systems in place. He felt that the education sub-system was antiquated, stagnant and in need of a drastic overhaul.

> We were just trying to get things up to the 1990s.
> We've got to have systems in place now for we are
> dealing with sophisticated people.

Combined with the antiquity of the sub-system was the absence of the necessary political knowledge and experience required to operate the sub-system. Both the outside and local consultants identified INAC's control over the education sub-system as still being extremely restrictive. The Department tended to ensure this control by refusing to volunteer the necessary political and economic information, thereby discouraging educational autonomy and independence. The outside consultant commented that,

> There's got to be a way to beat this system. It's
> not really in a way beating the system. It's just
> because no one knows the system that it is allowed
> just to stagnant and Indian Affairs sure doesn't

go around looking for opportunities to spend money.

Both the outside and local consultants commented on the variety of strategies INAC employed to maintain power and control within this sphere. These strategies included restricted access to financial information and resources through the denial of information as well as the utilization of diversionary and pressure tactics on the intermediary agents, both within the political and economic realms.

The outside consultant related a story which exemplifies the type of pressure INAC often employs when dealing with the reserve system. This particular interviewee spoke of an incident where a council member of a Band was offered a political appointment on the condition that he would bar a particular individual from sitting at the table during negotiations that were taking place between the Federal government and the Band.

The two local band consultants interviewed were individuals who had expended a great deal of time and energy researching and setting up a proper educational structure for their community. They had hoped that being knowledgeable and well-organized would ensure a functional and improved system when the Band took control of their education. These individuals, who like the outside consultant, spent a majority of their four years dealing