

**Kahnawake Survival School: A Community
Based Case Study in Bicultural Education**

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ABSTRACT

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This case study examines education in a unique cultural setting. It investigates the organization of a secondary school at the Mohawk reserve of Kahnawake, Quebec. A thorough description of this community and the events leading up to the formation of the Kahnawake Survival School has been provided. Particular attention is given to the interaction between different groups of community members involved in educational decision making. Some dilemmas involved in approaching the organization of a new school and the development of a curriculum with a local focus determined primarily controlled by a group of native parents are illustrated. In particular, the impact of one group of community members, the local Schools Committee, in the management of local decisions on education is highlighted.

The methodology used in this study is participant observation. Field work was conducted in the community during a period of eighteen months between 1978-1979.

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Through my experiences with the Combined Schools' Committee of Kahnawake I have witnessed the building of a community school and the design of an approach to foster biculturalism through perseverance. Their high energy levels and dedication in the application of biculturalism theory to educational practice has had a significant impact on the entire community. I respect them for the lessons they have taught me.

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Table of Contents

	<u>Page</u>
Chapter One.	1
Introduction	1
Statement of the Problem	1
Theoretical Framework	3
Methodology	7
Some Technical Background	11
Chapter Two - Demography	14
History Development of the Community	14
Size, Location, and Terrain	19
Location of Public Buildings	20
Settlement Pattern	22
Population	23
Language	28
Economic Activity	33
Types of Schools	36
History of Education in Kahnawake to 1978	37
Chapter Three Mohawk Community School	44
Combined Schools Committee	44
Establishing the High School	50
A Model and Method Bicultural Education	55
The Model	58
The Method	62

- Needs Assessment	62
-Establishing a Curriculum Framework	86
-Planning and Production	97
-Dissemination and Implementation	105
-Management	133

Chapter Four Conclusion	142
-------------------------	-----

Appendix A	150
------------	-----

Appendix B	153
------------	-----

Appendix C	155
------------	-----

References	156
------------	-----

Chapter 1

Introduction

Statement of the Problem

The purpose of this study is to re-construct the events leading up to the establishment of the Kahnawake Survival School. A focus is directed toward the decisions made by Kahnawakes school's committee to adopt biculturalism into the new secondary school's program of studies. The method to achieve the intended educational goals is described thoroughly. As well, this study attempts to examine the relationship between human groups in the community and school, and the level of impact these groups had on the development of a new educational process. The conclusion summarizes some dilemmas associated with decisions made by the Combined Schools Committee on the application of a variation to biculturalism theory to educational practice.

In 1978 the Mohawk Indians of the Kahnawake reserve near Montreal decided to establish their own secondary school in the community. The impetus to establish the school came when the Quebec government refusal to exempt Mohawk students from obtaining certificates of eligibility for attending an English language secondary school in nearby Chateaugay. Yet, while the impetus to begin the school in early September of that year was an outcome of politics, the major influence for educational change came from a large proportion of community members who believed that Mohawk students were not learning particular cultural competencies necessary for the

survival of their culture. Attempts to design and implement a culturally relevant curriculum for Mohawk students within the context of the mainstream curriculum at Howard S. Billings secondary school had largely failed during a ten year period (1968-1978). Community members, through the efforts of the Combined Schools Committee, believed that the time had come to determine educational goals to meet their needs and eventually develop a series of educational experiences reflected in a curriculum appropriate for Mohawk youth. The new secondary school was intended to serve as a voice of the people for understanding and cooperation in education within the community. However, the decision to apply a variation of biculturalism theory to educational practice resulted in a fragmentation of support for the school among community members.

This study is about one native community's decision to change the pattern of education for its youth at the secondary level. It will focus on particular elements of the community that distinguish it from others, and the interaction of human groups involved in educative experiences at a local level. It will provide a description of a model and method for bicultural education employed in the new community school, and a review of some dilemmas encountered while approaching this effort to improve Kahnawake's educational system by the Combined School's Committee.

Theoretical Framework

There is considerable disagreement in much of the recent literature on Indian education as to the specific curricular approach that is most effective in the education of Indian students. The polemic consists of a culturally relevant curriculum - one in which Indian students learn about their own heritage within the context of the mainstream culture (Gill, et al, 1974, p. 103), and a culturally based curriculum in which the student's native culture becomes the starting point for learning (Bryde, 1968, p. 57). Numerous problems seem to be associated with the involvement of Indian students in a culturally relevant curriculum within the context of a mainstream curriculum. Havinghurst implies that Indian students become confused or alienated by the conflict between home values, language and traditions and those of the mainstream school (1957, p. 205-115), while Hobart suggests that this problem is compounded by unqualified native teachers, non-native teachers and administrators insensitive to Indian culture, few related materials, lack of support from the home, and racism within the student body (1969, p. 31).

In the case for a culturally based curriculum, Bryde believes that beyond the basic biological and human needs common to all human beings such as personal fulfillment, security and love, all other needs are learned or culturally induced. This type of curriculum, which teaches students the

norms and cultural needs initially in the context of the culture being educated rather than the dominant culture that is doing the educating, has received wide criticism. Reifel suggests that this model limits the Indian students' access to socio-economic opportunities in mainstream society and in a sense keeps them culturally isolated (1967).

While much of the pertinent literature will support the assumption that Indian students are culturally different from other mainstream culture students (King, 1967, MacKinley, 1970, Fuchs, 1970, Dumont and Wax, 1971), few sources support the idea of a culturally based curriculum for Indian students. Yet, after a review of the educational literature, I believe Margaret Gibson's analysis (1976) of some approaches to multicultural education, and more specifically a discussion on bi-cultural education, has practical application to the theoretical basis of this study. Gibson suggests that there are five existing approaches to the conceptualization of multi-cultural education. One of these approaches, bicultural education, has the purpose of producing learners who have competencies in and can operate successfully in two different cultures.

She states that the key element of bi-cultural education which distinguishes it from the other approaches of multicultural education is its concern with developing biculturalism. Gibson (1976, p. 13) believes that:

"...bi-cultural education is an outgrowth of minority groups' rejection of both majority enforced assimilation and of the melting pot ideal. Proponents assume that one's "native" culture (including language) ought to be maintained and

preserved and that the "mainstream" culture (if different than the native culture) ought to be acquired as an alternative or "second" culture. Further, supporters believe that students whose native culture is the mainstream culture will also profit from the acquisition of competencies in a second culture. Bi-cultural education programs are seen as the avenue for providing instruction in two cultures."

The biculturalism approach to education described by Gibson seems to lie somewhere between the notion of a culturally relevant curriculum and a culturally based curriculum in that it is opposed to both assimilation and fusion. Rather, it suggests that "acculturation can (and program proponents say should) result in biculturalism, thereby permitting dual participation in cultural systems."

Gibson (1976, p. 14) suggests that biculturalism can be addressed only as a general educational goal. The variation in the application of a biculturalism theory to educational practice is an important variable to consider since schools that support bicultural education programs do so for numerous reasons. For instance, to meet local goals or needs in education. Gibson's analysis of bicultural education was selected for this study's theoretical framework because it closely parallels the goals for education supported by the Mohawks at Kahnawake in their new high school. The main limitation which underlies, the application of Gibson's model to this study is identified in terms of the assumptions regarding target populations. Gibson suggests that bicultural education is a reciprocal process in which all students will benefit from the development of competencies in two cultures. At the Mohawk school, Mohawk students from the community are

the only ones allowed to attend the school (or other students of native ancestry). Therefore, while the new community school's model and method may display features from Gibson's description of bicultural education, this factor of an exclusive Mohawk population limits the sharing of competencies among students of different cultures.

The model and method for bicultural education supported by the Kahnawake secondary school is a variation of the bicultural education framework described by Margaret Gibson. This study will, however, attempt to use Gibson's analysis regarding assumptions to bicultural education values and strategies as a guide to some critical, analytical discussion at the end in light of the collected data.

Methodology

This study is a community study. John W. Best (1977, p. 127) explains that:

A community study is a thorough description and analysis of a group of people living together in a particular geographic location in a corporate way. The community study deals with such elements of the community as location, appearance, prevailing economic activity, historical development, mode of life, social structure, life value and patterns, the individuals or power groups who exert the dominant influences, and impact of the outside world. It also evaluates the social institutions within the community that meet the basic needs of health and protection, making a living, education, religious expression and recreation. Such studies are case studies with the community serving as the case under investigation. Communities that are chosen for study usually represent a typical pattern of social organization, size, type or geographic location."

This study examines the Kahnawake community today and more specifically analyzes a social institution established by the Mohawk to deal with the socialization of their young people.

Research studies in the area of multicultural education are extensive. However, there are a limited number of studies that deal with a native community's response to developing its own educational goals and strategies to meet those goals. Few studies examine the level of impact of the goals on the school and community and, some dilemmas associated with educational change.

This study is highly descriptive of events witnessed by this writer and employs sources from document research merely to provide background information or to describe previous or

prevailing conditions associated with the topics.

In order to conduct this study systematically, I employed a three step process throughout the duration of fieldwork which was completed over a period of eighteen months. This three step process consisted of (a) observation, (b) description, and (c) interpretation and analysis. During the initial months, from September 1978 until June 1979, a needs assessment was conducted within the community. Toward the end of this period a model for bicultural education was produced and strategies identified for the design and delivery of curricula. The remaining months were used to identify and monitor characteristics from the model and method for bicultural education that seemed to have an impact on the school or community.

The primary research method utilized throughout this study was participant observation. I have learned through experience with this study that the first step in the research process outlined earlier is indeed a skill that requires cultivation. George Willis (1981, p. 630-632) summarizes the complexity and function of observation as a research technique by suggesting:

"since no one person can perceive all the tangible characteristics of a situation, nor will any two people perceive precisely the same intangible qualities of the situation, observation is ultimately a carefully disciplined and selective process of attempting to encounter the "What is going on here?" of a specific situation"

This is the question I endeavored to address throughout the observation phase. I obtained information on a daily basis through direct observation, involvement in planning

and school committee meetings, teacher meetings and work groups, participation in teacher training, school newsletters, discussions with students and community members. I identified three members of the community, as key informants, who were active in education in the community and who I believed would be able to provide insight to the situation and qualities I had observed.

Primarily, information was gathered through informal discussions and observations. The natural setting remained throughout my fieldwork as I was viewed as an employee rather than a researcher. Recordings of observation's were completed the same day they were made, usually in the evening. The objective for the description of observation was to recreate as accurately as possible the most significant tangible social facts. This "writing down" of details heightened my understanding of a given situation.

The interpretation and analysis of my data came at the end. I have attempted to relate my analysis of the community schools' model and method to bicultural education with the theoretical principles of bicultural education outlined by Margaret Gibson. The conclusion addresses one specific question with regard to what is going on. How has the presence of the new school, its model and method for education, enhanced the community? Answering this question the way I have somehow reveals a part of my own value system which is important to consider since the Mohawks and I are culturally different.

Prior to the beginning of this research project I

informed the members of the Combined Schools Committee (the local school council) of the intent and purpose of the investigation. The committee believed that the results of the study may have a positive effect on the significance of native people controlling education at the community level. Yet, I was cautioned that there were certain subjects they preferred I not become involved with or discuss in the study since I was an "outsider". Topics such as band politics, religion, and cultural details should not be presented. I have respected their authority as community representatives throughout the research process and have not included any of these subjects in any part of this thesis. Many other community members were informed of my role. At no time during my fieldwork was I told to discontinue or asked to leave the community.

Although many questions remain unanswered about the effect of student achievement in a bicultural program this study is an illustration of the complex nature of bicultural education.

Some Technical Background

Emile Durkheim in his classic work on the validity of the application of scientific techniques to the study of social phenomena suggests that "a social fact is every way of acting, fixed or not, capable of exercising on the individual an external constraint on every way of acting which is general throughout a given society, while at the same time existing in its own right independent of its individual manifestations." (Catlin, 1983, p. 13) This community study deals with social facts as a set of collective phenomena such that the focus is directed toward the general population and not to isolated individual behaviors and responses. The significance of Durkheim's work for, this study of educational adaptation becomes clear when one understands that an individual, as part of a collectivity, is essentially forced into a socialization pattern modeled by adults from that same society. In fact the universal aim of formal education is the socialization of the individual to the norms, values and folkways of the group. So that "this unremitting pressure to which the child is subjected is the very pressure of the social milieu which tends to fashion him to its own image, and of which parents and teachers are merely the representatives and intermediaries." (Catlin, 1938, p. 6)

In approaching the problem of developing a model and method for bicultural education at an Indian Community school, I am making an assumption that societies use schools to shape individuals into a cultural mold. Put another way;

although schools have been mandated to teach particular subjects such as mathematics, sciences and languages they are also responsible for providing experiences that allow students to learn about their cultural traditions, values, beliefs and language.

From a theoretical viewpoint, the process of bicultural education is one in which all students, whether they are part of a minority or part of the mainstream cultural group are provided an opportunity to develop competencies in two cultures. Historically, the native people of North America have not had this experience with formal education as may be viewed in the following:

"hitherto but little good has been done by the educationa program, though abundance of money has been laid out, and a great many endeavours have been used...The young Indian, procured from the tributary of foreign nations with much difficulty, were formerly boarded and lodged in the town; where abundance of them used to die...Those of them have escaped well, and been taught to read and write, have for the most part returned to their home, some with and some without baptism, where they follow their own savage customs and heatherish rites. A few of them have lived as servants among the English, or loitered and idled away their time in laziness and mischief....now they are...taught to become worse than better by falling into the worst practices of vile nominal Christians, which they add to their own Indian manners and notions. (Jones, 1724)

The curriculum in most school districts has traditionally ignored the positive contributions regarding Indian culture and history to the cultural fabric of North American society. In recent years, many school systems with Indian students in attendance have attempted to develop and introduce cultural courses, however the vast majority have

been unable to provide these courses due to lack of funding for teachers and materials. This point is of particular importance. Mohawk people from Kahnawake believed bi-cultural competencies were not being achieved or acquired by their students attending the mainstream cultures school. One solution to this problem was to obtain control of their formal education, establish school and program goals, develop a curriculum with a local relevance, and hire a staff to facilitate the required changes.

CHAPTER 2

DEMOGRAPHY

1. Historical Development of the Community.

The following brief historical account of Kahnawake's emergence to its present location was obtained from an examination of five main sources. (Blanchard 1980, Fenton 1949, 1961, 1978, Ghobashy 1961, Trigger 1978, Waugh 1916).

The Mohawk are a proud people. Their history is as complicated to describe as any other nation's history. The Mohawk are part of the old Five Nations from New York State. The Iroquois group of nations consists of the Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga and Seneca whose territory before contact extended from the Scholarie Creek west of Schenectady to the Genesee River in Rochester New York.. After 1723 when the Tuscarora people arrived to join the other nations, the Iroquois became known as the Six Nations Iroquois Confederacy which they are still referred to as today.

The Iroquois are best known as horticulturists. It was the role of women to maintain a system of slash and burn agriculture in fields located near the village. The men, at appropriate times in the year, cleared the forests, hunted and fished the rivers and lakes. While the men were concerned with activities that took them away from the village, the women were involved in other activities such as collecting roots, berries, greens, nuts and other edibles located around the village. The main cultivated staples and the foundation of subsistence to the Iroquois were corn,

beans and squash. These crops were cultivated by all Iroquoians up to the territorial margins of 120 frost-free days. Growing these crops was the main occupation of women in the village. Their domain was comprised of the village and its surrounding fields. Typical large Iroquoian settlements were clusters of 30 to 150 longhouses, surrounded by a palisade and situated on a height of land accessible to drinking water and not too far from a navigable waterway. The Mohawk are referred to as the keepers of the eastern door of the Iroquois confederacy. Since they were the eastern most of the Iroquois nations, the Mohawk were the first to feel the impact of European activities along the eastern seaboard. At the end of the sixteenth century the Mohawk were at war with the Algonquin and Montagnais who were trading with the French at Tadoussac. One aim of the Mohawk was to acquire as booty some of the iron axes, knives and sword blades that were making their northern neighbours (Algonquins and Montagnais) more formidable. After the founding of Quebec in 1608 the Mohawk spent the next fifty nine years raiding Algonquian peoples to the north to seize furs for trading with the Dutch and English. They waged war on the French, seeking to confine them to their settlements and if possible to force them to withdraw from Montreal and Trois Rivières.

In the early 1640's the Mohawk obtained guns, first from the English and then from the Dutch. Firearms put an end to the traditional combat of large parties meeting face to face, exchanging taunts, and after a few volleys of arrows closing to slug it out with spears and clubs before retreating

carrying their dead and wounded to some prearranged location.

New York became an English Colony in 1664, but the change little affected the Mohawks. They continued to trade with Albany, dealing with the Dutch who remained there to carry on trade under the English flag. English goods were generally of better quality and sold at lower prices than French goods - a circumstance that helped the Mohawks maintain their position in the fur trade and their close ties with Albany. The other Iroquois nations made peace with the French in 1665. They did this partly because they were engaged in a war with the Susquehannock to the south that was of little interest to the Mohawks and did not wish to continue war on other fronts, particularly as the French threatened to attack the Iroquois. The other Iroquois nations made peace because some wished to open trade relationships with the French and thereby not remain so dependant on the Mohawk-Albany trade. The Mohawk did not make peace, and that winter an expedition led by Daniel de Remy de Courcelle went to attack them. By mistake the expedition arrived near Schenectady rather than at the Mohawk villages. The Mohawk ambushed de Courcelle which forced his men to retreat. The failure of de Courcelle's expedition persuaded a man by the name of de Tracy to lead another campaign against the Mohawks in the fall of 1666. This campaign succeeded in burning the Mohawk villages and their supplies of corn and in 1667 the Mohawks along with the other Iroquois nations concluded a peace with the French in Quebec.

In the decade following the conclusion of peace, with the French, a number of Iroquois, particularly Mohawks, moved north and settled on the St. Lawrence River in the vicinity of Montreal. Two such settlements were established in the 1670's - one on the south side of the Saint Lawrence (Caughnawaga) and the other on the north side on the island of Montreal (Oka). Although they adopted Catholicism, the Iroquois contrived to practise an economy similar to that of their homeland in the south. In the eighteenth century, they played a prominent role in the unsanctioned trade between Montreal and Albany and also became voyageurs for the fur companies who were expanding north and westward.

The early residents of Caughnawaga (Kahnawake) took up residence on the south side of the Saint Lawrence River opposite Montreal at La Prairie (also known as La Prairie de la Madeleine). They were joined by others who also had decided to live there permanently, and during the 1670's the settlement grew rapidly. Some who settled were members of other Iroquois nations who had come to the Saint Lawrence to hunt and trade. Still others decided to move to La Prairie after they had been converted by the Jesuits living in the Iroquois villages south of Lake Ontario or had been influenced by their friends to migrate to the St. Lawrence.

The Iroquois who had settled at La Prairie found the soil unsuitable for growing Indian corn and in 1676 they moved a league and one-quarter upriver to Sault Saint Louis (Lachine Rapids). As a result of this move, the name of the mission was changed from Saint Francois Xavier des Pres to

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Saint Francois Xavier du Sault, and the Indians living there came to be known as the Indians of the Sault. The Indian name for the place was Kahnawake. By 1714 the soil at Caughnawaga was exhausted as was the wood that could be gathered nearby, and the Mohawks decided to move their village two leagues farther up the St. Lawrence. In 1716, they began the process of moving to the new village, which retained the name of the old. Caughnawaga remained a seigniory of the Jesuits until 1762 when the new English governor of Montreal refused to recognize the claims of the Jesuits and the lands were retained by the Crown for use by the Mohawks.

The eighteenth century brought the expanding role of the Catholic church at Caughnawaga. A Methodist (United) Church was also established during that time. The economic changes on this Mohawk reserve have followed much the same course as those on other Iroquois reservations in Canada and the United States: in the nineteenth century reliance on hunting declined and reliance on agriculture increased, and in the twentieth century, Mohawks have increasingly engaged in wage work. In the eighteenth century, some Mohawks from Kahnawake became raftsmen and lumberjacks. Craft work including basketry and beadwork were important sources of income on this reserve. More recently, Mohawks from Kahnawake have become renowned as high steel workers. They first learned of this type of work in 1886 when the Victoria Bridge was being built across the Saint Lawrence River near their reserve, and

obtained jobs working on the construction of this bridge.

2. Size, Location, and Terrain

The Mohawk called their community Kahnawake which means "by the rapids". The Kahnawake (Caughnawaga to the English, and Sault St-Louis to the French) Indian reservation is a tract of approximately 50.25 square kilometres (1981) located just south, across the Saint Lawrence River from their traditional site of Hochelaga (Montreal). The total acreage of this reserve has slowly declined in recent years due to expanding urban and suburban centers which neighbour it. Each of the east, south and west sides of the reserve border the communities of Saint Catherine, Saint Isidore and Chateaugay. The Saint Lawrence seaway system cuts through the entire length of the reserves northside. Although this reserve is located geographically in the province of Quebec, Canada, Mohawks here do not consider themselves as Quebec Indians nor as Canadian Indians but rather as North Americans or Hotinonsionne (Mohawk for people of the longhouse).

The entire reserve consists of flat sections which are excellent farmland, particularly for forage and row crops (such as corn, beans and squash) which most people grow. The soil is excellent and the growing season long enough that most households have well kept, large gardens which provide produce for each family during the winter months.

There are also large sections of forests with a wide variety of soft and hard woods. Many houses supplement their

heating costs in the winter by using wood stoves filled with wood cut in the community.

3. Location of Public Buildings

The village has nestled itself close to the Saint Lawrence River which is in the northern section of the reserve. Due to the community's physical planning and location of public buildings, a neutral or buffer zone has been created between Kahnawake and the three neighbouring communities. Whereas many communities seem to "flow into" one another, Kahnawake has built the village as far away as possible from the boundaries of its nearest neighbours.

Most of the public buildings are located on what is known as the main road. This road begins and ends at the southern end of the town and carves its way through the village east to the railway tunnel until it meets to highway 9C. There are three buildings located in the community that are utilized for primary and elementary education. They are approximately one to three quarters of a kilometer from each other situated in the middle and western sections of the village. Dotted along the main road are numerous gift and craft shops, two grocery stores, the police and fire stations and the local band council office. The Catholic Church is located at its original position by the rivers edge which has now been paralleled by the seaway channel. Mohawks of the Protestant and Jehovah Witness faiths have smaller buildings to practice their faiths in other sections of the community. Next to the Catholic Church property is a building called the

Boys and Girls Club or as people in the village call it, the Youth Center. It has a gymnasium facility and a number of rooms which have been allocated for a small library and classes for basket weaving, beadwork, painting and carving.

A short distance from the Catholic Church and the Youth Center is the Community Cultural Centre (in Mohawk it is known as Kanien'Kehaka Raotitiohkwa). This building houses a small library whose collection is mainly of Iroquoian related topics and research, a newly formed radio station (CKRK 1981), and the storage rooms and planning offices of a Mohawk museum. A museum of log type construction is still under construction at the present time and is situated on the high school property at the eastern end of the reserve.

Well out of the village itself and to the south is the longhouse and cookhouse of the traditionalists. The traditional Mohawk people use these facilities to celebrate festivals (i.e. - Midwinter and Harvest), feasts (i.e. - dead feast) and "social dances" throughout the year. They also meet in the longhouse to discuss issues which affect the Mohawk nation such as land claims, political ideology and news from other nations in the confederacy.

Throughout various parts of the community are buildings which serve as facilities for "service clubs" integrated from the mainstream society. Kahnawake has a Legion, Moose Hall, and a Knights of Columbus. These social clubs host many activities which involve large groups of community members, while one in particular, the Knights of Columbus, is used for

band meetings every month because of its central location and size.

Many individuals, especially women, have created small businesses usually operated out of the home. Convenience stores and bakeries provide an alternative to shopping at the two main grocery stores in the village or at other stores in communities nearby. These small home businesses are located throughout the main village and with the exception of the bakeries can be compared to the "corner stores" located in every community.

Kahanwake has one main restaurant located on the main road near the center of the village. The only other competition to the existing restaurant closed down in 1981. During the summer months numerous "hot dog" stands are opened and conduct a thriving business.

One of the most popular public buildings is the reserves post office. It is located in an older part of the village, down the street from the church, and contains all the mail boxes in which an individual's or family's mail is placed. There is no mail delivery door to door which requires people to check their mail boxes on a daily basis. It is a lively meeting spot and a market place for information about jobs, family and community issues. You can be sure to meet someone you know as a member of this community during the daily trek to the "post" as it is referred to by the people.

4. Settlement Pattern

The settlement pattern on the reserve is one of isolated

farmsteads and a village. There is no real center of the village as everything seems to be meshed together. Although some homes cluster around the schools or churches there seems to be no nucleus for the village as a whole. The streets connecting the village together do not have any regularities to them in size and pattern. Some homes are very close to one another while others are separated by fields or creeks. Closely related families usually live near each other. Most households in the village are only separated by a few years, whereas the segregated farmsteads which surround the village are distanced by fields and tree lots.

Laneways function as streets in the village. There are no signs which would indicate to the unfamiliar visitor where they were. There are no numbers on the outside of homes although many have metal signs with the family's name posted near a main entrance. People know each other through friendship or kinship making it a socially close-knit community.

5. Population

Although there are approximately 5,105 people registered at the local Band Council Office many men work in the United States on steel jobs leaving the women to manage the home and community. (Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, 1980, p. 18) While one could suggest that the traditional role relationship pattern of men and women has maintained itself throughout Mohawk history until today, the opposite is true. Men and women together have a mutual responsibility for

managing the home and community, providing financial support and protection, and making decisions about community issues.

Traditionally, the Mohawks follow matrilineal descent lines however cultural or national affiliation is complicated by an extra-societal factor. This extra-societal factor is the Canadian government; it reckons descent through the male line (patrilineal). Albeit inter-cultural marriage between Mohawk and non-Indians is generally disapproved of and rarely consummated, a close examination of this issue will reveal a dichotomy.

(a) If a Mohawk male marries a non-Indian female, that woman gains "status" as an Indian and is entitled to all benefits under the Indian Act according to Canadian law. This non-Indian "Indian" will have no clan under the laws of the traditional Mohawk system of kinship. The offspring of this Mohawk male and non-Indian female will have status as Canadian Indians, but no clan in traditional Mohawk society because their mother is non-Indian.

(b) If a non-Indian male marries a Mohawk female, that Mohawk female technically loses her cultural right as a Mohawk Indian according to the Indian Act of Canada. This woman would have no right as an Indian and her children would lose all rights and privileges available to Indian people. Under Mohawk law children follow their mothers clan, yet under Canadian law their children would be classified as non-status.

The issue of the human rights of Indian women is complicated further by the Canadian government not recognizing the cultural status of Indians born in the United States and who marry Indians born in Canada. There are many Mohawk women from Kahnawake married to Mohawks who were born and grew up in Mohawk communities in the United States and because of a national boundary line between two "foreign nations", these women are listed as "non status" even though they may have

had a Mohawk mother and father.

Band membership can be briefly described as follows: "A band consists of all those persons who, on May 26, 1874 were legitimate members of a band for whom land had been set aside; all male descendants in the male line of male persons thus qualifying; the legitimate children of such persons; the illegitimate children of qualifying females, provided that the Registrar of the Department has not declared that the father of the child was not an Indian; and the wife or widow of a qualifying person. Persons listed above are no longer eligible for membership in a band or for Indian status if..he or she is enfranchised or if a women, has married a non-Indian." (Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, 1978 p.

6) The result of this proceeding is that, with few exceptions, membership in a band is ascribed at birth. Although membership is usually associated with Indians living on reserve land this is not essential to retain the status of a band member. Mohawks who move away from the reserve and work for long periods of time retain their band memberships as long as their status is not given up by enfranchisement or joining another band. Confusion and frustration is exhibited by many people when this issue is discussed. People of this Mohawk community have had divided positions in this debate on societal membership for a number of years. Eventually the people of Kahnawake will end the discussion and make a decision. It will likely be a decision in which the Federal government will have no voice and no response which will be

taken seriously by the Mohawk.

Within the community exists a group of people who are the strongest link to the Mohawks' past. While religious affiliation is eighty-four percent Roman Catholic a small proportion of the remaining band population consider themselves "traditional". Possibly the best description of a Mohawk traditionalist from the Kahnawake reserve is an individual who views the elected band council as an extension of the Federal Department of Indian and Northern Affairs and totally rejects the elected council as a form of Indian government. As well, they do not recognize the legitimacy of the western religions in their community, nor do they participate in practices held in those social institutions.

There are approximately 400 traditionalists at the reserve. These individuals do not attend band meetings which are conducted by the elected council. They are still considered band members however they abstain from voting in any community, provincial or federal election.

Traditionalists, also referred to as "longhouse people", practise their ancestral customs and beliefs in the longhouse. All Mohawks, regardless of religious affiliation, are invited to participate in these ancient feasts and ceremonies throughout the year however this participation alone does not enable them to become traditionalists. If members of the community wish to "join" the longhouse tradition they must be "reinstated" back into the organisation. This requires time and instruction from the elders and clan mothers to learn traditional beliefs and practises. Non-

Indians are never allowed to enter the longhouse nor to become members unless they are adopted into the nation which rarely happens. I have not heard of any adopted cases into the longhouse in this community.

The longhouse is as much a political entity as it is a religious one. Traditionalists, and not the elected band council, have always been Kahnawake's link to the Six Nations Iroquois Confederacy. Although the traditionalists are a minority, many groups and individuals in the community seek the support of the longhouse during times of personnel and group crisis. They realize that, through the longhouse, they will receive immediate support from other Indian nations in the Confederacy for their cause, whatever that may be at the time and provided it is supported by the other nations.

Other Mohawks would like to be reinstated back into the longhouse but have misconceptions that they would have to give up the standard of living they possess presently. I encountered a number of young Mohawk adults who mentioned that they would like to join the longhouse officially but were afraid that they would have to give up their cars, modern conveniences and become farmers. While some members of the longhouse do not drive cars, have modern conveniences and conduct small scale farming operations the majority of traditional people maintain a standard of living not unlike any other family who resides in Kahnawake.

Kahnawake is unique in that it has maintained a semi-rural way of life while existing in the midst of an expanding

urban center. It has that small town flavour where news travels quickly and everybody knows what is going on in some matter or form. The population density per square kilometre is 103 individuals which is typical of most semi-rural communities (Statistics Canada, 1978, p. 157). Kahnawake Mohawks do not participate in any of the provincial or federal census. This may be related to the fact that Mohawks do not view themselves as residents of Quebec or Canada but rather as North Americans. This is evident in the lack of data submitted to the most recent Census of Canada completed in 1981. No data was submitted for any of the categories listed by the Mohawks at Kahnawake.

The ratio of school age students to adult population is not available from the pertinent literature; however an approximate figure in this category would be three to one. This figure is based on all school aged students from nursery to post secondary and was derived by viewing enrollment lists for each school level. The ratio of school aged children in attendance at nursery (including Mohawk Immersion), kindergarten and elementary to the reserves secondary school declines rapidly once the students complete elementary school. At least half of the total student population attend high school off the reserve. This figure was reached based on nominal rolls for schools on the reserve and discussions with one of the elementary school principals. This trend has been evident since the emergence of the secondary school on the reserve in 1978 and will be discussed in detail in later sections of this study.

6. Language

The Mohawks at Kahnawake speak a language that is part of the Iroquoian family. The Iroquoian speaking peoples of North America include the Cherokee from the Southern Appalachian area; the Tuscarora and the Susquehanna of the mid-Atlantic region; and the Huron, Wenro, Erie, Tobacco, Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca of the Great Lakes, Saint Lawrence River Valley regions of North America.

The Mohawk language, as part of the Iroquoian family of languages is extremely complex to describe. This ancient language has specific rules for word and sentence construction as complicated as European languages but entirely different. It has a rich vocabulary which fluent speakers use to express their thoughts and ideas in meetings, telling jokes and daily communication. I have noticed that the style a Mohawk speaker employs to express themselves is dictated by the social situations they find themselves in; the language has been referred to by the people of this reserve as a descriptive language or a living language. Since I do not speak the language and believe it is important for the reader to understand the framework of Kahnawake's ancient language I will utilize the work of Floyd G. Lounsbury (1978) merely to provide a description and background information for this topic.

Lounsbury believes that the Iroquoian language share the same patterns of an elaborate verb morphology, of phonemic inventory, and in many extents of underlying word roots.

This shows them to be related but set apart from the languages of other families. Therefore it may be assumed that the languages of a family such as the Iroquoian type, descended from a single ancestral language. This ancient language could not have been the same as any one of the descendant languages because each one has had its own history of innovations and development - partly related and partly unique.

The morphology in the Iroquoian language is of a polysynthetic, fusional and incorporating type. In other words, the words may be made up of many component parts, whose relative order is strictly determined. These parts are unintelligible and without meaning if taken out of proper context.

While Kahnawake's social problems are no greater than any other neighbouring community the almost non-existent use of the Mohawk language as a functional cultural trait is a major enigma. The native language on this reserve is possibly the strongest link to the Mohawk cultural past. Almost everyone over the age of forty can speak the language, or at least understands the language, but are not able to maintain a conversation with a fluent Mohawk speaker for a sustained period of time. There are many families in the community with in-marriage spouses, usually non-native women, who do not speak the language. Many young adults between the ages of twenty-five and thirty-five have a passive understanding of the language. They use the Mohawk language

as a greeting, a farewell, or employ short expressions which symbolize feelings and emotions towards people or events. I encountered only one student at the secondary level (graduated in 1980) who was fluent with the language. He did not, however, learn the language in school but at home.

The most important component in the development of language skills is the contribution of the home and since the Mohawk language has been replaced by English, fewer and fewer Mohawk children have the support of the home in language acquisition. The predominant language of this reserve is English while some Mohawks speak French as a second language. Yet, there are some very old Mohawks I encountered who speak only Mohawk. Any language will only be as good as it is used, and the Mohawk Language is not being used except for a small cross-section of the society over the age of forty who were brought up in a Mohawk home. In other words both parents must have been Mohawk speakers themselves.

The Mohawk language was not given any significant advantage or emphasis in primary and elementary classrooms on the reserve between 1971-1978. At a secondary school off the reserve Mohawk students were provided some instruction in the language however it was a token effort at best because not one student graduate from high school was fluent in Mohawk. One of my informants, who is a Mohawk speaker, commented to me on several occasions about the negative attitudes held by most young people prior to 1978 with reference to learning the Mohawk language. Three of the more frequent comments by students about their language were, "Why do we need to learn

Mohawk, it will not help us get a job!", or "The Mohawk Language is too difficult to learn", or "I'm too old to start learning the language so I may as well forget about it". This same informant believed that the survival challenge the Mohawk language was now faced with in this community today was a result of in-marrying spouses who did not speak the language and not so much the formal schooling established by the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs. She commented, "Everyone use to speak Mohawk around here in Kahnawake when I was growing up; even the white merchants from Lachine and Montreal. Kids would go to the schools and learn English during the day, but come home to speak Mohawk at night. Of course the schools did contribute to a decline in Mohawk speaking people in this community, but the biggest reason why young people do not speak it today is that so many non-native women married Mohawk men years ago". Undoubtedly this is certainly an interesting perspective from a community member. Nevertheless, the language has been weakened by both factors.

After three centuries of contact with western society it is difficult not to think of Kahnawake as a modern Canadian suburban community. Yet, the old language some of these people speak has set them apart and maintained a link to the past. Many people who speak the language believe that in order for the Mohawks to survive as a nation it is important to re-establish the use of their traditional language in the school and home. A small group of women comprised of parents, school committee members and Mohawk language

teachers from the primary, elementary and secondary schools have begun working on developing language programs. In 1979 the community implemented language immersion programs in daycare facilities, nursery, kindergarden and elementary grades one, two, three. I have been informed that it is the intention of this group to teach students the language in a formal setting to grade four, after which the students will be able to receive instruction in English.

Although the Mohawk primary, elementary and secondary schools will help to reinforce the importance of the Mohawk language, the pattern for language development must continue to change if the Mohawks who speak the language expect it to survive. The challenge is clear for all Mohawks in this community to be accountable for re-establishing their most important cultural component. If they neglect this challenge it seems inevitable that the Mohawk language will become less common in future years.

7. Economic Activity

The prevailing economic activity among most male adults between the ages of nineteen and fifty-five is construction or iron work. Most of these men work and live away from the community for long periods of time providing financial support while the women manage the family home. The iron working jobs are usually situated in various locations of the United States.

Education provides numerous jobs for teachers, administrators, secretaries and maintenance support staff in

the elementary and secondary schools. The ratio of native/non-native teachers at the elementary school is one to one. This same ratio applies to the two elementary school administrators. At the secondary level the ratio of native/non-native staff is approximately three to one. The two secondary school administrators are native.

Many Mohawk women and men have jobs in Montreal. These individuals are typical of most people who commute to work, participate daily in the mainstream culture habits, and then return at night to their neighbourhoods. In contrast to these individuals there are others who are seasonal workers. At appropriate times they work at the golf clubs on the reserve, bridge work and house painting during the spring, summer and fall months and collect unemployment insurance benefits during the winter.

At any given time during the year, there are numerous government grants provided to the band for work in areas such as agriculture, economic development, road and waterworks, or land claims. These grants help to employ individuals for varying lengths of time.

The local Band Council Office (something like a city hall) employs a few residents to work at a number of office related tasks on a full time basis. The Kahnawake Band Council hires two education counsellors, and a number of people to work at the community hospital which is essentially a chronic care facility. It also operates a home building operation which employs carpenters, electricians and plumbers

from the community to build pre-fabricated homes at a plant building.

Apart from the various convenience stores, home bakeries and two small grocery stores, many other individuals operate small businesses in the community. To name a few there is a lighting and furniture store, hardware, pizzeria, and prior to 1980 a rock quarry which has since been closed for various reasons. The only economic activity associated with agriculture is the growth and sale of animal feed, namely hay. The band is attempting to start up a large scale dairy operation that will serve the entire needs of Kahnawake, however this economic activity is only in the planning stages.

The community has a few excellent sculptors, painters, silversmiths and bead workers. Their products, especially soapstone carvings, painting and silverwork are marketed by Montreal and Ottawa art dealers. Works of art from this community are sold in competition with other works completed by native and Inuit artists.

Since the opportunities for wage or salaried employment tend to be concentrated in large metropolitan areas the Mohawk take advantage of their location to Montreal and the urban centers south of the Canadian-American borders. Most people, especially males, are highly mobile. They are willing and able to reside for extended periods of time away from the reserve at a job site. The employment opportunities locally available are listed below.

1. structural steelwork
2. "factory work

3. office work
4. education
5. tree surgery
6. golf clubs
7. other work common to a small town
(i.e. corner stores, research work from grants,
construction, etc.)

The critical months of unemployment in this community are the winter months. There is a large proportion of the post-secondary student population attending college and university and their success will ultimately alter the types of employment opportunities pursued in the future either in the community or outside of it.

8. Types of Schools

All schools on the Kahnawake reserve receive funding from the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs and are classified as either "federal" or "band" schools. Because of the provisions in the British North America Act and the Indian Act, the federal government is responsible for the education of status Indians.

Kahnawake has three federal elementary schools and one secondary band school. The three elementary schools, Kawennanoron (Nursery, kindergarten), Kateri (grades one, two, three) and Karonhianonha (grades four, five, six) are directly controlled by the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs. This federal ministry is responsible for operation and maintenance funds to cover teacher and administrator

salaries, school materials, transportation and costs for building maintenance including support personal. The department is also responsible for capital projects such as investing in a new school facility or school extensions. The government in this case is the school board. The average student enrollment at each school per year is listed in approximate figures:

Kawennanoron	-	60-70 students
Kateri	-	175-200 students
Karonhianonha	-	175-200 students

The student population is not expected to fall at the elementary level until 1985 and even so the decrease will not be more than ten. Only those students with band numbers identifying them as status Indians are allowed to attend elementary schools on the reserve. All non-status children, those with non-native fathers, are required to attend elementary and secondary school off the reserve.

The only band school is the newly established secondary school. A band school is one where all spending is controlled by the band. (Band is the Indian Act term which is used to describe Indian people, i.e. the Mohawk band at Caughnawaga). Budgets must be prepared and submitted for approval to the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs. In a band school, a non provincial school, the Indian people determine the priorities and interpret how the budget will be spent. In most cases, the reserve's band council has control over band schools. However in Kahnawake's case, the band

council have delegated the Combined Schools Committee to oversee all educational activities.

The approximate student enrollment per year at the secondary school is two hundred.

9. History of Education in Kahnawake to 1978

Traditionally, the responsibility for education in Kahnawake was vested within the community, in the early years of a child's life with the grandparents and later with the parents. Historically, the formal education of Mohawks can be accounted in three phases (a) denominational, (b) government including federal and provincial, (c) Indian controlled.

Denominational

Denominational schools were the first type of schools made available to the Mohawks in their community. The education of children has always been one of the primary objectives of missionary work by the churches. They approached the education of Mohawk youth with such a vigor that the consequences of a religious education were similar to many other native denominational schools. Essentially, the provision of a religious education and the creation of a "religious feeling" in each Indian student, was the main goal.

The Jesuits entered the Mohawk community shortly after it was established in 1670. They believed it was their responsibility to protect the Indians from the poor morals of the French society that was developing rapidly around them.

The early Jesuits at Kahnawake did not establish a formal school setting at first. It was their belief that the traditional pattern of education for Mohawk youth should remain with the grandparents and parents. In this way, the spirit of cooperation and community which they believed to be "good christian values", would be maintained by Mohawks. If the Mohawk parents believed that it as necessary for their children to learn about Europeans they would send them to the Jesuit priests or the local Indian agent from the French controlled government. This pattern remained throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. (Blanchard, 1977, p. 3)

A conflict over education evolved in the mid 1800's and the major issue was not on learning, but rather on the efforts of the British to gain control of the educational process. The British had recently overthrown the French as the seat of power in Quebec. These new European people soon discovered that the people of Caughnawaga were primarily Mohawk speakers, and that their second language was French. Only a few of them actually spoke English. The Jesuits, who did not force the Mohawks to change drastically during the early years in the community were informed by the British that they intended to send Anglican Missionaries to Caughnawaga. The Anglican Missionaries' purpose was to teach the Mohawk-French speaking Indians at Caughnawaga the King's English, and to incorporate them into the fabric of the non-natives' new world. The Anglican view of education was much different from that of the Catholic. The Jesuits entered the

community and learned Mohawk then school was taught in Mohawk; the Catholic mass was celebrated in Mohawk; and government business was carried out in Mohawk as well.

The Anglican Missionaries were not as successful as the Jesuits, although English was introduced and learned by many people. In 1915 the Sisters of St. Anne arrived in Caughnawaga to establish the first school for primary to grade six. Soon after, the Protestants began a school along the same format. Formal education during these years until 1920 went as far as grade eight. After an elementary education Mohawk youth would continue their post-grade school education under the supervision of their parents. Boys would learn about construction on the job and girls would learn about the roles of homemakers and mothers at home with their mothers. (Blanchard, 1977, p. 6)

Government: Federal

In the late 1940's, the federal government formulated a new Indian policy. The old approach of paternalism was replaced with an attempt to integrate Native people with the rest of Canadian society. The government decided that the federal schools would follow the curricula of the respective provinces and that the aim of native education was to become one of assimilation and integration as opposed to isolation. However the opposite took place.

The federal schools attended by Mohawks fell into two categories, (a) day schools, and (b) residential schools. The day schools were located on the reserve and provided

education for Mohawk children living on the reserve. Only Mohawk children were allowed to attend the day schools. It was controlled by the Federal government, however the influence of the church was still present as they were still responsible for providing instruction. The ideology of this type of school was to have the Mohawk remain on the reserve to be trained solely for life on the reserve. Once Mohawk youth graduated from the elementary day schools, they were provided an opportunity to pursue a secondary education outside the community at a residential school.

The residential school that Mohawks attended was situated in a town by the name of Spanish in the province of Ontario. The residential school in Spanish was segregated and provided education for Indians only. (Indians from other reserves attended this school as well, mainly Ojibway from Northern Ontario). The language of instruction and daily interaction was English. Mohawks who attended the school recall not only were they a long distance away from home but they were forbidden to speak their native language at any time. If they were caught doing so, they would be punished severely. The residential school taught primarily English and Agriculture. Much of the time was spent completing work in the school to keep it functioning. Activities such as hauling water, chopping wood, preparing food, cleaning the living quarters, and maintaining the small farm were completed daily. The Mohawk experience at this residential school is still talked about today as one which did not prepare them for work in the outside world but rather kept

them busy and furthered segregation. Mohawks stopped attending the residential school in Spanish around 1958.

Government: Provincial

After 1958, the people from Caughnawaga became more involved in the economic life of North America and education about that world became important. A high school education was necessary now for those young adults who wished to work at jobs other than construction or homemaking. Many Mohawk young men and women attended public and private high schools on the island of Montreal. Most high school aged students attended secondary schools in Montreal up until 1968.

In 1968, after a tuition fee agreement was signed by the Protestant Regional School Board of Chateaugay Valley and the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, Mohawk students began attending Howard S. Billings Regional High School in nearby Chateaugay. The tuition fee agreement guaranteed a secondary education for Mohawk youth for a total of twenty years. With the inclusion of Mohawk students the total school population was raised to 3,200 students. Of those, three hundred and twenty-five were Mohawks. This secondary school in Chateaugay became the main high school for the majority of high school aged Mohawk students to attend while a small proportion opted for private and public schools in Montreal from 1968 until 1978.

While attending high school in Chateaugay, Mohawk students were required to follow the same curriculum as other students and it was not until 1971 that two elective courses,

Indian Studies and Mohawk Language were offered which acknowledged some basic social and cultural needs of Mohawks. Since these courses were only offered as electives, many students found it difficult to enroll in them due to career goals which required a specific course of study. Although these two elective courses were not participated in by all Mohawk students, their implementation identified that Mohawks had different educational needs. (See Appendix A)

Many Mohawk students graduated from Howard S. Billings during the ten year period of 1968-1978. They participated in all school activities and became an important part of school life. Yet the provincial system of education was not an adequate response to Mohawk needs. In light of the Feasability Study on Indian Control of Indian Education conducted by two community residents (Beauvais and Deering, 1977) and pressure from a large proportion of the parents, the Combined Schools Committee changed the pattern of education for Mohawk students once again. By acquiring control of the formal schooling process the parents acquired control of a destiny for future generations of youth. The next chapter will describe the interaction of people involved in the new educative events the community experienced. A description of the model and method for education adapted by this Mohawk community for its new secondary school will be examined.

CHAPTER 3

Mohawk Community School.

1. Combined Schools Committee

It is of importance for the reader to have some acquaintance with information on Kahnawake's Combined Schools Committee to comprehend this thesis since they were the most influential group associated with the origin of the new community school.

The Combined Schools Committee of Kahnawake is composed of ten volunteer members who are elected or appointed by the people of the reserve in a general election every two years. Prior to 1967, both the Protestant and Catholic Mohawks had their own schools and committees. This scenario was typical of most schools in the province as, Protestant and Catholic Children attended denominational institutions. In Kahnawake, the traditional people usually sent their children to the Protestant schools.

Major reforms emerged in 1967 as the province of Quebec reorganized its educational system. Subsequently, these reforms effected Kahnawake's two school committees. The committees decided to unify as one and create a new school system. The new school committee would be composed of four Catholics, four Protestants and two longhouses representatives. Each of the Catholic and Protestant representatives would have to be nominated and then elected with votes at a general election while the two traditional

representatives would be chosen by other traditional members at a meeting in the longhouse. This membership criterion is still maintained today (1981).

The Combined Schools Committee is certainly a power group who exert major influences within the community. The formation of this parents committee in Kahnawake has enabled community members to participate in the daily problems associated with school life by Mohawk children. However, the bureaucratic procedures of the federal elementary schools have restricted the power of the committee. The school committee does not administer the federal elementary schools and the volunteer Mohawk schools committee sees this as a major dysfunction in educational planning. For instance, while the federal schools seem anxious to adopt major reforms in curriculum from the provincial ministry of education the parents committee are as equally determined to take control of the federal elementary schools, incorporate them into a local structure, and change the entire curriculum to meet a local focus.

The Combined School's committee is the local school council in relation to the bands secondary school. Their responsibilities include staffing, finance, curriculum development, capital building projects and special services such as psychological, speech and health care. The responsibilities of this committee at both the elementary and secondary level includes (a) care of school property and school grounds, (b) student attendance and truancy, (c) acquisition of band funds for field trips and other related

activities, (d) organization of school bus routes in the village and to the outlying areas, (e) subsidized school lunch programs, (f) attendance of Indian students at non-Indian schools, (g) and the preparation of student cheques for school attendance. The ambiguity in administrative responsibilities between federal and band schools has resulted in limited power for decision making at one level and maximum control at another.

This parents school committee as a group take an active and intelligent interest in the education of their children. Most members of this committee are women. However, while there are usually one or two men on the committee from time to time, the women take a more active role. Individual educational achievement and experiences vary ranging from sixth grade to university. All participants dedicate themselves to the improvement of education in both the federal and band schools. They do so by intuition; by what the community is thinking and on information provided to them by consultants in education. They are guided by many forces, some obvious others not, into making decisions about the schools and schooling in their community. Women on the committee are more active than the male members since many do not have jobs and are primarily homemakers. It is not uncommon for most of the women to spend a great deal of time, (for example 25-30 hours per week in some cases), working on school related projects besides attending the regular weekly meetings. The activities of the school committee indicate a tremendous

desire to participate in the tasks they have been mandated to complete for educational improvement.

As well, the committee has to contend constantly with major obstacles. The biggest problem they deal with is the financial one at the secondary level. This committee is responsible for negotiating the funds required to operate the school. While the overall pupil-teacher ratio in the federal and band schools is fifteen to one, the pupil teacher ratio in the provincial schools is twenty to one. This provincial ratio is the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs argument for providing less secondary education funding for this community. Funds are constantly being sought by the committee to administer special educational and extracurricular projects. The Combined Schools Committee in this community is a direct link to the regional Indian Affairs branch in Quebec City and represents a democratic procedure for decision making on important educational problems and policies at the secondary level.

The procedure for decision making with the Combined Schools Committee itself may best be viewed through the work of sociologist William Sumner. His basic assumption was that evolution is a basic force and law. A society evolves to higher levels of organization through the processes of competition, cooperation and survival of the fittest. Sumner also assumed that behaviour is patterned by folkways and mores; the habits and customs of social life. Underlying the operation of folkways and mores are human interests or motives; in the school committee's case, concern for cultural

survival and concerns for bi-cultural adjustment. Folkways therefore develop in an unconscious, spontaneous and uncoordinated pattern.

The method employed by the schools committee in a decision making process is that of trial and error. Their decision making process or ritual, however inconsistent, becomes the established norm which guides the group's welfare. Below is a brief account from fieldwork of the decision making process employed by parents on this school committee.

A problem or issue is placed in the hands of the committee. The time it takes to make a decision is an unknown factor in most instances unless the group has been asked to deal with a serious problem in which case a time allotment is determined. Any issue is discussed at great length by all the members. All possible "sub-problems" such as fears about community reaction, sudden change, etc. are brought out in a somewhat serious and intense atmosphere which at times is broken by a joke or a sarcastic remark. Behavior such as this is evident at all meetings and is employed so all participants feel comfortable. This behavior in turn creates an environment conducive for participation from all Committee members.

It is an unwritten goal of this group to agree by consensus yet the reality is quite contrary. The committee members who have remained on the committee for the greatest number of years have the most influence in the decision

making process. Their folkways guide the group to making a decision or delaying it by establishing work priorities. There is no observable data that would suggest there is a direct relation between the religious composition of the school committee and the influence of certain members in the procedure utilized for decision making. In other words the religion of members, which served as a basis for the organization of the committee, is not viewed as an influence in the decision making process, because all members are considered equal. Instead, through the verbal presentations and non-verbal cues presented by the "oldest surviving" committee members a collective response to a problem is formulated. This procedure becomes institutionalized as a basis for decision making within the social structure these individuals find themselves in: an education committee. This behavior is by no means unusual as it projects a pattern for the group to remain consistent as an important dimension in the community's social structure.

Since 1978, the Combined School Committee's main concern has been with the organization of the new secondary school. A polarization of the elementary and secondary schools occurred for a short time while the committee spent most of its efforts to secure funding for capital, operations and maintenance projects at the Kahnawake Survival School. Time on task prevented them from completing all the work at the elementary level. It was not unusual to hear people in the reserve saying "Oh, it's not a school committee for Kahnawake any more, it's a Survival School Committee". At the time,

people of this community had quickly forgotten there was no high school prior to 1978 and therefore the committee's work was focused on elementary school problems most of the time. Unfortunately the committee was in an unfamiliar situation with the community and their responsibilities. When a new school develops it naturally requires more time and energy. Yet committee members were perceived by the community as not being able to complete their duties. Most community members did not realize that committee parents were working twelve to fourteen hours daily to keep the school operating. Without a doubt, it would be easy to say that all schools' committee members take their responsibilities seriously. The daily pressure is evident on the part of members to meet the community's expectation of the groups mandate.

In spite of the ambiguity in administrative responsibilities between federal and band schools, and the procedures employed in the decision making process at meetings, the schools committee of Kahnawake has been successful in leading and preparing Mohawks on this reserve to take advantage of a formal system of education which most feel is alien to their culture. This committee has actively encouraged bi-culturalism in secondary education and believe that this type of training is important if Mohawk students are going to meet the goals of the school which are based on competencies in two cultures. Without question, the large amount of time, energy and motivation exerted by this volunteer group to accomplish their responsibilities do not

outweigh the committee's devotion to a quality Mohawk education.

2. Establishing the High School

In July of 1978 the Kahnawake Combined Schools Committee called a general meeting to discuss plans for developing a high school in the community. During that meeting the people voted overwhelmingly to start planning the organization of this new school. There was a suggestion that the new high school be planned to begin after the tuition fee agreement with the Protestant Regional School Board of Chateaugay was finished in 1988. Thus, 1988 became the arbitrary target date for a new high school to emerge on the reserve.

A year before the July vote by Mohawk parents, the provincial government of Quebec passed and made law Bill 101, A Charter of the French Language. This legislation was intended to serve as a mechanism to protect the French language and to reform its daily use in the entire public or business sectors of the province. It had as its primary objective to ensure that French became the official language of Quebec. This bill, with regard to its application on federal or reserve land, states that, "...Indian reserves are not subject to this act". This only applies to those schools situated on reserves, and not to the Indian students themselves who attend schools outside their reserves in another community. Once an Indian student leaves the reserve to attend high school, the Quebec government does not recognize them as Indians with special rights and freedoms. Consequently, native students are required to obtain a

certificate of eligibility from the Minister of Education before acquiring an English education outside the reserve.

In August 1978 the Mohawk, a minority within Quebec, demanded an exemption from the regulations of this law since they were indigenous people. The French, a minority within Canada, initiated Bill 101 as a claim for equality and survival of their cultured heritage. Two minorities were striving to reach similar objectives albeit under varying strategies and proportions. The Mohawk did not recognize the provincial government's legislation while the provincial government was not willing to provide exemption for native people to acquire certificates of eligibility without having to negotiate with other minority groups in Quebec.

Awareness of position and attitudes of both groups toward Bill 101 was clear as Mohawk students began the 1978-1979 school year in early September at Howard S. Billings Regional High School in Chateauguy without the certificates of eligibility. The Combined School Committee and other parents from Kahnawake waited for a reaction from the Protestant Regional School Board of Chateauguy Valley. The Chateauguy School Board as part of the provincial ministry of education had no choice but to ask the Mohawk students to acquire certificates of eligibility for admission to schools in the Chateauguy district. On September 6th, the 350 Mohawk students who were enrolled in Howard S. Billings marched in protest from Chateauguy back to Kahnawake with approximately 600 supporters who were all members of the

community. (see Appendix B)

That evening, planning began for the school. As the events were totally unexpected and of a political nature, the community rallied quickly to gain support for their project by publicizing the issue on local radio and television stations while urban news journals printed the story. It was decided to name the school Kahnawake Survival School under the assumption that a unique secondary education may be achieved by Mohawk students if they were given the opportunity to enhance their knowledge and abilities within their own culture and simultaneously develop skills to enable them to function in the larger society outside their community. The word Survival, in the school's name reflects this outcome as it represents survival of cultural skills and those skills that are shared or bi-cultural in nature.

The Kahnawake Survival School opened on September 11, 1978 with classes for grades seven through eleven. The school was organized, staffed and assisted by volunteers. The majority of volunteers were from the community, however several qualified non-native teachers from outside Kahnawake volunteered their teaching services. Organizations and individuals in Kahnawake offered their premises for classroom space. The administration was located in the community's cultural centre and classes were held at the Knights of Columbus, Marina, Moose Club, United Church Hall, rooms at the two elementary schools and private homes and farms.

Of the approximately 350 students who made the historic march from Chateaugay, 280 remained as full time students at

the school. The others obtained the eligibility certificates and returned to Billings or other high schools in the Montreal area. The teaching staff was large: eighty-three.

During the first nine weeks the entire volunteer teaching staff were not paid. Since the education of Mohawk youth was included in an agreement between the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, the Kahnawake band and the Protestant Regional School Board of Chateauguay Valley, negotiations had to take place among the parties before funding was allocated to the new school. Every volunteer teacher, both native and non-native, worked in the spirit of keeping alive something that was viewed as a political and cultural response to educational change. Although teachers were not paid initially, the Combined Schools Committee and several people from the community made an effort to elevate the pressure of no pay by providing free lunches. The lunch time gathering of the teaching staff became a social function and served as an orientation to the community for many non-native staff.

Staff selection was first completed after funding was received for salaries. The teaching, support and administration staff were all hired by the Combined Schools Committee. The ratio of male to female staff was almost equal, however as the school progressed the female staff increased as many male personnel could not continue to support their families on such a low pay being offered by the school. The majority of female staff working provided a

second income to their family unit.

There was no established curriculum and teachers taught what they wanted to after discussing unit and lesson outlines with other teachers and their students. Project education was a very popular method that first year and implemented by all teachers. It served as a daily tactic until some formal plan for a curriculum could be created. The first year was certainly an alternative because it had no resemblance to any other school these students or this community had known.

Initial funding was received about three months later from the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs after extensive negotiations with the Combined Schools Committee. The Kahnawake Survival School is now located at the eastern edge of the reserve in between highway 9c and the St. Lawrence River occupying 154 acres. A number of classrooms have already been built and the school is on a five year building project until all required secondary school facilities are completed.

3. A Model and Method for Bicultural Education

Of the numerous aspects of school planning and organization, perhaps the most critical is that of setting educational goals. The schools goals were established by the Combined School's Committee. The goals, stated in a general manner, were then used to designate more specific goals for curriculum and instruction. The committee believed that there would be no way of telling how well the school was performing its function; or even knowing what its function

actually was until educational goals were established.

With the sudden emergence of a new secondary school in the community, the Combined Schools Committee were faced with the task of trying to determine a set of educational goals. Much of the confusion in the early days and weeks of the Mohawk school was centered around discussions on goals for education. This perhaps, was a result of many individual styles, socialization, general expectations for schools, and the content or generality of goal statements being examined by the persons involved in setting goals. The distinctions of committee opinion is not to be discussed here although it is intended as a suggestion that their open discussion on the subject of setting educational goals brought an order and logic to all subsequent school planning. They recognized that goals needed to be stated as a basis for adequate school management in the future.

The experience of this community's secondary school with bicultural education should begin with the experience of goal setting. In numerous planning meetings that lasted well into the late evening and early morning for several weeks in September and October of 1978, the members of the Combined Schools Committee reviewed existing educational goals for native education, formulated others and then determined a set of goal statements realistic and relevant for their community's secondary school. Since the Combined School's Committee represent the parents of the community the goals had to reflect the wishes of the parents. In an information meeting the new goals were identified and explained by the

committee. The parents who attended the meeting at the Karonhianonha elementary school gymnasium and who supported the idea of a secondary school in the community, unanimously agreed with the goals detailed by the committee.

The educational goals established for the Kahnawake Survival School are not unlike those of other secondary institutions in North America. Its goal statements are broad and try to encompass all the desired outcomes for students; serving the dual needs of the individual and the society the individual finds themselves in. The goals were taken primarily from the Beauvais, Deering study (1977). They suggest that a high school education in this community should instruct students to:

" a) learn to live good lives, meaning that they learn

- to become self-reliant
- to have respect for themselves, one another and for their elders.
- to live in harmony with themselves, the community, the people living outside the community, and the social and physical environment.

b) learn to make a good living, meaning that they learn

- to read and write effectively
- to understand and use mathematics
- to develop skills necessary to get a good job"

The stated educational goals complimented the schools committee desire to develop a school program that maintained

balance and relevancy between academic/skill subjects and Indian cultural courses. They believed that if a student was to really know themselves and their potential as a human being they should learn the things that shape them such as their history, language, and values. Like Gibson, the parents school committee assumption regarding outcome was that a student will develop competencies in two cultures and be able to function in each one simultaneously and comfortably once provided a bicultural education. The schools goals for education are supported by Gibsons assumptions on bicultural education.

It has been suggested that bicultural education, as a set of theoretical principles, is employed to produce a student who is capable of operating successfully between cultural boundaries. The Mohawk, through their broad goal statements for education, agree with this theory of education. In the subsequent sections of this chapter I will describe the model for bicultural education adapted by the Combined Schools Committee, the method employed to approach program planning and delivery, and the level of impact on both the school and community as a result of this strategy for education.

The Model

The model for bicultural education at Kahnawake's secondary school may be viewed as a network of skills or competences. The rationale underlying this model evolved after several visits to private schools in the Montreal area, an examination of programs being taught by these private

schools, and the Schools Committee desire to offer a quality education. It seems that the major influence in deciding what the network of skills should be was the Schools Committee concern for academic equivalency. That is, they attempted to examine the pattern of basic course offerings at three private schools in Montreal with the goal of retaining those courses, including general objectives, skills and content, that every regional secondary school student was required to complete for graduation. Simultaneously, the committee replaced other course offerings with specific programs designed to meet the cultural needs of Mohawk students or to take direct advantage of the natural environment surrounding the school. The result of this important step was a model with a cross-section of courses; some determined by external standards and others generated by the community.

The bi-cultural model, or network of skills, consists of five domains. They are: basic skills, language skills, science skills, health and physical education skills, and social and cultural skills. Each domain is centered around the domain of basic skills. The entire model has been conceptualized in figure one.

In many respects, Kahnawake's unique physical and cultural environment directed the framework of this model. The small geographic area of the community, its population density, economic opportunities, the proximity to a large urban center and the Mohawk value for upward mobility suggests that the model for education adapted by the schools

committee would have to reflect the prerequisites to socio-economic opportunities in the larger society. Whereas the committee simply may have rejected all that may be

Figure One - The Kahnawake Model for Bicultural Education

Social and Cultural Skills

history
geography
cultural immersion
law
Government
economics
literature
drama
arts & crafts
values

Science Skills

Environmental
Ecological
Biological
Chemical
Physical
Agricultural
Physiological

Basic Skills

reading writing
speaking listening
analysis synthesis
problem solving evaluation
 mathematics
multicultural comprehension
 appreciation
research and study skills

Health and Physical Education Skills

healthy body and mind through
nutrition and environmental
awareness
physical education

early childhood education,
athletics
recreation and leisure activities
developmental psychology
education

Language Skills

English
French
Mohawk

considered part of the Canadian educational process and

determine to teach native content they elected to examine both strategies. In light of a previous discussion, the network of skills adopted by the school is close to a culturally relevant curriculum. While the aim was directed toward bicultural competencies.

The schools committee took a careful look at several curriculum materials being used in the private school programs. One of their immediate concerns with some of the materials viewed was that the content was meaningless to the Mohawk student's cultural needs fulfillment and that most promoted rote learning and continuous drill exercises. Although several texts were adaptable and most were designed well, the committee thought students would have a difficult time relating to the material since the Mohawk were not part of the larger student audience textbook publishers prepare books for. It was determined that the relatively small student population should be immersed in a curriculum that had a regional focus; such that selected curricula would take advantage of the local community. Thus there was a need to develop relevant curricula and learning materials that drew heavily on Kahnawake and the environment of other native and non-native people to help illustrate basic themes and concepts. It was assumed that a combination of basic skills with local relevance would provide broader insights for students on more abstract ideas in the future.

The Method

The method employed to actualize the bicultural model consists of a five step process. The steps are:

1. Needs Assessment
2. Establishing a Curriculum Framework
3. Planning and Production
4. Dissemination and Implementation
5. Management

The present analysis focuses on the method used in planning for bicultural education at a Mohawk secondary school and its level of impact on the community. The analysis is based on the premise that a schools' goals for education have not only a significant impact on the characteristics of its curriculum and means for instruction, but also on the response and reaction to the community proper. I have organized the analysis to describe method components, their effectiveness in matching the schools goals for education and the level of impact on the school and community.

1. Needs Assessment - The basic referent for "what should be" after students leave the formal school system is minimal self-sufficiency and contribution to society. (Kaufman, 1972, p. 23) This concept serves as a basis for external needs assessment (Kaufman, 1977, p 58) because its roots are in society and not within the school or school system. This method for bicultural education employed the use of an external needs assessment. It calls for planning to begin by determining the requirements for individual and

collective self-sufficiency in society. The significance of this approach is that it goes beyond the boundaries of the school and provides a direct link between curriculum, instruction and society. Determining what self-sufficiency is through an external needs assessment requires the use of indications rather than absolute criteria since self-sufficiency is culturally dependant (Kaufman, 1977, p. 55). For example, what may be self-sufficiency for one ethnic group may not be adequate for another. Indicators are the basic set of competencies required by students living in a given society to become and maintain self-sufficiency.

Roger Kaufman and Fenwich W. English (1979) suggest:

"...there is no correct way to design and conduct an external needs assessment. Each community is different and each group of people is unique; thus reducing the advisability and utility of kits, packages and checklists of how-to-do-its."

They continue,

"in a needs assessment process, if it is to be valid and useful and if it is to be accepted and used, should include the involvement of a planning partnership: learners, educate and community members."

The strategy to conduct this external needs assessment included the use of the three planning partners referred to by Kaufman and English. The purpose of this particular needs assessment was to determine a set of indicators that people believed were essential to the growth of a school program and student outcomes for a unique community and people. A two by three needs statement matrix was used to classify the collected data. (View Appendix C) Not only did this technique

clarify what was being said about a particular subject it showed which of the planning partners was saying it.

Results of this ongoing needs assessment were discussed weekly with the Combined Schools Committee from November 1978 until June 1979. They felt it was important to closely examine every aspect of assessment results since this would effect the decisions they made and ultimately the students success and failures after completing a course of study at the community school.

The subjects for this external needs assessment consisted of the following:

- a) learners: all Mohawk students who attended the band controlled secondary school as well as some Mohawk students who once attended high schools off the reserve and had since graduated prior to 1978.
- b) educators: native and non-native educators with varying educational backgrounds experiences and expectations. The majority of people in this category were Mohawks from the community.
- c) community members: primarily members of the Combined Schools Committee. Data was also collected from people who supported and who did not support the school.

The data for this external needs assessment was obtained through informal discussions, interviews, or large and small

7

group meetings. The following questions were posed to each partner. 1. How would you describe the present state of _____ program Mohawk students are involved with? This question sought indicators to the question of what is? in the needs assessment matrix. The next question sought an alternative indicator to the first responses. 2. What educational purposes should the new high school seek to obtain with _____? What are the students needs in _____?

Data collected in the needs assessment were analyzed, to determine if the development of a bicultural approach to education was suitable for this community school, and if so, what were some of the indicators appropriate to this community.

The actual total number of individuals (planning partners) interviewed is unknown. However of all the participants, fifteen community members mentioned that "although they agreed with having the high school in the community, they did not support its goals". Through rough estimates the following was determined about the number of participants involved in this external needs assessment.

1. Students - About half (120) the total number of students at the new secondary school during the 1978-1979 academic year were interviewed from grades seven to eleven.
2. Educators - All native and non-native teaching staff at the new secondary school during the 1978-1979 academic year (59 Mohawk, 24 non-native)

About eight teachers from the elementary level and two principals were consulted.

3. Community Members - Approximately 100 individuals.

It has been established that schools have been created to serve and perpetuate society. At Kahnawake the goals for education were a means to an end, that of preparing students with competencies to participate in two cultures. Therefore, by conducting what Kaufman refers to as an external needs assessment, the outcomes should point to indicators that had the most utility for this specific community. For the purpose of this section, data for three subject areas are displayed and analyzed as an illustration of results to this needs assessment.

Needs Assessment - Display

Section One -

Subject - Social Studies

Planning Partners - Learners, Educators, Community Members

a) Learners

1. How would you describe the present social studies program you are involved with?

The typical response from Mohawk students who were interviewed was that they were learning too much about the "Whiteman" or "French-man" in schools like Billings and hardly anything about being Mohawk.

Displayed below are several responses:

1. "Indians" in textbooks are always bad. This does not

make me feel good about being Mohawk."

2. "I'm not learning about myself but somebody else who does not even think like me".

3. "Teachers never talk about Indians in North American History. The focus is always on the Whiteman - the English, French or Dutch".

4. "It doesn't do anything for me".

5. "When teachers talk about Indians, they group all Indians together. They are different you know just as European people are different".

6. "I can not describe it because I do not attend social studies classes".

7. "The program is good but there should be more projects on native people".

8. "Good".

9. "I don't know".

10. "I'm ashamed because I cannot talk about my people's culture or history. It is not for Indians but for white people from Chateaugay".

11. "I don't want to be a whiteman but with everything I know about them I could be".

12. "It is mostly Canadian and American History with some geography".

From these responses, it appears that most of the Mohawk students are not satisfied with the present social studies program they are involved with while a few seem satisfied or do not have definite opinions. They indicate that cultural needs are not being dealt with in the present social studies

program. Most students have negative feelings towards the traditional mainstream curriculum.

The next set of responses are to the second question posed to Mohawk students.

2. What do you believe the students' needs are in a new social studies program?

Most students believed that the entire content of a new social studies program at the school should be based on native peoples. They wanted to learn about Mohawk history and culture as well as contemporary problems Indians are face with in a North American context. Student response to this question follows:

1. "We should learn about ourselves and other native people. ♦ We need to know this for our survival".

2. "What about Indian law and government?"

3. "Legends, creation stories, history and traditional crafts, etc..."

4. "We need to know about the Indian Act to protect ourselves, so that is one thing we can study".

5. "American history, Canadian history, World history".

6. "Our schools social studies program should have us learn about our history, culture and songs. We should also learn about white people and their history".

7. "Whatever I need to go to college".

8. "History and Geography of North America. No Roman or Greek history please".

A majority of the answers are in agreement about learning Mohawk culture and history of other native people. Students do not think it is a bad idea to learn about the "non-Indian" histories and would not object to learning Canadian, American or World history as long as they have sufficient time to learn their own history and culture.

b) Educators

3. How would you describe the present social studies program Mohawk students are involved with?

The Mohawk and non-native educators felt that the present social studies program Mohawk students were involved with was inadequate in that many of the basic cultural competencies were not being attained through the mainstream curriculum. However the non-native educators agreed that the present social studies program was not causing any harm to Mohawk students, while the Mohawk teachers observed problems with content, resource materials, instructional methodology, and cultural bias. It seems that the Mohawk people (educators) were more detailed and sensitive to personal cultural needs. The typical non-native educator response would be "There should be more time spent with all students to discuss the positive contributions native people had to Canadian history however I do not think that learning Canadian history will have a negative effect on Indian students". On the other hand, the Mohawk educators, believed that, "Mohawk history and culture is the foundation of this nation and therefore should be passed on for all generations". While the non-native educators' responses are

not really negative they do indicate a cultural perspective which is narrow. Typical responses of both native and non-native educators follow:

1. "It does not meet the needs of our people".
2. "99% of all material learned is on the non-Indian. 1% of one program (Canadian history) gives some acknowledgement that native people existed for centuries before the arrival of the whiteman and even then a true picture is not given".
3. "Culturally discriminatory".
4. "Our culture and history do not exist. We are considered savages by most history texts and not really considered important".
5. "The students as Mohawks are deprived of their history, but they are getting their fill of whiteman's history".
6. "What social studies program".
7. "It seems adequate for most students however probably losses some meaning for Mohawk students".
8. "As an elective course it does not mean very much to most Mohawk students"..
9. "Students know more about the history of Chateaugay than they do about their own community".

4. What educational purposes should the new school seek to attain with social studies?

All Mohawk and non-native educators felt there should be a greater emphasis placed on Mohawk or native content. This would include culture, history and so on. They also agreed that although students should be learning relevant content

they should not give up the social studies skills they would learn in other high schools, therefore a program should be developed which combines these two areas.

Within the high school native or Mohawk content, should be examined first prior to dealing with world history. Both groups agreed that it would be a bad mistake to eliminate world history from a student's course of study. Some responses follow:

1. "More positive native content, possibly Mohawk history, should be included. It should be meshed with typical content from a provincial curriculum. The students will need this in college".
2. "Mohawk history, Iroquoian history and the history of other native people should be the first thing our children learn. After that anything will have meaning".
3. "Whatever the Mohawk people decide for their social studies program will be fine. No one should criticize it because they are the ones who know what is best for their children".
4. "The purpose of the new social studies program should be to develop logical thinking skills based around our history".

It seems that while most non-native educators approached a response to these two questions seriously and with largely individual perceptions some responded with a disadvantaged understanding of the culture that Mohawk students bring to the classroom. The Mohawk educators approached a response to

similar questions with sensitivity to personal cultural needs as opposed to primarily professional ones.

(c) Community Members

5. How would you describe the present social studies program Mohawk students are involved with now?

Most community members were not satisfied with the present social studies program Mohawk students were involved with and felt it was extremely important to focus on Mohawk history. They were very concerned about the effect a social studies program would have on their children. One school committee member mentioned to me late one evening "I consider social studies as important as our language. If we do not practice and learn both we will loose them".

Of all the Community members interviewed, fifteen agreed with the new school but did not support it. In reference to this question, nine felt that the present social studies program was sufficient for Mohawk students while the remaining six felt it was a good program but more native content should be added. However the nine parents who believed the present social studies program was fine in its present state could not accept the inclusion of more native content. They felt that if this was done, the Mohawk students would become "top Indian". Some responses follow:

1. "Our children are not learning about their history, or about themselves. This, to me is a real shame".
2. "I speak my language; my son does not...Both of us do not

know our history. As a parent I would like to learn both...Right now all he knows is about Canada or the United States...It's no good".

3. "A whiteman's history".

4. "It seems fine to me".

5. "History is history. It cannot be changed. I learned about Canada and European history in school and my kids will too. It won't hurt them".

6. "Another assimilation trick by the non-native".

The majority of community members did not agree that the basic cultural needs were being met with the present social studies program.

(6) What are the students' needs in social studies?

All community members, with the exception of the above mentioned fifteen, agreed that students need to study Mohawk history and culture first and then the history and culture of other people. "Other people" would include native and non-native groups. Some community members were against any changes and felt it would be satisfactory to adopt a provincial curriculum into the school.

1. "They need to learn about their own history and the history of the other Iroquoian nations. After this, world history should be studied because native people are international".

2. "What is wrong with the social studies program student receive at Billings High School or Lachine High? I do not see the need to change anything in social studies".

3. "To live with the whiteman, you need to know his history.

To live as a Mohawk, you need to know your history. To live as a human being, you need to know both".

4. "Let the student decide for themselves".

5. "Students should learn about their community as it is today with all of its problems so they can see the problems and help to change them. I think Mohawk history would be good as well as Canadian history".

6. "Geography and History of the world".

In sum, all planning partners agreed that there was a definite need to re-organize the present (1978) social studies program Mohawk students were involved with and would be taking in the future. It was showed that students should be able to learn about their local community, culture and history (the things that shape them as Mohawks) before investigating the larger mainstream's culture.

Educators and community members did not want to compromise on learning skills for a new social studies program and therefore emphasized that content and social studies skills be prepared to develop competencies in two cultures.

Section Two

Subject: Science

Planning Partners: Learners, Educators, Community
Members

(a) Learners:

1. How would you describe the present science program you are involved with?

The typical response was that they enjoyed their present science program. Of course, there were those students who disliked the subject of science and, therefore, responded negatively. In general, students had more to say about social studies than they did about science or mathematics. When asked specific questions on content, most students could not recall concepts and topics covered in their previous science course. Many grade ten and eleven students had few problems discussing content from previous courses.

2. What do you believe the students' need are in a new science program?

Students did not believe there was a need to change anything in the science program. They were satisfied with everything. Students felt their needs were in the areas of teachers and classroom materials. Their concerns are listed below.

1. "The program seems fine. I think we should have a science lab to do experiments".
2. "Change the teacher. She doesn't teach us anything. All she does is complain about walking to the trailer on icy

roads".

3. "I can't learn biology when I have to look at a teacher who's face is full of holes".

4. "We need books that are new".

5. "We need books".

It is especially interesting to look at these responses. Students did not report any problems with the science courses, however they took considerable time to be critical with the teachers and materials they had. Many also felt that to learn science, one had to be in proper environment, such as a science laboratory or a science classroom. Since the school was only a few months old, we had to rely on old homes with small rooms and rented trailers as referred to in response 2.

(b) Educators

3. How would you describe the present science program Mohawk students are involved with?

On this question, all educators polled felt that the present science program Mohawk students were involved with was sufficiently meeting their needs. They responded as follows:

1. "Simple moving to the more complex".

2. "General science in the lower secondary grades is easy enough for all students to comprehend. There are a minimum amount of experiments and most students consider it an exciting class. It is really then to generate interest I suppose, with the younger minds... At the higher grades the sciences become more complex. All of these programs come

from the Ministry of Education and are standard. Each program is usually a challenge to most students".

3. "Good" "Excellent" "Very Good".

The educators believed that the science program was "good" to "excellent". There was no contrast between native and non-native educators in this question.

4. What educational purposes should the new high school seek to attain with science?

The typical response from educators was that the science program in this new high school should be similar to that outlined by the provincial Ministry of Education. No changes should be made.

(c) Community Members:

5. How would you describe the present science program Mohawk students are involved with now?

For the most part, community members usually have little or nothing to do with education apart from attending school committee general meetings or monitoring their son or daughter's progress in school. However this group was quick to respond to the question. Typical responses follow:

1. "I'm not satisfied with it at all. My daughter passed all of her science courses at Billings...but when she went to CEGEP, the first day they told her she had to do some kind of make up work. Now to me, you either pass or fail. What does she have to do over? Why couldn't they work with her at high school on those problems. To me it is all a joke and the young people have to suffer for it".

2. "It seems fine to me. I guess I will have a better opinion when my daughter gets to high school".

3. "Those provincial exams are not fair. They do not take into consideration the work a student has done all year. I find it unfair to the student".

4. "My son does not take science...".

5. "Our people have roots in Mother Earth. Students don't lean about agriculture and myself, I think this is not good...~~The~~ other science courses are ok, I guess".

6. "Those non-Indian teachers know that subject but they don't know our children and science is a subject our children have trouble with so they have trouble with the teachers".

Parents exhibited some frustration to the mechanics of a successful science program; the instructors, the examination procedures, the cultural differences. Most could not comment on science content but all were extremely eager to respond.

In working with the community members, the researcher felt that this group, above the educators and learners, were more sensitive to the overall needs of each subject discussed. Although none were experts in the subject matter, many had been involved in experiences which lead them to believe that something was wrong with science instruction at the non-native high school.

6. What are the students' needs in science?

Community members were the only group to suggest a change. Some of their responses follow:

1. "They need all the regular sciences, but it would be good if they had some plant science and agriculture".

2. "Traditional medicine and biology and knowing about the trees and soil".

3. "I grew up on a farm and learned all the science I need. I think our young people are too soft. They need some hard work at a farm to learn about agriculture...It will help them understand the need to plant and harvest. What is going to happen to people in this land if there is a food shortage? Right now most Mohawk people depend on the whiteman for food. If we cannot feed ourselves then we cannot call ourselves self-reliant. This self-reliance business is one of your goals isn't?"

4. "How about forestry included with other science courses".

5. "Of course biology, chemistry, physics. Maybe some human physiology".

6. "All the normal science subjects. Do not change a thing".

7. "We need more agriculture taught in school. If you can start, at the elementary schools".

Community members felt that there should be more time spent on environmental studies, forestry and agriculture. The suggested these possibly out of fear for cultural or community survival or to meet the educational purposes of the new school.

To review, all planning partners agreed that regular science courses could still be covered at the new school. These courses could include biology, chemistry and physics at the senior level and general science at the junior level

(grades seven, eight, and nine).

Learners and community members had contrasting perspectives on what should be in the schools science program while they both agreed that there were some problems with the instructional staff. Educators, for the most part, do not see any problems adopting or adapting a provincial science curriculum into the Mohawk secondary school.

The community members observed that they would be able to meet some cultural needs through a revised science program. The main cultural competency was in the area of agricultural science. It was determined that the new science program for this community school would be a combination of regular science courses from the provincial level and a series of courses directly relative to the local community and its environment.

Section Three

Subject - Mathematics

Planning Partners - Learners, Educators, Community
Members

(a) Learners

1. How would you describe the present mathematics program you are involved with?

The typical response from Mohawk students was that the program was fine. Displayed below are several responses:

1. "Math is good".
2. "My teacher spends too much time on addition, subtraction, multiplication and division. I did all this in elementary

school".

3. "Its too easy".
4. "I can't follow because I have no book".
5. "I guess it is alright".

Most students did not describe the program to any length. They merely focused on a couple of problems which were evident at the time - teachers trying to determine what to do with students and the lack of materials. Again, students were not able to speak out as openly about mathematics as they were about social studies.

2. What do you believe the students need are in a new mathematics program?

Every student interviewed felt that they should receive exactly the same mathematics program as students attending high schools. Another similarity among student responses was that they felt there should be more time for tutorial work with teachers because mathematics was a difficult subject for most. Some responses follow:

1. "It should be like other high schools...like what my brother got a Billings".
2. "I didn't know there was a new mathematics program. If its easy that what students need".
3. "Class should be quiet and small so we can understand. Our teacher should work with every student".
4. "A good teacher, not like the one we have now".

Students in general commented that mathematics was an important program. Many mentioned that this was the one

subject they wanted to do well in but had a hard time because the material was complex.

(b) Educators

3. How would you describe the present mathematics program Mohawk students are involved in?

4. What educational purposes should the new high school seek to obtain with mathematics?

All educators interviewed believed that there was no problem with the present mathematics curriculum and that it should be adapted in the new school. (i.e., the provincial curriculum)

(c) Community Members

5. How would you describe the present mathematics program Mohawk students are involved with now?

The community members response on this question follows:

1. "It seems to be a good program at the elementary level, but I'm not very sure what they do at high school".

2. "It is poor at the elementary and secondary levels. There are no mathematics specialists at the elementary level to deal with individual problems. At the secondary level the class size is too big for students to get proper attention".

3. "There must be problems with the program when almost every student has problems. It used to be that mathematics was one of my son's best subjects, now it is his worst".

4. "The books seem complicated, and hard to follow".

Community members were not satisfied with the present mathematics program. They pointed to a number of factors but nothing as a specific cause of the problem. They wanted the mathematics program reviewed and revised. One parent summed the other concern. "My daughter was doing fine in elementary school, at least this is what I was told by her teacher, but when she gets to high school she has terrible problems with mathematics".

6. What are the students needs in mathematics?

While community members could not pinpoint specific problems on the question of mathematics, they had very strong suggestions for solutions and students needs in a math program. Typical responses follow:

1. "The students need qualified mathematics teachers".
2. "More effort from the elementary school teachers would probably help, with more information being given to parents".
3. "Good teachers who are able to make a boring subject fun".
4. "Small classes for more individual attention".
5. "Good teachers".
6. "Streaming".
7. "Extra homework for all students...maybe some extra classes".

Parents believed that mathematics was an important subject. They were generally dissatisfied with the results of most students in mathematics achievement at the elementary and secondary level and wanted the problems resolved.

In conclusion, all planning partners agreed that mathematics was an important subject. The non-native educators emphasized that mathematics was the most important subject in the schools curriculum and that it should be given highest importance by planners and teachers. The native educators agreed that mathematics was important but not as important as Mohawk language or Social studies. Most students believed that mathematics was difficult but enjoyed the subject provided the teacher was "tough". Community members felt that the problem Mohawk students were having with mathematics was important to look at. They agreed with the non-native educators that it was a very important subject, although they considered every subject in the program important. Albeit there is no element of a mathematics curriculum which is "Indian" or "Mohawk", this subject was considered a priority for the development of competencies to exist in another culture. The strategy to include mathematics as part of a bicultural education would suggest that the Mohawk were concerned about socioeconomic opportunities in the mainstream cultures workplace.

Component Effectiveness

One could suggest that the effectiveness and efficiency of schools may be enhanced by reviewing the relationship between the school and community. Discussing schooling issues among the planning partners enabled those responsible for educational design to examine societal expectations of students.

This external needs assessment process produced data

relevant to the community. By focussing on external considerations (as opposed to internal) there was a greater chance that the results would be socially acceptable to the community, and therefore increase public awareness and support for the school (Scriven/Roth, 1978, p. 38). There is little doubt that the use of needs assessment was an important step in the planning process. It provided a broad focus for what the school should do with students.

Level of Impact

Many persons involved in the needs assessment process appeared to profit from the informal discussions about what the new community school should represent. Not only did they feel they were contributing to the direction and development of the school, they provided interesting feedback on personal concerns such as student behavior, teacher selection, job opportunities after high school and many other related topics. The use of informal discussion succeeded in establishing a climate people felt comfortable in and therefore responded more freely. People were aware that much detail was being placed on the planning process and that their contributions were considered important.

The needs assessment process increased public awareness however did very little to gain community support for the school. Somehow it is difficult to imagine that a community the size of Kahnawake not totally supporting the growth of a new secondary school. Yet several persons believed that it was in their son or daughters best interest to attend a

well established secondary school instead. It seems that this group's immediate concern was with the physical aspects of a school. They suggested that since there was no school facility that school could not be conducted adequately.

The level of impact of this needs assessment was moderate given the fact that many individuals were involved with the organization of the school. This assessment was viewed as one example of what people were doing to make the school "a good school". In other words, the use of an external needs assessment was not considered the most significant component of school planning, but only one dimension. The final results were viewed in relation to what the school committee was thinking about in terms of what should a Mohawk education be and information they were receiving from others interested in the shaping of the school. The involvement of various groups and the results of assessment were useful in setting direction for adopting a new school program.

2. Establishing a Curriculum Framework

The word "curriculum" comes from the latin root meaning "race course". Traditionally the school curriculum has represented something like that; a very precise route students must cover in order to complete the "race" and their goal of a school diploma. A school's program of studies may include various levels of mathematics, languages, social and natural sciences, art, physical education as well as many

other courses designed to enrich a students formal education.

The following description of the Kahnawake Survival Schools curriculum framework is intended as an overview of the approach to bicultural education taken by the Combined Schools Committee. The outline consists of course titles, basic course objectives and subject content.

Program: Mohawk language

Objective: to provide students an opportunity to learn and be able to function using the native language.

Content: There is no established curriculum for the Mohawk language program. The success or outcomes of the program rely greatly on the ability of the Mohawk language teachers to work on a tutorial basis with the students.

Time Allotment: Every student is required to take Mohawk language for fifty minutes per day. This course is compulsory from grade seven to eleven.

Program: Social Studies

Objectives: To build the students' knowledge and value of Mohawk culture, other native societies, and the mainstream cultures history. To develop a knowledge and values that will create attitudes of healthy curiosity and genuine interest in their native culture and in the world of the non-native.

Content: Grade Seven: A cultural immersion program. Students reflect on their traditional values as

presented by elders from the community. They participate in traditional ceremonies at the longhouse (festivals) and in the bush (sweat lodges). Students are introduced to the Mohawk creation story, kinship and the family, traditional roles of men and women, the founding and workings of the Iroquois Confederacy. Areas such as food, food preparation, crafts: leather works, beads and cradleboard, and native games such as snowsnakes are focused on.

Content: Grade Eight: A History and Geography of the Mohawk. Students study a prepared comprehensive history of the Mohawks from Hochelaga and the First Algonquin War until the establishment of the Kahnawake Survival School (see text: *Seven Generations, A History of the Kanienkehaka* by David Blanchard, Center for Curriculum Development, Kahnawake Survival School 1980). The history component deals mainly with the history of the Kahnawake reserve. It incorporates the development of social studies skills, equivalent to those that may be found in a provincial school. As well, the grade eight program teaches geography. It includes many of the standard skills students learn in geography yet the content used to

teach and reinforce these skills is selected from the ancient territory once inhabited by Mohawk people. Students examine some ideas about the features of the earth's face and basic concepts of geography. It introduces world geography which suggests the distribution and great diversity of the world's people, and the importance of the earth's surface to human society. The program also explores the geography of traditional and contemporary Mohawk territory and contemporary Mohawk territory and the relationship between the environment of this territory and the lifeways of the Mohawk people. The program identifies and describes the major physical features of Mohawk territory and presents an examination of the ways in which the Mohawk used their environment, such as hunting, fishing, gathering and family practice. It ends with a focus on the Mohawk today in the territory they presently control.

Content: Grade Nine: A History and Geography of Nine Native Culture Areas of North America examines the environment and material culture of these groups prior to contact with the non-native explorers. The impact of this change is also traced. Social studies skills are developed simultaneously with this material. This is

often referred to as area or cultural studies. The last twelve weeks of the grade nine program are devoted to a study of Canadian history. It is a survey course examining the period of 1867 to present. Some attention is given to the role of native people in a Canadian context.

Content: Grade Ten. A standard world history program is taught.

Content: Grade Eleven. Iroquoian Studies, Contemporary Issues and Current Events. Students examine issues that are effecting Iroquoian communities today. These issues would range from environmental to economic. The analysis of contemporary world issues is also dealt with. Newspaper and journal studies of local, provincial, national and international concerns are the focus.

Time Allotment: Grade 7, 9, 10, 11: Four fifty minute periods per week.

Grade 8: Five Fifty minute periods per week.

Program: Science

Objectives: To familiarize and sensitize Mohawk students to the importance of their community and the natural environment that surrounds their community.

To provide adequate training in the pure sciences to ensure that Mohawk students have an

equal opportunity in future career selections.

Content: Grades Seven and Eight: These two courses are rooted in the environmental sciences. Topics such as eco-systems, water, air, soil, plant life, animals, reproduction and other environmental aspects are covered. As often as possible these environmental concepts are related to the environment of the reserve. The program suggests that the natural environment becomes the laboratory and that experiments be conducted out of doors frequently.

Content: Grade Nine: This course is equivalent to a standard provincial program that introduces biology, chemistry, physics, and agriculture.

Content: Grades Ten-Eleven: The only required science course in grade ten or eleven is agriculture. The curriculum offers the standard biology, chemistry and physics courses found at all provincial secondary schools, however these are selected by the student for career preparation. The agricultural science course traces the contributions to agriculture by the native people and divides the presentation of the program into three areas, (a) soil science, (b) plant science, (c) animal science. As part of the laboratory experience, students are able to work in a small seed farming operation developed by the school on the school site.

Time
Allotment:

Grades 7, 8, 9: Four fifty minute periods per week. Grades 10 or 11: Agriculture. Three fifty minute periods per week. All other senior science courses are four fifty minute periods per week.

Program: Mathematics

Objectives: To develop a practical understanding to the usage of mathematics in daily life.

To provide a standard mathematics program to ensure that the student has the opportunity to compete with other students for entrance to college and university programs. To build a usable collection of skills in mathematics.

Content: The entire mathematics curriculum is a standard, general-level program. A course in functions is also provided.

Time:
Allotment

Grade 7: Five fifty minute periods per week.
Grades 8, 9, 10, 11: Four fifty minute periods per week. The course offered in functions has the same allotment.

Program: English

Objectives and Content: Seven broad components and their concepts characterize the English language arts and curriculum.

(a) Language-use concepts which intend to encourage students to understand the

cultural and historic roots of language usage.

(b) Oral skill concepts which intend to encourage active student articulation of ideas, observations and experiences.

(c) Multi-cultural concepts which intend to promote appreciation and understanding for one's culture as well as an understanding of the complexities of cultural diversity. ,

(d) Listening and viewing concepts which intend to promote critical understanding of media and environment.

(e) Literature and poetry concepts which intend to expose the student to diverse literacy forms and encourage thoughtful and creative responses to human experiences and conflict.

(f) Writing concepts which intend to encourage writing confidence and achieve competency in self-expression in writing.

(g) Information gathering concepts which intend to instill confidence in finding and evaluating information.

Time
Allotment:

Grades 7, 8, 9: Seven fifty minute periods per week.

Grade 10, 11: Four fifty minute periods per week.

Program: French Language

Objectives: To develop a positive attitude towards learning the

French language.

To build the students' knowledge and practice in oral French usage.

To give the student a realistic understanding and perspective to the largely French culture surrounding their community and to develop practical skills in the French language to participate in that cultural milieu.

Content: Grades 7-11: Almost entirely conversational French. Content is drawn from daily experiences. Areas such as language use, listening and viewing skills are incorporated throughout the program. The program is compulsory for grades seven, eight and nine and optional for grades ten and eleven. No formal curriculum has yet been prepared, however many of the skills included in a provincial curriculum have been incorporated.

Time Allotment: Grades 7, 8, 9: Two fifty minute periods per week.

Grades 10-11: Optional, three fifty minute periods per week.

Program: Physical Education

Objectives: To increase the students' sense of personal confidence.

To increase mental support within a group.

To develop an increased level of agility and

physical coordination.

To develop a true spirit of cooperation and competition.

To develop an increased familiarity and identification with the natural world.

Content: Activities to develop coordination and cardiovascular movements as well as flexibility. All courses, initiative games and activities take place in the school gym of a specially designed ropes course situated out of doors on the school site.

Time Allotment: Grades 7-11: Three fifty minute periods per week.

To complete the curriculum frameworks' course offerings, students would be able to select elective courses in traditional and contemporary art, auto mechanics, weldings, carpentry and cabinet making, human development, typing, computer technology and reading.

Component Effectiveness

Either for adjusting or reviewing the curriculum, presentation of a framework can raise awareness and increase comprehension of a given area to some extent. The use of a curriculum framework was extremely effective in that it served as an outline for discussion with parents and was used as a basis for building the intended curriculum. The intended curriculum may be defined as that content which is expected to be conveyed to students. This component was an

important aspect of the pre-planning stages.

Level of Impact

Upon completion of the external needs assessment, the next step taken by the local school committee was to bring the ideas about a school program to the attention of the parents. At a public meeting in one of the community's school's, the framework to a curriculum was described by several school committee members. They emphasized that the schools program of study was intended to teach students how to be good Mohawks and the skills necessary to get a good job or to succeed in higher education.

The major influence in deciding what the curriculum framework should be was the parent's concern for basic skills such as reading, writing, speaking and mathematics. Although there was reasonable agreement about the broad categories represented in the curriculum, several parents responded cautiously to the possibility of the curriculum alienating students from other schools' general programs and subsequently future economic opportunities. Many parents preferred to maintain the status quo with a high school curriculum rather than gamble on suggested changes on improvements regardless of the unique situation. In other words, they were suggesting total adaptation of the provincial curriculum in the school.

By adopting a curriculum framework such as the one proposed by the schools committee, several parents refused to allow their children to attend the new school. Many opted to

return their son or daughter back to Howard S. Billings Regional High School, or enroll them at one of the numerous private schools in the Montreal area. The level of impact of a new curriculum framework was significant in this community. Although it made people aware of how the school intended to fulfill its goals for education with an approach to formal instruction unlike other schools, it gave some community members reasons for not supporting the new school.

3. Planing and Production

There is always a risk of failure in attempting something for the very first time. People, and especially entire communities, do not like the thought of failing at something they believe so strongly in. Although the School's Committee believed in the ultimate success of their new school, the thought of possible failure served as a reminder to them of the importance to carefully plan the new schools curriculum.

At issue was the question of how do we plan for what we believe in? The schools' committee had identified the particulars they thought Mohawk students needed to learn at the new school. Yet, there were several gaps or discrepancies between what the school was proposing in order to meet its' goals for education and what was available in terms of curricula and materials designed to support a series of goals with a local focus.

The schools' committee determined a plan of action to meet expected outcomes for education. A master development

plan for curriculum and instruction was formulated and submitted to the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs regional office in Quebec City for funding purposes. The five year plan proposed that the school would conduct a comprehensive review of existing secondary curricula for all subject areas outlined in the curriculum framework and adopt or adjust programs that best matched the schools' goals. Furthermore the plan called for the research, development and design of programs with a local or cultural focus.

The plan was approved by the Department of Indian Affairs and funding for the unique idea arrived approximately two months after the original submission. The schools committee established a curriculum office which had as its main function the development, improvement and management of a secondary curriculum for the community based school.

Component Effectiveness

The development of new and improvement of existing curriculum products may be viewed as a search for ideas, ideas that are important for students to learn and teachers to teach. The ideas for a locally based curriculum were derived not only from research reports and various state or provincial curricula but largely from the ideas and experiences of local people.

Initial planning of the curricula with a cultural or local focus involved obtaining input from native teachers, and other community members interested in suggesting content. Other components of the schools curriculum were developed by

native and non-native teachers, curriculum personnel and several community members. The importance and significance of a new curriculum to the school was viewed as a high priority by the schools committee. It was assumed that the combination of generally accepted skills and concepts from the regional level mixed with local examples would ensure interesting experiences for students and overall successful outcomes in the classroom. The ideas, skills and concepts taught at the regional level were contrasted to what was expected at the local level. The results consisted of a curriculum unique to a particular school setting derived from community goals for education involving local residents through each phase of the planning process. The design and production of curriculum guides and instructional materials was also controlled at the local level.

The local focus provided three benefits for component effectiveness in the planning and production phase in the community school. The first concerns the use of community members to translate the communities goals for education into some tangible, written statement about what the intended curriculum should be. The knowledge, support and influence of native staff was crucial to the success of the curriculum being developed. It allowed the teachers who would be using the curriculum and materials in the classroom to become involved in the research, writing and development phases. It seems that this interaction helped the teachers comprehension of the community's goals for education but more significantly made them feel that they were closer to the program they were

teaching since they had contributed to the organization of it. Their involvement in piloting the programs they had worked on developed a greater commitment and understanding of what they were doing in the classroom.

The second benefit of local planning concerns the use of non-native teachers and other school personnel to plan the schools' curriculum. Their understanding of the regional focus for skills and concepts to be taught, mixed with local expectations helped to bring about a perspective for bicultural education in the community school. The sharing of ideas, experiences and expertise helped to bridge cross-cultural differences between the staff while developing the curriculum. Both the native and non-native staff were committed to the idea of bicultural education. Their commitment helped to reduce the amount of time between the planning and development phase and classroom implementation of the new programs.

The third benefit was the local control of producing the finished products. Support personnel were hired from the community to aid in the design and production aspects of the materials developed. Individuals were hired to type drafts on a word processor, illustrate pages and text, design format, typeset manuscript copies and paste up blueprints of all publications. Since there was no equipment or business available in the community to actually print the quality and quantity of the schools' publications a small Montreal based printing company was contracted to do the printing work.

Other than this aspect of external help in the production phase the school, through the Combined Schools Committee and local talent, succeeded in developing and producing materials with local significance. The school retained all copyrights to each publication and maintained control over community, regional and international distribution.

The planning and production phase in this method or strategy to approach bicultural education was considered an effective means of reaching the schools stated goals in a relatively short period of time. It was established as a systematic process for maximizing human and financial resources available to the community school. The planning and production phase brought the intended curriculum one step closer to being implemented. In other words, the theoretical approach to bicultural education for this community school was one step closer to being applied as educational practice.

Level of Impact

The development of a local or bicultural based curriculum often drew criticism for being too "progressive", "unrealistic" or "changing too quick". Initially, resistance came from several native and non-native teachers working in the federal schools in the community. The presence of a new high school in the community which emphasized a new curricular focus for students was not supported by many of these teachers. It is suggested that this lack of support by several federal teachers was the result of a political gain by the Combined Schools Committee toward the notion of Indian Control of Indian Education. The concept of Indian Control

was defined initially by the National Indian Brotherhood policy paper (1973) on Indian education. Federal teachers were in fact worried that the Schools Committee would "take control of the administration of all elementary schools and therefore they would loose their tenure as federal unionized employees and become non-unionized band employees. To many of these elementary teachers, the power of the Schools Committee and the development of a new secondary program had a threatening impact on job security. The non-native teaching staff were especially threatened since Indian control would mean a greater proportion of native staff teaching in the schools". It was never the intent of the schools committee to eliminate the non-native teachers from the elementary system. "The notion of Indian Control does not suggest exclusively of native staff (teachers) at the local level. On the contrary, native and non-native staff would still compete for teaching positions. Non-native teachers (and staff) would still be employed however a greater emphasis in terms of the ratio of native to non-native staff at the elementary level would be pursued.

Much of the progress and success of the Kahnawake Survival School depended upon the ability of the school to attract students. As a band school, it receives money on a per-capita (per-student) basis. This per-capita funding is used to create an operations and maintenance budget and subsequently to employ a teaching staff. A low student enrollment would result in a small teaching staff offering

fewer special services and skills and possibly the schools closer.

There is evidence to show that many elementary teachers recommended to parents of children they were instructing not to enrol them at the Kahnawake Survival School, that it would be more beneficial academically to enrol their children in an older, well established school in Montreal or Chateaugay.

It may be argued that the behavior of the federal elementary teachers recommending parents they not support the new community school by enrolling their children in more established schools was a deliberate or unintentional attempt to ensure failure, however the outcomes were obvious. The result of teacher influence was an approximate fifty percent enrollment rate at the Kahnawake Survival School with the remaining student population opting to attend public and private schools off the reserve. The mere suggestion by elementary teachers that parents consider other public or private schools does not necessarily imply they did not support the presence of the community high school and its goals for education. On the contrary, many parents solicited the professional opinions and recommendations of elementary teachers about what school or schools offered programs to meet the needs of their children. This exchange of ideas or opinions is certainly valid and ultimately it was the responsibility of the parents to decide where their son or daughter will attend school; not the teacher. However, unlike other communities, Mohawk parents highly respect the viewpoints and opinions of a schools teaching staff and will

make personal decisions heavily influenced by the ideas expressed by those teachers. Teachers are respected as professionals and because of this they have a unique power base. While professional and personal opinions may have been offered without malice or intent by elementary teachers, the impressions that one school or another is "better" than the Survival School rests in the parents mind. The level of impact of elementary teacher opinion was significant not only on the final decisions made by parents' about what schools their children should attend but subsequently on the per capita funding received by the community secondary school.

The impact of the creative aspects of planning and production was significant. At the local level, interest was renewed about the importance of schools and schooling and in particular, the value of learning one's own history and culture. The planning and production of locally relevant materials facilitated some enthusiasm generally throughout the community on the importance of re-vitalizing cultural values. The level of impact of planning and producing curriculum and support materials specifically for this community school generated a greater sense of cultural awareness in the community proper. At the national level, native organizations across Canada expressed approval for the schools model for education and wrote letters or sent delegates to inquire how the school planned and produced its materials. In fact, the regional department of Indian and Northern Affairs (federal government) consulted the school on

the mechanics of planning and producing curricula and materials which reflected goals for bicultural education, for a departmental report on the regions justification for budgets to the head office in Hull/Ottawa.

The planning and production phase also had an impact on the economic opportunities for skilled workers. Opportunities arose for primarily those with clerical skills, however native artists, illustrators and research assistants were also employed to complete distinct tasks. The employment of local people created a sense of unity in the planning and production of a locally based curriculum. Beside providing a source of income, the use of local talent and human resources was assurance to the Combined Schools Committee that they were able to use community members in every aspect of the school. They viewed the use of native talent in the planning and production phase as a natural circumstance given the nature of the schools goals for education.

4. Dissemination and Implementation

The dissemination of new curricula and materials can be viewed as an explanation of a blueprint for work to be completed by a teacher during a course or semester. It is a systematic process that considers the following questions. Who are the clients for this program, What skills and concepts are they expected to become involved with, and what do they need to know before entering the program? It is an attempt to precisely translate the intended curriculum to

those responsible for managing its implementation. The subsequent implementation of a curriculum involves the teacher deciding how might the program best be delivered? Questions like: Who are my clients, What is the learning environment like, What will the support of the home be if I meet any obstacles from my client, What other problems should I consider before planning my unit lessons and entering the classroom? Ultimately, the key to what happens in a classroom is guided by the teacher.

Dissemination workshops were always held at the beginning of a new academic year and involved school administrators, teachers directly involved in the implementation of the program, curriculum or content specialists and curriculum writers. The group systematically reviewed this expected skills and concepts, the scope and sequence of subject content and the suggested instructional strategies of a given program which was either developed locally or adapted to meet school goals. These meetings, usually one or two at most, had a duration of approximately four hours. Teachers received copies of the written curriculum at least two weeks in advance for initial review. This allowed them time to consider questions to ask those involved in the planning or writing of the document, about the nature of the intended curriculum. The dissemination meetings were the critical early stage of implementation. Their main purpose was to provide the teacher with important clues to prepare for successful instruction. Particular attention was given to a teacher's comprehension of what was

intended in the written curriculum. Any discrepancies between what was intended and what the teacher perceived was discussed in detail until an agreement was reached. This process ensured optimum teacher exposure and understanding to the questions addressed initially: Who are the clients this program is targeted for, What skills and concepts are they expected to become involved with, and what do they need to know before entering the program?

The delivery (implementation) of the curriculum at the Mohawk community school was provided by a combined group of native and non-native teachers. The ratio of native teachers to non-native teachers always remained at three to one. The local schools' committee, who were responsible for the organization and selection of a teaching staff, determined that the schools' goals for bicultural education may best be met through a cooperative effort by native and non-native teachers. When the school first began operating in 1978, the community was able to offer one qualified native teacher in the area of social sciences, a group of enthusiastic homemakers, some seasonal workers (primarily males), an unemployed ironworker and numerous other community members willing to help out. All of these volunteers, with the exception of the one qualified teacher, had no experience in a classroom setting. A decision was made by the Combined Schools Committee to utilize the native personnel as facilitators or teacher aids until a more organized plan was developed. The roles of the facilitators were modelled after

the federal elementary school teachers and position. Since most of the native volunteer staff were somewhat uncomfortable with the responsibility of teaching and the tasks related to the profession, most, if not all of them perceived their new roles in much the same manner as their elementary counterparts; that of classroom aids. However, the school's goals for bicultural education required a unique teaching staff that possessed a variety of skills necessary to develop student competencies for living in two cultures.

Three months into the Survival Schools first year initial funding was secured by the Combined Schools Committee from the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs. Now that monies had finally arrived the selection and organization of a secondary school teaching staff became an important procedure. The selection of a salaried teaching staff was completed very carefully by the Combined Schools Committee. The demography of chapter two in this thesis suggests a very close knit community and this factor subsequently controlled the committee's final decision about the composition of a native teaching staff. At issue were the questions: who, from among the present native facilitators, would best be suited to teach Mohawk students in a formal setting? Will our selection decisions be supported by the people in the community generally? The criteria for the selection of native teachers were never discussed openly by the Combined Schools Committee. Yet, of those men and women finally selected to work as teachers, and not teacher aids, the following may be said. The native staff selected were

respected members of the community; in other words they didn't have poor reputations. They had positive attitudes about teaching and learning, special interests in various subject areas, and were willing to participate in a teacher certification program. Although most of the native staff selected, all of the native staff were parents or grandparents. The ratio of native female staff to male staff was six to one. Native staff were selected on the basis of their willingness to teach and learn and their good standing in the community; academic achievement or qualifications were not considered primary criteria for the employment of native teachers. What essentially began as a response for volunteer help as a classroom aid or facilitators quickly evolved to fulltime teaching and learning experiences for the Mohawk community members in a period of three months.

The new native intern teachers were expected to enrol in university courses offered in the community. These courses were sponsored by the University of Quebec at Chicoutimi as part of an off campus undergraduate education program in Native Education and held in the evening. During the day, native staff taught with non-native teachers. The Combined Schools Committee assumed that this combination of practical and theoretical experiences would be the most beneficial process for native staff to acquire an adequate professional training. The Mohawk staff approached the daily classroom encounters and evening coursework with such a vigor that their previous routines in life became pre-occupied with the

preparation of daily lessons for their students and the organization of course assignments for their professors. For most, this new routine would become a way of life and a source of income for several years. While others, disillusioned about their role, the added mental and physical fatigue, or family pressure to spend more time at home would result in their leaving.

All of the non-native staff who were hired had undergraduate or graduate training in various disciplines with specific skills to offer. The group were primarily young, new graduates willing to work with insufficient materials, inadequate facilities and receive below average salaries for long hours. Many non-native staff in the early months had a difficult time adjusting to the poor teaching facilities offered temporarily until a permanent location could be acquired by the Combined Schools Committee. This, along with the low pay, caused a high turn over of non-native staff. The non-native staff were hired on the basis of their academic qualifications and their enthusiasm to work in a creative setting with Mohawk students. The Schools Committee suggested to all of the non-native applicants this just as they (the students) would be willing to learn from them, they (the teachers) should be willing to learn from students and the community they would be working in. In contrast to the non-native staff, the Mohawk teachers were at least thirty-five years of age or older with elementary or high school aged children.

The Combined Schools Committee made it clear on several

occasions that it was their intention to engage a school staff to meet the schools goals for education. The new secondary school, although band controlled, was not to be considered an employment agency for Mohawks from the community. The Committee suggested that the best way to achieve their goals for a bicultural education would be to hire and maintain a bicultural instructional staff. The following is a brief representation of how the school approached the formal implementation of its bicultural curriculum through the cooperative effort of a native and non-native instructional staff. This is an illustration from the 1978-79, 1979-80 academic years and does not represent a prescribed model for the selection and placement of teachers at any time. Rather, it should be noted, that the policy regarding staffing in this school is as fluid as any other school system and neither the native nor the non-native staff have exclusive rights to any position.

1. Program: Social Studies

- Grade 7: Cultural Immersion - A Mohawk
- Grade 8: Mohawk History and an Introduction to Cultural and Physical Geography - A Mohawk
- Grade 9: Area/Cultural Studies
Canadian History - A Mohawk
- Grade 10: World History - A Mohawk
- Grade 11: Iroquoian History and Current Events - A Mohawk

2. Program: Mohawk Language

Grades 7-11: All Mohawk speaking women. Three Mohawk language teachers are responsible for the entire secondary program.

3. Program: French Language

Grades 7-11: The schools Committee believed that a non-native person would be best suited to meet

program goals. The individuals who teach French at this school are of French heritage.

4. Program: English

Grade 7: One Mohawk, one non-native
Grade 8: Two Mohawk, one non-native
Grade 9: One Mohawk, one non-native
Grade 10 & 11: Two non-native

5. Program: Mathematics

Grade 7: One Mohawk
Grade 8: One Mohawk, one non-native
Grade 9: One non-native
Grade 10: One non-native
Grade 11: One non-native
Functions and all other related mathematic courses - one non-native.

6. Program: Science

Grades 7, 8, 9: One Mohawk, two non-native.
Grades 10, 11: Two non-native
Agriculture: One Mohawk, one non-native

7. Program: Physical Education

Grades 7-11: Two Mohawk

Other courses of study have been staffed by the following

Automechanics and Small Engines - One Mohawk

Welding - One Mohawk

Carpentry - (has been a combination of both native and non-native staff)

Human Development - one non-native

Typing - has been a combination of both native and non-native staff.

Crafts (Pottery, Beadwork) - several skilled native people from both this reserve and others.

Computers - one native, one non-native.

Component Effectiveness

The continuous involvement of teachers in planning curricula resulted in the development of programs easily recognized by those who were responsible for their implementation. Dissemination, as part of an ongoing process

with teachers, was viewed as a very necessary step prior to instruction. Dissemination meetings served to stimulate discussion among teachers, administrators and curriculum developers who all brought a wide range of knowledge and experiences with them. Considerable energy was expended by all staff in these dissemination meetings. This type of activity facilitated changes and improvement in staff relationships, increased responsibility and accountability for work to be completed during a specific period of time, improved school based planning between teachers and curriculum personnel, increased awareness of school, program and personnel goals, and increased awareness to the importance of local adaptation of existing curricula. The significance of a dissemination process for this school (and in fact any school) was not only critical but a necessary procedure to review program priorities.

The strategy to incorporate a native and non-native staff to implement programs at the Kahnawake Survival School can only suggest that the schools goals for bicultural education have been taken seriously by school planners. Since bicultural education rejects enforced assimilation and separation as a method for group preservation a bicultural teaching staff reflects the community's goals for developing students who are able to operate successfully across cultural boundaries. Because of this, the implementation component was successful in bridging the interface between design and delivery of the intended curriculum. In other words, this

implementation strategy brought biculturalism theory to educational practice for this community school.

Level of Impact

(a) Teacher Training

Much of the success and failure of the Kahnawake method for curriculum implementation rests heavily on the teacher training program for native staff and the lack of adequate orientation and continuous field support services for non-native teachers. The level of impact each had on the school, its course of study, and the community is displayed in the following account.

In an attempt to meet the established goals for bicultural education, the Combined Schools Committee decided it was essential to train native residents hired to teach in the school, in a recognized university program. Since a teacher training program was being hosted for elementary based teachers, the secondary staff was asked to enrol in the same program. The training program was sponsored by the University of Quebec at Chicoutimi through funding by the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs. The program is called the Amerindianization Project.

Initially, at its inception in 1967, the program was designed to sensitize non-native teachers working in federal schools located on Indian reserves to the cultural aspects of Indian life and folkways. With the emergence of more native adults participating in community education as a result of the movement toward greater Indian control of Indian

education the program objectives changed to train only native teachers in the areas of primary and elementary teaching. The focus on the training of native teachers for the primary and elementary levels in reserve schools has been in effect since 1977.

The Amerindianization Program at the University of Quebec at Chicoutimi was designed to train native teachers from reserve in Quebec through a series of off campus courses provided in the local communities. Students registered in the part-time program work toward achieving course credit, similar to the structure of other provincial university programs, and eventually completing a certificate in the sciences of education and a specialized bachelors degree in primary and elementary teaching. The objectives for the program suggests that upon completion of the course of study, for the certificate and specialized degree the Amerindian will then provide a more human and more effective education by:

- providing education in terms of Native culture language;
- making the school the guardian of ethnic survival.
- developing professional attitudes and better understanding in the milieu in which they evolve and which they help to change;
- acquiring the knowledge which will favor scientific understanding of the language and culture in order that they may become efficient promoters and transmitters of this language and culture.
- gaining the psycho-pedagogical knowledge necessary for understanding the child and his learning process, for creating an atmosphere which will facilitate learning for young Amerindians, and for the preparation of, appropriate teaching materials.

Since the development of the secondary school the teacher training program has done little to replan the course content or structure of certificate/degree requirements to meet the needs of secondary native teachers engaged in training. These secondary native teachers continue to participate in off-campus courses with other native staff who are employed by the federal elementary schools. All Amerindianization courses are given in the evening in one of Kahnawakes three elementary schools'. The program provides one course in each of the Fall and Winter semesters and two courses in special Summer semesters. The course duration for the Fall and Winter semester is fifteen weeks, three hours per evening. The Summer session consists of two, two week long courses each at forty-five hours. All courses are pre-arranged through a cognizant at the University level without prior consultation of the native student teachers.

One of the terms of the native staffs employment at the secondary level was that they actively pursue professional development and complete certificate and degree requirements successfully. The characteristics of the secondary native staff in this training program were such that eight of ten were women, all had a minimum of high school leaving, three had incomplete college or university training and with the exception of one male adult all had between one and five children. It is important to note here that six other members of the native staff were enrolled and involved in specialized training programs in areas such as physical

education, vocational education and student/guidance counselling at other Montreal area English institutions and Ontario based university's. The secondary teachers were expected to take courses designed for elementary school teachers. Many secondary teachers expressed to this researcher that the courses were boring and inappropriate to their needs as classroom instructors. The comments of one Mohawk woman enrolled in the program serve as an example of the frustration most secondary school teachers had with the program. She mentioned:

"I cannot understand why I have to take a course in Native American expression and communication. I know how I express myself and I certainly know how to communicate with my students. Why do I need some white scholar to tell me, a Mohawk Indian, how Indians are suppose to express themselves and communicate. I just don't see the purpose as a course for me to learn how to become a good teacher".

Although two courses were offered that had a special application to secondary education in Kahnawake, the Amerindianization program did little to change its focus for the secondary staff, even after a special request from the Combined Schools Committee to the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs.

The University of Quebec at Chicoutimi is a francophone university located on the north shore of the St. Lawrence river several hundred miles east from Kahnawake. With the exception of the Mohawk linguistic courses, all of the courses are given in the English language. While two English universities are within a fifteen minute drive from the

reserve no attempt has been made to enrol the majority of native teacher interns in programs offered there. The host university from Chicoutimi maintained a contract with the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs to provide all of the courses at some point in an interns training.

All interns were at different levels in their training. While a student may have been near the completion of his/her certificate or degree requirements another may have been enrolled in a class with the same student for a very first course. Although the certificate and degree requirements have a series of compulsory courses, the order in which a student completes the program depends upon the time a student enters the program and the availability of courses as scheduled by the University of Quebec. Little importance was given to the sequence in which a student completes program requirements.

It was evident that the University of Quebec at Chicoutimi engaged a selected number of adjunct professors to teach courses in the Amerindianization program. A native intern teacher was likely to take several courses with the same professor throughout their certificate and degree training. One native teacher commented to me on this point.

"I've had him for four of my courses in my certificate and three in my degree. In fact, this semester I have his wife teaching me a mathematics course. We are like a big family".

Ironically, all of the courses were held in one of the elementary school's library. Intern teachers were never required to complete any course requirements using the

facilities of the two local English universities. Students did not have an chance to attend a university campus where they would have had adequate resources to conduct research, the selection of a wide variety of courses and an opportunity to profit from the acquisition of competencies in a second culture.

Many native interns from the secondary school suggested the following about the courses they were enrolled in.

"These university courses are really easy. The professor, (name), wants us to complete two book reports of three pages each and would like to give us a mark for a short oral exam".

"Course requirements are easy: fifty percent for a ten page double spaced book report and fifty percent for keeping good class notes".

"We watched at least one movie every week, sometimes two. All we had to do was to write a short five page review of a movie we enjoyed and the rest of the mark was on attendance and participation".

Some of my research data indicates a lowering of standards or course expectations for student achievement by professors working in the Amerindianization program. As a result of this behavior, the native teacher interns developed a distorted view of an actual university training. Yet, the secondary native teachers enrolled in the University of Quebec program did develop skills in primary and elementary education. This served as a positive reinforcer for those who felt that they were not qualified to teach; in other words, the participation in "university" courses, however inconsistent, helped to legitimize the native teacher interns presence in the classroom on a daily basis for the community

and the Combined Schools Committee.

One of the objectives for bicultural education at the Kahnawake reserve was to teach skills and concepts equivalent to the norm taught in other communities to enable Mohawk students to participate in the socioeconomic opportunities provided by the mainstream culture. The problem here with outcomes for the native teacher training program stems from the fact that the program does not consider the skills which are necessary to teach in a secondary school environment. Rather, it neglects to recognize the positive contributions that could be made by native teachers at the secondary level with regard to an "equivalent" standard in education and continued to train teachers for positions in primary and elementary education. The outcomes of the teacher training program are also reflected in the outcomes of instruction. Can you expect a high school to achieve its objective of equivalent student skills as a result of appropriate or quality instruction if the teachers have not been provided professional development equivalent to other teacher training programs? Can you expect a teacher to teach composition to a group of grade nine students if he/she does not understand how to organize a composition; or can you expect a teacher to teach research and study skills if he/she has never completed any research?

Finally, involvement in dissemination sessions and off campus university courses do not ensure successful and long term implementation. While participation in the University

of Quebec program functioned in developing some instructional skills and maintained positive feedback from the community, it also created a dysfunction. The schools goals for education indicate a desire to develop competencies to enable students to live and work in two cultures simultaneously. There was little doubt that these skills were being developed, however with very little impact from qualified native personnel at the senior level. The primary/elementary training facilitated a movement of native teachers to instructional positions at the early secondary school grade levels (7-8). It was not entirely clear whether or not the native teaching staff working at these grade levels were completely confident in their skills as teachers. This may be attributed to the fact that the native staff showed a tremendous resistance to any type of professional evaluation of their work.

It seems that the program of training offered by the University of Quebec was inadequate in the development of native teachers who work in Kahnawakes secondary schools.

(B) Cultural Orientation for Non-Native Teachers

A. Renaud (1964) once said of non-native teachers working in Indian reserves with Indian pupils that they are professionally just as culturally isolated, scientifically un-informed and technically mal-equipped as the Indian themselves in general. Hence, they too have to apply to themselves the methods of cultural change. This experience, Renaud believed made it easier for the teachers to understand

with the larger non-native communities and are expected to survive socially and economically.

The non-native teachers who entered the reserve's secondary school to work were academically qualified to teach their preferred disciplines however at the same instance they were overwhelmed by the cultural change they were expected to learn and accept with very little instruction from the Mohawks themselves. In fact, at no point in the research process did the Mohawk school administrators nor the Combined Schools Committee make an attempt to develop an adequate "cultural" orientation for non-native personnel to the school and the community. The only training or guidance the non-native teachers received was in the form of a very brief introduction to the reserves folkways and a brief review of Mohawk history at Kahnawake. This introduction was usually provided during the interviewing process.

Every non-native teacher was provided with some information about the community and the purpose of the school. This was considered by the Mohawk school's committee representatives and school administrators as not only an introduction but a definition of one's role as a teacher working in an culturally different school and community. The information used as an introduction was provided near the end of the interviewing process and was described by one of the school committee members or administrators. One Mohawk male involved in teacher interviews had an interesting approach to providing this information which is paraphrased below. While

the entire interview was conducted using the English language, the Mohawk language was used to initially discuss the contents of the Two-Row Wampum Treaty. Later, after the speaker had concluded a description of the treaty, he translated the meaning to the dumbfounded candidate in English explaining that he used the Mohawk language to reinforce the notion that the Mohawk and the non-native Canadians were culturally different. The orator would say the following:

Many years ago the Mohawk and the Dutch peoples made a treaty of friendship and peace. These people called this treaty, the Two Row Wampum. It is seen by a belt of white wampum in the middle and two rows of purple shells to the outside along the entire length. The two rows of purple shells are the Mohawk and the Dutch, one row for each nation. The Dutch and the Mohawk agreed to respect each others culture, territory, religions and politics. Each nation agreed not to interfere in the affairs of the other. Mutual respect was important for both nations to maintain if they were to remain on friendly terms. The Mohawk agreed that they should travel in their canoe while the Dutch traveled in their ship. The symbol of the canoe and the ship suggests that the Mohawks would not try to get on the Dutch ship and tell them how to steer a straight course; nor would the Dutch try to tell the Mohawks how to paddle their canoes. So both agreed to respect each others territory and culture.

In this way, the role of the non-native teacher working in the Kahnawake Survival School was explained. To the Mohawk,

this ancient treaty represented their goals for bicultural education at the community secondary school. Although an understanding was established during the interview, many non-native teachers could not adjust to the cultural setting of the classroom and a school environment. The outcome of this form of culture shock was a high attrition rate among non-native teachers. Two examples may best illustrate this.

Most non-native teachers entered the classroom in good faith. Yet, some were subjected to ridicule or racist remarks from some students. Others entered the classroom as missionaries to save whom they (the teachers) may have thought were the 'poor disadvantaged Indians'. The teacher who could not accept the students attitude and establish a working relationship with their students left the school on their own accord. The "missionary types" on the other hand were asked to leave shortly after their arrival. Teaching French as a third language claimed the highest number of teachers to leave during the first three years with twenty-two. The longest engagement in teaching this particular program by the French language instructors in a three year period was one academic year and one semester of the second. French teachers left after various durations while the shortest period of time was two days. The total number of non-native teachers who left the school as a result of not being made fully aware of what they could expect in a classroom situation was approximately forty-seven. The ratio of non-native female teachers to their male colleagues in the entire school was three to one. Of the forty-seven who left

the school, between thirty and thirty-five were women. Several had taught at private schools in Montreal on a part time basis. They found the transition from this setting to the one on the reserve and the larger work load difficult to handle. At least six of these women suggested that they found the job of teaching in this school non-rewarding due to the poor effort and lack of cooperation from their students. The other teachers who left provided a variety of reasons for doing so such as inadequate pay scales, no benefits, poor working conditions, other employment, family transferred or pregnancy. The most frequently offered recommendation by these teachers to the school administrators for new teachers entering the situation was "let them know honestly what they are getting themselves into because it is hard to work in your type of environment". Most non-native teachers were simply not prepared to deal with the cultural and social characteristics of the schools environment.

A second example will clarify the problem of misinformed and "culturally isolated" individuals working in a minority setting. It may be argued by some, however most teachers would agree that staff meetings for school personnel are considered forums to discuss mutual problems and should serve as a basis to facilitate effective communication. The business of all teacher or staff meetings was conducted in English however many Mohawk women frequently used the Mohawk language in asides with one another while the main discussion continued among the remaining staff. Many of the non-native

teachers mentioned that they felt uncomfortable and alienated when the Mohawk women would begin speaking Mohawk at the staff meetings or among themselves in the teachers lounge/work room. One non-native teacher said, "I don't know why they have to speak Mohawk in a meeting where we are discussing mutual problems of the school". Another mentioned, "It is unprofessional and ignorant for the Mohawk speaking teachers to speak Mohawk at staff meetings or in the lounge especially while a non-native teacher is involved in the discussion: I think it creates a gap between us".

One may interpret the reaction of the non-native teacher in this case as insecurity, possibly as a result of the cultural environment they were in and not being completely sensitive to the folkways of Mohawks. However, this researcher believes that the ability of the Mohawk women to speak their language and use it in a teachers meeting or lounge is a cultural advantage which was used frequently to clarify information among themselves and to limit access of information from non-natives and other Mohawks who did not speak the language. In some instances the switch from English to Mohawk was a deliberate attempt to cut someone out of a discussion or conversation yet for the most part these women (and some men) spoke Mohawk among themselves because it was their first language and more natural than English. These Mohawk teachers, although perhaps insecure in their new roles as secondary school teachers, were able to communicate much more clearly and comfortably using the Mohawk language. Throughout the research process I had the opportunity to

observe this behavior and reaction numerous times. In several planning meetings with the Combined Schools Committee and school administrators it became a common behavior for the Mohawk speaking women to linguistically break away from the main discussion which was in English and delay the meetings progress until they had discussed the topic further to synthesize and interpret the literal translation of the topic. This behavior was explained by one of the women on the school committee this way:

"I thought it would be good for you if I explained why we use Mohawks at certain points in our meetings. You see, I think in Mohawk and speak in English but my meaning does not make sense. If I think in Mohawk and speak in Mohawk I am understood. Mohawk and English are very different and sometimes I have a hard time to select the right English words to describe what I mean'. I don't think I have to apologize to you because I speak my own language when I feel like it. At least I am free to do that, eh".

On several occasions, I have been informed that Mohawk speaking teachers would use the language to comment or complain about the behavior of a teacher or administrator while the individuals they were commenting on sat in the room at the same time. The advantage of being able to speak a native language is also credited with giving the Combined Schools Committee the power to guide budget meetings with representatives from Indian Affairs.

The interchangeable use of the Mohawk and English languages by the Mohawk speaking teachers helped many non-native teachers realize that they were in a different type of school environment. It served as a consistent reminder to

all non-natives working at the school who they were, what their functions were, and how culturally disadvantaged they really were in this particular situation. The lack of a cultural orientation for non-native educators working at this school has created a problem. While some non-native teachers felt that it was not proper for the Mohawk speakers to use the Mohawk language in meetings or the staff lounge when the discussion was in English, most did not feel isolated or concerned about this since they had become sensitive to the Mohawk culture. They viewed the use of the Mohawk language as a natural phenomena in this native school.

The competencies required by non-native teachers working in a school that is providing a bicultural curriculum suggest that the staff should require skills that sensitize them to the native culture, including the language. All teachers need to feel that they are part of the school. The outcome of a poor cultural introduction for non-native teachers created resentment and a poorly equipped individual who was expected to provide a quality education for a group of students culturally different from themselves. The non-native teachers, therefore, were culturally disadvantaged at this school and this it seems made it quite difficult to initially begin work in the classroom.

Finally, the continuous interaction of native and non-native teachers on a daily basis helped to maintain the goals of the school program. Both groups of teachers, while having mutual mandates, had sets of problems that were dealt with on an individual basis. Both groups helped to stimulate one

another; the non-native teachers spent a great deal of time learning about the Mohawk's cultural traditions and their expectations for the formal education of their youth, while the native teachers learned, by example from the non-native ways and means to develop further professionally and to actually feel good about the jobs they were doing. The continuous involvement of staff together on school related issues resulted in unique and creative ideas and approaches to the implementation of a bicultural program.

(C) Dissonance from the Community

In the early days of the school practically every eligible secondary school student attended. As Christmas 1978 approached the Combined Schools Committee became alarmed at the decreasing student enrollment and the apparent loss of enthusiasm and support by some families in the community. What was once a defiant, emotional response directed at a separatist provincial government in collective support for aboriginal rights in education on the Kahnawake reserve was slowly eroding away. Instead many families decided that the new secondary school wasn't good enough for their children and would rather sign the eligibility forms to be allowed to obtain an English education at a provincial school. Two reasons emerged as causes for this disagreement in supporting the new school. These were the use of unqualified native teachers and a curriculum that was culturally relevant.

Many parents were concerned for the type of education their son or daughter would receive. Although the entire

native staff were participating in the University of Quebec program, numerous parents with children attending the new secondary school voiced their displeasure with the Committee's decision to employ unqualified teachers. Parents were not opposed to having members of the community teach in the school. On the contrary, they believed in having a native and non-native staff as long as both groups were qualified.

Several parents had assumed that the new high school would merely adopt a provincial curriculum for implementation at the community school. The idea of developing and teaching a Mohawk and Iroquoian history program was not adequate for some parents.

For these two reasons, approximately forty-five to fifty-five students were forced to leave the school by their parents to return to the regional high school they had just left a few months previously. To add clarity to the dissonance parents had with regards to the decision by the school to have an unqualified native staff teaching full time and engaged in professional development part time, and a curriculum that reflected the development of competencies in two cultures, I have assembled a series of statements made by parents. These quotes were recorded after meetings with the Combined Schools Committee where these issues were initially learned and later on in direct contact with some parents who had already sent their children to other high schools.

With reference to dissatisfaction with the use of unqualified native teachers the parents said the following:

"I am the same age as her and I went to school with her in town and in Spanish. Shes dumb. I don't want no dummy teaching my boy".

"She never even finished high school as far as I know and now she is teaching it."

"You gotta have people who know how to teach working there. How can you take somebody off the street one day if you want to put it that way and put them in the classroom. You know they don't even take iron workers like that because being a teacher is harder and you have to have somebody who know what they are doing, right?"

"I want my boy to have a good education. I don't want no mistakes for him because you only have one chance to make it in school".

"Ah, what does he know. He's a damn drunk and a no good for nothing. No you's put him in the school to teach kids...whats he goin' to teach them?"

"She is my best friend, but she is not going to teach my daughter anything".

"How can you pay someone to teach when they are not real teachers. My sister in law has been in training to be a teacher longer than any of those Survival School teachers and now they are getting paid. Besides my sister in law is smarter than most of those teachers but I wouldn't let her teach my kids anywhere than those Survival School teachers".

"She is there because her mother is on the school committee...besides she is not a teacher".

"I don't care if an Indian or a whiteman teach my children as long as they are qualified to do the job".

Parents exhibited extreme displeasure at the idea of having unqualified native people teaching their children at the new school. While the purpose and importance of including native people on the teaching staff and providing

professional development simultaneously was explained, the thought of utilizing unqualified teachers confused parents. Although many of the quotes exemplify a jealous attitude about the sudden change in roles and responsibilities of some community members, most parents were concerned about the quality of education and more specifically the quality of instruction their children were involved with. For many, the decision to send their children to another high school was met with ridicule and disapproval from other family members and friends.

With reference to the schools goals for biculturalism, parents responded.

"Why should the young people learn Mohawk. It isn't going to help them get a job".

"All this Indian history business will turn my kid into a longhouse person and I don't want that".

"It's a longhouse school because they teach all about the Indian culture. That's not good enough".

"It is too much Indian content".

"Teaching farming is going to make the kids become traditional".

"Mohawk history and language are not that important to me. I think they should look at regular history and teach good English and French so students can get a job".

It was evident after discussions with some parents and several school committee representatives who related feedback, that many parents were apprehensive about sending their children to the new secondary school since the school had decided to include culturally relevant programs along

with equivalent courses from the mainstream curriculum. Parents believed that by developing competencies in two cultures, students would somehow become "traditional" Indians. Even after the goals of the school had been detailed to the parents, many continued to suggest that they could not support the school out of concern for their children becoming "too Indian". With this their children were tranfered to other schools.

Clearly the decision to employ an unqualified native staff and a culturally relevant curriculum had a significant impact on the support of the school by many community members. These two decisions alone facilitated the departure of at least one-quarter of the schools total student population. Of the parents who decided to return their children to another high school because of unqualified native teachers, at least seventy-five percent did so because of their concern for the type of instruction expected in schools, while the remaining twenty-five percent were upset with the individuals selected to teach; a result of personnel jealousy or rivalry. On the issue of a culturally relevant curriculum, approximately fifty percent of the students who left the school came from mixed marriages.

5. Management

The management of the schools goals for education could be categorized as either policy or operational, with different groups of individuals involved in each domain.

Since 1978, and the origin of the Kahnawake Survival

School, the Combined School Committee was designated by the band council as the body responsible for managing the operation and development of the school. The committees decision making process outlined earlier in this chapter may seem unnecessarily long and a simplified version may have been preferable, however, since they, as an elected and appointed representation of the Mohawk community, make decisions with regard to every aspect of education at the local level (with limited power at the federal school level) an extended discussion on their decision making process was deemed appropriate.

The policy decisions would include such areas as school staffing, finance (budgets), curriculum development and implementation, building projects, professional development and special services that include curricular change (i.e. Mohawk Immersion), and health and psychological care for schools. Operational decisions would include the supervision of an education center staff and facilities, the care of school property and school grounds, student attendance and truancy, acquisition of band funds for field trips and other related activities, organization of all local school bus routes, subsidized school lunch programs, attendance of Indian students at non-Indian schools and the preparation of student cheques for school attendance. The policy and operational decisions were never written down or at least none were accessable, yet they were^r interpreted by the group and passed on in the oral tradition. All policy and operational decisions seemed to be open for review by community members;

adjusted to meet existing needs.

As a group of policy makers, the Combined Schools Committee developed and oversaw the implementation of a general school policy for the secondary school. The director and assistant director were directly accountable to the committee for the operation of the school based on their leadership skills and guided by the general school policy.

Few changes were made to the general school policy. When a change in policy was requested, the decision making process may have been slow or fast, simple or complex, depending upon the factors or circumstances surrounding the recommendations from the school level. Teachers and students were not directly effected by operational decisions and indirectly by major policy decisions. Yearly staff salaries were controlled by an operational budget (based on expected student enrollment), prepared at the school level, submitted to the schools' committee for review and revision and then submitted to the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs for adjustment and approval. The type and duration of field trips and other educative activities for students were also shaped by the availability of school funds and operational decisions. Curriculum materials and guides were planned at the school level and submitted to the schools committee for approval prior to implementation.

A hierarchy of a management decision making process for the band school is illustrated in figure two. It suggests that the decision making process for policy and operational

issues in education for this community is an adaptation of a process employed at a regional level in education. However, the major differences between the local Kahnawake method for decision making and that at the regional level are the following (a) lack of clearly defined roles and responsibilities at each level in the decision making process, (b) the organization of time and, (c) the community served by the school. The lack of clearly defined roles and responsibilities and the organization of time in this context are the result of the Kahnawake's rejection of the mainstream cultures complex and sophisticated bureaucratic structures for decision making and management of resources. The procedure employed here to "decide" and "manage" assumes that flexibility is a key to assist groups and individuals at all levels in arriving at a good decision appropriate for the community.

**Figure Two - Hierarachy of Management and Decision Making
at local School Level in Kahnawake**

People of Kahnawake (Parents)

The Combined Schools Committee (Local School Council)

Director (School Administrator)

Assistant Director (School Administrator)

Teacher

Student

**Department of Indian
and Northern Affairs
(No Influence in
Decision Making at
Local Level, Some
Influence in Valida-
tion of Local Policy
or Operational
Decisions)**

**Kahnawake
Band Council
(Political Support System
for the Combined Schools
Committee, However Little
Influence in Either Policy
or Operational Decisions)**

Component Effectiveness

The rise of a Mohawk method in a decision making process was quite evident at all levels of school interaction. It evolved naturally in the school setting and increased an understanding and awareness of the complexity of Kahnawake's cultural environment for the non-native teachers. One could not help but be left with the impression of "this is the way it is done here and not necessarily where I come from".

The local schools committee did not need specific guidelines (nor did they request them) to assist in reaching a decision. They did not need specific responsibilities "written down" since it was they, as a collective group, who made the final decision. Their role was simply defined as the schools Committee of Kahnawake and their responsibilities were to identify the educational needs of the community and serve those needs.

Everyone at all levels of involvement the school, with the exception of the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, were part of the decision making process at some point. Decision making and management were viewed much the same way the needs assessment process was; to get a complete perspective all participants should be involved. Although the schools' committee and the director of the school usually made the final decision, students, teachers, parents and support staff were consulted and asked to provide input or ideas. In a sense everyone was accountable for the management of the schools goals for education.

The management of the school through a defined policy and operational scheme clearly indicates the Schools' Committee desire to make good decisions and to have control of a situation to maximize desired outcomes. Management was represented as a non-threatening component in this method to achieve bicultural goals. By obtaining input from all levels of education, however unsystematic and unscientific the process may have been, the Schools Committee believed the final decision would not only become a mutual effort but better utilized once implemented.

Level of Impact

While the lack of defined roles and responsibilities was not a major factor most of the time, there were occasions where it did indeed become a problem. For example, when new staff entered the school very little was done at the administrative level to direct those individuals to the staff who conducted certain functions necessary in aiding the completion of their jobs effectively. As well, some decisions made at the management level were met with major opposition and disapproval due to poorly defined responsibilities. This factor created many misconceptions about the individuals working at all levels in the school and seemed to be an underlying source of tension among many of the staff.

The organization of time was approached differently at this school. Decisions about time for learning were also viewed as very flexible components. On several occasions, usually at the end of a semester, time requirements for some

programs were either increased or decreased. The impact of the time allotment changes resulted in an altered subject content.

Some of the native staff had a different conception of class time than their non-native counterparts. Two or three native teachers consistently allowed their students to leave class early, sometimes up to twenty minutes from a fifty minute period. Their explanation of this behavior to the administration as the mainstream culture knows it, and their teaching peers was that as Mohawks, time had no meaning in their culture. Their time was based on the movement of the sun (day and night), the changing moon, and the four seasons. According to them a time allocated for a class was not an important factor in teaching their classes. Once they had finished what they had intended to do, they believed that they were justified in allowing the student to leave and do something else. However, the general policy of the school disapproved of this type of behavior for teachers regardless of its cultural merits or applicability. The school policy on the use of time was built around the parents expectation of a fairly structured duration and sequence of blocks of time that were devoted to the subjects in the curriculum. In other words, the organization of "time" at the secondary school was considered in light of existing models from either regional schools and adapted to suit the intended curriculum. The native teachers who resisted the policy definition of class time eventually adjusted their behavior but not

necessarily their attitude about the issue. Occasionally it was observed that students were allowed to leave early from their classes. When questioned about this in staff meetings responses like, "oh I forgot what time it was" were offered as an excuse.

The impact of the community in the decision making and management process on a daily basis was not a direct influence but rather an indirect one. A set of school policies was developed with the expectations of the community in mind. An organized school had a sophisticated series of checks and balances to guide decision making since this is what the community wanted in their secondary school. With regard to the formal management of the organization, the community had very little impact in determining who should administer and how the administration would operate. This responsibility was left to the auspices of the Combined Schools Committee.

Chapter IV

Summary and Conclusion

Summary

Before reviewing the main components and suggesting some generalizations to this study it is important to focus briefly on the limitations which underly it. First, although I was viewed by members of the community as an employee rather than a researcher, my social role as an outsider restricted the degree to which some information was made available to me by community members. The overall knowledge and understanding of the community and school is factual, as I have observed, registered and interpreted it, yet much of the information was socially determined. That is to say, social forces within the community, like the Combined Schools Committee, facilitated my participation and inevitably limited the scope of what knowledge was relevant for an outsider to be aware of, why information was or was not appropriate to the setting, what behaviors were appropriate to display, and how knowledge was intended for use in the school and community. Consequently, my social role limited the acquisition of data (any relevant social facts and meanings) and as a result, gaps or discrepancies could arise in any future research on this topic in this particular community and lead one to draw diverse interpretations and conclusions. Second, I have described only one Mohawk

community and the organization of one secondary school. Third, I have focused on the application of a biculturalism theory to educational practice primarily regarding the schools goals and strategies for education. Therefore, this community study cannot point to any main findings, provide evidence of success or failure with outcomes for student achievement in a bicultural program, or show data that would suggest if a similar study were to be conducted in another community, the organization of the school, the social forces which guide its operation and the level of impact on people would be similar. There are some interesting generalizations derived from this study and some implications for further research in the area of bicultural education.

Various government reports and research studies have been conducted on the education of native people in Canada and the United States. Historical and ethnographic findings suggest that the type and quality of education available to native people is inferior and directed toward their cultural and social assimilation into a mainstream culture. The movement by government and religious agencies to educate native people neglecting their varying linguistic and socio-historical-cultural needs, have largely failed (McKinley, 1970; Dumont and Wax, 1971; Bryde, 1968; Hobart, 1972; M.C. Wax, 1964; R. Wax and others, 1971). One sad legacy of this experience by native children in a formal system of education was the doubt cast on the importance of teaching the students about their native culture, including language, by school

teachers, ~~administrators~~ school board representatives, and occasionally the Indian parents themselves.

Since 1972, and the National Indian Brotherhood policy paper on Indian Control of Indian Education native parents have been increasingly involved in the formal education of their children. The personal involvement of parents can be viewed as a search for understanding of their particular situations: understanding what is important to teach and what social, professional characteristics teachers should possess to work with native children. This understanding comes from participating in various levels of school organization established in each native community.

In an attempt to illustrate how native parents act in an organized group on educational matters in their community I have provided a detailed description of the Combined Schools Committee of Kahnawake. The brief demography of the community in chapter two suggests that Kahnawake has unique physical and cultural characteristics. This uniqueness is derived from a political recognition of the Mohawks being a nation of people - a part of the Iroquois Confederacy. (The term nation as used by Indian people does not have separatist connotations. Rather, it means a group of people with a common language, culture and history who identified with each other as belonging to a common political entity. (House of Commons, 1983, p. 12)) Mohawks possess a separate land base and practice an ancient language, and participate in a social system and setting separate from the mainstream cultures. The historical background of this community

suggests that Kahnawake has progressed through a relationship of simultaneous association and separation with the world around them. In a sense, a similar relationship continues today and is reflected in the new secondary school's goals for education. Thus, certain groups of community members feel there is an important need to address the historical and cultural experiences of Mohawks, while supporting the development of skills necessary to maintain an on going relationship with the "outside" world. To a great extent, the educational focus for the new school directed by people from this community has primarily been on local or cultural affairs. Yet, the importance of understanding the general population which surrounds them is considered by most a critical factor in developing a perspective for the maintainence of Mohawk Culture.

From the description provided there were four influencial groups of people who all had various levels of impact on the new secondary school. The four groups were: a) the longhouse or traditional peole, b) elementary school teachers, c) members of the community, like the Combined Schools Committee who supported the idea of bicultural competencies, and, d) status quo parents (members of the community who may have supported the idea of the school in principle but not practice and those community members who rejected the thought of a community high school since they were pleased with the present situation offered by the mainstream schools and curriculum).

Beside the Mohawk language, the traditional people of Kahnawake are the community's strongest link to the past. In a very small group, they have maintained ancient traditions and customs. The influence of the traditional people on the organization of the school consisted of (a) participating as appointed members of the Combined Schools Committee, (b) providing direction to decisions on content to be included in the schools intended curriculum, and (c) teaching in the new school at the grade seven level and leading discussions on Mohawk culture at other grade levels periodically.

The elementary school teachers were comprised of Mohawks from Kahnawake and non-native teachers from outside the community. Their impact on the Kahnawake Survival School consisted of lack of support primarily out of fear for job security. This lack of support had a significant impact on the new community high school enrollment figures. The influence of the elementary school teachers is at least partly responsible for a proportion of the fifty percent of total eligible secondary school students opting to attend schools off the reserve.

One of the main features to develop in this study was the desire of the Combined Schools Committee to encourage other community members to take advantage of the formal system of education which most felt was alien to their culture (and their ancient forms of informal education). From the data gathered in this study it is evident that the parents involved in the local schools' committee sought to develop a consensus for the goals and strategies of the

schools in their community and in particular the new secondary school. Regardless of political or religious affiliation, the Mohawk parents on this committee believe that reaching an understanding of the goals for elementary and secondary education in their community is their primary purpose. Data from this descriptive study focuses on the Combined Schools Committee as a group of policy makers who exert a great deal of influence in local education and who had a significant impact on the organization of the community secondary school, its model for education and the method employed to bring about the desired changes.

A major focus of this thesis has been that local control of education is determined in large measure by community reaction. While the Combined Schools' Committee exert a major influence in the operation of Kahnawake's schools in varying degrees, the general population of this community control the ultimate success or failure of its schools.

It was established that the Kahnawake Survival School was organized in protest to a political system and a human rights' issue as much as it was organized to preserve an ethnic identity through the route of formal schooling. Circumstances evident in early September of 1978 precipitated a climate that projected the community to a "we" versus "them" situation with the outside world. The data suggest that this climate in the community facilitated a decision to establish a school. It seems that without the initial

significant support of the community to the proposed idea of a community high school (August 1978) and the suggested goals for a secondary education (September 1978), coupled with a height of anticipation and "rallying of the people", the establishment of the Kahnawake Survival School may never have taken place during this time. This is derived from data which, for example, indicate a brief period of consciousness raising by almost the entire community on the preservation and revitalization of Mohawk culture, including language. This was followed by a brief period of support by those parents who believed in maintaining the status quo. Instead of supporting the new school, which initially was surviving in a spirit of innovation, status quo parents opted for well established schools with professional trained personnel and adequate facilities to educate their children. One could suggest that the status quo parents, who initially supported the school and subsequently sent their children to other schools, were involved in a movement by an entire community to create a change; even though they did not support the idea of a community based secondary school. These individuals supported the school by enrolling their children because everyone else was doing so, however once the school began to take shape arguments were developed to support their decisions to change schools.

Further, it is my contention that community reaction to particular decisions made by the Combined Schools Committee facilitated a refusal to maintain support of the school by some status quo parents. For example, on the decision to

develop a curriculum which had a portion devoted to a local or cultural focus, status quo parents objected. The data suggests that parents believed the high school program should be represented as a provincial or mainstream curriculum.

From all of the data gathered in this study, and in particular an examination of the parents' impact on the development of the school the following might be said. For the most part, parents from Kahnawake supported the development and operation of a local high school. As well, they agreed to the goals for a bicultural education and the design of a curriculum which reflected competencies in two cultures as it's outcome. For the status quo parents, the initial excitement of a secondary school in the community waned after two or three weeks once they thought about the implications of their children attending such a school. Many felt that the risk of sending their children to an inexperienced staff and a totally new school was too great to consider.

A brief analysis of Kahnawake's application of a biculturalism theory to educational practice revealed the following similarities and variations to the approach outlined by Gibson (1976).

a) On assumptions regarding values, Gibson believes that one's native culture, including language, ought to be maintained and preserved and the mainstream culture ought to be acquired as a "second" culture. The Kahnawake school supports these assumptions completely.

b) On assumptions regarding strategies, Gibson says that bicultural education, as an approach to formal instruction, parallels and is adapted from the methods and techniques of bilingual education. The variation between what Gibson suggests for strategies and the method used in the formal instruction of students at the Mohawk secondary school is that while goals and strategies for bilingual instruction are presumptive the strategy to conduct bicultural competencies was not formalized among the staff. Rather, it was assumed that the presence of native and non-native staff in daily interaction with students would be sufficient.

(c) On assumptions regarding outcomes Gibson believes the acquisition of bicultural competencies will enhance a student's ability to function in both the native culture and the mainstream culture. The school supports this assumption and regards the areas of mathematics and reading for example, as competencies necessary for participating in the socio-economic opportunities of the mainstream culture. Also, the mainstream culture is perpetuated by a mainstream curriculum. This, therefore, was used as a basis for bridging the link between native and mainstream cultural competencies.

(d) On assumptions regarding target populations, Gibson says that bicultural education is a reciprocal process such that it is aimed at all students. The target population of the Kahnawake Survival School consists of only Mohawks (or other native students periodically). However, while the school's student population is comprised of only native

students, the school supports the sharing of experiences that would enhance a students bicultural perception by facilitating numerous field trips, and cultural exchanges with mainstream culture schools.

Certainly, there are probably other similarities or variations between the model for bicultural education adapted by the Kahnawake Survival School and the theoretical perspective discussed by Margaret Gibson. Both approaches tend to equate the learning of bicultural competencies primarily with formal schooling and overlook the availability of learning experiences outside of school. Consequently, there rests the possibility of disagreement on the curricular approach that best serves the needs of the students in a bicultural program. At Kahnawake, the question of learning out of school skills was addressed in the planning of a curricular approach. One issue, for example, was the idea to train young men as iron workers. Proponents for including this as part of the school curriculum for grade eleven students believed that it would (a) help them get ahead of other young men working in construction, and, (b) separate the highly motivated and skilled workers from those who just wanted to "try a hand" at ironworking since this type of work was held in high esteem by most men in the community. It was suggested that a program which taught ironworking at the secondary level would help the industry by placing skilled men on the job and not young men who only wanted to work for six months of the year and collect unemployment the remaining

time. Proponents against this type of program in the secondary curriculum believed that (a) students were too young to accept this type of responsibility and (b) traditionally, the skills for iron working were always learned through on the job training. The point of this discussion is in relation to the assumptions regarding outcomes for bicultural education. It is an approach to developing competencies that will lead ultimately to participation in the larger society's socioeconomic opportunities. Given this outcome for education and the summary discussion on the inclusion of ironworking in the secondary curriculum, one could then surmise and ask the following questions. Since most young male Mohawks from the community have aspirations of one day becoming iron workers, should a related program that taught appropriate skills be integrated into the curriculum? If it is part of the school's curriculum, how will the course be designed and taught? Of course the conclusion to this was that ironworking would not become part of the curriculum, however it does illustrate the complex and diverse possibilities for an interpretation to bicultural education. Indeed, the answers to questions regarding the application of a biculturalism theory (including precise assumptions regarding goals, values, strategies and outcomes) to educational practice in Kahnawake reflect the essence of human nature toward change and are representative of the community's unique characteristics.

The application of a biculturalism theory to educational practice is not an easy task. Its application at

this community school is compounded by several dilemmas. They were, (a) tremendous rivalry's between groups of community members and individuals at all levels of school organization (and every other institution in the community), (b) lack of clearly defined organizational structure in the management of school affairs, (c) poorly "equipped" native and non-native teaching staff to deal with the implementation of a bicultural education program adequately; (d) apathy toward the important link of the school with the home by parents in general (i.e. "let the school baby sit my kid"), (e) ambiguities between federal and band responsibilities for Combined School's Committee, (f) scattered racism toward "white" people by the native staff in schools, with prejudice toward Indian student achievement by many non-native teachers. (g) little emphasis on long term planning, and no short term planning resulted in "spur of the moment" decisions at every level. (h) influence of mainstream culture on students (rock music, fashion, dancing, etc) over the instruction of values in the students native culture - this is related to a geographical factor; close proximity to a large urban center. (i) the lack of opportunities afforded to Mohawk students out of class to become oriented to two or more cultures (in a sense the presence of a school in the community which allows only Indian students to attend and which promotes biculturalism, invariably limits the students access to daily bicultural experiences unless they are done so by design). (j) Further, given the variation in

types of schools (i.e. federal and band), it would seem that the well established federal politics for education and the organization of local federal schools are counter-productive to the local band schools' attempt to maximize an innovation in education which is directed by the Mohawks themselves. Certainly there is doubt cast on the ability of the unqualified, inexperienced native schools' committee to conduct and manage the band school by many parents. While most community residents support the idea of native control, a large percentage of the general population believe it is important to have people who know what they are doing before they get the position rather than filling the position with a native person just because they are native. The lack of a defined organizational structure in the band school and the clearly defined, bureaucratic structure of the federal schools has led the community to perceive the federal and band schools as opposites.

There is no guarantee of an effective bicultural program even if the assumptions regarding theory were applied systematically. The model and method to biculturalism through a formal education is only one component for a successful school or school system. Together with the administration, community support, staff and teacher training, in services, student attitude and school climate a program for bicultural education, designed to meet a particular need, becomes an important approach to learning.

The conceptualization of a bicultural education model often drew criticism for "reinventing the wheel" from many

people in the community. Yet, of those who supported the schools goals for a program which encouraged biculturalism in the community secondary school the focus of this criticism was countered with a pride in stressing the importance of local control of education and creativity in planning.

Invariably, the model and method for bicultural education have resulted from a trial and error experimentation, with great detail given to the expectations of most community members. Within the model described here little or no attention was given to actual course content. Rather the focus was directed toward the model as a frame of reference or schema design to a bicultural education. Decisions about what the competencies are (course concepts and skills), specific content, the techniques for organizing content, learning experiences, and student evaluation are beyond the scope of this thesis. Assuredly, the inclusion of such data would provide greater detail to a conceptualization of the bicultural education approach distinguished by Margaret Gibson and possibly serve as a basis for further research. For example, one could examine the extent to which the values, and strategies to bicultural education are congruent with outcomes. Also, one could explore the application of a biculturalism theory to educational practice from the perspective of curriculum. What is the intended bicultural curriculum for a particular school? The implemented curriculum? The attained curriculum? An examination of the congruence between what students are

supposed to be taught, what they are being taught and what they are learning could be studied. Another possibility for research could be the development of a set of competencies for a bicultural program, in both the cognitive and affective domains of learning and measure the effects of a series of special lessons on native and mainstream students; in culturally based schools and mainstream schools. However, incomplete as this study may seem, it provides a description of one community's attempt to design and develop a model and method for bicultural education, its direct application in the school environment and subsequent impact on the community.

Conclusion

Undoubtedly, there are limitations to the Kahnawake Survival Schools planning and organization of a bicultural model and method in education. However from the strategy or approach employed in the design it is evident that the result of what has transpired and what will continue to nurture is now part of the community. This school is something that cannot be taken away in spirit since it has become an important aspect for most of the Mohawks living there. The ultimate test of the Kahnawake Survival School's success is not the measurement of student outcomes as a result of completing a curricular path, but rather how the community served by the school has enhanced itself as a result of its presence. The new Mohawk secondary school was successful in that it was established from the expressed needs of the Mohawk people themselves, attempted to meet those needs, and began serving as an integral part of the community.

The Kahnawake Survival Schools Curriculum mirrors the wishes of the majority of parents in the community to (a) preserve Mohawk culture including language, and (b) teach skills necessary to survive in the large non-native world. Parents who support the community school realize that it is exactly this approach which will facilitate a Mohawk students bicultural adjustment.

Proponents of bicultural-bilingual education have

offered similar descriptions yet one of the most inclusive statements comes from Castaneda, Harold and Ramirez (1975)., They suggest that the basis for a child's learning about his/her own and other cultures must include the language, values, history, thinking and motivational frameworks with which the child is initially familiar. These elements serve as a basis for exploring and developing selective loyalties to alternative expressions of thought, values and lifestyles. Then, they conclude, the child would learn to function completely and effectively in, as well as to contribute to the development of more than one cultural world. This statement underscores the Combined Schools Committee belief that a bicultural education at the Kahnawake Survival School should grow out of the life of the community and be a means to perpetuate and enrich it.

Appendix A

A secondary school education afforded by the Quebec provincial school system may be viewed as a general education; such that the objectives for secondary education examine common values while also attempting to teach respect for cultural diversity. Most curriculum components are based on provincially accepted criteria with very little input from the local school boards where the curriculum services for Indian and Inuit students in Quebec, in particular native languages, are prescribed in sections 37 and 38 of the Charter of the French Language and in sections 577, 660 and 710 of the Quebec Education Act very little emphasis was placed on the importance of Mohawk students learning their native language at Howard S. Billings Regional High School between 1968-1978. The provincial curriculum consists of the following:

Grade 7 = (secondary one)

1. English
2. Mathematics
3. Introduction to Geography
4. French as a second Language
5. Religion (Protestant-Catholic)
6. Physical Education
7. Art
8. General Science

Grade 8 (secondary two)

1. English
2. Mathematics
3. Introduction to History
4. French as a Second Language
5. Religion (Protestant-Catholic)
6. Physical Education
7. Art
8. Home Economics

Grade 9 = (Secondary Three)

1. English
2. Mathematics
3. Geography of Canada and Quebec
4. French as a Second Language
5. Religion (Protestant - Catholic)
6. Physical Education
7. Biology
8. Elective programs in the "shop" areas; i.e.
automechanics, electricity, welding, carpentry.

Grade 10 (secondary four)

1. English
2. Mathematics
3. Religion (Protestant-Catholic)
4. Physical Education
5. French as a Second Language

6. History of Canada, United States, or World History
7. Chemistry or Physics
8. A selection from elective course offerings

Grade 11 = (secondary five)

1. English
2. Mathematics
3. Religion (Protestant-Catholic)
4. French as a Second Language
5. Physical Education
6. North American Literature
7. Chemistry or Physics
8. A selection of elective courses

7

Appendix B

Exerpts of Correspondances Between the Provincial Government and the Protestant Regional School Board of Chateauguay Valley, and Between PRSBCV and the Mohawk Parents through Kenneth Deer, A Mohawk Guidance Counsellor Working in the Secondary School at the time.

About the same time parents of Kahnawake were voting overwhelmingly to start their own high school on the reserve, the Director General of the Protestant Regional Board of Chateauguay Valley received a letter from the Minister of Education of Quebec, Jacques-Yvan Morin.

He wrote:

"...Tousfois, les indiens qui frequentant les ecoles des commissions scolaires seraient sujets a l'application du chapitre VIII de la charte de la langue officielle et par consequent tenus d'etre juges admissibles pour recevoir l'enseignement en anglais."

This portion of the letter, roughly translated reads as follows:

"...As a result, where it concerns the application of Bill 101, the Indians educated in the schools situated on their reserve would not be subject to the application of Article 97 of the said law. Nevertheless Indians who attend schools of the School Commissions would be subject to the application of Charter of the Official Language and as a result must be judged admissible in order to receive their instruction in English."

On August 9, 1978, Mr. Kenneth Deer, a Kahnawake Mohawk who worked as a guidance counsellor at Howard S. Billings Regional High School, received a letter from M.C. Tyler, Director General of the school board in Chateauguay. It was

written in response to concerns expressed by parents of Kahnawake students who did not feel they should or were obliged to sign application forms for their children to attend schools in Chateaugay. Mr. Tyler stated:

"under the first part of the 20 August 1968 agreement entitled "Purposes" and specifically Section 2, the status of Indian students vis a vis white students is defined, (quote) "The Caughnawaga pupils attending the said school shall have all the rights, privileges and responsibilities of all other pupils attending the same."

From the above, the board feels that far from contradicting each other, the reply from the Minister and the terms of the Agreement with Indian Affairs compliment one another, particularly in the statement above "shall have the responsibilities of all other pupils".

The Board therefore resolved that Indian students shall have to comply with registration forms and Bill 101 in the same manner as the other students who wish to attend its schools. We cannot enrol students for instruction in English unless they have the authorization form described in Bill 101. Since we are still responsible by contract to educate Indian students and since without the authorization a student cannot receive instruction in English, we would have no choice but to arrange for instruction in the French language from one of our neighbouring French boards.

The Board sincerely hopes that from this letter you may be able to satisfactorily explain both the necessity and the urgency for signing the application forms in order that we can expediate the request for authorization, since failure to do so means this Board cannot accept such students for English Instruction."

Appendix C

Conceptualization of a two by three needs statement matrix

F.W. English-Developer

What is? What Should Be?

1. Student:	Perception Response...	Contextual Response...
2. Teacher:	Perception Response...	Contextual Response...
3. Community: Member	Perception Response...	Contextual Response...

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