

THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

THE EDUCATION OF CANADA'S
INDIAN PEOPLES:
AN EXPERIENCE IN COLONIALISM

BY

ROBERT WALTER GUSTAFSON

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Chapter I

... an Indian reservation.... the most complete colonial system in the world.... 1

A commonly accepted premise among Canadians is that the Canadian nation evolved from a state of colonialism. It is not noted that this evolution has been retarded in the case of Canada's Indian Peoples.² The words imperialism, colonialism, under-development, and modernization are often utilized, but very seldom are these terms applied to indigenous peoples within North America. The wealth of material by Canadians and Americans regarding overseas areas and the scarcity of similar analyses within the borders of those countries seem very suggestive. Foreign areas would seem easy targets for comfortable analysis; too many twinges of conscience might result from internal analysis.

The purpose of this study is to examine the situation of the Indian Peoples of Canada to determine whether they exist in a state of colonialism and, if so, to ascertain the role of education in maintaining this state. If findings allow, recommendations will be made regarding the direction of education that would counter this trend.

This is a crucial area of study as the Indian Peoples form a substantial part of the Canadian population; a substantial part that has multiplied eight times in the space of seventy-five years and a part that continues to expand at a growth rate double the national average.³ Monetary and population pressures have forced government cutbacks in programs on reserves, forced increased migration to urban centres and forced more confrontations between the dominant society and the Indian Peoples. Unfortunately, the problem seems to be exacerbating and the confrontations destined to become more frequent and violent.

Education is seen by Third World countries as an investment and an answer to development problems - is this a valid assessment? Regarding Canada's Indian Peoples, can and/or is education helping or hindering development? Or, is education simply a reinforcing mechanism for colonialism? Is education an answer, or part of the problem? Does the process of colonialism establish a mind-set that makes escape impossible? The answer to all, or any, of these questions should prove useful in determining future educational policy and developmental planning for Indian Peoples.

The Indian Peoples of Canada have been under the domination of white society since the 1700's or earlier;

since that time, little has been done to alleviate the economic, social and political condition within which the Indian finds himself. It has been professed time after time that Canada has treated her Indian Peoples in a much better manner than her geographical neighbour to the south. This reasoning, however, begs the question and disguises the fact that the Indian Peoples of Canada have still been treated to an "existence" far less than tolerable to the vast majority of Canadians.

Canada, as a nation, has traversed the path of French and British imperialism and has been a colony under both powers. The political evolutionary process allowed for growth from a colony to a newly-fledged nation with sovereignty over domestic and foreign affairs in 1867. This process is recurring frequently in present times as colonial states within the Third World are granted or militarily attain their freedom; however, this process has escaped application to the Canadian Indian Peoples - they still remain tied to a state of colonialism. The validity of that statement and the role of education in the colonial process are the central foci of this study.

The writer admits that personal exposure to Indian Peoples and their life-style has left him biased as to the approach of the research; in addition, the writer

leans towards acceptance of the Marxist-Leninist interpretation of history. However, such bias does not preclude utilization of any material or research and an honest attempt will be made to reason as impartially as possible. The study will call upon many disciplines; history, sociology, economics, political science, and education shall be utilized in an attempt to ascertain how the Indian Peoples arrived at their present situation, what that situation is, the role of education in both process and the maintenance of that situation, and the consequences of existence in that situation. Not only will authorities be consulted, but the principals of the study, Indian Peoples, will be interviewed in an attempt to gain an insight into their perspective and thoughts concerning questions posed.

For the purpose of this study, the term Indian Peoples has been chosen to designate those under study. While the term itself is foreign⁴ to Canada's indigenous peoples, it is necessary to apply a label that supercedes all tribal affiliations. The subjects of the study are members of different linguistic affiliations, political persuasions, and geographical locations and, therefore, the term "Peoples" is used to acknowledge the differences. The term Indian Peoples will refer to those indigenous peoples who are registered with the Department of Indian

Affairs, the status Indians. Status Indians are a federal responsibility as defined by the Indian Act. Section 2 (i) defines "Indian" as a person who is registered or entitled to be registered as an Indian and "registered" simply means one whose name is recorded in the Indian Register. Section II (i) expounds on registration:

... a person is entitled to be registered if that person

(a) on the 26th day of May 1874 was, for the purposes of An Act providing for the organization of the Department of the Secretary of State of Canada, and for the management of Indian and Ordnance Lands,... considered to be entitled to hold, use or enjoy the lands and other immovable property belonging to or appropriated to the use of the various tribes, bands or bodies of Indians in Canada;

(b) is a member of a band...;

(c) is a male person who is a direct descendent in the male line of a male person described in paragraph (a) or (b).... 5

There are approximately 295,215 status Indians, members of 554 bands;⁶ governmental studies place the number of status Indians in Manitoba at approximately 40,000.⁷ This study shall concern itself explicitly with the 70% of this group that dwell on reserves.⁸

The subjects with which this paper concerns itself are colonized peoples everywhere. By working from the general to the specific, however, it is hoped to narrow

the focus to Canadian Indian Peoples and then to utilize local examples such as Fort Alexander and Peguis, thereby supporting the universality of the concepts under study. The local examples of community control have been limited to the two mentioned as the bureaucracy to be dealt with and the problems to be overcome vary little from reserve to reserve. Two reserves without local control shall be chosen to provide bases for comparison.

Before attempting a historical, political, or economic analysis of Canada's Indian Peoples, it is first necessary to lay the definitional groundwork so that the terms, as utilized within the context of this paper, are clearly understood. The criticism is often made that many of the concepts to be employed in this study have become so sloganized as to have lost much of their objectivity and analytical functionality. However, it should be possible to employ these concepts if their usage is categorically defined.

The cohesive force of this study is provided by the concept of development. Imperialism and colonialism are political power processes that affect change and usually result in some form of modernization, the degree of that modernization being tied explicitly to the degree of exploitation suffered and, more importantly, accepted as legitimate. Development is a global process and all

countries appear somewhere on the development spectrum. Most definitions of development are very weak, ranging from Kristensen's "any structural change in human society"⁹ to Willner's process that "implies movement or growth along some specified set of dimensions from one state of dimensions to another."¹⁰

Traditionally, development has been seen in terms of economics and only economists seem to have a common, concrete definition. For economists, development is measured in terms of investment, income, and output, factors that combine to furnish the Gross National Product (GNP). However, this definition and the role of economics has been recently challenged as the negative aspects of development, when viewed strictly in economic terms, have become obvious:

... we believe that growth is a necessary condition for development, but by itself, growth is not enough. Even very respectable gross national product growth rates can be accompanied by increasing underdevelopment, judged on the basis of poor distribution of wealth, increasing unemployment and growing dependence on the consumption models and the techniques of the wealthy countries. 11

E.F. Schumacher claims, "Development does not start with goods; it starts with people and their education, organisation, and discipline."¹² This accentuation of the role of the individual is found in Tanzanian politics

for as Julius Nyerere comments,

People cannot be developed, they can only develop themselves.... An outsider cannot give a man pride and self-confidence in himself as a human being. Those things a man has to create for himself by his own actions. 13

The emphasis on the human aspect is also supported by R.E. Gamer who claims the key aspect in development is the creation of a stable personal environment wherein an individual's housing, cultural setting, job and education must all be in balance.¹⁴ M.L. McDonald notes that certain schools of thought emphasizing development as a means to attain human dignity have substituted the term "liberation" for "development",

Liberation is the antithesis of domination, of vulnerability in the face of world market forces, and of a weak bargaining position vis-a-vis foreign investors. A liberated people is one which assumes control over its own change processes. 15

Inkeles and Smith give the most succinct and comprehensive definition of development:

The main purpose of economic development is to permit the achievement of a decent level of living for all people, everywhere. But almost no one will argue that the progress of a nation and a people should be measured solely in terms of gross national product and per capita income. Development assumes, as well, a high degree of political maturation, as expressed in stable and orderly processes of government resting on the expressed will of the people. And it also includes the attainment of popular education, the

burgeoning of the arts, the efflorescence of architecture, the growth of the means of communication, and the enrichment of leisure. Indeed, in the end, development requires a transformation in the very nature of man, a transformation that is both a means to yet greater growth and at the same time one of the great ends of the development process. 16

The Brazilian economist, Robert Campos, after much experience in the construction of development models, arrived at the conclusion:

The anguished study of the principles, problems, and policies of economic development has brought economists to a humble acceptance of the inter-disciplinary approach to social sciences, an approach which they resisted for a long time.... I am more and more convinced that the foundation of the theory of growth has much more to do with psychology, social institutions, and ethical values than with the laws of rational economic behavior. 17

Thus, development must be approached not only in terms of economics, but also in terms of social change and human growth. For the purposes of this study, development shall then be defined as a linear process, involving not only economics but the entire social milieu in which an individual finds himself; and, a process that includes modernization as a crucial component.

Modernization,¹⁸ as used within this study, refers to the progressive move from nonmodernity to modernity, modernity being both a state of mind and a state of being. The modern man not only experiences attitudinal change but also changes within his physical and social

world. Inkeles identified several traits as characteristic of modern man:

He is an informed participant citizen; he has a marked sense of personal efficacy; he is highly independent and autonomous in his relations to traditional sources of influence. (sic) especially when he is making basic decisions about how to conduct his personal affairs; and he is ready for new experiences and ideas, that is, he is relatively open-minded and cognitively flexible. 19

Desai dissects the term modernization and carefully analyzes each component; he views modernization as both a process and a product. For Desai,

Modernization in the intellectual sphere exhibits itself in the new awareness that it is 'possible to seek a rational explanation of physical and social phenomena'. This approach presumes that physical, social and psychological phenomena are law-governed, have regularities, uniformities and causal relationship and could be understood, and therefore could be modified or regulated by human reason. This rational attitude is the core process of modernization. 20

Among other components of modernization are social mobility, specialization, government legitimized by public consent, governmental accountability to its citizens, an increasingly higher degree of technology and a shift from primary to secondary technology, an advancing degree of urbanization, the spread of literacy and secular education, and emphasis on happiness, the expression of abilities and feelings, the development of individuality, and efficiency.

Imperialism, the root cause of colonialism, is a crucial term in the formation of this study. Tom Kemp cautions against the use of the term citing as his reasons that there can be no common definition due to the number of the conflicting ideological assumptions, due to the emotive connotations the word engenders, and due to the claim that the word itself is pejorative.²¹ Kemp, then, in his "objective" manner opens with a weak and very general definition of imperialism:

... particular economic developments in the advanced countries and their relationship to the opening up of less developed parts of the world for trade and investment, mainly in the period from the last decades of the nineteenth century. 22

Such a definition is weak because it does not examine the power relationships inherent in the political subjugation process; Ronald Robinson proposes a more comprehensive definition:

Imperialism in the industrial era is a process whereby agents of an expanding society gain inordinate influence or control over the vitals of weaker societies by 'dollar' and 'gun-boat' diplomacy, ideological suasion, conquest and rule, or by planting colonies of its own people abroad. The object is to shape or reshape them in its own interest and more or less in its own image. It implies the exertion of power and the transfer of economic resources; but no society, however dominant can man-handle arcane, densely-peopled civilization or white colonies in other continents simply by projecting

its own main force upon them.
 Domination is only practicable in so far
 as alien power is translated into terms
 of indigenous political economy. 23

Imperialism is the history of power as exercised by the strong over the weak with economics providing the dominant motivation for such subjugation. It is important to note that one of the most common tactics employed in subjugating peoples was the adoption of the "divide et impera" philosophy. Michael Barrett Brown cites instances of the use of this tactic "between Jews and Arabs in Palestine, between Chinese and Malays in Malaya, between Greeks and Turks in Cyprus, between Indians and Negroes in British Guiana....";²⁴ and, as the author will demonstrate later, between tribal groupings in Canada.

The most powerful exponents of the economic drive behind imperialism are those of the socialist fold. Karl Marx, often mistakenly quoted as being the authority on imperialism, only utilized the term on one occasion. Speaking of Napoleon III, Marx claimed that defeat was the just reward for imperialistic ambition:

Imperialism [he says in this connection, is] the most prostitute and the ultimate form of the State power which nascent middle class society has commenced to elaborate as a means of its own emancipation from feudalism, and which fullgrown bourgeois society had finally transformed into a means for the enslavement of labor by capital. 25

Although Marx avoided the use of both the term and concept imperialism his works were to lay the groundwork for future theorists.

Marx and Engels are best known for their description of the proletariat and bourgeoisie and the inevitable class struggle that occurs between the two groups. It is the capitalism of the bourgeoisie that Marxists see as instrumentally exploitive, whether internal or external. In the Manifesto of the Communist Party, Marx paints the following picture of the bourgeoisie:

The bourgeoisie, wherever it has got the upper hand, has put an end to all feudal, patriarchal, idyllic relations. It has pitilessly torn asunder the motley feudal ties that bound man to his 'natural superiors' and has left remaining no other nexus between man and man than naked self-interest, than callous 'cash payment.' It has drowned the most heavenly ecstasies of religious fervour, of chivalrous enthusiasm, of philistine sentimentalism, in the icy water of egotistical calculation.... In one word, for exploitation, veiled by religious and political illusions, it has substituted naked shameless, direct, brutal exploitation. 26

According to Marx, capitalism cannot exist without foreign commerce and as an increasingly greater degree of world production becomes commodity production "'a new and international division of labour, a division suited to the requirements of the chief centres of

modern industry springs up and converts one part of the globe into a chiefly agricultural field of production for supplying the other part which remains a chiefly industrial field.'"²⁷ This was reiterated in the Manifesto when Marx claimed, "The need of a constantly expanding market for its products chases the bourgeoisie over the whole surface of the globe. It must nestle everywhere, settle everywhere, establish connexions (sic) everywhere."²⁸ The search for sources of raw materials and markets leads to the establishment of colonies; the exploitative effects of colonialism are discussed by Marx in Volume I of Capital.²⁹ Thus, although Marx did not employ the term "imperialism", he most surely was describing the concept in his description of how the capitalist nations sought to establish pockets throughout the world in an effort to make the "'barbarian and semi-barbarian countries dependent on the civilized ones.'"³⁰

V.I. Lenin utilized Marx and other writers to formulate his theories in Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism; he accounted for the lack of material concerning imperialism in Marx's works by noting that economic conditions had changed. The free enterprise of Marx's time had been replaced by monopolistic alliances of entrepreneurs, cartels and trusts....";³¹ once the

cartels became the foundation of the economic system, capitalism had been transformed into imperialism.³² For Lenin, imperialism was a global phenomenon, "a colonial policy which has extended without hindrance to territories unseized by any capitalistic power, to a colonial policy of monopolistic possession of the territory of the world which has been completely divided up."³³ Thus, one can see that in the classic sense of Marxism-Leninism, while imperialism is a political process, the role of economics in the dynamics of the situation is of utmost importance. Those countries of capitalistic persuasion must seek to enhance their own economic interests through exploitation³⁴ of the Third World. Andrew Gunder Frank is in concord with this thought; he stated, "The capitalist system that we know has never existed without colonialism and/or imperialism, and there is no reason to believe that it ever will."³⁵ Kwame Nkrumah summarized the exploitative effects of imperialism as follows:

Existence for the colonial peoples under imperialist rule means their economic and political exploitation. The imperialist powers need the raw materials and cheap native labour of the colonies for their own capitalist industries. Through their system of monopolist control they eliminate native competition, and use the colonies as dumping grounds for their surplus mass-produced goods. In attempting to legitimize their presence they claim

to be improving the welfare of the native population. Such claims are merely a camouflage for their real purpose of exploitation to which they are driven by economic necessity....

The whole policy of the colonizer is to keep the native in his primitive state and make him economically dependent....

This has reduced the native population to economic slavery and degradation from which it must free itself.

Whether the dependent territory is administered as a colony, protectorate, or mandate, it is all part of an imperialist plan to perpetuate its economic exploitation. The colonies gain no advantages whatsoever from being dependent; socially and technologically their progress is hindered; they pay for a nominal protection against aggression by providing troops for their mother country in time of war and their political freedom will never be automatically granted but won by their own endeavors.... 36

Just as the term imperialism underwent change over a period of time, so too did the concept that imperialism gave rise to - colonialism. Colonialism being the key political concept of this study, it is imperative that the parameters of the term are defined in such a way as to ensure correct usage. The International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences defines the term as "the establishment and maintenance for an extended time, of rule over an alien people that is separate from and subordinate to the ruling power."³⁷ Balendier furnishes

further features of the colonial situation and these are noted as:

domination of an alien minority, asserting racial and cultural superiority over a materially inferior native majority; contact between a machine-oriented civilization with Christian origins, a powerful economy, and a rapid rhythm of life and a non-Christian civilization that lacks machines and is marked by a backward economy and a slow rhythm of life; and the imposition of the first civilization upon the second.... 38

There are two schools of thought concerning colonialism; the first accepts only the traditional meaning of the concept, while the second views it as subject to evolutionary pressures. The traditionalists resist the application of colonialism to indigenous or minority peoples, a concept known as internal colonialism. Michael Burawoy is one such traditionalist and, in his article "Race, Class and Colonialism", he specifies that colonialism is "the conquest and administration by a 'metropolitan country' of a geographically separate territory"³⁹ (emphasis added); thus, Burawoy claims that any reference to internal colonialism is a distortion of the concept. Burawoy's arguments are aimed primarily at studies that are socially oriented and tend to neglect the importance of economics.⁴⁰ Unfortunately, much of what Burawoy says is unacceptable for the examples he utilized as common to colonial situations fall short of

being representative. Ireland, for example, cannot be taken as a representative colonial area.

Frank belongs to the school of thought that views colonialism as evolutionary:

The word 'colony' and its various derivatives like 'colonization' and 'colonialism' received a special somewhat restricted meaning derived from the particular experience of the 16th - 17th century and again of the 19th century colonial waves: reflecting these experiences, the concept came to connote among other things, physical and political occupation and domination, as well as a certain dominant, determinant/subordinate, exploitative relation. But the fact that we can now speak of 'neo-colonialism' and refer to an essentially similar relation which does not include formal political incorporation, suggests that 'colonial' also has a wider meaning and essence. 41

Following the Second World War and the advent of independence for several Third World countries, political analysts realized that colonialism had not really ceased but had merely assumed a new form. While Lenin claimed that imperialism was the highest stage of capitalism, spokesmen such Kwame Nkrumah claimed that neo-colonialism was the highest stage of imperialism. Where at one time colonialism had been overt, it had now become covert:

The essence of neo-colonialism is that the State which is subject to it is, in theory, independent and has all the outward trappings of international sovereignty. In reality its economic system and thus its political policy is directed from outside. 42

Neo-colonialism when applied within national boundaries assumes the level of "internal colonialism."⁴³ The colonial process not only occurs between countries but also within countries and often the gap created between the developed and underdeveloped⁴⁴ is much greater. Frank describes the geographical factor of internal colonialism:

Like national underdevelopment, regional underdevelopment has developed along with and as a result of regional and metropolitan development. Regional and sectoral development, in turn, has on the national level been achieved at the cost of regional underdevelopment, and probably to a degree greater even than was metropolitan development. In other words, certainly since the introduction of capitalism, the history of development and underdevelopment within countries has been one of colonialism as has that between the metropole and the periphery. ⁴⁵

For a complete definition of "internal colonialism", one can turn to any of a number of authorities; Havens and Flinn visualize the concept as:

... structural arrangements typified by a relatively small dominant group which controls the allocation of resources, and a large subjugated mass composed of various groups with unarticulated interests largely divorced from participation in the development process and blocked from means of social mobility. ⁴⁶

Among the characteristics of this brand of colonialism are "control over the allocation of resources to such

a point that decisions are made so as to benefit the group in power regardless of the expense to those dependent upon the dominant group",⁴⁷ and co-option "where the leaders of any potential threat to the existing structural arrangements are absorbed into the dominant group."⁴⁸ The one other characteristic of internal colonialism which will be adopted for this study is Pablo Gonzalez Casanova's usage of the concept race as inextricably meshed into the fabric of this particular colonialism.⁴⁹

For purposes of analysis, Gerald Wilkinson's model of two levels of power in the colonial process will be employed. The first level concerns the structural aspect, the power to control the institutions of those colonized. The second level is, perhaps, in the long run, more important for it involves the control of "the people's psychology, their image of themselves, their values, and the course of their culture."⁵⁰ It is crucial for all colonial powers to move quickly into the realm of second level control if they are to legitimize their control and avoid internal rebellion.

The application of these concepts to Canada's Indian Peoples will demonstrate their validity and establish whether internal colonialism is a reality.

Footnotes

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20. A.R. Desai, Essays on Modernization of Underdeveloped Societies (Bombay: Thacker & Co., Ltd., 1971), Vol. I, p. 461.
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32. Ibid., p. 20.
33. Ibid., p. 105.
34. Exploitation is used in the Marxist sense, i.e. "... people including peasants, can be said to be potentially or actually exploited if and when: (a) they do not control the means of producing and marketing goods, and are therefore obliged to rent land, sell commodities (including their own labor), and buy needed supplies at prices set by others, whether these prices are payable in money, in goods, or in labor; and (b) they are not self-governing, and hence must pay taxes and other charges to the state without regard to the value of what they receive from it, and/or without having a voice proportionate to their numbers in the levying and final disposition of these charges." S.P. Dunn, "On the Exploitation of Peasants: A Response to Dalton", American Anthropologist, Vol. 78, 1976, p. 640.
35. A.G. Frank, On Capitalist Underdevelopment (Bombay: Oxford University Press, 1975), p. 55.
36. K. Nkrumah, The Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah (Toronto: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1957), pp. 46-47.
37. "Colonialism", The International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. 3, 1968, p. 1.
38. Ibid.
39. M. Burawoy, "Race, Class and Colonialism", Social and Economic Studies, Vol. 23, 1974, p. 546.
40. Ibid., p. 526.

41. A.G. Frank, On Capitalist Underdevelopment, p. 2.
42. K. Nkrumah, Neo-Colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1965), p. ix.
43. Note Cabral's statement that neo-colonialism is "above all the continuation of imperialist economic rule in disguise...." Amilcar Cabral, "The role of culture in the battle for independence", The UNESCO Courier, November 1973, p. 16.
44. Underdevelopment refers to a set of political and economic conditions that create poverty; it is the "end result of a particular time in history, when the rich countries steadily dominated the poor. The underdevelopment of some thus results directly from the overdevelopment of others." CIDA, Canada and Development Cooperation, Canadian International Development Agency Annual Review, 1975-76, p. 9. Desai notes that the characteristics of underdevelopment include: 1) the predominance of human and animal power over inanimate power; 2) a low level of labour productivity and per capita national income; 3) relatively low development of large-scale machine-based industry; 4) low levels of living for the mass of people "manifested in specific quantitative deficiencies, insufficient food intake, bad housing conditions... inefficient educational and cultural facilities"; 5) high mortality rate and massive illiteracy; 6) "low levels of work discipline, punctuality and orderliness, superstitious beliefs and irrational outlook, lack of ambition and general readiness for change and experiment and submissiveness to authority." A.R. Desai, ed., Essays on Modernization of Underdeveloped Societies (Bombay: Thacker & Co. Ltd., 1971), p. vii.
45. A.G. Frank, On Capitalist Underdevelopment, p. 73.
46. A.E. Havens and W.L. Flinn, ed., Internal Colonialism and Structural Change in Columbia (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1970), p. 11.
47. Ibid.
48. Ibid., p. 13.

49. P.G. Casanova, "Internal Colonialism and National Development", Studies in Comparative International Development, Vol. I, No. 4, 1965, p. 29.
50. Gerald Wilkinson, "Colonialism through the Media", The Indian Historian, Vol. 7, 1974, p. 29.

Chapter II

This portion of the study is not simply an overview of the history of the Indian People for authorities such as E.P. Patterson have already accomplished this task; rather, the chapter is concerned with the normative control exercised by the Canadian government over the Indian Peoples. This normative control is the structural aspect of internal colonialism; the aspect that is concerned with decision-making institutions and, ultimately, the very living conditions of the people. This chapter shall examine the circumstances that allowed the Whites to obtain control, the legalistic decrees that established a new reality, and the bureaucratic system, the Department of Indian Affairs, that was to ensure that reality.

E. Palmer Patterson identifies four periods of Canadian Indian history: an initial period when the Indian was independent and relatively prosperous, a period of increasing dependency upon European trade goods, a period of movement "onto reserves and into political and economic dependence", and a final period, commencing in 1876, of colonialism.¹ This periodization shall be utilized to trace the psychological deterioration that resulted from the cultural contact and interaction.

It is imperative that the reader understand that the power of the Indian People decreased to such a point as to permit no meaningful dialogue; terms were simply dictated to the Indian Peoples.

The initial period of contact was one of independence for the Indian Peoples and has often been characterized as the "golden age" of the Indian. At this time, the Whites had need of the Indian for it was the indigenous populace that served as allies, provided guides, supplied foodstuffs and labour, and shared its knowledge of survival technology that allowed the White to function in a hostile environment. The White's very existence depended upon his maintenance of harmonious relations with the Indian Peoples. In this early period, the balance of power obviously lay with the indigenous people; however, the balance would shift as the trader made inroads with the consumer mentality.

Sealey and Kirkness make the assumption that the Indian Peoples "eagerly sought the trade goods of Europe....",² yet, the traders of the early period often stated that the Indian would bicker, haggle, cheat, and often not purchase the goods at all.³ Saum notes somewhat sarcastically, "Evidently, some sources have over-stated the ease of doing business with the aborigines."⁴ While the Indian did desire some of the

trade goods, especially the gun, it is a fallacy that the traders found captive markets for their products. The initial period of contact was one of selective acquisition of supplemental goods; indigenous skills and an abundance of game prevented any real formation of dependency at this time.

However, with the passage of time, economic interdependency grew and the control gradually slipped from the hands of the Indian Peoples. One reason for the adoption of European goods was the magical power associated with metal and its manufacture; thus, by acquiring metal goods, one also acquired some of the magical powers of those who could shape the black rock. The durability of European goods also was instrumental in the choice of said goods; Denys commented:

They have abandoned... all their own utensils, whether because of the trouble they had as well to make as to use them, or because of the facility of obtaining from us... the things which seem to them invaluable.... Above everything the kettle has always seemed to them, and still seems, the most valuable article they can obtain from us. 5

Far more important in the creation of dependency was the firearm for the purchasers were forced to return continuously to the source of supply for parts, repairs, gunpowder, and shot. The firearm brought about high

losses in inter-tribal conflict⁶ and, paradoxically, the use of the firearm often brought disaster to those who possessed the technological "advantage":

... the wars has allmost ruin'd this Country it being so thin Peopled at the best. there has been all those Indians as they Call em Sinnepoets Destroyed so that of about 60 Canos as us'd to Come Yearly there is not Above 6 familys left wch they told me this reason for it that they had the Use of there Bows and Arrows by having Guns so long Amongst them and when they were disappointed of Powder Shott wch was Often by the Ships not coming there Enemies found They had no guns to Defend themselves with made warr Upon them & Destry'd above 100 Tents Men, Women and children. (sic.) 7

European technology thus weakened the position of the Indian Peoples by substantially reducing their numbers and the seeds of dependency had been sown. Diamond Jenness commented on this evolutionary path of no return:

The old order changed completely with the coming of the Europeans. Stone tools and weapons gave place to tools and weapons of iron. Cooking vessels of clay, skin, bark, and wood to metal pots; the fire-stick to the flint and steel, and bows and arrows to firearms. Once a tribe had made these changes it could not revert to its former condition because it had lost most of its earlier skill in chipping knives and arrowheads of flint, in grinding out stone axes, and fashioning serviceable bows. Any withdrawal of the trading-posts upon which the Indians were now dependent would have caused endless hardships and widespread starvation. 8

Besides facilitating the destruction of the native populace, the European technology aided in the rapid demise of game and fur-bearing animals. Ray illustrates the increasing scarcity of fur-bearers by citing the number of marten taken in the Fort Dauphin District, a number that dropped from 2,196 in 1817 to 366 in 1821;⁹ this early decline was proportionate for all the fur-bearers except lynx. A similar scarcity was reported among the game animals; according to the Lac la Pluie reports of 1825-6:

Moose Deer (Moose) formerly were numerous in the Department at present however they are only to be Met with towards the Plains. In the spring of 1824 the Indians killed a great number, but this year the same Indians in the same places are almost starving to death.... 10

The physical condition of many Indians worsened to such a degree that several individuals resorted to cannibalism and a number did indeed starve to death. The foodstuffs of the trader were no longer a luxury; they had become indispensable.¹¹

Accompanying this gradual deterioration of food supplies and the fur cash crop were other factors that forced dependency upon the Indian. Disease ravaged and scattered the indigenous people; the extent of this calamity was recorded by several historians. Jenness noted:

By the year 1700 smallpox had spread over half the continent, leaving a trail of death and devastation... so that one hundred years after the introduction of smallpox into Canada all the tribes that roamed the Canadian plains from the eastern to the western limits of the country were infected.... As to the number of deaths one can only hazard a guess. Suffice it to say that it played no mean part in the reduction to a mere handful of the once numerous tribes that roamed the plains. 12

Bailey claims that a group of 1000 to 1200 had their numbers cut to one hundred.¹³ Smallpox, typhus, scrofula, tuberculosis - all served to further weaken the Indian and force him to seek more aid, whether in foodstuffs or medical assistance, from the trader.

A second scourge that decimated the Indian Peoples and brought further dependency was the consumption of alcohol. While the religious orders often tried to stem the flow of the alcoholic trade, the state and trading concerns believed that the use of liquor was indispensable in securing furs; thus, the liquor flowed freely. The results of the lavish distribution of alcohol were observed by Marie de l'Incarnation:

This drink destroys all these unfortunate people; men and women and even boys and girls. Each of them eats and drinks as he or she desires. They become intoxicated very quickly and are then maddened. They run about naked, and with various weapons chase people by day and night. 14

Bishop Laval was forced to enact a bill of excommunication aimed at punishing those who sold liquor to the Indians; the Bishop gave five reasons for his actions:

The Indians were selling all the proceeds of the chase for liquor with the consequence that their families were naked and starving. Some, to obtain brandy, sold their own children into servitude. Drunken children assaulted and injured their parents. Men used brandy as a philter to make girls drunk in order to seduce them, and quarrels and murders were prosecuted with impunity. 15

Sympathetic French governors issued series after series of regulations aimed at limiting the intake of alcohol by the Indian Peoples. However, it was still reported that "the Indians at Montreal, Three Rivers and elsewhere were perpetually drunk and in the worst disorder."¹⁶ In 1668, Denonville claimed that wherein twenty years before two thousand Indians had inhabited the French settlements, now only thirty could be found; he attributed the rapid decline to alcohol.¹⁷

The Jesuit Relations contain frequent references to the abuse of alcohol - a typical passage reads:

... drink is a demon that robs them of their reason, and so inflames their passion that, after returning from the chase richly laden with beaver skins, instead of furnishing their families with provisions, clothing, and other necessary supplies, they drink away the entire proceeds in one day and are forced to pass the winter in nakedness, famine, and all sorts of deprivation. 18

A 1693 memoir declared that the bodies of dead Indians could be found scattered throughout the woods and floating in the rivers; beside the bodies could be found empty barrels of brandy.¹⁹

While natural disasters such as famine and disease decimated the Indian Peoples, their penchant for alcohol further weakened their position. The Indian Peoples were scarcely in a position to counteract the force of the impactors from the outside and Dunning acknowledges the social disintegration which occurred as traditional leadership, and the social control that leadership ensured, gave way:

Traditional leadership, usually in the person of the outstanding hunter or conjuror, was sanctioned and reinforced by an utter dependence upon the subsistence environment together with a belief in the conjuror's therapeutic control of illness. This indigenous leadership waned in the face of the growing prestige and power of the external non-ethnic leader. Usually a trader or a missionary, rarely both, would be the only non-ethnic person in residence....

Consequently changes leading to development were ultimately funnelled through the contact person. The gradual acceptance of external institutions and services by the ethnic group correlates with, or rather is reflected by, the enhanced status undergoing ecological change.... There was... a change in the structure of leadership from that of the indigenous person whose prestige was based on the aboriginal ecology and belief system to that of the external non-ethnic contact who represented and controlled the new economy.

Thus, by the late 18th and early 19th centuries, the Indian found himself in a position of economic dependency. This, however, was only the first step towards a dependency so total as to regulate every aspect of Indian life.

The self-destruction through alcohol, the ravages of disease, the very real threat of starvation,²¹ and the technological dependence upon European trade goods all served to weaken the Indian just as the most severe challenge to his survival beckoned, for it was now that the attitude of the Whites towards Indian Peoples would undergo a dramatic change. In 1775, official British policy toward the Indian Peoples had been to view them as allies and, hence, annual presents were offered "to conciliate and pacify the Indians in peace time and to insure their support, as well as supply their needs as warriors in times of war."²² Stanley notes that the three major American powers utilized "primitive peoples to fight the battles of civilized nations":

In the past, in North America, all nations have been prepared to employ the native Indian peoples as military auxiliaries. Each country, be it France, England or the United States, while admitting the difficulties of keeping their aboriginal allies within the recognized bounds of civilized warfare, had been prepared, not only to use, but to employ every device to solicit the assistance of the Indians. 24

By 1830, the threat of war with the United States had abated and the purpose of cultivating Indians as allies was being seriously questioned; indeed, the very existence of the Indian department itself was in doubt. The new liberalism sweeping Europe brought about a change in public opinion that was reflected in official policy; no longer would the Indian be regarded as a "warlike barbarian" or "social nuisance," he was now a "noble savage" who needed saving.

Sir George Murray, Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, did not question the existence of the Indian department, but rather its purpose. He suggested that the department should re-direct its efforts to a "settled purpose of gradually reclaiming them (the Indian Peoples) from a state of barbarism and of introducing amongst them the industrious and peaceful habits of civilized life."²⁵ To facilitate this direction, Indian affairs ceased to be a branch of the military and became a branch of the public service. In response to Murray's request for suggestions that might ease the Indian's transformation, Sir James Kempt made the following recommendations:

1. To collect the Indians in considerable numbers, and to settle them in villages with due portion of land for their cultivation and support.

2. To make such provision for their religious improvement, education and instruction in husbandry, as circumstances may from time to time require.
3. To afford them such assistance in building their houses, rations, and in procuring such seed and agricultural implements as may be necessary, commuting where practicable, a portion of their presents for the latter... 26

Thus, the British Government officially accepted the reserve system, a system which was to be "the keystone of Canada's Indian Policy... a social laboratory, where the Indian could be 'civilized' and prepared for coping with the European."²⁷

Official policy toward the Indian Peoples had been outlined in the Royal Proclamation of October 7, 1763²⁸ whereby the British confirmed the policy of payment to Indian Peoples for their lands, recognized the concept of aboriginal rights, established that only the government was to deal with the Indian Peoples, and halted westward expansion until such time as treaties had been concluded in proposed areas of settlement. The Proclamation also embodied the germ of the reserve concept;²⁹ however, the Proclamation was not aimed at the confinement of the Indian Peoples, rather it was concerned with the rights of the Indian Peoples and the responsibilities of the Whites. The policy of the 1830's was specifically aimed

at confinement and two experimental reserves were formed at Lake St. Clair and Coldwater to lead the Indians of Upper Canada towards "a settled, civilized, Christian life."³⁰ Both reserves proved to be failures; Coldwater was abandoned in 1837 and the Manitoulin experiment at Manitowaning was terminated by 1858. Patterson, in analyzing the failure, comments:

Methodist and Roman Catholic missionaries competed for adherents and thereby created social conflicts. Missionaries and government personnel clashed over policies and practices, incompetent administrative staff made some efforts ineffectual, inferior equipment was supplied and frustrated Indians and Whites who used it, adequate financial support for programs was not forthcoming. Ignorance of Indian culture and values, however, must rank as one of the main factors on the side of the whites' failure.... The project was based on the desire to change Indian culture to something which the Indians apparently didn't want. Men regarded agricultural work as demeaning. Hunting and fishing were occupations more consistent with their traditions, and were certainly preferred to school attendance. Jobs such as road building were not meaningful in the context of their culture. 31

An evaluation of the reserve system concluded that the system was both impractical and a failure;³² however, the system was not blamed, and it was thought that the creation of small reserves located near White areas of settlement would ease the assimilation hurdle.

As the demand for westward expansion and settlement increased, the government was forced to concede to the

demands of the dominant society and it became imperative that the Indian Peoples be removed to reserves as quickly as possible. The Indian Peoples were in a weakened state and had little alternative but to obey the dictates of the government. The Indian was no longer the ally, operating from a power base; he was a ward with only the rights that the government would allow. With the establishment of reserves and the signing of the treaties, the Indian would, politically and economically, become a eunuch; structural colonialism would be his puppet strings, controlled from Ottawa by bureaucrats.

The treaties, the majority of which were signed in the 1870's, forced the Indian Peoples to acknowledge their position, and, to accept it as legitimate. The negotiations surrounding the treaties are crucial in the interpretation of the historical process and in understanding Indian-White power relations. The weakened position of the Indian Peoples left them in a very poor bargaining position, a disadvantage the government agents quickly exploited. During the Qu'Appelle negotiations, A. Morris, Lieutenant-Governor of the N.W.T., in charge of the negotiations spoke to the Cree and Saulteaux, delivering promises that would find eager response among those whose tribes faced starvation:

The Queen knows that you are poor; the Queen knows that it is hard to find food for yourselves and children; she knows that the winters are cold, and your children are often hungry; she has always cared for her red children as much as for her white. Out of her generous heart and liberal hand she wants to do something for you, so that when the buffalo get scarcer, and they are scarce enough now, you may be able to do something for yourselves. 33

If this line of reasoning failed, the government officials often turned to the "divide and conquer" tactics. In the Qu'Appelle negotiations, the federal officials attempted to drive a wedge between the Cree and Saulteaux and, during the North-West Angle treaty-signing, Morris made it perfectly clear that "he would make a treaty with such of the bands as were willing to accept his terms, to the exclusion of the others...."³⁴ This pressure tactic worked well in Treaty Three negotiations and dissenting chiefs were forced "to reconsider their demands."³⁵

The ultimate power lay with the government officials, a fact which did not escape them. Failing to find a sympathetic hearing or upon meeting stubborn resistance, the government representatives simply placed negotiations on a take-it-or-leave-it basis:

We told them that whether they wished it or not, immigrants would come in and fill up the country; that every year from this one twice as many in number as their whole people there assembled would pour into the Province, and in a little

while would spread all over it, and that now was the time for them to come to an arrangement that would secure homes and annuities for themselves and their children. 36

The presence of the military at the treaty negotiations also added a very real threat and silently demonstrated the futility of resisting; this was especially true as accounts of the American military massacres of Cheyenne, Sioux, Utes, and Piegans filtered northward.³⁷ Morris could confidently say that the military presence had "a great effect on savages, and the presence, even of a few troops, will have a good tendency."³⁸

The Canadian Indian Peoples were in no condition to debate terms and to place the label "negotiations" on treaty-making is not totally accurate. Not only were the Indian Peoples in no psychological or physical condition to negotiate, the concepts under negotiation were sometimes interpreted differently by the parties concerned. Stanley comments on the treaties in the following terms:

In the first place they were not really 'negotiated' treaties in the proper sense of the word. The concessions granted to the Indians were never made in deference to the demands or wishes of the Indians. Discussion was confined to an explanation of the terms. The Indian could not change these terms: they were given only one power of acceptance or refusal. The fact is that the Indians never understood

what was happening. They did not understand the legal concept of individual ownership of land. They appreciated the principle of usufruct; and many of the chiefs thought that they were yielding to the whites only the right to use the land, not the right of exclusive private ownership. 39

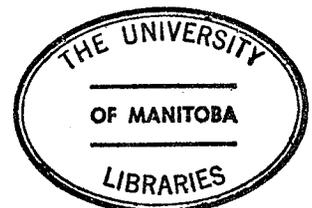
J. Pecover voices similar thoughts:

Viewed generally and in the light of subsequent history, the treaties are doleful records, sounding the death-knell of a civilization. One is impressed by their legal draftsmanship... they are unexceptionable documents which serve to a fare-thee-sell the purpose of them: to make legal the giving away of everything. To read them without regard to considerations of draftsmanship and legality within the confines of a judicial system whose jurisdiction is suspect is to be struck at once by a sense of outrage. Legality and natural justice do not converge in their stately strophes. The surrender of a birthright for a mess of paternalistic pottage is, on the most superficial examination, an offense to sensibility. They were palpably bad bargains -- depending on one's point of view -- made because there was nothing else for it. In near parodies of diplomatic bargaining between sovereign equals, the sad ceremonies were carried out at the river crossings and in the poplar groves across the West. Negotiations took the form of the commissioners patiently hearing out the impossible demands, listening politely to the oratory (delivered by the chiefs with great natural dignity, doubtlessly), making their demulcent replies and presenting for signing treaties, the important terms of which had been fixed prior to the meetings. 40

By the terms of the treaties, the Indian Peoples were to "cede, release, surrender, and yield up to Her Majesty

the Queen, and her successors for ever, all the lands...."⁴¹ which were under discussion; the government also extracted promises of peace and no molestation of persons or property. In return, the government would establish reserves, schools if desired, control the liquor traffic, and provide treaty payments. The governmental obligations varied from treaty to treaty as each successive Indian negotiating team learned from its predecessors, but gains were minimal. With the surrender of their lands, the Indian Peoples were made fully aware of their status as conquered and they had indeed "delivered over ... birthright and lands."⁴² Barbeau, in a sympathetic passage, acknowledges the tragic ordeal of the 1870's:

About the time their food supply was giving out, and their physique, in consequence, was being undermined, the Indians of the northwest suffered the most painful experience of the century, what to them meant no less than exile. They were forced to renounce their territorial rights, to give up the hunting grounds they knew and loved so well, the lands where their forefathers had lived and were buried. In return they accepted gifts, small reserves with treaty annuities; and in the case of the British Columbia tribes, reserves only and a forlorn hope of redress. With heavy hearts they had to acknowledge the inevitable and pass into comparative confinement henceforth to find ample time to dream of their past glories and ponder over the future. 43



The decision to establish reserves was a pre-meditated move, for the reserves were seen to offer the best path to assimilation. The reserves, scattered and isolated from each other, would break up the tribal organizations⁴⁴ and allow the Indian to acquire the skills of the white man. Then too, schools would be able to inculcate White values and the missionaries would be able to destroy any remnants of the traditional belief system. To effect this end, an attempt was made to turn usually nomadic tribes into agriculturalists, to settle, to civilize, and to Christianize the Indian Peoples.⁴⁵

One is struck immediately by the paradox of the White philosophy. The Indian was expected to assimilate into the dominant society and, to achieve this goal, the Indian was isolated from, and legally forbidden to enter, the dominant society. Shumiatcher notes the paradoxical nature of such thought:

As the reserve was to be the fortress to give shelter to the Indian, so his special legal status was to be the shield to protect him. But like the Maginot Line, which gave a false sense of security to the French in a later age, these artificial devices served neither to safeguard the Indian nor to strengthen him. On the contrary, they only weakened and debilitated him. At this time he required not only his ancient resourcefulness to adapt to the changes that were taking place everywhere about him, but also an exposure, to the realities of that strange

new world. Without such exposure, and the lumps that came with it, the Indian could never hope to become a part of that world. The white man's well-intentioned zeal to protect the Indian against disaster itself became the red man's chief disaster. 46

The Indian was expected to assimilate; yet, the nature of his "protection" guaranteed that he would not assimilate.

Whether the motivation for the implementation of treaties and reserves arose from White greed for Indian lands or whether the removal was effected for altruistic motives is a moot question and, no doubt, both were influential factors. Whether "land" and "treaty" meant the same to both Indian and White is not a pressing issue within this study, although there can be little doubt that the terms were interpreted differently by the two groups.⁴⁷ However, it is crucial to understand the power relations of the treaty-signing and the significance that the signing entailed. The Indian was in a weakened bargaining position due to the factors cited within this chapter and the government exploited that weakness to dictate conditions. By placing their signature upon the treaties, the Indian chiefs acknowledged the power relationship and accepted their subordinate position; thus, the government had, with those signatures, legitimized its control over Indian Peoples.

The British North America Act of 1867 had delineated federal/provincial responsibilities and, under Section 91, the federal government assumed responsibility for Indians and the lands reserved for Indians.⁴⁸ Having confined the Indian Peoples within reserves, the Canadian government then proceeded to ensure complete domination of his ward and to have that domination justified by law. The government quickly enacted legislation to establish its rights and the Indian Peoples' responsibilities.

In 1868, An Act providing for the organisation of the Department of the Secretary of State of Canada, and for the management of Indian and Ordnance Lands was passed and became law on May 22. The Act consisted of ten pages with its chief concerns the definition of the term "Indian", the control of the liquor trade, the control of Indian lands, and, the control of Indian funds. The Governor in Council was given total discretionary powers regarding Indian monies.

The Governor in Council may, subject to the provisions of this Act, direct how, and in what manner, and by whom the moneys arising from sales of Indian Lands, and from the property held or to be held in trust for the Indians, or from any timber thereon, or from any other source for the benefit of Indians, shall be invested from time to time, and how the payments or assistance to which the Indians may be entitled shall be made or given, and may provide for the general management of

such lands, moneys and property, and direct what percentage or proportion thereof shall be set apart from time to time, to cover the cost of and attendant upon such management under the provisions of this Act, and for the construction or repair of roads passing through such lands, and by way of contribution to schools frequented by such Indians. 49

This Act contains no reference to powers invested within the band or representatives of that band, all powers lying with the federal government.

In 1869, An Act for the gradual enfranchisement of Indians, the better management of Indian affairs, and to extend the provisions of the Act 31st Victoria, Chapter 42 empowered the Superintendent General to pay the legal costs of trial and incarceration for Indian offenders.⁵⁰ In addition, the Governor in Council was granted authority to order elections,⁵¹ a fact which even today causes friction as traditional and elected chiefs vie for power.⁵² However, the chiefs were given certain powers:

1. The care of public health.
2. The observance of order and decorum at assemblies of the people in General Council, or on other occasions.
3. The repression of intemperance and profligacy.
4. The prevention of trespass by cattle.
5. The maintenance of roads, bridges, ditches and fences.
6. The establishment of and maintaining in repair of school houses, council houses and other Indian public buildings.
7. The establishment of pounds and the appointment of poundkeepers. 53

These "powers", though, were still "subject to confirmation by the Governor in Council";⁵⁴ it would seem that the chiefs could not even be trusted with the care of wayward dogs.

The first Indian Act, An Act to amend and consolidate the laws respecting Indians, was passed in 1876, and was comprised of one hundred sections, filling thirty pages; the increase in content was not due to any extra duties being delegated to the chiefs. The only additional power granted the chiefs was the authority to locate the land in their reserves and establish a register of these locations,⁵⁵ a duty related to the major new provision, the process of enfranchisement.

Upon reaching the age of twenty-one, an Indian man or unmarried Indian woman could seek enfranchisement; upon the favourable report of:

some competent person... whether the applicant is an Indian who, from the degree of civilization to which he or she has attained, and the character for integrity, morality and sobriety which he or she bears, appears to be qualified to become proprietor of land in fee simple.... 56

the Superintendent-General could grant the Indian applicant a location ticket which gave the applicant ownership rights to a piece of land allotted by the band. John Tobias notes the importance of the location

ticket⁵⁷ for the location ticket "... was a means by which the Indian could demonstrate that he had adopted the European concept of private property, which was an additional test of whether he had become 'civilized.'"⁵⁸ After a probationary period of three years, the Superintendent-General could grant the Indian his allotted land or extend the period of probation. The only way to escape this process was to obtain a University degree or be ordained, thereby gaining automatic enfranchisement.

The powers of the Governor in Council regarding the internal political dynamics of reserve life were reiterated:

The Governor in Council may order that the chiefs of any band of Indians shall be elected, as hereinbefore provided, at such time and place, as the Superintendent-General may direct, and they shall in such case be elected for a period of three years, unless deposed by the Governor for dishonesty, intemperance, immorality, or incompetency.... 59

Economics, politics, and entrance into the dominant society were all carefully controlled by the White bureaucracy. Section 3(12) seems to best sum up the power relations: "The term 'person' means an individual other than an Indian...."⁶⁰

Tobias, in his examination of the 1876 Indian Act,

concludes:

What becomes even clearer is the Government's determination to make the Indians into imitation Europeans and to eradicate the old Indian values through education, religion, new economic and political systems, and a new concept of property. Not only was the Indian as a distinct cultural group to disappear, but the laboratory where these changes were brought about would also disappear, for as the Indian enfranchised, that is, became assimilated, he would take with him his share of the reserve. Therefore when all Indians were enfranchised, there would no longer be any Indian reserves. The first piece of comprehensive legislation by which the Government exercised its exclusive jurisdiction over Indians and Indian lands had as its purpose the eventual extirpation of this jurisdiction by doing away with those persons and lands that fell within the category of Indians and Indian lands. 61

To assist the government in its eradication of the old Indian values, the Indian Act of 1880 established a Department of Indian Affairs⁶² and contained a clause aimed at curtailment of the powers of the traditional chiefs, "... the life chiefs shall not exercise the power of chiefs unless elected under such order to the exercise of such powers."⁶³ While attempting to destroy the power of traditional chiefs, the Department granted the elected chiefs additional powers; the chiefs now could determine the denomination of teachers employed on reserves and the chiefs could assume the awesome duty of repressing noxious weeds.⁶⁴ Other than these

few changes, the Act of 1880 differed little from the Indian Act of 1876.

The 1884 amendment to the Indian Act attempted to zero in on the British Columbian tribes in the government's program to destroy the traditional culture. The potlatch, a sharing and demonstration of wealth, was a crucial ceremony in the societal structure of certain tribes; it offered an avenue to social mobility, a substitute for war,⁶⁵ and "a distribution of furs, robes and other goods, which would probably be returned in kind at another potlatch"⁶⁶ - a form of social security or banking. However, government bureaucrats believed that the potlatch and tamanawas, medicine dances, were impeding civilization of the coastal tribes; Indian Affairs personnel described the potlatch in terms designed to foster hostile reaction from the legislators. The 1883 Annual Report of Indian Affairs contained the following definition of the potlatch:

... feasts at which an immense amount of personal property is squandered in gifts by one Band to another, and at which much valuable time is lost. 67

The 1882 Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs (DIA) described the potlatch as "worse than useless heathenish ceremonies."⁶⁸ The stage was set for legislation and the 1884 amendment contained such provisions:

Every Indian or other person who engaged or assists in celebrating the Indian festival known as the 'Potlatch' or in the Indian dance known as the 'Tamanawas' is guilty of a misdemeanor, and shall be liable to imprisonment for a term of not more than six nor less than two months... and any Indian or other person who encourages, either directly or indirectly, an Indian or Indians to get up such a festival or dance, or to celebrate the same, or who shall assist in the celebration of the same is guilty of a like offence, and shall be liable to the same punishment. 69

The Indian Advancement Act of 1884 seemed to demonstrate that the government was moving to allow the bands more autonomy as additional powers, including the levying of taxes on lands of enfranchised Indians or on those in possession of a location ticket, were granted. The bands were also given responsibility for public health and the police power to remove and punish persons trespassing on the reserve.⁷¹ While the Act would seem to give the band more authority, a closer examination proves that this was not the case:

... it (the Indian Advancement Act) greatly increased the powers of the Superintendent General to direct the band's political affairs. Election regulation, size of the band council, and deposition of elected officials were all spelled out in the Act. Moreover, the Superintendent General or an agent delegated by him was empowered to call for the elections, supervise them, call band meetings, preside over them, record them, advise the band council, and participate in the meetings in every manner except to vote and adjourn the meetings. 72

The location ticket system refused to work for the simple reason that few band councils were willing to allow the dissection of their reserves by enfranchised members. To thwart the system, the bands refused to allot reserve land to individual band members; with no allotment, a location ticket could not be issued. To destroy the band's ability to preserve the reserve entity, the power to allot land was taken from the band and became a responsibility of the Superintendent General.⁷³

To circumvent band councils who refused to surrender any portion of their lands, an 1894 amendment to the Indian Act contained a revision to Section 38:

... the superintendent general may lease, for the benefit of Indians engaged in occupations which interfere with their cultivating land on the reserve, and of sick, infirm or aged Indians, and of widows and orphans or neglected children, lands to which they are entitled without the same being released or surrendered. ⁷⁴

The Superintendent General now held the power to lease reserve land without the consent of the band council.

An 1898 amendment gave the Superintendent General further powers over Indian monies:

The Governor in Council may... provide for the general management of such moneys, and direct what percentage or proportion thereof shall be set apart, from time to time, to cover the cost of and incidental to the management of reserves, lands, property and moneys under the provisions of this Act... ⁷⁵

The further expansion of the Department into Indian finances was justified as necessary due to Indian refusal to assume responsibilities of health and police duties.

To force the Indian to lead a more "civilized" life, a series of amendments were added to the Indian Act in an endeavour to force the Indian to lead a sedentary, Christian existence. The Potlatch had already been outlawed so the government could now turn its attention to the Plains Indians in its effort to crush all that was central to the maintenance of the traditional culture; the Sun Dance offered an attractive target for bureaucratic action. The Sun Dance is a ceremony of extreme religious significance; "it is a re-creation ceremony, a rite that makes everything new and in this way repeats the supernatural events of the primeval times."⁷⁶ The Sun Dance was a time of socialization when the legends, morals, and history of the tribe could be passed on to the youth; it was also an important phase in the growth process of the youth:

... it is also a rite de passage, sponsoring the introduction of the youths into tribal religious life. It mediates the visions which can help the young men to become successful hunters, warriors or medicine-men. Therefore the hard ordeals and molestations and the excesses of self-torture, all aiming at producing the vision in which a guardian spirit bestows his supernatural resources on man.

Such a crucial ceremony was an obvious target and, in 1895, Section 114 of the Indian Act was amended to include a ban on the Sun Dance.⁷⁸

To encourage the Indian to abandon his traditional forms of livelihood, fishing, hunting, and trapping, Section 133 of the revised Indian Advancement Act stipulated:

The Superintendent General may, from time to time, by public notice, declare that, on and after a day therein named, the laws respecting game in force in the Province of Manitoba or The Western Territories, or respecting such game as is specified in such notice, shall apply to Indians within the said Province or Territories, as the case may be, or to Indians in such parts thereof as to him seems expedient. 79

The stringent game rules of the Province or Territories could now be used to severely limit traditional occupations and steer the Indian towards the more acceptable field of agriculture.

Schooling was seen as a very important aspect in the "civilizing" process of the Indian Peoples; this aspect will be discussed more fully at a later point within this study. However, the legislation applicable to schooling forms a part of structural colonialism as the institution was both imposed and controlled from the outside; the legislation was very clear and very strict:

The Governor in Council may make regulations, either general or affecting the Indians of any province or of any named band, to secure the compulsory attendance of children at school.

Such regulations, in addition to any other provisions deemed expedient, may provide for the arrest and conveyance to school, and detention there, of truant children and of children who are prevented by their parents or guardians from attending: and such regulations may provide for the punishment, upon summary conviction, by fine or imprisonment, or both, of parents and guardians, or persons having the charge of children, who fail, refuse or neglect to cause such children to attend school.

The Governor in Council may establish an industrial school or a boarding school for Indians, or may declare any existing Indian school to be such industrial school or boarding school for the purposes of this section.

The Governor in Council may make regulations, which shall have the force of law, for the committal by justices or Indian agents of children of Indian blood under the age of sixteen years, to such industrial school or boarding school, to the maintenance of such schools respectively, or to the maintenance of the children themselves. 80

This legislation gave the Governor in Council powers that were frightening; he could order the removal of the child from his/her parents and the internment of that child in a boarding or industrial school to the age of sixteen.

With all the government prodding, there was still little effort on the part of individual Indians or bands to enfranchise. By 1920, the government decided that new dictatorial powers were needed; to this end, Section 107 (2) decreed:

On the report of the Superintendent General that any Indian, male or female, over the age of twenty-one years is fit for enfranchisement, the Governor in Council may by order direct that such Indians shall be and become enfranchised.... 81

Whether desired or not, enfranchisement could now be forced upon any Indian chosen by DIA officials.

These various powers, economic, political, and social, made the Superintendent General and his Department omnipotent; there was very little which was not directly under the control of the Superintendent General. The Indian Act of 1906⁸² and the Indian Act of 1927⁸³ contained a reiteration of Departmental powers and there was little change over this period of time. The powers of the chiefs and bands likewise remained unchanged:

The chief or chiefs of any band in council may likewise and subject to such confirmation, make rules and regulations as to

- (a) the care of public health;
- (b) the observance of order and decorum at assemblies of the Indians in general council, or on other occasions;
- (c) the prevention of disorderly conduct and nuisances;
- (d) the prevention of trespass by cattle, and the protection of sheep, horses, mules and cattle;
- (e) the construction and maintenance of watercourses, roads, bridges, ditches and fences;

- (f) the construction and repair of school houses, council houses and other Indian public buildings, and the attendance at school of children between the ages of six and fifteen years;
- (g) the establishment of pounds and the appointment of poundkeepers;
- (h) the locating of the band in their reserves, and the establishment of a register of such locations;
- (i) the repression of noxious weeds. 84

Cardinal's cynical comment that "the only power that the chief and council had which did not require them to ask permission from the Indian agent, was controlling the weeds on the reserve...."⁸⁵ would seem all too true.

This then was the state of affairs; the Superintendent General omnipotent, the chiefs and band, powerless. This situation remained until the late 1940's; the Hawthorn Report commented on Indian affairs:

The Indian Affairs Branch at the end of the war (World War II) had primarily a custodial approach to its tasks. It was staffed with few professionals; its financial appropriations were inadequate; many Indian children did not go to school; much of the existing schooling was undertaken by religious orders which provided only half-day teaching for their Indian pupils; the Act governing the administration of Indian affairs had been devised in the previous century and had undergone few amendments; the Act contained a repressive attitude to Indian cultures. 86

In 1948, a Joint Committee of the House of Commons and the Senate was convened to study the Indian Act;

the Committee's findings and recommendations were as follows:

Many anachronisms, anomalies, contradictions and divergencies were found in the Act.

Your Committee deems it advisable that, with few exceptions, all sections of the Act be either repealed or amended. The Law Officers of the Crown would, of course, need to make other necessary and consequential revisions and rearrangements of the Act which, when thus revised, should be presented to Parliament as soon as possible, but not later than the next session....

All proposed revisions are designed to make possible the gradual transition of Indians from wardship to citizenship and to help them to advance themselves.

In order to achieve these objectives, your Committee recommends in addition to other recommendations hereinafter set out,

(a) That the revised Act contain provisions to protect from injustice and exploitation such Indians as are not sufficiently advanced to manage their own affairs;

(b) That Indian women of the full age of 21 years be granted the right to vote for the purpose of electing Band Councillors and at such other times as the members of the band are required to decide a matter by voting thereon;

(c) That greater responsibility and more progressive measures of self government of Reserve and Band affairs be granted to Band Councils, to assume and carry out such responsibilities;

(d) That financial assistance be granted to Band Councils to enable them to undertake, under proper supervision, projects for the physical and economic betterment of the Band members;

(e) That such Reserves as become sufficiently advanced be then recommended for incorporation within the terms of the Municipal Acts of the province in which they are situate;

(f) That the offence and penalty sections of the Indian Act be made equitable and brought into conformity with similar sections in the Criminal Code or other statutes;

(g) That the Indians be accorded the same rights and liable to the same penalties as others with regard to the consumption of intoxicating beverages on licensed premises, but there shall be no manufacture, sale or consumption, in or on a Reserve, of 'intoxicants' within the meaning of the Indian Act;

(h) That it be the duty and responsibility of all officials dealing with Indians to assist them to attain the full rights and to assume the responsibilities of Canadian citizenship. 87

In response to these recommendations, a new Indian Act was passed in 1951.⁸⁸ The Act fulfilled most of the requirements of the Joint Committee; many of the sections found reprehensible were deleted and the Minister's powers were substantially reduced as he was now to have only a supervisory role.⁸⁹ The Minister required band authority to direct Indian matters, a drastic change from the pre-1951 Acts.

While the 1951 Act would seem to differ greatly from its predecessor, its aim of assimilation had not differed and the acknowledged powers of the chiefs and bands had been increased only marginally. Among the new powers allowed the Indian Peoples were the regulation of bee-keeping, the control of peddlars on reserve land, the construction and regulation of public wells and resevoirs, the control of games and amusements on reserve

lands, and the preservation of animal life on reserve lands.⁹⁰ However, greater autonomy was allowed for the development of reserve self-government; the Hawthorn Report seemed to voice a great deal of satisfaction with the 1951 Act:

The present Indian Act is a much less restrictive document than its predecessor. Certain restrictions on Indian activity contained in the old Indian Act were quietly dropped in the revision of 1951.

There is a noticeable trend to reduce the amount of ministerial and Governor-in-Council discretion in the Indian Act. The corollary of this is, of course, increased attention to self-government and Indian participation in decision making.

A consequence of the above trends is that the incentives to give up Indian status via enfranchisement are receding. It is partly, of course, the failure of the enfranchisement process to reduce the size of the Indian status population which has made it difficult to justify the attaching of serious disabilities to possession of that status. 91

Others have not been so generous in their praise.

Harold Cardinal is vehement in his denunciation of the Act:

The Indian Act, instead of implementing the treaties and offering much-needed protection to Indian rights, subjugated to colonial rule the very people whose rights it was supposed to protect....

The finances of the reserves are almost exclusively under the control of the Department of Indian Affairs acting through the powers of the minister. Both the capital and revenue monies of the band are held by the government in a consolidated revenue fund. (Capital monies are defined as

those derived⁹² primarily from the sale of the jointly-owned produce of the band.) Together these monies constitute the entire band fund, comprising all financial assets of the band. Under section 64 the minister may, with the consent of the band council, direct the expenditure of these monies for various public works and/or welfare projects. The band council, however, is powerless to make such expenditures without the consent of the minister.

Except possibly for the slight ameliorating effect of sections 86-89, the Indian Act, that piece of colonial legislation, enslaved and bound the Indian to a life under a tyranny often as cruel and harsh as that of any totalitarian state. 92

Senator James Gladstone comments:

This is my own opinion, and I think that Indians all over the country will agree with me. The Indian Act, which was designed to protect us, has now put us in a state of protective custody, and it was intended to act just the opposite. 93

Chief Ed Anderson wants the Act "thrown out completely";⁹⁴
Roy Whitney feels that the Indian Act is twenty-five years behind the times and "actually degrades a person."⁹⁵

The observer of governmental handling of Indian Peoples is at once struck by several similarities between South Africa's treatment of its indigenous peoples and Canada's treatment of its Indian Peoples. However, within Canada, enfranchisement could always allow the Indian Peoples to escape the bureaucratic restraints and freedom of movement was restricted for a relatively short period. Still, there are many parallels between the two governments in their approach to methods and

policies. Both countries have elected to impose a system of legalized segregation through the institute of the reserve. In Canada, the system was imposed by treaty and formalized by the Indian Act; in South Africa, "there has been a tendency to regard certain lands as Black areas which could be inhabited only by Blacks...."⁹⁶ and this was legitimized by the Bantu Land Act, No. 27 of 1913.

The powers of the South African Department of Native Affairs, which split into the Department of Bantu Administration and the Department of Bantu Education in October of 1958, are remarkably like those of the DIA:

The Department of Bantu Administration and Development is responsible for the control and administration of all the Reserves, with a population of about 4,250,000. In the Reserves it administers justice through Bantu Commissioners' courts and through government recognized chiefs;* it collects taxes and administers Native Trust Funds; it is responsible for soil conservation and for fostering industries; it administers social welfare Acts; and it controls the recruitment of labour to work outside the Reserves. 97

The ministerial powers are, once again, omnipotent:

The system has its dangers, however, the greatest of which is to be found in the wider powers which the minister is given. By the Native Administration Act of 1927 (and amendments) the Governor-General was regarded as supreme chief over all Africans and the minister, acting on his behalf, exercises all the powers that the despotic chief was assumed to have among the Zulu. 98

*emphasis added

The International Commission of Jurists, in their examination of the South African policy of apartheid, state:

The most basic, and at the same time perhaps the most resented, application of apartheid is to be found in the restrictions imposed upon the movement and residence of non-whites. 99

Yet, this was a policy not only confined to South Africa for Indian Peoples in Canada were likewise confined to reserve areas and their movement was severely regulated through a pass system.¹⁰⁰ One finds other similarities; the divide and conquer tactics¹⁰¹ and the decision to utilize elections to destroy the authority of tribal chieftans¹⁰² were methods used by both governments. If South Africa is acknowledged¹⁰³ as being colonialistic towards its Native Peoples, must not the same label apply to Canada?

The Indian Act of 1951 continues to be the governing legislation which regulates Indian life in Canada - whether the Act is a constraining or liberating force would seem debatable. Yet, surely an appraisal of the current status of the Indian Peoples would reflect the truth regarding the Act; and, this will be the focus of the following chapter.

Footnotes

1. E.P. Patterson, The Canadian Indian: A History Since 1500 (Don Mills: Collier-Macmillan Canada, Ltd., 1972), p. 39.
2. B. Sealey and V. Kirkness, ed., Indians Without Tipis (Winnipeg: William Clare Ltd., 1973), p. 16.
3. Edward Umfreville describes the eloquent plea of an Indian leader in the early 18th century:
You told me last year to bring many Indians to trade, which I promised to do; you see I have not lied; here are a great many young men comes with me; use them kindly, I say; let them trade good goods; let them trade good goods, I say! We lived hard last winter and hungry, the powder being short measure and bad; being short measure and bad, I say! Tell your servants to fill the measure, and not put their thumbs within the brim.... Let us trade good black tobacco, moist and hard twisted; let us see it before it is opened.... The guns are bad, let us trade light guns, small in the hand, and well shaped, with locks that will not freeze in the winter....
E. Umfreville, The Present State of Hudson's Bay (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1954), p. 31.
4. Lewis O. Saum, The Fur Trader and the Indian (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1965), p. 149. Ray notes that Andrew Graham and many other traders pointed out that Indian demand for goods until 1821 was "relatively inelastic". A.J. Ray, Indians in the Fur Trade: their role as trappers, hunters and middlemen in the lands southwest of Hudson Bay, 1660 - 1870 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974), p. 68.
5. A.G. Bailey, The Conflict of European and Eastern Algonkian Cultures 1504-1700; A Study in Canadian Civilization (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), p. 54.
6. A.J. Ray cites losses of 6,000 Cree and Chipewyans, a sizeable number considering involvement of only two tribal groupings. A.J. Ray, Indians in the Fur Trade, p. 19.
7. Ibid.

8. D. Jenness, The Indians of Canada (Ottawa: National Museum of Canada, 1932), p. 254.
9. A.J. Ray, Indians in the Fur Trade, p. 117.
10. Ibid., p. 121.
11. Stanley is in accord with this view as he notes that the "hapless" Indian "became dependent upon the white man for his homely needs and even for life itself." G.F.G. Stanley, The Birth of Western Canada (Toronto: Longmans, Green and Co., 1936), p. 198.
12. D. Jenness, The Indians of Canada, p. 252.
13. A.G. Bailey, The Conflict of European and Eastern Algonkian Cultures, p. 78. Patterson claims that three-fourths of the Cree nation died and, as a result of the smallpox epidemic of 1836, so too did 4000 Assiniboines. E.P. Patterson, The Canadian Indian, p. 95. Bruce Trigger attributes a loss of over 50% of the population of Huronia to a smallpox epidemic of 1638 to 1640. B. Trigger, "The Jesuits and the Fur Trade", Ethnohistory, Volume 12, 1965, p. 40. Marius Barbeau comments on the Indian fear of smallpox and the manner in which Whites would use the fear to their advantage:
 Mr. McDougall of the Astoria Company had good reason to use every means to protect his men against the thievish bands frequenting the Dalles of the Columbia. He knew with what dread they remembered the smallpox epidemics of the past. The most horrowing features of their ravages were not yet forgotten. In the height of fever the sick used to plunge into the cold river or roll in the snow; but this treatment brought instant death. Others committed suicide out of fright. Whole villages were wiped out; others had only a few survivors. 'The great Master of Life,' so they believed, 'had delivered them over to the Evil Spirit in punishment for their wickedness.' In the midst of a gathering of several chiefs at the Dalles, Mr. McDougall showed a small bottle containing a dark liquid and said, 'My party here is

small in numbers but strong in medicine.
 You must advise your people not to
 molest us, else I shall uncork this
 bottle; it contains the spirit of
 smallpox, and you will all die out.'

M. Barbeau, Indian Days on the Western Prairies
 (Ottawa: National Museum of Canada, 1960), pp. 7-8.
 Said example occurred in 1814.

14. G. Walsh, Indians in Transition (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1971), p. 47.
15. A.G. Bailey, The Conflict of European and Eastern Algonkian Cultures, p. 67.
16. Ibid., p. 69.
17. Ibid., p. 72.
18. R.G. Thwaites, ed., The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, Vol. XLVI (New York: Pageant Book Co., 1959), p. 103.
19. A.G. Bailey, The Conflict of European and Eastern Algonkian Cultures, p. 73. This report might seem fanciful; however, there can be little doubt as to the basic truth inherent in the statement.
20. R.W. Dunning, "Ethnic Relations and the Marginal Man in Canada", Human Organization, Volume 18, No. 3, 1959, p. 118.
21. Ake Hultkrantz comments on the cannibalism induced by starvation in his article "The Hare Indians: Notes on their Traditional Culture and Religion, Past and Present", Ethnos, No. 1-4, 1973. See C. Scollen's correspondence with the Governor of Manitoba in 1876 for further references to the ravages of alcohol and disease. A. Morris, The Treaties of Canada with the Indians of Manitoba and the North-West Territories (Toronto: Belfords, Clarke & Co., 1880), p. 248.
22. R.J. Surtees, "The Development of an Indian Reserve Policy in Canada", Ontario History, Vol. LXI, June, 1969, p. 87.
23. G.F.G. Stanley, "The Indians in the War of 1812", The Canadian Historical Review, Volume 31, No. 2, June 1950, p. 145.

24. Ibid.
25. R.J. Surtees, "The Development of an Indian Reserve Policy in Canada", p. 90.
26. Ibid., p. 92.
27. J.L. Tobias, "Protection, Civilization, Assimilation: An Outline History of Canada's Indian Policy", The Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology, Volume VI, No. 2, 1976, p. 15.
28. See Appendix I for a copy of this document.
29. Ibid., "... any Lands within the Countries above described, or upon any other Lands which, not having been ceded to or purchased by Us, are still reserved to the said Indians...."
30. R.J. Surtees, "The Development of an Indian Reserve Policy in Canada", p. 93.
31. E.P. Patterson, The Canadian Indian, p. 114.
32. J.L. Tobias, "Protection, Civilization, Assimilation", p. 15.
33. A. Morris, The Treaties of Canada with the Indians, p. 92.
34. Ibid., p. 65.
35. Ibid.
36. Ibid., p. 34.
37. G.F.G. Stanley recalls the Piegan massacre of 1870 in The Birth of Western Canada and Dee Brown relates accounts of other massacres in Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1970). The massacres of Black Kettle's band at Sand Creek and Washita River must rank with the most infamous crimes against humanity and the words of General Sheridan, commander, have become identifiable as U.S. policy of that period, " 'The only good Indian I ever saw was dead.' " D. Brown, Bury My Heart At Wounded Knee, p. 170.

38. A. Morris, The Treaties of Canada with the Indians, p. 32.
39. G.F.G. Stanley, "The Indian Background of Canadian History", The Canadian Historical Association Annual Report, 1952, p. 20.
40. J. Pecover, "A Modest Treatise on Treaties", The Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology, Vol. II, No. 2, July 1971, p. 54.
41. A. Morris, The Treaties of Canada with the Indians, p. 314.
42. Ibid., p. 46.
43. M. Barbeau, Indian Days on the Western Prairies, p. 44. F.E. LaViolette places the label "displaced population" on the Indian Peoples as a result of this move. F.E. LaViolette, The Struggle for Survival (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961), p. 11.
44. G.F.G. Stanley, The Birth of Western Canada, p. 195.
45. For a discussion of the futility of such efforts, see M. Shumiatcher, Welfare: Hidden Backlash (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1971), p. 43 ff.
46. Ibid., p. 53.
47. As Cumming and Mickenberg point out, "The Indians were a non-literate people and the concept of a treaty was foreign to their culture." P. Cumming and N.H. Mickenberg, ed., Native Rights in Canada (Toronto: General Publishing, 1972), p. 123. The process was made even more confusing by governmental statements such as those of Wemyss Simpson:
 Not in the lifetime of the present generation will farming settlements of white men be seen in such quarters as Fort Alexander, for instance; and in treating with Indians from such districts, the government are (sic) in fact giving them presents -- not purchasing from them land of great value... that which the Indian receives for these lands is in reality a present from the government.
 Manitoba Indian Brotherhood, Treaty Days, August 3, 1971, p. 19.

48. A Consolidation of the British North America Acts 1867 to 1975 (Ottawa: Department of Justice, 1976), p. 25.
49. Statutes of Canada, (S.C.), 31st Vict., Chapter 42, 1868, pp. 11-12.
50. S.C., 32-33 Vict., Chapter 6, 1869, p. 23.
51. Ibid., p. 24.
52. M. Montgomery, "The Legal Status of the Six Nations Indians in Canada", Ontario History, Vol. LV, No. 2, 1963, p. 101.
53. S.C., 1869, pp. 24-25.
54. Ibid.
55. S.C., 39 Vict., Chapter 18, 1876, p. 64.
56. Ibid., p. 69.
57. See Appendix II for a facsimile of this document.
58. J.L. Tobias, "Protection, Civilization, Assimilation", pp. 17-18.
59. S.C., 1876, p. 62.
60. Ibid., p. 45.
61. J.L. Tobias, "Protection, Civilization, Assimilation", p. 18.
62. S.C., 43 Vict., Chapter 28, 1880, p. 204.
63. Ibid., p. 223.
64. Ibid., pp. 223-224.
65. W. Duff, The Indian History of British Columbia, Vol. I, (Victoria: Museum of Natural History and Anthropology, 1964), pp. 58-59.
66. Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Indians of British Columbia (An Historical Review), (Ottawa: Indian Affairs Branch, 1969), p. 2.

67. Sessional Papers, 47 Vict., No. 4, 1884, p. lx.
68. Sessional Papers, 46 Vict., No. 5, 1883, p. xxiv.
69. S.C., 47 Vict., Chapter 27, 1884, p. 108.
70. S.C., 47 Vict., Chapter 28, 1884, p. 120.
71. Ibid., p. 119.
72. J.L. Tobias, "Protection, Civilization, Assimilation", p. 19.
73. Ibid., p. 20.
74. S.C., 57-58 Vict., Chapter 32, 1894, p. 230.
75. S.C., 61 Vict., Chapter 34, 1898, p. 145.
76. A. Hultkrantz, Prairie and Plains Indians (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1973), p. 9.
77. Ibid., p. 18.
78. S.C., 58-59 Vict., Chapter 35, 1895, p. 121.
79. S.C., 53 Vict., Chapter 29, 1890, p. 145.
80. S.C., 1894, p. 232.
81. S.C., 10-11 Geo. V, Chapter 50, 1920, p. 309.
82. The Revised Statutes of Canada (R.S.C.), Part I, Chapter 81, 1906.
83. R.S.C., Part I, Chapter 98, 1927.
84. Ibid., p. 36.
85. H. Cardinal, The Rebirth of Canada's Indians (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1977), p. 98.
86. H.B. Hawthorn, A Survey of the Contemporary Indians of Canada, Vol. I (Ottawa: Indian Affairs Branch, 1966), p. 360.
87. Special Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons, Indian Act, Fourth Report, June 22, 1948, pp. 186-7.

88. R.S.C., Volume III, Chapter 149, 1952.
89. Ibid., p. 22 ff.
90. Ibid., p. 31.
91. H.B. Hawthorn, A Survey of the Contemporary Indians of Canada, p. 254.
92. H. Cardinal, The Unjust Society (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1969), pp. 44-45.
93. Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, The Way of the Indian (Toronto: CBC, 1963), p. 23.
94. Ibid.
95. Ibid.
96. P.S. Hattingh, "The Consolidation of the Homelands with Special Reference to Bophuthatswana", D.M. Smith, ed., Separation in South Africa (London: University of London Press, 1976), p. 1.
97. L. Marquard, The People and Policies of South Africa (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), p. 106.
98. Ibid., p. 107.
99. The International Commission of Jurists, South Africa and the Rule of Law (Geneva: International Commission of Jurists, 1960), p. 27.
100. See Appendix IIIa for a facsimile of the permit required to leave the reserve premises. Appendix IIIb, correspondence of an Indian agent, reveals the attitude towards Indians absent from the reserve without pass.
101. A.C.G. Best, "Black Federation in South Africa", in D.M. Smith, ed., Separation in South Africa, p. 39.
102. L. Marquard, The People and Policies of South Africa, p. 110.

103. Mr. William H. Barton, speaking on behalf of the Canadian government commented:

But what about the situation in South Africa itself? One perceives there policies and attitudes that resemble in all the most negative aspects those of the colonial era in Africa. And yet this is not a colonial situation; this is a situation in which people of different origins have been sharing for some 300 years a large and prosperous land but have not been sharing the privileges and obligations of common citizenship in an equitable manner.

The Canadian Government has spoken out time and again about its abhorrence of the apartheid policies of South Africa and of the pattern of institutionalized racial discrimination that is established under them. The apartheid system is cruel and demeaning in that it infringes upon the daily life and possibilities of the great majority of the citizens of that country. They are not permitted to participate fully in the economic, social, political and cultural life of their country on equal terms with all other citizens. Their lives are circumscribed by a web of legislation that prescribes which jobs they may hold, on which level, and at what salary, what kind of education is available to them and to their children, where they live, whether they must live separated from their families, with whom they may meet, and in what circumstances. The cruelty of the system lies not only in the daily persecutions and repressions... but also in the fact that men and women can hope to lead a peaceable life only by accepting the inferior and unequal role assigned by that society, and accept it as the lot in perpetuity for their children and grandchildren for generations to come.

W.H. Barton, "Canada Reaffirms Its Abhorrence of Apartheid", Statements and Speeches, Department of External Affairs, No. 77/3, p. 2.

Chapter III

If, as governmental officials would have us believe, the Indian Act of 1951 was a liberating piece of legislation,¹ one would expect to observe substantial improvement in the various facets of life controlled by the Act, especially in the political and economic spheres. A cursory examination of these areas and the social indices of housing, education, crime, and health should provide evidence to determine if there has been a transfer of real power and to determine if those areas still controlled by the Department have undergone any measurable progress. An examination of each area will reveal whether dependency is still a major factor in the lives of the Indian Peoples and whether the Canadian government still persists in the maintenance of a colonial attitude.

Economic Development

The DIA has as one of its responsibilities the economic development of the reserve and the economic well-being of the status Indians on that reserve. However, as the MIB so aptly points out, economic development has been of secondary importance to government bureaucrats.² The results of such a philosophy are readily apparent.

A recent report done for Manpower and Employment opens with this observation:

The economic position of the Manitoba treaty Indian remains the lowest of all Manitobans. Earning one-third of the per capita income of a Manitoban, the Indian must continue to rely on the government to provide 80% of his/her income. Additional studies of the Indians status indicate extreme underemployment and unemployment. 3

This assertion is supported by DIAND which has documented the fact that the average number of man-months worked by employed Indians increased from 5.2 in 1972-73 to 6.0 in 1973-74.⁴ A 1974 survey indicated an unemployment rate of 44%, a rate that often fluctuates to 78% due to the seasonal nature of the work.⁵ Elias notes that the work experience of the Indian Peoples and the general population of Manitoba differs greatly:

TABLE I
WORK EXPERIENCE OF COMPARATIVE POPULATION (1975)

	Manitoba	Indian/Reserve
Never Worked	12.8%	42.5%
Total Experience Labour Force	59.0%	28.8%

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Carrying these figures to their logical extension, one notes that, of a potential 1975 Indian work force of 10,169, 6,046 individuals were unemployed.⁷

Of those who are employed, the annual wages are minimal. Wahbung (1971) reports that only 32% of the employable people on reserves have significant annual income and only 4% of those earn in excess of \$4,000 annually.⁸ The Fairford Reserve would seem to be typical

in terms of income distribution:

TABLE II
ESTIMATED FAMILY INCOMES
FAIRFORD INDIAN RESERVE; 1967

<u>Annual Income*</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>% of Total</u>
Negligible	83	58
\$1000 - \$1900	6	4
\$2000 - \$2900	31	22
\$3000 - \$3900	18	12
\$4000 and over	6	4
	<u>144</u>	<u>100%</u>

*Excluding welfare payments.

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These figures would be in keeping with the Union of Ontario Indians' 1967 statement that, while the general poverty line was considered to be \$3000, 75% of Indian families earned less than \$2000.¹⁰

With the absence of employment and the accompanying cash income, supplements must come from the government, and come it does at ten times the national average.¹¹

The DIAND has compiled the following table with reference to Welfare Assistance:

TABLE III
Welfare Assistance for the years and months
1964 (February) to 1968 (February)

	<u>% of resident population being relief recipients</u>	<u>% of resident adults assisted</u>	<u>% of adults assisted that were employable</u>
February 64	46.8	40.8	38.0
February 65	50.3	42.8	38.4
February 66	51.3	45.2	38.7
February 67	44.1	36.6	40.3
February 68	39.5	34.3	49.9

During February 1965, 12,921 Manitoba status Indians were receiving relief payments; this was approximately 21% of the total number of Canadian status Indians on relief. A more in-depth examination of the February 1965 figures gives the following breakdown:

TABLE IV

Total No. of relief recipients	Total No. of adults assisted	% of resident adult population assisted	Employable Heads of Households receiving assistance in previous 11 months or more	
			No.	Percentage
12,921	5,040	42.8	529	21.6

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It is small wonder that \$13,588,704, or 24.4%, of the 1966 DIA budget went towards welfare payments.¹⁴

Statistics reveal that of the 276,436 registered Indian Peoples in 1974, 79,438 registered Indians on reserves and crown lands were receiving social assistance.¹⁵ These figures do not include the number of registered Indians that have migrated to urban or rural non-reserve areas. 40.7 per cent of the reserve population received assistance in 1974;¹⁶ the cost in monetary terms is \$41,861,740. The annual report of the DIAND now contains the euphemism "Community Affairs" to include social services and local government; however, it simply camouflages the fact that the welfare rolls have continued to grow.

With the existence of a large pool of unemployed labour and a desire to decrease spending in the welfare sector, one would expect the government to give first priority to economic development on the reserves.¹⁷ However, the DIA only allotted 7.2% of its 1966 budget to economic development;¹⁸ by 1972, this had dropped to 5.2%¹⁹ and, by 1976, there had only been a modest recovery to 8.0%.²⁰ Obviously economic development is seen to be of little consequence and the monies continue to perpetuate the system as it already exists.

R.W. Dunning notes that the DIAND governs the Indian Peoples, yet, it is not responsible to those it governs;²¹ too often, this "paternalism syndrome of administration" makes arbitrary decisions that can foster attitudes of resignation and dependency in the Indian Peoples. Several illustrations of arbitrary decisions are put forward by Dunning as illustrative of a bureaucracy out of touch with those whom it governs:

- a) In one place the DIAND technical specialist as agricultural representative visited a reserve in which there were several cattle and did not know how to do it, nor was he able to answer general questions addressed to him.
- b) In one place of 1,500 population DIAND had agreed to authorize a post of local Indian constable with police car. (sic) The people wanted two constables, believing that a single officer would represent more of a provocation than resolution of problems. This was denied them by the officials.

c) In one place in 1973, a school was to be built on the reserve. The people through their band council decided on the location after which the foundation excavation was begun. A DIAND engineer from the district office visited the site and countermanded it, ordering a new site foundation to be executed. Later the region office engineer visited and chose a third site. As a finale, DIAND in Ottawa charged one of their own special agents, with full powers of decision, to proceed to the site and remain until the problem was resolved. This is not an Indian problem, but a DIAND problem. With virtually nothing but custodial service in mind, government can perpetuate the so-called Indian problem.

d) In 1971 Treasury Board raised the unit house-building limit from \$8,500 to \$10,000. In one region director's office, the senior person in charge of community services, stated publicly at a Brotherhood meeting two years later that he was unaware of the change, still maintaining the lower limit. Some of the bands simply defied him and adopted the higher limit on their own.

e) In one provincial region, the brotherhood sought to change the stultifying power of supervisory personnel. Ottawa agreed to supply funds for a joint study of change. One of the first requests of the committee was to freeze the manpower level at the region office while the study was in progress. During the first three months of the study total personnel under DIAND in the region increased from 772 to over 800. In addition advertisements appeared in national newspapers for several social workers for this same region.

f) In one region respecting one large band, DIAND was ready to invest money and authority in a foreign businessman to develop an industry on the reserve. The band council was unimpressed and asked their own legal counsel to run a credit check on the candidate. The person's credit, based on his reputation in other places, was zero. This type of poor judgment by government officials results in non-action or change of policy. Had it been reversed and Indians had committed themselves in this way, doubtless DIAND would have felt it necessary to place the band affairs in trusteeship.

There can be little wonder when The Saskatchewan Indian calls the Department's attitude "anti-development".²³ Cuthand condemns the federal government for its negative attitude toward Band development and the method by which funds are allocated. Funding, he notes, is usually on a short term basis; thus, effectively preventing long-range planning. The funds are often late in coming causing monetary crises and too often resulting in a loss of competent staff who can find financial security elsewhere. In addition the budgets submitted by the Bands must pass through a bureaucratic web that filters Band programs until the final allocation bears no direct relation to Band requests. The actual allocation is described by Cuthand in the following manner:

When the money is allocated from Treasury Board it then begins its long descent to the Bands, first of all it passes through Headquarters at 400 Laurier West in Ottawa. Headquarters creams enough money off the top for their needs and then divides the remainder by nine for the allocations for the Regions. There are nine Regions in Canada. Next the money comes to the Region located in Regina and the Regional office creams their own needs off the top and then divides by six for the number of Districts or by population for the distribution to the Districts. Here again there is no accent placed on the needs but allocations are made merely by population. It is known as chicken budgeting. Next the money goes to the District where they cream off their own needs off the top then divide by the Bands or by the population to allocate to the Bands, what is then left is loose change which is left for the Bands. 24

The MIB draws the following analogy:

Early economic programs were inadequately financed and often incompetently developed with the end result that the government simply loaded the gun so that the Indian could commit economic suicide. 25

In a submission to the federal government in February 1973, the MIB criticized the government for failing to implement any recommendations in Wahbung and one finds a tone of resignation in resource development:

We have done everything in our power to develop resources for our communities. We cannot go any further. Terms for any funding have been so restrictive that our people cannot possibly compete....

The funding for economic development is found to be worthless in the communities because of the subsistence attitude that is being perpetuated by the Department of Indian Affairs. Heavily financed programs that are doomed to failure have been pushed at us. The attitude must change from consideration of small economic enterprises to massive resource development in the Indian communities with high risk funds available....

It is ironic that there is approximately four hundred million dollars available to underdeveloped countries, 60% of which is out-right grants and the rest of which is soft loan - soft loan which have low interest rates, long maturity, and reasonable grace periods. Yet in our country we are not only not able to obtain grants, but we are unable to borrow at reasonable rates....

The Indian Affairs Branch spends eight million dollars on welfare per year in Manitoba alone. It is costing a great deal of money to keep us in poverty. We have our land base and our resource base. We must have the financial and expertise support to develop these resources. 26

It would seem that the Department's attitude to development is of a "band-aid"-type with little long-range developmental plans; the economic assistance seems geared to perpetuate the situation, not ease it.

One bright spot in the otherwise gray picture was the creation of the Indian Economic Development Fund in 1970. The IEDF "formed a financial base for the department's major mandate to assist Indian people to develop income opportunities and create employment."²⁷ This fund was in keeping with the new direction of the 1969 White Paper; however, a re-assessment of the IEDF revealed that many of the projects financed were overly ambitious or beyond the abilities of those involved. Only in the Annual Report 1976-1977 did the DIAND acknowledge that developmental approaches must change:

... conventional developmental approaches, which have tended to impose inappropriate technologies on Indian businesses and communities, are being abandoned. Such technologies, designed for urban communities with complex support resources, have generally not worked for Indian communities. 28

Housing

Within the area of housing, one finds similar governmental attitudes - attitudes of doing just enough to maintain the situation but not enough to improve the lot of the people. A joint submission prepared by The

Canadian Welfare Council and the Canadian Association of Social Workers in 1947 claimed that the housing situation of the Indian Peoples was less than "adequate":

Housing of Indians, in terms of the extent of dilapidation, sanitary arrangements, household equipment, living accessories, and overcrowding, not only appears to be less adequate than that of our Canadian population generally, but in many instances very appreciably worse than that of adjacent white communities. Our Indian people, insofar as they live in settled communities, are a race of slum-dwellers. 29

By 1965, little had changed; Martin P. O'Connell prepared a memorandum which surmises:

...it may be concluded that present housing for Indians is grossly substandard on any reasonable tests related to Canadian standards. It is substandard in terms of number of units, number of rooms, conditions, facilities and degree of occupancy. 30

O'Connell utilized Indian Affairs Branch statistics to substantiate his claim statistics that easily demonstrated that the "primitive and deplorable standards of 90% of Indian housing":³¹

TABLE V
INDIAN HOUSING BY TYPE OF HOUSING AND REGION, (1962)
(Source: Survey of Housing, Indian Affairs Branch)

Region	Total Number of Houses	Percent of Total	Type of Dwelling		Percent Log
			Frame	Log	
Maritimes	993	4	993	-	-
Quebec	2,523	10	2,458	65	3
Southern Ontario	3,330	13	3,217	113	3
Northern Ontario	3,109	12	2,070	1,039	33
Manitoba	3,489	14	1,313	2,176	61
Saskatchewan	3,221	13	1,914	1,307	40
Alberta	3,136	12	2,281	855	27
B.C. and Yukon	5,319	19	4,859	460	9
District of Mackenzie	666	3	181	485	73
Total	25,786	100	19,286	6,500	

TABLE VI
NUMBER OF INDIAN HOUSES IN CANADA
WITH THE FOLLOWING FACILITIES
(Source: Indian Affairs Branch, Housing Survey, 1962)

	Elect- ricity (1)	Sewer or Septic Tank (2)	Running Water (3)	Indoor Toilet (4)	Indoor Bath (5)	Tele- phone (6)
Quebec	1,900	855	864	815	648	708
S. Ontario	2,425	219	268	220	200	886
N. Ontario	1,053	22	98	29	28	185
Manitoba	644	3	2	18	21	47
Saskatchewan	180	6	5	11	11	10
Alberta	1,303	36	34	28	32	31
B.C. and Yukon	2,919	929	1,832	1,079	737	509
District of Mackenzie	46	1	-	55	-	8
Total	11,330	2,196	3,437	2,347	1,728	2,507
Percent Canada (est.)	44	9	13	9	7	10
	99	-	92	90	84	87

TABLE VII
 PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF FACILITIES AND AMENITIES
 IN INDIAN HOUSES IN CANADA
 (Source: Indian Affairs Branch, Housing Survey, 1962)

	Elect- ricity (1)	Sewer or Septic Tank (2)	Running Water (3)	Indoor Toilet (4)	Indoor Bath (5)	Tele- phone (6)
Maritimes	87	13	34	9	5	12
Quebec	75	34	34	32	26	26
S. Ontario	73	7	8	7	6	27
N. Ontario	34	1	3	1	1	6
Manitoba	18	-	-	1	1	1
Saskatchewan	6	-	-	-	-	-
Alberta	42	1	1	1	1	1
B.C. and Yukon District of Mackenzie	55	17	34	20	14	10
	7	-	-	9	-	1
Average	10	9	13	9	7	10
Canada (est.)	99	-	92	90	84	87

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Although the facilities within reserve homes have improved greatly, the 1973 statistics reveal that Indian homes do not have the facilities available to the general Canadian populace in 1962:

TABLE VIII
 HOUSES ON INDIAN RESERVES WITH SPECIFIED FACILITIES

	Elect- ricity	Running Water	Indoor Toilet	Indoor Bath	Tele- phone
	Houses with per cent				
1963	44.8	13.8	8.5	7.2	10.2
1965	48.1	15.6	9.6	7.6	12.8
1967	57.3	19.2	12.1	10.0	16.4
1969	72.6	26.3	18.4	15.3	21.4
1971	79.0	30.2	23.1	19.3	25.2
1973 (1)	82.2	42.1	36.6	32.7	27.5

(1) No data were reported for the Brantford (Ontario) District, the Saddle Lake/Athabaska (Alberta) District and for 23 bands in the Manitoba Region.

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Manitoba's 26,000³⁶ Indians occupied 3,487 houses of which 61% were log buildings and, as Table VI shows, only three houses were equipped with sewer or septic tank, only 2 had running water and only 18 had an indoor toilet. Overcrowding would also seem a severe problem as 91% (3,489) of the houses in Manitoba were 3 rooms or less; this compares with 11% for the general Canadian population.³⁷ Manitoba also earned the dubious distinction of having 27% of its Indian housing rated as poor.³⁸

The 1962 housing program was perceived as "grossly inadequate":

It neither copes with housing backlogs, replacement of substandard stock, nor does it provide housing of a quality and standard of services approaching the general Canadian standard. The present program falls some 20% below the rate of new family formation. It does little to anticipate the housing needs of a rapidly increasing Indian population and an expected large expansion in family formations. It has been developed too much, though not exclusively, within a narrow welfare context and too little from the viewpoint of housing.... too little also from the viewpoint of health, community development, economic development and the contribution of decent, safe, and sanitary housing as a strategic instrument in breaking the cycle of poverty of Canadians living in reserve communities. 39

O'Connell aptly analyzes the situation when he claims that the pace of the housing program for Indian reserves would seem to be of "a standard perpetuating substandard

housing...."⁴⁰

By 1969, the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood still considered Indian houses as "graphic examples of the conditions of abject poverty in which far too many of us must live".⁴¹ The MIB noted that only 2% of houses on reserve lands had sewer or septic tank facilities, only 2% had running water, and only 3% had an indoor bath and toilet.⁴² Again, one finds claims of over-crowding (81%), poor heating systems, and social, interpersonal problems caused by such housing problems. Despite housing grants made available by the CMHC, the supply has not kept up with demand and the projection was bleak:

TABLE IX
HOUSING REQUIREMENTS
MANITOBA REGION

No. of Families 1969	No. of Families Expected By		Additional Housing Units Required		
	1974	1979	1969-73-4	1974-78-9	1969-78-9
4750	6095	7340	3266	1974	5230

Average number of houses required to be constructed each fiscal year (1969-70) inclusive in the MANITOBA REGION.

1969-1973/4 period: 653 each year for a total of 3266
1974-1978/9 period: 392 each year for a total of 1964
1969-1978/9 period: 523 each year for a total of 5230

In the fiscal year 1969-1970, 319 houses were constructed. Deficit of 334 units per year when compare with the need spread out over the first 5 year period, or 204 housing units per year over the 10 year period. 43

In February of 1976, The Saskatchewan Indian reported:

Over 96 per cent of the houses occupied by Indians do not have sewer and water, indoor toilets, indoor bath or telephones. The average number of occupants per house is 7.3. 44

C.A.S.N.P. notes that as of March 1973, 400 Indian families were in need of new housing; 681 of 2287 Indian houses in Manitoba needed major repairs and in 1975 this number had jumped:

TABLE X
Housing Conditions on Reserves, 1975

Area	Houses in sanitary condition	Houses needing major repairs	Houses needing replacement
Manitoba	745	912	630

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O'Malley's words ring true:

The housing situation prevailing in reserve lands can be easily summarized: there isn't enough of it, causing over-crowding; and the housing that is available is mostly inadequate and deteriorating.

The result is that poor housing is a major negative influence on the development of Native people as individuals and family members, and on the preservation of the Native community and culture. For decades now the situation has steadily worsened, despite the introduction of various federal government schemes purportedly designed by officials in Ottawa to provide housing on reserves. It wasn't until 1945 that the government first acted on its responsibility to provide for development of reserve housing, and since then a number of loan-grant-subsidy schemes have been tried. None have worked. Each has ended with the situation worse off than before the program began. 46

The DIAND has moved to make funding available for new housing and up-grading of existing facilities. The On-Reserve Housing Program allows steadily employed Indian People to receive CMHC loans which are guaranteed by the Department. The Subsidy Housing Program has enabled the Indian Peoples to construct 11,880 new houses and renovate 8,500 existing houses within a period of six years. However, the Department has not been able to move quick enough and/or in a planned manner that would allow rectification of a very distressing situation.⁴⁷

Health

The 1944 tuberculosis death rate among Indians was 579.2 per 100,000 versus a general Manitoba figure of 42.2 per 100,000.⁴⁸ This mortality rate has dropped tremendously; but, the morbidity rate is still almost 8.5 times that of the general population.⁴⁹ The 1944 infant mortality was 54 per 1000 for the general populace, while for Indian Peoples, the rate was 180.3 per 1000.⁵⁰ By 1969, this number had also been reduced drastically but the infant mortality rate of Manitoba Indians is still 2.64 times greater than that of the non-Indian population.⁵¹

The area of malnutrition aroused much concern in the 1940's and a medical survey of Northern Manitoba

Indians included the following points:

5. The Indian infant mortality rate, the crude mortality rate and the death rate from tuberculosis are many times higher than in the white population. All these conditions present a national problem in health and welfare far in excess of the numerical proportion of the Indian to the white population.

6. In common with the results of studies done in many parts of the world, a poor nutrition has been found in a population group with excessively high morbidity and mortality rates.

7. It is not unlikely that many characteristics, such as shiftlessness, indolence, improvidence and inertia, so long regarded as inherent or hereditary traits in the Indians race, may, at the root, be really the manifestations of malnutrition. Furthermore, it is probable that the Indians' great susceptibility to many diseases, paramount among which is tuberculosis, may be attributable among other causes to their high degree of malnutrition arising from lack of proper foods. 52

Wahbung reveals that the condition of malnutrition still persists and notes that, in 1968, 1700 cases in Manitoba were classified as malnutrition, anemia, and underweight.⁵³

The cause? The Manitoba Indian Brotherhood pinpoints food:

The cheapest food is starchy food. Where income is on or below the poverty level, the cheapest food is what is bought. Malnutrition is the result of a diet based upon starches. Our protein comes from our traditional hunting and fishing, yet our food supplies are constantly threatened by the destruction of our traditional way of life; by the restriction of law and by the constant life threat of environmental pollution. At this time we do not know the exact number of reserves in Manitoba whose waters are unfit for human consumption and whose fish are inedible.

There are no discount supermarkets on reserves: there is often only one store, and extra transportation costs are added to retail profit margins that appear to vary according to the whims of the store manager. The cost of food in northern areas would be evidence in itself. One example: In Norway House, 25 pounds of flour costs \$2.89. In God's River, the same costs \$4.25. It is no wonder that there are nutritional problems. 54

The Canadian Welfare Council and The Canadian Association of Social Workers claimed that the government did better by their convicted criminals than their indigenous peoples:

It is hard to overestimate the importance of raising the dietary levels of the Indians to improve their morale and render them capable of benefitting from education, or mobilizing their energies to deal effectively with their day to day problems of family and community life, and of carrying on productive economic activity.

In recent years steps have been taken by the Dominion Government to improve the dietary levels of prisoners in federal penitentiaries, apparently on the principle that it is undesirable to permit malnutrition and the consequent loss of productivity in these individuals while they are the responsibility of the state. With this policy we are entirely in accord. What we cannot understand is the failure to adopt a similar policy for the Indians, who are equally the wards of the Government, but who have not been convicted of crimes against society. 55

Coupled with malnutrition is the inescapable dental decay. Dr. Otto Schaefer documents how the change in the life-style of the Inuit has led to severe physical

deterioration; protein consumption has been drastically reduced from an average of 318 grams/day amongst nomadic hunters to just over 100 grams/day for urbanized Inuit,⁵⁶ while sugar consumption by the average Inuit has quadrupled in that time.⁵⁷ The result is a drastically weakened people prone to diabetes, atherosclerotic cardio-vascular diseases, obesity, and tooth decay.⁵⁸ Unfortunately, these are symptomatic of the Indian Peoples in their transitory phase and the MIB has stated that Indian Peoples are "dental cripples".⁵⁹

To make matters worse the MIB accused the federal government of withdrawing health services and funding. The federal government withdrew its funding for tuberculosis and mental health care in 1969 and in 1971 ceased funding acute care hospitals. Only one doctor was employed to supervise public health, medical and dental treatment for the 36000 status Indians in Manitoba. There was a single nutritionist for the 54 bands. There are two sanitary inspectors who visit a reserve once every 18 months.⁶⁰ And, this shortage permeates the entire area of health services.

In addition to inadequate services, the Indian Peoples of this country face a new threat, that of mercury pollution. This type of industrial pollution leads to the terrifying Minamata disease; the effects

include:

- A numbness (paraesthesia) of the fingers, lips, tongue.
- A loss of peripheral vision (tunnel vision).
- Hearing difficulties, especially picking out one voice from another.
- Speech disorders, (dysarthria), difficulty in articulating and swallowing.
- Psychological changes such as aggression, paranoia, depression or agitation.
- Stumbling gait (ataxia) and a clumsiness in handling familiar objects.
- Inability to write, read or recall such basics as the alphabet, or familiar addresses. 61

These are only the initial symptoms of the disease; the more advanced stage includes muscle spasms, general paralysis, deformity, coma and death.⁶² The Ontario Public Interest Research Group describes the suffering that can accompany mercury poisoning:

Methyl-mercury poisoning destroys the brain cells. It eats them away. When the worst of the outbreak hit Minamata in the late 50's, some of the patients had to be carried, all night, along the roads outside of Minamata, so their screams would not disturb people who were trying to sleep. 63

Since the Indian Peoples often depend upon mercury-polluted fish as a main dietary item, it is this group who are severely threatened. Dr. Masazumi Harada has found a great deal of evidence to support the assertion that Indian Peoples of Northwestern Ontario or the Whitedog and Grassy Narrows Reserves exhibit classic symptoms of Minamata Disease.⁶⁴ In the fall of 1970,

the federal government closed down a fish-processing plant of the Quebec Wassinipi Cree because of high mercury content.⁶⁵ In Saskatchewan, British Columbia, and New Brunswick, Indian Peoples are endangered due to mercury contaminated fish and clams.⁶⁶ In Manitoba, tests conducted indicated that 25% of the 380 Indian People examined had unacceptable levels of mercury within their bodies. In 1969 the South Saskatchewan River drainage area was found to have mercury pollution; fish taken from these waters, including Lake Winnipeg, were found to contain ten ppm versus the 0.5 ppm considered safe for consumption.⁶⁷ With a humanitarian concern for Canada's Indian Peoples, one would, and reasonably could, expect the federal and provincial governments to move quickly to ensure the safety of their citizens. However, in examining Ontario policy, one sees a clear-cut duality in treatment of whites and natives:

As you know there is a limit of 0.5 ppm mercury set for fish sold as food in the U.S.A. and Canada. The average levels of mercury in the pike and pickerel in the lower English and Wabigoon River are thirty times the maximum allowable limit set for mercury in fish, therefore, fish from these waters should not be eaten.

Letter to Tourist Camp Operator
November 16, 1972

From the measurements we made and our conversations with your people, we did not find any effect of mercury upon the people's health, however, it would be wise to tell those people with particularly high mercury levels to reduce the amount of fish they eat and we are making this recommendation in the letters sent to those few people who do have such levels.

Letter to Band Councils
February 27, 1973

The fact that no one has been demonstrated to become ill from eating fish on the Wabigoon and lower English river systems is, in my mind, a matter of good fortune rather than demonstrating that there is no potential hazard to human health from eating these fish. As you know, it was the opinion of Dr. Sutherland, and I agree with him, that the fish from the Wabigoon and lower English River system should not be eaten even over relatively short periods of time.

Letter to Tourist Camp Operator
February 12, 1973

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And what of the DIAND, the office designed to protect the Indian Peoples, what have their officials been doing during this serious threat to the Indian Peoples? The answer would appear to be obvious as only the Indian Peoples and a few concerned individuals cry for redress.

Crime and Alcoholism

Douglas A. Schmeiser, Dean of Law at the University of Saskatchewan, describes the record of the Native Peoples and the law as a "sad story"; the rationale

behind such a comment becomes obvious with a cursory examination of the statistics. However, the researcher is almost immediately faced with the problem that few of the statistical studies of crime are analyzed in racial terms and, when they are the terms "Indians" and "Native" are often ambiguous, defined differently by the various governmental agencies involved with those groups. Nevertheless, even allowing for such definitional inaccuracies, the facts still speak of a social tragedy.

The Dominion Bureau of Statistics noted that in 1940 there were 73 Indians in a penitentiary population of 3803, a percentage figure of approximately 1.9.⁶⁹ Within a period of some twenty years, there was a tremendous increase, and, as a percentage of the population, Native figures stand proportionately higher than the general population:

TABLE XI
Indians and non-Indians Convicted of an Indictable Offence,
Related to General Population. 1961. Canada as a Whole

Racial Type	Number Convicted	Number in General Population	Percentage Of Offenders
Indian	2,020	208,286	.97
Non-Indian	31,450	17,819,579	.18
Not Stated	5,209	210,382	

TABLE XII
Indians and non-Indians Convicted of an Indictable Offence,
Related to General Population. 1961. Ontario

Racial Type	Number Convicted	Number in General Population	Percentage Of Offenders
Indian	416	47,862	.87
Non-Indian	10,744	6,060,118	.18
Not Stated	2,825	128,112	

TABLE XIII
Indians and non-Indians Convicted of an Indictable Offence,
Related to General Population. 1961. Manitoba

Racial Type	Number Convicted	Number in General Population	Percentage Of Offenders
Indian	275	29,219	.94
Non-Indian	1,855	886,225	.21
Not Stated	238	6,242	

TABLE XIV
Indians and non-Indians Convicted of an Indictable Offence,
Related to General Population. 1961. Saskatchewan

Racial Type	Number Convicted	Number in General Population	Percentage Of Offenders
Indian	375	30,628	1.22
Non-Indian	1,085	889,056	.12
Not Stated	283	5,497	

TABLE XV
Indians and non-Indians Convicted of an Indictable Offence,
Related to General Population. 1961. Alberta

Racial Type	Number Convicted	Number in General Population	Percentage Of Offenders
Indian	363	28,469	1.28
Non-Indian	3,400	1,289,758	.26
Not Stated	249	13,717	

TABLE XVI
Indians and non-Indians Convicted of an Indictable Offence,
Related to General Population. 1961. British Columbia

Racial Type	Number Convicted	Number in General Population	Percentage Of Offenders
Indian	430	38,789	1.11
Non-Indian	4,087	1,562,929	.26
Not Stated	575	27,364	

Magistrate I.V. Dubiensi and S. Skelly, having noted a seeming discrepancy in the number of Indians versus non-Indians appearing before the courts, conducted a study of 1969 arrest sheets in the city of Winnipeg. Their results supported the hypothesis that the Native Peoples had a greater per capita chance of appearing in the courts.

Taking as our basis the 8,923 offences processed, analysis of the figures shows them to be broken down as follows:

Total Non-Indian Offences - 6,096
Total Offences by Indians - 2,132
Total Offences by Metis - 695

Considering the estimates of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, the Indian Brotherhood and Metis Association that there are 12000 to 15000 residents in Greater Winnipeg of Indian descent, the population of Indian and Metis represent approximately 3% of the total.⁷² Yet, the compilation of information⁷³ reveals that the percentage of Indian involvement was 22.8% and Metis 4.4%; thus, 27.2% of all persons involved in arrests were of Indian origin compared to their 3% of the population.⁷⁴ Dubiensi and Skelly also note that 24.4% of the inmate population at Headingly Gaol, the provincial penal institution, are persons of Indian origin.⁷⁵

Schmeiser, in his study, claims that the Native population of Manitoba can be estimated at 12% of the total; however, entrance to the provincial institution is proportionately higher and is continuing to climb:

TABLE XVII
MANITOBA ADMISSIONS TO PROVINCIAL CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTIONS
1966-1971

Year	Total Admissions	Native Admissions	% Native Admissions to Total
1966.....	6,358	2,508	39.4%
1967.....	7,757	3,536	45.6%
1968.....	8,822	3,936	44.6%
1969.....	9,088	4,254	46.8%
1970.....	6,455	2,907	45.0%
1971.....	7,186	3,654	50.9%

A further breakdown of the admissions by institutions delivers the following information:

TABLE XVIII
MANITOBA - 1971
ADMISSIONS TO PROVINCIAL CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTIONS

Institutions	Total Number of Admissions	Indian Admissions	Metis Admissions	% Indian & Metis to Total
Headingley	3,310	900	160	32.0%
Brandon	1,012	413	25	43.0%
Dauphin	677	175	239	61.2%
The Pas (male)	1,185	490	319	67.4%
The Pas (female)	730	295	426	98.8%
Portage	255	189	13	79.2%
Vaughn St. (Winnipeg)	17	4	6	58.8%
Total	7,186	2,466	1,188	50.9%

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Within Stoney Mountain Penitentiary, the Manitoba federal penal institution, Native Peoples accounted for 25% of the population.⁷⁸

Within the other Western provinces, the story is basically similar:

Province	Population	% of Native Population	% N.P. Incarcerated
British Columbia	2,184,621	5%	15% 25-30% females (provincial institutions) 10-15% (federal institutions)
Alberta	1,627,874	5.5%	25% (provincial institutions)

TABLE XIX - Continued

Province	Population	% of Native Population	% N.P. Incarcerated
Saskatchewan	926,242	12.7%	+50% +90% females (provincial institutions) 25-30% (federal institutions)
Manitoba	988,247	12%	45% 70% females (provincial institutions)

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The incarceration rate is therefore grossly disproportionate. An examination of the types of crime and factors involved leads to the factor of alcohol:

Police officers and judicial officials are unanimous in their comment that there is a very high correlation between native criminality and the use of alcohol. Alcohol may be directly involved in the charge itself, such as the offences of being intoxicated in a public place or impaired driving; or it may be a motivating factor in other offences, such as assault or theft while under the influence of alcohol or in order to obtain funds for alcohol. Statistical data is scarce, but what exists supports the high correlation theory. 80

Schmeiser notes 74.6% of those sentenced to provincial penal institutions in Saskatchewan were charged under the Liquor Act⁸¹ while 64.8% in the City of Winnipeg were charged under the Liquor Control Act.⁸² The McCaskill Report revealed that 70.5% of the crimes resulting in

incarceration directly involved alcohol; in addition, 82% of the Native inmates were considered to have alcohol problems at the time of their crime.⁸³ The role of alcohol in crime was identified by the Correction Association of being of paramount importance and comments from field workers supported this assertion:

Ontario (Southern, Eastern and Central)

The great majority of offences centre around alcohol - if the offence is not under the Liquor Control Act, it has been committed while impaired. With regard to offences of Indians in the institutions of Southern Ontario, approximately 80 per cent of the cases are breaches of the Liquor Control Act and the other 20 per cent (vagrancy, theft, assault, impaired driving, etc.,) contain elements of alcohol abuse.

Ontario (North Western)

A vastly disproportionate number of Indian people are coming into conflict with the law (except for very remote areas)... The offences are all either violations of the Liquor Control Act or crimes -usually crimes of violence - where liquor played a prime causal role.

Manitoba

The number of Indian people who are coming into conflict with the law is steadily increasing. It is safe to say that over 90 per cent of the offences committed either directly involved liquor or it was one of the elements when the offence was committed.

Alberta

The magnitude of the Indian problem is obvious - at a minimum, seven times the committal rate of non-Indians. The pattern of offences shows little variety (i.e., mostly liquor infractions). 84

Crime and alcohol seem to be increasing avenues of social orientation and this, at least, has not decreased at all since the introduction of the new Indian Act. Why the turn to alcohol and its drastic consequences?

J.A. Riffel, in While People Sleep, describes five major theories of causation concerning alcoholism and Native Peoples. The first theory is one of acculturation and the difficulty Native People are experiencing in adjusting to the dominant society. While the traditional culture is being down-graded, the modern life-style is beyond their grasp. This frustration and imposed negative self-esteem lead to problems of family break-down, violence, suicide, alcoholism, and lack of academic achievement. A solution to this problem of acculturation adaptation would lie in two areas:

- (1) traditional culture must not be downgraded, but rather be a source of pride and identification; and
- (2) Indian people must obtain the skills to survive and compete in a technological urban society. 85

A second theory involves alienation:

...the lives of many Indian people are without meaning - it is a frustrating and purposeless existence for many. They do not have jobs; they have little that is within reach; they are estranged from the larger society; they do not like what they see in their own way of life. 86

The solution - there must be greater participation of the

Indian Peoples in the larger society and, within the Indian communities, more freedom and encouragement must be offered so that job opportunities fall within their grasp.

The third theory is one of the self-fulfilling prophecy both by virtue of expectation and discrimination on the basis of that expectation. Only a change in the dominant society's attitudes can alter this situation. The fourth theory claims that there is lack of control within Indian communities due to a lack of skilled leaders and enforcement; both of these short-comings could be easily overcome through recruitment and training.

The fifth and final theory holds the view that necessary social services are few within the Indian community and often those services that do exist tend to "alienate or close out"⁸⁷ Indian Peoples. Therefore, new services are needed; but, just as important, a new healthy relationship towards Indian Peoples is a prerequisite.

Whether it is one or several of these factors that leads to alcoholism is of little consequence and, no doubt, sociologists, anthropologists, psychologists, and other social scientists could argue the point indefinitely. What is obvious is that in at least four of the five theories the Department of Indian Affairs

could have been moving to alleviate the condition that results in alcoholism, crime, and "sudden death".⁸⁸ The Department controls the education systems and ultimately the child's self-esteem, has ties with Manpower to offer vocational training programs to ease unemployment, control the economic life of the Indian community and could therefore assist in the creation of jobs within the community, could offer leadership training and encourage the formation of Indian police corps, could instigate a campaign of white education regarding Indian Peoples and their contributions, and, since funding is ultimately federal, pressure provincial social services into providing better care and more understanding programs and personnel.

If a sincere movement was made into these areas, one could expect an improvement in the area of crime enforcement; yet, the statistics do not furnish supporting evidence. Riffel claims "Alcoholism, sudden deaths, traumatic injuries, and crime amongst native peoples are prevalent, and increasing."⁸⁹ If this is so, has the government neglected to move to offer a positive program in other areas?

Political Development

With such a negative, or at best neutral, governmental response in the vital social service areas, one would

expect a horrendous outcry on the part of the Native organizations in an effort to have their situation made public and in an activist attempt to force the government to implement positive programs. However, the response from Indian organizations has been minimal and has taken the form of presentations to the DIAND or to Parliament. The results have been grateful acknowledgement of the report but little action; four years after the writing, and two years after presentation, of Wahbung, the MIB was still waiting for governmental response:

In 1969 the Indian People of Canada were confronted with the government's White Paper Policy. It was rejected by the Indian People and the response to this by the government was that it would not be implemented. In October, 1971 the Indian People of Manitoba presented the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Jean Chretien, with a position paper named Wahbung. Wahbung was presented after two years of consultation and communication with all Indian Peoples and communities in the province of Manitoba.

On receiving Wahbung, Mr. Chretien soundedly praised it and complimented the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood as one of the finest Indian organizations in Canada. We were encouraged greatly by this response and were very proud of the work that we had done.

Since that time we have not heard one word from the Federal Government.

We have not even had the courtesy of written acknowledgement advising that it was being considered, advice that it did not meet with the policies of the government. In fact, nothing has been said. 90

One could be led to inquire why this state of affairs persists? Why no affirmative action program when talk fails?

The Hawthorn Report identifies several factors that its investigators believe led to Indian political inactivity; these factors include the lack of the federal franchise prior to 1960 and a profusion of fragmented Indian organizations,⁹¹ all of which claim to speak on behalf of the Indian People. Howard Adams is much more forthright in his examination of failure to respond and he identifies the organizations and their staffs as sources of political impotency. Adams claims that, as soon as a Native leader starts to talk of liberation, the government makes serious efforts to bring the leader into middle-class society. Attractive offers of employment co-opt the leaders and they become supporters of the government and its colonial policies. The co-option of leaders is accompanied by governmental grants to Indian organizations, another method of manipulation:

Since the governments provide generous grants for the operation of these organizations, they direct their policies and programs and even the ideology for the leaders. Most native leaders, however, would deny this. Governments did not get into the business of supporting these organizations until the 1960s when the restlessness of native people and red power posed a potential threat to their administration.⁹²

Adams is also very critical of the desire by Native Organizations to spend time on ritualistic ceremony rather than confront issues, a facet of organizational development that has been instilled and encouraged by the federal government:

The native groups were structured along the same lines as white bureaucratic institutions.... Meetings are held in accordance with parliamentary rules and great emphasis is placed on rules and procedure. At a native brotherhood meeting I attended in 1974, I was struck by this tremendous faith in proper procedure - the meeting was more a ritualistic ceremony in praise of Robert's Rules of Order than a forum for debate. The natives were so preoccupied with procedure and ritual that discussion on serious social and political issues never arose. 93

The old adage that "He who pays the piper calls the tune" would seem to be the epigram that should emblazen the doorways of most Indian organizations. It is easily seen that, with relation to the MIB or any other government-funded Indian organization, "autonomy under these circumstances is only a remote possibility".⁹⁴

Dosman notes that the financial control exercised by the DIAND permits veto authority and a great degree of coercion:

...the indirect hostility of the IAB toward self-help projects gives it an obvious bias in the type of project it selects for assistance. For example, although it refused to contribute to the Big Bear Gallery, it enthusiastically supported an almost identical project because the Treasurer would be an IAB official. 95

In addition to these limitations imposed upon the Indian organizations, the co-option of effective leaders is a very serious problem; Dosman writes of the Saskatchewan situation:

The various levels of Government have at their disposal a decisive weapon for fragmenting the leadership of an Indian or Metis organization: they can hire them at lucrative salaries. Native organizations are desperately in need of the kind of talent that can plow through the many obstacles which confront them - people with ability, determination and technical competence. Should a local organization manage to find such a person - and there are very few in all of Saskatchewan - it is almost inevitable that either the Indian Affairs Branch or the Indian-Metis Branch will recruit him. Given the salary and career opportunity, it is difficult for the native person in question to reject the offer. 96

Indian organizations of a political nature are ineffectual because they are fragmented, lack effective leadership, and are easily manipulated because funding is from the very source that the organization must often fight.

Education

It has been said that Indian Affairs has given high priority to education on the assumption that monies spent in this area will most quickly produce development. The validity of this statement and the assumptions underlying will be examined fully in Chapter V.

Concluding Remarks

Progress in the social, economic, and political spheres of Indian life has been severely limited; where there has been progress it has been minimal and not at all in proportion to the advancement of the general Canadian populace. The statistics gathered for housing, economic development, health, and crime and alcoholism have resulted in an acknowledgement that "the poorest of the poor in this country are the Indians, the Eskimos, and the Metis."⁹⁷ This poverty "has been self-perpetuating and has led to an unending cycle of poverty".⁹⁸ The Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada accuses the DIAND of maintaining this situation through failure to respond to economic needs, the keystone to a "decent standard of living":

In the 20th century we need scarcely be reminded that a decent standard of livelihood, for all but saints, is pre-requisite to a decent standard of living. To be preoccupied, as many Indians are, with brute needs and to have few domestic facilities for civilized interests, means to be permeated by under-development, to be condemned to seem unintelligent or to practice mere cunning when the situation demands intelligence and honest effort, or to prefer the amnesia of strong drink to a clear awareness of harsh realities; it means to depress one's children by contact with one's own incompetence and to limit the achievements of those favoured few who have superior and trained abilities; not only will average trained ability come to feel frustrated but the favoured few may leave their group for good and all. 99

Alan Best, writing of South Africa, notes:

Poverty, exploitation, overpopulation, an absence of economic opportunity and well-being, and dependence on white South Africa, are characteristics showed by the Homelands.... 100

Replace the words "South Africa" with "Canada" and the "Homelands" with "Reserves"; the description would seem most fitting.

To effect change in the areas discussed within this chapter is not only within the scope of the DIAND, it is the Department's responsibility. In light of the facts presented, however, one must conclude that the Government of Canada, through the DIAND, has failed its Indian Peoples. McEwen's words are a sad but true commentary on the dynamics of the contemporary scene:

The present sad plight of our native people is the result of years of neglect. Not only were they dispossessed of their land but as people they have been deprived of the means of development and progress. Government policy has been to spend as little as possible on them. This deplorable neglect will remain a permanent blot on the pages of Canadian history. 101

Granted, there are those within the Department who are working hard for the Indian Peoples and there has been a general change of direction since 1969. There have been new programs developed for Indian Peoples and consultation with Indian Peoples has become more

frequent. But the fact remains that economic, social, and political development for Indian Peoples to date has not been greatly successful despite the revised Indian Act of 1951.

Footnotes

1. Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, The Way of the Indian (Toronto: CBC, 1963), p. 5 and H.B. Hawthorn, A Survey of the Contemporary Indians of Canada (Ottawa: Indian Affairs Branch, 1966), Vol. 1, p. 254.
2. MIB, Wahbung (Winnipeg: MIB, 1971), p. 151.
3. C. Ritchie, "A Description of the Economic and Labour Force Characteristics of the Manitoba Indian Population", Manpower and Employment Secretariat of the Cabinet, 1976 (?), p. 1.
4. Ibid., p. 9.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid., p. 10.
8. MIB, Wahbung, p. 151.
9. DIAND, Community Study: Fairford Indian Reserve, Manitoba, 1967, p. 22.
10. Union of Ontario Indians, "Submission to: Government of Canada re: Indian Treaty Rights", 1967, p. 1.
11. Indian and Metis Conference Committee of Manitoba, Health and Welfare Subcommittee, "A Survey of Welfare Services for Indian and Metis People in Manitoba", October, 1966 (?), p. 5.
12. P. Deprez and G. Sigurdson, The Economic Status of the Canadian Indian: A Re-examination (Winnipeg: Center for Settlement Studies, 1969), p. 30. The Metis and Non-Status Indian Crime and Justice Commission note that the national rate for those living on welfare is 3.7%, while 41% of the Indian families depend on welfare. Metis and Non-Status Indian Crime and Justice Commission, Native Crime Commission Report, October 1977, p. 6.
13. Indian Affairs Branch, Indian Affairs Facts and Figures, February 1966, p. 20.
14. Ibid., p. 6.

15. Statistics Canada, Perspective Canada II (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 1977), p. 282 and p. 291.
16. Ibid., p. 291.
17. James Burke notes how time after time these two factors have enabled industry, notably the garment industry in Manitoba, to obtain government funding to establish training centres on various reserves. Unfortunately, there is actually little training that takes place, wages are low (approximately 60% of workers at Fisher Branch and Peguis did not think it possible to earn a living wage), and the government, not the manufacturer, assumes all capital risks. Burke points out that the manufacturers exploit the Indian Peoples to establish plants and then utilize the Indians as pawns to retain the plants. Thus, the economic activity supported by the DIA is of the wrong type and is exploitive not supportive of Indian Peoples. J. Burke, Paper Tomahawks (Winnipeg: Queenston House Publishing, 1976), pp. 220-227.
18. IAB, Indian Affairs Facts and Figures, p. 6.
19. DIAND, Annual Report 1972/73, p. 30.
20. DIAND, Annual Report 1976/77, p. 41.
21. R.W. Dunning, "Some Speculations of Indian Socio-Political Reality", in M. Tremblay, The Patterns of "Amerindian" Identity, p. 112.
22. Ibid., pp. 113-4.
23. D. Cuthand, "The Anti-Development Attitude and Indian Affairs Budgeting Process", The Saskatchewan Indian, Vol. 6, No. 11, November 1976, p. 23.
24. Ibid., pp. 23-6.
25. MIB, Wahbung, p. 155.
26. MIB and Others, "Presentation made to Canadian Government Ottawa", February 1973, pp. 9-10.
27. Indian and Northern Affairs, Annual Report 1976-1977, p. 33.
28. Ibid., p. 34.

29. The Canadian Welfare Council and The Canadian Association of Social Workers, "Joint Submission by The Canadian Welfare Council and The Canadian Association of Social Workers to The Special Joint Committee of the Senate and The House of Commons appointed to examine and consider the Indian Act", Ottawa, January 1947, p. 4.
30. M.P. O'Connell, "Canadian Standards of Housing in Indian Reserve Communities" (Toronto: Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada, May 1965), p. 11.
31. Ibid., p. 1.
32. Ibid., p. 5.
33. Ibid., p. 7.
34. Ibid., p. 8. Average electricity should read 44.
35. Statistics Canada, Perspective Canada II, 1977, p. 289.
36. 1962 figures employed by O'Connell.
37. Ibid., p. 6.
38. Ibid., p. 9.
39. Ibid., p. 11.
40. Ibid., p. 10.
41. MIB, Wahbung, p. 87.
42. Ibid., p. 88.
43. Ibid., p. 95.
44. "New A.D.M. Acquainted with Sask. Problems", The Saskatchewan Indian, February 1976, p. 10. Statistics were produced at the 1975 "Habitat" Conference that revealed little had changed as 90% of Indians lived in houses without toilet, telephone and water. Less than 50% of Indian homes were seen as habitable and there was a housing backlog of 4351. Metis and Non-Status Indian Crime and Justice Commission, Native Crime Commission Report, p. 6.

45. M. Davis, "Indian Housing Statistics", The Bulletin, August 1976, p. 11.
46. P. O'Malley, "New Hopes for Reserve Housing", pp. 8-9. The frustration of the situation is echoed in the "Declaration on Indian Housing" presented by the NIB to the Study Committee on Indian Affairs and Northern Development in October of 1974:
 The housing conditions of Indian communities across Canada have been documented, deplored and lamented to the point that there should no longer be any need for further elaboration of the desperate degree of inadequacy which exists. There must be a fundamental change in the relationship between the federal government administration of Parliament and the Indian people, regarding the ways in which housing programmes are devised and implemented.
 The Indian people, in the past, have been placed within a system that did not create the opportunity to develop self-reliance. Instead, it perpetuated a condition of unilateral dependence....
 Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence of the Standing Committee on Indian Affairs and Northern Development, October 17, 1974, p. 2:62.
47. Indian and Northern Affairs, Annual Report 1976-1977, p. 32.
48. The Canadian Welfare Council and The Canadian Association of Social Workers, "Joint Submission", p. 4.
49. Health and Welfare Canada, Annual Report 1975-76, p. 13.
50. The Canadian Welfare Council and The Canadian Association of Social Workers, "Joint Submission", p. 4.
51. Health and Welfare Canada, Annual Report 1975-76, p. 13.
52. Special Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons. Appointed to Examine and Consider the Indian Act, June 6, 1946, p. 108.

53. MIB, Wahbung, p. 57.
54. Ibid., p. 60.
55. The Canadian Welfare Council and The Canadian Association of Social Workers, "Joint Submission", pp. 5-6.
56. O. Schaefer, "When the Eskimo Comes to Town", Nutrition Today, November/December 1971, p. 10.
57. Ibid., p. 11.
58. Ibid., p. 13.
59. MIB, Wahbung, p. 60.
60. Ibid., p. 623. John Munro, Health Minister, admitted that his department had issued a directive that dental work could be provided only:
 'where it is considered that better-than-average education has been contemplated or has been achieved by the student, and where the student's likely vocation will require inconspicuous dentition.'
 "Dental Limit 'Error' ", The Winnipeg Free Press, January 21, 1971, p. 1.
61. The Ontario Public Interest Research Group, "Quicksilver and Slow Death", October 1976, p. 4.
62. Ibid., p. 3.
63. Ibid.
64. Ibid.
65. Ibid., p. 17. See also Appendix IV for supporting evidence in OPIRG's assertion of Institutional Racism.
66. Ibid., p. 3.
67. Ibid.
68. Ibid., p. 17.
69. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, The Canada Year Book 1940 (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1940), p. 1055.

70. The Canadian Corrections Association, Indians and the Law (Ottawa: The Canadian Corrections Association, 1967), pp. 65-66.
71. I.V. Dubiensi and S. Skelly, "Analysis of Arrest for the Year 1969 in the City of Winnipeg With Particular Reference to Arrests of Persons of Indian Descent", Winnipeg, September 1, 1970, p. 3.
72. Ibid.
73. See Appendix V for Chart 4A which offers a more in-depth examination of arrest record/ethnic origin.
74. Ibid., p. 4.
75. Ibid., p. 7. The authors also note that the population has dropped substantially with the introduction of legislation removing internment as the punishment for drunkenness.
76. D.A. Schmeiser, The Native Offender and the Law (Ottawa: The Law Reform Commission of Canada, 1974), p. 7.
77. Ibid.
78. Ibid.
79. D.A. Schmeiser, "The Native Offender in Canada", in M. Tremblay, The Patterns of "Amerindian" Identity (Quebec: Les Presses De L'Universite Laval, 1976), pp. 134-35.
80. Ibid., p. 137.
81. Ibid., for the year 1970-71.
82. Ibid., p. 136, for the year 1969.
83. Ibid., p. 137, for the year 1970.
84. The Canadian Correction Association, Indians and the Law, pp. 24-25.

85. J.A. Riffel et al, While People Sleep (Kenora: Grand Council Treaty No. 3, 1973), p. 18. Hugh Brody in his study of urban drinking habits proposes that drinking is seen as producing very positive pleasures: social solidarity, release of inhibition, appeasement of any sense of failure, and general happiness. "The truth is that skid row Indians have more to gain, in social terms, than they have to lose by drinking." Brody's hypotheses, while urban-oriented and urban-based, could also apply to drinking in the Reserve settings. H. Brody, Indians on Skid Row (Ottawa: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1971), p. 74.
86. Ibid.
87. Ibid., p. 19.
88. The object of study in Riffel's Report, p. vii.
89. Ibid. The Metis and Non-Status Indian Crime and Justice Commission voice a very pessimistic note when it acknowledges the fact, that despite study after study, no improvement seems to have been made in the relation between the Indian and the Canadian legal system. Metis and Non-Status Indian Crime and Justice Commission, Native Crime Commission Report, p. 3.
90. MIB and others, "Presentation made to Canadian Government, Ottawa", February, 1973, p. 1.
91. H.B. Hawthorn, A Survey of the Contemporary Indians of Canada, pp. 364-5.
92. H. Adams, Prison of Grass (Toronto: General Publishing, 1975), p. 180.
93. Ibid., p. 181.
94. E.J. Dosman, Indians: The Urban Dilemma (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1972), p. 159.
95. Ibid., p. 160. James Burke, an "insider", gives the following analysis of Dave Courchene, the President of the MIB who vehemently criticized the Red Power movement:

Courchene's attack on the red power movement was a self-serving manoeuver that must have gladdened the hearts of his white employers. For in many respects, the president of the M.I.B. was just that: an employee of the federal government, collecting a regular pay check from the federal treasury.

J. Burke, Paper Tomahawks, p. 80.

96. Ibid., p. 161.
97. I. Adams, The Poverty Wall (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1972), p. 159.
98. B. Schlesinger, What About Poverty in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), p. 15.
99. The Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada, "Brief to the Joint Parliamentary Committee on Indian Affairs", 1960 (?), p. 22.
100. A. Best, "Black Federation in South Africa", in D.M. Smith, ed., Separation in South Africa, p. 49.
101. E.R. McEwen, Community Development Services for Canadian Indian and Metis Communities (Toronto: The Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada, 1968), p. 26.

Chapter IV

Underdeveloped countries have often attempted to escape their situation. This chapter will examine the approaches taken by Cuba and Jamaica, both underdeveloped nations, in their struggle for development. The directions taken by these countries could perhaps suggest answers to developmental problems on Canada's reserves.

Within the Third World,¹ an area suffering from acute underdevelopment, education is often seen as the key to economic, political, and social development; as such, education assumes primary importance:

- Education is the biggest single enterprise in developing countries. It employs more people and influences directly the lives of more people than any other organization with the exception of government itself. The expenditures on education are huge in comparison to other governmental expenditures. 2

Leaders within the developing nations observe that, within the developed sphere, education is of primary importance; a symbiotic relationship is seen between education and development.

Adams and Bjork acknowledge the symbiosis; most developed nations share certain characteristics, among which are a high degree of literacy, an attendance rate for school-age children of close to 100 per cent, and a relatively high proportion of young people in higher

educational institutions.³ Development, for Adams and Bjork, is contingent upon education. Developed societies are societies of abstract literacy and mathematical complexity; to lack the skills that a formal education can offer is to be severely handicapped. One cannot carry on even the most simple of activities without a knowledge of the written language; employment requires records, home ownership requires knowledge of mortgages and bills, even cooking requires the ability to read and understand baking instructions. The very fabric of society, its laws and government, are written and demand literate citizens to comprehend and participate. The absolute dependence of the developed nations on advanced technology requires the production of technicians capable of design and manipulation of the technology. Education can also assist in the creation of a future-oriented populace and can lead to lower fertility rates, both prerequisites for modernizing societies.

Education is undoubtedly vital to development; but, despite high investment in education, some underdeveloped nations have "progressed" much more rapidly than others. The key to success cannot, therefore, lie solely in terms of investment dollars; rather, education must be geared towards the populace and nations it is designed

to serve. The difference between educational success and failure lies in the philosophy adopted.

To demonstrate the role of education in the development process, the two Caribbean nations of Cuba and Jamaica have been chosen as a basis for comparison of educational/developmental philosophies. Each country's development in economics, politics, and social services will be briefly analyzed; the influence of education in these areas will be examined in an attempt to ascertain the importance of education in the developmental process and in an attempt to construct a model that might be useful with Canada's Indian Peoples.

The island of Jamaica, with an area of 4,411 square miles, forms a part of the Greater Antilles in the Caribbean. Discovered in 1494 by Columbus, Jamaica was subsequently settled by the Spanish. In 1655, the English captured the colony and their possession of the island was ratified by a treaty in 1670. The British allowed a gradual transfer of power to the colony; by the 1930's, there were rumblings of discontent and cries for complete self-government. In 1958, Jamaica joined with most of the other British colonies in the area to form the federation of The West Indies. Finally, on August 6, 1962, Jamaica achieved full independence. The population, multi-racial with a definite stratification,⁴

stood at 1,848,512 in 1976.⁵

The largest and most westerly of the Caribbean islands, Cuba has an area of approximately 42,827 square miles and a length of 745 miles from east to west. Lying ninety miles off the Florida Keys and commanding the entrance to the Gulf of Mexico, Cuba is of great strategic importance. Surrounding the mainland are numerous islands and keys, the largest of which is the Isle of Pines. Columbus landed in Cuba in 1492 and by 1511 the Spanish had settled the island. The British captured the island in 1762 but returned it in exchange for Florida. U.S. intervention was stimulated by the sinking of the battleship Maine on April 11, 1898 and the island was governed by U.S. military officials until 1902. In 1902, the Cubans were allowed full autonomy and government was by Constitution, Congress, and President, a form very similar to that of the United States. A series of Presidents culminated in the dictator Fulgencio Batista y Zaldivar. Batista's reign during the 1950's was marked by corruption and incompetency and on January 1, 1959, he was forced to flee the island. Batista's departure marked the end of a vicious struggle between government forces and a small revolutionary group led by Fidel Castro Ruz.

Upon ascent to power, Castro laid the blue-print for a new social order, an order which was to be:

...an attempt by means of revolution to pull a society out of economic backwardness and set it on a course of rapid economic development. In this context, the task of creating a new order is basically one of stripping previously dominant groups of the resources under their control and of reorganizing those resources within a new political and economic framework with the avowed aim of national development. 6

The new economic and political avenue chosen for development was to be socialism. Castro was to attempt to mold the 8,569,121⁷ Cubans of various ethnic groupings into new men of revolutionary consciousness who would place the nation and socialist ideals above personal gain.⁸

Both Cuba and Jamaica have shared, or do share, several of the negative characteristics present in underdevelopment. A contemporary analysis of progress made in social, economic, and political concerns should demonstrate which developmental philosophy contains the greatest potential.⁹

The Cuban government regarded housing as one of its first priorities. Upon seizure of power, the Revolutionary regime immediately reduced rents by 50 per cent and instituted a vigorous public housing program. Rents were later set at 10 per cent of the combined salaries of the household members; rental

payments were applied to the purchase price of the dwelling so that the tenant could gradually assume full ownership. In 1965, titles were transferred to more than 7,000 homeowners, a number that reached 66,000 by 1967.¹⁰

Between 1959 and 1963, the government claimed to have built approximately 55,000 housing units of which half were in the rural areas; in addition, private companies constructed an additional 30,000 units.¹¹ Within the field of housing, Castro has promised on several occasions the construction of an unrealistic number of housing units. However, the 24,000 built in 1969 and the 28,000 forecast for 1970 compared very favourably with 1958 when the emphasis had been on luxury housing.¹²

The Revolutionary regime still has quite a way to go in the area of housing; a 1962 survey estimated that only 50 per cent of urban dwellings and only three per cent of rural dwellings were suitable for habitation.¹³ However, the government has instituted a very positive program that has quickly delivered results; combined with low rents and the promise of home ownership within an average of twenty years, the future for Cuban people in this area looks much brighter than in pre-Revolution days.

The Jamaican government also has a subsidized public housing scheme. Ransford Palmer, writing in 1968, noted that the government had constructed over 1,300 units in the rural areas. Within the cities, suffering severely from overcrowding, the government has encouraged private developers to construct new housing; however, this housing would seem to be geared towards those of the middle-income bracket.¹⁴ The low priority given to public housing can be ascertained by the continued existence of slums and squatters.

Speaking of the Kingston-St. Andrews area, Percy notes:

- ... some 120,000 occupy substandard dwelling units, and at least 10,000 of these are squatters living in the poorest of shacks, known in Jamaica as 'tatoos.' A similar lack of adequate housing and sanitary facilities exists in varying degrees elsewhere in Jamaica. 15

It would seem that housing does not have a high priority in Jamaica and, those programs that do exist are aimed, not at those who need them most, but at those who are politically and economically more powerful.

The annual per capita income of Jamaica during the early 1970's was placed at between J\$500 and J\$800.¹⁶ This estimate was closely examined by the Jamaica Employer's Federation and the organization found that, in 1973, only 1.6% of the wage earners received over

J\$100/week, only 6.3% received over J\$50/week, and 42.6% received under J\$10 per week.¹⁷ It was estimated in 1975 that approximately 250,000 workers would benefit from a minimum wage of J\$0.25 per hour.¹⁸ There was obviously a substantial distance to go before income equality was to be realized. The income is expended with an average of 40.6% going towards food, beverage, and tobacco; 13.7% going towards clothing; and, 18.4% going towards housing and related costs.¹⁹

By comparison the 1966 Cuban per capita GNP was set at US\$320, a drop from the average of US\$350 during the 1950's.²⁰ The per capita GNP rose to US\$640 in 1978;²¹ but, the figure itself is somewhat misleading when applied to the socialist state of Cuba:

Many of the radical changes of the 1960's, however, could not be adequately measured in terms of monetary indicators. For example, by early 1970 the Castro government had come to provide a vast array of free public services, and local telephone calls. In addition, many vital goods were assigned very low prices well within the reach of nearly all consumers. 22

The Cuban state has also instituted a program towards wage equality. The lowest wage sector of the entire economy in 1962 was for non-sugar crops which stood at 53.6 per cent of the national wage rate; it was still the lowest in 1966 but had risen to 56.6 per cent of the national wage rate.²³ The three highest wage rates

were to be found in the fields of electric power, petroleum and derivatives, and air transport; the first two fields showed a 16 and 9.25 per cent decrease respectively over the 1962-66 period, while air transport rose by 6 per cent.²⁴ Hernandez and Mesa-Lago emphasize the fact that the trend to wage equality has accelerated since 1966 while the ultimate goal a socialist utopia:

Castro has promised that in the near future, all housing, recreation, transportation, and public utilities will become free also. In a final step even food and clothing will be free, thus making money and wages unnecessary. In the meantime, Castro hopes to reduce wage differences in a gradual manner: lowest wages and pensions will be gradually increased in proportion to increase in production, while higher wages will be frozen. Ultimately, when the gap is closed, every worker would earn the same amount, whether he is a cane cutter or an engineer. 25

The movement towards the utopia can be demonstrated by the unemployment figure which is estimate to be nil,²⁶ a very favourable decrease over the pre-1959 figure of at least 16 per cent²⁷ and even more impressive when related to the Jamaican unemployment rate of 25-30 per cent.²⁸

In addition, services for the Cuban people are of very high calibre. The Cuban people have access to free medical and dental care while only "indigent" Jamaicans could receive free medical, all other

Jamaicans being forced to pay a "moderate" fee for utilization of medical services.²⁹ In terms of facilities and staff, Cuba has been able to develop a more intensive health care delivery system than Jamaica. UN statistical studies provide the following data for the year 1974:

TABLE XX

	<u>Number of Hospitals</u>	<u>Beds</u>	<u>Population/Bed</u>
Cuba	324	38954	233
Jamaica	34	7780	257

30

The same study offers the following data on health care staffing:

TABLE XXI

	<u>Number of Physicians</u>	<u>Population/Physician</u>	<u>Nurses</u>
Cuba (1968)	7000	1153	12023
Jamaica (1974)	570	3509	3674

31

By 1977, the number of physicians per 100,000 population stood at 100 for Cuba and 27 for Jamaica; the gap is widening between the two countries.³² The degree of health care provided in Cuba is even more astounding when one realizes that service has been re-established in less than fifteen years despite the chaos of the revolutionary struggle and the flight of one-third of the country's doctors.³³

The Cuban government's philosophy towards health care has undergone a drastic change. The desire to be self-sufficient in staffing has led to the establishment of two new medical schools; in addition to the medical facilities at the University of Havana, new medical schools have been opened at Santiago de Cuba and Santa Clara. Graduates from all medical schools are expected to serve two years duty in rural areas.³⁴ The Cuban desire to train medical personnel in its own country prevents an exodus of trained staff. This loss of staff is a common occurrence in Jamaica where "many graduates take jobs in the advanced countries where they obtained their training"; thus depriving the country of a valuable resource.³⁵

Both Caribbean countries have made substantial gains in the fight against disease. Cuba, the leader in this fight, has virtually, or completely, eliminated malaria, poliomyelitis, smallpox, tuberculosis, typhoid, diptheria, tetanus, and whooping cough; in addition, serious inroads have been made against malaria and intestinal parasites. Having achieved this success, the Cuban regime has shifted its emphasis to preventative medicine, a much less costly philosophy than the curative approach adopted by the Jamaican government.³⁶ The difference between the two approaches is very important

in the developmental process; unfortunately, the Jamaican government has fallen in a trap for the curative philosophy costs dearly, and not only in monetary terms:

To perform, the surgeon demands total obedience, expensive technological backing, a wide range of drugs, a staff of anaesthetists, nurses, doctors, matrons, registrars - in fact the complete institution of a large central hospital. Without these he is lost, like a king without his court. To meet these demands a Third World country pays dearly. It pays with the health and lives of tens of thousands of people in rural areas - those who fall ill and die each year for lack of clean water, simple treatment, health education, a proper diet.

Their lives could have been saved by a different Health policy: one devoted to the widest distribution of power, with vast numbers of tiny clinics, locally manufactured drugs, perhaps herbal medicines, mass vaccinations, nutrition and clean water programmes.

But in most Third World countries this cannot happen, for their elites have adopted the ethic: Cure is more Profitable than Prevention, and Heal Rather the Ten sad cases who can reach Hospital, than Help the Thousand who cannot. 37

The Cuban government can still improve in certain health areas; but, there has been a very significant improvement in the quality of life. The 1973 infant mortality rate of 28.9/1,000³⁸ has fallen to a 1977 figure of 27.5/1,000 live births.³⁹ The Jamaican rate has risen from the 1973 figure of 26.3/1,000⁴⁰ to a 1977 figure of 29.1/1,000.⁴¹ Life expectancy is also

higher in Cuba.⁴² The area of health, however, provides an unstable basis for comparison as the US embargo has prevented the importation of needed medical supplies, thus undoubtedly affecting the quality of care available.⁴³

The movement towards utopian socialistic goals, wage equality, full employment, decent and reasonably-priced housing for all citizens, free medical and dental services, eradication of crime, equalization programs between rural and urban areas, easing of social tensions,⁴⁴ a ration system which guarantees the basics of good nutrition,⁴⁵ could not succeed without the ideological support instilled through the educational system. The ideals espoused by Castro and Cuban socialism are most definitely idealistic; Freire notes that this is a crucial prerequisite in developmental educational philosophies:

In this sense the pedagogy which we defend, conceived in a significant area of the Third World, is itself a utopian pedagogy. By this very fact it is full of hope, for to be utopian is not to be merely idealistic or impractical but rather to engage in denunciation and annunciation. Our pedagogy cannot do without a vision of man and of the world. It formulates a scientific humanist conception which finds expression in a dialogical praxis in which the teachers and learners together, in the act of analyzing a dehumanizing reality, denounce it while announcing its transformation in the name of the liberation of man. 46

The Third World, Freire believes, must re-evaluate its educational philosophies if any meaningful development is to take place. Education must be an indigenous force; if the "salvation" of the Third World comes from director societies, domination and exploitation must be the inevitable results.⁴⁷ In addition, education is a public right, "a primordial human right and not the privilege of a few."⁴⁸

The Revolutionary government of Cuba has, consciously, or unconsciously, adopted much of that which Freire advocates. Education is a prerequisite for economic progress; but, it is a very expensive priority. Has the investment in education proved sound for the Cuban government? What innovative measures have been implemented to assist in the creation of a new society and ideology?

Castro condemned the inequality of the pre-1959 educational establishment:

They (Castro and supporters) strongly criticized the existence of private schools, which they claimed discriminated with a social-class bias and were commercially exploitive. They characterized education, and rightly so, as verbalistic, falsely intellectual, unscientific, disassociated from life, and suffering from open divorce between theory and practice. They also took note of education's lack of relevance to manpower needs for economic development and, especially to its continuing U.S. influences and linkages, which gave the system a neocolonial cast. 49

The revision of the educational process was to be of primary importance to the regime:

Revolution is a complete, radical change in all aspects of the life of a country, and because of it, the first great problem of the revolution is how to combat and overcome the influence of old ideas, old traditions and old prejudices, and how to make the ideas of the revolution gain ground and become common knowledge and clearly comprehensible to all. The problem of education is not only the problem of illiterates and those persons who never had the opportunity to study in institutions of higher learning; it is above all the problem of educating the revolutionary masses. 50

To instill the revolutionary ideology and create a skilled work force, literacy was the first educational task undertaken:

In one of those massive mobilizations of whole populations seldom seen except in war, Cuba for 8 months mobilized over a quarter of a million men and women, schoolboys and schoolgirls, into a teaching force, transported half of them the length of the island, supplied them with 3,000,000 books and more than 100,000 paraffin lamps, and declared war on illiteracy. Before the campaign, the official rate of illiteracy was 21 percent. By December the government claimed that it was 3.9 percent. Some of the remaining illiterates continued to be instructed in 1962. 51

By 1971, more than one-third of a million illiterates had received their sixth grade certificates;⁵² by 1977, the literacy rate stood at 97 per cent versus the 80 per cent literacy rate in Jamaica.⁵³

The elementary school population underwent a rate of growth of 30.4 per cent in the decade 1958-68. Secondary education showed a real growth of 83.3 per cent over the same period. In the professional and technical schools, a growth rate of 139.9 per cent was recorded over the decade.⁵⁴ Scholarships were offered to the poor and rural students so that they might take full advantage of formal schooling. Education provided an avenue of political awareness and technical skill-building; as such, it had to be accessible to all and a new emphasis on technocracy had to be fostered.

The direction of education in Cuba has undergone a radical shift. The acknowledgement that technical education was of more immediate use to industry and the country's development than subjects of the social sciences led the Castro government to re-assign educational priorities. The shift to emphasis on applied sciences is demonstrated in the following table:

TABLE XXII

DISTRIBUTION OF UNIVERSITY ENROLLMENT BY DISCIPLINE IN CUBA: 1959-1967

Year ^a	Humanities ^b	Law	Education	Social Sciences ^c	Natural Sciences ^d	Engineering, Architecture	Medical Sciences	Agricultural Sciences ^e
1959	4.3%	11.2%	19.7%	25.3%	6.3%	13.0%	15.5%	4.7%
1961	3.1	3.9	18.5	21.8	3.7	25.4	19.2	4.3
1963	3.0	1.7	15.4	25.3	6.2	21.0	23.1	4.3
1965	2.5	1.4	24.4	13.1	6.6	24.0	22.8	5.2
1967	2.1	0.8	26.0	7.1	9.5	23.7	20.8	10.0

Source: Computations based on rough data from JUCEPLAN, *Compendio Estadístico de Cuba, 1968* (La Habana, 1968), pp. 34-35.

Note: Enrollment in the Preparatory School for Peasants and Workers has been excluded.

a. School year begins in September and ends in July of the next year.

b. Philosophy and literature.

c. Mainly economics (commerce in 1959), and political science, history, and sociology.

d. Mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, geology, pharmacy, psychology, and geography.

e. Agronomy, veterinary medicine, and animal husbandry.

The emphasis on technical expertise also included a commitment to agricultural sciences, an area which had been sorely neglected prior to 1959. Yet, Cuba had been almost totally dependent upon agriculture; obviously, pre-Revolutionary education had been out of touch with the country's needs. Under Castro, enrollment in the agricultural sciences soared from the three hundred of 1958-59 to three thousand in 1962.⁵⁶ The Cuban government was attempting to make education more relevant to the country's needs by ensuring that its costly investment provided a good return; this could only be done by ensuring that the product of the educational system could play a direct part in the economic development of the country. The graduates of technical schools and agricultural courses simply filled a void that was the keystone to Cuban development, a void that had existed because enrollment in these areas was not seen as "prestigious."

Rolland G. Paulston, in commenting on the growth of education under the Revolutionary regime, notes that the gains have been "truly impressive":

In the first year, the government built more than 3,000 new public schools, and 7,000 additional teachers entered classrooms to teach more than 300,000 children attending school for the first time. Educational expansion on this scale was only made possible by creating greater efficiency in the existing school system and by enlisting young volunteer teachers....

In 1958-1968, the number of primary and secondary schools nearly doubled and accessibility to schooling in rural areas was much improved. The number of teachers tripled and working hours nearly doubled. Matriculation of students showed a twofold increase in primary school and a threefold increase in secondary school. In 1958-1966, state expenditures in education increased almost fourfold, and per capita expenditures, more than threefold.... The Ministry of Education proudly claims that 'no Cuban child or young person lacks schools today' and that 'attendance is reflected in the following figures: 93 percent (of school-age children) are attending primary schools and 95 percent, secondary schools. Greatly facilitating expansion of this magnitude, some 240,000 full scholarships were awarded in 1968. Preschool education, special education for handicapped children, and school health services have, in like manner, also made impressive gains. 57

With this tremendous increase in the student population, the exodus of much of the teaching staff, and the severe drain on facilities, standards would inevitably suffer.

Perhaps, however, standards are often sacrificed at the expense of the country's development; an emphasis on quality is perhaps a second step in the journey to development:

Lower standards are not inevitably foolish or wasteful if they make possible a very much wider spread of education, particularly if the education imparts basic skills in practical ways. As one economist has suggested in India, it is not entirely clear 'if medical education has been really adapted to the situation of the poor country. In the United States and Europe and, indeed, also in New Delhi, we yearn for doctors who are trained and totally trustworthy. The provision of such total training is the

sine qua non of modern medical education. But in the developing country, with scarce resources, if we insist on these high standards for the few, may we not deny medical assistance to the many? Do we not get good doctors in the capitals at the price of having no one to set a broken leg or prescribe some morphine in the villages?' 58

Mass education of this calibre can serve to further indoctrination, foster public health awareness, provide basic literary skills necessary for the interpretation of data, provide the technical skills required to create and man basic tools of low-level industry and agriculture, and inculcate attitudes ('modern' consciousness) necessary for workers in a developing or developed nation. Ginzberg and Smith view the teaching of basic skills as the priority target of development:

The major keys to development lie in altering the conditions of rural life. If agriculture is to be improved, if debilitating disease are to be brought under at least partial control, if isolated villages are to be linked with small towns, if people are to learn about personal hygiene and sanitation - in short if they are slowly to develop a new stance toward themselves, their children, and the future - they must have an opportunity to learn. There can be no significant gains in agricultural production, in health and sanitation, in roads, and in the expansion of the money economy without a simultaneous educational revolution which will provide the foundation and support for these and other changes. The broadening of basic education in the countryside is a sine qua non for economic development. 59

Acceptance of a quantitative educational philosophy can lead to economic and social development which allows an increasingly higher quality of education which in turn can lead to further national development.

Jamaican education has not taken the same direction as that of the Cubans; and, the country has suffered for that mistake. Historically, the colonial education was open only to the higher classes; M.E. Burke notes that the educational system merely reflected the plantation economy of the 18th and 19th centuries and perpetuated the status quo: " 'Mass' versus 'class' education served as the mirror of the social stratification which was already in existence."⁶⁰ Within the twentieth century, the educational direction underwent little change; it was only in the late 1950's that the Jamaican government began to restructure its educational policy and planning. In 1957, the government decided to focus attention on secondary and technical education. This decision was based on the premise that skilled personnel would be required to man the bureaucratic offices of an independent Jamaica; technicians were trained to provide a work force that would attract foreign industry. Five new technical schools were built and a technical college, the College of Arts, Science and Technology, was created.

In addition, the government introduced a Common Entrance examination which opened secondary education to a larger portion of the population. The number of scholarships to secondary schools, less than 100, was increased to 2,000 free places and 1,500 partial scholarships. Teacher-training programs were expanded and brief courses of 20 weeks were to produce full-fledged teachers.⁶¹

Effectively, the Jamaican approach was from the top down while the Cubans worked from the bottom up; mass or elite education - the results demonstrated the correct path. A 1964 secret UNESCO report on Jamaican education recommended:

1. Serious consideration to be given to the re-definition of priority needs within the overall (Independence) Plan and consequently the re-allocation of funds.
2. A massive attack on the school plant problem including the provision of textbooks, books, equipment and other instructional materials.
3. Special attention to be given to the rehabilitation and expansion of agricultural education at craft, technician, and teacher-training levels.
4. Expansion of technical education at craft, technician, teacher-training and higher grade technician levels.
5. All the above to be implemented in conjunction with an appropriate and expanded teacher-training programme.
6. Urgent attention to be given to relieve the plight of the adolescent group outside the school system who have the capacity and the ambition to go further in their studies.

It seems that the educational system suffered weakness in almost all areas.

Special mention was not made of the illiteracy problem, a problem which needed special government attention. By government admission, roughly 20 per cent of the population, some 400,000 to 500,000 Jamaicans, were illiterate.⁶³ A 1961 literacy program would seem to have had little effect and, in 1970, the three hundred literacy classes had a collective enrollment of only 5,000 students.⁶⁴ Yet, in 1977, the literacy rate still stood at 80 per cent.⁶⁵ The functional literacy rate was placed by the National Planning Agency at between 50 and 60 per cent in 1973;⁶⁶ a 1960 study had placed the rate at approximately 51 per cent⁶⁷ - change had been negligible, or, worse, negative. The ineffectiveness of the literacy program combined with high emigration of literates conspires to deprive the country of citizens with even the basic educational skills.

The emphasis within Jamaican education is misplaced. The emphasis is not on technocracy, rather the emphasis is on the prestigious arts and sciences. The bias in favour of academic courses, at the expense of technical, has led to a serious shortage of skilled manpower which in turn leads to the paradoxical situation of a country

importing skilled personnel while suffering from a large surplus of unemployed, unskilled labour. The subject bias also carries over into occupations and many unemployed educated consider certain jobs undignified and inferior even though they are not qualified for better positions.⁶⁸ Adam Curle comments on this phenomenon:

... if the universities mainly turn out ill-taught graduates in, for example, medieval history or theology, they are contributing very little at considerable cost. India is jammed with unemployed graduates and so are many other Asian countries.... Unemployment is now beginning among university arts graduates in Africa.... In a number of these cases, one cannot say merely that education has been wasted so far as the economy is concerned; it has actually damaged the individual's capacity to contribute. The main achievement of his education was to arouse aspirations for white-collar employment. Such employment was easily obtainable by his predecessors of a few years or decades ago, but in most of the developing world the production of graduates is outstripping the creation of jobs in the modern sector of the economy. The aspirations, then, are not satisfied, but neither are they relinquished. The skill and energy which might have been devoted to raising the quality of agriculture, which in many developing countries will continue for years to be the main industry, or for teaching in the rural schools, where for years most of the children will be educated, is wasted in the overpopulated and underdeveloped suburbs of the spawning towns. 69

Those Jamaicans that do have the skills often receive those skills abroad and, having experienced a higher

standard of living, often are reluctant to return to the island and take positions in the country of their training, thus depriving Jamaica of much-needed expertise.⁷⁰

Jamaican education is thus dysfunctional as it results in a loss of skilled personnel, does not produce the technical and/or agricultural experts to help develop the country, and has not even assured that its citizens receive the basic right of literacy. In essence, Jamaican education is still of the colonial mold, reinforcing the status quo and catering to a relatively small, influential portion of the populace. The return on the investment dollar is poor:

I would venture a hypothesis that the colonial tradition that education is a social service, that is, something which is nice to give people if it can be afforded, is perhaps a millstone around the neck of the West Indies at the moment. It is a millstone which these societies should show some signs of throwing off, but the rope is not wholly severed. Education must be regarded not as a social service, not merely as an avenue to social mobility, least of all as a channel for providing the society with a political elite, it must be regarded as an investment in human resources and a first condition of a steady rise in per capita income. 71

Julius Nyerere, having experienced the colonial education, recognizes that it cannot provide the key to development:

It (colonial education) was not designed to prepare young people for the service of their own country; instead, it was motivated by a desire to inculcate the values of the colonial society and to train individuals for the service of the colonial state. In these countries the state interest in education therefore stemmed from the need for local clerks and junior officials; on top of that, various religious groups were interested in spreading literacy and other education as part of their evangelical work....

This meant that colonial education induced attitudes of human inequality, and in practice underpinned the domination of the weak by the strong, especially in the economic field. Colonial education in this country was therefore not transmitting the values and knowledge of Tanzanian society from one generation to the next; it was a deliberate attempt to change those values and to replace traditional knowledge by the knowledge from a different society. It was thus a part of a deliberate attempt to effect a revolution in the society; to make it into a colonial society which accepted its status and which was an efficient adjunct to the governing power....⁷²

The tool used to suppress cannot provide liberation;⁷³
 a new educational philosophy is required if ex-colonial nations of the Third World are to develop. Judging by gains made, Cuba has been able to develop more successfully than Jamaica; what then are the educational attributes that have assisted in this development?

There are certain areas in the developmental process where education can be a supportive, if not causal, factor. If Jamaican policy-makers and planning officials had carefully observed the Cuban experience, they might have

been able to utilize aspects of Cuban education to assist in their nation's development, economic and social. Education should have provided Jamaica with a skilled indigenous labour force, literate, and knowledgeable in hygiene, sanitation, and prophylaxis. Instead, education in Jamaica has been a drain on the country, producing a product unsuited to the nation's needs, a product unable to place the country's welfare above personal aggrandizement, a product unable to find work, and, a product too often lacking even the most rudimentary academic skills which are essential for participation in the society and the progress of that society.

The Cuban return on its investment has been much better; the product has been of a much higher calibre. This result is directly tied to the Cuban choice of an enlightened educational philosophy. Working from the basic premise that literacy was not only a right, but an obligation of the people,⁷⁴ Castro moved to ensure open and free education for all. An emphasis on technical education provided the means for development; but, Cuban technical education was not simply an academic education. In an effort to move towards a classless society, the Cuban authorities tried to eliminate the stigmas attached to manual labour and academic study;

the student was to be a worker, the worker was to be a student. The academics were to experience the reality of labour:

We should teach not only reading and writing, but also how to work and serve others. Let our students learn by studying and working, so they may understand. There are persons who in all their lives have never sweated through their shirts and can't understand suddenly what is going on around them now. 75

Students combined study with work in factories and fields; thus, gaining practical experience while contributing their labour to the development of the country. Studying is not to cease upon entrance into the work force:

No one has the right to close their books when they begin working, and never open a book again, because then they will not raise their level, they will not be capable of giving more, they will not be capable of keeping up with progress. And it is inconceivable that, with the enormous percentage of workers studying today, there should be a youth recently graduated from a technological school, who because he has gotten work and has a more or less remunerative salary, should consider himself a wise man, close his books and neither study nor improve himself further. 76

Literacy was seen as an obligatory step to development; technical emphasis, the second step. The massive campaign to eradicate illiteracy and the combination of academic skill with practical experience led some

opponents of the regime to accuse Castro of lowering standards, a view Castro immediately countered:

Sometimes, in the name of a false pedagogy, in the name of certain perfectionist trends, we find minds allergic to the idea of students working, people who say that this will lower their academic levels. Those super-pedagogues - who know very little about pedagogy, because they ignore the essential things that form the citizen - should be reminded of the fact that we are interested in forming not only technicians, but complete technicians, better citizens. 77

However, it would seem that such campaigns as those launched by the Cuban educationalists would be bound to lower academic standards. Even if the standards were to have been lowered, academically competent and contributory citizens had been the products of the system. Having achieved this modicum of success, the Cubans could then concentrate on higher standards; this philosophy is demonstrated in Castro's remarks on teacher-training:

With each coming year we must graduate teachers with a higher technical level, with each coming year we must graduate teachers with a more complete formation, capable not only of providing children with primary school knowledge of the various topics, but also capable of guiding them, of forming them as citizens and developing all their mental and physical faculties. 78

By-products of the Cuban educational philosophy include free clothing and books for all students, free

room and board where required, numerous scholarships for deserving students, and specialized schools for the blind, deaf, and handicapped. Most important is the real potential for mobility in the area of employment:

One of the great changes brought by the Revolution is that any boy or girl, however poor their parents or wherever they live on the island, can get to a university or technical school and become a doctor, engineer, agronomist, or any other professional. 79

Jamaica cannot make such a promise; neither can many developed nations.

One can draw several parallels between the underdevelopment of the two Caribbean islands and the underdevelopment of Canada's Indian Peoples. Jamaica and pre-Revolutionary Cuba share with the Indian Peoples the dubious distinction of a very low standard of living; poor housing, poor sanitation, poor state of health, high unemployment, an absence of skilled personnel, little economic growth, and low levels of educational productivity in relation to the needs of the people - characteristics of three underdeveloped areas. The key to development is education and, noting this fact, all three areas have invested large sums in an effort to hasten their development. Only Cuba has succeeded

in obtaining any substantial degree of development that benefits the vast majority of its people and the credit must go, in large part, to its educational policy. Unlike Jamaica and the Canadian government, who have continued the use of a colonial education, Cuba has chosen a new path of revolutionary education and tied that education to the needs of the nation. Cuba has adopted an independent educational philosophy that can allow change; it is not the colonial education that often refuses to risk any serious reform. Thus, the education does not exist merely to perpetuate the status quo as it does in Jamaica and on Canada's reserves; rather, it is a dynamic change agent with a future orientation of development.

E.R. Schumacher speaks of development in the terms understood by Cuban planners; development is a slow process, but it must be steady; development is a gradual process, proceeding step by step, but it must be directed towards ultimate, defined goals. Schumacher sees education as a vital part of development; but, he identifies two other components as crucial:

Development does not start with goods; it starts with people and their education, organisation, and discipline. Without these three, all resources remain latent, untapped, potential. There are prosperous societies

with but the scantiest basis of natural wealth, and we have had plenty of opportunity to observe the primacy of the invisible factors after the war. Every country, no matter how devastated, which had a high level of education, organisation, and discipline, produced an 'economic miracle'. In fact, these were miracles only for people whose attention is focused on the tip of the iceberg. The tip had been smashed to pieces, but the base, which is education, organisation, and discipline, was still there.

Here, then, lies the central problem of development. If the primary causes of poverty are deficiencies in these three respects, then the alleviation of poverty depends primarily on the removal of these deficiencies. Here lies the reason why development cannot be an act of creation, why it cannot be ordered, bought, comprehensively planned: why it requires a process of evolution. Education does not 'jump'; it is a gradual process of great subtlety. Organisation does not 'jump'; it must gradually evolve to fit changing circumstances. And much the same goes for discipline. All three must evolve step by step, and the foremost task of development policy must be to speed this evolution. All three must become the property not merely of a tiny minority, but of the whole society. 80

Cuba has adopted a "step by step" approach to development, an approach that has been applied to education. Organisation and discipline have come with the Revolution and the socialist ideology.

It is not within the scope of this study to examine the organisation and discipline of Canada's Indian Peoples per se;⁸¹ but, an examination of the education of Canada's Indian Peoples, with specific reference to the Province

of Manitoba, should reveal the educational characteristics that are assisting in the attainment of, or hindering, development. Perhaps, future directions in Indian education might be suggested by the Cuban example.

Footnotes

1. "Third World" has been defined by P.V. Lyon as an area composed of former colonies suffering from the common characteristic of "grinding poverty." Lyon further notes:
Canadian policy-makers employ 'Third World' with little pretence of precision. For them it serves chiefly as a stylistic variation for the 'underdeveloped,' the 'less developed' or, more optimistically, the 'developing' countries: the areas where hunger is still general, and mass starvation, epidemic, and social turbulence are ever-present possibilities.
P.V. Lyon and T.Y. Ismael, ed., Canada and the Third World (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1976), pp. xii-xiii.
2. CUSO, "Education and Underdevelopment", p. 1.
3. D. Adams and R.M. Bjork, Education in Developing Areas (New York: David McKay Co., 1969), p. 20.
4. Seventy-six per cent of the population is black, fifteen per cent is mulatto, and the remainder is made up of Europeans, Chinese, East Indians, and others. S. Bliss, "Setting Its Own Course", Cuba Review, Vol. 7, No. 1, p. 17. See A.S. Phillips' "Personality and Behaviour in the West Indies", Caribbean Education Seminar, Jamaica, July, 1968, for a discussion on self-concept and skin colour.
5. United Nations, 1976 Statistical Yearbook (New York: United Nations, 1977), p. 68. Statistics given are for the year 1970.
6. J.M. Malloy, "Generation of Political Support and Allocation of Costs" in C. Mesa-Lago, ed., Revolutionary Change in Cuba (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1971), p. 23.
7. UN, 1976 Statistical Yearbook, p. 68. Statistics given are for the year 1970. J. Rothenberg and M. Samad-Matias in "The Quest for Sovereignty", Cuba Review, Vol. 7, No. 1, April 1977, p. 4, place the 1977 population at approximately 9.5 million.

8. We expect this school will form such a kind of citizen. We expect a great spirit of fraternity among the students. The development of a collectivist mentality. Egotism and individualism will be systematically combatted. While the society of the past had to produce an egotistical man, practically a wild beast, our society will produce a man linked in human brotherhood. The most fraternal spirit should prevail among students, the largest possible cooperation from the stronger towards the weaker, from those with greater dexterity in studies towards those who have less. This is the true brotherly spirit of cooperation, of help.... The moral qualities becoming a young revolutionary, a young socialist, a young communist, the human sense of life must be instilled in youth as its most fundamental characteristic.

Fidel Castro, Education in Revolution (La Habana: Instituto Cubano Del Libro, 1975), p. 144.

- Rolland G. Paulston in "Education" comments on some of the difficulties in attaining this goal; see pp. 393-394 in C. Mesa-Lago, ed., Revolutionary Change in Cuba (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1971).
9. By "potential", one should understand potential for improvement in quality of life as evidenced in housing, health care, employment, and education.
10. H.I. Blutstein et al, Area Handbook for Cuba (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971), p. 115.
11. R. Dumont, Is Cuba Socialist? (New York: The Viking Press, 1974), p. 61.
12. T. Schuman, "We don't have the right to wait", Cuba Review, Vol. 5, No. 1, March 1975. This entire issue is devoted to housing in Cuba and furnishes evidence to demonstrate the progress made in this area.
13. R. Dumont, Is Cuba Socialist?, p. 61.
14. R.W. Palmer, The Jamaican Economy (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1968), p. 74.

15. G.E. Percy, The West Indian Scene (New York: D. Van Nostrand Co., 1965), p. 100.
16. J\$500 would equal approximately C\$434.75 with an official exchange rate of \$0.8695 as of April 7, 1978.
17. I. Kaplan et al, Area Handbook for Jamaica (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1976), p. 146.
18. Ibid.
19. Ibid., p. 147.
20. H.I. Blutstein et al, Area Handbook for Cuba, p. 293. US\$350 would equal approximately C\$366.40 at April 1978 exchange rates.
21. "Testing for Communism", The New Internationalist, February 1978, p. 17.
22. H.I. Blutstein et al, Area Handbook for Cuba, p. 294.
23. The average annual income in 1968 stood at 415 Cuban pesos, or, approximately C\$614.87.
24. J.I. Dominguez, "Revolutionary Values and Development Performance: China, Cuba, and the Soviet Union" in H. Lasswell et al, Values and Development (Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1976), p. 39.
25. R. Hernandez and C. Mesa-Lago, "Labor Organization and Wages", in C. Mesa-Lago, ed., Revolutionary Change in Cuba, p. 235.
26. J. Rothenberg and M. Samad-Matias, "The Quest for Sovereignty", p. 4. Dominguez placed the 1969 unemployment rate at 2.6 per cent of the labour force. J.I. Dominguez, "Revolutionary Values", p. 39.
27. C. Mesa-Lago, Revolutionary Change in Cuba, p. 279.
28. J. Rothenberg and M. Samad-Matias, "The Quest for Sovereignty", p. 4.

29. I. Kaplan et al, Area Handbook for Jamaica, p. 134.
30. UN, 1976 Statistical Yearbook, p. 834.
31. Ibid.
32. J. Rothenberg and M. Samad-Matias, "The Quest for Sovereignty", p. 6.
33. C. Mesa-Lago, ed., Revolutionary Change in Cuba, p. 292.
34. In 1955, 62.4% of Cuba's doctors practiced in Havana province. By 1968, this had diminished to 55%, and by 1971, to 42%. "Thus a trend toward inequality of distribution was stopped and reversed."
J.I. Dominguez, "Revolutionary Values", p. 33.
35. R.W. Palmer, The Jamaican Economy (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1968), p. 72.
36. Ibid.
37. G. Roberts, Questioning Development (Chichester: St. Richard's Press, 1977), p. 30.
38. UN, 1976 Statistical Yearbook, p. 80.
39. J. Rothenberg and M. Samad-Matias, "The Quest for Sovereignty", p. 6. The Cuban figures show a substantial reduction from the 37.6/1000 in 1953 or the 33.7/1000 in 1958. L. Nelson, Cuba: The Measure of a Revolution (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1972), p. 191.
40. UN, 1976 Statistical Yearbook, p. 80.
41. J. Rothenberg and M. Samad-Matias, "The Quest for Sovereignty", p. 6.
42. UN, 1976 Statistical Yearbook, p. 80.
43. The shortage of needed drugs no doubt influenced the decision to ransom the Bay of Pigs prisoners for US \$53 million of medicines.
44. H.L. Matthews, Revolution in Cuba (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1975), pp. 179-180.

45. J. Nicholson, Jr., "Inside Cuba", Harper's, April 1973, pp. 55-56.
46. P. Freire, Cultural Action for Freedom (Cambridge: Center for the Study of Development and Social Change, 1970), p. 20.
47. Ibid.
48. Ibid., p. 12.
49. R.G. Paulston, "Education", p. 385.
50. F. Castro, Education in Revolution, p. 20.
51. L. Nelson, Cuba: The Measure of a Revolution, p. 137.
52. R.G. Paulston, "Education", p. 387.
53. J. Rothenberg and M. Samad-Matias, "The Quest for Sovereignty", p. 4.
54. J.I. Dominguez, "Revolutionary Values", p. 29.
55. R.G. Paulston, "Education", p. 390.
56. D. Seers, ed., Cuba: The Economic and Social Revolution (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1964), p. 248.
57. R.G. Paulston, "Education", p. 386.
58. D. Seers, ed., Cuba: The Economic and Social Revolution, p. 272.
59. E. Ginzberg and H.A. Smith, Manpower Strategy for Developing Countries (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967), p. 113.
60. M.E. Burke, "The Evolution of the Educational System of the Commonwealth Caribbean", Caribbean Education Seminar, Jamaica, July/August, 1968, p. 3.
61. A.S. Phillips, "Recent Educational Plans - Jamaica", Caribbean Education Seminar, Jamaica, July/August, 1968, pp. 1-2.

62. Ibid., p. 2.
63. I. Kaplan et al, Area Handbook for Jamaica, p. 169.
64. Ibid.
65. J. Rothenberg and M. Samad-Matias, "The Quest for Sovereignty", p. 4.
66. I. Kaplan et al, Area Handbook for Jamaica, p. 169.
67. O.N. Bollard, "Literacy in a Rural Area of Jamaica", Social and Economic Studies, Vol. 20, No. 1, 1971, p. 47.
68. L.A. Kirkealdy, "Institutional Reforms in a Strategy of Employment Creation: The Case of Jamaica", in K. Wohlmuth, ed., Employment Creation in Developing Societies (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1973), p. 283.
69. A. Curle, Educational Problems of Developing Societies (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1973), pp. 4-5.
70. R.W. Palmer, The Jamaican Economy, p. 72. This fact is also noted by K. Tidrick in "Need for Achievement, Social Class and Intention to Emigrate in Jamaican Students", Social and Economic Studies, Vol. 20, No. 1, p. 60.
71. R.W. Palmer, The Jamaican Economy, p. 72.
72. J.K. Nyerere, Freedom and Socialism (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 269.
73. To use Pierre Jalée's words:
 It is self-evident that the institutions created by a flourishing colonialism would not serve the contrary process: decolonization, that is, the attainment of economic independence for the struggle against underdevelopment through the autonomous exploitation of the wealth of the formerly colonial countries. One does not use the same implement for sowing as for reaping.
 P. Jalée, The Pillage of the Third World (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1968), pp. 87-88.

74. Castro has said:
We have to create in every citizen the awareness that not knowing how to read and write is shameful, and that the person who can't read and write will have to walk with his head down, because he has one of the most despicable defects there is. We have to create such awareness so that everybody will learn to read and write.
F. Castro, Education in Revolution, p. 45.
75. Ibid., p. 94.
76. Ibid., p. 174.
77. Ibid., p. 99.
78. Ibid., p. 111.
79. H.L. Matthews, Revolution in Cuba (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1975), p. 349.
80. E.F. Schumacher, Small is Beautiful (London: Sphere Books, 1973), pp. 140-141.
81. William D. Johnson discusses the importance of a charismatic leader in obtaining this organisation and discipline; unfortunately, he also notes that leadership within the Indian community is a very rare thing. W.D. Johnson, "An Exploratory Study of Ethnic Relations at Great Whale River", NCRC-62-7, p. 21.

Chapter V

Education, for Canada's Indian Peoples, has not proved to be the answer to developmental problems. Education has not been used to promote or support development, as in Cuba. Rather, education has been in the colonial mold with results, educational and developmental, similar to the Jamaica experience.

The Indian Peoples, facing the severe challenges of the early 1800's, starvation, economic dependency, and alcohol, were confronted by a new threat to their culture in the form of the missionaries. The missionaries were unlike any other Whites with whom the Indian Peoples had had contact; no other group had come with plans to radically alter Indian society. The missionaries, Robin Fisher, notes, "had developed quite deliberately and consciously thought out plans of acculturation for the Indians."¹

The missionaries viewed education as a tool that could be used to inculcate their particular religious beliefs in the Indian mind. Newfield supports this assertion:

Missionaries then as now were sent by a church to spread the gospel and to make converts to a faith. Their concern was about education only in so far as it was a means to gain the more important religious end. 2

The educational objective of the missionaries was thus clearly defined.

Bishop Joseph Octave Plessis, Bishop of Quebec, was responsible for ordering missionaries west. Plessis elaborated on the task of the missionary when he declared that they were "to carry to the Indian nations ... the knowledge of the Gospel as the most certain means of hastening their civilization...."³ Plessis further instructed his missionaries that they were "to consider the first object of their mission to be to reclaim from barbarism and the disorders that result from it the Indian nations scattered over that vast country."⁴ Education was solely the means to nurture Christian values and beliefs in the Native Peoples.

Early missionary activity was initially directed towards the few White settlers, the off-spring of the Hudson's Bay Company officials, and the Metis, both French and English-speaking. However, in the early 1820's, the missionaries began to seek converts among the Indian Peoples. The chief churches involved in this missionary work among the Indians of Manitoba were the Church of England, the Roman Catholic Church, and the Wesleyan Methodist Church.

Early Anglican Endeavours

In 1820, the Anglican Reverend John West had come to take up the duties of chaplain to the Hudson's Bay Company; but, according to Newfield, West's "personal concern"⁵ lay with the Indian people. West believed that the key to conversion of the Indian nations lay in the children for, if they could be converted, the natural evolution of time would ensure a race of Christian Indians within a few generations. As the Hudson's Bay Company was reluctant to support missionary work among the Native Peoples, West had to seek funds from London. He was advanced one hundred pounds that was to enable him to initiate his program. During 1820,⁶ West collected ten Indian and Metis lads, among them Henry Budd, from the northern portion of Manitoba. These young boys were brought to Fort Douglas on October 14 and the first permanent school for English-speaking children was built to accommodate them. Their school teacher was a Hudson's Bay Company employee, George Harbridge, from York Factory. Several Scottish children also attended this school and total enrollment was between twenty and twenty-five.

West continued to seek support for his desire to become involved exclusively with the conversion of Indian

children. In 1822, West assumed the position of the Superintendent of the Missionary Establishment for the Church Missionary Society. He had taken over the management of the entire Red River mission and was now able to include Native Peoples as his responsibility and "make their evangelization a matter of no secondary concern."⁷

By 1822 West had obtained a commitment from the Church Missionary Society to undertake a vast program of evangelization in the North. When West left Red River in the spring of 1823, he had been instrumental in promoting education as a missionary method to the goal of conversion. His school, with its boarding accommodations for Native boys and girls, and with its "primary object of teaching ... religious education,"⁸ was to serve as a model; his efforts at making the school self-sufficient with the labour of the native children was also to be imitated.⁹

In the period following West's departure, Reverends Budd, Settee, Hope, Pratt, Jones, and Cochrane carried on the Anglican program of conversion. In 1832, Cochrane obtained from Chief Pegowis¹⁰ of the Saulteux permission to establish an Indian settlement on Netley Creek so that a school could be constructed whereby

Native girls could learn to make their own clothes and learn "to know their God."¹¹ It becomes apparent at this time that the Anglican missionaries now sought to change the nomadic life-style of the Natives or, as Dowker comments, "to wean the Indians from a vagrant life to 'habits of order and settled work.'"¹² West himself had been a strong advocate of such a philosophy:

In forming this Establishment for their religious education, it is of the greatest importance that they should be gradually inured to the cultivation of the soil, and instructed in the knowledge of agriculture. For this purpose I have allotted a small piece of ground for each child, and divided the different compartments with a wicker frame. We often dig and hoe with our little charge in the sweat of our brow as an example and encouragement for them to labour; and promising them the produce of their own industry, we find that they take great delight in their gardens. Necessity may compel the adult Indian to take up the spade and submit to manual labour, but a child brought up in the love of cultivating a garden will be naturally led to the culture of the field as a means of subsistence: and educated in the principles of Christianity, he will become stationary to partake of the advantages and privileges of civilization. It is through these means of instruction that a change will be gradually effected in the character of the North American Indian.... 13

The curriculum in the Anglican schools was devoted solely to the purpose of conversion:

The readers and spellers used in the parish schools were the same all over the settlement. They were published by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and were the same as used in most parish schools in England at that time. As soon as a pupil had well-mastered the lower grades he was transferred to the New Testament or second class, and when able to read well in any of the four Gospels, he passed on to the Bible or first class. Once a week the whole school was resolved into a single class, and instructed in the Church catechism. Such was the main curriculum of the average parish school although a few teachers are known to have taught history, geography and grammar. 14

Newfield makes the observation that obviously a fourth "R", religion, had assumed a very prominent position in the curriculum.

In the North, Reverends Budd and Hunter worked continuously to make converts and churches were built in The Pas and Fort York. Hunter translated the prayer book and the Gospel of St. John into Cree. But, one must wonder at the meaning ascribed Christianity by the Indians when one of Hunter's parishioners could say:

I know that Christianity is true, that it is the great, the best religion, much better, very much better, than the pagan - my old religion. Now when I was a pagan, and followed my old ways, the religion of my fathers - I could eat eight rabbits for my dinner, and then was not satisfied, but since I have become Christian, and follow the new way, six rabbits at a time is plenty for me; I don't want any more. 15

The Anglican attempts at conversion prior to the

1870's were limited basically to the immediate area around the Red River Settlement with the notable exception of The Pas and York Factory. Milton and Cheadle support this assertion:

It must be confessed that the Romish priests far excel their Protestant bretheren in missionary enterprise and influence.... They (The Protestant Missionaries) remain inert, enjoying the ease and comfort of the Red River Settlement, or at most make an occasional summer's visit to some parts of the nearest posts. 16

Early Roman Catholic Endeavours

Roman Catholicism had very similar objectives as can be seen by Plessis' directives.¹⁷ Prior to 1826, efforts aimed at conversion were few; the main point that emerges from this period is the Catholic missionary belief that it was absolutely essential to break "the 'wandering habit' and to make the Indian sedentary."¹⁸ Father Belcourt, a prominent missionary, as early as September 1818, had emphasized the importance of settling the Indians before attempting to convert them, "if one does not help the infidels to get out of their misery by conforming to the usages of civilized life he is beating the air by pretending to instruct them."¹⁹ Norbert Provencher, first Bishop of the North-West, had attempted to settle groups of Saulteux, but it had proved

a failure as the surrounding Whites and Metis proved to be very poor examples.

Roman Catholic missionaries conducted a few journeys to out-lying Native communities and, in 1843, Reverend Darveau established a mission at The Pas. With the tragic death of Darveau, Bishop Provencher decided that he must ask for Oblates to staff his missions for "The Oblates were by profession missionaries to the poor."²⁰ Tache and Aubert arrived in St. Boniface in 1845 to fulfill Provencher's request. Within an extremely short time, the Oblates were establishing themselves throughout the North. In 1854 there were only seven Oblates and four secular priests at work within the area.²¹ On December 20, 1857, Brother Clut was admitted to the priesthood:

This ordination brought the number of professed Oblate fathers in the diocese up to fourteen. There were moreover two secular priests, the veteran Mr. Thibault and the new arrival, Mr. Gascon. Furthermore, the material side of the various establishments was looked after by lay brothers, of whom the same territory now counted six. 22

Prior to 1845, missionary activity amongst the Indians was extremely limited; in the period following 1845, the Oblates conducted a vast campaign to establish posts among the Native Peoples.

Wesleyan Methodist Endeavours

In 1840, James Evans and two young Ojibway native missionaries, Jacobs and Steinhauer, established themselves at Norway House. Evans constructed a school, parsonage and a church in Rossville which was to serve twenty Cree families. Evans mastered the Cree language and began translating literature into Cree syllabics and printing copies for distribution among the Indians. The Indians were semi-nomadic and school was held whenever the families were in the village.

Once again we find attempts to settle the Indians by changing them into farmers and, in 1844, Evans had high expectations, "We expect to harvest this year from four to five hundred bushels of barley, eight hundred to a thousand bushels of potatoes and about a hundred bushels of turnips."²³ And, once more, the curriculum was geared towards conversion; Thomas Hassel, the teacher, reported:

Religious truth constitutes a large portion of their instruction. The Creed and the Lord's prayer, in both languages, are familiar to all of them, and our own catechisms are repeated by all the more advanced boys and girls. 24

Again, prior to 1870, an effort was made to "civilize" the Indians but in a limited manner; Oxford House and Norway House being the main posts of the Wesleyan Methodists.

The Hudson's Bay Company found it to their benefit to support all attempts at education as the educated Indian was thought to be more industrious and reliable and, therefore, the Company could expect greater numbers of furs from these "educated" Indians:

Much good resulted from these missions. Before Evans came to Norway House, the Indians were most degraded and procured only ten packs of furs during the winter whereas they now get ninety. The population increased, the Indians became more industrious, built better houses, imported stoves and cows and replaced their native dress and adopted civilized habits. 25

A religious and economic alliance was thus struck to benefit both trader and missionary. The Indian's value system was attacked by the missionary, his nomadic life-style was condemned; he was a victim of starvation; he was the tragic target of economic exploitation at the hands of the Hudson's Bay Company.

Rempel sums up the period thusly:

Thus, by 1870, many Natives of Manitoba territory had been subjected to a half century of education oriented towards religion. The curriculum was primarily of a religious nature accompanied with the teaching of agriculture and industry. The Indian was often exposed to two versions of religious instruction - Roman Catholic and Protestant. They were perplexed by the doctrinal differences of Roman Catholicism and Protestantism and the poor example set by many of the Christian white traders and Hudson's Bay Company employees, who seemed to undo what

the missionaries were trying to teach. Still strong in the mind of the Indian was his own set of religious beliefs and values inherited from his forefathers. White efforts at educating the Indian through religious indoctrination cannot be termed a success in spite of the valiant efforts of missionaries....²⁶

Although the churches would seem to be carrying the burden of education, the government had begun to show an interest with the 1828 move to wardship of the Indian. Sir George Murray, secretary of state for war and the colonies, noted that there must be a change in philosophy; rather than simply viewing the Indian Peoples as allies, the government must assume the "settled purpose of gradually reclaiming them from a state of barbarism and of introducing amongst them the industrious and peaceful habits of civilized life."²⁷ At Murray's request, Sir James Kempt suggested that the government should make a series of improvements, among which was to be a "provision for their religious improvement, education and instruction in husbandry, as circumstances may from time to time require."²⁸

The Indian Department was to carry civilization and Christianity to the Indian Peoples; the intrusion of the government into an area viewed by the Church as its own often invoked a bitter response from the missionaries:

Mr. Currie (the Methodist Missionary at Coldwater) then made a speech of some length, the purpose of which was to insist that we were intruders, that we had commenced our Establishment on ground that they had pre-occupied, that we were forcing from their school, children whom they, the Methodists, had Christianized, that this Establishment was raised at the expense of the Indians, that the Church of England never had done any good to the Heathen and finally that he would protest against our arrangement.... 29

The government was to continue the work of the Churches in settling the Indians, ensuring an occupational change to agriculture, and in using the schools to inculcate White values, especially those of a religious nature.

The 1870's witnessed the signing of Treaties One through Five with Manitoba's Indian Peoples. Indian and governmental obligations were delineated by said treaties and each treaty stipulated:

Her Majesty agrees to maintain a school on each reserve hereby made, whenever the Indians of the reserve should desire it. 30

Supposedly, the Indian Peoples were to control if and when schools were to be established. It was also written into the treaties that the schools were to be located within reserve boundaries. However, with the persistent lobbying by Churches and an avowed governmental policy of assimilation, these provisions would not long remain unbroken.

In 1876, the Sessional Papers recorded the following official view of the Canadian government:

All those who have taken an interest in the future welfare of the Indians have directed their minds to their education, and have insisted on the necessity of raising the level of their knowledge, of enlightening their minds, and above all of acting early on the minds of the children, so as to give them at an age when they are more susceptible of receiving an impression, intellectual habits, which are the most striking feature of civilization.

On the principle itself of the necessity of education, there is but one opinion, but not as to the best means of obtaining the greatest sum of success, in the promptest manner, and at as low a rate as is possible....

So long as the families themselves are not settled in a more permanent manner the education of the children must always be made under very precarious circumstances. As they are obliged to follow their families in their hunting and fishing expeditions they cannot attend school, but with such irregularity as to lose most of the advantages they might have otherwise derived....

The necessity of having the Indians forget their native tongue has been urged several times, and under many circumstances, and it was believed that if it ever could be accomplished, it would be the main step taken towards their advancement, and there is a great deal of objection in allowing them to learn or to speak it.

31

This report makes it obvious that the federal government was intent on "civilizing" Native Peoples and, to this end, it was seen as desirous that the Native Peoples should be settled and, if necessary or expedient, the

use of the Native language should be forbidden. Whereas the missionary had permitted the use of the Native language, the government now condemned this; another facet of Native culture was under attack in the White attempt to ensure that the schools would produce Indians with White values.

The federal government thought it was to their benefit to support schools on the Reserves and so were instrumental in creating new day schools on the Reserves or financially supporting existing Church-run schools. In several cases, schools were started; but, usually the Department of Indian Affairs was content to allow the missionaries to retain control while the funding was handled by the governments:

The Indian Department pays one-half of the salary to each teacher (in all \$300) and an equal sum is paid by the Board of Education of Manitoba. 32

The Native Peoples met the imposition of the White school system with varying degrees of hostility. The children of the Little Forks Band could only be induced to come to school through presents of food and clothing.³³ The teacher of St. Peter's Band remarked on the irregular attendance of the pupils, a practice which "materially retarded their progress."³⁴ But, even more hostility was visible because the Native Peoples felt

that the schooling was a threat to their religion.

Thus, the Indian agent reported,

Their (the Lake of the Woods Indians) heathen-priests or medicine men do their utmost to prejudice the minds of devotees to their superstitious observances against the introduction of educational institutions among them, especially those of a religious character. 35

The River La Seine Band was accused by the agent of being,

not favourably disposed at present towards having a school started on the reserve, as they are apprehensive of religious principles being inculcated in the minds of the children. 36

It was apparent to many Indian bands that education for the purpose of destroying Native culture, especially religion, was a very real aim of schooling and their perception of the situation was quite accurate.

Prior to 1870, the emphasis had been placed on Indian day schools, schools located on Reserves and attended by Native children during regular school hours. The government's belief that simply settling the Indians on Reserves would result in an emulation of White settlers proved false and it was decided that the Indians must be instructed in agriculture. But, the government's hopes were misplaced,

The farm instructors, whose only qualification for the job might be political affiliation, never successfully established the Indians as self-sufficient farmers Sir John Macdonald's view that such a system would be required for only a few years whereupon the natives would become proper farmers never materialized. 37

In 1879, Nicholas Flood Davin, who had been appointed by Prime Minister John A. Macdonald to examine the U.S. system of Indian education and assess its applicability to the Canadian scene, issued a report calling for government funds to be directed towards building industrial and residential schools. Davin based his philosophy on an examination of the five "civilized" Indian nations³⁸ of the United States and his belief that the day schools did not work because "the influence of the wigwam was stronger than the influence of the school."³⁹ Sealey and Kirkness analyze the function of the residential school in the following manner:

In such schools children would be removed from the detrimental Indian culture and in one generation a new race of Indians would result. In a residential setting the language could be destroyed and the heathen dances and pagan beliefs would be replaced with Christian beliefs and customs. Farms would be attached to each school and through daily work periods the children would graduate, fluent in English or French, imbued with white customs and manners, devout Christians and skilled workers who would actively seek to become prosperous as all good people should. 40

To break this bond between youngster and his Native culture, it was seen as necessary to remove physically the child from his home environment and place him in a totally White environment where his thoughts and actions could be modified to correspond to White values. N.F. Davin believed that the White religious value system must be a definite component of the school's curriculum as it was "essential that the Indians' mythology be successfully replaced by a 'superior' faith which would be best inculcated by religious bodies."⁴¹ To this end, most of the residential schools were run by the various religious orders. Residential schools in Manitoba were at Birtle, Brandon, Cross Lake, Elkhorn, Fort Alexander, Norway House, Pine Creek, Portage la Prairie, Middlechurch, Dauphin and The Pas.

The problems associated with Residential schools were many. Cardinal, himself a product of the Residential system, claims that "the teachers were mis-fits and second raters;"⁴² this is a view supported by McKay who contends that the schools were under-staffed and,

since the schools were denominational, the government though it gave grants to the churches, had no control over the hiring of teachers who were quite often not qualified and under-paid. 43

Both Cardinal and Sealey note that the Residential schools "alienated the child from his own family; they alienated him from his own way of life"⁴⁴ The child would return to the Reserve with unsuitable skills for that environment; the child would be a social mis-fit with no respect for tribal traditions or authority, and no respect for his family. The Residential school had produced a product that could fit in neither the White nor the Indian world.

The Residential schools were often fertile grounds for disease:

The residential schools, congregating hundreds of children from different reserves with different diseases were contagion centers. The children died by the dozens or contracted diseases which spread easily through the unsanitary buildings. When they went home, they took the disease with them. The schools were frequently swept by epidemics. ⁴⁵

Many died of tuberculosis and scrofula, both contagious diseases.

Loneliness also took its toll of the students.

Sealey acknowledges,

Those schools not situated on reserves had a student population almost completely devoid of contacts with their parents throughout the school year. ⁴⁶

Provision was made for visitation and "parents were

allowed to visit the children every Sunday;"⁴⁷ however, geographical distances ensured that the parent seldom saw his child. "Both parents and children torn apart from one another by persuasion or by police coercion and threats could not overcome their loneliness."⁴⁸ The loneliness is costly as Ian Adams points out in a chapter of The Poverty Wall which deals with the death of Charlie Wenjack, a 12-year-old runaway from Cecilia Jeffrey Indian Residential School in Kenora:

It's not so unusual that Indian children run away from the residential schools they are sent to. They do it all the time, and they lose their toes and their fingers to frost-bite. Sometimes they lose a leg or an arm trying to climb aboard freight trains. Occasionally, one of them dies. And perhaps because they are Indians, no one seems to care very much. 49

Matters got worse in 1894 with the introduction of compulsory attendance. Although the age limit was to be eighteen, students were often compelled to stay in school beyond that age as funds to the school were granted on a per capita basis.

The academic standards of the schools were usually very low as it was common belief that the Indian children were inferior to Whites and so only English and elementary arithmetic were taught with the remainder of the time devoted to routine labour and to the teaching of Christianity. In a letter to Wilfred

Laurier, a group of Indians from Fort a la Corne complained:

...we find the progress made in regard to learning is poor and when the children leave these schools they are not assisted to make a start for themselves and in some cases their clothing which they receive whilst at the school is taken from them when they leave. Also in some cases after four or five years attendance at the school they return home unable to either write or speak English. 50

Indians in Transition levels the following criticisms:

Children were taken from their parents' homes often quite young, and kept in boarding school till they reached their middle teens. Some managed to get home for the summer holidays, others didn't. In most schools they were forbidden to speak their own language, and had to work, study, play and pray in English. At some of these schools, determined efforts were made to render the situation self-supporting by raising vegetables for the kitchens. The work in the fields was done by the Indian children themselves, and the Indians complained that more time was spent in this way and at prayers than over their school work. 51

Howard Adams, a strong spokesman for Canada's Native People, claims that the involvement of church with the education of Canada's aboriginal people:

... is a typical colonial pattern, one that has existed in all other imperialist systems of the world, for churches to be given control of education of the native people. A study of the history of African countries in the colonial period shows how completely the churches dominated native education. In their liberation struggle these countries had to fight the church and other authorities in order to overcome this situation. This is true with us. 52

The Hawthorn Report, aware of the threat denominational schools offer to the Indian value system, recommends that "Capital grants to reserve schools operated under religious auspices should be discontinued."⁵³ In addition, the Hawthorn Report emphasizes that the Residential schools should be a last resort:

We believe that the normal and most desirable situation is for children to be able to attend school while living at home with their family. In the case of Indian children, we feel the ideal situation is for the child to live at home and attend a Joint School, together with non-Indian children ... the next best alternative for the child is to live at home and attend an Indian Day School. Where, for any reason or reasons the first two alternatives are not possible, we feel that he should live in a private Indian or non-Indian home and attend a Joint School. Failing this, we favour a hostel-type of setting for accomodation and enrollment in a Joint School for the academic training. We feel that ideally, Residential Schools should only be provided for students for whom any of the other alternatives are not possible. 54

Perhaps Cardinal's observations are correct even though bitter:

In plain words the system was lousy. The curriculum stank, and the teachers were mis-fits and second raters Under the circumstances, any successes in education through the residential school system emerged as exceptions rather than the rule. 55

The educational clause of the treaties, when implemented in the form of residential schools, was now

seen as a millstone around the neck of the Native People as Star Blanket commented:

In the treaty we made then the Government promised to make a school for every band of Indians on their own Reserve, but instead little children are torn from their mothers' arms or homes by the police or Government Agents and taken sometimes hundreds of miles to large schools perhaps to take sick and die when their family cannot see them. The little ants which live in the earth have their young ones and wish to have them in their homes. Surely us red men are not smaller than these ants. 56

In 1948, the first national superintendent of Indian Education was appointed and it appeared that the federal government was finally going to fulfill its lawful obligation. However, in that same year, the Special Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons passed a report calling for integrated classrooms wherever possible and legislation was passed that would allow for financing of Indian education in private and public schools. D.W. Simpson, the Associate Director of the Education Branch, Department of Indian Affairs, claimed that by these actions the federal government was in effect saying that "Indian education is really the business of the provinces who operate and regulate public and private schools for the rest of the Canadian people."⁵⁷

The 1948 decision to integrate Indian education with

provincial education resulted in the broad movement of Indian children into public and separate schools beginning at the secondary level and filtering downward into the elementary grade levels. The federal government's desire to offer integrated programs to Native students was based on the concept of social justice:

The value of the integrated schools program is its attempt to raise the level of education and to offer to young Indians the same academic advantages enjoyed by Canadian students. On this basis, but on this basis only, the program of integrated schools aims at giving full justice to the Indians by making it easier for them to attend better equipped schools which offer educational programs of a better quality. In this way, the young Indian can continue his studies to the level he desires, if he has the aptitude. His local school will not then check his scholastic progress and practically eliminate his chance of going on to higher education. 58

Despite these moves the educational scene remained little changed for the Indian. The Lagasse Report of 1959 confirmed the continued role played by the various denominations in Native education:

There are 89 day schools in Manitoba. Forty are of Roman Catholic persuasion and 49 are Protestant. Of the schools affiliated with Protestant churches, 24 are United Church, 21 Anglican and three Presbyterian. 59

In 1963-64, it could still be reported that Canadian Indians were subjected to attendance at the residential school. The following facts were relayed by the Department of Indian Affairs:

TABLE XXIII

Total Indian pupils enrolled:	55,475
Number of pupils in Indian Day Schools:	32,331
Number of pupils attending Residential Schools:	8,277
Number of Residential Schools:	66

60

To ascertain the success of the educational system, one must examine the statistics. The dropout rate over a twelve-year sequential period is as follows:

TABLE XXIV

<u>GRADE</u>	<u>YEAR</u>	<u>ENROLMENT</u>	<u>LOSS (NO.)</u>	<u>LOSS (%)</u>
1	1951	8782	-	-
2	1952	4544	4238	48.2
3	1953	3430	614	13.5
4	1954	3652	278	7.1
5	1955	3088	564	15.5
6	1956	2641	447	14.5
7	1957	2090	551	21.7
8	1958	1536	554	26.5
9	1959	1149	387	25.5
10	1960	730	419	36.5
11	1961	482	248	34.0
12	1962	341	141	29.3

61

The Current Situation in the Province of Manitoba

As of 1974, there were 16,000 Indians attending elementary and secondary schools in Manitoba; a statistical breakdown provides the following table:

TABLE XXV
Status Indian Students in Manitoba (1974)

Total Status Indians in Manitoba	40,000
Number attending schools (40%)	16,000
Number on Reserves (60%)	9,500
Number on Reserves attending Provincial Schools	3,500
Number on Reserves attending D.I.A.N.D. Schools	6,000
Number off Reserves billed as Status	500
Total in Provincial System billed under M.T.A.	4,000+
Total not billed nor attending D.I.A.N.D. system	6,000
Number migratory (from monthly billing counts and Greater Winnipeg S.D.'s estimates)	1,000
Number not counted but billable	1,000
Number with lost status in Winnipeg and rural	4,000
Total Winnipeg including billed, migratory and lost status (33%)	5,500

62

The administrative arrangements allow little in the way of Native input or control. DIAND schools are centrally administered and 2,000 of those students attending school in the provincial system are in schools such as Stedman or those of Frontier S.D. and are directly administered by the Department of Education. The remaining 8,000 attend schools with elected boards; native representation on these boards is negligible.

Under the Master Tuition Agreement, the DIAND pays a provincial average operating cost for eligible native students attending provincial schools; in 1973, the average was \$770/pupil; in 1974, it was \$875/pupil. The DIAND defines eligibility on the grounds of residence; all status Indians on reserves and those who have not established residence over a year off the

reserve are eligible. In cases where a significant percentage of a school's population is eligible under the Master Tuition Agreement, school divisions may negotiate with the DIAND for a portion of the cost of capital school building projects. In addition, the Native Paraprofessional Agreement provides for cost-sharing of 65% by the DIAND and 35% by the Department of Education for the hiring of native paraprofessional staff in provincial schools.

The expense of funding Native education is phenomenal. In an inter-departmental memo of July 16, 1975, C.D. Blakeslee analyzes the situation thus:

The total educational costs within the Province is \$311,000,000 - a very small part of this amount is derived from Federal sources. The \$311,000,000 includes the budgets for all School Divisions and the Department of Education. If this budget were prorated to the Native population on a precisely equal basis, then the budgetary commitment would be 1/10th. of the \$311,000,000 - or roughly \$32,000,000. In fact, the allotments for Natives in this Province is probably somewhere under \$50,000,000 - perhaps \$48,000,000 or \$49,000,000. DIAND allots \$15,000,000 for Education, of which roughly \$5,000,000 is purchased service from School Divisions and the Department of Education. In addition to the \$15,000,000 allotted by Indian Affairs, the Department has a multitude of small programs oriented to Native people amounting to approximately \$2,500,000. As I indicated in a previous study, the Department of Education has only \$5,000,000 of discretionary

funds. Consequently, the \$2,500,000 would represent half of the discretionary funds available to the Departments. The \$12,000,000 spent in the Frontier School Division should likewise be designated as relevant to the target population. Therefore, without calculating budget commitments of the rest of the School Divisions, the allotted budget would appear to be \$29,500,000. Since 25% of the Native population is resident in Winnipeg (meaning approximately 25,000 people) and since 40% of the target population would be of school age (10,000) then it is possible to prorate budgetary commitments for children in Winnipeg. 10,000 children would represent roughly 25% of the budgetary commitment of Winnipeg I School Division would approximate \$16,000,000. (Of course not all Native children are in the one School Division, but it is simpler to make this presumption and avoid calculations for the other nine School Divisions). Another 25% of the Native population is resident throughout various communities other than Winnipeg and other than Northern Manitoba. If these School Divisions spend half as much per pupil as Winnipeg I School Division, then the budgetary allotment would be \$8,000,000. (Some rural school divisions in fact do spend only half as much per pupil, yet my estimate is likely too conservative). Hence, School Divisions probably spend \$24,000,000 on behalf of Native students.

\$24,000,000 PLUS \$29,500,000 WOULD YIELD A FIGURE OF \$53,000,000. IF ONE ALLOWS \$5,000,000 FOR OVERLAPPING BUDGETS, THEN THE FINAL FIGURE WOULD BE \$48,500,000. 63

The present cost of maintaining Indian Peoples is extremely high. Blakeslee notes that if the number of registered Indians continues to grow at the rate of 6% per annum, by 1985, Manitoba will have roughly 70,000 to 75,000 Registered Indians.

Two facts worry the provincial government - migration and federal withdrawal from areas of financial responsibility. Blakeslee in his paper of January 20, 1976, expounds on this situation in the following terms:

Two antithetical forces are moving at ever-increasing momentum and this momentum will accelerate during the coming decade. The federal government has been and is now unilaterally disavowing responsibility for Status Indians who have chosen to live in city environments. Thus the federal government is rapidly withdrawing from its traditional relationships with Status Indians. The entire weight of federal bureaucracy appears to be behind the unilateral and rapidly escalating withdrawal of responsibility. At the same time this process is in motion the problem is compounded by Native Canadians abandoning the Bush in response to the process of urbanization. The faster the process of urbanization manifests itself the more complete the federal withdrawal from acknowledging special status and Canada's ultimate responsibility. If these antithetical forces continue for the next decade (at rapidly increasing rates), then the federal government will have divested itself of its obligations and special relationships with the Native people of Canada. 64

This feeling was reflected in a letter from Premier Schreyer to Dr. Ahab Spence of the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood:

For some time now, the question of jurisdiction and responsibility for Indian services has been a matter of growing concern to this government. This concern is developing in circumstances where there are evident federal moves which seem calculated to lead to an eventual withdrawal from most if not all Indian services.

These moves are taking place in the absence of any federal clarification concerning its policy or its financial responsibilities for Indians. As matters now stand, federal unilateral action has left the province saddled with costs and undefined responsibilities for Indians in a number of specific health and social service sectors. 65

Even before the federal government's attempt to withdraw from its obligations, the growing number of Native People taking advantage of provincial services was beginning to frighten governmental officials:

Inter-ethnic marriages, urbanization, geographic mobility, and confusing bureaucratic relationships, all conspire to gradually erode the proportion of the population who are entitled to registration -- as Status Indians of Canada. Unilateral decisions of D.I.A.N.D. and of the Canadian Government generally, clearly reveal the intention of classifying off-reservation Indians as people who no longer enjoy the special relationship with the federal government -- rather they become part of the flotsam and jetsam of the urbanized poor. 66

Quite apparent to the provincial government was the fact that its economic resources were limited. Any increase in responsibilities would undoubtedly strain even further the provincial budget. Indian Peoples becoming the educational responsibility of the Province, either through loss of status or federal disavowal of responsibility, would be an enormous economic burden.

The cost of educating Native students is tremendous; a cost of \$2,069/pupil under DIAND⁶⁷ as compared to the

provincial costs of usually much less than \$1,000/pupil⁶⁸ is a fantastic difference. If one were to look at the return on the dollar investment, the results would be dismaying, to say the least. If one determines the success rate of return through the number of Indian students who have remained in the academic institutions, Walsh's twelve-year sequential period reveals a tragic dropout rate.⁶⁹ The Manitoba Indian Brotherhood supports Walsh's findings and their projections for the future are very pessimistic:

Recent provincial statistics indicate the degree to which education has failed us.

Of those Indian children who entered school in 1951-52, only 1.9% reached Grade Twelve compared to 33.9% for all Manitoba. Of those who entered school in 1957-58, 5.4% of the Indians reached Grade Twelve compared to 60.5% of other Manitobans. Based on past trends, a projection of those Indian children who started school in 1967-68 and should be in Grade Twelve in 1980 indicates that 10.8% will make it compared to 90.0% for Manitoba.

This is a shocking illustration of monumental failure. 70

If one carries these statistics to the higher echelon of academia one finds that the percentage of Indian students attending University is not high:

TABLE XXVI

ENROLMENT OF REGISTERED INDIANS BY TYPE OF SCHOOL¹

School year	Elementary ²	Secondary ³	University	Teacher training	Vocational	All other ⁴	Total	
							per cent	number
1959	93.2	5.6	0.1	0.1	0.7	0.3	100.0	40,637
1960	92.3	6.4	0.1	--	0.8	0.4	100.0	42,124
1961	91.6	7.4	0.1	--	0.5	0.4	100.0	45,857
1962	90.7	8.0	0.1	--	0.5	0.7	100.0	48,035
1963	90.3	8.1	0.1	--	0.9	0.6	100.0	50,394
1964	87.3	8.8	0.2	--	1.9	1.8	100.0	53,846
1965	86.1	9.0	0.2	--	2.2	2.5	100.0	57,720
1966	84.9	9.1	0.2	--	2.4	3.4	100.0	60,883
1967	82.2	9.3	0.2	--	3.0	5.3	100.0	64,049
1968	81.9	10.3	0.4	0.1	2.6	4.8	100.0	66,564
1969	76.5	10.3	0.4	0.1	3.3	9.4	100.0	75,509
1970	74.9	11.3	0.6	0.1	2.9	10.2	100.0	79,579
1971	73.8	11.6	0.6	0.1	3.2	10.7	100.0	83,325

1) The enrolment includes only students receiving some kind of aid from the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.

2) Kindergarten to Grade 8 inclusive.

3) Grades 9 to 13 inclusive.

4) Includes nursing training, upgrading, special vocational and other miscellaneous courses.

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The performance of the Indian University students was examined by the Special Senate Committee on Poverty:

TABLE XXVII
PERFORMANCE OF INDIAN UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

	1964-65	1965-66	1966-67	1967-68
Enrolment	88	131	150	156
Number of Graduates	5	8	13	10
Number Completing Course	57	76	79	97
Number Failed Course	5	7	15	23
Number Withdrawing	21	40	43	26

72

During the 1976-77 academic year, there were less than 90 Inuit and Indian University graduates.⁷³ Is this a "monumental failure" within higher academia?

Federal monies allocated to Indian and Eskimo education have increased greatly over the past decade. The following table provides a comparison of IEA budgetary allocations with total federal government budgetary estimates:

TABLE XXVIII

YEAR	BUDGET (IEA)	% GROWTH	TOTAL FED. GOV'T	% GROWTH
1969-70	\$177,200,000	-	\$10,214,400,000	-
1970-71	227,500,000	28.4	11,357,000,000	11.2
1971-72	265,400,000	16.7	12,827,900,000	13.0
1972-73	284,200,000	7.1	13,800,000,000	7.6
1973-74 Est.	333,900,000	17.5	17,447,500,000	26.4
Growth over 1969-70	\$182,900,000	103.2	\$ 8,883,500,000	87.0

74

The countless dollars invested in Native education have simply been lost. None of the objectives of education have been realized. The Native population has not been structurally assimilated, partly due to racism and partly due to lack of skills. The Indian population has not been given the skills necessary to compete economically, whether on the reserve or in the greater society. The Indian population has not been given an appropriate value system⁷⁵ that will increase their life-chances by inculcating values regarding nutrition, health, and

academic achievement that are functional in the larger society. The Indian population has not been given a positive self-concept to enable them to compete socially or economically, or even academically.

Tremendous amounts of money have been invested with negligible, if not negative, results. The decision to discourage or forbid the use of the indigenous language⁷⁶ can have a traumatic effect. Knowlton, in his investigation of Spanish-speaking children, notes:

As Spanish is not used in the school, and he is often punished for speaking Spanish during school hours, the Spanish-speaking child comes to regard it as an inferior language to English. He also feels that he is inferior to English-speaking children and that his family and his culture are inferior to theirs. This deeply rooted feeling of inferiority may often paralyze his intellectual and cultural potentialities. It weakens his ability to compete with the English-speaking person. Also many Spanish-speaking children develop considerable self-hatred against themselves and against their families and their minority group and its culture. This is a tragic price to pay for an ideological rigidity that forbids the use of Spanish in the classroom. 77

This educational philosophy helps to ensure the creation of a negative self-concept in the Spanish-American child, and, in Canada, in the Indian child.

The curriculum of Indian schools has often contained irrelevant or potentially harmful material. McDiarmid and Pratt found that texts portrayed Indian Peoples as

"the least favored of all the groups";⁷⁸ there was little accurate portrayal of contemporary Indians, much stereotyping, and a great deal of biased presentation.⁷⁹ The Standing Committee on Indian Affairs and Northern Development assessed the situation:

... until recently, the Federal schools curriculum contained little material which would instill in Indian youth, pride of heritage, or pride in their identities. There are still many instances in the provincial systems where the Indian contribution is ignored or is cast in an unfavourable light. The teaching materials employed for those children living in the Northern areas of Canada, whether they be Indian or Eskimo are to a large degree irrelevant to the experiences of these children. The Committee is convinced that the stimulation of pride in one's culture and background is an essential ingredient of the reform which is required in our schools. 80

Such negative connotations and irrelevances in the curriculum can lead to a disillusionment with school and an increasingly poor self-image.

The 1948 movement towards integration and the utilization of provincial schools was encouraged by the federal policy paper on Indian Affairs issued in June, 1969. To use Frideres phraseology, this movement "has not been the panacea that it once was thought to be".⁸¹ The student performs well in the Reserve setting; but when transferred to an integrated

provincial school:

... the new social mileau (sic) and direct discrimination bring about serious social and psychological disruptions. With no direct involvement in these integrated schools, Indian parents give little support to their children for continued involvement. As a result, drop-out rates are extremely high. 82

These distressing effects have led to federal recommendations that "no transfer of Indian children into integrated schools or into provincial schools take place except with the consent and at the request of the majority of Indian parents in the communities concerned."⁸³

This "educational" philosophy adopted by the federal government must then be seen as impotent. A philosophy that allows a drop-out rate four times the national average has failed the people it is to serve.⁸⁴ The educational system is producing a product that has a tendency to "become anxious, hostile, frustrated and aggressive, characteristics which have been related to the emotionally disturbed personality";⁸⁵ this due to the fact that the present system creates a strong dependency which clashes with the Indian's traditional independence. The philosophy, and its ensuing system, are travesties of the greatest magnitude.

The Indian Peoples are subjected to a costly

educational system that does not begin to meet the needs of their people. To meet criticisms the government has enacted certain changes, a start has been made to provide Native curricula materials,⁸⁶ to provide Native teachers,⁸⁷ and to offer an experimental language shift program.⁸⁸ But, this is purely cosmetic surgery; while money has been spent, there has been little improvement in the product, either quantitatively or qualitatively. The government cannot find it politically feasible to make⁸⁹ a major shift in policy that would call for: 1) the realization and admission that the educational system for Indian Peoples has been, and is, a failure; 2) the realization that education is not an isolated phenomenon, but rather is part of the entire social milieu and as such must be related to the needs, aspirations, and conditions of the Peoples for which it is designed; 3) the recognition that education is intrinsically bound to development; and, 4) the desire and ability to make radical changes if necessary.

The two levels of government in this country seem to spend their time in quarreling over the finances of Indian education. The Standing Committee on Indian Affairs and Northern Development succinctly analyzed the situation:

Your committee is convinced that the Education of Indian and Eskimo young people, and in particular Indian young people, has suffered from the day-to-day, year-to-year improvisation attitude of successive governments which regarded Indian education as a passing thing, soon to be handed over to the provinces. 90

This "improvisation attitude" prevents the systematic analysis and planning necessary for steps towards a more productive educational system.

The National Indian Brotherhood claims:

Until now, decisions on the education of Indian children have been made by anyone and everyone, except Indian parents. This must stop. Band Councils should be given total or partial authority for education on reserves, depending on local circumstances, and always with provisions for eventual autonomy 91

Outsiders have not been able to move Indian education in a positive direction. If the school is to be a more meaningful institution and allowed the ability to produce a better product, the influence of these outsiders must be minimized and the parents and bands must be allowed greater control.⁹²

Schooling, in fact, continues to be an instrument for instilling psychological traits, attitudes, and values which are characteristics of colonialism or neo-colonialism. If this cycle is to be broken, intervention must occur at the local level of education.

Footnotes

1. R. Fisher, Contact and Conflict: Indian-European Relations in British Columbia, 1774-1890 (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1977), p. 119. It should be recognized that both Church and governmental attitudes reflected the views of the greater society.
2. G.M. Newfield, "The Development of Manitoba Schools Prior to 1870" (M. Ed. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1937), p. 14.
3. A. Rempel, "The Influence of Religion on Education for Native People in Manitoba Prior to 1870" (M. Ed. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1973), p. 81.
4. Ibid., p. 82.
5. G.M. Newfield, "The Development of Manitoba Schools", p. 36.
6. Newfield's date seems to be better substantiated than J. Lysecki's "Education in Manitoba - North of 53" (M. Ed. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1936) date of 1823, p. 26. This seems especially so in light of West's claim of having visited his school on January 1, 1821 to ascertain progress of the students. John West, The Substance of a Journal During a Residence at The Red River Colony (New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1966), p. 28.
7. G.M. Newfield, "The Development of Manitoba Schools", p. 40.
8. Ibid., p. 44.
9. "The native children toiled happily in plots of ground set aside for the purpose, and a 'farm' was operated to supply the needs of the mission." G. Dowker, "Life and Letters in Red River 1812-'63" (M.A. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1923), p. 8.
10. Alternate spellings include Pigewis and Peguis.
11. G. Dowker, "Life and Letters in Red River", p. 18.
12. Ibid.

13. J. West, The Substance of a Journal, pp. 150-1.
14. G.M. Newfield, "The Development of Manitoba Schools", p. 85.
15. J. Lysecki, "Education in Manitoba", p. 30.
16. G.M. Newfield, "The Development of Manitoba Schools", p. 50.
17. A. Rempel, "The Influence of Religion on Education", pp. 81-82.
18. MIB, "Treaty Days", August 3, 1971, p. 7.
19. Father Belcourt was deeply loved and admired by the people with whom he worked and among whom he lived. However, his emphasis that conversion should take secondary priority to tilling of the soil, left a bitter taste in the mouth of Provencher. Belcourt's unorthodox approach and active struggles on the part of the Metis of the Red River eventually resulted in his removal from the field. Rev. A.G. Morice, History of the Catholic Church in Western Canada, Vol. I (Toronto: The Musson Book Co., Ltd., 1810), pp. 142, 149, 216.
A. Rempel, "The Influence of Religion on Education", p. 118.
20. J. Lysecki, "Education in Manitoba", p. 35.
21. G. Dowker, "Life and Letters in Red River", p. 34.
22. A.G. Morice, History of the Catholic Church in Western Canada, p. 266.
23. J. Lysecki, "Education in Manitoba", p. 48.
24. Ibid.
25. Ibid., p. 52.
26. A. Rempel, "The Influence of Religion on Education", p. 268.
27. R.J. Surtees, "The Development of an Indian Reserve Policy in Canada", Ontario History, Vol. LXI, June 1969, p. 90.

28. Ibid., p. 92.
29. Ibid., p. 97.
30. A. Morris, The Treaties of Canada with the Indians of Manitoba and the North-West Territories (Toronto: Belfords, Clarke, & Co., 1880), p. 315.
31. Canada Sessional Papers, Vol. 7, No. 9, 1876, Part I, p. 35.
32. Ibid., p. 39.
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Chapter VI

The present educational system is failing the Indian Peoples and it has not been receptive to fundamental changes that would rectify the situation. Several Indian communities, having noted this fact, have decided to institute a new approach to education, an approach known as "local control". This chapter will define the concept, assess the deficiencies and benefits of the concept, briefly examine some of the more notable examples of local control, and examine local control on Manitoba reserves.

The institution of education is an imposed, White, middle-class establishment run by a monolithic bureaucracy; such a state of affairs reduced the likelihood of any meaningful relation with the community or assessment of its needs. To remedy the situation, and to create an educational system that might instill skills and values identified by the community as important, many Indian educational leaders have turned to 'community schools'. The usual criteria applied to community schools as outlined by the Ontario Ministry of Education are as follows:

...the school that becomes a community focus should do so because of a natural development rather than because of artificial forcing. For such a natural feeling of unity, there ought to be:

1. An expressed desire on the part of local citizens to utilize the school as a community resource;
2. A compact body of potential users within a reasonable radius of the school;
3. A large enough group of interested citizens to warrant the formation of a class or club;
4. The appropriate facilities in the school;
5. Willing and capable leaders in both school and community. 1

However, a mere opening of the institutional doors after regular class hours does not allow for parental-directed change in policy. Community control, or local control as it is labelled in reserve settings, suggests an element of political power whereby the community can influence and determine educational policy.

Marilyn Gittell asserts that local control of the schools must involve parental control over key policy decisions in four critical areas: (1) personnel, (2) budget, (3) curriculum, and (4) pupil policy. In addition, for local control to become a reality educational supervisory bodies must be locally selected and provisions must be made for encouraging broader community participation.² Local control results from a consciousness that is forced upon the parent if he/she is to ensure a better quality of education for his/her child; Fiona Nelson acknowledges this in her study of community schools in Toronto:

The parents and other community-minded groups who have figured in creating these new community schools in Toronto have returned to that original source of power. They know that schools represent society's contribution to a future for their children. They know that somewhere in the shuffle, the goals of public education have been lost. They have learned that society is themselves, acting in association with others to whom they are linked by the same overriding necessity. And they are committed not only to ensuring the future of their children, but that there will be a future at all. 3

There can be little doubt that reform of Indian education is long overdue; the previous chapter has documented the failure of educational attempts prior to the seventies. Peter Schrag, in a condemnation of public schools for failing the poor and ethnic populations, comments:

... many schools are not educational but sociological devices which destroy learning and curiosity and deny differences as often as they encourage them, and which value managerial order above initiative, good behavior above originality, and mediocrity above engagement. (Yes, of course, there are exceptions.) All too often, they demand styles of behavior antithetical not only to social and ethnic minorities but also to most other original or 'difficult' children, no matter what their background. They are instruments of social selection and, as such, they screen out misfits for the middle class, regardless of race, color, or national origin.... The school, in short, is not an instrument of pluralism, but of conformity. It turns out shoddy goods for the dimestore trade; its teachers are not

professionals but petty civil servants who teach children to deny their own instincts and honesty, teach them little tricks of evasion, and reject those who are not acceptable for the world. While the deviants of the upper class may have access to special schools in the suburbs or the hills of New England, the poor have no choice: the law requires them to go to one particular school in one community which, as often as not, treats them as inmates. The school in this instance becomes a sort of colonial outpost manned by a collection of sahibs from downtown. 4

Schrag's descriptive analysis can easily be applied to the situation as it exists in most DIAND schools. Cardinal concurs with most of the concepts put forth by Schrag; but, utilizes less radical terms in his description of the situation.⁵ Howard Adams, however, analyzes the educational system in Marxist terms, his description is very similar to Schrag's:

The white-supremacist school with its repressive attitudes towards children is the source of the so-called native "school problem". The Metis and Indians with their so-called lack of industry and ambition, and their apathy to a "progressive" school system are not the problem. The school systematically and meticulously conditions natives to a state of inferiorization and colonization. It does this in a number of ways: most important, however, is that it teaches the language, culture, and essential being. The school and its teachers operate within typical racial stereotypes and coerce students into feeling ashamed and unworthy. 6

One could assume that, the Indian educational system being so bleak, parents would demand immediate changes. However, this change has been a very long time coming; several factors conspired to make this so.

The low level of the parents' own education relative to the teachers' professional training creates an inferiority gap which parents find difficult to bridge. This is compounded by racial tension which often makes it difficult for the Indian parent to communicate freely with the teacher, who in most cases is White. Also, parents may have had a negative personal experience with residential schools - or reserve schools.⁷ In addition, parents are inhibited by the very structure and formality of the institution. Indeed the educational authorities actually define limits as to the degree of parental participation or questioning allowable; serious parental questioning of educational professionals or philosophy is discouraged or prevented through the rationale that certain information is solely to be the domain of the professionals, the "area of professional exclusivity."⁸

Participation is sometimes seen by educators as having definite limits which they alone are to set; participation, in practice, is often a one-sided phenomenon:

Elaborate structures and devices have been fashioned - parent-teacher associations, visiting days, American Education Week, parent education programs, dissemination of information - ostensibly to 'inform' the parent. The administrator who seeks a 'happy' school ... will see that his parents are paid some attention or even a degree of deference. He will be patient in explaining, say, homework policy. At best, most professionals feel their role is to interpret the school to the community; at worst, they are indifferent to the community. 9

The system is often, therefore, unresponsive to parental desires and, in a confrontation, the parents have a distinct disadvantage:

For changing clients and changing circumstances call for change in the system, and a highly structured, inbred, and protective system does not change voluntarily. Usually, when change is thrust upon it, it accomodates only after bitter resistance. In such a contest, the other parties - in the case of schools, children and their parents - are lacking in power, initially unorganized, and easily intimidated by the authority of the professional. 10

The school is an establishment institution and is very resistant to change; the educational bureaucracy is loath to enact any change that might threaten its security, prestige, or power. The educational bureaucracy, instead of serving the people, has come to control the people. The dynamics of the situation dictate that parents will have a tough struggle to share any portion of the administration's power.

Some educators actually fear parental involvement. Fantini's comments/analysis are directed towards American community participation; but, they are also applicable to feelings several Canadian educators have towards parental involvement:

The prospect is frightening to many because it rises from the soil of civil strife and growing racial hostility, assertiveness, and even hatred. But even without these factors the prospect would alarm the majority of professional educators (and many sympathetic laymen), who fear the dismemberment of complex systems of education by the band of people said to be incompetent. For, after all, we are not talking about a plaything. We are discussing a vaunted American institution, which is credited with advancing democratic practices and with opening the doors of opportunity to millions of immigrants for more than a century. Moreover, it is an institution with an enormous and growing capital plant and annual operating budget. 11

Cardinal acknowledges the validity of Fantini's statement, while noting that parents have at least a good chance of improving the quality of education:

Many bureaucrats feel that Indians are not yet ready to assume control of the education of their children but, we ask, how could even the most stupid Indian create a worse mess than has been handed him by the missionaries and bureaucrats over the past one hundred years? 12

To ascertain the degree of hostility engendered in professional associations by the threat of community control, one need only examine the New York Civil Liberties

Union brief on the Ocean Hill-Brownsville school controversy. Among those listed as opponents of parental control were the Board of Education, the United Teachers Federation, and the Council of Supervisory Associations, very powerful, well-organized and well-financed institutional bodies.¹³

Despite these many obstacles, and because of the failings of the established educational systems, many communities continue to demand community control. Community control, or local control, is a relatively new concept, at least in modern times. It is a demand that had its birth in the chaos and awakening of consciousness in the U.S. Black riots of the mid-1960's. The search for more power to control their lives and those of their children was not a search for absolute power; but, a search for an immediate method by which the ghetto parent, poor and powerless, might help to create better life-chances for himself and his community. The institution chosen as the target was the most obvious - the local school. Here was an institution vital to the lives of their children and one which had failed so dismally.¹⁴

In July of 1967, the city of New York created the three demonstration districts of I.S. 201, Two Bridges,

and Ocean Hill-Brownsville which were to serve as the models for, and battle grounds of, community control. These ghetto areas, suffering from severe social and educational short-comings, sought to establish elected community organizations that would hire consultants to assist in curriculum planning, organizational tactics, and legal matters. The community groups replaced white principals with educators more receptive to the communities they were to serve; with this initial move, the battle was on. The principals and assistant principals, all members of the Council of Supervisory -Associations, attempted to sabotage the experiment by transferring out or remaining and openly defying the community groups. In October 1967, the United Federation of Teachers and the CSA brought suit against the governing boards of the demonstration districts contending the boards had no right to hire or fire. All three districts were to die under legislative edicts; but, not before they had demonstrated that the poor could seize power and wield it effectively. The districts could attract top educational leadership whose allegiance lay with the local committee, not a distant authority. Paraprofessionals were widely employed and assisted qualified teachers, who opponents insisted would never

be attracted in sufficient numbers.¹⁵

Canada has experienced local control in several areas, other than reserves. Within Toronto, community schools are to be found in both wealthy and poor communities. Whereas the wealthy parents turn to community schools for ideological and intellectual reasons,¹⁶ the poor turn to the community schools for survival. Community schools are not a luxury for the poor; they are a necessity.

Within Toronto, the poor found that the traditional schools simply were not meeting their needs. In Regent Park,

Groups of parents have complained loudly that their children cannot read and as a result are being shunted off into dead-end vocational schools and "opportunity" classes. They have been called "an ill-trained Greek chorus" by one witty trustee in an "amusing" aside, and genetically inferior by another. 17

In Cabbagetown, an economically depressed area, parents began to question:

... among a few of the residents of this area there arose a feeling that it could not be entirely their fault that their children did so badly in school. Why did so many drop out? Why could so few read well? Could it be the school, the teaching methods, the class size? Was opportunity class good for the children? There seemed to be no answer within the system. 18

The poor and/or the ethnic groups have turned to local control in a last effort to increase their children's life-chances.

Local control is important for child, parent, and community; the benefits are numerous.

-for the parents, a tangible grasp on the destiny of their children and opening to richer meaning for their own lives.

-for professionals, surcease from an increasingly negative community climate and, more positively, new allies in their task.

-for the children, a school system responsive to their needs, resonant with their personal style, and affirmative in its expectations of them. 19

Wax sees other positive attributes of local control to include a shift in power-relations so as the teacher is now subordinate to those he serves and must look upon them in a new light; the teacher can no longer work "with conceptual schemes in which the children are simply regarded as 'culturally deprived' or otherwise lacking in the competencies and potentials of properly reared children."²⁰ Gittell et al. make the assertion that local control leads to "heightened feelings of efficacy and self-esteem."²¹ In response to these various environmental changes, Gittell et al. believe that the end result will be schools that will project a more positive attitude towards the student and this will in turn "produce higher

levels of achievement."²² This in turn can lead to the parents becoming better models and teachers within the home.²³

Criticisms have been leveled against proponents of local control; however, the retort has often been altogether far too true:

We may make some mistakes. However, these mistakes can hardly be more serious than the ones being made at present. They certainly will not be as long-standing. Because we, holding the welfare of the children as our only criterion, will effect change as soon as we or they deem it to be necessary. When people have an opportunity to be really involved in more than cake sales and teacher luncheons, when they know that they can be part of making decisions that have meaning, we will not have to worry about parental apathy or student disinterest. When members of the school board know that they are accountable to all the people whose children they serve, and and to the students themselves, they will gear their activities toward responding to the needs and desires of these groups. 24

There can be little doubt that local control will bring mistakes; but, as George Martell comments: "Certainly community people are going to make mistakes, lots of them, but they're also going to find ways to correct them because the mistakes hurt them."²⁵

Within Canada, Robert Sterling differentiates between "Indian Education" and "Education for Indians." "Education for Indians" is the education offered by the DIAND, an

educational system which serves the basic needs of middle-class society and which offers the Indian Peoples no alternative but to assimilate if they are to survive within that system. "Indian Education" is education characterized by local control:

"Indian Education", on the other hand, means that the control and choices of education services are maintained by Indians. Indian involvement and participation maintains and strengthens Indian identity and helps non-Indians to gain a more positive and meaningful image of Indians. The result is cooperation and a continuity in education that produces Indian people with pride in being Indian and with the ability to cope in any environment they choose. Indian education would be aimed at preparing Indians to select for themselves the manner in which they participate in Canadian society - to assimilate, integrate or segregate if they choose. 26

Bill Thomas, Local Educational Authority for Peguis Indian Reserve, gives a definition more related to power rather than product:

... local control is a situation ... where a particular band of Indians assumes total control of their educational facilities and programs and staff and budget over their own school, having received after negotiations a budget from Indian Affairs for their educational progress. 27

Franklin Courchene of Fort Alexander Indian Reserve agrees with the basic premises laid down by Thomas but, sees local control more in terms of curriculum. For Courchene, developing educational programs, especially

in the areas of reading and counselling, are essential ingredients of local control.²⁸

Sam Swift, a spokesman at Sabaskong Indian Reserve in Northern Ontario sees the movement to local control as a very positive step,²⁹ a view supported wholly by Thomas:

... I suppose if you thought about it in sort of global terms there is a political importance to it in that the Indian people are assuming more control and power over their own affairs as opposed to having it run by the government as it has been historically. Also, it is important in a lot of pragmatic terms and it is a sound phenomena in my mind because there is no doubt that when you look at the history of Indian education in Canada and you look at the results and the statistics, achievements that the federal kinds of systems have made that an alternative has been long past due and this is one of them. Having been here for about a year I see that the staff and the kids in the community are a lot happier with the kind of a system that we now have as opposed to a proxy federal system ... we can solve problems immediately and that couldn't happen before 30

Courchene agrees that the alternatives have been long past due:

Why we took local control was that we weren't getting any kids graduating. In the ten years that the kids were going to school in Powerview and the assorted schools in Winnipeg, there was only 10 graduates over a 10 or 12 year span. Since we took over ... this will be our first year we've got graduating students and we've got nine. So that's a big step. A big step forward. 31

The most renowned example of Indian local control in the United States is the Navajo Rough Rock Demonstration School in Arizona. The philosophy behind Rough Rock is very similar to that espoused by Canadian Indian educators as Dillon Platero's statements indicate:

Rough Rock Demonstration School ... is predicated upon the assumption that American Indian people are capable of assuming responsibility for the operation of educational institutions serving their children. The idea of Indians being a remnant of the days of the buffalo and pioneer, who for some inexplicable reason need to be sheltered from American life in the twentieth century, is categorically rejected. Indian people will involve themselves deeply in the education of their children if they are given an opportunity to do so in a meaningful fashion (that is, if actual decision-making powers can ever be wrenched loose from the well-intentioned but often ill-informed people who, hitherto, have made Indian education their own particular province). 32

Rough Rock met with a great deal of resistance and criticism; however, much of the criticism must be accepted as valid and constructive. This is especially important if Canadian Indians are to avoid pitfalls which can shake the confidence of all involved. The basic premise of any local control should be that constructive criticism must be allowed, even encouraged, so that mistakes can be noted and rectified. Unlike Rough Rock, Canadian Indian schools must not sacrifice academic standards or condone administrative deficiencies³³ and, control must be by

the general populace³⁴ through Native administrators.³⁵

The three prime examples of local control within Manitoba are Peguis, Fort Alexander, and Sandy Bay. Each had a different beginning and is run under a different philosophy, but all are built around the belief that local control is the only way for Indian children to advance academically. The situation and nature of each reserve is summarized below:

Peguis Indian Reserve

Population:	approximately 2300.
Location:	approximately 160 miles north of Winnipeg between Lakes Winnipeg and Manitoba on the Fisher River. 20 miles north of Fisher Branch in the Interlake region.
School:	single unit containing all grades K-12. The school population is approximately 600 with 150 high school students.
Local Control:	Local control for all grades was established in the fall of 1977. The principal (Warren Hingley) reports to the superintendent (Bill Thomas) and his staff who in turn reports to a school board, appointed by chief and council. The board is composed of members from various regions within the Reserve.
Budget:	a cautious approach with a conscious decision to avoid block payment, rather, a detailed budget is submitted to DIAND with funding being received for specific

requisitions. 36

Fort Alexander

Population: approximately 2200 to 2500.

Location: 85 miles northeast of Winnipeg on the shores of the Winnipeg River. The reserve lies next to the town of Pine Falls and Powerview.

School: the school population is split between two schools, one on the north shore, one on the south. Both schools contain a population of about 650 with about 150 high school students.

Local Control: Fort Alexander was the first Indian school in Manitoba to assume local control, a movement which occurred in 1973. What is unique about the Fort Alexander situation is that the shift to local control has been a gradual process with a specified grade transfer per year until total control was realized in 1977.

Budget: block payment to be apportioned as the Local Educational Authority sees fit. 37

Sandy Bay Reserve

Population: approximately 1500.

Location: approximately 120 miles northwest of Winnipeg, located on the west shore of Lake Winnipeg between the towns of Langruth and Amaranth.

- School: two buildings, one a relatively new eight-classroom building and the other is a remodelled former residence. The school is K-12 with a high school student body of approximately 45 out of the total population of 550.
- Local Control: a Local Education Agreement was signed with the Sandy Bay Band/Education Authority in November of 1974. The principal, Elwood Cameron, reports to the Sandy Bay Education Board (the chairman of which is appointed by the Chief and Council) which in turn reports to Chief and Council through a council member, Angus Star, who is the Local Education Authority.
- Budget: the education budget is controlled by the Sandy Bay Education Authority. The 1976-77 budget exceeded \$700,000. 38

These schools have been allowed to assume local control by a shift in federal government policy. Indian school committees were authorized by the Treasury Board in 1956; the role of the committees was expanded in 1963. "Instructions for the Organization of School Committees on Indian Reserves" outlined areas of responsibility, areas of advisory capacity, budgeting and other aspects necessary to local supervision. A Grant to Bands program of the mid-1960's provided funding for band staff, for operating programs, and for costs of administering

programs.³⁹

On June 22, 1971, the House Standing Committee on Indian Affairs acknowledged the shocking failure of the educational system for Indian Peoples and suggested several improvements including an emphasis on Native culture, utilization of the language shift pattern, and abolishment of student residences. In addition, the Committee recommended:

That the setting up of education committees continue to be encouraged and that their scope and function be widened in consultation with regional Indian associations, and parents, to include a role in improving local community attitudes towards education. 40

And: That the question of the establishment of school boards to administer all schools located on Indian reserve or within Indian and Eskimo communities be reviewed and considered in consultation with local, provincial, and national Indian associations. 41

That report was followed by a 1972 Treasury Board decision to extend the power of the existing authorities to enable band councils to manage post-school and in-school education programs.

The DIAND move came at the same time as the NIB issued its statement Indian Control of Indian Education. The NIB called for a more substantial role to be played by Indian Peoples in Indian education:

The past practice of using the school committee as an advisory body with limited influence, in restricted areas of the school program, must give way to an education authority with the control of funds and consequent authority which are necessary for an effective decision-making body. The Federal Government must take the required steps to transfer to local Bands the authority and the funds which are allotted for Indian education. 42

The duties of the local Education Authority were designated as:

- budgeting, spending and establishing priorities;
- determining the types of school facilities required to meet local needs: e.g. day school, residence, group home, nursery, kindergarten, high school;
- directing staff, hiring and curriculum development with special concern for Indian languages and culture;
- administering the physical plant;
- developing adult education and upgrading courses;
- negotiating agreements with provincial/territorial or separate school jurisdictions for the kind of services necessary for local requirements;
- co-operation and evaluation of education programs both on and off the reserve;
- providing counselling services; 43

In February of 1973, the Minister affirmed his Department's commitment to "... realizing the educational goals for the Indian people which are set forth in the policy proposals." 44

A DIAND informant claims that within Manitoba, the movement towards local control is a gradual process. The Band usually assumes control over the non-academic functions of the school, transportation, janitorial services, and lunch programs. Many reserves, such as Poplar River, are at this stage of development. Chalmers notes that many Indian Bands have had these "powers" since the sixties:

During the Sixties, some attempts were made to dampen the native's discontent. Both on and off the Reserves, advisory committees were established. Sometimes they were given very menial assignments such as appointment of school janitors and replacement of broken windows but in no way could they choose teachers or make any really significant decisions. 45

If local control is to be a reality, the powers granted to the Indian Peoples must be legitimate. The next step is for the Band to assume control over the academic aspects of education; this usually includes hiring of staff and design of curricula.

To assist the Bands in this transformation, the Manitoba branch of the DIAND underwent a re-organization on April 1, 1977. At the request of the regional director, the director of education divided the educational administrative staff into two divisions - one to monitor local control and the other to continue supervision of

in-school programs. Local control "offices" were established in the Brandon, Dauphin, Interlake, Island Lake, Thompson, The Pas, and the South-East Lake Winnipeg areas. The local control "officers" were to help administer programs taken over by the Bands and help the Bands assume control over existing DIAND programs. On those reserves having achieved local control; the "officers" play a minor role consisting mainly of funding and the monitoring of educational programs, to ensure the Local Educational Authorities are "doing things they say they're doing".⁴⁶ DIAND efforts to assist in local control implementation were apparently sincere; the Department was providing assistance to ease the problems associated with this transition phase. The assumption underlying the shift to local control was that it would produce positive attitudinal and behavioral changes within the Indian community.

Verna Kirkness claims the goals of local control are; to make learning a pleasant experience, to have students succeed educationally, to prepare students for life in general, to enable students the free choice of where to live and work as adults, and to enable students to participate fully in their own social, economic, political, and educational advancements.⁴⁷ Given these

goals, students, under local control, should exhibit an attitudinal change, a change from dependency and low self-esteem to a positive image of self, community, and their role in shaping that community.⁴⁸

John James of the MIB claims that Indian Peoples must totally reject everything educationally offered by the DIAND and that local control "will deliver something the people want."⁴⁹ Conceivably, if the education offered is what the people wanted, one would observe positive attitudinal changes in parents, pupils and staff. Therefore, the areas of vandalism, attendance, parental involvement, staff turnover, and academic success should serve as indices if local control is functioning positively.

Student vandalism, one would assume, would decrease if the students looked upon the school with pride and viewed it as the product of the community, not simply as an imposed institution. However, student vandalism has not decreased at Fort Alexander⁵⁰ and at Peguis, while "quite insignificant",⁵¹ vandalism is still evident. Yet, other indicators of student attitudinal change paint a different picture.

Increased parental involvement is a product of local control according to the DIAND spokesman.⁵² At

Peguis, there have been several parent-teacher days with participation for the community at about 50 per cent.⁵³ Small steps, but necessary if the parental interest is to be sparked and channelled to provide more than token involvement, an all too often state of affairs within school systems. Fort Alexander had made extensive use of parents within the classroom and has found it a very successful practice.⁵⁴ Staff turnover has dramatically decreased in local control areas.

Bill Thomas, speaking of Peguis;

... we have got 38 staff members. There's only two that we know of that want to leave here as opposed to in the past a general 40% turnover in federal schools or higher.... so we have got all this new staff and they all want to stay. They like it here. 55

Sandy Bay lost only three teachers in 1974-75, a fact which demonstrates "the close relationship that developed during the one year between the teaching staff and the reserve community."⁵⁶ Fort Alexander lost between one-half and three-quarters of its teaching staff the first year and last year lost about 50%; this year two teachers left.⁵⁷

In the area of attendance, all those interviewed believed that attendance had increased. Peguis claims an increase of 20%.⁵⁸ Courchene claims a marked

improvement in attendance at Fort Alexander:

...100% improvement for the first year we had it... When we first started out in /73 I think we only had less than 400 students... a lot of them were just staying home... since we took over it's gradually been building up.... 59

Sam Swift of Sabaskong suggests that attendance has shot up simply because students are no longer bussed off the reserve and, if the student decides to absent himself/herself from the classroom, personal visibility ensures that the absence does not go unnoticed; whereas the anonymity of the city or large town guaranteed that absence would be readily observable.⁶⁰

Although it is not within the scope of this paper to examine student academic success, the fact that there are now higher numbers of graduates would suggest local control is beneficial in this respect.⁶¹ The increased attendance, coupled with parental involvement, and exposure to concerned teachers would theoretically increase academic performance.

Local control has proven effective for community schools in Toronto, in Rough Rock, and in New York; skills have been inculcated, attendance has improved, and a positive self-concept has been instilled in many children. Improved life-chances, economic advancement, political

awareness - all are increasingly possible if local control can effect changes in the student's attitude towards self and community. It should be noted that there are parents who do not see any of these advantages and subsequently remove their children from local control schools.

Within Manitoba, there are indications that there has been an attitudinal change; yet, the negative overtures apparent in student vandalism would deny this change. Can one observe student attitudinal differences between local control reserves and DIAND-controlled reserves? This was the question the researcher set out to answer.

Footnotes

1. F. Nelson, "Community Schools in Toronto: A Sign of Hope", in T. Morrison and A. Burton, Options: Reforms and Alternatives for Canadian Education (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada, 1973), p. 354.
2. M. Gittell, "Community Control of Education", in M. Gittell and A.G. Hevesi, ed., The Politics of Urban Education (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1969), p. 367.
3. F. Nelson, "Community Schools in Toronto: A Sign of Hope", p. 360.
4. P. Schrag, "Why Our Schools Have Failed", in Gittell and Hevesi, ed., The Politics of Urban Education, p. 315.
5. See H. Cardinal's chapter, "The Little Red Schoolhouse". H. Cardinal, The Unjust Society (Edmonton: M.G. Hurtig, 1969).
6. H. Adams, Prison of Grass (Toronto: General Publishing, 1975), p. 152.
7. A.R. King, The School At Mopass (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967), pp. 36-37.
8. M. Fantini, "Community Participation", in Gittell and Hevesi, The Politics of Urban Education, p. 334.
Larry Cuban talks of the myth of professionalism:
By myth I mean the belief that schoolmen know precisely how kids must be taught, how they should learn, and what their "true" nature is. Certainly, not inquiry, defines that belief. According to one popular analogy, teachers and principals know so much more than parents about instruction, curriculum, and scheduling that to expect intelligent questions and helpful suggestions from parents would be as unprofessional as for a doctor to ask a cancer patient for his opinion on whether chemotherapy or cobalt treatment should be used. The analogy, of course is ridiculous....
Cuban also describes tactics used to keep parental involvement to a minimum:

Frantically trying to establish professionalism and to prevent parental interference, educators have let loose a smoke screen of scientific jargon which obscures rather than clarifies issues.

L. Cuban, "Teacher and Community", Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 39, No. 2, Spring 1969, p. 254.

9. M. Fantini, M. Gittell, and R. Magat, Community Control and the Urban School (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1970), p. 91. A.R. King acknowledges the existence of this situation:

Not only does Mopass Indian Residential School policy lack any reflection of Indian attitudes, heritage, and perceived needs, but furthermore there is literally no communication between Indian parents and the Whitemen educators about the children's growth in school. Evidence is seen of vague desires on the part of both to have some sort of communication; but there is neither policy nor administrative machinery within to achieve this end, and the administration is unable to function without such directives.

A.R. King, The School at Mopass, p. 54.

10. Ibid., p. 71.

11. M. Fantini, "Community Participation", in Gittell and Hevesi, ed., The Politics of Urban Education, p. 323.

12. H. Cardinal, The Unjust Society, p. 61. See also H. Cardinal, The Re-birth of Canada's Indians (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1977), Chapters VII, VIII, IX and X.

13. See New York Civil Liberties Union, "The Burden of Blame: A Report on the Ocean Hill-Brownsville School Controversy", in Gittell and Hevesi, ed., The Politics of Urban Education, p. 346.

14. A 1966 New York City Board of Education study, released under public pressure, revealed that the Black and Puerto Rican children were usually three to five years behind the middle-class children in

reading scores. Fantini et al., Community Control and the Urban School, p. 17. Robert Sterling claims that most B.C. Indian secondary students are at least two years behind in reading, mathematics, and science. R. Sterling, "Native Indian Education", The C.A.S.N.P. Bulletin, July 1975, p. 12.

15. For a complete discussion of this case study, consult Gittell and Hevesi, ed., The Politics of Urban Education and Fantini et al., Community Control and Urban School.
16. This would seem to be the case with the Lyceum in St. Norbert, Manitoba. See V. Nielsen, "Community School...Year One", in Morrison and Burton, Options: Reforms and Alternatives for Canadian Education, p. 340.
17. Nelson, "Community Schools in Toronto: A Sign of Hope", in Morrison and Burton, Options: Reforms and Alternatives for Canadian Education, p. 355.
18. Ibid., p. 357.
19. M. Fantini, "Community Participation", The Politics of Urban Education, p. 335.
20. M. Wax, "Gophers or Gadflies: Indian School Boards", School Review, November 1970, p. 68.
21. M. Gittell et al., Local Control in Education (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1972), p. 39.
22. Ibid., p. 130.
23. Fantini et al., Community Control and the Urban School, p. 95.
24. Ibid., p. 94.
25. G. Martell, "The Community School Workshop in Toronto", This Magazine is About Schools, Spring 1971, p. 77.
26. Sterling, "Native Indian Education", p. 12.
27. Interview conducted at Peguis I.R. on May 9, 1978 with Bill Thomas, Local Educational Authority.
28. Interview conducted at Fort Alexander I.R. on June 8, 1978 with Franklin Courchene, Assistant to the Local Educational Authority.

29. Interview conducted at Sabaskong I.R., Northwestern Ontario, on June 12, 1978 with Sam Swift (pseudonym), teacher. John James of the MIB uses the phrase, "necessary move", when referring to the implementation of local control. John James speaking on Local Control of Indian Education, June 26, 1978, at the Faculty of Education, University of Manitoba.
30. Interview with Bill Thomas, May 9th.
31. Interview with Franklin Courchene, June 8th.
32. D. Platero, "Let's Do It Ourselves!", School Review, November 1970, p. 57.
33. See Donald A. Erickson's "Custer Did Die for Our Sins!", School Review, November 1970, in which he describes how the white director was unwilling to implement programs desired by parents, teachers, or consultants. (p. 78) Erickson describes the director as "a benevolent despot" and argues that control escaped the people at Rough Rock. (p. 82)
34. Ibid., pp. 79-84.
35. However, both Bill Thomas and an informant of the DIAND note that the quality of this leadership is critical. The informant terms leadership quality "the crutch of the whole thing." Interview conducted at DIAND headquarters Winnipeg, Manitoba, on June 23, 1978, with DIAND informant, liason officer for those reserves undergoing transition to local control.
36. Interview with Bill Thomas, May 9th and Warren Hingley, June 7th, 1978.
37. Interview with Franklin Courchene, June 8th.
38. "Brief History of The Education System Sandy Bay Indian Reserve", June 10, 1976, p. 2.
39. See R.E. Bean, "Indian Control of Indian Education", Education and Cultural Development Branch, July 1976, for a summation of developments in Canadian Indian local control. The paper also contains a brief examination of the state of local control in each province.
40. House Standing Committee on Indian Affairs, Proceedings of June 22nd, 1971, p. 27:12.

41. Ibid.
42. National Indian Brotherhood, Indian Control of Indian Education (Ottawa: NIB, 1972), p. 6.
43. Ibid., pp. 6-7.
44. R.E. Bean, "Indian Control of Indian Education", p. 3.
45. J.W. Chalmers, "Federal, provincial and territorial strategies for Canadian native education, 1960-1970", Journal of Canadian Studies, Vol. XI, No. 3, August 1976, p. 49.
46. Interview with DIAND informant, June 23rd.
 Regarding band priorities of employment opportunities under local control, similar trends have been noted in the United States. U.S. Education Commissioner Howe emphasizes jobs are among the first priorities of local control advocates. Fantini et al, Community Control and the Urban School, p. 95. Murray L. Wax, in his examination of Rough Rock, cites Roessel's assertion that the school board's first focus of attention was "the matter of subprofessional employment and that it began to insist on schemes for dividing the opportunities for employment among the residents of the community." Wax, "Gophers or Gadflies: Indian School Boards", p. 66.
47. V. Kirkness, "Indian Control of Indian Education", paper produced for the DIAND, September 30, 1976, p. 7.
48. Bill Thomas notes that there has been a positive attitudinal change at Peguis, "... the staff and the kids in the community are a lot happier with the kind of a system that we do now have." Interview with Bill Thomas, May 9th.
49. J. James, speech at the University of Manitoba, June 26th.
50. Interview with Franklin Courchene, June 8th.
51. Interview with Bill Thomas, May 9th.
52. Interview with DIAND informant, June 23^d.

53. Interview with Bill Thomas, May 9th.
54. Interview with Franklin Courchene, June 8th.
55. Interview with Bill Thomas, May 9th. The turnover is low in comparison to DIAND schools; but, it must be noted that the job market for teachers at the time was very tight.
56. "Brief History of The Education System Sandy Bay Indian Reserve", p. 2.
57. Interview with Franklin Courchene, June 8th.
58. Interview with Warren Hingley, June 7th.
59. Interview with Franklin Courchene, June 8th.
60. Interview with Sam Swift (pseudonym), June 12th.
61. Courchene's comments on the failure of the old system and the success of the new are typical among local control advocates. See #22, supra.

Chapter VII

If local control is effective, one could expect an attitudinal change in students. Little positive improvement in student vandalism would suggest that the students have undergone no attitudinal change. Yet, an increase in attendance, parental involvement, and the number of graduates would suggest the opposite. A questionnaire was designed to ascertain the validity of the following hypotheses:

- H₁: Exposure to local control leads to attitudinal change within the students.
- H₂: There is a direct correlation between the amount of exposure to local control and the degree of attitudinal change.

The areas chosen for investigation were modernity, powerlessness, and political efficacy. Modernity, when applied to individuals, "refers to a set of attitudes, values, and ways of feeling and acting, presumably of the sort either generated by or required for effective participation in a modern society."¹ The scale chosen to measure the degree of modernity was the Overall Modernity (OM) Scale formulated by Smith and Inkeles.² The OM Scale provides a measure of efficacy, political activism, educational aspirations, growth of opinion valuation and several other important analytical themes.³ All themes should exhibit a positive bias if local control improved the student's concept of self and his

community.

The questionnaire was also designed to test political efficacy, a concept which involves an individual's perception of his ability to influence the political process. To test this theme, items from the scales of Hess and Torney⁴ have been employed; typical of these is the item:

I have talked with my friends about our reserve's problems.

A positive correlation between response and item would indicate a higher degree of efficacy.

The questionnaire was also designed to measure alienation; an alienated person is "one who has been estranged from, made unfriendly toward, his society and the culture it carries."⁵ Components of alienation include powerlessness, normlessness, social isolation, self-estrangement, and meaninglessness.⁶ The component of powerlessness is typified by the item: We are just so many cogs in the machinery of life. Seeman defines powerlessness as "the expectancy or probability held by the individual that his own behavior cannot determine the occurrence of the outcomes, or reinforcements, he seeks."⁷

Methodology

The questionnaire was applied to five schools; three

with local control, two without. The three schools had been under local control for varying periods of time: Fort Alexander for 5 years; Sandy Bay for 4 years; and Peguis for 1 year. Thus, a correlation could be attempted between attitudinal change and time period under local control. The two DIAND schools utilized for comparative analysis had been specifically chosen; DIAND #2 was not under local control and did not seem to be heading in that direction. DIAND #1 was, according to the Superintendent, going to local control within two years; this was an estimation, but the history surrounding the school supported his assertion. One could construct a scale that would indicate relative positions in regards to amount of exposure to local control:

TABLE XXIX

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T I M E P E R I O D*

* EXPOSURE TO, OR POSSIBLE MOVEMENT TOWARDS, LOCAL CONTROL

The questionnaire was administered to 108 students. Grade 9 students served as the primary subjects of research; Grade 9 students were chosen as, being younger and, in local control schools, having less exposure to the Departmental education system, they would perhaps be more susceptible to attitudinal change. Grade 11 students of the local control bands were utilized for internal comparative analysis. Students were tested through written questionnaires; however, a random sample completed the questionnaire orally to ensure that a lack of writing skills did not influence results. The students of the random sample were taken aside individually and the interviewer went through the questionnaire, taping student responses. When the written questionnaires were tabulated, the taped results were analyzed in relation to mean responses; little significant difference could be noted.

Questionnaires were administered during class time with no time limit being set. Students were instructed that all results were to be treated as confidential and were urged to be as complete as possible in their responses.

The questionnaire itself took the following format:

QUESTIONNAIRE DESIGNED TO TEST FOR ATTITUDINAL CHANGE

1. Have you ever gotten so highly concerned regarding some public issue that you really wanted to do something about?
1. Frequently 2. Few times 3. Never
What was that issue?
2. If schooling is freely available, how much schooling do you think children like yourself should have?
3. What should most qualify a man to hold high office?
 1. Coming from the right family background
 2. Devotion to the old and time-honoured ways
 3. Being the most popular among the people
 4. High education and special knowledge
4. Which is most important for the future of Canada?
 1. The hard work of the people
 2. Good planning on the part of the government
 3. God's help
 4. Good luck
5. Learned men in the universities are studying such things as what determines whether a baby is a boy or girl and how it is that a seed turns into a plant.
Do you think that these investigations are:
 1. all very good
 2. all somewhat good
 3. all somewhat harmful
 4. all very harmful
6. Which one of these kinds of new interests you most?
 1. World events (happenings in other countries)
 2. The nation
 3. Your reserve
 4. Sports
 5. Religious events or festivals

7. If you were to meet a person who lives in another country a long way off, could you understand his way of thinking?
1. Yes
 2. No
8. Do you think a man can be truly good without having any religion at all?
1. Yes
 2. No
9. How often do you usually get news and information from newspapers?
1. Everyday
 2. Few times a week
 3. Occasionally
 4. Never
10. 1. Some people say that it is necessary for a man and his wife to limit the number of children to be born so that they can take better care of those they already have.
2. Others say that it is wrong for a man and his wife purposely to limit the number of children to be born.

Which of these opinions do you agree with more?

11. Two twelve-year-old boys took time out from their work in the hay (or wheat) fields. They were trying to figure a way to grow the same amount of hay (wheat) with fewer hours of work.
1. The father of one boy said: "That is a good thing to think about. Tell me your thoughts about how we should change our ways of growing hay (wheat)."
 2. The father of the other boy said: "The way to grow hay (wheat) is the way we have always done it. Talk about change will waste time but will not help!"

Which father said the wiser words?

12. There is nothing I can do to influence the course of events in Canada.
 1. True
 2. False
13. There is nothing I can do to influence the course of events on my reserve.
 1. True
 2. False
14. The end often justifies the means.
 1. True
 2. False
15. We are just so many cogs in the machinery of life.
 1. True
 2. False
16. I often wonder what the meaning of life really is.
 1. True
 2. False
17. Sometimes I feel all alone in the world.
 1. True
 2. False
18. One can always find friends if he show himself friendly.
 1. True
 2. False
19. In what country is the city of Washington?
20. In what country is the city of Moscow?
21. Do you belong to any organizations or clubs, such as, for example, social clubs, unions, church organizations, political groups, or other groups? If "Yes", what are the names of the organizations you belong to?

22. What are the biggest problems facing your reserve?
23. Who is the most important person on your reserve?
Why?
24. Would you like that position? Why or why not?
25. I have talked with my mother or father about our reserve's problems.
1. True
 2. False
26. I have talked with my friends about our reserve's problems.
1. True
 2. False
27. Which of the following do you think is most helpful to your reserve?
1. The Department of Indian Affairs
 2. The Band Office
- Why?
28. My family doesn't have any say about what the band council does. Do you agree?
1. Yes
 2. No
 3. Don't know

29. What happens in the government will happen no matter what people do. It is like the weather, there is nothing people can do about it. Do you agree?
1. Yes
 2. No
 3. Don't know
30. Can you think of any way in which your school might be improved?

Results

In-depth examination of results from Fort Alexander, Peguis, DIAND #1, and DIAND #2 will provide a basis of comparison; the tabulated mean from these schools and Sandy Bay will provide validation of the hypotheses. It is imperative to note that the cross-tabulations are merely to indicate basic trends.

MODERNITY INDICATORS

1.	Frequently	Few times	Never
Peguis	.05	.25	.70
Fort Alexander	.15	.50	.35
DIAND #1	.15	.40	.45
DIAND #2	---	.30	.70

The issues with which students were concerned:

Peguis: religion, women's rights, abortion

Fort Alexander: economics, alcoholism, misuse of firearms

DIAND #1: pollution, education, debris, discrimination

	Post-Secondary	Secondary	Public			
2.						
	Peguis	.15	.85	--		
	Fort Alexander	---	1.00	---		
	DIAND #1	.60	.40	---		
	DIAND #2	.10	.90	---		
3.	1	2	3	4		
	Peguis	.05	.05	.05	.85	
	Fort Alexander	---	---	---	1.00	
	DIAND #1	.15	---	---	.85	
	DIAND #2	---	.10	---	.90	
4.	1	2	3	4		
	Peguis	.17	.60	.20	.03	
	Fort Alexander	.42	.58	---	---	
	DIAND #1	---	.60	.40	---	
	DIAND #2	.40	.40	---	.20	
5.	1	2	3	4		
	Peguis	.40	.51	.06	.03	
	Fort Alexander	.14	.70	.16	---	
	DIAND #1	.15	.15	.30	.40	
	DIAND #2	.10	.20	.50	.20	
6.	1	2	3	4	5	
	Peguis	.30	.10	.20	.34	.06
	Fort Alexander	---	.28	.42	.30	---
	DIAND #1	.15	.15	.30	.40	---
	DIAND #2	.10	.20	.50	.20	---
7-8.		7. <u>Yes</u>	8. <u>Yes</u>			
	Peguis	.30	.74			
	Fort Alexander	.14	.70			
	DIAND #1	.60	.45			
	DIAND #2	.20	.40			
9.	1	2	3	4		
	Peguis	.20	.27	.53	---	
	Fort Alexander	.28	.14	.58	---	
	DIAND #1	---	.70	.30	---	
	DIAND #2	.20	.40	.30	.10	

10-11.	10.	1	11.	1
Peguis		.74		.60
Fort Alexander		.84		.50
DIAND #1		.45		.60
DIAND #2		.50		.70
19-20.	19.	% Correct	20.	% Correct
Peguis		.54		.64
Fort Alexander		.90		1.00
DIAND #1		.45		.60
DIAND #2		.70		.60
21.	0	1	2	3 or more
Peguis	.73	.24	---	.03
Fort Alexander	.60	---	---	.40
DIAND #1	.85	---	---	.15
DIAND #2	.80	.20	---	---
22. No. of problems identified:	0	1	2	3 or more
Peguis	.30	.38	.24	.08
Fort Alexander	.06	.38	.42	.14
DIAND #1	---	.60	.40	---
DIAND #2	.50	.30	.20	---

A certain trend seems to be developing; in relation to the other school populations under study, Fort Alexander emerges as the school body tending most towards modernity. In the areas of political activism (21,1), citizens political reference groups (3), general efficacy (4), family size attitudes (10), information eliciting questions (19,20), and growth of opinion awareness (22), mass media valuation (9) the students

scored high. Peguis scored high in the areas of religious-secular orientation (8), mass media valuation (6), and general efficacy (5). DIAND #1 scored high in political activism (1), educational aspirations (2), and openness to new experiences and people (7). DIAND #2 students scored high in change perception and valuation (11).

POLITICAL EFFICACY

23. Ranked in order of scoring:

Peguis	Chief, school board, councillors
Fort Alexander	Chief, welfare officer, housing officer
DIAND #1	Chief
DIAND #2	Chief

24. Yes

Peguis	.27
Fort Alexander	.42
DIAND #1	.45
DIAND #2	.10

25-26. 25. True 26. True

Peguis	.47	.40
Fort Alexander	.42	.84
DIAND #1	.30	.45
DIAND #2	---	.60

27. Percentage claiming DIAND most helpful:

Peguis	.64
Fort Alexander	.28
DIAND #1	1.00
DIAND #2	.90

28.	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
Peguis	.20	.44	.36
Fort Alexander	.10	.80	.10
DIAND #1	.30	.30	.40
DIAND #2	.10	.40	.50

29.	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
Peguis	.30	.60	.10
Fort Alexander	.10	.90	---
DIAND #1	.30	.60	.10
DIAND #2	.20	.40	.40

30. No. of suggested improvements:

	0	1	2	3 or more
Peguis	.37	.54	.05	.04
Fort Alexander	.15	.70	---	.15
DIAND #1	.30	.30	.30	.10
DIAND #2	.60	.40	---	---

Fort Alexander rates extremely high in political efficacy. Fort Alexander students could identify problem areas, had discussed these with family and peers (25, 26), and could suggest improvements (30). Political efficacy was also demonstrated by the response to item 27, the high esteem in which the band office is held reveals that the students believe that locals can adequately govern and external control is not required. In regards to improvements, it should be noted that many students questioned voiced concern with the lack of discipline; this was especially so at Fort Alexander where seventy percent desired stricter

discipline.

DIAND #1 also rates high in the area of political efficacy; however, this could be in response to a crisis situation on the reserve. Over ninety percent of the students of DIAND #1 expressed strong concern about "corruption in the band office." A bitter student commented, "Band uses up all the student summer job money on buying cadillacs for themselves and also for \$45 thousand dollar homes." (sic) This concern, and the desire to change existing conditions, could influence the responses.

ALIENATION

12-13.	12.	<u>False</u>	13.	<u>False</u>
Peguis		.34		.44
Fort Alexander		.28		.70
DIAND #1		.45		.30
DIAND #2		.50		.50
14-16.	14.	<u>True</u>	16.	<u>True</u>
Peguis		.70		.66
Fort Alexander		.58		.56
DIAND #1		.10		.90
DIAND #2		.40		.40
15.		<u>True</u>		
Peguis		.56		
Fort Alexander		.44		
DIAND #1		.40		
DIAND #2		.40		
17-18.	17.	<u>True</u>	18.	<u>True</u>
Peguis		.64		.90
Fort Alexander		.84		1.00
DIAND #1		.60		.60
DIAND #2		.50		1.00

In relation to the three other reserve populations under study, Fort Alexander exhibits a lack of powerlessness. While there is little belief that the individual can influence the course of events nationally (12), seventy percent of those questioned felt that they were able to influence the course of events on the reserve (13).

To examine the attitudinal shift pattern more concisely, Inkeles and Smith's strategy of assigning numerical values to responses was adopted. The more positive the response, in respect to modernity and political efficacy, the higher the score. For powerlessness, high scores indicate a lack of powerlessness. Responses were again divided into the three main areas of concern - modernity, political efficacy, and powerlessness. A mean score for each reserve sampling was calculated, allowing a comparison of attitudinal indication between reserves with local control and those without.

	<u>Modernity</u>		
Fort Alexander	Peguis	DIAND #1	DIAND#2
27.7	25.4	26.0*	23.9

Political Efficacy

Fort Alexander	Peguis	DIAND #1	DIAND #2
5.4	3.6	2.8	3.7

Powerlessness

Fort Alexander	Peguis	DIAND #1	DIAND #2
9.5	6.6	9.1*	5.8

*Statistics for DIAND #1 would seem inconsistent with suggested trends. Examination of DIAND #1 responses indicate a high concern with "corruption in the band office"; almost 90 percent of those questioned commented strongly on this belief. Consequently scores could be slightly higher due to this variable.

Observations

Fort Alexander Grade 9 students exhibit the highest scores in all three areas; DIAND #1 students score second highest, but would most likely score lower if the local crisis situation diminished; Peguis rates third and the DIAND #2 ranks fourth. One could draw the conclusion that there does exist a positive correlation between local control and the three themes under study; the more exposure to local control, the greater the student attitudinal shift. This hypothesis is supported by comparative analysis of Grade 9's and 11's on local control reserves:

Fort Alexander

	<u>Modernity</u>	<u>Powerlessness</u>	<u>Political Efficacy</u>
Grade 9	27.7	9.5	5.4
Grade 11	29.3	8.6	5.0

Except for modernity, where the difference is not great, Grade 9 students, who have been exposed longer to local control, exhibit greatest feelings of power and political efficacy.

On reserves, such as Peguis, which are comparatively new to local control, the attitudinal shift has not yet occurred:

Peguis

	<u>Modernity</u>	<u>Powerlessness</u>	<u>Political Efficacy</u>
Grade 9	25.4	6.6	3.6
Grade 11	27.0	7.4	5.1

With exposure to local control, one might expect that future scores would be higher for those students subjected to local control for a greater period of time.

The hypothesis was further tested utilizing Sandy Bay as a focal point for investigation:

Sandy Bay

	<u>Modernity</u>	<u>Powerlessness</u>	<u>Political Efficacy</u>
Grade 9	26.3	10.3	4.1
Grade 11	29.8	8.3	4.5

It would seem that local control has had an effect on student attitudes at Sandy Bay and, since both grades have had a similar exposure, the attitudinal change would seem relatively constant for all students surveyed.

Local control might not be the sole reason for this attitudinal shift; variables such as socio-economic status, I.Q., community attitudes and/or directions could have acted as influential agents of attitudinal change. The reserves under study are at different stages of economic and political development; varying degrees of socio-economic status between reserves could have affected the findings as could have the degrees of political development upon the reserves. Variables such as socio-economic status and I.Q. have been partially minimized by examining a school grade; the probability exists that this arbitrary cross-section of the reserve population will be representative of reserve society. However, the most obvious and

dramatic change apparent in Fort Alexander, Sandy Bay, and Peguis have been the moves to local control.

Hypothesis₁ and Hypothesis₂ would seem to be confirmed through this research. Exposure to local control leads to attitudinal change within the students. H₂ would also seem to be validated; the degree of local control would seem proportionately related to the modernity, political efficacy, and power indicators found in student responses.

Footnotes

1. D.H. Smith and A. Inkeles, "The OM Scale: A Comparative Socio-Psychological Measure of Individual Modernity", Sociometry, Vol. 29, 1966, p. 353.
2. Ibid., pp. 372-73.
3. Ibid., p. 354.
4. R.D. Hess and J.V. Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1967), pp. 256-257.
5. G. Nettler, "A Measure of Alienation", American Sociological Review, Vol. 22, No. 6, December 1957, p. 672.
6. See D.G. Dean's "Alienation: Its Meaning and Measurement", American Sociological Review, Vol. 26, No. 5, October 1961.
7. M. Seeman, "On the Meaning of Alienation", American Sociological Review, Vol. 24, No. 6, December 1959, p. 784.

Chapter VIII

This study has documented several aspects of the history of Canada's Indian Peoples, a history of dependency, paternalism, and failure; failure of the government to meet the needs of the people it is to serve and failure of the Indian Peoples to organize effectively, raise the consciousness of their Peoples, and lobby successfully for change. Government plans to assimilate the Indian, to "elevate" or to "civilize" have been in vain for enforced acculturation has not produced equality or structural assimilation. The Indian cannot compete in the dominant society, too often because he/she is lacking the necessary skills. Instead, the Indian is confined to a world of underdevelopment. Economic dependency, low levels of labour productivity and per capita income, poor quality of life, including insufficient food intake and bad housing are all characteristics of that world. In addition, the educational institutions of the Indian Peoples are ineffective in combatting any of these economic, political, or social ills.

The political dynamics between the dominant society and the Indian Peoples have been typified by internal colonialism. The Indian Peoples have

been blocked from participation in development and from means of socio-economic mobility; the allocation of resources lies solely with the dominant society. Potential leaders of the Indian Peoples are often co-opted and the institutions imposed and/or utilized by the dominant group legitimize the power structure. All major institutions of the Indian Peoples, economic, political, and social, are controlled directly or indirectly through funding, making structural colonialism a reality. The educational institutions, the Church, the DIAND, and often Indian organizations themselves conspire to effect cultural colonialism as the predominantly white bureaucracy and co-opted Indian leaders use these institutions to mold the self-concept, values, and the psyche of the colonized.

Legislation, paternalistically formulated, served to control all aspects of reserve life. Political structure on the reserves was determined at the whim of top bureaucrats in Ottawa; the bureaucracy created, manipulated, and held absolute veto powers over band council and chiefs. Total economic authority and control over all Indian monies rested in the hands of these white officials. Social institutions, such as the Potlatch and Sun Dance, were outlawed as the

dominant society viewed these as obstructions to directed behavioural change. All facets of public life on the reserve were controlled and efforts were made to control as much of the private life of band members as was possible. There can be little doubt that white and Indian interacted within the framework of internal colonialism.

The concept of internal colonialism being applied to Canada's reserves is not new. E.P. Patterson,¹ J.S. Frideres,² and H. Adams³ all make reference to this colonial framework. Frideres' characteristics of the colonial situation - economic dependency, external political control, "forced-voluntary" entry, low standards of social services, and the destruction of the traditional life-style and values - are all realities. This state of affairs, though, has gone largely unacknowledged by the DIAND.

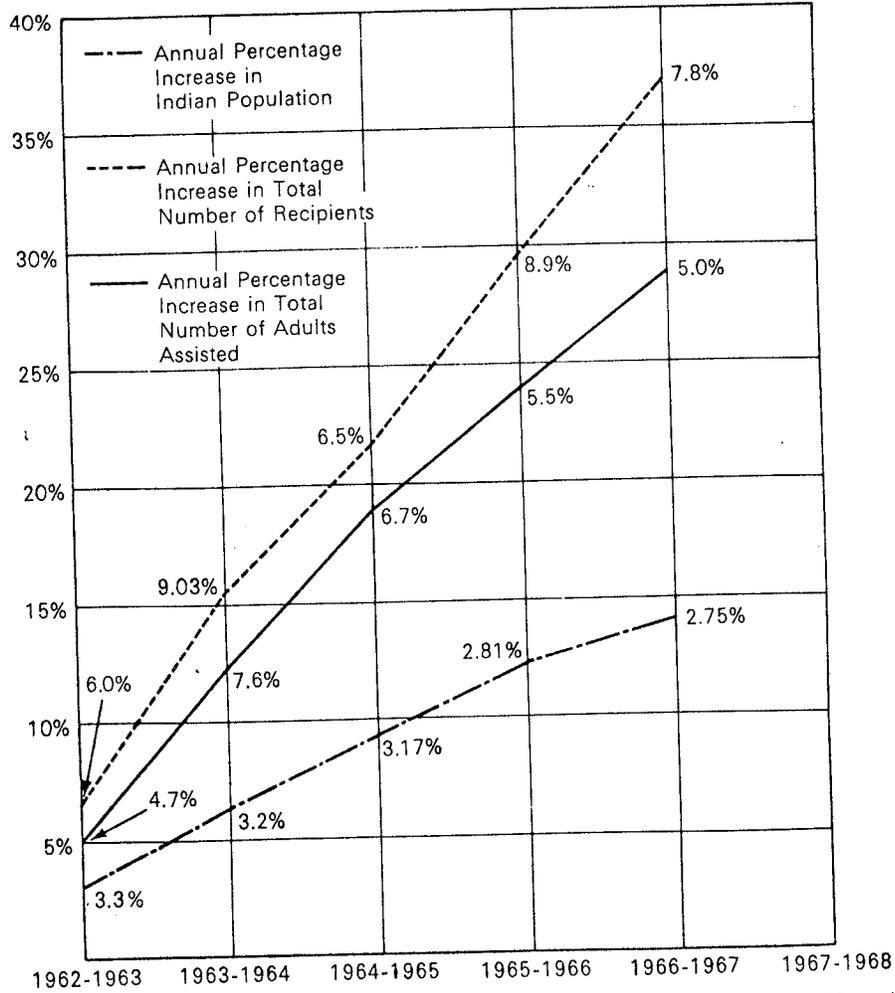
This colonization of Canada's Indian Peoples has been very similar to the ideology of apartheid, although enfranchisement allows the Indian to escape the bureaucratic restraints and freedom of movement is no longer restricted. The Canadian people and their government will readily acknowledge that South Africa supports structural racism and internal colonialism.

Yet, despite many similarities between the conditions of the colonized and the institutions that keep them in that state, there is a refusal to admit that Canada's Indian Peoples suffer, albeit, to a lesser degree, under a very like government ideology. In both countries, little, if any development can be discerned in areas set aside for the indigenous peoples; both countries allow underdevelopment to be the chief characteristic of reserve or Homeland. This state of affairs, in both South Africa and Canada, was the direct result of a governmental policy that created second-class citizens.

Historically, one can trace a number of factors that contributed to the Indian's underdevelopment. The loss of traditional livelihoods, traditional lines of authority, and traditional socialization procedures forced the Indian away from his/her traditional autonomous state. These factors, in turn, helped to foster apathy, a dependency syndrome, and a negative self-concept, factors which would retard any "progress" that might be made. This dependency, if one is to use social assistance programs as indicators, is increasing:

TABLE XXX

Indian Affairs Branch Social Assistance Program 1962-1963-1967-68



Source: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, *Annual Report*, pp. 77-78. 4

Schooling, designed to "save" the Indian, has been almost totally dysfunctional.⁵ Missionaries, working from an ethnocentric, albeit sympathetic, position, utilized the school effectively to eradicate any remaining

traces of the traditional value system; self-concept of the Indian was bound to suffer as the very core elements of his/her value system were attacked as heathenish and inferior. The Churches also served the purpose of cultural colonialism, justifying the political, economic, and social status quo. The Churches are not liberating or modernizing institutions:

Their [the Churches] interest in "educating" natives has overtones of paternalism and moral salvation and they indoctrinate conservative attitudes. For example, a basic tenet in Roman Catholicism is that poverty is not necessarily bad and that people should not attempt to produce social change in society to upgrade their position. By enduring their poverty they will be showing humility and making penance for their sins as an appeasement to God. The "after" life is of much more concern than what happens on earth.... Acceptance of this ideology precludes using "force" to bring social change - it even precludes desiring change. 6

To compound matters, the residential schools prepared the student for existence in neither Indian nor white world; the residential schools subjected the Indian student to two vastly opposed life-styles and succeeded only in producing marginal men. The integrated schools were little better; the traumatic experience of being placed in a foreign physical environment and being surrounded by a sea of unfamiliar, and often unfriendly, faces eliminated any advantage. Frideres notes that the change

of social milieu created a serious disruption in the life of the Indian child;⁷ then too, discrimination in the integrated classroom is much more direct.⁸ Both factors combine to weaken the student's self-concept and academic performance.

Biased texts, the trauma of schooling in an alien tongue or plant, poor teachers, high staff turn-over, irrelevant curricula, discouragement of indigenous languages, attacks on heritage and value system - these and similar experiential contacts lead to the creation of a negative self-concept. Self-concept is a composite containing all sorts of descriptions of "the objective me, not only portraits rendered by the individual but also his impressions of his portraits done by either himself or someone else."⁹ When the concept becomes tarnished, an attitudinal change can occur; the implications of this for education are profound. A negative self-concept can lead to poor academic performance and a greater risk of dropping out. There is a direct correlation between self-concept and academic motivation.¹⁰

Self-concept can become negatively oriented due to discrimination, such as that found within integrated

schools:

Living on the reserve, they (Indian students) would already have been subjected to much institutionalized discrimination without being immediately and directly aware of it. But moving to an integrated school means daily exposure to direct discrimination. Their self concepts can be seriously and permanently distorted. 11

This general theme is reiterated by Kenneth B. Clark:

As minority-group children learn the inferior status to which they are assigned and observe that they are usually segregated and isolated from the more privileged members of their society, they react with deep feelings of inferiority and with a sense of personal humiliation. Many of them become confused about their own personal worth. Like all other human beings, they require a sense of personal dignity and social support for positive self-esteem. Almost nowhere in the larger society, however, do they find their own dignity as human beings respected or protected. Under these conditions, minority-group children develop conflicts with regard to their feelings about themselves and about the values of the group with which they are identified....

Minority-group children of all social and economic classes often react to their group conflicts by the adoption of a generally defeatist attitude and a lowering of personal ambition. 12

Biased presentation of the Indian in texts "does not make an Indian feel pride"¹³ and again there is an attack on the positive self-concept. Clark notes that it might be "necessary to select or devise materials which would raise the self-esteem of these children...."¹⁴ Coupled

with texts, language deprivation plays a key role in the child's perception of self. Knowlton writes of the Spanish-American experience; but, the traumatic experience described is common to other minority groups, including Indian Peoples:

Now to return to the emotional problems of the Spanish-speaking child fighting for survival in an English-speaking school system. As Spanish is not used in the school, and as he is often punished for speaking Spanish during school hours, the Spanish-speaking school child comes to regard it as an inferior language to English. He also feels that he is inferior to English-speaking children and that his family and his culture are inferior to theirs. This deeply rooted feeling of inferiority may often paralyze his intellectual and cultural potentialities. 15

This negative self-concept usually ensures that the Indian child will perform poorly academically, for "the learner's ability to use his power to learn is determined by his concept of self, his perception of the way others view him and his perception of the world and of his own goals, purposes, and values."¹⁶

Education has been used, consciously or unconsciously, as a tool of oppression designed to create a mind-set that would not allow the Indian Peoples to question or take responsibility for their own affairs. Most definitely education has not been a liberating tool;

education has not given the skills necessary to compete economically, has not given the value system that would increase health standards, has not given the political awareness that would lead to political activism, and has not given the positive self-concept that would allow for any of these processes to be effective. Structural colonialism has forced dependency on the Indian Peoples; education has been a tool of cultural colonialism, either legitimizing the dependency through subtle racism and the self-fulfilling prophecy or in a negative manner by not equipping the Indian Peoples to escape from the situation.

The DIAND is the government of the Indian Peoples handling all functions of a true government. Only in the seventies has the "quasi-colonial relationship"¹⁷ between DIAND and Indian Peoples begun to give way. The 1950's and 1960's saw little change in the relations; although there were attempts to reconstruct the political reality, the "efforts did not procure the kind of reaction and/or co-operation to successfully implement Branch policy."¹⁸ With the 1969 White Paper on Indian Affairs, Jean Chretien, then Minister of Indian Affairs, was able to change departmental direction. While the

White Paper recommendations were never implemented, due largely to Indian organizational responses,¹⁹ its directions were to be heeded. Funds were to be made available for Indian economic development, band autonomy was to be encouraged, Indian organizations were to be consulted and their recommendations were to carry weight; in effect the DIAND and its responses were to be gradually eliminated.

For the first time, DIAND officials were to admit that legislation governing the Indian Peoples "institutionalized a system of apartheid and oppression."²⁰ With that realization, the DIAND moved towards allowing the Indian Peoples more control over their own affairs. New economic progress such as the Indian Economic Development Fund were designed to offer the necessary aid for bands to develop internal development programs. New educational policy allowed for innovations designed to better the child's self-concept; central to the policy was a concept that was to not only improve self-image but which was to encourage band autonomy; the concept was local control.

Local control has proven successful in bettering self-concept, in involving the community, in increasing

student attendance, in making education relevant to the child's society, and in fostering greater academic success. This study indicates that students within local control institutions exhibit a greater sense of independence, political efficacy and modernity. These are the characteristics that allow for change, that can allow the Indian Peoples to develop a political consciousness that will ultimately create an elite who will demand control over, or input into, all Indian affairs. Local control is crucial in that it can encourage a positive self-concept and allow for the -psychological traits necessary for development on an equitable basis with the general populace.

Obviously, local control, and education are not the sole factors in development. One could debate at length whether education, health, political philosophy or some such areas were the crucial factors in determining developmental success. But, such debate is moot; there is no doubt all factors play a role. However, education is the avenue that provides the skills and the attitudes that can be directly conducive to development. One must acknowledge that Cuba and Jamaica, suffering historically from underdevelopment, have

utilized education in their struggle for national development. Within Cuba education has been able to play a more positive role simply because the educational strategy pursued has redefined the needs of the country and then made schooling consistent with these needs. Cuba has developed an independent educative philosophy so that the system can readily adapt to new pressures or directions. This is the thrust of local control in Canada. Jamaica has failed to break free from the colonial style of education; therefore, the system has been slow to provide the trained manpower able to contribute substantially to development.

While realistically, Canadian Indians have very little possibility of turning towards socialism and the positive attributes that can bring in terms of health, housing, and employment, Cuban educational philosophy can suggest possible directions that will aid education, and ultimately reserve development. Education should have a political orientation so that the political reality of the social dynamics can be understood and political manoeuvring can lead to increased autonomy and control of band affairs. To facilitate political awareness and technical expertise on a general level,

mass literacy campaigns such as those in Cuba are vital. The Cuban method of tying educational theory to practical labour is also necessary, not only to give skills that are useful within the economic setting of the reserve but also to eliminate class conflict between educated and uneducated. Education can contribute to development and has demonstrated its ability to help ease several of the characteristics of underdevelopment.

It is naive to believe that colonialism will simply disappear and that development will be the spontaneous result of local control. Realistically, to achieve change, Indian leaders must work through the vehicle most convenient and that is education. If the reserves within Manitoba hope to become autonomous and develop, the leaders must realize that the first obstacle that must be overcome is the defeatist attitude of dependency. This society utilizes education as a tool to inculcate desired values and socialize the child; if education has been used in the past to instill negative psychological traits, it must now be used to foster a positive feeling for change. Local control can do much to instill the values and provide the tools; what the Indian Peoples do with these means will determine their future.

Footnotes

1. E.P. Patterson, The Canadian Indian: A History Since 1500 (Don Mills: Collier Macmillan Canada, 1972).
2. J.S. Frideres, Canada's Indians: Contemporary Conflicts (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall of Canada Ltd., 1974).
3. H. Adams, Prison of Grass (Toronto: General Publishing, 1975).
4. J.S. Frideres, Canada's Indians: Contemporary Conflicts, p. 53. One can observe a slight decrease in the numbers during the 1970's. 15,126 Manitoban Indians were assisted by the Department in 1972-73. Perspective Canada (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 1974), p. 252. In 1973-74, this number dropped to 14,763. Perspective Canada II (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 1977), p. 291. This could perhaps demonstrate the new direction of Indian Affairs in this decade.
5. While dysfunctional from the point of view of Indian development, in terms of internal colonialism, the schools have been very functional. Schooling has created dependency, minimized resistance to land occupation, legitimized a dominant-subordinate relationship, and prevented the emergence of leaders who could instill political consciousness and further Reserve development.
6. J.S. Frideres, Canada's Indians: Contemporary Conflicts, p. 33.
7. Ibid., p. 35.
8. Ibid.
9. K. Yamamoto, ed., The Child and his Image (Dallas: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1972), p. 190.
10. H.W. Bernard, Child Development and Learning (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1973), p. 190.
11. J.S. Frideres, Canada's Indians: Contemporary Conflicts, p. 35.

12. K.B. Clark, "Educational Stimulation of Racially Disadvantaged Children", in H.F. Clarizio et al., ed., Contemporary Issues in Educational Psychology (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1970), p. 666.
13. V. Kirkness, "In Pursuit of Honour and Justice", in B. Sealey and V. Kirkness, ed., Indians Without Tipis (Winnipeg; William Clare Ltd., 1973), p. 207.
14. K.B. Clark, "Educational Stimulation of Racially Disadvantaged Children", p. 667.
15. C.S. Knowlton, "Bilingualism: A Problem or An Asset", a speech prepared for Staff and Faculty of Anthony School Division, Anthony, New Mexico, December 8, 1965, p. 8.
16. M.S. Snyder, "The Developing Self: Nurturance in School", in K. Yamamoto, ed., The Child and his Image, p. 55. See also Yamamoto's Chapter 1 for a more complete discussion of the creation of a negative self-concept.
17. A.D. Doerr, "Indian Policy", in G.B. Doern and V.S. Wilson, ed., Issues in Canadian Public Policy (Canada: Macmillan of Canada, 1974), p. 37.
18. Ibid., p. 38.
19. See for example the response by the Indian Chiefs in Alberta, Citizens Plus, A Presentation by the Indian Chiefs of Alberta to Right Honourable P.E. Trudeau, Prime Minister and the Government of Canada, June, 1970.
20. A.D. Doerr, "Indian Policy", p. 40.

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APPENDIX I

No. 1

THE ROYAL PROCLAMATION

October 7, 1763

BY THE KING, A PROCLAMATION
GEORGE R.

Whereas We have taken into Our Royal Consideration the extensive and valuable Acquisitions in America, secured to our Crown by the late Definitive Treaty of Peace, concluded at Paris, the 10th Day of February last; and being desirous that all Our loving Subjects, as well of our Kingdom as of our Colonies in America, may avail themselves with all convenient Speed, of the great Benefits and Advantages which must accrue therefrom to their Commerce, Manufactures, and Navigation, We have thought fit, with the Advice of our Privy Council, to issue this our Royal Proclamation, hereby to publish and declare to all our loving Subjects, that we have, with the Advice of our Said Privy Council, granted our Letters Patent, under our Great Seal of Great Britain, to erect, within the Countries and Islands ceded and confirmed to Us by the said Treaty, Four distinct and separate Governments, styled and called by the names of Quebec, East Florida, West Florida and Grenada, and limited and bounded as follows, viz.

First—The Government of Quebec bounded on the Labrador Coast by the River St. John, and from thence by a Line drawn from the Head of that River through the Lake St. John, to the South end of the Lake Nipissim; from whence the said Line, crossing the River St. Lawrence, and the Lake Champlain, in 45. Degrees of North Latitude, passes along the High Lands which divide the Rivers that empty themselves into the said River St. Lawrence from those which fall into the Sea;

No 1

PROCLAMATION ROYALE

7 octobre 1763

PROCLAMATION PAR LE ROI
GEORGE R.

Attendu que Nous avons accordé Notre considération royale aux riches et considérables acquisitions d'Amérique assurées à Notre couronne par le dernier traité de paix définitif, conclu à Paris, le 10 février dernier et désirant faire bénéficier avec tout l'empressement désirable Nos sujets bien-aimés, aussi bien ceux du royaume que ceux de Nos colonies en Amérique, des grands profits et avantages qu'ils peuvent en retirer pour le commerce, les manufactures et la navigation, Nous avons cru opportun, de l'avis de Notre Conseil privé, de publier Notre présente proclamation royale pour annoncer et déclarer à tous Nos sujets bien-aimés que Nous avons, de l'avis de Notredit Conseil privé, par Nos lettres patentes sous le grand sceau de la Grande-Bretagne, établi dans les contrées et les îles qui Nous ont été cédées et assurées par ledit traité, quatre gouvernements séparés et distincts, savoir: ceux de Québec, de la Floride Orientale, de la Floride Occidentale et de Grenade, dont les bornes sont données ci-après.

1^e.—Le gouvernement de Québec, sera borné sur la côte du Labrador par la rivière Saint-Jean et de là par une ligne s'étendant de la source de cette rivière à travers le lac Saint-Jean jusqu'à l'extrémité sud du lac Nipissim, traversant de ce dernier endroit, le fleuve Saint-Laurent et le lac Champlain par 45 degrés de latitude nord, pour longer les terres hautes qui séparent les rivières qui se déversent dans ledit fleuve Saint-Laurent de celles qui se jettent dans la mer, s'étendre ensuite le long de la côte nord de la baie de

and also along the North Coast of the Baye des Chaleurs, and the Coast of the Gulph of St. Lawrence to Cape Rosieres, and from thence crossing the Mouth of the River St. Lawrence by the West End of the Island of Anticosti, terminates at the aforesaid River of St. John.

Secondly—The Government of East Florida, bounded to the Westward by the Gulph of Mexico and the Apalachicola River; to the Northward by a Line drawn from that part of the said River where the Chatahouchee and Flint Rivers meet, to the source of St. Mary's River, and by the course of the said River to the Atlantic Ocean; and to the Eastward and Southward by the Atlantic Ocean and the Gulph of Florida, including all Islands within Six Leagues of the Sea Coast.

Thirdly—The Government of West Florida, bounded to the Southward by the Gulph of Mexico, including all Islands within Six Leagues of the Coast, from the River Apalachicola to Lake Pontchartrain; to the Westward by the said Lake, the Lake Maurepas, and the River Mississippi; to the Northward by a Line drawn due East from that part of the River Mississippi which lies in 31 Degrees North Latitude, to the River Apalachicola or Chatahouchee; and to the Eastward by the said River.

Fourthly—The Government of Grenada, comprehending the Island of that name, together with the Grenadines, and the Islands of Dominico, St. Vincent's and Tobago. And to the end that the open and free Fishery of our Subjects may be extended to and carried on upon the Coast of Labrador, and the adjacent Islands, We have thought fit, with the advice of our said Privy Council to put all that Coast, from the River St. John's to Hudson's Streights, together with the Islands of Anticosti and Madelaine, and all other smaller Islands lying upon the said Coast, under the care and Inspection of our Governor of Newfoundland.

We have also, with the advice of our Privy Council, thought fit to annex the Islands of St. John's and Cape Breton, or Isle Royale, with the lesser Islands adjacent thereto, to our Government of Nova Scotia.

We have also, with the advice of our Privy Council aforesaid, annexed to our Province of Georgia all the Lands lying between the Rivers Alatomaha and St. Mary's.

Chaleurs et de la côte du golfe Saint-Laurent jusqu'au cap Rozière, puis traverser de là l'embouchure du fleuve Saint-Laurent en passant par l'extrémité ouest de l'île d'Anticosti et se terminer ensuite à ladite rivière Saint-Jean.

2e.—Le gouvernement de la Floride Orientale sera borné à l'ouest par le golfe du Mexique et la rivière Apalachicola; au nord, par une ligne s'étendant de l'endroit de cette rivière où se rencontrent les rivières Chatahouchee et Flint, jusqu'à la source de la rivière Sainte-Marie, et par le cours de cette dernière jusqu'à l'océan; au sud et à l'est, par le golfe de la Floride et l'océan Atlantique, y compris toutes les îles situées en deçà de six lieues de la côte.

3e.—Le gouvernement de la Floride Occidentale sera borné au sud par le golfe du Mexique y compris toutes les îles situées en deçà de six lieues de la côte, entre la rivière Apalachicola et le lac Pontchartrain; à l'ouest, par le lac Pontchartrain, le lac Mauripas et la rivière Mississippi; au nord, par une ligne s'étendant vers l'est, d'un endroit de la rivière Mississippi situé à 31 degrés de latitude nord, jusqu'à la rivière Apalachicola, ou Chatahouchee et à l'est de ladite rivière.

4e.—Le gouvernement de Grenade comprenant l'île de ce nom avec les Grenadines et les îles Dominique, Saint-Vincent et Tabago. Et afin d'étendre jusqu'à la côte du Labrador et aux îles adjacentes, la pêche ouverte et libre accordée à Nos sujets et d'en favoriser le développement dans ces endroits, Nous avons cru opportun, de l'avis de Notre Conseil privé, de placer toute cette côte depuis la rivière Saint-Jean jusqu'au détroit d'Hudson ainsi que les îles d'Anticosti et Madelaine et toutes les autres petites îles disséminées le long de ladite côte, sous le contrôle et l'inspection de notre gouverneur de Terre-Neuve.

Nous avons aussi, de l'avis de Notre Conseil privé, cru opportun d'annexer l'île Saint-Jean et l'île du Cap-Breton ou île Royale, ainsi que les îles de moindre dimension situées dans leurs environs, au gouvernement de la Nouvelle-Écosse.

Nous avons également, de l'avis de Notre Conseil privé, annexé à Notre province de Georgie, toutes les terres situées entre les rivières Alatomaha et Sainte-Marie.

Et attendu qu'il est à propos de faire connaître à Nos sujets Notre sollicitude

And whereas it will greatly contribute to the speedy settling of our said new Governments, that our loving Subjects should be informed of our Paternal care, for the security of the Liberties and Properties of those who are and shall become Inhabitants thereof, We have thought fit to publish and declare, by this Our Proclamation, that We have, in the Letters Patent under our Great Seal of Great Britain, by which the said Governments are constituted, given express Power and Direction to our Governors of our Said Colonies respectively, that so soon as the state and circumstances of the said Colonies will admit thereof, they shall, with the Advice and Consent of the Members of our Council, summon and call General Assemblies within the said Governments respectively, in such Manner and Form as is used and directed in those Colonies and Provinces in America which are under our immediate Government; And We have also given Power to the said Governors, with the consent of our Said Councils, and the Representatives of the People so to be summoned as aforesaid, to make, constitute, and ordain Laws, Statutes, and Ordinances for the Public Peace, Welfare, and good Government of our said Colonies, and of the People and Inhabitants thereof, as near as may be agreeable to the Laws of England, and under such Regulations and Restrictions as are used in other Colonies; and in the mean Time, and until such Assemblies can be called as aforesaid, all Persons Inhabiting in or resorting to our Said Colonies may confide in our Royal Protection for the Enjoyment of the Benefit of the Laws of our Realm of England; for which Purpose We have given Power under our Great Seal to the Governors of our said Colonies respectively to erect and constitute, with the Advice of our said Councils respectively, Courts of Judicature and public Justice within our Said Colonies for hearing and determining all Causes, as well Criminal as Civil, according to Law and Equity, and as near as may be agreeable to the Laws of England, with Liberty to all Persons who may think themselves aggrieved by the Sentences of such Courts, in all Civil Cases, to appeal, under the usual Limitations and Restrictions, to Us in our Privy Council.

We have also thought fit, with the advice of our Privy Council as aforesaid, to give unto the Governors and Councils of our said

paternelle à l'égard des libertés et des propriétés de ceux qui habitent comme de ceux qui habiteront ces nouveaux gouvernements, afin que des établissements s'y forment rapidement, Nous avons cru opportun de publier et de déclarer par Notre présente proclamation, que nous avons par les lettres patentes revêtues de notre grand sceau de la Grande-Bretagne, en vertu desquelles lesdits gouvernements sont constitués, donné le pouvoir et l'autorité aux gouverneurs de nos colonies respectives, d'ordonner et de convoquer, de l'avis et du consentement de notre Conseil dans leurs gouvernements respectifs, dès que l'état et les conditions des colonies le permettront, des assemblées générales de la manière prescrite et suivie dans les colonies et les provinces d'Amérique placées sous notre gouvernement immédiat; que nous avons aussi accordé auxdits gouverneurs le pouvoir de faire, avec le consentement de nosdits conseils et des représentants du peuple qui devront être convoqués tel que susmentionné, de décréter et de sanctionner des lois, des statuts et des ordonnances pour assurer la paix publique, le bon ordre ainsi que le bon gouvernement desdites colonies, de leurs populations et de leurs habitants, conformément autant que possible aux lois d'Angleterre et aux règlements et restrictions en usage dans les autres colonies. Dans l'intervalle et jusqu'à ce que ces assemblées puissent être convoquées, tous ceux qui habitent ou qui iront habiter nosdites colonies peuvent se confier en Notre protection royale et compter Nos efforts pour leur assurer les bienfaits des lois de Notre royaume d'Angleterre; à cette fin Nous avons donné aux gouverneurs de Nos colonies sous Notre grand sceau, le pouvoir de créer et d'établir, de l'avis de Nosdits conseils, des tribunaux civils et des cours de justice publique dans Nosdites colonies pour entendre et juger toutes les causes aussi bien criminelles que civiles, suivant la loi et l'équité, conformément autant que possible aux lois anglaises; cependant, toute personne ayant raison de croire qu'elle a été lésée en matière civile par suite des jugements rendus par lesdites cours, aura la liberté d'en appeler à Nous siégeant en Notre Conseil privé conformément aux délais et aux restrictions prescrits en pareil cas.

Nous avons également jugé opportun, de l'avis de Notredit Conseil privé, d'accorder aux gouverneurs et aux conseils de Nos trois nouvelles colonies sur le continent, le pouvoir

Three new Colonies, upon the Continent full Power and Authority to settle and agree with the Inhabitants of our said new Colonies or with any other Persons who shall resort thereto, for such Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments, as are now or hereafter shall be in our Power to dispose of; and them to grant to any such Person or Persons upon such Terms, and under such moderate Quit-Rents, Services and Acknowledgments, as have been appointed and settled in our other Colonies, and under such other Conditions as shall appear to us to be necessary and expedient for the Advantage of the Grantees, and the Improvement and settlement of our said Colonies.

And Whereas, We are desirous, upon all occasions, to testify our Royal Sense and Approbation of the Conduct and bravery of the Officers and Soldiers of our Armies, and to reward the same, We do hereby command and empower our Governors of our said Three new Colonies, and all other our Governors of our several Provinces on the Continent of North America, to grant without Fee or Reward, to such reduced Officers as have served in North America during the late War, and to such Private Soldiers as have been or shall be disbanded in America, and are actually residing there, and shall personally apply for the same, the following Quantities of Lands, subject, at the Expiration of Ten Years, to the same Quit-Rents as other Lands are subject to in the Province within which they are granted, as also subject to the same Conditions of Cultivation and Improvement; viz.

To every Person having the Rank of a Field Officer—5,000 Acres.

To every Captain—3,000 Acres.

To every Subaltern or Staff Officer,—2,000 Acres.

To every Non-Commission Officer,—200 Acres.

To every Private Man—50 Acres.

We do likewise authorize and require the Governors and Commanders in Chief of all our said Colonies upon the Continent of North America to grant the like Quantities of Land, and upon the same conditions, to such reduced Officers of our Navy of like Rank as served on board our Ships of War in North America at the times of the Reduction of Louisbourg and Quebec in the late War, and

et l'autorité de s'entendre et de conclure des arrangements avec les habitants de Nosdites nouvelles colonies et tous ceux qui iront s'y établir, au sujet des terres des habitations et de toute propriété dont Nous pourrions hériter et qu'il est ou sera en Notre pouvoir de disposer, et de leur en faire la concession, conformément aux termes, aux redevances, aux corvées et aux tributs modérés établis et requis dans les autres colonies, ainsi qu'aux autres conditions qu'il Nous paraîtra nécessaire et expédient d'imposer pour l'avantage des acquéreurs et le progrès et l'établissement de Nosdites colonies.

Attendu que Nous désirons reconnaître et louer en toute occasion, la brave conduite des officiers et des soldats de Nos armées et leur décerner des récompenses, Nous enjoignons aux gouverneurs de Nosdites colonies et à tous les gouverneurs de nos diverses provinces sur le continent de l'Amérique du Nord et Nous leur accordons le pouvoir de concéder gratuitement aux officiers réformés qui ont servi dans l'Amérique du Nord pendant la dernière guerre et aux soldats qui ont été ou seront licenciés en Amérique, lesquels résident actuellement dans ce pays et qui en feront personnellement la demande, les quantités de terre ci-après pour lesquelles une redevance égale à celle payée pour des terres situées dans la même province ne sera exigible qu'à l'expiration de dix années; lesquelles terres seront en outre sujettes aux mêmes conditions de culture et d'amélioration que les autres dans la même province:

A tous ceux qui ont obtenu le grade d'officier supérieur, 5000 acres.

A chaque capitaine, 3000 acres.

A chaque officier subalterne ou d'état major, 2000 acres.

A chaque sous-officier, 200 acres.

A chaque soldat, 50 acres.

Nous enjoignons aux gouverneurs et aux commandants en chef de toutes Nos colonies sur le continent de l'Amérique du Nord, et Nous les autorisons de concéder aux mêmes conditions la même quantité de terre aux officiers réformés de Notre marine, d'un rang équivalent, qui ont servi sur Nos vaisseaux de guerre dans l'Amérique du Nord lors de la réduction de Louisbourg et de Québec, pendant la dernière guerre, et qui s'adresseront personnellement à Nos gouverneurs pour obtenir des concessions.

who shall personally apply to our respective Governors for such Grants.

And whereas it is just and reasonable, and essential to our Interest, and the Security of our Colonies, that the several Nations or Tribes of Indians with whom We are connected, and who live under our Protection, should not be molested or disturbed in the Possession of such Parts of Our Dominions and Territories as, not having been ceded to or purchased by Us, are reserved to them, or any of them, as their Hunting Grounds.—We do therefore, with the Advice of our Privy Council, declare it to be our Royal Will and Pleasure, that no Governor or Commander in Chief in any of our Colonies of Quebec, East Florida, or West Florida, do presume, upon any Pretence whatever, to grant Warrants of Survey, or pass any Patents for Lands beyond the Bounds of their respective Governments, as described in their Commissions; as also that no Governor or Commander in Chief in any of our other Colonies or Plantations in America do presume for the present, and until our further Pleasure be known, to grant Warrants of Survey, or pass Patents for any Lands beyond the Heads or Sources of any of the Rivers which fall into the Atlantic Ocean from the West and North West, or upon any Lands whatever, which, not having been ceded to or purchased by Us as aforesaid, are reserved to the said Indians, or any of them.

And We do further declare it to be Our Royal Will and Pleasure, for the present as aforesaid, to reserve under our Sovereignty, Protection, and Dominion, for the use of the said Indians, all the Lands and Territories not included within the Limits of Our said Three new Governments, or within the Limits of the Territory granted to the Hudson's Bay Company, as also all the Lands and Territories lying to the Westward of the Sources of the Rivers which fall into the Sea from the West and North West as aforesaid.

And We do hereby strictly forbid, on Pain of our Displeasure, all our loving Subjects from making any Purchases or Settlements whatever, or taking Possession of any of the Lands above reserved, without our especial leave and Licence for that Purpose first obtained.

And, We do further strictly enjoin and require all Persons whatever who have either wilfully or inadvertently seated themselves

Attendu qu'il est juste, raisonnable et essentiel pour Notre intérêt et la sécurité de Nos colonies de prendre des mesures pour assurer aux nations ou tribus sauvages qui sont en relations avec Nous et qui vivent sous Notre protection, la possession entière et paisible des parties de Nos possessions et territoires qui ont été ni concédées ni achetées et ont été réservées pour ces tribus ou quelques-unes d'entre elles comme territoires de chasse, Nous déclarons par conséquent de l'avis de Notre Conseil privé, que c'est Notre volonté et Notre plaisir et nous enjoignons à tout gouverneur et à tout commandant en chef de Nos colonies de Québec, de la Floride Orientale et de la Floride Occidentale, de n'accorder sous aucun prétexte des permis d'arpentage ni aucun titre de propriété sur les terres situées au-delà des limites de leur gouvernement respectif, conformément à la délimitation contenue dans leur commission. Nous enjoignons pour la même raison à tout gouverneur et à tout commandant en chef de toutes Nos autres colonies ou de Nos autres plantations en Amérique, de n'accorder présentement et jusqu'à ce que Nous ayons fait connaître Nos intentions futures, aucun permis d'arpentage ni aucun titre de propriété sur les terres situées au-delà de la tête ou source de toutes les rivières qui vont de l'ouest et du nord-ouest se jeter dans l'océan Atlantique ni sur celles qui ont été ni cédées ni achetées par Nous, tel que susmentionné, et ont été réservées pour les tribus sauvages susdites ou quelques-unes d'entre elles.

Nous déclarons de plus que c'est Notre plaisir royal ainsi que Notre volonté de réserver pour le présent, sous Notre souveraineté, Notre protection et Notre autorité, pour l'usage desdits sauvages, toutes les terres et tous les territoires non compris dans les limites de Nos trois gouvernements ni dans les limites du territoire concédé à la Compagnie de la baie d'Hudson, ainsi que toutes les terres et tous les territoires situés à l'ouest des sources des rivières qui de l'ouest et du nord-ouest vont se jeter dans la mer.

Nous défendons aussi strictement par la présente à tous Nos sujets, sous peine de s'attirer Notre déplaisir, d'acheter ou posséder aucune terre ci-dessus réservée, ou d'y former aucun établissement, sans avoir au préalable obtenu Notre permission spéciale et une licence à ce sujet.

Proprietaries, to grant such Licences without Fee or Reward, taking especial Care to insert therein a Condition, that such Licence shall be void, and the Security forfeited in case the Person to whom the same is granted shall refuse or neglect to observe such Regulations as We shall think proper to prescribe as aforesaid.

And we do further expressly enjoin and require all Officers whatever, as well Military as those Employed in the Management and Direction of Indian Affairs, within the Territories reserved as aforesaid for the use of the said Indians, to seize and apprehend all Persons whatever, who standing charged with Treason, Misprisions of Treason, Murders, or other Felonies or Misdemeanors, shall fly from Justice and take Refuge in the said Territory, and to send them under a proper guard to the Colony where the Crime was committed of which they stand accused, in order to take their Trial for the same.

Given at our Court at St. James's the 7th Day of October 1763, in the Third Year of our Reign.

Nos colonies respectivement, aussi bien ceux qui relèvent de Notre autorité immédiate que ceux qui relèvent de l'autorité et de la direction des propriétaires, d'accorder ces licences gratuitement sans omettre d'y insérer une condition par laquelle toute licence sera déclarée nulle et la protection qu'elle conférera nlevée, si le porteur refuse ou néglige d'observer les règlements que Nous croirons à propos de prescrire. Et de plus Nous ordonnons et enjoignons à tous les officiers militaires et à ceux chargés de l'administration et de la direction des affaires des sauvages, dans les limites des territoires réservés à l'usage desdits sauvages, de saisir et d'arrêter tous ceux sur qui pèsera une accusation de trahison, de non-révélation d'attentat, de meurtre, de félonie ou de délits de tout genre et qui, pour échapper aux atteintes de la justice, auront cherché un refuge dans lesdits territoires, et de les renvoyer sous bonne escorte dans la colonie où le crime dont ils seront accusés aura été commis et pour lequel ils devront subir leur procès.

Donnée à Notre cour, à Saint-James le septième jour d'octobre mil sept cent soixante trois, la troisième année de Notre règne.

GOD SAVE THE KING

DIEU SAUVE LE ROI

Source: Revised Statutes of Canada, 1970, APPENDICES,
p. 123-129.

APPENDIX IIIa

No. 306

Department of Indian Affairs.

BLOOD AGENCY;
MACLEOD, ALTA.



Sweetgrass & wife

No.

of *Blood*

Band

is permitted to be absent from his Reserve for *seven days*

days from date hereof. Business *to South Peigan Reserve to receive*

a boy getting stowed and is *not* permitted to carry a gun.

J. P. S.
Assistant Comm.

R. W. Wilson
47

Indian Agent.

Source: Blood Agency Papers, File 43, Glenbow - Alberta Institute. See Appendix IIIb for agent utilization of pass and agent frame of mind.

APPENDIX IIIb

Blackfoot Indian Agency
Glenbow,
Alta.

12th July 1900.

Dear Sir,

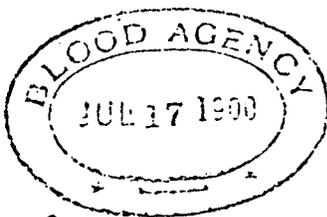
W. H. C.

I understand several of your Indians have gone to your reserve on a visit, as they have work to do here & are not wanted by you I'd be glad if you would hurry them home. none of them have passes. It would be a good thing if they were "run in" for a little time. it might prevent them from leaving here a second time without leave.

Yours faithfully,

F. H. S. Laess

Clerk & acting Agent.



Jas. Wilson Esquire

Blood Reserve.

W. H. C.

APPENDIX IV

Letter to Native People

March 17, 1975

Medical Services Branch
6th floor, Thunder Bay Hydro Building
34 North Cumberland Street
Thunder Bay, Ontario P7A 6L3

Dear -----,

As agreed with your chief and councillors, I am forwarding the results of the blood test for mercury that was taken in January and February 1975.

Your level of mercury was found to be _____ parts per billion. From this measurement and our conversations with both you and other people in your band, there is no suggestion that mercury is affecting your health or the health of anyone else in the band who gave us a blood sample.

Most of the band members have mercury levels when are higher than the people living in Southern Ontario who do not eat very much fish, but this is to be expected, and the mercury level does vary from person to person without necessarily having any effect on their health. We consider your mercury level to be in the range of measurements which would not affect your health.

We realize that this matter of mercury in the fish is a difficult one to understand and the experts are still learning more about mercury and its effects, but it is also important to remember that to keep healthy it is necessary to eat balanced meals which contain some meat or fish as well as starchy foods such as bread, and fats such as margarine or butter.

To keep your mercury level at the same number or reduce it, three steps can be taken: (1) do not eat more fish from the English River than you do at present; (2) always select the smaller fish, and remember that whitefish contain less mercury than pike or pickerel, (3) take fish from above the falls at Maynard Lake, or from the lakes and rivers away from the English River, because the fish in these waters are much lower in mercury.

If you have any questions about mercury, I suggest that you send them either to Dr. G. J. Stopps, Community Health Standards Division, 15 Overlea Blvd., 5th floor, Toronto, Ontario, or to myself at the above address.

We should like to thank you for your help in measuring the mercury levels, and plan, if your chief and councillors agree, to return in the near future to measure mercury levels again to check whether they have remained the same or have shown any change.

Yours sincerely,

/s/

Peter J. Connop
Zone Director
Thunder Bay Zone

Ministry of
Health

416/965-24.1

Hepburn Block
Queen's Park
Toronto Ontario
M7A 1R3

Letter to Whites

June 8, 1973

Dear Householder:

The government of Ontario has been collecting and analyzing fish for mercury for more than three years. These analyses show that fish from the following areas have high levels of mercury in their flesh and may be harmful to health if eaten. Women who are, or may be, pregnant should be particularly careful not to eat fish from these waters because high levels of mercury may damage the unborn child:

The Wabigoon River from the dam in the Town of Dryden to the junction with the English River;

The English River from below the falls on Tide Lake westward to the Winnipeg River;

The Winnipeg River from Swan Lake westward to the Manitoba boundary.

The Ministry of Health, therefore, recommends that you do NOT eat fish from these waters.

This recommendation is made because the mercury levels in all of the types of fish tested in waters above have been found to be 10 to 30 times the highest level allowed in fish sold as food.

The high amounts of mercury found in the fish in the Wabigoon and lower English River may be due to pollution, but the industrial mercury discharges to the waterways have been drastically reduced and now meet the strict regulations set out by the Ontario Ministry of the Environment.

Mercury discharged to the water in the past is expected to remain in the bottom mud of the rivers and lakes and give rise to high levels of mercury in the fish for many years to come. Because the mercury is in the mud and makes its way into the larger fish such as pike and pickerel through their food, the mercury levels in the water itself have nowhere been found to be above the safety level and, therefore, nowhere is the water unfit to drink because of its mercury content.

Fish in other lakes and rivers in Northwestern Ontario contain small amounts of mercury as they do everywhere in the world, but in general these levels are below the limit set for food and can safely be eaten. In a few lakes, the larger sizes of fish such as pike and pickerel may contain somewhat more than the limit set for mercury and it would be unwise to eat such fish on a regular basis.

Because of the very large number of lakes in Ontario the mercury levels in fish from all such lakes have not been tested but where testing has been carried out the results are available through the local offices of the Ministry of Natural Resources.

Yours sincerely,
R.T. Potter, M.D.
Minister of Health

Institutional Racism

APPENDIX V

INDIVIDUALS ARRESTED IN 1969 IN CITY OF WINNIPEG
 ETHNIC ORIGIN AND ARREST RECORD CHART 4A

<u>ETHNIC ORIGIN</u>	Unknown	No Previous Arrest	Prior Arrest	Convicted of Indictable Offense	Total No.	Percentage
Scandinavian	42	75	46	29	192	3.5
Indian	249	422	323	256	1250	22.8
English	202	257	121	126	712	13.
Metis	84	45	58	56	243	4.4
Hebrew	4	16	9	2	31	.6
French	208	227	136	172	743	13.6
Welsh	8	19	6	6	39	.7
German	119	119	51	51	340	6.2
Irish	107	153	70	95	425	7.8
Scottish	123	150	91	87	451	8.2
Canadian	4	6	1	3	14	.3
American	6	8	6	-	20	.4
Yugoslavian	5	20	12	5	42	.8
Ukrainian	146	120	91	111	468	8.6
Dutch	19	26	13	16	74	1.4
Polish	42	37	43	28	150	2.7
Hungarian	13	12	13	13	51	.9
Greek	1	6	2	3	12	.2
Czechoslovakian	5	15	4	5	29	.5
Latvian	-	2	-	1	3	.1
Portugese	6	3	-	2	11	.2
Russian	8	10	10	11	39	.7
Negro	12	8	6	6	32	.6
Italian	8	5	6	4	23	.4
Swiss	-	1	-	-	1	-
Polynesian	-	-	-	1	1	-
Roumanian	1	4	-	1	6	.1
Mulatto	2	-	-	1	3	.1
Corsican	1	-	-	-	1	-
Belgian	6	5	3	5	19	.3

APPENDIX V -- Continued.

<u>ETHNIC ORIGIN</u>	Unknown	No Previous Arrest	Prior Arrest	Convicted of Indictable Offense	Total No.	Percentage
Chinese	1	-	3	-	4	.1
Austrian	2	8	1	3	14	.3
Dom. Republic	1	-	-	-	1	-
Australian	3	1	-	-	4	.1
Persian	-	1	-	-	1	-
Spanish	-	1	1	1	3	.1
Turkey	-	1	-	-	1	-
Syrian	-	1	-	-	1	-
Cypriot	-	-	1	-	1	-
Japanese	1	1	-	-	2	-
East Indian	-	1	-	-	1	-
Bulgarian	-	-	-	1	1	-
Maltese	-	1	-	-	1	-
Lithuanian	-	1	-	-	1	-
Unknown	3	6	1	1	11	.2

5472

Source: I.V. Dubiński and S. Skelly, "Analysis of Arrests for the Year 1969 in the City of Winnipeg With Particular Reference to Arrests of Persons of Indian Descent", Winnipeg, September 1, 1970, p. 16.