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T H E O U T S I D E R S

An Educational Survey of Metis and Non-Treaty
Indians of Saskatchewan.

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CONTENTS

	<u>PAGE</u>
INTRODUCTION	1
GENERAL STATEMENT	5
THE DROP-OUT SITUATION	7
RACISM AND COLONIZATION	11
THE WHITE-IDEAL	16
FORMAL EDUCATION	23
THE LANGUAGE ISSUE	37
VOCATIONAL, TECHNICAL & UPGRADING EDUCATION	40
CONTROL OF NATIVE EDUCATION	51
DECOLONIZATION	53
RECOMMENDATIONS.	56

I N T R O D U C T I O N

This educational survey of Metis and Indians of Saskatchewan is concerned mostly with the general population of native people whose daily experiences are in the hinterland communities. It is concerned with Metis and Indians whose beliefs and life-styles comprise the indigenous native society. There is no focus on the few exceptional natives who have achieved success in white society and who have become models for whiteman. Emphasis is upon existing realities: the semi-literate and unskilled, the unemployed and oppressed masses of native people in Saskatchewan.

In this report, the word "Metis" is synonymous with halfbreed. The word "Indian" refers to non-treaty Indians, and those natives who call themselves Indians, although they are not legally defined as Indians. The term "native" is a general expression that includes both Metis and non-treaty Indians. This survey did not include Treaty Indians. Therefore, references to Indians in the following report does NOT mean Treaty Indians.

For the purposes of the study, the province was divided into six geographical regions. It was assumed that these six areas would give a representative sampling of Metis and Non-Treaty Indians of the province.

It was an impossibility to include every native community in this study, because of the limited budget and limited time.

The six areas are as follows:

1. La Loche.
2. Uranium City.
3. Urban area - the city of Prince Albert. Chlu

city was selected because it included a large population of Metis and Indians; and it was fairly representative of an urban area where native people reside.

4. North East area - included communities of Cumberland House, Lac La Ronge, Hudson Bay, Nipawin, and Molanosa.
5. North West area - included communities of Meadow Lake, Green Lake, and Beauval. Unfortunately, the interviewing planned for Buffalo Narrows and Ila-la-Crosse were not completed.
6. South area - included the communities of Fort Qu'Appelle, Qu'Appelle, Lebret, Springwater, St. Louis, and Melfort.

In gathering the data, six native interviewers distributed prepared questionnaires (Appendix 1) and gave directions for completing them. These questionnaires were given to Metis and non-Treaty Indians in the six areas described. Five hundred questionnaires were completed and used in this survey.

In addition, open-end interviews were conducted with selected native persons. Generally, these persons were either leaders of the community or actively involved in native activities of some kind. These people were selected because it was felt they would have some specific ideas about education and be able to articulate them. Also, their ideas would likely represent those of the community. These interviews were unstructured. The interviewee simply rambled about education of native people. The interviewer made only limited notes and then wrote the report immediately after leaving the person interviewed. A total of approximately one hundred interviews were completed.

Both methods had weaknesses, but they were the best methods. These findings could be subject to certain misinterpretation and to certain unreliability. However, this education survey does not profess to be a scientific study. It is an attempt to obtain

opinions and suggestions from the Metis and Indians about how they understand and feel about the educational system which affects them. Part of the conclusions are objective, being based on the factual information given in the answers, and on the objective conditions of the native society. However, part of the conclusions are subjective, being based on a socio-psychological analysis of the social relationships that exist between native and white societies.

The unique but significant value of the educational survey is that it was planned, administered, analyzed and written exclusively by Metis and Indians of Saskatchewan. Therefore, it has a native interpretation. It gives an explanation of formal education from the point of view of Metis and Indians. Likely, it contains a racial ~~biases~~; just as surveys done by white people contain whiteman's biases.

This study does not claim to be an emperical study according to the principles of science; nor does this survey presume to cover all the crucial and important issues, nor to provide complete answers to all the educational problems of the native people. Nevertheless, according to native people's judgments on education, this survey can be considered a **reliable** indicator.

This educational ~~survey~~ survey was made possible by the Metis Society of Saskatchewan and was conducted uder its auspices. It was financed by the Indian and Metis Department of the Provincial Government of Saskatchewan. The length of time of the survey was five months.

The following native persons were employed as interviewers:

Alex Fayant
Alex McDougall
Ken McKay

Dan Lavallee
Wes Stevenson
Ernie Umpherville.

Alex McDougall was also a major contributor in the analysis of the survey and in compiling the final report. In addition, Jim Mireau and Lorne Mason furnished valuable assistance in analyzing the data.

GENERAL

This survey proved that it is difficult to do an educational survey of any significance with colonized people, who have been kept systematically uninformed about their social environment and its functioning, and who have been excluded from the mainstream society.

Many of the native people interviewed did not possess knowledge about the institutions and agencies that control their lives. Not having this basic information they did not have a frame of reference for formulating specific ideas about possible changes, or how these changes could take place. Nevertheless they expressed a serious concern about the educational system that affects their lives in one way or another. Since many were unable to crystalize their ideas into specific proposals, their deep concern was inclined to be more disconcerting than ever to them. Likely, this is a typical response pattern of native people who have been methodically excluded from decisions on issues of their social environment.

The thinking of Metis and Indian does not coincide with that of the whiteman. Comprehension of their world is understood in different structures and forms than the whiteman. For instance, the native person does not see nor understand the problems of school in terms of discussion through the structure of Home and School Association. This is not part of his thoughts or actions, nor is it his means of communication. It is a structure that belongs exclusively to middle class white society, and has no meaning to Metis and Indians.

Another serious problem encountered was the difficulty in obtaining genuine answers which represented authentic opinions of the respondents. Native people seemed to have

developed a peculiar kind of "accommodating language" which they use when speaking to officials. They give answers that do not necessarily coincide with their real deep feelings and decisions. They reply with superficial answers which they think will please the white bureaucrats and harmonize with their ideas. They attempt to give answers which they think the officials want. Apparently they reason that to give the acceptable answers serves their best interests and will probably result in greater benefits for themselves. Obviously native people are accepting the white official's superior power position and his extensive authority over their lives. The accommodating answers make things run more smoothly in the colonized world, thus facilitates the relationships between the colonizing bureaucrats and the colonized natives. As a result, these kinds of answers are not genuine expressions of Metis and Indians' true thoughts on the subject in question. For the purpose of this study these answers are referred to as 'slogans'. Where it was possible to verify these uncertain answers, they were discounted. However, this particular finding of the study is extremely important in understanding the relationships between native people and white authorities. It reveals important features of white supremacy in Saskatchewan. Often these answers, which reflected white middle class values, were only slogans. This showed that natives are aware of such white values and their importance in white society.

THE DROP-OUT SITUATION

The drop-out rate for Metis and Indian students from school is indeed serious. According to a recent study on the drop-out rate of Metis and Indian students of Alberta, 53% had dropped out in grade nine; and by the time they had reached grade 12, 97% had dropped out. This is a study that included most of the native children of the Province of Alberta. Another recent study of Metis and Indian students in the Province of Alberta showed that the average percent of students in grades 1 to 3 was 38%; the average percent of students in grades 4 to 8 was 45%, and the average percent of students in grade 9 to 12 was 11%. Using this study as a gauge against the grade level of the respondents in this survey, it showed this sample to be much above the average. For instance, in the grade 1 to 3 level, only 8% of the respondents were in this group, compared to the average of 38%. Therefore this study did not have a true sample for primary level education. In the group grades 4 to 8 this survey had slightly more than the average. For example, the present study had 60%, whereas the average is only 45%, hence, rather over-represented in the group 4 to 8. The average percent of Metis and Indians who complete grades 9 to 12 is only 11%, according to the Alberta study. However, the number of respondents in this study who completed grades 9 to 12 is 28%. It is obvious that the present study included people who were much better educated than the average native population. There are several possible answers for this. Firstly, the questionnaires were given to classes of upgrading students. Also volunteers were accepted as respondents, consequently the better educated persons likely volunteered. Another

factor was that respondents were located through referrals from local presidents of the Metis Society. Since it was a study on education, the presidents attempted to direct interviewers to individuals who would likely be most informative on education.

It is interesting to note that the more education the respondents had, the less they admitted to "don't know" answers. For instance, on the question "who decides what is taught in school?" only 30% of the grade 9 to 12 group admitted they didn't know. In the grade 4 to 8 group 35% said they didn't know. In the grade 1 to 3 group, 50% said they didn't know. And in the group without any formal education 85% admitted they didn't know. But in actual fact the answers showed that the better educated persons did not know the correct answer any better than the lower grade persons. The same percentage in each group gave incorrect answers, i.e., 25%. Therefore, better educated natives do not possess greater knowledge about the educational system than poorly educated persons. Obviously, additional schooling does not teach native students anything about the administration, management and politics of the school system.

With regard to reasons for dropping out of school, 50% of the respondents said they had left because of economic reasons, such as "too poor", "had to go to work", "didn't have good clothes", etc. The answers to this question appeared to be somewhat of a slogan. Native people have brushed close enough to mainstream to be aware of the social values related to education. They realize the reverence paid to education; therefore they refuse to blame themselves for not getting a good education. They do not blame the school either. They were simply victims of circumstances.

Doubtless, economic factors play a significant part in the Metis and Indian drop-out situation. But this explanation could be an easy rationalization.

The second most common reason given for dropping out was "did not like school", yet only 25% gave this reason. It is interesting to note that only 1% of the 'over 40 year old' group gave this reason. Obviously other factors were involved in this answer. Many of this group had left school in the early grades, and this was many years ago. They were probably answering the question with much nostalgia about their few years in school. Since they likely went to school only a short time they did not really have time to form a critical opinion. Also, at this age today they can explain to themselves that they would be more successful if they had had a better education. Whereas with the younger people, they are unable to excuse themselves with this explanation because education opportunities were available to them in their recent years at school.

In regard to the drop-out issue a second question was asked, "What did you dislike most about school?" Approximately 40% stated they disliked the courses and the teachers. In this question the respondents seemed to consider their answer a personalized one. They saw themselves, personally, in the situation and answered accordingly.

A peculiar statistic with the 'over 40 year old group' is that in answer to the question "Why did you drop out?" only 1% claimed it was because they disliked school. Yet, to the other question, "What did you dislike most about school?" 30% stated they disliked the teachers and subjects.

According to answers from the survey, very few dropped out

of school because of racial discrimination, or feelings of inferiority. Also, only 10% claimed discrimination and inferiority as reasons for disliking school.

Generally, native people are reluctant to acknowledge that discrimination happens to them, because this is an admission of Indianness. Actually, in admitting discrimination a person is stating that he looks Indian, that people distinguish him immediately as being different and unacceptable; and, because of the white ideal, most native people are not going to admit this either to themselves or to society. On the other hand, if Metis and Indians say they have not been discriminated against, they are likely stating they are so white in appearance everyone mistakes them for whitemen.

Also, it is possible that discrimination and feelings of inferiority were defined as economic problems. Rather than admit to racial discrimination, the native persons claimed that their clothes were too ragged, or their houses were too shabby for white company.

Answers indicate that native people of Saskatchewan feel a certain sense of inferiority. Many respondents did not want white teachers to visit them because it would only deepen their inferiority. For instance, they would probably feel ashamed of their house, their furniture, their clothes, and their way of life. Nearly 100% of the respondents stated they were not smart enough to become a doctor or a lawyer.

RACISM AND COLONIZATION

One of the important points that emerged from this educational survey was that Metis and Indians perceive of themselves as racially different and exclusive from the white society. They answered in terms of whiteman or white control. Such answers indicate that natives see the government, its institutions, and their control, as outside and beyond themselves. They understand the native community as being separate and distinct from the white society. For them the world is divided into two parts, white and native; there are no grey areas. They are not marginal dwellers of the mainstream society. To the Metis, half-breed does not mean living half as a white and half as an Indian. The Metis lives exclusively in the native society, except for the few exceptions who live as whiteman. His percentage of whiteness has no relationship to his degree of integration in the white society. Another fact of importance was that the Metis and Indians do not have a frame of reference that is typically middle class. Their responses were plain and direct, free from rationalizations and conditions. For example, they claimed they wanted native teachers in the classrooms, but they did not qualify the answers with white middleclass concerns, such as "yes, but they must be well qualified". They answered questions related to culture and race from their experiences. For instance, they claimed that white teachers did not associate with the native people because they were from a different culture.

Since white supremacy in Canada today has many social, economic and psychological aspects it is necessary to have an understanding of its realities and its consequences. The Metis and

Indians of Saskatchewan seem to have an understanding of the impact of racism on their daily lives. Although racism originated from the necessity of cheap exploitable labour for gathering furs it did not end with the fur trade. Instead, it became more severe. Racial theories and racial stereotypes increased. By racial stereotype is meant the popular myths held about native people, such as: drunk, lazy, dirty, immoral, savage. Although Metis and Indians no longer serve as a supply of cheap labour for the economy, white supremacy still dominates administration of native people. Living in a segregated community controlled by a group of white officials creates racist and colonial relationships. A colonial and racist society means geographic and social isolation of native people, who were conquered by force and have remained under the domination of white bureaucrats. In Canada this has meant forced segregation on the reserves and Metis colonies. The traditional native economy has been destroyed, e.g., beaver and buffalo. A condition of economic dependency has been forced upon the Metis and Indian which has extended to a kind of psychological dependency. Once independence is crushed then an attitude of subservience and gratitude is perpetuated. This scheme of dependency was further entrenched by keeping Metis and Indians dependent on their traditional economy after the buffalo and fur animals had been exterminated. A complication is added by fostering a romantic belief that Metis and Indians are trappers and hunters by nature, when in actuality these occupations cannot provide even a meager existence. This economic situation is an anachronism in a highly developed industrial state. However, there is a vested interest in retaining

the traditional economy because it serves as a base for the present native culture. It is important to remember that the present native culture was systematically arrested or suspended approximately 100 years ago when the native people were placed in reserves and colonies (e.g., Northern communities). Therefore, it is exceedingly important that Metis and Indian culture be given a viable economy that would move it into the twentieth century without shattering its culture. For that reason the economy must have a close relationship to the traditional economy, such as co-operative industries or communal enterprises. Private enterprise must be rejected because it would shatter the native culture and its institutions. These are the significant features that are operating in the Indian and Metis communities today.

The native people are prevented from becoming economically independent. Colonialism and racism means that white authorities are in all positions of power, e.g., teachers, judges, police. They control all institutions for their own advantage, e.g., courts, schools. The natives are kept as powerless people. Communication has been largely one way, in that there is official communication going only from the white authorities to the Metis and Indian. In a colonial and racist society there is no interchange of meaningful ideas between natives and whites. Native people are discouraged from challenging racist theories and racist stereotypes. For example, they are forced to take I.Q. tests that are based on a white middle class culture. Being of a different race and from a foreign culture it is understandable how they discriminate against the native people and show them to be mentally inferior to the whites. The stereotypes surround the native people in their daily lives. Over the years the

Metis and Indians have internalized white supremacy theories and hence their own inferiority. A colonized community is drained of its creative and intellectual stimulation and challenge. Instead, suspicion and fear is fostered between natives and whites, and among natives themselves. This is part of the divide and rule scheme. Under racism natives have internalized the distorted image of themselves and in this way become inferiorized.

Another aspect of colonialism is that Metis and Indians are obliged to live at a subsistence level and under a philosophy of day-to-day survival. These are the realities of colonialism and racism. Under this system the white welfare officer has tremendous power over the Metis and Indians. Through being kept ignorant of their rights and of the rates of welfare payments they are easily intimidated. It is understandable that native people cannot organize their lives for future plans.

The Metis and Indians define and understand their situation in these racial terms. They know who controls the schools. Although many are unable to give a detailed explanation of their daily racial experience, they are aware of its forceful existence. Many answers to questions on racism were simple, but precise: "I just know". The answers seemed to imply a full explanation and the feeling that everyone should know that racism was obvious and blatant. To ask a native to document discrimination is almost an insult, for it is ever present with him. Racism is not an abstract idea nor an inherent biological quality; it is a pragmatic economic factor. Today it legitimizes colonialism.

White officials in Metis communities regulate minor racial

prejudices, e.g., between Indians and Metis. They are able to do this because of the tremendous power and influence they command from their positions. To a large extent the small white power structure in each native community determines the intensity of the racial atmosphere in their particular community. Because of the white-ideal there is competition among the natives for white favours. Naturally whiteman favours "whiter looking" natives. By the same token, greater opportunities exist for "white looking" Metis and Indians. White bureaucrats set the pattern for racial relationships, and their decisions will be made on the basis of what gives them the most power, prestige, or financial reward. For instance, some priests rule over the Metis people in a very authoritarian manner and treat the Metis in a 'child-like' way. By this method the priest gives himself tremendous power and prestige for he is able to foster divisions among the Metis through intimidation, jealousy and suspicion. Naturally the Metis and Indians are forced to meet white authorities on their grounds and on their terms, which are at court, school, church, etc.

WHITE-IDEAL

Within each native person is an inclination towards acceptance and success in white society. This tendency operates mostly at the subconscious level; therefore it is not clearly understood at the personal conscious level. This is an inner force compelling native persons towards the white world. The glorification of whiteness acts as a kind of magnet on the behaviour and attitudes of Metis and Indians. At the same time, it impels them to scorn their own culture and heritage. For instance, those native persons who attempt to gain acceptance in mainstream society deny their Indian heritage, language, and even their native friends. Behind these actions are the psychological factors of the 'white-ideal'. Colonized native people throughout the world are afflicted with this problem. The splendor of whiteness is exaggerated to great extremes in all racist nations. For example, racist theories which were developed during the period of European colonization are given further support through the perpetuation of this ethic. On the other hand, dark colours, particularly black in comparison to white, are given an attitude of evilness and inferiority. In this manner, racism distorts and disfigures both the white and native sections of the nation. These flattering and pleasing myths reinforce whiteman's superiority role. However, for the native people these inferiority myths destroy their esteem, confidence and pride. The popular stereotype images of the Metis and Indians are: drinking, brawling, sneaking, lying, filthiness, immorality, etc. These racial images are deeply entrenched in Canada and have become part of the working relationships between whites and natives. The latter are sensitive to these images and understand

that whiteman performs in accordance to this stereotype. For instance, they come to believe that they are innately quiet and shy about expressing their ideas. As a result, they do not develop skills of articulation and leadership. This is a powerful way of immobilizing potential leaders. Also, they cater to white ideals that permeate their surroundings. Many native people sincerely think that whiteman is much more capable than themselves at management of the affairs of the country. This kind of mentality and attitude not only destroys administrative skills of native people but also fosters white supremacy and allows whiteman to dominate in all positions of authority, such as Indian agent, welfare officer, DNR and teacher. Eventually most Indians and Metis develop an idolization of white society. Although this attitude may be superficial, or at a subconscious level, it is nevertheless present to some degree. It is this aspect of white supremacy that accounts for much of the inferiorization and colonialization of the native people.

Increased white supremacy on the one side and native inferiority on the other results in an ever-widening gap and deeper segregation. Serious colonization and segregation have existed in Canada ever since the end of the fur trade and the development of the industrial period, which is approximately one hundred years ago for the prairies. This was a crucial period in apartheidism on the prairies and which resulted in the near destruction of the Metis nation after 1885. It is only within the last few years that they have started to awaken from this cultural devastation.

This tendency towards the white society was clearly demonstrated in many answers on the questionnaireⁿ and interviews. It

was evident that the white ideal was an important factor in the attitude and ideas of Metis and Indians. It seems to play a fairly important part in their decisions and actions in educational matters. It seems to form part of their expectations and aspirations. However, there is a dilemma, or a contradiction. Existing at the same time with the subconscious white-ideal is a personal awareness of racism in the white society and its rejection of non-white people. On the one hand, Metis and Indians are drawn towards white society by the force of white-ideal, but on the other hand, from experience and reality they know they will be prevented from integrating into it. In their answers nearly 100% stated that the (whiteman's) education system was very important; yet nearly 100% wanted native teachers and native history. There were many similar contradictions that seemed to defy explanation, other than through the 'white-ideal'.

Of course, there are several Metis and Indian persons who have decolonized themselves and thus freed themselves from the tendency towards white society. These persons are the exceptional ones in the native society. This applies to most native leaders. However, the majority of Metis and Indians desired some white people in certain important positions. This would refer to positions such as school principal, where the white official could exercise influence in leading natives into mainstream society. It is necessary to keep in mind that this is not a rational thought. Instead, it is a subconscious desire. They do not want to become whitemen; they want to be in the place of the whiteman and to reach his success. The counteracting force on the white-ideal is the native person's conscious awareness of the racism he experiences in his daily living. The inter-

play of these forces generates a certain degree of hostility.

At the stage of serious colonization, the appointment of Metis and Indian officials to certain high-ranking positions would be somewhat opposed by native people themselves on the basis that such native officials would not be capable of leading them into success in the white society. It was clearly indicated that the vast majority of Metis and Indians would not support a separate native school apart from the whites, as this would not provide the desired link to mainstream. As native people become decolonized the white-ideal gradually disappears. Although most Metis and Indians would probably deny the existence of the white ideal, because it contradicts the reality of their experiences and their conscious thoughts, nevertheless it emerged as one of the most significant issues in this study. Although they gave other reasons for explanations on 'why' questions, the white-ideal seemed to be the influential force behind their decisions.

As long as white supremacy and colonialism is allowed to exist the white-ideal will persist, and thus prohibit equality in every aspect of native-white relationships. And it is important to remember that with racism and colonialism, mainstream society is distorted and disfigured. White supremacy becomes increasingly bloated. This is a pleasing sensation to the bigot, but it is also a dehumanizing and devastating experience to the majority of citizens, both white and native.

Then if the white-ideal leans towards mainstream, should it not be possible for integration or assimilation to take place? No. Metis and Indians are separate and exclusive colonies within the nation of Canada. Over one hundred years of rigid confinement to these native communities under the authority of white officials

has clearly drawn sharp boundaries between the white and native nations. It has also convinced the native people that all power lies in the hands of whiteman. So when the Metis and Indians perceive of themselves as a distinct nation of people they are being honest and realistic. It is absurd paternalism to pretend that Metis and Indians are equal partners in the Canadian nation. They are conquered people and have been treated accordingly. Integration is not possible between a white supremacy nation and a conquered native nation — unless **integration** means that all Metis and Indians become brown whitemen. Likewise, cross-cultural or inter-cultural relationships between these two nations is an equally bigotted and paternalistic attitude. It is the current language of earlier racist theories. Integration is a racist concept because it implies that native people are to become whitemen in order to be integrated. It does not mean that an Indian will be integrated as an Indian. Indianness, and particularly physical appearance, precludes any form of integration or equality. The white liberal may deny this, but he is only postponing his final decision. Over 80% of the respondents claimed they were marked as being native by either appearance or life-style. These indelible characteristics can not be erased, and white supremacy rejects these as co-partners in the same nation.

Under direct questioning where the Metis and Indian were identified by the interviewer they acknowledged their Indianness. However, privately some native persons tried to avoid being identified as being part Indian. Unique racial situations exist in some places, such as North Battleford. It is reported that in this city the white people hold the Indians in particular disdain. Therefore, the native people are extremely sensitive to this pre-

judice and many try to hide from their Indianness. Consequently, most Metis attempt to disassociate themselves from all Indianness that would classify them as a member of the stereotyped group. Hence many Metis refuse to be identified as half-breeds even though their physical appearance and life-style are Indian. For this reason it is difficult to unite the Metis, and even more difficult to unite the Indians and Metis. This is institutional racism because the white ruling elites are able to direct the kind of racism that will operate in the community to the advantage of the white people.

Under institutional racism, prejudice is woven into the ideology of the community. There is no way that a person can avoid being influenced by this type of racism. For example, most young native people who succeed in high school or university come to reject their own culture and people and see their success in the white world. This is because they have internalized the institutional racism of the community, school and university. To these young people their future in the native nation is now bleak and forbidding, they divorce themselves from native society. Because of the powerful influence of institutional racism, higher education cannot be considered as a solution to the problem of Metis and Indians. In fact, higher education actually causes greater harm because it leads potential scholars and leaders permanently away from the native nation. It entrenches white supremacy attitudes, and trains Metis and Indians to become the new educated oppressors, rather than creative participants of the native society.

Regardless of its remoteness, a native community is never

free from the influence of white supremacy today. Practically every native child has to learn to speak English; hence, he has to learn to conceptualise in the language of the white supremacy English. From the questionnaire 25% of the respondents were physically punished during their schooling for speaking their native language.

FORMAL EDUCATION

One of the significant conclusions that emerged from the study is that the present formal education system is comparatively irrelevant to the Metis and Indian people. The white, middle class value system that comprises classroom instruction relates only slightly to native students. The curriculum is so foreign that students do not incorporate it into their frame of reference nor realm of knowledge. It is easy to understand why the Metis and Indian children drop out of school, for the entire school program is as alien as a ballet school. It is a white supremacy school with middle class values and an underlying assumption of negating native history and culture. Reform of this institution is unfeasible. If it were not for the white-ideal, schools would not have any support from the native people. Hence, action is urgently needed for a complete restructuring of the school system in native communities.

The majority of the respondents stated that the reason for dropping out of school was lack of interest in academic subjects. Apparently they do not see any relevance between the subjects taught in school and their actual lives in the community. It is more than irrelevance between curriculum and community; it is irrelevance between institution and culture. In the white society, education at least represents aspirations to success and to occupations; whereas in native society education does not represent this. Answers to the questionnaire indicated that education for Metis and Indians does not represent aspirations to success, nor does it represent a stepping-stone to employment. Hence, a school system that is both unessential and inapplicable.

The major reason for the big gap of education inappropriate-

ness is because it is completely unrelated to the native way of life economically. ~~Natives~~ are realistic when they reject mainstream society as a future occupational area, as they can readily see only the exceptional native person succeeds in it. And because these few natives have left the native society, and became brown whitemen they do not serve as success models. Here, the Metis and Indians acknowledge their Indianness, and the fact of racism in mainstream society. The occupational realm of the native people is either the traditional economy of hunting and fishing, or the jobs that are racially defined, such as rock-picking, fire-fighting, beet-picking; and, for women, domestic service. Of course, welfare, which affects many Indians and Metis, offers nothing in the way of an economy or goal. Hence the goals and inspirations set by formal education have no validity in native occupations and economy. It would seem that both school and economy have to be transformed. Because of institutional racism, and the fact that Metis and Indians define themselves as distinct from the mainstream, the school will continue to fail in relating to them. As decolonization accelerates, the school will inevitably increase in alienation. On the other hand, the new economy that must be infused into the native society must be directly and immediately linked to the educational system. They must develop simultaneously. Any patch-work program that fails to utilize this principle will be useless and a failure. The study of ancient history, English literature, or advanced mathematics is meaningless to the people who live on a day-to-day survival basis, and in a racially colonized situation.

Seventy-five percent of the respondents replied that they did not know how education was controlled in their community.

Apparently they were not concerned enough about education to learn about the system of control. Probably they felt it mattered little, as they would still be powerless to exercise any control once they did know. Also, it is a foreign institution imposed on them from the outside. In actuality the school system is^a highly centralized bureaucracy. Likewise, 75% admitted they did not know who decided on the curriculum.

However, most of the respondents expressed an importance of basic reading, writing, and arithmetic. In evaluating school, they claimed it helped them in learning to read and write. However, the answers implied that nothing else was gained from it. Very few claimed that their education helped them get a job. No one answered that it prepared them for life. A small percentage stated that education had helped them with social skills, e.g., how to behave in public. Such answers likely related to the influence of the white-ideal. Approximately 90% of the respondents claimed their schooling had not helped them in any way for everyday living. Likewise, most respondents said the academic subjects of the school, beyond the basic 3Rs, were useless.

In contrast to white students, who have expectations that education will assist them in gaining employment, native students feel that schooling will not help them. Historically, this makes sense. The prevailing school system is an institution of industrialism; and the Metis and Indians have been excluded from the industrial world. At the emergence of industrialism, they were placed on reserves, colonies, and in segregated Metis communities. There they have remained under coercion until recently. The school, an industrial institution, has been imposed on a traditional, communal economy. It is an anachronism.

White children see their elders as lawyers, doctors, teachers, etc., and can realistically aspire to these models, whereas native children do not see their elders in such roles. They perceive those avenues as closed to them. They see their elders in occupations that require very little formal education. Even the teachers in their classrooms are white, which not only clogs this occupation as a model, but it further colonizes the native students.

Nine-five percent of the respondents indicated that education was either very important or fairly important. But most of these same persons had dropped out of school before reaching Grade 8. Also, they had not taken any upgrading or vocational education since. In addition, they claimed that schooling had not helped them with everyday living. Obviously they have internalized the white, middle class value that education is valuable. This answer was largely a 'slogan', for in answers that required more thought they contradicted the statement that education was very important. Such answers facilitate their discussions with the white officials, particularly teachers. Authorities are told what the native people believe they want to hear.

The present school system is attempting to train native children for a way of life and success that is not only foreign to them, but for a world that will reject them. The Metis and Indian people understand this; but unknowingly the white-ideal impels them to accept school. The 'guaranteed failure' for native students serves mainly to inferiorize and degrade them. Nearly 100% of the respondents claimed that they were not smart enough to become a doctor or a lawyer. These people do not know what their intellectual power is, but they rate themselves as

incapable before they have even tested their potential mental ability. Doubtless the school has played an important role here in inferiorizing them and developing this negative and inferior image of themselves.

The Metis and Indians realize the cultural differences that exist between themselves and the teachers. In admitting that most white teachers do not associate with natives, they gave as the reason "we are of different culture", and "they are not interested in us". Most of the native people recognize this cultural problem, and thus ask for native teachers. For whites to pretend this racial problem does not exist is to behave like an ostrich in danger. Of course, admission of such racial differences is a disgrace to their imagined international image; it allows them to sustain their white supremacy control over native people. Obvious and brutal racism showed up in the question about speaking their native language at school. Fifty percent of the answers stated that they were forbidden to speak their native language by either teachers or official rules. Of this group, 25% stated that they had been physically punished for using their native language at school. Another 25% of this group said they were forbidden to speak their native language because the teachers claimed they were being mocked. This sort of paranoia only leads to increased discrimination against the native students.

Structural changes made in the school system will have to be fairly gradual because of the white-ideal that the native people hold. Transformation can occur only as fast as decolonization takes place. In the beginning, it will probably be quite slow, but can accelerate in a short time. Although Metis and

Indians are asking for native teachers, and for native history and culture to be taught, this is partly a 'slogan'. It is unlikely they would approve such a complete change immediately. At this point, native parents hold expectations of success in the white world for their children. Although these are only superficial and surface expectations for most parents, nevertheless, they are firm. Hence native teachers would be regarded as being incapable of this instruction. But as decolonization takes place both native parents and students will develop greater pride and determination in their heritage and nation, greater confidence in their ability, greater skills in social democracy, and hence move towards greater native administration and instruction. In response to the white-ideal, native parents feel that white teachers are better able to direct their children to success in mainstream society, even though the vast majority drop out before reaching high school. Likewise, they would probably oppose a large increase of native content in the curriculum, even though over 90% said they wanted native history and culture taught in the schools. The particular content that must now be selected as part of their classroom instruction must be selected in precise accordance to decolonization. Any changes that continue to support and further white supremacy is a crime against the human rights of the Metis and Indian people of Canada.

The white-ideal is the curse of colonized people, but there is no denying it; at least as long as the people are in a state of colonization. It is essential to remember that this hope for success and acceptance in the white world is held concurrently with the underlying realization that the racism of the mainstream will reject them. This illusion has been proven by 450 years of

historical fact. But hope for acceptance cannot be denied, nor can it be realistically evaluated as long as white supremacy holds sway over native people's lives. Because of the white ideal, most natives cannot make the final break from white decision-makers. They prefer to have white advisors, or temporary white authorities. White supremacy has penetrated into the minds and souls of the native people and has successfully inferiorized them. This, of course, is what the white man wants, and prides himself on his indispensability. Because of the white-ideal, native people feel that white teachers are the only persons who can lead their children to white success; native teachers might misdirect them or lead them exclusively to the native society. It is important to remember that the white-ideal operates at a subconscious level, hence the dilemma of the colonized person. Of course, as decolonization takes place the native people will increasingly demand more native teachers and more native content in the curriculum. However, they must be the decision-makers as to the pace and form of native schooling. It is crucial for authorities to be aware of this factor and to direct action accordingly. Failure to understand and deal with this issue is certain to result in continued white oppression and inevitable hostile conflict.

A great deal of the academic content presently in the course must not only be de-emphasized, but eliminated completely. This action should go into effect immediately. Also, time spent in the culturally foreign and repressive classroom must be reduced. More time must be spent on recreational, cultural, and community projects; but outside of the classroom. These projects should be realistically related to the community specifically, and to

the native nation generally. They should be of a practical and pragmatic nature. This is where native instructors should be used. The curriculum should start to focus on the local native economy so that the school program can be understood as a link to the native way of life. It is essential that education be honestly related to actual native employment opportunities and not to white mythical goals.

At the present time only the basic skills in the 3Rs are used in the Metis and Indian communities. They make very little, if any, use of the academic subjects, nor do these serve any purpose in terms of intellectual development. It is ludicrous to think of teaching an appreciation of Shakespeare and middle class poetry to colonized people who live on a day-to-day survival basis. It is little wonder that some showed hostility to such meaningless content. It is description and glorification of a foreign world which is imposed upon Metis and Indian students. The present school system must become more authentically related to the Metis and Indian people and their way of life. The hours spent in the classroom should be greatly reduced and alternate programs developed around community activities. Since white supremacy desiccates creative, intellectual and scientific stimulation, it will continue to suffocate intellectual and creative development. Hence the urgency of the replacement; the sooner the better; but more important, the sooner, the more orderly.

The primary students should have a native instructor who teaches them on a regular basis about Metis and Indian history and culture in their native language. The white teacher would teach English and the basic 3Rs. In addition, older native persons would come to the classroom and tell these students of past events, leg-

ends, and native stories in general. The focus would be on the restoration of national pride and confidence. This practice could be continued in the grades above three. Also, with the older students community programs, recreational and cultural activities would be under the guidance of a native instructor. The higher grades should have an emphasis on vocational, technical and commercial training. This education must be related to the local economy.

Gradually, a lot of the instruction could be given by local native non-professional persons. Also, high school students could eventually provide instruction in basic literacy. As mentioned earlier, older native people should be part of the primary school program. This may be difficult to initiate because the Metis and Indian have internalized their inferiorization and thus feel that their contribution to whiteman's school is valueless. However, the importance of their contribution is the personal and cultural contact with the young pupils. Wherever the local native people can be utilized in a positive way in the educational programs it should be encouraged.

The presence of a native teacher, who can communicate with the pupils in their native language, helps to eliminate the element of inferiorization. Students should not be pressured into learning English within a specified time. Great care has to be given to learning the English language since it is so basic to white supremacy and inferiorization. This area needs to be explored further. Some parts of the curriculum should be taught in the native language until the end of high school. Instruction in native history and culture should be taught in Cree, Chipewyan or French. It is impossible to give a spirit of nationalism in a

foreign tongue, English.

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

Another important aspect of instruction in the classroom is that of restoring personal confidence. Up to now, school has been the principal agent in colonization and inferiorization. It is the ultimate in white, urban, middle class value system. The native people are not oriented in this direction. Thus it is almost certain that they will fail in such a foreign institution. Failure is a further aspect of inferiorization. The new school program must be aimed at success rather than repeated failures.

Specific confidence training should be a positive part of the classroom experience. Native students should be given training in public speaking, debating, and general articulation skills. At the same time, such training must build personal confidence. This is a vital area in native education and must be handled adequately as well as sensitively. Until the native people have developed personal confidence and social skills they will continue to be colonized. At the same time, pride in their race has to be generated systematically. The older students need to understand how the power structure is comprised and how it operates. This is necessary in order to have some understanding of the forces that oppress native people. It is essential that they be made aware of their colonization. It is impossible for decolonization

to take place without a knowledge of the processes and procedures involved. For this reason political education is essential. An understanding of governmental agencies, such as welfare, police, law, etc., is necessary in order to have these services work for them, rather than oppress them.

From the questionnaires, 30% of the respondents from LaLoche stated they had never been to school at all. Since the majority of the Metis and Indian people surveyed did not go beyond Grade 8 the focus of restructured education has to be at this level. The masses of native people are at this level; therefore the educational concern has to be where the masses are. This does not mean that high school education can be completely ignored, but it would be catering only to a few natives. At all times, and in every school program, opportunities for succeeding through the white system must be made available. It seems that native people would demand this, even though only one percent would make use of such opportunities.

An immediate program should build gymnasiums that are community centres in the Metis and Indian communities. These facilities should serve both the school and general community. They should not be the exclusive property of the school or operated under its jurisdiction. They should be general purpose centres that, as first priority, serve educational programs. These gyms should accommodate multi-recreational programs of the native students. In addition, they could serve as training centres for handicraft programs, adult programs, and community activities in general. Such buildings should be under the authority of local people.

It is imperative that native teacher-aids be discontinued at once. This is strictly a colonized relationship and, of course, leads to increased colonization on the part of the natives. Likewise, it heightens the arrogance of white supremacy. This is a classic example of colonization in actual practice in Saskatchewan. Although the teacher-aid has special knowledge about the native way of life and language, she is still considered an inferior person in relation to the white teacher, who has all the credentials as a full teacher, according to the criteria set by the white supremacy institution. The teacher-aid is probably able to communicate much more readily and effectively with the students, yet she remains subservient to the white teacher. Her superior knowledge and ability is unrecognized and downgraded, in both professional standing and salary. As a native, she knows that she must 'keep in her place'. Native instructors working in schools must be given equal standing, salary and prestige. Any new restructured educational program that fails to put this principle in operation is guilty of perpetuating colonialism. It is recommended that native instructors be paid a comparable salary to white teachers.

This report does not take the standard, traditional point of view where the Metis and Indian people are the 'problem' - where they lack ability, are lazy and dumb; or that they are to blame because they drop out of a 'good' school system. This report acknowledges that the school and all its white supremacy features is the problem. The educational system systematically and meticulously conditions natives to a state of colonization. It does this in a multitude of ways. Basically, it teaches the language, literature, and history of the colonizer, and thus forces the

students to deny their language, culture, and essential being. It operates with the typical racial stereotypes and gets the students to accept shamefulness and unworthiness of themselves.

In conclusion, a few issues need emphasizing. Since the present school system will not likely be restructured immediately, some definite changes are recommended for present action. More time should be devoted to practical, non-academic projects in the native community that would develop a sense of continuity for native students to their culture. It is impossible to bring an inferiorized native culture into a white supremacy classroom, that is, with dignity and respect. However, native students can relate to their own community, provided it is not predetermined for them. Hence the necessity of Metis and Indian instructors for this practical learning experience. This type of responsible learning will reduce the amount of time native students must spend in a foreign classroom. Most Metis and Indians disapproved of the useless memorization of academic material that had no relevance to their daily lives. According to the results of the survey the younger and better educated people expressed a greater dissatisfaction with the education system than the older and less educated people. Related to this condition is the fact that the present economic level of native communities and their opportunities demand only a low level of education for participation. White teachers continue to cast a shame upon native students through disapproval of native languages. Although teachers today may refrain from strapping native students for using their own language, nevertheless they still cast a negative mood by their mannerisms. This is a powerful force in undermining native culture.

Conclusions from the study indicate quite clearly that Metis

and Indians do not plan their lives on the basis of long range goals, or on the basis of white middle class aspirations, such as doctor and lawyer. Native people's lives are governed by a "day-to-day survival" philosophy. A transformation of the formal education system for Metis and Indians must take place whereby the classroom eventually disappears. Continuation of the present white supremacy education and colonization will inevitably lead to greater frustration and hostility.

LANGUAGE

With regard to language, 65% of the respondents said Cree was their native language; 10% said Chipewyan; 15% said English, and 10% said French. However, this varies according to area. In La Loche, 100% of the respondents said their native language was Chipewyan. In the North East area, 85% of the people stated Cree was their native language. In the urban area 60% stated Cree was their native language. The remainder were equally divided between French and English as their native languages, being 20% each. In the South, English was the native language of 25% of the respondents, while French accounted for 10%. By English language, the respondents meant they were English half-breeds. It is not that they have recently adopted the English language as a native language. However, these conclusions do not mean that such people always speak their native language. On the average, it was found that 20% of the Metis and Indians speak their native language at home; 35% speak their native language all the time; whereas 17% never speak their native language, meaning they speak English all the time.

However, these averages vary according to geographical area. In La Loche the people speak Chipewyan nearly 100% of the time. In the North West area, 45% of the respondents speak their native language all the time, and another 45% speak Cree at home, only. Therefore, in this area the native language is used extensively. Ninety percent speak Cree in their homes. In the North East area, 45% of the respondents speak their native language all the time. However, fewer speak it at home, 20%. Nevertheless, a total of 65% of the people speak Cree in their homes.

In the South and urban areas, the native language is spoken less in the homes. Twenty-five percent of the people speak their

native language at all times, and another 25% speak it regularly in the home. This means that one-half of the Metis and Indians of the South and urban areas speak in their native tongue. However, it must be remembered that 15% of this group are English half-breeds who speak English as their native language. Also, the French half-breeds comprise 10% of the native population, of which many speak French as their native language all the time.

There were big differences among the age groups with respect to speaking native languages. There are very few older people who never speak their native language. In the age group 26 to 39 years, only 8% did not speak their native language, and in the group over 40 years it was only 1%. This indicates that 91% of the Metis and Indians over 26 years of age still speak their native tongue, either some or all of the time; whereas the young people are rejecting their native language. In the age group 18 to 25 years, 30% said they never speak it, and in the age group 12 to 17 years, 40% said they never speak their native language.

It is possible that young people feel the sense of inferiority much more strongly than their elders, thus make every effort to discard their native language as soon as possible. However, many are obliged to speak, or understand, their native language at home because their parents are speaking it.

Nevertheless, it is quite conclusive from the study that many Metis and Indians are still speaking their native language very much, particularly in their homes. Therefore this fact should be given serious consideration in the planning and operation of educational programs. Language is an important part of

a culture; hence it is essential to maintain it. It is extremely vital that native language be a basic part of all educational policies.

VOCATIONAL AND TECHNICAL EDUCATION

The results of this educational survey indicate that the present vocational and technical training programs are comparatively irrelevant to the Metis and Indians. They see the huge power structure completely dominated by whites, who are making all decisions. They have been ruled by white authorities for so long now, and so completely, they have accepted the power relationship as satisfactory; at least, they seem to have surrendered to it. They have internalized the white-ideal and consequently tend towards success in the white mainstream society. For this reason they desire white instructors and white decision-makers as they are better guarantees for leading natives into the white society. Nearly 70% of those who took vocational training stated they did not get jobs as a result of this training, and they do not see other natives getting jobs. Yet the majority stated they were taking vocational training so as to get a job. But, in reality, they know they will not get any of the jobs they are training for. They acknowledged to themselves the actual racism of the Canadian society; thus knew they would be rejected on such basis. Furthermore, what they are training for is foreign to their native society and way of life. It would appear that Metis and Indians enter upon vocational training without any real objective. One underlying concern in taking this training is that it provides a living allowance which permits them to get off welfare.

Through the interview method, it was found that many respondents used 'slogans' in evaluating the educational system.

In most cases they stated they were satisfied with the present system, when at the same time they knew that very few, if anyone, had benefited by such training. The main criticism the Metis and Indians had about vocational education was that it was too short to actually qualify them as competent tradesmen. Secondly, these courses did not help them in their native environment. They felt the government should be able to set up educational programs that would be more helpful in their society; courses that relate to the native way of life. More meaningful courses would give them more confidence, as well as skills. Another major criticism the native people expressed was that all vocational and technical schools are in cities. They objected to leaving their rural or village life to live in the city. This was a big factor in deterring native men from speaking favourably about vocational training. To many, the city was a completely strange and unpleasant place to live. They were uncomfortable in it, and this often affected their achievement in the course.

The survey indicated that the courses offered in vocational and technical schools are of little relevance to the lives of the Metis and Indian people. Part of the difficulty is that such courses are taught exclusively in English, while some of the individuals who take these courses come from remote rural areas of the Province, and speak little English. However, the greater part of the problem is that many of the training courses offered to native people are simply not related to skills that are required in their communities. A realistic survey must be made of the skills required for employment in native communities and training courses established that correspond with these skills.

Any academic subjects in conjunction with vocational education are meaningless to native people. Furthermore, when they think of vocational training, they disassociate academic material from it. In their opinion, vocational education is strictly practical. Another major complaint was that Grade 10 should not be necessary in order to take technical courses. Native people could become well qualified mechanics and carpenters without a grade 10 education. This arbitrary rule disqualifies many native people. In these courses it was felt that only basic academic skills were important.

The courses given should last approximately ten months, as the native men want to be adequately trained. They feel it would take at least this much time for most vocational and technical courses. This demand is consistent with the white-ideal, as they want to be properly trained in order to qualify in white society.

Native people felt that instructors of such vocational centres should be as qualified as white instructors at urban centres. The native men seemed to have a concern here that unless they had qualified white instructors they would not be led out of their native communities and into the white society. The courses must be equal to those of the white society; otherwise, it is only of form of welfare for the natives.

In the South, the Metis and Indians felt that vocational and technical training was of little help because the courses were too short. They maintained that what they are learning is a waste of time because there are no jobs available in the courses they are taking.

The obvious failure of vocational training has been the

failure of employment after training. To the Metis and Indians it has been nothing more than a type of welfare. No one was fooling anyone. The new training must be related to employment opportunities. This is to be done at the time the courses are set up. The Metis and Indians must be able to see realistically some kind of employment at the end of the training. It would be better not to send people on courses at all if no jobs are available. There must be an opportunity for them to compete for jobs on an equal basis; and not the usual unfairness of white over native.

Most men did not hold serious expectations of getting jobs after their training. This is definitely the great failure of any technical training. Thus, training programs have to take this fact into consideration in the planning of the program. Employment is as much a part of the program as any skill learned. Metis and Indians are very skeptical of vocational training, for their experience has left them with 'dead-end' training. From their point of view, it is useless to turn out a surplus of skilled workers when there are no jobs available. Training has to be intimately linked to the employment situation. Of course, with serious unemployment right now, the Metis and Indians realize they are the last hired, and first fired. Most natives complained that they had to go on welfare after their training because there were no jobs. Most people wanted native control of technical training.

There should be a number of vocational and technical training schools set up in the north. They should be established on an improvised and small scale, at the beginning, and teach courses that are relative to the local economy. Many native people do not want to leave their communities. Fifty-five percent of the

people interviewed stated they would not move from their communities to obtain better education. The remaining 45% said they would prefer not to move, but would relocate if they felt it would better their situation. The results of the questionnaires and interviews confirmed that smaller vocational and technical training centres are to be established in areas that are much closer to native communities, particularly in the north.

The study suggests that vocational and technical training courses must be given at improvised local native centres. Furthermore, the only kind of academic instruction should be practical information about themselves and their immediate situation. For instance, native people should be instructed on their welfare rights, legal rights, politics, police practices, courtroom procedures, etc. This special instruction would serve to decolonize and give confidence to those taking the courses. Hence, it is essential that such instruction be given by native persons who understand the implications of colonization and inferiorization. This instruction would preferably be given in the native language of the students.

The Metis at Uranium City expressed a concern and a desire that a vocational training centre be set up for them in their neighbourhood. Altho they did not appear to know a great deal about the administration of such an institution, yet the concern should override the lack of knowledge. Nearly 100% expressed the desire that it should be controlled by native people. This would allow them to decide what courses should be taught at the centre. They seemed to know what courses would benefit them most and what was most related to their own native economy.

Very few of the respondents knew anything about the Cutbank

training institute, except for those individuals who were directly involved with the project. No others knew anything about it. Since they knew nothing about it, or very little, (including the people of the south) they did not have any real concern about it. The general native population had no knowledge of Cutbank and therefore it was impossible to obtain opinions from them.

The vocational and technical training programs for the first year - hopefully this year, 1972-73, - should be regarded as experimental programs. By this is meant that large expenditures of money for buildings and equipment as designated permanent training centres should not occur. This survey indicated that native people do not have conclusive ideas and opinions on vocational training. They have relatively little knowledge about such institutes, and do not seem to have conclusive answers in this regard. Therefore, it is suggested that small, improvised training centres be operated in several native centres which would involve the local people. Then, the following year, discuss the matter again with the native people. Existing local facilities should be utilized. The present procedure of paying allowances while attending training will need to be continued. In this respect, many natives stated that the provincial government should pay the same allowance as Manpower.

The survey indicated that upgrading classes are a waste, and meaningless to native people. Although many attend, and expressed a superficial concern about upgrading education, they sincerely registered the uselessness of such courses. In the first place, the native people do not associate any future goal with upgrading; it is not part of their future plans for more advanced education. Secondly, they recognize that upgrading education serves no pur-

pose in obtaining gainful employment. It may serve as some vague answer to the white-ideal, but even that is remote. In the final analysis, Metis and Indian people indicated they attend upgrading classes for the sake of the allowance. During this period it allows them to be free from welfare. Consequently, it is suggested that rather than upgrading education, basic vocational, technical, and de-colonization education be given. However, basic literacy programs should be continued in native communities where they are demanded.

Approximately one hundred percent of the respondents claimed that Manpower Offices had done nothing for them in terms of getting jobs. Many had never heard of Manpower. This proves that certain white middle class agencies are totally outside and beyond the world of the native people. Those respondents who had had some experience with Manpower Offices stated they had been racially discriminated against. They claimed they were assigned to typical Metis and Indian jobs, such as diswashing, domestic work, unskilled construction, and 'dirty' jobs that whites will not take. The study accepted this as an objective analysis of the racial discrimination of Manpower as seen by the native people. This means that the study rejects the usual and standard interpretation by racists who reject the natives' evaluation on the basis that it is not the actual, material conditions; thereby suggesting that native people's judgment is unreliable and biased. This study accepts the native's interpretation of objective reality, because these are the actual experiences they encounter. Racists have no monopoly on objectivity. According to the survey results, Manpower is a racist institution; hence, it is not only useless to the native people, but a colonizing and inferiorizing agency.

The courses suggested for the Vocational and Technical schools were mostly those courses that are presently being taught in such schools. The courses most frequently mentioned were mechanics, carpentry, nursing, cooking, and sewing. Most of the answers to this question came from people who had taken vocational training. The suggestions of courses for native people were limited to their own work experiences. For instance, there was no suggestion of training for electronics. Even though they may wish for success in the white society they still suggested a kind of training that would keep them in the usual and typical trades.

From the interviews it was found that the people were interested in "on-the-job training". By this they meant more than the trade skills one learns while working in a particular trade. A broader meaning was indicated which included the education of young people. It meant that young people could learn the skill of hunting or guiding from responsible experiences with elders.

In addition, the answers from the interviews showed that native people desire social education, such as civil rights information, welfare laws, courtroom knowledge, etc. These are the practical issues that affect them in their daily lives. Local government control was a topic of great interest to the people interviewed. These aspects of social education are very important, not only as practical education but in decolonization. Therefore it is strongly recommended that all vocational and technical training include social education. This should be given by a trained native person.

Another aspect of training which was not asked directly

was instruction with regard to leisure time. This issue was suggested several times. Since Metis and Indians are not affected by the protestant work ethic they might be able to adapt themselves to productive and creative leisure time activities.

It is interesting to note that the native people interviewed did not suggest training which would put them in positions where they would meet the public. In other words, service trades were not mentioned. This is an indication of their sense of inferiority.

Another interesting aspect in this area was that native women suggested training courses such as mechanics, carpentry, and heavy equipment. These women did not suggest these courses for their own instruction. Instead, they see the occupational world through their husband's eyes. Generally, native women see themselves in very traditional roles, such as wife, mother, and housekeeper. The courses they suggested for themselves were sewing and cooking. Commercial courses, hairdressing, and teaching were suggested by the younger girls.

With regard to the question concerning relocating from their present community to another area in order to get a better education, approximately 45% of the respondents said they would not move. The main reason they gave for not moving was that training centres should be located in their own communities. They reasoned that the large sums of money spent on relocating families should be spent on training schools in local communities. Another large group said they would not move because they had lived all their lives in a particular community and that it was home to them. Others said they would not move because they did not want to leave family and friends. Several respondents were reluctant to move to the white society and adapt themselves to the

whiteman's ways. An overriding factor was the attitude of defeatism. Most respondents felt that there was no point in relocating for the sake of better education because there would be no job after the training and they would simply have to move back home. The respondents who gave 'no' as their answer seem to have shown a deep concern, whereas those who said they would move gave rather superficial answers, such as, "to get away from this community". Approximately 10% of the respondents said they would move from their community in the North to the South because there were better facilities in the South. An interesting fact concerning this question was that most of the people who agreed to move away were under 30 years of age. It is possible that some of these people were simply looking for an opportunity to get into mainstream society. Also, there are probably a lot of romantic thoughts about living in the urban centres in the South.

With regard to agricultural training, not one respondent expressed a desire for such training. There are two possible explanations for this. In the first place, it is possible that most Metis and Indians are not interested in Agriculture. Secondly, those who are interested feel they are already fully skilled to operate farms. Nevertheless, it appears that natives have little or no interest and no aspirations in the field of agriculture. In view of this lack of interest it is understandable why the Cutbank project failed. This is not to conclude that all Metis and Indians reject farming. Interested persons could have resided outside of the five selected regions interviewed.

Other courses mentioned occasionally were: boat building, cabinet making, dry walling, forestry, conservation, communica-

tions, and first aid.

In conclusion it is necessary to emphasize a few significant points. Vocational courses for native people should be selected in serious consultation with them so that their interests and purposes are being included. This would also stress upon them the necessity of a purpose for taking a particular vocational course. Employment at the end of the training should be considered as part of the course. This is necessary in order to establish in the minds of the native people the practical value of the course.

CONTROL OF NATIVE EDUCATION

With regard to the issue of control of education several interesting facts emerged. On the average, 40% of the respondents said that the Metis Society of Saskatchewan should control vocational and upgrading education. Therefore, many native people felt that the official Metis and Non-Treaty Indian organization of Saskatchewan should be the agency to administer such education. Likewise, there is convincing evidence for the support of local native control. On the average, 32% stated that upgrading and vocational education should be under local native control. However, there are still a certain number of Metis and Indians who feel that white people should continue to control education; 13% favoured such control. This was most pronounced in the area of La Loche, where 51% stated they wanted education controlled by white people. It is very significant that three areas: South, Urban, and North East, reported less than 1% support for continuation of white control. This factor of local control by native people is a very significant issue. The areas differ in their support for control of education between the Metis Society and local native people. The Southern area is quite definite in its position: 52% want the Metis Society to control vocational and upgrading education, while 20% want control by local natives. The North East area is equally determined on this point. While 45% of the respondents want the Metis Society to control education, only 6% want control by local natives. The North West area is divided equally among Metis Society, local natives, and whites, in that each category had 23%. La Loche area is in contradiction to the other areas. Only

2% of the respondents want the Metis Society to control education, while 20% want control by local natives. A big factor in these answers may be the degree of acquaintance with the Metis Society organization.

With regard to the age groups on the factor of control of vocational and upgrading education, it is noticed that 50% of the respondents between the ages of 18 to 39 years support Metis Society control. Young people between 12 to 17 years, and the group over 40 years, gave less support to Metis Society control; approximately 25%. With regard to local native people controlling education, the group 12 to 17 years gave less support than the people between 18 to 39 years; 18% as against 32%. The older people, over 40 years of age, favoured local native control, quite conclusively, 50%. It is interesting to note that the age group who supported white control most strongly was the young people. However, this was still only 15%. The group 18 to 25 years gave 10% support, while the group over 40 years gave only 8% in favour of control by whites. White control of vocational and upgrading education was rejected completely by the age group 26 to 39 years. It is possible that this group has the greatest awareness about the social issues of education.

The native people presented a fairly strong case for control of vocational and upgrading education to be under the jurisdiction of either the Metis Society or the local native people. Possibly one factor to be considered in these answers is that some respondents who answered "Metis Society" may have been using 'slogans'. The interviewers doing the questioning were Metis who worked for the Metis Society. Likewise, this education study was done through the Metis Society organization. Nevertheless, these are fairly convincing statistics for native control of vocational and upgrading education.

DECOLONIZATION

In order to understand the implications of education for Indians and Metis, it is essential to have knowledge of the process of decolonization as this must become the major aim of native education. A colonized person feels racially inferior about himself and his people. As a result he looks to the whiteman for leadership and is attracted to the white way of life. He sees the life-style of his own race as inferior to that of the whiteman's, and is inclined to feel ashamed of being identified with his people. The first stage in decolonization is to become aware of the powerless and inferior position natives have in relation to the whiteman. Once native people become decolonized they will decline white leadership, domination, and authority. As a decolonized person, the native now wants to take responsibility for his own life. He knows that if he does not, the colonizer will continue to oppress and inferiorize him. A spirit of independence gradually develops, which leads to confidence and pride and to independent endeavors. Once a person has awareness of his colonization he struggles to develop himself and thereby gains greater confidence. This development will lead to skills and confidence in dealing with the whiteman. The process of becoming aware of white supremacy and the beauty of your own culture; and the alternatives to racism; and the building of personal skills; and the restoration of native pride are all a part of the process of decolonization.

As long as white supremacy is allowed to control the consciousness of the oppressed Metis and Indians and at the same time worsen the material and social conditions, hostile conflict is

inevitable and decolonization is impossible. It is here the teacher plays a significant role. Under the present system she is a colonizer; but in an enlightened education system she could be a decolonizer. Presently the school not only forces the natives to bended knees, but forces them to a position of self-denial of their own culture and imposes greater dependency.

Unless education serves the process of decolonization it is not only useless, but it is harmful, for it reinforces white supremacy and colonization. It is keeping the Metis and Indians "in their place as low caste" people.

Education for decolonization gradually destroys the white-ideal because it gives the native students pride in their heritage, social skills necessary for daily activities in their society, and confidence in themselves. Decolonization means getting rid of feelings of inferiority; it no longer trains native people to be obedient, subservient, submissive and shy.

Decolonization is an educational process that changes the psychological patterns of natives, who have been seriously colonized by white supremacy for centuries. It restores in Metis and Indians genuine pride and confidence, capable skills, personal esteem and strength. Through colonization, a person becomes knowledgeable about his social environment, including schools and how they operate. It allows native people to participate in an informed and meaningful way.

Decolonization stops the process of inferiorization whereby Metis and Indians are trained to be obedient, servile, and thankful. But decolonization does more than change the mentality and psychological pattern of colonized native people; it causes changes in social, economic and political conditions which are

essential for liberation from white supremacy.

Decolonization can take place in various ways, but the most common form has been violent confrontations, as witnessed in most colonies in Africa and Asia since World War II. However, decolonization can be orderly and systematic when the colonized native people are properly involved.

For decolonization, Metis and Indians have to remain racially identified with their own race. To identify with white society would simply defeat the purpose of decolonization, because it is white supremacy and the white-ideal that reinforces inferiorization. For this reason the present form of integration only deepens cultural and psychological inferiority. However, this is not to suggest further segregation of Metis and Indians. In all honesty and reality, they have been sharply segregated from Canadian white society for the last four centuries. The present state of segregation has to be frankly acknowledged for what it is. It is from this point that decolonization must take place. Therefore, to deny that segregation and racism do not exist is to deny a genuine assessment of the actual conditions that presently exist with Metis and Indians. It is only within their own culture and nation that decolonization can take place. Instead of additional segregation, it is a period of rebuilding and revitalizing the native culture so the people can regain their confidence, skills, and pride in order to have full competency and strength as equal participating citizens. Decolonization will stimulate intellectual, creative and productive activities of the Metis and Indian communities.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FORMAL EDUCATION OF NATIVES

1. Curriculum for the native students be revised considerably.
 2. The curriculum should be related more realistically and practically to native culture and economy.
 3. Present academic subjects be decreased greatly.
 4. Emphasis be on simple basic academic skills.
 5. Younger children be taught much of the time in their native language, and older students receive some instruction in their native language.
 6. Older local native people be part of classroom lessons by telling stories and legends, etc., to primary children in their native language.
 7. Native students have native instructors teach themmetis and Indian history and culture on a regular basis.
 8. In senior years emphasis be placed on vocational, technical and commercial training.
 9. Provisions be made for those few students who desire academic certification for the white society.
 10. The grade system be eliminated, particularly in the middle and senior years.
 11. A change be made from the present classroom method to an informal, practical, co-operative, community school system.
 12. Locally controlled gymnasiums be established in native communities.
 13. The present centralized control of education be gradually changed to autonomous local control.
 14. Instruction for decolonization be an integral part of the curriculum for all native students.
 15. Changes be made on a gradual basis in the beginning. Changes can be accelerated as the rate of decolonization increases.
 16. The term and position of 'teacher aid' be eliminated for native instructors.
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17. Local native people be involved as decision-makers on curriculum and on education, generally.
18. Local native people develop curriculum based on their historical and cultural background, and on their life experiences.
19. Present social studies programs be replaced by local geography and civic education; and English literature courses be replaced by Metis and Indian literature courses.
20. Schools for native students adjust to a philosophy oriented to concepts of 'day-to-day survival'.
21. English be taught only as a second language at the primary level.
22. Native languages to serve as basic languages for communication in the primary grades, and not English.
23. All white supremacy aspects of the classrooms to be reckoned and eliminated within a designated time, such as one year. "White supremacy aspects" to be defined by Metis and Indians.
24. Schools that inferiorize and intimidate native students be severely modified. Natives be given the right to report such schools to the Department of Education.
25. Since the classroom is repressive and irrelevant, it be changed to another form of education more democratic and practical.
26. Confidence-training be part of classroom experiences.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR VOCATIONAL AND TECHNICAL TRAINING
AND UPGRADING

1. Upgrading courses be replaced by basic vocational training courses, such as carpentry and mechanics.
2. Some vocational training courses be given that relate directly to the local economy, such as boat building.
3. For the next year certain small experimental vocational training centres be established in local native communities, particularly in the North. This would eliminate relocation to urban centres.
4. Eliminate as many academic requirements as possible for entrance to training courses; limit them to the 3Rs and to those basic education skills that are necessary for the course and trade.
5. Most courses be of sufficient length and quality that trainees emerge qualified in both the white and native world.
6. Upon completion of training there be definite opportunities for employment in their area of training; training to be planned in accordance to realistic employment situations.
7. An agency be established that would assist native people in obtaining employment since Canada Manpower is not fulfilling this function; employment to be part of the training course.
8. Local native people be the major decision-makers in the selection of instructors and in the administration of courses.
9. Vocational training courses be established in direct consultation with the local native people of their particular community.
10. Basic literacy programs be continued where there is a demand.
11. Agricultural training be discontinued.

12. Training in leisure time activities be explored further.
 13. In conjunction with the people of Uranium City it is recommended that Gunnar be utilized as a training centre for the people of the North.
 14. It is imperative that social education for decolonization take place simultaneously with all technical and vocational training.
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