A PART OF SOMETHING MUCH BIGGER: A CASE STUDY OF THE KWAK'WALA TEACHER TRAINING PROJECT

by

JOY WILD

B.A.,University of British Columbia, 1967

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS

in

THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
Department of Language Education

We accept this thesis as conforming
to the required standard

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

August 1988

In presenting this thesis in partial fulfilment of the requirements for an advanced degree at the University of British Columbia, I agree that the Library shall make it freely available for reference and study. I further agree that permission for extensive copying of this thesis for scholarly purposes may be granted by the head of my department or by his or her representatives. It is understood that copying or publication of this thesis for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.

Department of _Language Education_

The University of British Columbia
1956 Main Mall
Vancouver, Canada
V6T 1Y3

Date _September 10, 1988_

ABSTRACT

The issues and factors which affected the planning, development and implementation of the Kwak'wala Teacher Training Project, a program for training Kwakwaka'wakw people to teach in the Native language programs of their communities, are described and discussed. The study focusses on the five courses oriented toward teaching methods and the development of teaching materials for the local Native language programs.

The over-all purpose of the study is to gain understandings of the factors and issues in Native language teacher education. The specific goals are:

1. To gain an understanding of the factors and influences which affected the planning, development and implementation of the Kwak'wala Teacher Training Project, from the perspectives of the students and the instructors.

2. To describe the "planned instructional program" designed for the Kwak'wala Teacher Training Project, and to describe the changes that occurred in the process of developing and implementing the planned courses. Included in this is an exploration of the underlying assumptions made by the instructors in planning the program.

3. To provide a description of the process by which the KTTP program developed, and to map the parameters of the program.

4. To gain insights into:

    a) the characteristics of the Native students and their learning needs,

    b) the concerns and issues facing Native people involved in learning to become better teachers of the Kwak'wala language,

    c) the concerns and issues facing the non-Native professionals working in KTTP with Native language teachers.

Data for the study was collected from a number of different sources. These included observations and fieldnotes recorded during the period the program operated, a variety of documents pertaining to the program, and interviews conducted with a representative number of students from the program. A two-part curriculum-design model, proposed by Jarvis (1982), was used as a checklist for exploring various elements of both the planned instructional program and the broader context, as well as the relationship between them, and to help focus the study which showed a wide range of factors and influences affecting the program from both the broader social context in which it occurred, and from within the program itself. This included insights gained by the instructors regarding the students perception of teaching and learning in a school setting and their orientation toward learning and teaching. Changes occurred in the program, the students, and the instructors understandings as KTTP progressed. A number of cultural value orientations held by the students, which influenced the development of the instructional program, and appear to have significance for future teacher training programs were identified and described.

The findings of this study suggest that instructors and others involved in the setting up and teaching of Native language teachers can facilitate the process of Native language teacher education by:

    1.   working with Native teachers to explore their underlying assumptions about what constitutes teaching and learning in a school setting,

    2.   designing Native teacher training education programs which facilitate Native social interaction patterns, recognize the learning preferences of Native students, and seek to discover the students' cultural value orientations,

    3.   emphasizing the relationship of language and culture, and the importance of recognizing that language and culture are interrelated,

    4.   recognizing and valuing the knowledge and experiences of Native people, and the need for them to be involved in the decision-making process by sharing in the

processes of planning and assessing the program as it
progresses.

The approach taken in KTTP to Native language teaching emphasized
the interrelatedness of language and culture. It was not expository
in nature or verbalistic in its orientation, but was activity-based
and experiential. The use of social and cultural activities actually
occurring in the community provided the basis for developing
materials for the Native language program, and for teaching-learning
activities.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To the U'mista Cultural Centre
and to the Kwakwaka'wakw
who are striving to maintain
their own unique way of being
in the world

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1   BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Since the early years of the 1970's Native language programs
in B.C. have developed through a number of stages.   The initial
years were characterized by a sense of excitement of great
possibilities.   Programs began; conferences were held; materials were
developed; teachers were recruited.   In some communities the
programs have steadily grown; in some they have started, then
closed down, started, then closed down again; in yet others, they
have started and then stopped.   There are also communities that are
just now beginning to consider setting up Native language programs.

The growing awareness amongst Native people that their tradi-
tional languages are in the process of dying has motivated an
increasing number of communities to initiate Native language pro-
grams.   Another impetus in setting up the programs is the knowledge
that Native language maintenance and revival is an important factor
in establishing Aboriginal Title to lands, and in settling Native land
claims.   At the same time there is an increasing acknowledgement in
many of the communities which have been running Native language
programs, and amongst the non-Native professionals working with
them, that the programs are not succeeding in teaching Native
children to speak their ancestral languages, thereby ensuring that
the languages do not die.   This is causing many to take a second
look at the programs being run, and to ask why they are not
succeeding.

A number of issues have been identified as being important to
the success of Native language programs; however, the one that has
received a great deal of attention recently is that Native language
teachers generally have had little, or no, systematic training in

second language teaching methods and techniques, and in classroom management skills. It is believed that training could improve the teaching of Native languages in schools, and could help Native language teachers to better cope with the classroom situation.

There have been many calls from a variety of sources for the training of Native language teachers (Burnaby, 1980; Clarke and MacKenzie, 1981; Galloway, 1977; Hébert, 1984; Indian Control of Indian Education, 1972; Kirkness, 1980; Leap, 1984; Pacific Regional Conference on Native Languages, 1984, 1986; TESOL-Canada, 1982). These come amidst calls in a broader context for evaluation research to be conducted on educational programs, generally, and on programs for the training of second language teachers in particular. References for the former include (Cazden, 1981; Fetterman, 1982; Kleinfeld, 1983; Wolcott, 1976), and for the latter (Ashworth, 1983; Brown, 1983; Brumfit, 1983; Faneslow, 1983; Stern, 1983).

A small number of programs for training Native language teachers in second language teaching techniques, the development of teaching materials and classroom management skills have been offered through the three universities, and there have also been numerous short workshops in which a non-Native professional travels to a Native community, works with the teacher, then leaves. Very little information is available on these training sessions and programs with the exception of Toohey and Hansen's 1985 article. What is available are regular university course descriptions and student evaluation questionnaires.

Burnaby (1980, 1982), Hébert (1984) and Kirkness (1980) are amongst a growing number of professionals who are acknowledging that much needs to be learned about the factors affecting the training of Native language and culture teachers if programs are to be developed which adequately prepare them to teach in their Native language and culture programs, and to be advocates of those programs in their communities. There are many different influences

and forces brought to bear on the development of any program, programs for training Native language teachers being no exception. To date little concrete research has been conducted to discover the factors and influences affecting regular teacher training programs much less those being offered in Native communities. At this point, teacher training programs are often determined by the instructor's "common sense notion" of what should be included, rather than being based on concrete researched evidence (Faneslow, 1983).

H.H. Stern (1983) identifies a number of important issues in the training of second language teachers including the sparsity of research, the unique nature of training for second language teachers and a typology of different kinds of second language teachers. He also describes two models by which to conceptualize the process and factors affecting a Language Teacher Education (LTE) program.

The models include a simple input-process-output model of initial or inservice training (Figure 1a, 1b) and, a model showing the factors in language teacher education (Figure 2). Both models are presented in general terms in order to encompass the many different kinds of second language teachers and teaching situations that exist. Stern's model showing the factors in language teacher education will be described here since it serves to delineate the broad areas of investigation in a program for training Native language teachers, and will be used to summarize the understandings and conclusions at the end.

The model suggests that prospective second language teachers bring to the training program "certain qualities, and a background of experience, which are needed in a language teacher, but that they lack other qualities which are also needed." The training program is intended to strengthen the qualities potential teachers already have and to develop those they lack. Stern states that the answers to two basic questions offer a basis for the curriculum of a training program for second language teachers:

Figure 1. STERN'S MODEL OF INITIAL TRAINING
AND OF INSERVICE TRAINING

a) Initial Training

IN ——————————→ PROCESS ——————————→ OUT
Prospective student teachers ——————→ Language teacher education ——————————→ Trained teachers

b) Inservice Training.

Practitioners ——————→ Inservice programs ——————————→ Post-Inservice practitioners
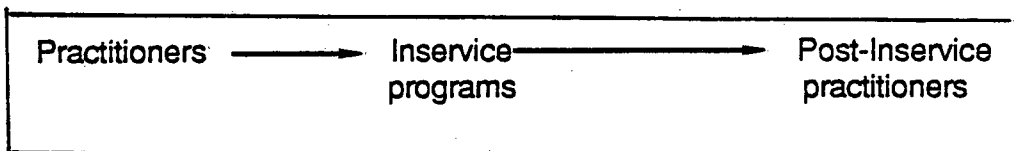
Figure 2. STERN'S MODEL OF FACTORS IN
LANGUAGE TEACHER EDUCATION
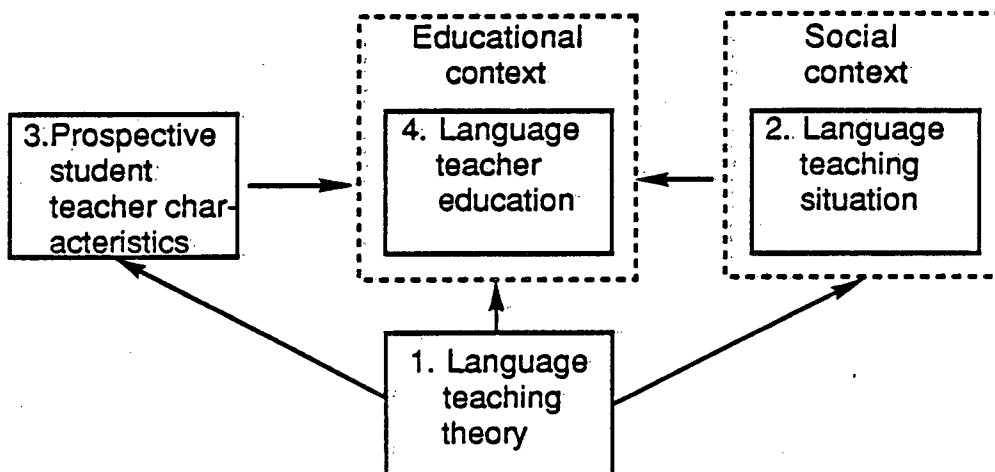
1. Which of the needed characteristics of a language teacher are already present before training and therefore need not be specifically developed through training?

2. Which qualities should be developed through training?

On the surface these are seemingly simple questions; however, the answers are not readily forthcoming, and require a considerable amount of background knowledge and research.

Stern's model showing the factors in Language Teacher Education presents the planner's theory of language teaching as the base of the model and points to the need for analyzing the language teaching situation (Cell 2), for defining the teachers' entrance qualifications (Cell 3), and for determining the actual design of the training curriculum or program (Cell 4). Because it is the only model of second language teacher education this researcher has found, it will be described in the following section. Later it will be used to help summarize the study.

Cell 1: Language Teaching Theory

Stern places Language Teaching Theory at the base of the model arguing that "theory is basic for all decisions and judgements to be made in LTE (Language Teacher Education)". He states:

> Language teaching theory is to be understood as a comprehensive construct which comprises the more or less systematic body of knowledge, beliefs, and interpretations that enter into making decisions and judgements about language teaching. Language teaching theory, as I have tried to show elsewhere (Stern, 1983), implies a view of the nature of language, a concept of language learning, an awareness of social context, an interpretation of teaching in general, and a view of language pedagogy. Theory is not to be understood as fixed or final, but as a constantly evolving body of thought, concept, beliefs, values and knowledge.
> (Stern, 1983:349).

Thus, Stern maintains that programs for training second language teachers, are strongly influenced by the program planner's knowledge, beliefs, and interpretations of the nature of language, of how language is learned, and of how teaching influences learning. It is also affected by the planner's values.

Cell 2: Analyzing the Language Teaching Situation

Stern states that it is important to very deliberately relate the training programs of language teachers to the educational system and social context in which teachers will work, otherwise teachers may not be prepared for the demands of their teaching situation. In analyzing the language teaching situation program designers may:

1. Take the situation as it exists; ie: maintain the status quo, and train people to work within that situation.

<div align="center">or</div>

2. Base the training program on an interpretation of what language teaching should be.

The latter pertains to situations where existing practices have been criticized and calls made for change. He refers to the lack of specific information and concrete recommendations in the training of second language teachers:

> The literature on LTE (Language Teacher Education) tends to be rather ambiguous in this respect. Recommendations for LTE are frequently couched in universal terms without differentiating what is a specific response to a given situation at a particular moment in the history of language teaching in a particular system, eg. the United States, or Canada or Europe in 1983, and what can be regarded as universal desiderata of LTE (Ibid., 350).

Cell 3: Prospective Student Teacher Characteristics

Stern identifies four factors pertaining to student

characteristics which are likely to have an effect on training programs:

1.   Students' command of the second language.

2.   Students' linguistic knowledge of the second language.

3.   Students' knowledge of the target culture.

4.   The extent to which students are familiar with the socio-cultural setting and system of education within which they are expected to operate.

Stern's model appears to assume a learning/teaching style culturally compatible with the professionals teaching the training program.

Cell 4: Defining the Process of Language Teacher Education (LTE)

According to Stern, the design of Language Teacher Education curriculum is the core of this model:

> The rationale of the model is that the specifics of the LTE process depend on an interpretation of the foregoing three cells in the model: the language teaching theory, the language teaching situation (the educational and socio-cultural milieu) and the qualities of trainees before entry.
> ((1983:351).

This rationale points to the need for research to be conducted and information obtained on actual Native communities, the health and status of the Native language, sociolinguistic patterns of language use, functions of language, community expectations and goals, for profiles to be drawn up of Native language teachers and the professionals training them.

The writings of many people involved in educational pursuits, both Native and mainstream, are pointing to the need for programs to be documented and described, and for evaluations to be conducted which provide information and insights into the interrelatedness of instructional program plans and the contexts within which the program occurs. Because of the many unknown factors involved in a cross-cultural teacher training program there is also a need for studies which seek the perspectives of both Native participants and non-Native instructors, and which are flexible enough to allow for and incorporate unanticipated results.

Barnhardt (1986) writing about the unique opportunities for learning available to both students and instructors in field-based programs for training Alaskan Native teachers states that non-Native university instructors and their Native students "are in a position to create a new kind of order, to formulate new paradigms or explanatory frameworks that help us establish a greater equilibrium and congruence between our literate view of the world and the reality we encounter when we step outside the walls of the Ivory Tower" (p. 139).

1.2   THE NATURE AND PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The thesis is to take the form of a case-study, and will employ qualitative research strategies and techniques within the social anthropology research paradigm. In a general sense, the study will begin to seek understandings of the factors and issues in Native language teacher education by investigating the context, nature and structure of an actual program, the Kwak'wala Teacher Training Project. The study will include describing the process by which the program evolved, and will seek to discover program participants' perceptions of the program. In an ethnographic sense these perceptions will be the "meanings" participants attribute to being involved in the program.

The Kwak'wala Teacher Training Project, KTTP, as it came to be known locally, was a community-based, teacher training program which utilized a workshop format. It was open to Kwakwaka'wakw[1] people from any of the bands interested and/or involved in the teaching of Kwak'wala, the language of the Kwakwaka'wakw of Northern Vancouver Island. The progam was held at the U'mista Cultural Centre in Alert Bay, B.C., and ran for two and a half years from January 1984 to May 1986. While those attending the course were all of Kwakwaka'wakw descent, they came from a wide variety of work and academic backgrounds, and a range of age groups. Course participants included Native language teachers, Kwakwaka'wakw culture teachers of traditional art and dance, Native teacher aides, and other interested community members. Several Old People attended and also contributed as resource people.

The overall aims of the program were to enable Kwakwaka'wakw people to develop teaching techniques suitable for working in Native as a Second Language (NASL) classes in the community and in schools, and to plan and develop curriculum materials to supplement and enhance existing Kwak'wala teaching materials, and to learn more about Kwak'wala, especially how to read and write it.

Although some of the people in KTTP had attended workshops on language teaching and Kwak'wala literacy in the past, and many had received help and support from regular classroom teachers who worked in the same school, none had previously been involved in a

[1]Kwakwaka'wakw is the preferred term used by the Native people of the Northwest coast cultural group which stretches from Cape Mudge in the south to Rivers Inlet in the north. It means Kwak'wala speaking people. The English term is Kwakiutl. If a shortened term is to be used, the people prefer Kwagul over Kwakiutl.

long-term systematically planned program. The program was comprised of eight separate, but related courses: five were oriented toward second language teaching methods and techniques, and the development of teaching materials; three were oriented toward developing reading and writing skills in Kwak'wala.

This study will focus on the five courses oriented toward teaching methods and the development of materials. The reason for this being that the researcher was not directly involved in teaching the three courses on Kwak'wala literacy. References to the literacy courses made by KTTP participants in the data will be included.

1.2.1 GOALS OF THE STUDY

While the over-all purpose of the study is to gain understandings of the factors and issues in Native language teacher education, the specific goals are:

1. To gain an understanding of the factors and influences which affected the planning, development and implementation of the Kwak'wala Teacher Training Project from the perspectives of the participants: the Native language and culture teachers, the Native teacher aides, and the non-Native professionals teaching the course.

2. To describe the planned instructional program designed for the Kwak'wala Teacher Training Project, and to describe the changes that occurred in the process of developing and implementing the planned course. Included in this is an exploration of the underlying assumptions made by the instructors in planning the program.

3. To provide a description of the process by which the KTTP program developed, and to map the parameters of the program.

4.   To gain insights into:

   a)   the characteristics of the Native students and their
   learning needs.

   b)   the concerns and issues facing Native people involved in
   learning to become better teachers of the Kwak'wala language.

   c)   the concerns and issues facing non-Native professionals
   working in the KTTP program Native language teachers.

   It is felt by the researcher that a full-scale, ethnography of
the Kwak'wala Teacher Training Project would be beyond the scope of
this thesis.   Such a study would require that the research be con-
ducted simultaneously with the planning, development and implemen-
tation of the program, and would require that the researcher have
some previous experience in ethnographic research.   However, a
strong case can be made for conducting a qualitative study of a
more limited nature since research into the factors in Native
language teacher education is in its early stages.   Such research
could help to provide an understanding of important issues and point
the direction for further, more directed research.

   To date there have not been many programs offered for training
Native language and culture teachers to work in classrooms.   Those
that have been offered are cross-cultural in nature: the instructors
and the students are from different cultural backgrounds; the
programs are often run in a Native community in which the cultural
and social dynamics are unfamiliar to the instructor; and, what is
more, the teaching situation in which Native language teachers work,
as well as the Native content of the teaching materials they use,
encompass many cultural factors and influences which are also
unknown to the non-Native instructor of the teacher training
program.   Because of the cultural differences and "unknowns", it is
necessary that the perceptions and understandings of the Native
participants in a teacher training program become an important part
of any study seeking to describe or understand the program.

This study is perceived by the researcher as being a beginning to understanding the various factors and issues involved in developing training programs for Native people to teach their ancestral language to their children in a school setting. It will not attempt to complete a definitive study of the training of Native language and culture teachers, but rather to begin mapping the parameters of Language Teacher Education for Native language teachers.

1.3   BENEFITS OF THE STUDY

The proposed study would be beneficial to a number of different groups.

a.   Native communities have asserted the principle of ownership of their own programs and have stated the desire to maintain control of the development process of programs and materials. This requires that Native people be knowledgeable about such processes. Background knowledge of the factors and influences affecting the planning, development and implementation would be a useful indicator of areas that need to receive attention, and would facilitate future planning.

b.   Often people closely involved with a program are not aware of the over-all process by which a program is planned, developed and implemented. They are too close to it, and their perceptions are shaped by the role they played in the program. ie. student, administrator, instructor, resource person. A descriptive study which seeks to portray the participants' viewpoint provides an opportunity for people to reflect on what has occurred, and by doing so to gain clearer understandings and insights. As in the case of a. above, such information could lead to improved programs in the future, and could also be useful to other Native communities seeking training programs for Native language and culture teachers.

c.   Non-native school administrators and teachers would gain

insights into the factors and influences affecting educational programs within the Native community. Native community schools both federal and provincial suffer from a high teacher turn-over rate. Often it is difficult for teachers to obtain information or gain an understanding of the dynamics within Native communities unless they live in a community for a length of time, and then, only if they actively involve themselves in community events. In many cases there is a tendency for teachers not to become involved -- perhaps from fear of the unknown, differences in life style or differences in communication style. Whatever the reason, if teachers want to have valid insights into the learning of their Native students they need to become familiar with their cultural and community backgrounds, and sensitive to possible areas of cultural conflict. Knowledge is the precursor of understanding.

d. This study would contribute to the broader field of Native language teacher education by providing detailed information, insights and understandings of a particular program.

1.4   LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

1. A common statement running throughout many articles pertaining to ethnography is that one of the major criteria for conducting ethnographic research is that the researcher be an experienced ethnographer. The fact that this researcher has not previously been involved in ethnographic research could be considered a limitation.

2. The program to be studied, KTTP, ended in May 1986, and it is no longer possible to conduct participant observations, which is a valuable source of data. In addition, the cost of flying to Alert Bay will reduce the amount of time available for data collection and cross-checking with participants that could have been done had the program still be operating.

3. Alert Bay and its neighbouring Kwakwaka'wakw communities are

small communities in which people know each other very well.
Participants in KTTP could easily be identified in a variety of ways
by outside readers. Thus, the question of confidentiality will have
to be very carefully handled, and in some cases data may have to
be omitted.

4. As a result of community and school politics at work during the
period of time the program was running, KTTP, like all local
programs was perceived by the program participants and community
members to be involved in the political arena, even though members
of the various groups were participating in the program. As a
result of this, some valuable sources of data are not available.

5. Qualitative research and especially ethnographic research is
characterized by its "loose structure" and lack of predetermined
hypotheses. This study could be subject to some criticism because a
curriculum planning and teaching/learning model proposed by Jarvis
(1982) will be used to help focus the research. It may be felt that
the model forces an organization into data collection, and thereby
interferes with the natural generation of topics. It could be
argued, however, that the categories are only being used as guides,
and that they function in the same way as understandings or
"insights" from the literature by facilitating the research.

Another possible limitation regarding the model is that it has
only been used to study a range of programs in one educational
institute in England (Jarvis, 1982), and is presently in the process
of being used in a M.A. research study on the Native Adult Basic
Literacy/Lifeskills Curriculum. As Susan Morgan, who is conducting
the research, points out, "It is difficult to discern whether the
model will be effective in studying one program in a small Canadian
institution" (Proposal, 1986:37). It is also difficult to determine
how effective it will be in investigating a small, community-based
teacher training program!

1.5. GENERALIZABILITY

A frequently stated concern regarding the use of inductive methods to study a particular program is that the findings will not be generalizable to other situations. A number of researchers, among them Kleinfeld, et.al. (1983), Parlett and Hamilton (1977), Wolcott (1975), maintain that although the specifics of programs and individual communities differ, many of the underlying factors and influences affecting the programs and students are similar in nature. In this researcher's previous experiences over the past thirteen years in conducting workshops and working with Native language teachers in a number of different communities, there are many similarities regarding the characteristics of Native language teachers, the conditions under which Native language programs are set up and taught, and the over-all status of the Native languages in the communities.

Thus, while the findings of this study will be specific to one program, the Kwak'wala Teacher Training Project (KTTP), the understandings arrived at regarding the factors affecting Native language teacher education may serve to provide signposts and indicators of important considerations in the training of other Native language teachers.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

2.1   INTRODUCTION

British Columbia is a region of linguistic richness without
equal anywhere in the world in terms of the number of indigenous
cultures and language families represented in the region, and the
variety of languages spoken (Levine and Cooper, 1976). Before the
arrival of Europeans, six distinct language families, as well as a
number of language isolates, and the Chinook trade jargon were
spoken. Multilingualism was a common occurrence as many Native
people spoke more than one language (Hébert, 1984). At the present
time, however, not a single Native language continues to flourish in
all domains of daily life (Levine, 1976; Hébert, 1984).

Levine and Cooper (1976) in addressing the question "How many
languages are spoken in the Province?" point out the ambiguity of
the question: on the one hand if the question refers to the number of
aboriginal languages spoken by at least one Native person in British
Columbia in 1976 the figure was 28 distinctive languages. Each of
these 28 different languages contains variant forms technically known
as dialects, in the same way that English or French or any other
major world language encompasses dialects. In describing the
diversity Levine and Cooper write:

> The total number of dialects for all the languages indi-
> genous to British Columbia is unknown and may never be
> known. The 28 languages themselves belong to six distinct
> superstocks, among which no historical resemblance can be
> demonstrated. Thus, Coast Tsimshian, Tlingit, Heiltsuk,
> and Bella Coola, adjacent to each other on the British
> Columbia coast, are no more closely related to each other
> than are English, Hebrew, Vietnamese, and Demara
> Hottentot. To appreciate this situation, it should be borne
> in mind that these six historically unrelated superstocks
> were represented, on the eve of contact, by probably not
> more than 80,000 people occupying a territory one fortieth
> the size of modern Europe.

On the other hand, if the question is interpreted to mean how many Native languages are used as everyday means of communication in Native communities, by all generations of people from young to old, there are very few. Levine and Cooper cite figures from a survey conducted by the B.C. Provincial Museum in the early 1970's showing the relative health of five coastal languages according to the number of speakers and the age-spread of these speakers.

Language	Number of Speakers	Age-Spread Of Speakers
Sechelt	a few dozen	middle-aged and older
Lumni (a dialect of Straits Salish)	four or five	all over 70
Skidegate (dialect of Haida)	40 to 60	all but one or two over 65
Chilliwack (dialect of Halkomelem)	20	all over 60
Haisla	between 200 and 400	all over 25

A number of linguists working in Native languages have pointed out that a critical factor, in fact the key factor in determining a language's viability and thus its survival, is the age distribution of those who speak it, this, more so than the number of speakers (Bauman, 1980; Levine and Cooper, 1976). "A language spoken by every member of a group numbering 100 is healthy; a language spoken by 5,000 people all of whom are over 25, is almost certainly bound to be extinct within a hundred years" (Levine and Cooper, 1976:46).

The realization in Native communities that virtually no children are learning their Native language has motivated an increasing number of Native people and organizations to seek solutions.

In 1974, Phyllis Chelsea, a Shuswap speaker from Alkali Lake,

wrote the following as part of a report on the Williams Lake Longhouse Conference.

> I think we should preserve our language (Shuswap) because within the last few years it has been fading away. By keeping the language alive, we are teaching the children the old way of life of our ancestors. Also, we are giving them reason to be proud of their heritage. Even though our generation of people understand the language and can speak it, I do not think we will ever be able to pass it down as we understand it.
>
> Some of our deep understanding of our old way of life and language is something which comes along with having lived the old way of life. This was before the invasion of the white people (foreigners).
>
> Only the very old people of the reserve now understand, use and speak this deep understanding of what I call the <u>real</u> Indian language.
>
> (Write-On, 1974:39)

This was one of the earliest conferences in B.C. in which Native people and non-Native professionals met to explore issues related to maintain and revive Native languages. At that point of time, there were still substantial numbers of people in B.C.'s Native communities who had a deep understanding of the language. In fact, the languages were still used within many of the more isolated Interior communities for everyday communication by both children and adults. Of the people attending the conference, the Chilcotin and Carrier languages were healthy; in those communities the children learned to speak Chilcotin and Carrier as their first language. Shuswap, however, was used only by the older adults, and although the children had a "small Shuswap vocabulary" they did not understand the language when it was spoken. Their "native" language had become a local dialect of English (Write-On,1975:v).

The forces underlying the decline of the Native languages and cultures are rooted in the political, social and economic processes of colonialism and have been very evident in educational policies. These forces can be seen at work in many countries around the

world. The decline has been accelerated in the past quarter century by the increased accessibility of radio, television and newspapers to Indian communities, and by improved roads which accommodate greater ease of movement between Native and non-Native communities.

In the 1980's the accelerated decline in the use of Native languages and in the number of speakers is alarming. While previously it had been evident to many professionals, especially in the fields of linguistics and anthropology, and to some Native people, that the Native languages were in danger, it is only relatively recently that this awareness is reaching Native people at large.

> It is becoming increasingly clear to many Native people in British Columbia that their languages are very seriously threatened with extinction in the near future. (Toohey and Hansen, 1985).

A QUESTION AND A STORY

Why are Native people working to retain their traditional languages and culture?

The answer to this question has been offered by a number of people, and contains within it the rationale for the multicultural policy of Canada.

First, and foremost, is that the Native people of Canada do not want their languages and cultures to die. Axu, a Kwakwaka'wakw Old Person[1], from Alert Bay, talking at the 1982

[1]Old Person is a term of respect by the Kwakwaka'wakw to acknowledge the value and importance placed on the knowledge and experience of the older generation. Other terms include Old People, Old Lady, Old Man. Some Native groups use the term Elder.
First Educational Conference of the Kwakwaka'wakw said:

First Educational Conference of the Kwakwaka'wakw said:

> ...our language and culture was given to us by
> God, and it would not be good to lose it (p.7).

The languages and traditional cultures are a link to the past:
peoples' history and heritage; their roots and understandings of
where they have come from, of who they are today; their unique
ways of seeing and being in the world. (Ashworth, 1979;
Haig-Brown; 1981, Hébert, 1982; Kirkness, 1980; Levine, 1976; Manuel
and Poslum, 1974; Sterling, 1982).

Just as important is the conviction that a knowledge of their
Native language and culture will aid Native children in developing
pride in their Native heritage and in themselves as Native people.
The National Indian Brotherhood in its historical paper Indian
Control of Indian Education (1972) stated:

> Language is the outward expression of an accumulation of
> learning and experience shared by a group of people over
> centuries of development. It is not simply a vocal
> symbol; it is a dynamic force which shapes the way a man
> looks at the world, his thinking about the world, and his
> philosophy of life. Knowing his maternal language helps
> a man to know himself; being proud of his language helps
> a man to be proud of himself.
>
> The Indian people are expressing growing concerns that
> the native languages are being lost; that the younger
> generation can no longer speak or understand their mother
> tongue. If the Indian identity is to be preserved, steps
> must be taken to reverse this trend.
>
> While much can be done by parents in the home and by
> the community on the reserve to foster facility in speaking
> and understanding, there is a great need for formal
> instruction in the language. There are two aspects of this
> language instruction: (1) teaching in the native language,
> and (2) teaching the native language (p.14-15).

Another statement reads:

> Unless a child learns about the forces which shape him:
> the history of his people, their values and customs, their

language, he will never really know himself or his potential as a human being (p. 17).

Writing about integration in Canadian schools, Chief Dan George said:

Indian children will continue to be strangers in Canadian classrooms until the curriculum recognizes Indian customs and values, Indian languages, and the contributions which the Indian people have made to Canadian history.

The success of integration is not the responsibility of Indians alone. Non-Indians must be ready to recognize the value of another way of life; to learn about Indian history, customs, and language; and to modify, if necessary, some of their ideas and practices (1970:44).

In an informal evening discussion at the Williams Lake Long House Conference in October, 1974 the following exchange occurred:

STATEMENT

The old days are gone; why try to bring them back? English is the language of communication now. Even the Indian languages still spoken use English words to talk about the modern worlds; they're dying.

RESPONSE

- We're not trying to bring back the old days, we're just trying to remember them. Everyone else has their history. We want ours too!

- Lots of English words come from other languages. Does that mean that English is dying too?

- There are some things you can't translate into English. They can only be understood in Shuswap (Carrier, Chilcotin, etc.). Our stories need to be taught, read, expressed in our language.

- Bringing back our languages into the schools would bring Indians and whites together. This would help improve the school situation. Our kids could come home and use both English and Chilcotin (Shuswap, Carrier, etc.) and the white kids could do the same.

In 1974 Marjorie Mitchell, then Co-ordinator of the B.C. Inter-Cultural Curriculum Project at the University of Victoria, gave a

very thought provoking presentation on Language and Culture at the Long House Conference.   In it, she addressed the question:

How can learning our Indian languages help us to revive our Indian cultures?

She first defined culture and language:

Culture refers to all learned, patterned behaviour that is shared by members of a society and that is passed down from generation to generation.   It is a total system of living and behaving meaningfully.   A new born baby has to <u>learn</u> the culture of his parents.   He isn't born knowing it.

Culture includes all the patterns for behaving and all the rules for behaving.   The way you make your living, the skills and techniques you have, your family organization, the way you raise children, your religion, your values and attitudes are all part of cultural behaviour.

Language is part of culture too.   Language is learned and shared behaviour.   It is a very special kind of behaviour.   It is symbolic behaviour.   Language is a shared system of symbolic, verbal and non-verbal behaviour by which we communicate the rules and patterns for living in a culture.

Language is a way of expressing culture -- it is the best way.   Language is like a <u>tool</u> for learning about how to behave in our culture and for <u>sharing</u> what we learn with others.   I am quite safe in saying that without language of some kind, you can't have culture.   Without culture, you can't have language.

No matter how much of the language of your ancestors is revived and re-learned by native Indian people today, it will not bring back the old cultures, the traditional ways of life.   You cannot go back and pick up where you were 500 years ago, as if nothing had happened in between.

I don't really think you thought you could.   But it is important to recognize that if you learn your original language, you will not learn the culture that went with it, in the sense of learning all of the rules and then being able to behave according to those rules.   You cannot learn the old culture the way a baby learned it, as he grew up to be an adult 500 years ago.   But, the more of

the old language you learn the more you can learn <u>about</u> the old traditional culture. And it is worth doing. The things of value in the old culture are still worthwhile today. Basically I am making a distinction between <u>learning</u> the culture of your ancestors -- something you cannot do -- and learning <u>about</u> that culture -- something you can do (p. 6 and 7).

The story she then told was of a discussion she had had with a young Native student which provides valuable and important insights into the question of "How can the teaching of traditional languages help to revive Native culture and benefit Native people?", and offers the opportunity to reflect upon the answers:

> I was discussing the problem of language and culture with a young native student at the University of Victoria. He expressed considerable bitterness that he did not know the language of his ancestors and remarked that he felt he was a stranger in his home community. He said that he had gone home for the summer and tried, with some difficulty, to learn Gitk'san. When he attended a feast in his home community, he felt very out of place because, although he knew everyone there and was able to imitate their behaviour, he could not understand any of the speeches and, what was more important, he could not understand the <u>meaning</u> of the feast. He said, "I didn't know my place, because I didn't know my language."

> For him, the meaning of the feast did not lie in any English translation provided him, but in the total social situation, in the behaviour he observed at the feast. He wanted to be a full, active participant in what was happening so that he could understand and contribute as a member of his society. Instead, he remained on the fringe, able only to imitate without comprehending.

> He asked me if I thought his people could revive their culture and I kept saying -- not as it was. And he kept saying -- but that feast was part of the old culture. Can't we bring back other parts? And then the answer occurred to both of us at the same time. I'll give you my version and then his, because his is much more effective, in summing up.

I said:

> The old culture belongs to the past; this is here and now and we can't change that. But Indian people have always

had their history and they have taken that history and recognized it and learned about it and it was part of their culture. History is just culture in the past tense. We can't erase what has happened in the last 200 or so years; we are stuck with the present -- with all that has happened up to this time. Indian people never denied their history in the old days. They accepted it, learned from it, and put it in its place, as part of the total shared experience of living. Surely, Indian people can look on the recent past, on contact with the white man, as part of their history, part of their culture, just as they looked on contact with other Indian cultures that way. Not all of it, in fact very little of it, has been pleasant or satisfying. But Indian people have learned from it and are continuing to learn, to share, to grow.

And then the student said:

Perhaps the goal of Native language learning programmes and the idea of reviving them ought to be looked at far in the future. Maybe, we should start to re-learn our languages so that 200 years from now, my descendants, my grandchildren's grandchildren, can describe what happened to our people in the last 200 years and what is happening right now in 1974, in their own native language. Two hundred years from now, or even 100 years from now, my descendants can talk about not only the dim distant past but also about 1974 in the Gitk'san language. (Write-On, 1974: 10, 11).

The scars left on the Native peoples and their cultures from two centuries of policies aimed at language suppression and cultural assimilation are unfathomable to the non-Native population of Canada. One can only try to imagine, to empathize, to understand.

The process by which Europeans, bit by bit, asserted their control over Native lands and lives is an area of British Columbian history that has not been well documented, and certainly does not appear in the school history books. Levine and Cooper (1976) commented in an article entitled "The Suppression of B.C. Languages: Filling in the Gaps in the Documentary Record" that linguistic suppression has generally been a neglected area of investigation. The search for documents, and the process of pouring over church and

government letters, records and reports, diaries and personal letters of non-Native people working in government positions and in religious communities sheds light on part of what happened. However, there are few first hand accounts which portray the perspectives and feelings of the Native people as their life styles and community structures underwent drastic changes. Changes occurred in their economic systems brought on first by the fur trade, then later farming and primary industries; their families and communities died of European diseases; their young children were taken away to become "civilized" in schools, and then returned home -- unable to speak their Native language, unskilled in the ways of Native living and rejecting the old ways and traditions.

Ann Cameron, a white woman who has been given permission by the Nootkan women of Ahousat to tell their stories, portrays the confusion and pain in Daughters of Copperwoman (1981:61, 62, 63).

> And then the world turned upside down. Strange men arrived in dugouts with sails that smelled terrible and were infested with sharp-faced, bright eyed creatures the like of which had never been on the island. These men wanted water and food, they wanted trees for masts, they wanted women, for it seemed as if they had none of their own. Their teeth were pitted and black, their breath smelled, their bodies were hairy, they never purified themselves with sweating and swimming, and they talked in loud voices. They wanted otter and seal skin and were willing to pay with things such as the people had never even dreamed.
> And then the world turned upside down. People got sick and died in ways they had never known. Children coughed until they bled from the lungs and died. Children choked on things that grew from the sickness in their throats. Children were covered with running sores and died vomiting black blood. Nobody was safe, not the slaves, not the commoners, not the nobility, not the royalty. Entire villages died of sickness or killed each other in the madness that came from drinking the strange liquid the foreigners gave for seal and otter skins.
>
> And then new men arrived. Men who never talked to women, never ate with women, never slept with women, never laughed with women. Men who frowned on singing and dancing, on laughter and love.

In less than a generation the world turned upside down
and all reason and truth flowed out and was nearly lost.

The priests....saw the fighting and drunkness where once
there was love and respect. They saw men beating their
wives and children and even abandoning them. They saw
girls who should have been clan mothers become prostitutes
in the cities the invaders built.

Much was lost. Much will never be regained. We have
only the shredded fragments of what was once a beautiful
dance cape of learning.

The number of accounts, both Native and non-Native, telling of
the pain and struggle and the anger of people caught in the web of
an official government goal of assimilation aimed at eradicating
Native cultures is growing.

Mary Ashworth (1979), writing about the history of the
education of Native children in British Columbia, documents the steps
by which first the missionaries, and later federal and provincial
government officials, brought about the suppression of Native
languages. She offers insights into the relationship between the
Native people, and the federal and provincial educational policies
which sought to assimilate Native children into the broader Canadian
society by separating them from their homes and communities through
the institution of the school.

Missionaries were not the first white contact that the Native
people of British Columbia had. A hundred years earlier sea explor-
ers, land explorers, fur traders and merchants had come to B.C.
bringing with them a new economic system which soon brought havoc
to the traditional Native economic systems, and European diseases
which Native people had never before encountered.

The conditions of those tribes which had had contact
with white people was, in many aspects, deplorable. It
had not always been that way: the old Indian societies
were organized and integrated, each had a strong value
system, each had come to terms with its environment. But

during the one hundred years preceding Duncan's arrival, Indian contact with whites had accelerated steadily. First came the maritime explorers: Bering, Cook, Hernandez, Meares, and Vancouver; then the land explorers: MacKenzie, Fraser, and Thompson. They were followed by the traders who brought goods to barter for furs, but who also brought measles, smallpox, tuberculosis, syphilis and alcohol. The old way of life was destroyed not only by disease and alcohol, but also by the changing pattern of life brought on by the new economic system based first on the fur trade but expanding into lumbering, farming and mining industries which required land -- Indian land. Many of the coastal tribes were quickly decimated and degraded by the new developments against which they had no defence. This adverse influence of the white man was acknowledged in 1862 by Richard Charles Mayne who wrote, "The Indians of the interior are, both physically and morally, vastly superior to the tribes of the coast. This is no doubt owing in great part to their comparatively slight intercourse with white men, as the northern and least known coast tribes of both the island and mainland are much finer men than those found in the neighbourhood of the settlements."

(Ashworth, 1979:5)

Thus, the Native people and practises observed by the early missionaries and settlers were not representative of the traditional cultures. Yet, these perceptions and understandings of what Native cultures were, viewed through the eyes of Europeans convinced of the superiority of their civilization, its values and lifestyles, became the basis upon which the Federal Government of Canada formulated its policies, social, educational and political, which drastically affected Native peoples' lives, languages and cultures.

The policies eventually found form in the system of large residential schools located away from reserves and operated by various religious denominations, in small day schools operated on reserve, and in the official policy of language suppression embodied in the "English only" rule in the schools.

2.2   LANGUAGE SUPPRESSION

The suppression of Native languages was a conscious and

deliberate action initiated by the early missionaries, and later by
government officials, in the belief that in order to Christianize the
Indians it was necessary to also "civilize" them. To be civilized
was to adhere to the values, and the style of living of the British
and to speak the English language (Ashworth, 1979; Levine, 1976).

The policy of language suppression was given official sanction
by the Superintendent of Indian Affairs in 1895.

> To a certain stage in an Indian's advancement there
> exists but little doubt that he should be kept in commu-
> nities; but as soon as that stage is reached, and it
> should be at an early period, he should be brought to
> compete with his fellow whites; but in order that this may
> be done effectually he must be taught the English
> language. So long as he keeps his native tongue, so long
> will he remain a community apart.
> (DIA., Annual Report, 1983:
> xviii, cited by Mary Ashworth,
> 1979:26,27).

Language suppression continued into the 1960's, and in a per-
erse way has found its way into present day schools in the form of
attitudes of many educators toward the non-standard dialects of
English known as Indian English spoken in many Native communities.

Many Native people, even in the early years of schooling in
British Columbia, viewed "school" as a means of enabling their
children to gain access to the skills of the whiteman, skills which
would enable them to participate in the broader Canadian society.
But they did not foresee this happening at the expense of the Native
culture. They did not envision the alienation of their children from
their own families and communities, and the death of their languages
and cultures. Alan Haig-Brown writing of the alienation caused by
schools says:

> The alienation is a result of the school system supplanting
> the individual's home culture rather than supplementing
> the home culture. In most cases the social system has, by

plan or neglect, encouraged the replacement of the Indian
languages with English. The schools have taken no res-
ponsibility for the damage that results to the individual's
language, culture and self identity. An often heard
classroom teacher's statement is "We have nothing against
the Indian language but we're here to teach English."
One cannot overlook the similarity between this and the
statement of the logging company that had been charged
with spoiling the salmon stream; "We have nothing against
salmon but we had to get the logs out." We have legis-
lated against the attitude of the logging company, but we
continue to ignore similar attitudes in the school system.
(Haig-Brown 1979:2).

2.3 LANGUAGE RETENTION

As was stated earlier, the active policy of language suppres-
sion was in place in both the Federal and Provincial government
schools until the late 1960's, and, then, within relatively short time
it changed, and the value of the Native languages acknowledged, at
least in principle. The social attitudes toward the Native language
on the part of many Native people as well as non-Native people,
unfortunately, do not change as quickly, and the language use
patterns cannot be reversed. The change was brought about by
occurrences which affected two distinct though related groups in
Canadian society -- Native people and immigrants. The issues
ultimately converged around the question of language and its
relationship to cultural retention, more specifically to the status of
the French language in Canadian society. The former will be briefly
treated at this point and expanded upon later.

Changes in the predominant society's' attitudes toward Native
culture, combined with community development programs designed to
make Native people more self-reliant, and the appearance of Native
political organizations gave impetus to Native self-determination and
had long term consequences for Native education.

Much questioning and introspection occurred after the Second
World War regarding the status and treatment of Native people. This

combined with large scale immigration and the unrest and dissatisfaction in Quebec regarding the French language and culture exerted pressure on the Federal government to assess its former position on language and culture. The change in 1969 to a Liberal Government with a new vision for society led to the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (1970) which was mandated to deal with French-English relations in Canada and led to new policies for all ethnic groups.

> In the end the Commission felt called upon to devote an entire volume -- Book IV -- to the contribution made by other ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada and the measures that should be taken to safeguard that contribution (RCBB, 1, p. xxi). Inevitably, however, the Commission approached the subject of the 'other' Canadian ethnic groups in the context of its overall mandate, that is, in relation to the basic problems of bilingualism and biculturalism and in the context of the coexistence of francophone and anglophone communities. As a result, Book IV was not an exhaustive study of the non-British and non-French ethnic groups in Canada, but rather, 'an examination of the way they have taken their place within the two societies that provided Canada's social structures and institutions (RCBB, IV: p3).
>
> (Minister Responsible for Multiculturalism, Non-Official Languages, 1976:1)

Two basic questions were posed by the Commission (RCBB, IV:11):

> To what degree have Canadians whose origin is neither French nor British integrated with anglophone or francophone society?
>
> To what degree have they remained attached to their original cultures and languages?

The lack of a systematic body of data on Canadian ethnic relations was explicitly stated in the Commission Report, and in response to this "the Federal Government proposed the Culture Development Program. This program emphasized research on language, the desire for language retention, and, to an extent, the

relation between language and cultural retention".

(Non-Official Languages, 1976:1).

The control of Native Education from the time of Confederation until the early 1970's was exclusively in the hands of the Department of Indian Affairs. However, beginning in the early 1950's a number of hearings, studies, and reports were initiated and/or presented to the Federal Government. These eventually led to major changes in the orientations taken toward Native education. The following information is taken from Mary Ashworth's The Forces Which Shaped Them (1979:35-40).

1958 – A study of the Indians of British Columbia by Dr. Harry B. Hawthorne, Dr. Cyril Belshaw and Dr. Stuart Jamieson of the University of British Columbia entitled The Indians of British Columbia. This was commissioned by the Department of Citizenship and Immigration in 1954. A range of topics were covered from the cultural and historical background of the people, to their role in industry, their living conditions and education.

1960 – The Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons on Indian Affairs heard briefs from Indian bands across Canada.

1967 – A second report by Dr. Hawthorne, A Survey of the Contemporary Indians of Canada. This was a comprehensive, wide ranging survey which outlined many differences between Native and middle class white children. It emphasized "a variety of educational needs of the Native child and endorsed the trend toward the integration of Native children into Provinical schools. (Barman, Hébert and McCaskill state "The Federal government sought to placate the growing criticism (from people and groups supporting them) by initiating the Hawthorne survey of Indian conditions." (1985:14) This writer's addition.)

1967 – The Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development out-lined the Federal Government's seven point policy on Indian education in Canada.

1969 – A new Liberal Government led by Pierre Trudeau came to power with a promise of a "just society", and the new government spelled out its approach to Native people in a White Paper of June, 1969 (p. 35-40).

According to Barman et. al. (1984) the approach

"was premised on the achievement of individual Indian
equality at the expense of cultural survival. All
legislative and constitutional bases of discrimination were
to be removed. Indians would receive the same services,
including education, available to members of the dominant
society. The Department of Indian Affairs would be
abolished and the reserve system dismantled. Indians as
individuals would become equal participants in the just
society" (1985:15).

Native people's reaction to the White Paper was strongly
negative. Native groups, including the newly formed National Indian
Brotherhood (1968), worked together to oppose the White Paper which
was viewed as a "mechanism for the Federal government to escape
from its historical responsibility for Indian affairs, including the
obligation to right past injustices in such areas as land claims and
treaties" (Barman, et. al., 1985:15).

In 1972, the National Indian Brotherhood issued its own
position paper entitled Indian Control of Indian Education which had
at its base two basic educational principles: parental responsibility
and local control of education. The paper reaffirmed the Federal
Governments commitment to provide schooling, but asserted that "only
Indian people can develop a suitable philosophy of education based
on Indian values adapted to modern living."

CHAPTER 3

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

3.1   GENERAL DISCUSSION OF NATIVE AS
A SECOND LANGUAGE (NASL) PROGRAMS

The responses made by Native people and communities during the past decade to the decline of their languages have varied. Some bands have not yet acknowledged that their traditional language is in imminent danger of becoming extinct, while others are actively attempting to stem the flow of language decline.

> Some bands have contracted with linguists to develop
> orthographies for previously unwritten languages, and/or
> to develop dictionaries for those languages which did not
> have them. Bands have also worked to initiate or
> strengthen programs for teaching Native languages to
> school students and currently there are persons working in
> British Columbia schools who teach Native languages.
> (Toohey & Hansen, 1985:14)

Indian Control of Indian Education (1972) strongly supported the formal teaching of Native language and culture within the context of the school. The two over-all goals presented for teaching the ancestral language were:

1. The enhancement of the Native child's sense of identity and cultural pride.

2. The maintenance and revival of the Native languages.

Burnaby (1980) stresses the complexity of discussing the issues and factors surrounding the learning and teaching of a Native language. A variety of differences exist from one community to another with regard to language and culture; differences in:

-   the languages themselves

-   the language use patterns

- the numbers and age distribution of speakers
- the contexts in which the language is used
- the status of the Native language ie. the attitudes which people have toward the language and toward English.

There are children whose mother tongue is a Native language; those whose mother tongue is English or French; and those who speak varying degrees of both their Native language and the official languages.

A wide variety of programs are possible depending upon the language of the children, the language use patterns of the community, the attitude held toward the Native language and the goals set for the Native language program. However, a complicating factor in planning and designing Native language programs is the lack of hard data on language use patterns in communities, on the attitudes of people toward teaching children their ancestral language, and on the effect of programs which, are or have been, in existence (Burnaby, 1980).

The type of program which will be considered in this discussion is one in which the Native language is taught to English speaking Native children. These are known as Native as a Second Lanugage or NASL programs. Programs for Native speaking children or Native-English bilingual speakers will not be discussed.

Three types of programs could be used to teach the Native language to English speaking children:

1. Native as a Second Language (NASL): The Native language is taught as a subject in the school program. There is a wide variety of possible objectives for NASL programs, ranging from familiarity with the language (learning the alphabet, names of colours, animals, body parts, clothing, etc. and common greetings) to various degrees of fluency including full fluency and literacy.

2.   Expanded Use: As well as being taught in a NASL program, the Native language is used as the medium of instruction for one or two subjects.   Generally the goal of this type of program is to achieve at least a limited degree of fluency.

3.   Native Immersion: The Native language is used as the medium of instruction for all, or the majority of subjects.   The goal is to teach fluency.

Burnaby points out that for a community in which the Native language is no longer the everyday language of communication, and in which the children are learning English as their first language, the easiest type of program to set up is a NASL program aimed at having children become familiar with the language.   It is also the one requiring the fewest resources.   Such a program is aimed at teaching the Native alphabet, identifying common objects, teaching common social greetings and teaching about the history of the language.   It does not lead to fluency, and children do not learn to communicate in the language.

Several researchers involved in Native languages have emphasized that a program aimed at fluency is both demanding and complex, involving issues regarding the current status and use of the language in the community (Anthony, 1986; Bauman, 1982; Burnaby, 1980; Levine, 1976).

> For a second language learner, to acquire from a school language program any level of the language that could be minimally called fluency requires a great deal of motivation as well as a good program. At this point the argument becomes circular. If the children did not learn the Native language at home, then it is not demanding enough in their environment to motivate them to learn it. If it is taught in the school to develop their sense of Native identity, the school will have to use rather abstract arguments to motivate them, for example that their ancestors spoke it or that some other Native groups

still speak it. In other words, the school will have to use their sense of Native identity to encourage them to do something difficult to develop their sense of Native identity.

(Burnaby, 1980:179)

In Burnaby's opinion, a well taught NASL program aimed at familiarity with the language could achieve the desired goal of enhancing Native children's sense of identity and cultural pride. A poorly taught program, on the other hand, would do the opposite. However, a NASL program aimed at familiarity with the language would not achieve the second goal of maintaining or reviving the Native languages. The most effective type of program for this would be a full Native language immersion program. The resources required, including curriculum, materials, trained teachers, community support and involvement, would be extensive and very costly. Another consideration in determining the type of language program to be set up is that Native parents have clearly stated that they want their children to be able to speak English/French and to learn the skills necessary to be successful in the modern world, in addition to learning their Native language and culture.

3.1.1 A GENERALIZED VIEW OF NATIVE AS A SECOND LANGUAGE (NASL) IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

High expectations and great hopes have been held for Native language programs. Many Native people see them as the last hope for the survival of the Native languages and cultures. While the potential exists for any number of different kinds of language programs to be set up in Native communities, to date the majority of communities in British Columbia, as in other parts of Canada, have chosen to establish NASL programs within the school setting.

Native language programs began appearing in B.C. schools in the early 1970's at about the same time as English as a Second Language (ESL) classes were being initiated in the larger population centers, and prior to the large scale French immersion programs that

were implemented in the latter half of the 1970's. Initially Native resource people came into the schools to talk about the language and culture. These were commonly known as "Indian Days". In some communities Indian Days have gradually grown into full-fledged language and culture classes which are now taught as part of the school program.

While French Immersion programs have had the full backing of the Federal Government with massive amounts of Federal money poured into them in the form of research, materials and curriculum development, and ESL programs have had the grudging support of the Provincial Ministry of Education, Native language programs until recently have been barely acknowledged, if at all. They have been looked on as supplemental learning, and are frequently the first to be dropped when cutbacks occur. Funding is often on a yearly basis.

The schools which Native children attend fall under three different categories and jurisdictions: some schools are controlled and operated by the local band, some are controlled and operated by the Federal Department of Indian Affairs, some are provincial schools controlled and operated by the Provincial Ministry of Education. In each case the channels by which Native language programs are authorized and funded differ from regular school programming.

British Columbia as yet does not have an official government act recognizing the Native languages and cultures. Up to the Fall of 1979, Native language and culture programs were offered in the public provincial schools mainly at the discretion of the school principal. If community members could persuade a local school board or the school principal of the benefits of such programs, then time, space and some funding would usually be found. However, in October 1979 a policy statement regarding Native languages and cultures was issued by the Special Programs Division: Director of Indian Programs in the Ministry of Education, thereby giving official

sanction for such programs. This was not an active policy for the promotion of programs by providing additional funding and resources, but rather one that acknowledged possibilities. Among other items, this policy explained:

1. The goal of parity for native Indian children is a priority concern. Parity means that through regular and special needs education programs, Indian children will in time reach their full potential; and their culture, history and contemporary life will be reflected adequately in the overall curriculum of the public schools.

2. The Ministry supports the preservation of Native languages through the use of the public schools in teaching these languages and, where a native language is the language of dominance for a significant group of native children in a school or school district, the Ministry supports the development and implementation of bilingual-bicultural programs, thereby allowing a student to become proficient in two languages and two cultures.
(English as a Second Language/
Dialect Resource Book K-12, 1981:36)

While having a policy statement is a large and important step forward, in many ways it did not change the realities of the programs. The amount of funding available, the Native language speakers available to work as teachers, the lack of research on the languages, the lack of materials and curriculum guidelines to work with, and the basic social attitudes towards the Native languages on the part of the larger society, and even within many members of the Native communities remained the same.

On the surface school-based Native language and culture pro-grams offer a seemingly straightforward solution to the problem of language and culture decline, and to the enhancement of the cultural identity and self-esteen of Native children. Underlying such programs, however, are many complex and emotion laden issues for Native communities and their people. Among them are past government policies and educational practises which prohibited previous generations of Native children from speaking their Native

language in school, the societal forces behind language decline, and the ongoing processes of acculturation and assimilation. (Ashworth, 1979; Burnaby, 1980; Cardinal, 1969; DINA, 1971; Hawthorne Report, 1967; Hébert, 1985; Indian Control, 1972; Levine, 1976; Manuel and Poslums, 1974). Although many Native people and local school personnel recognize the importance of Native children learning their ancestral language and culture, few appear to have an awareness of the enormity of the task of setting up and running a second language program, the resources required, or the complexity of learning a second language. This is not surprising considering the field of second language education is relatively new, and has undergone many changes since the early 1970's.

Native language and culture programs are a unique type of program in schools in that they are the shared responsibility of both the school administration and the local community. The school makes available time in the regular program for the teaching of the Native language and culture, it provides space and supplies, and usually pays the Native language teacher's salary. The community provides the crucial resources: speakers of the language who become the teachers, and the linguistic and cultural base from which the program draws its substance. The Native language/culture program differs from other programs in the school in three major aspects.

a) Teachers: The only suitable teachers are members of Native communities fluent in the Native language. Very few have had teacher training.

b) Funding: Funding for teaching programs is generally obtained outside of the usual channels for regular programs (ie. from the Special Programs, Division of the Ministry of Education or the Department of Indian Affairs).

c) Resources: Other school programs draw materials and knowledge from the broader base of mainstream Canadian and world society and culture. Native language/culture programs have a much smaller base to draw from, ie. the local community or tribe. They rely on locally produced materials, the raw materials of which are derived from the activities, values, attitudes, social interaction patterns and discourse systems, in short the language and culture, of the Native community.

The development of the "raw" linguistic and cultural
materials into teaching materials for the Native language and culture
programs has involved a third group comprised of "specialists".
These include linguists, anthropologists, curriculum developers and
second language specialists, who often work independently of the
school, and are hired as consultants by the Band. Ideally, they
would work in co-operation with the school and community; however,
this is not always the case.

The over-all needs of Native communities are many; housing,
health care, social welfare, local work projects, land claims, food
preservation, general education issues, to name a few. The
resources, both financial and human, are finite and must be shared.
Often it is the people actively working on the broader community
needs who are most aware that the language and traditional culture
are declining. The linguist who has initiated linguistic research on
the language, and has played an important role in helping to start
up the language program and provide some basic materials must
attend to his/her academic research or university position. School
administrators and regular classroom teachers, too, are very busy
with the over-all operations of the regular school program.
Frequently, after the initial setting up of the language program, the
major responsibility for running it has fallen to the Native language
teacher.

3.1.2 ISSUES RELATED TO SCHOOL-BASED PROGRAMS

A number of issues related to teaching of a Native language
in a school context have been raised by people currently working in
the field. Amongst them are Bauman (1980), Burnaby (1980), Hébert
(1984), Kirkness (1981). Others are raised by the researcher.

Burnaby in Languages and Their Roles In Educating Native
Children (1980) provides a very thorough description and discussion
of the various types of programs, their goals, their advantages, and

disadvantages. She raises questions regarding the existing language use patterns of the Native community, and their relationship to the goals which have been set for the programs. She also points to the need for involvement in the programs by community members and raises the issue of what type of teaching and learning are best suited to Native language programs. Hébert (1984) raises many of the same questions, and also discusses the sociopolitical context in which the programs occur. Like Burnaby, she refers to the goals of the programs and who is involved in determining them. She also discusses the roles of specialists in the program, and the involvement of the community. Wyatt (1974) who has been involved in the Simon Fraser Native Teacher Education Program raises the question of the Native community's reaction to different types of programs or teaching approaches being used in the school. The following are some of the important issues which have been raised.

1. Types of Goals and the Question of Results

The question of whether the types of goals which have been set for the programs can be achieved in a school setting has been raised by Burnaby.

A number of reasons have been given for including NASL programs in school. Burnaby (1980:313) describes these as:
- "to revive or maintain the use of these languages in the Native community".
- "to prepare the Native child to make a reasonable and informed choice in his life between the Native approach and the majority culture approach to doing things."
- "to help the child adjust to school and achieve more in regular school work."

Burnaby elaborates on the last reason by saying "Native as a Second Language programs are usually introduced into Native schools on the hypothesis that the recognition of the ancestrol language in school

may improve the child's ethnic self-image, and that such improvement will be reflected in their success in their regular school work" (Ibid., 314). She later points out that to date no hard data has been collected to substantiate such a claim. This also appears to be the case for the other goals, although there is a report on the teaching of Native languages awaiting release by the Department of the Secretary of State (personal communication, Staff member of the Pacific Region Office).

2. Advantages and Disadvantages of School-Based Programs.

There appear to be both advantages and disadvantages to having Native language programs within the context of the school:

Advantages

a)   Burnaby (1980), like the authors of <u>Indian Control of Indian Education</u> (1972), points to the importance of the school recognizing the value of Native languages and cultures by incorporating such programs into the regular school program. This form of validation is considered important for the Native community, adults and children, as well as for the non-Native population.

b)   Many of the costs of the programs are assumed by education departments.

c)   In areas where non-Native teachers are supportive and interested, they can be of great assistance to Native language teachers in helping them to develop classroom management skills and teaching materials.

d)   The programs create jobs for Native peoples in the community.

e)   Native language programs provide a way for Native adults to

gain access to the school, and become familiar with its
workings.

f) The school can increase the need for the use of the Native
language, especially if a subject is taught using a Native
immersion format, eg. an Expanded Use program.

Disadvantages

There is an increasing tendency throughout all of society to
view schools as having the main responsibility for educating
children. In the case of Native language and culture programs,
which rely almost exclusively on the local Native community for
resources (teachers, content in form of language and culture,
activities and materials), such reliance could be disastrous to the
over-all maintenance of the Native language. This position is based
on the premise that language is a system of communication, and a
social tool used by a group in meaningful interactions. The school
by itself does not have the capacity, nor the resources necessary to
counteract the powerful societal influences which promote the use of
English as the language of everyday communication in Native
communities, and which push the Native languages toward extinction.
The question of whether or not a school-based program is adequate
to maintain or revive a Native language is addressed by Fishman.

Can the School "Go It Alone" for Bilingual Education?

Definitely not, not even when there is a clear man-
date to do so. One of the major conclusions to be derived
from the International Study of Secondary Bilingual
Education is that not only is community consensus needed
if bilingual education is to succeed, but that the help of
the unmarked language community is needed every bit as
much as, if not more than that of the marked language
community. The main trouble with foreign-language
learning thus far has been that it was entirely a school-
dependent affair with no out-of-school contextual signifi-
cance whatsoever. Bilingual education that is left to the

schools alone will have the same sad fate. The school can provide instructional power for bilingual education but not functional power for it. The latter must be provided by the community itself in terms of either dignifying its own diversity or the diversity of the international community.
(Fishman, 1976:111; quoted by Burnaby, 1980:236)

From the perspective of the researcher of this study the idea that learning the Native language is important so that it will not die is a very adult concept, and does not make much sense to children -- especially if the language is not being used to any extent by adults around them. Children have a wonderful ability to detect inconsistencies in adults: if the Native language is not valued enough by the adults that they use it, then why should children exert themselves in school on such a difficult task?

3. The Importance of Community Support and Involvement

An important issue raised by Hébert (1984), as well as Burnaby (1980) and Bauman (1980) is the necessity of community support and involvement in the language programs if they are to help children to learn to communicate in the Native language. Even more important is the issue of whether or not the Native community wants to have a Native language program for its children. Given that the community does want a program, there is a need to consider the health of the language and the community's language use patterns in setting the goals for it.

4. Tight Schedules and Core Curriculum

There are many skills to be taught and areas of knowledge in the various subject areas taught within the school program. Native parents have made it very clear that in addition to wanting their children to develop a strong Native identity and their cultural knowledge, they also want them to receive "the training necessary for making a good living in modern society". This position, first stated in Indian Control of Indian Education (1972), was restated in

the results of a follow-up survey conducted in 1986 by the Association of First Nations (personal communication, Joanne Morris, National Director Education Secretariat, Association of First Nations at the Second Pacific Region Language Conference, Kamloops, B.C., October 1986).

Learning a second language requires a great deal of time, effort and motivation. While there is evidence to suggest that the most efficient way to teach a second language would be to run a full immersion program, this is not feasible in the majority of communities because of the lack of resources, nor do Native parents appear to desire a full immersion Native language program. The question then arises regarding which subjects will be cut or not taught in order to facilitate the Native language program.

Native language programs have to compete for time with "core curriculum" subjects which receive priority in terms of time allottment. Consequently, programs are often taught in 15 to 20 minute periods anywhere from once a week to 5 times a week, in some cases once a week classes run for a longer period of time. Burnaby maintains that given the difficult task of learning a second language it is impossible to teach anything more than "symbolic language" – the alphabet, naming animals, articles of clothing and other objects, and common forms of greetings – in 20 minute periods.

5. The Nature of the Native Language Program and Methods of Teaching and Learning

There is a need for compromises to be made by both the school and the Native community in developing Native cultural materials and programs. Burnaby raises an important issue regarding the nature of programs offered within the school context: the methods of teaching and learning, forms of teacher-student interaction, types of materials and activities -- and the reaction of students to programs that are different from what they are

accustomed to and expect.

> Native cultures are essentially strangers to the formal
> education context and Canadian formal education is not
> used to recognizing certain Native cultural patterns. But
> if one or the other is forced to do all the compromising,
> then it will be so changed that it will be no longer repre-
> sentative of the real culture outside the school. At this
> point the cultural program is in danger of doing more
> harm than good. The children are always well aware of
> the basic parameters of their society. If the school repre-
> sents a Native culture as something that has nothing to do
> with Nativeness as the children know it, they are certain
> to have a neutral or negative reaction. Also, if the
> school transforms itself into something that does not
> resemble what school should be in the children's eyes,
> then they will probably not be able to take it seriously
> (Burnaby,1980:174).

Wyatt (1977) makes a similar point with regard to the
reaction of Mt. Currie adults to programs that differ from the norm
that are offered within the school, even Band-operated schools.

Such observations are not surprising in light of the findings
of sociolinguistic research which points to the significance of context
in relationship to social norms of behaviour and interaction.
"School" as a social context has evolved expected norms of behaviour
and types of social interaction for children and adults (parents,
teachers and community members) as well as for school personnel,
whether in the Native or non-Native society.

There is evidence to indicate that people, any people, tend to
teach in the way they themselves were taught, unless they are
trained otherwise (Burnaby, 1980; Rivers, 1983). Thus, Native
language teachers who themselves were students in public and
residential schools may have internalized those models of teaching
and learning common to their own school experience, even though
they may conflict with traditional Native teaching/learning styles
used in the informal education contexts of Native homes and
communities. Within the school context Native language teachers,
like other members of the community, many have set notions of how

school teaching and learning should be, and they are uncomfortable with deviations from this (Wyatt, 1974).

6. A Lack of Data on the Programs

With regard to the actual impact of NASL programs, Burnaby comments on the lack of actual data stating that again she must fall back on her own observations:

> It seems as if language has become a rallying point around which mainly English-speaking Native communities have gathered to affirm their solidarity in their Nativeness. The bulk of the Native language impact in the school programs is in the learning of symbolic vestiges of the language, the numbers, the names of animals and some traditional objects, some greetings and social formulae and so on. Little or no skill in manipulating the phonological and syntactic patterns of the language is gained. (This observation does not include the Native immersion program. This writer does not have any direct observation about the language impact of that program). Outside the school the language is used more by the remaining speakers, its functions are extended to literate ones such as records of meetings and newspapers, Native speakers have become literate in the Native language, and classes are given for teenagers and adults to learn the language. All this is an indirect consequence of the interest in the Native language brought out by the initiation of Native language programs in the local schools. But the actual patterns of language maintenance are not basically changed. Everything new done in the Native language is translated into English. Nothing in the language environment is demanding enough to motivate child or adult to spend the time and effort to actually learn to use the language as a medium of communication. The language is being treated as a treasured artifact that can be admired, cherished and identified with, but not used for any practical purpose any more (1982:183-84).

Burnaby's conclusion regarding the effect of current Native as a Second Language programs is that while the objective of reinforcing Native identity of children is being met, the definition given to "language" in this context has narrow, rigid boundaries, and that "people are willing to spend the kind of time and effort

learning it that one would spend learning some historical information" (p.185). The resulting lesson for educators is to gear the content of the second language programs to symbolic language learning which is not as expensive or difficult to run as a program aiming at even a minimal degree of fluency.

It is believed by the writer that another interpretation could be made of why NASL programs concentrate on numbers, names of animals, etc. The teaching of any language as a second language is a relatively new field, and differs in many ways from regular classroom teaching. As it was stated in 5 it is well known that people tend to teach in the way they themselves were taught unless they have had special training. In the case of Native language teachers, the majority have had little or no systematic training. They are unaware of the differences between teaching Language Arts and teaching a second language (as are many regular classroom teachers!), and thus teach in the way they themselves were taught -- numbers, names of things, etc. -- often through writing words on the blackboard, and having children read them.

While non-Native educators may think that all Native communities want is symbolic language learning, few Native people would concur with that. One thing the position ignores is the second major objective for teaching Native languages: the maintenance/revival of the languages.

7. The Relationship Between Language and Culture

A final issue raised by the researcher which pertains to Native language programs, but is not necessarily tied to the school context, is the relationship between language and culture.

This relationship is continuing to be investigated by researchers from a number of different disciplines, amongst them sociolinguistics, social psychology, social and cultural anthropology,

and education. The concept of 'communicative competence' presented by Hymes in the early 1970's, and the work in sociolinguistics by Labov in the late 1960's has been very significant to the field of language education in general, and to second language teaching in particular. It provides insights into the relationship between language and culture which had earlier been ignored. Previously, the majority of studies of child acquisition and learning were based on the concept of language as an ideal linguistic system, separate and distinct from culture. This concept is still at the base of some programs and materials being designed. What it ignores is the perception of language as a social tool used by a group of people. It fails to address the social/ cultural aspect of how language is actually used in various social contexts, its functions, and the rules governing social interaction. The latter has been established as essential to the processes of communication, and to an extent has found form in the communicative approach to second language learning which is gaining momentum in the field of English as a Second Language (ESL).

Another area in which the relationship between language and culture is being explored is that of Language Across the Curriculum. Dr. Bernard Mohan in Language and Culture (1986) explores the relationship between teaching language, either a first or a second language, and the teaching of other subjects in the content areas through the use of a knowledge.

3.1.3 DIFFICULTIES FACING NASL PROGRAMS IN THE SCHOOL

Perhaps it is the interdependence upon school, community and professional resource people which accounts for the "fuzziness" of Native language programs; perhaps it is that the field of second language teaching is quite specialized, and few people have knowledge and experience in second language teaching/learning issues; perhaps it is that the teaching of Native languages has unique characteristics, hitherfore not encountered, and requiring a different orientation toward teaching and learning, and developing materials.

Whatever the reasons, on the whole, there is a distinct lack of an over-all perspective on the teaching of a Native language as a second language. Program goals are loosely articulated, and are frequently based on an idealistic notion of bringing back the language by ensuring that Native children learn to speak it. The main goal of the majority of Native language programs in B.C. is fluency, despite the health of the languages, the languages use patterns of communities or the availability of resources. Little information is available on these.

Programs based on unrealistic goals and inappropriate teaching methods and techniques have little chance of success. The effects of such programs can be discouraging if not disastrous in terms of promoting the use of the Native language, for children in such programs soon develop the attitude that Native language classes are "boring", and behaviour problems begin to appear in class. (Bauman, 1980; Burnaby, 1980).

In the early years the difficulties encountered on a local level were largely attributed to the newness of the programs, to difficult working conditions, to lack of suitable materials and sometimes to the poor selection of the teachers (Burnaby, 1980; Hébert, 1984). On the provincial level, difficulties were attributed to lack of government recognition of the languages and cultures and the resulting lack of funding, lack of recognition of language programs and accreditation of teachers, and to lack of a structure for disseminating and for sharing information. As time moves on, and the early language programs have had a chance to establish themselves, sometimes several times over, there is a growing awareness in Native communities and amongst the professionals working with the communities that the programs are not succeeding -- no Native children are beginning to speak their ancestral language as a result of attending Native language classes.

A number of difficulties which impede the ongoing development

of Native language programs were identified in the More Than One Language Report (1977:46):

1. The diversity of native languages in B.C. (materials, dictionaries and grammars developed in one area cannot necessarily be used in another).

2. The reticence of native communities to support instruction in a language ordinarily considered dysfunctional in the schools.

3. The decreasing use of native languages on a day-to-day basis.

4. The scarcity of models of teaching appropriate to the material and the community setting.

5. The shortage of funding.

3.1.4 NEED FOR PLANNING

All of the above do contribute to the poor success record of Native languages in teaching children to speak the languages, and yet another broader issue needs to be addressed: that of over-all, co-ordinated planning. Amongst each band there are leaders and community members who "know" the value of their language and do not want it to die. Linguists and anthropologists see how the languages are declining and attempt to describe, record and preserve as much as they can by working with the communities. Many educators understand the significance of positive cultural identity and high self-esteem for children. Native Old People see the language slipping away and attempt to encourage its use. However, each of these groups see only a small part of the larger picture from the vantage point of their own perspectives and positions. There is a need for co-ordinated assessment and long term realistic planning for programs, and for community involvement in the process.

If programs are to have a chance of being successful they need to be based on a solid foundation of realistic goals arising out of

community needs and solid pedagogical practices.

> The good intentions, dedication and spirit that motivate
> them (communities) are certainly the most essential part of
> a language revitalization program, but they must be
> embedded in a program with realistic goals, and then
> reinforced with effective procedures.
> (Bauman, 1980:vii)

According to Bauman, there are five necessary and
interlocking aspects of planning a Native language retention
program. All must be considered and worked on if the program is to
have a chance of being successful.

a) The health and status of the Native language in the community –
    What are the number and ages of speakers; the domains in
    which the language is used; the importance of the language to
    community members?

b) Community needs – What are the needs and how does the
    language fit in with those needs? Who determines the needs?

c) The setting of realistic goals and objectives for the program
    based on a) and b) above.

d) The recruitment and training of teachers.

e) The development of materials and assessment of resources. Who
    does this and how?

Burnaby, in discussing the innumerable variables that could
influence the effectiveness of any program in any particular
community cites six main areas outside of directly pedagogical
concerns suggested by Bernard Spolsky and his colleagues "which
must be taken into account before and while action is taken. These
are linguistic,psychological, sociological, economic, political and
religio-cultural factors" (1980:247).

To groups such as Band Education Authorities, Band Councils or local school personnel such considerations are unfamiliar and difficult to carry out, particularly so in view of the other demands of developing communities including the ongoing negotiations for political control between the Bands and external agencies, and the scarcity of funding and resources for Native language programs. Questions arise as to what assessment tools to use, who would carry out the assessment, how should teachers be trained and materials developed, what are realistic goals for a program, who will pay for all of this?

In examining Bauman's five aspects of planning it appears that the one that has received the greatest attention in B.C. Native language programs is the development of materials. This is understandable in that materials are a concrete reality that teachers can hold in their hands and give to students. But materials alone are not enough.

3.1.5 RESEARCH ON THE LANGUAGES

An imbalance seems to exist in terms of the amount of research and "work" that has been done in Native communities by non-Native professionals, most noteably linguists and anthropologists. There is a strong impression that Native cultures and languages have been studied to death; certainly many Native people feel this. For some Native groups in Canada this is true. Many of the languages and cultures belonging to the Algonkian and Iroquoian language families have been well researched and documented. The coastal cultures of the Pacifc Northwest complex have been studied since the late 1800's; however, the languages themselves have really only been receiving focussed attention for the past two decades. Much less has been done on the languages spoken in the Interior and northern parts of British Columbia, particularly those of the Interior Salishan and Athapaskan language families.

Levine, in discussing his attempt to provide an historical perspective of educational policy toward Native languages in post-contact British Columbia, points out the virtual lack of secondary sources and the lack of information on the "dynamics of linguistic extinction" which would include the conscious suppression of Native languages by non-Natives. He comments on LaViolette's seeming disregard of language as an integral feature in the "struggle for survival" of the Native cultures he describes (LaViolette, 1961), and maintains that the impression LaViolette conveys is "that the erosion of aboriginal languages is a prerequisite for cultural and political survival". Levine asserts that LaViollette's writing ignores the success of a partially bilingual population, such as the Chinese in North America, in organizing politically at least as affectively as a newly monoligual English speaking indigenous society" (Levine, 1976:49).

Regarding the relationship between language and culture Levine writes" ...songs, the dances accompanying them, rhetorical accompanyments to ceremonies such as the potlatch, and the vast cycles of myth and legendary history are all necessarily dependent upon the maintenance of the Native languages".(Levine, 1976:49). Referring to a comment written by Duff in 1964 that "most of the languages are still spoken and little are in immediate danger of being forgotten" Levine states that:

> ....The first part of this statement is true but misleading since, as suggested earlier, there is an important distiction between languages which are still spoken, but only by a narrow cross-section of a population, and those spoken generally. The second part of Duff's claim is contradicted by the observably terminal condition of many British Columbian languages. When children are not learning their parents' language, that language is being forgotten, even though its actual disappearance may not occur for several generations. Standard accounts of the educational history of the Province make absolutely no reference to linguistic suppression at all. The omission in such sources of any close examination of the acculturative processes carried out in the residential schools is not surprising, since it was taken for granted for several

generations that such acculturation was the proper
business of the schools vis-à-vis Native peoples (1976:49).

Little money has been available for research on the many and
varied languages. Much of the research conducted to date has
occurred as a result of university graduates and academics seeking
areas of study. Funding for the research has been minimal, often
from short-term grants given by a variety of private foundations and
by government offices or by foreign countries. In the case of the
Interior Salishan languages, a large portion of the research
conducted to date has been funded by the Netherlands Organization
for the Advancement of Pure Research in Holland with the research
being conducted by Dutch graduate students from the University of
Leiden working under the guidance of Dr. Aert Kuipers, a Dutch
linguist. Another example is the research being conducted on the
Chilcotin language by Dr. Ed Cook of the University of Alberta in
Calgary.

A search of the literature shows that while there has been a
gradual increase in the amount of interest taken and the research
being done on many of the Native languages in British Columbia, the
primary focus has been on linguistic features and systems. Little
has been done on such topics as the health and status of Native
languages in their communities, the sociolinguistic patterns of
language use in Native communities (an exception to this is work on
Nicola by Hebért and Sterling (1979)). Nor has research been
conducted on Native language programs: the types and effects of
programs, the actual needs of programs, the training of Native
language teachers (Burnaby, 1980:183). More has been written on
Native language programs in the United States, largely because the
monies provided by Title VII under the American Federal Government
require that 25% of each grant be used for evaluating the project;
however as in Canada, there is virtually no information on the
training of Native language teachers. What can be found in both
countries is academic linguistic research: descriptive structural
linguistics, historical linguistics.

These are necessary to language programs, yet they are only a part. Without people who know how to use linguistic information in producing materials appropriate for use with children, without Native people knowledgeable in how to use the teaching materials with children, without communities and families in which the Native language is used, linguistic research alone is not sufficient.

3.2 NATIVE LANGUAGE TEACHERS

While many Native language programs have been in operation for a number of years there has been limited attention paid to the "training" of Native language teachers. The assumption seems to be that if Native people speak their language, and especially if they read and write it, they are able to teach it. Toohey and Hansen point out that although some Native language teachers in British Columbia have received some systematically-planned training, this is not generally the case.

> What is more typical is for the community-based Native language teacher to have acted as an informant or as a co-worker with a linguist in developing an orthography and/or dictionary for a language, to have attended teacher training workshops planned by a variety of agencies, and to have had experience working with children in classrooms.
> (Toohey & Hansen, 1984:12).

Native language teachers are caught in the dilemma of being responsible for teaching in and for developing language programs and materials, while having had little or no training, background knowledge or experience in the area. Kirkness (1984) outlines what she calls the "impossible task" that faces the untrained teachers of Canadian Native languages: they are expected to design Native language curriculum for kindergaten to grade twelve, to prepare their own lesson plans, materials, maintain classroom control and do other related activities. Burnaby (1980) discusses similar problems of Native language instructors in Ontario.

Pauline Alfred, a Kwak'wala teacher from Alert Bay, stated
the case very succinctly:

> I still say that it's really unfair when they just grab us
> and throw us into a classroom. We never had any train-
> ing. We never went to university to be teachers. We
> don't know the first thing about it. We can speak our
> language, but how do we go about teaching it?...that was
> my fear....it was so many years since I'd been in school
> ....when I first started it was really hard because I
> didn't have any materials. It all had to come out of my
> mouth and I was just exhausted because I was talking all
> day (Toohey & Hansen, 1985:12).

There are valid reasons for the lack of training. Many of
the teachers have heavy family and community commitments; they live
in relatively isolated areas of the province and do not want to or
cannot afford to leave home for an extended period of time. Because
of distances it is expensive to hire professionals to train a small
number of teachers over a period of time or to travel regularly to a
community for workshops. There are not many professionals who
have experience in the field and/or are available to travel or live
in the communities. Until recently none of the universities, with the
exception of the University of Victoria, were willing to offer courses
to Native people who were not enrolled in a regular university
program. Many language teachers, though fluent in their Native
language, had not completed high school, and were mainly interested
in Native language teaching, not in acquiring a university degree.
For several years the University of Victoria did offer a two year
diploma course in teaching a Native language; however, the emphasis
was primarily on developing linguistic research skills in each
student's own Native language, and on literacy skills, with a little
attention given to teaching skills. The program was primarily
campus-based requiring people to move to Victoria.

The linguistic orientation which focuses on training Native
language teachers in linguistic analysis and in literacy skills is
common to other programs in both Canada and the United States, and
will be referred to later in the proposal. Suffice it to say, at this

point, that to date the professional group having the greatest input into Native language programs is that of linguists. This is understandable given that linguists were one of the first groups interested in, and involved with the Native languages and communities because of their need to do linguistic research; added to this is the fact that language is seen to be the traditional domain of the linguist.

In many communities the linguist doing research on the language has also been involved in helping to develop the Native language program and get the teacher started. Linguists have played a significant and important role in setting up the programs. Their analyses and descriptions of Native languages provide important and necessary understandings of the linguistic systems the languages employ. Their work in communities has often helped Native people to become aware of what has been happening to the languages, that is the decline, and has encouraged programs to be initiated. Generally speaking, however, the strength of linguists lies in the discipline of linguistics, and they are not familiar with educational issues and considerations. The main thrust of their work in Native language programs, outside of linguistic research on the structure of the language, has been the development of materials: orthographies, alphabet sheets, dictionaries, student workbooks, and the teaching of literacy skills to Native language teachers and community members. These are important, and necessary, but they are not enough to ensure a successful language program, just as the ability to speak a language does not equip a person to teach it, although fluency is a necessary prerequisite for teaching.

The Native language teacher is seen as playing a very important role in organizing and implementing local language programs. In the "Native Indian Language Development Seminar" of the More Than One Language Conference Report (1977:46), it was stated that:

The native Indian language teacher plays a key role in the organization and implementation of these programs. Native language teachers embark on their preparation with varying degrees of fluency in their respective languages and few, if any of the conventional academic or teaching experiences of most language teachers. Their achievements, nevertheless, are outstanding. In consultation with linguists and community resource people they are learning to do linguistic analysis. As teachers they are developing materials and strategies appropriate to a variety of age levels. As community members they serve as positive models to students and parents uncertain of the benefits of learning their native language.

In more recent years people are beginning to express the need for Native language teachers to receive systematic training. The "impossible task" facing untrained Native language teachers is beginning to be acknowledged and solutions are being sought.

A complicating factor in planning and developing Native language programs and teaching materials, in planning training programs for Native teachers, and in conducting research in the field is the difficulty of locating and accessing information and materials. In the course of examining the goals for Native language programs in B.C., Hébert (1984) writes:

It is difficult to survey the B.C. situation since there is no organization or institutional centre which co-ordinates or provides resources and guidance for all these language programs... Most of the information presented here comes from project descriptions and news updates published in the Northwest Languages Newsletter (1978 - present, U.B.C.) and from personal contact with language workers (p.122).

This sentiment was repeated during the course of a telephone conversation with Hébert in July 1986 in which references and papers pertaining to this research project were being sought. Others in the field have commented on the same difficulties (Robert Anthony, B.C.; Rita Bouviere, Sask.; Mike Mallin, N.W.T.; Jay Powell, B.C.; Phyllis Chelsea, (Shuswap), B.C.; Kellen Toohey, B.C.).

3.3   WHAT IS AVAILABLE ON THE TRAINING
OF NATIVE LANGUAGE TEACHERS

Little information is available from the usual academic
literary sources on the training of Native language teachers.   To
date a review of the literature including books, professional
journals, conference proceedings, reports and unpublished papers has
revealed very little information directly pertaining (describing,
discussing, evaluating) to actual programs which have occurred for
training Native language teachers.   One article, "Two Contexts for
Training Teachers of Native Languages" (Toohey and Hansen, 1984)
provides an insightful description of the two different contexts in
which Native language teachers have received training in language
teaching methods and techniques and the development of teaching
materials in British Columbia: an off-campus, university-oriented
program, offered by Simon Fraser University and a work-shop,
community-based program sponsored by a Halkomel'em group of
teachers in the Fraser Valley.

Also available are course/program descriptions appearing in
university academic calendars, Secretary of State project evaluations
describing what the projects accomplished, and regular university
student course evaluations.   Then, there is also information to be
gleaned from talking to others at conferences and meetings who have
been involved in programs, and finally conference reports.   Such a
lack of information leads to different Native communities
"re-inventing" the wheel in terms of developing their own language
programs, and does not promote a forward momentum in the overall
attempts to improve the teaching skills of people working to revive
and maintain the Native languages of British Columbia.

The following section will examine the issues and needs of
Native language teachers as perceived by professionals working in
the field and as described by a variety of people attending
conferences on the Native languages.

3.3.1   ISSUES AND NEEDS AS PRESENTED BY PROFESSIONALS

Although information is scanty regarding actual programs that have been run, and overall, they are few, there are a number of more general discussions regarding the development and needs of Native language programs, and suggestions for the training of Native language teachers.

One of the earliest statements regarding the needs of the Native language programs and Native language teachers was voiced by the Indian National Brotherhood in its 1972 policy statement on education, Indian Control of Indian Education, which chose to focus on language as an important issue in Indian self-determination (Barman et.al., 1984).

The beginning section on languages identifies the Native language as being important to the development of a strong cultural identity and a healthy self concept for Native people. It acknowledges the role of the home and community in fostering the use of the language, and stresses the need for formal instruction in the Native language.

More specific objectives regarding training of Native language teachers, the development of materials, and research into both include:

Objective XI
That rigid teaching requirements be waived to enable Indian people who are fluent in Indian languages to become full-fledged teachers (p. 16).

Objective XVI
That government funds be given for studies in Native languages and for the development of teaching tools and instructional materials despite the fact that governments are reluctant to invest in any but the two official languages (p. 16).

Objective XVII
That provincial and federal authorities should consult with

Native people to redesign Native teacher training programs to meet the present needs (p. 18).

Objective XIX
That research be done under the direction and control of Indian people, responsible to the Indian community and with funds channeled to research projects identified by Band Councils and Indian organizations in relation to their priorities and programs (p. 24).

Brent Galloway, B.C. linguist, in a presentation entitled "Models for Training Native Language Instructors", given at the 1979 conference, "Wawa Kunamokst Nesika", in Richmond, B.C., spoke of important questions for the preparation of Native language instructors:

Programs for the Preparation of Native Language Instructors can be designed with a number of factors in mind:

1. Who will be the Native Language Instructor? (What education, fluency, etc.?).
2. Who will be the students they teach? What ages?
3. Who will design the courses they teach and how? and when?
4. What material is available on the native language?
5. Who speaks the native language, where, and when? How viable is the language?
6. What degree of fluency and/or literacy is desired? In how long?
7. Who will teach the instructors course? Where? For how long?
8. What money is needed for the training course? For how long? (months, years)? What money is available.
9. What money is needed for the language course? For how long (years)? What money is available?
10. Are these programs urgent (is the language endangered)?
11. What research needs to be done? By whom?
12. What preservation needs to be done (tape recording, video-taping, interviews, group meetings to preserve and revive the language amongst the elders, etc.)?
13. Other factors? Can you suggest any others?

(p. 2).

He also suggested the following topics, stating that they "should be taught at the educational level of the fluent speakers of the Indian language taking the course. Each topic should be covered in

general, and then with specific attention to the language to be taught." (p. 6).

1. Phonology
2. Applied Phonology
3. Morphology
4. Applied Morphology
5. Syntax
6. Applied Syntax
7. Semantics
8. Applied Semantics
9. Field methods and discovery procedures
10. Applied field methods
11. Language history
12. Language revival and maintenance
13. Teaching techniques
14. Developing lessons and teaching materials
15. Teaching different groups
16. Practice teaching
17. Working with administrations, teachers, parents and funding (political psychology).
18. Others?

In the keynote speech at the same conference, Dr. Robert Levine, then Associate Curator of Linguistics, British Columbia Provincial Museum, discussed Native languages and language teaching in British Columbia. Among many of the important issues he raised was that of the social and political climate in which the programs began. Levine said that the movement to maintain and revive the use of Native languages in the province was very new in 1972 when he first came to B.C. "There was a tremendous optimism, but not much in the way of organization, and no very clear understanding on very many peoples part of what sorts of methods ought to be used... there was this feeling in the air that we were on the verge of great things."

Two of the major problems he identified were:

1) Writing systems: Conflicts occurred within and between communities and linguists over which orthography (writing system) was the best for a given language, and

2) Political problems: It was necessary to convince politicians and government officials that Native language

teaching was important. There was no official government policy on Native languages, and little recognition given them.

Five years later, in 1977, local teaching conditions were different. Native language programs had been set up, materials were being developed, people were more relaxed about writing systems; however, what had not changed was the endangered status of every single B.C. Native language, and a continued lack of recognition by the government.

Verna Kirkness in her Keynote Address entitled "Native Language: Facts and Goals – The Need for Planning and The Need for Training" at the Preserving Our Language, Native Language Instructors Conference, October 1980, Winnipeg, Manitoba, suggested that the following be included in the training of Native Language Teachers:

1. Courses in linguistics which include the study of phonology, morphology, grammar and syntax.

2. Techniques for doing field work in language research: use of various types of equipment, organizational skills, interviewing techniques, analysis techniques.

3. Development of teaching materials and lesson planning.

4. Awareness of the nature of language generally and an understanding of the historical development of local Native language.

5. Sociolinguistic understandings of language particularly regarding the social use of language, the status of language and ways of motivating language learning.

6. Language teaching methods and techniques and class-room management skills.

7. Development of materials and lessons for various age groups and language abilities.

8. Practicum experience in which a new teacher learned from an experienced teacher.

9. Skills for working with a variety of administrators,

teachers, parents, funding agencies and government offices.

Burnaby in discussing Native Language instructors in Ontario identifies two main problems that NASL training must deal with: the twenty-minutes a day format commonly used to run NASL classes and the limited development, to date, of curriculum and materials for NASL programs. Both of these also pertain to the British Columbia situation.

1. Twenty-Minutes-a-Day Format

A very common teaching situation for Native language teachers to find themselves in is to provide short lessons, often 20 minutes long, to each class in the school. The expectation for these programs, although often vaguely stated, are that the children will acquire some degree of conversational fluency after a few years of studying in the NASL classes.

> It is an ambitious undertaking in a twenty-minute-a-day schedule. The instructor must plan carefully, keep to a tight schedule in class, and provide as much opportunity as possible for each child to hear and use the structure being taught. This demands aggressiveness and strict control on the part of the instructor, and enthusiasm and discipline on the part of the children. That is a lot to ask of an instructor after three weeks of training, and of Native children who may not be sure why they are being taught this language. A part from the problem of the brevity of training, this kind of behaviour is likely to be uncharacteristic of the kind of people who are recruited to become NASL instructors. Normal Native transaction with children is traditionally never highly structured, verbal or demanding. Also, NASL instructors probably learned English themselves by submersion, and therefore the mental pattern of second language instruction as being very much like normal first language instruction with an emphasis on the literacy and a good deal of need and opportunity to learn on the part of the student. Unless the objectives for NASL programs are clearly spelled out and realistically set in light of the circumstances, NASL instructors are going to continue to be under pressure in the classroom to behave in an uncharacteristic way (1980: 363-364).

2.   Curriculum and Materials

The development of curriculum and materials for NASL programs is really still in its infancy. "Until very recently NASL instructors have had to go into classrooms armed only with their own resourcefulness and whatever materials they could produce during their difficult schedule" (1980:364). Burnaby feels that given the existing three week NASL training program in Ontario little can be done to "make the situation more fair for the NASL instructor until progress has been made on developing curriculum and materials."

Yvonne Hébert (1984:126-132) in describing the sociopolitical context of Native Indian language education in British Columbia, identifies major goals and objectives for language programs, and focuses on a variety of factors which affect them. The five contexts referred to are:

1.   the responsibility and participation of the community
     and the home,
2.   the role of the school or educational institution,
3.   government funding and policy,
4.   the role of specialists (outside specialists and those
     within the local Indian community),
5.   the language learner.

(p. 126 - 132).

Amongst the important pedagogical and linguistic issues facing the developers of language programs, Hébert identifies teacher preparation and training, as well as the need for research, albeit linguistic research; however, these are not elaborated upon, for the main focus of the article is an examination of the sociopolitical context of Native language education in British Columbia.

Hébert's focus upon the five factors for the social and political contexts in which Native language programs occur could also apply to programs for training Native language teachers. Her statement that the contexts "crucially affect the existence and survival of these language programs in B.C., even those with the

very best of teachers and curriculum materials," (p. 126) underlies an assumption that the success of programs depends upon much more than teaching methods, and good materials, upon more than what happens on a day to day basis in the classroom, although that too is important! In order to understand both Native language programs and training programs for the language teachers, it is necessary to look at the broader contexts in which the programs occur. Gumperz echoes this.

> To understand modern education problems we need to know how and by what mechanisms cultural, political and economic factors interact with teaching strategies to affect the acquisition of knowledge and skill.

(Gumperz, 1981:4)

Stearns (1985) comments, regarding the interrelatedness of education and the socio-cultural context within which it occurs, are directed toward the teacher. Again, they also apply to planners of programs, both language programs and teacher training programs:

> Understanding the dynamics of culture in a community or classroom context is as important as knowing how to plan curricula for a village classroom. Too often, teachers teach and plan curricula as if the village classroom existed without the village: they teach and plan in a vacuum. (p. 175).

The perspective that programs are strongly influenced by the various broader contexts within which they occur underlies many evaluation studies based on qualitative research methods such as Illuminative Evaluation and Ethnographic Evaluation.

3.3.2 ISSUES AND NEEDS AS PRESENTED IN CONFERENCES

Since the mid 1970's conferences and meetings have been held in British Columbia bringing together Native people and non-Native professionals to discuss and share common concerns, successes and agonies regarding the teaching of Native languages. This has also happened in other communities and institutions across Canada.

While it is the conferences that will be discussed in this section, it must be commented that much of the important work on Native languages teaching in the early 1970's went on in the kitchens and livingrooms of people's homes, in Band offices and in local school staffrooms. Research on a number of the languages which would prove essential to the program was conducted by linguists and graduate students in linguistics. The University of Victoria set up a two year program for training Native language instructors which focussed on training them to be para-professional linguists. Native people themselves began acting on the values and recommendations that had been expressed in <u>Indian Control of Indian Education.</u> A number of Bands assumed control of their local band schools; several Native Indian Cultural Education Centres for adults were established; negotiations began for the return of the Kwakwaka'wakw Potlatch Collection; Cultural Centres were built; two Native Indian Teacher Education Programs (NITEP) were established in the universities; the first Native controlled Provincial school district was established; and numerous Land Claims were initiated.

One of the earliest regional conferences bringing together Native people with actively interested non-Native professionals was the Longhouse held in 1974 in Williams Lake. For the four days speakers of Shuswap, Carrier and Chilcotin met with linguists and language teaching specialists to wrestle with questions about what was happening to their languages, listen to speakers, watch demonstration lessons, work on language projects, and finally host a day long conference for local classroom teachers. It was a working conference, in which both Native people and the "specialists" alike shared concerns, asked questions and swapped experiences.

The three language groups present, Shuswap, Chilcotin and Central Carrier, typified the language program situation in other parts of the Province. Only two of the sizeable number of communities within the three language groups at the conference were actually running Native language programs. In the others linguistic

research, in the form of descriptive grammars was being conducted and orthographies were being developed; language programs were being considered.

A number of important questions were addressed at the Longhouse Conference, questions that are relevant to any group involved in maintaining, or attempting to revive their language and culture:

- How can learning our Indian languages help us to revive our Indian cultures?
- What is culture?
- What do you mean by learning a language?
- Why should our kids learn Indian when we were beaten for it?
- Won't learning Indian hurt their English?
- Why write our languages now when they were never written in the first place?
- How can we get our kids to want to talk Indian?

These types of questions have been asked by many Native communities in the early stages of considering and planning their language programs.

Since the Longhouse Conference there have been conferences held each year in B.C. to discuss the issues and factors of concern to those involved in Native language programs, and to share information. Rather than describing the proceedings and concerns voiced year by year, four representative conferences, two from the 1970's and two from the 1980's, will be examined with the intent of showing whether or not there have been changes in the issues discussed and what progress has been made.

The earlier conferences were More Than One Language held in Richmond, B.C. in February 1977 and Wawa Kunamokst Nesika held in Richmond, B.C. in March 1979. The later conferences were Successes

in Indian Education - A Sharing held in February, 1983 in
Vancouver, and the Pacific Region Native Language Conference held
in April, 1984 in Vancouver.

To a certain extent the conferences discussed here are random
choices in that the availability of past conference reports dictated
which would be used. There are some striking similarities between
the conferences of the 1970's and 1980's, and several differences.

An examination of the scope of the conferences shows that two
of them, one from 1977 and one from 1983, have a broad perspective,
with sessions and speakers addressing issues relating to a broad
range of language teaching, and which place the teaching of Native
languages in the broader Canadian educational context. The other
two, from 1977 and 1984, have a more focussed perspective and
concentrate specifically on the issues and concerns directly relating
to Native language and culture teaching. The availability of these
four particular conference reports is fortuitous since they serve to
illustrate that while Native language programs carry rich traditions
and insights unique to Native cultures, they are also part of the
broader context of Canadian society with its Federal multicultural
and multilingual Federal policies.

What follows is a highlight and summary of the important
issues and concerns regarding Native language programs which were
identified at the conferences.

More Than One Language: February, 1977 (A general focus on second
language teaching)

Issues specifically relating to Native languages and language
development of Native children were discussed in one of the five
small group sessions. Nothing was directly said in the address of
the guest speaker or in the large group sessions about Native
languages, although many issues did apply to them as well. The

issues included in small group session were:

- problems facing the Native language programs
- need for the development of Native language teaching materials
- need for greater technical resources (linguists, university course work) to be delivered on site to communities wishing to develop programs
- the integration of language instruction with other parts of the curriculum (social studies, science, etc.).
- need for a heavy emphasis to be placed on community-based language activities which provide the opportunity for development of oral fluency as well as on school-based ones which focus on literacy
- need for joint Federal funding (DIA) and Provincial funding (Ministry of Education) so as to make possible the implementation of the above.

It is to be noted that no mention is made regarding the training of Native language teachers.

"Wawa Kunamokst Nesika": British Columbia Native
Language Instructors' Conference: March 1979.

This conference was specifically aimed at the teaching of Native languages, and at Native lanugauge instructors.
The stated purpose of the conference was:

1. To take stock of Native languages being taught in British Columbia schools - who, where, what, how.
2. To provide in-service to native language instructors on methods, materials development and evaluation through demonstration workshops.
3. To develop various training models for the preparation of native language instructors.

The major issues, concerns and recommendations arising out of

the conference include:

- the lack of training for Native language teachers, and the need for it
- the need for planning and setting goals for Native language programs
- the need for the development of teaching materials
- the lack of funding for programs, the development of materials and training
- the lack of recognition of Native languages by the Provincial government
- the lack of recognition and accreditation of Native language instructors in the Ministry of Education, Universities and Colleges and B.C. Teachers' Federation
- the need for a mechanism or organization for sharing ideas and for gaining access to information on the teaching of Native languages.

Successes In Indian Education: A Sharing: February, 1983

This was a general conference covering all aspects of Native Education.

Several small group sessions were set up to enable practising Native language teachers to share their experiences and teaching materials with other teachers. In addition there was a small group session run by a committee of non-Native professionals and several Native teachers that sought to gain input from other conference participants for a series of "how to" resource books which were to be developed for "beginner" untrained Native language teachers and communities which were just starting up their programs. This is noteworthy since it acknowledges that the lack of training is a problem; however, no session addressed this issue, and there was no formal call for the training of Native language teachers.

Funding to write and publish the resource books was sought later from the Ministry of Education and was unofficially approved; however, this was not forthcoming due to Provincial spending cutbacks in education, and a personnel change in the Director of the Indian Education office.

Pacific Region Native Language Conference: April, 1984

This was a large, highly organized conference with Native representation from many Bands in British Columbia and the Yukon; the focus was on various issues pertaining to Native language programs. The number of Native people attending outnumbered non-Native professionals who had been invited to participate. Emphasis was placed on the sharing of experiences amongst those attending. The conference was organzied around nine major issues:

- Program Planning
- Curriculum Development Process
- Instructors I: Given task of planning a resource book for 1st time new Native language teachers on "How to Survive". (This was a continuation of the resource books from the 1983 Conference Successes in Indian Education: A Sharing).
- Instructors II: Focus was on participants sharing their successes and experiences.
- Student assessment
- Evaluation of Native Language Programs
- Community Involvement in Language Programs
- Teacher Education
- Policies and Contexts

The concerns and recommendations from this conference were unnervingly similar to those voiced in the conferences of the 1970's: however, there was a strong undertone to the conference that had not appeared in earlier ones. That was the affirmation of the principle of Native ownership of language traditions and cultures, and local

Native control of programs including funding.

SUMMARY

With the exception of <u>Successes in Indian Education</u>, which
lacked a final report and recommendations, the issues and concerns
stated in the conferences either in the major issues to be explored or
in the Formal Recommendations include:
-   the need for the development of teaching materials
-   the need to provide help to communities in planning and
    developing language programs
-   the need for funding for the programs, for research and the
    development of materials, and for the training of Native
    language teachers.

The 1979 Conference and the 1984 Conference which were specifi-
cally focussed on Native language teaching both called for:
-   the recognition and accreditation of Native language teachers by
    the government,
-   the establishment of an association of Native language teachers,
    and some mechanism by which Bands could share information,
    ideas and materials,
-   the training of Native language teachers.

It could be assumed that the 1983 conference also recognized the
need for training teachers, since an attempt was made to address the
problem by creating a resource book for beginner untrained teachers.

Although, as was stated earlier, the problems, concerns,
resolutions and recommendations coming out of the 1984 Conference
are similar to those of 1977 and 1979, there is an important shift
evident in the conference reports. The earlier conferences were
planned, organized and run by non-Native professionals involved in
Native language programs, while the 1983 and 1984 conferences had a
very strong Native input; in fact, the Pacific Region Conference was

chaired by Native persons, and, with the exception of the Panel on Funding Sources for Language Programs, the major speakers were Native. Other noticeable differences are the strong themes regarding the importance, in fact, the necessity of every Native group's ownership of their language, traditions and culture, the principle of community involvement in programs, and the strong stance that Native "Old People" (Elders) are crucial to planning and decision-making processes.

The importance of Native Old People and community involvement in programs was voiced in the 1977 and 1979 conferences too, but not to the same degree as in the eighties. As one of the teachers attending the U.B.C. summer course in Native language teaching said, "It's as if we are giving ourselves permission to own our own languages and programs!"

Although there has been a shift toward Native people planning and running their own conferences and programs, an important question to consider is whether there has also been a shift in the "power brokers", those who have ultimate control of funding and decision making over programs. Barman, Hébert and McCaskill suggest although there has been a 'shift', its significance as far as Native self-determination and decision making is limited.

> Through its continued refusal to allow funding, the
> Federal Department of Indian Affairs is perceived as
> preventing the development of full responsibility and
> accountability for Indian education by Indians them-
> selves. The boundaries of decision-making authority
> remain limited   (1985:16)

3.3.3 NATIVE TEACHER EDUCATION PROGRAMS

Many hoped that the Native Teacher Education programs offered in various universities across Canada would produce fully certified Native teachers qualified to teach the Native languages as

well as the regular curriculum. This has not turned out to be the case. Clarke and MacKenzie (1980), in a Canada-wide survey of Native teacher-training programs, found that few directly prepare their students to teach content via the Native language or to teach the Native language as a second language.

The teacher-training programs singled out as having seriously addressed the question of the role of the Native language in the school include those sponsored by the University of Quebec, and the University of Victoria. Both of these programs had a strong linguistic orientation incorporated into their Native language teaching component; however, they did at least include one course in the principles of second language teaching. Unfortunately, since the survey was conducted, the University of Victoria stopped offering its on-campus Native Language Teacher Diploma course and has only offered is off-campus course once in two locations, Prince Rupert and Hazelton.

The program was initially funded jointly with the University of Victoria and the Secretary of State Department each paying half. In 1983 the Secretary of State withdrew its funding (due to Federal cutbacks). The University of Victoria continued the program for another two years to allow completion of courses by the students in Prince Rupert and Hazelton.

Up to the present time a description of the Native Language Diploma Program has appeared in the academic calendar; however, there is currently a proposal from the university to delete all descriptions of Indian programs from the calendar since it is "essentially misleading to communities to have the description when no funding is available". Field-based programs are estimated to cost $150,000.00 per year to run (Robert Anthony, 1986; Personal Communication).

Although the Simon Fraser University Faculty of Education

offered one of the early Native teacher training programs on reserve at Mt. Currie, beginning in 1974, it was not included in the Clarke and MacKenzie survey because it did not offer a specific Native language teaching component.

Since the survey was conducted, however, both Simon Fraser University and the University of British Columbia have offered courses focussing on the teaching of Native languages. The Simon Fraser course was offered to Native students enrolled in its off-campus Native Teacher Education programs in Prince Rupert, as an experimental course given by the Faculty of Education in the Fall of 1983. Students developed curriculum materials, considered some of the basic foundations of language teaching and practised language teaching techniques (Toohey & Hansen, 1984).

The course at the University of British Columbia is a six week summer institute course offered through the Native Indian Teacher Education program (NITEP). It also focuses on the methods and techniques of teaching Native as a Second Language (NASL) and the development of teaching materials for NASL classes. Some participants are enrolled in the regular NITEP teacher education program; however, many are practising Native language instructors currently working in community schools. The latter are not required to be enrolled in the regular NITEP program.

The U.B.C. summer program is the first of its type to be offered in a British Columbia university. It was initially offered in the summer of 1985 with 21 Native language instructors enrolled from around the Province (one left before the course ended for family reasons), and has again been offered in the summer of 1986 with 26 instructors enrolled (none left). Dr. Robert Anthony, the program designer and instructor has indicated delighted surprise at the response, and feels that the large enrollments are an indication of the tremendous need for training and of the dedication of these teachers, particularly when the summer months are especially busy

with other family and cultural, food gathering activities
(Anthony,Personal Communication).

3.3.4 CONTINUING CALLS FOR TRAINING

Other calls for training, for funding, for recognition of
language and for research can be found in Native conference
proceedings, presentations and papers from across Canada and in
other fields of study.

Verna Kirkness (1980) addressing the Canadian Association of
Second Language Teachers says:

> A major problem is continuing to confront Indian people as
> they attempt to have Indian languages taught in schools.
> It is realized that ability to speak a language does not
> imply the ability to explain a language. Therefore,
> training for Indians as language teachers must be
> conducted (p. 9).

Later in October 1980 at the Native Language Instructor's
Conference, "Preserving Our Language" in Winnipeg, Manitoba,
Kirkness in the keynote address called on Native people to lobby for
training:

> Teaching a language is a highly specialized area. You
> are teachers plus.
>
> So if Native languages are to be a respected part of the
> school curriculum, we are going to have to lobby for
> appropriate training programs.
> (p. 19, Conference Report)

She went on to say that to her knowledge there was no program of
methodology on teaching Indian languages offered at any of the
Manitoba universities (p. 6).

Csapo and Clark (1982) conducted a province-wide survey of
Native language instruction in B.C. at both the school district and
the Band operated agency level. They state that two of the major

problems reported in language teaching were the lack of training and the method of selection of the language teacher:

> The lack of training is a serious concern. There are not many certified Native-speaking teachers and few of these have been trained to teach a Native language or to use it as a medium of instruction (Burnaby, Elson, Appelt & Holt, 1982; Clarke and MacKenzie, 1980; Moore, 1981).

Awareness of the needs of Native language and culture programs is also growing in other jurisdictions on a national level. TESL - Canada[1] organized a symposium entitled "Language Development in Native Education" held in Winnipeg, Manitoba in March of 1982. Participants represented the wide spectrum of people working with Native children in various areas of language development; some were English speaking teachers of Native children involved in teaching regular language arts, English as a Second Language, Standard English as a Second Dialect, others were teachers of Native languages. All were concerned with improving the teaching of language to Native children (Toohey and Hansen, 1985).

Solution to some of the problems caused by the lack of training for Native teachers, lack of centralized information, the lack of teaching materials, and lack of funding was sought by many of the recommendations.

The Second Pacific Region Native Language Conference held in Kamloops, B.C. in October 1986, like the first in 1984, was sponsored

---

[1] TESL - Canada: This stands for TEACHERS OF ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE and is the national organization for teachers of English as a Second Language.

by the Department of the Secretary of State. While many of the same
concerns and issues surrounding the teaching of Native languages
were discussed at the conference the formal resolutions endorsed by
conference participants focussed on the issues of funding, training
for Native language teachers and para-professional linguists, and
the further growth of Native language programs aimed at retention of
the languages. These recommendations are little changed from the
earlier conferences.

Like the 1984 conference it strongly endorsed Native ownership
and control of community programs. It was also noted that British
Columbia and the Yukon have the majority of Native language groups
from across Canada, yet only 10% of funds are allocated to the
region.

Attempts to increase the awareness of the value of Native
languages and the need for a more organized approach to provide
support for language programs and teachers periodically surfaces in
the British Columbia provincial political arena. Member's Bill M210,
An Act to Establish an Institute of Native Indian Languages for
British Columbia, was introduced in the Fourth Session, Thirty-third
Parliament 35 Elizabeth II, 1986 Legislative Assembly of British
Columbia by Mr. Hanson of the New Democratic Party of B.C. The
objectives stated in the Bill are as follows:

> Objects
> The institute shall have as its primary object, the main-
> tenance and revitalization of the Native languages of British
> Columbia, an object which will be pursued through:
>
> 1. a) classroom oriented studies of Native Languages,
>   b) the development, based on those studies, of literacy
>   materials, including written alphabets, programmed
>   language lessons, dictionaries and bodies of text for
>   reading,
>   c) the development and dissemination of British Columbia
>   Native literature written in Native languages, and
>   d) assisting in training of British Columbia Native
>   language speakers to work as teachers and aids in
>   bilingual classrooms.

2. The institute will also engage in other linguistic work for the benefit of Native communities in British Columbia, such as the translation of important documents.

3. It is however emphasized that the institute's primary objectives as stated above take priority over all other goals, including academically oriented research.

It would be hoped that the fact that the Bill was introduced by the NDP would not automatically spell its doom in a government with a strong Social Credit majority since its acceptance could be very significant to the survival of Native language in B.C.

3.4   BROADER PERSPECTIVES

On a much broader scale, the call for research into the training of second language teachers, generally, (of many different languages) is being made at an international level. In 1983, the Georgetown University Round Table on Languages and Linguistics hosted its thirty-fourth annual international conference which had as its focus the preparation and training of second language teachers:

> The purpose of GURT '83 was an attempt to make a practical and truly academic contribution to the solution of one of the most pressing social problems of the day, the problem of teacher preparation and through this, to the pursuit of excellence in educations (p. vii).

The papers presented and discussed at the Georgetown University Round Table were published as GURT '83, and contain many interesting and valuable insights pertaining to second language teaching and the training of second language teachers generally, not only to those teaching English as a second language. Several of the papers raise questions and describe issues which are particularly pertinent to the considerations being examined in this study. Mary Ashworth (1983) discussing the training of teachers of English as a Second Language (ESL teachers) identified a number of forces in the socio-political context which "affect favourably or adversely the training, hiring, and utilization of ESL teachers:" social, national,

political, economic, professional, institutional and pedagogical (p. 26). Like those described by Hébert earlier they focus on the broader contexts within which the programs occur, and which influence the planning, development and implementation of the programs.

H. H. Stern identifies a number of important issues in the training of second language teachers, offers a typology of four different types of second language teachers, and describes a model by which to conceptualize the process and factors of a Language Teacher Education program. This is one of the few articles that presents an overview of the major factors to be considered in a second language teacher training program.

He acknowledges the enormous variety of teaching situations, and of types of training for second language teachers around the world, and laments the lack of research and lack of serious writing and information on the essential issues.

> If we look at the research literature on LTE (Language Teacher Education) and study expressions of theory, policy statements, or polemical writings, we soon recognize that the scale of available documentation is vastly different from what we find on other topics in applied linguistics, say, on language acquisition, interlanguage, or pedagogy. There is no established theory or even a clearly defined debate on what the essential issues are. Research is sparse.[2] We are very much at the beginning (p.343).

[2] Our hope is that this exchange of ideas (GURT '83) will lead us to a theoretically more powerful and more insightful interpretation, to a research agenda, and to a more practically useful understanding of language teacher training than, I believe, we have at our disposal at the present time.

3.4.1 NEED FOR INFORMATION ABOUT ACTUAL TEACHER TRAINING PROGRAMS

Faneslow's article in GURT '83, "Over and over and over again", provides some very important insights into the lack of evaluative studies in language teacher training programs, and makes a strong, if not urgent call for more to be done.

In an unofficial survey he conducted with university instructors involved in language teacher training he found that over a fifteen year period their perceptions of the central components to the preparation of language teachers had not changed very much, and that it was based on "common sense notions of what is necessary". Faneslow points out that "common sense notions' often change when examined closely. He comments that "until we evaluate the effects of our common sense notions....we can hardly hope to learn if what we do is worthwhile, let alone improve what we do" (p.170).

Peck and Tucker (1973) are cited as saying that little evaluation research had been done in the United States until the 1960's, and then lack of funding in the 1970's stopped the momentum just as it was gathering speed. Lomac (1972) is also cited as saying that although the National Council of Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE) in England has for many years had a requrement devoted to program education, Katz et.al. (1981) revealed few follow-up evaluations, and fewer still of quality (p.170).

Many of the other articles in GURT '83, also call for research into the training of second language teachers at the same time as pointing to the need for balancing practise and theory in the training programs (Altman, Brown, Brumfit, Celce-Murcia, Stern).

As this review of the literature on Native language programs and on the training of Native language teachers to date shows, there is very little information available in Canada on either of these

topics. Much more can be found in terms of academic linguistic research into Native languages. This includes research into descriptive, structural linguistic, historical linguistics, grammars of the languages and also historical linguistics.

With an increasing number of communities expressing interest in establishing a local Native language program and many current Native language teachers requesting training in teaching techniques, it is imperative that information be gathered and that research be done on the training of Native language teachers, both on content and on teaching methods and activities used in training programs.

It is of interest that calls for the training of Native language teachers in second language techniques and classroom management are coming from a number of different sources in the United States and Canada. This is noteworthy since millions of Federal dollars have been spent on Native language programs in the United States. Evaluative research has been done in the United States, on programs since one of the conditions of receiving funding (Title VII;Bilingual Programs) from the American Federal government is the requirement that 25% of it be spent on evaluation by an outside evaluator. At the 1985 nation-wide conference of Native American Language Issues (NALI) held in Billings Montana, a number of the speakers acknowledged the need for Native language teachers to receive training in language teaching methods and techniques.

Like British Columbia, the predominant view has been that the development of materials and the training of Native language teachers in the techniques and skills of linguistic analysis has been the greatest need of Native language programs, and very little, if any, attention has been paid to pedagogical considerations such as second language teaching methods and techniques, classroom management, motivation for learning, and the actual involvement of the whole community in the planning and development of programs.

Lawrence Stenhouse (1977) has suggested the possibility of using a new curriculum as an "experimental probe". An evaluation would aim to gain understandings and insights into what works and does not work, and why. Research into new programs and the curriculum used, guided by this perspective of evaluation, would be a very valuable means of gaining insights into programs which train Native language teachers.

In a paper entitled "Doing Research on Effective Cross-Cultural Teaching" (1983) Kleinfeld, McDiarmid, Gubris and Parrett explore the problem of "how to do research on cross-cultural teaching" and also "how to do useful inquiry in education". They discuss the importance of teachers gaining insights about the act of effective teaching through hearing or reading about actual experiences of other teachers and reflecting upon these experiences. These teacher stories are called "teacher tales", and have been found to be very effective heuristic devices.

> Rather than presenting teachers with "rules" for how good
> teachers behave, rules that invariably fail to encompass
> the relevant features of particular circumstances, this ap-
> proach presents the teachers with experience and the
> opportunity to learn from critical reflection on that
> experience. The teacher tale develops more than know-
> ledge about cause and effect relationships, the goal of
> scientific research. The teacher tale also develops skills
> in analyzing complex, ambiguous situations -- the typical
> situations in cross-cultural teaching -- and more varied
> strategies for handling them (p. 87-88).

In developing a rationale for the use of the "teacher tale" in educational inquiry, the authors point out that researchers in education are "increasingly questioning the dominance of the scientific paradigm with its search for lawful general relationships in educational research")p. 101). They cite Eisner (1979 as saying that "scientific assumptions and procedures do not exhaust the forms of knowledge and methods of inquiry that humans use to give shape to the world," and they offer 'the story' as an alternative model for doing inquiry in education.

> Stories are one of the oldest forms through which humans
> try to understand and give shape to their experience.
> The story focuses, as teachers focus, on concrete and
> complicated particulars. The story can encompass
> ambiguity and inconsistency. And complexity and ambi-
> guity and inconsistency, not simple generalizations, are
> the stuff of human life and especially of cross-cultural
> teaching (p. 102).

Kleinfeld et al state that stories may be useful in other types of educational research as well as in cross-cultural situations. In their experience, it was the "concrete cases describing particular teaching problems, not the generalizations about teacher characteristics, that teachers find interesting, that lead them to reflect critically" (p. 102). It is proposed by the researcher that a descriptive evaluation of KTTP could function in this manner.

The perspectives of researchers such as Faneslow, Stenhouse, Kleinfeld et.al. point to methods of inquiry in studying programs for the training of Native language teachers that would be fruitful and useful to Native communities, Native language teachers and non-Native professionals alike.

3.4.2 SUMMARY OF THE FACTORS RELATING TO THE LACK OF INFORMATION ON THE TRAINING OF NATIVE LANGUAGE TEACHERS

Much of the information for this proposal was obtained by contacting people working in various contexts in Native languages, especially those involved in training Native language teachers, asking them about papers or references, requesting permission to go through their filing cabinets and shelves, and picking their brains!

There are a number of factors which could explain the lack of information regarding Native language programs generally, and programs for training Native language teachers, specifically.

1. View of Teaching Materials

The most obvious explanation for the lack of information on

training is that there have been relatively few programs to train Native people in language teaching methods and techniques. Teaching has been perceived as materials rather than as techniques (Anthony, personal communication), and it has been assumed by those involved in setting up Native language programs that a Native speaker automatically has the ability to teach (Stern, 1983). Training for Native language teachers has been focussed on teaching them the techniques of linguistic analysis, and on the development of materials; the latter has been seen as the greatest need of the program. Materials have included a descriptive grammar of the language, an orthography and alphabet sheet, literary materials such as basic primers and simple stories, lessons and student workbooks based on vocabulary and sentence structures, and audio-visual aids such as flash cards and identification board games. In a few cases more extensive materials have been developed, and also a teacher's manual. Hébert (1984) writes; "Finally, most language projects are 'obsessed' with the production of curriculum materials, such as lessons, units, alphabet, charts, picture books, dictionaries or collections of stories" (p. 127). This emphasis on the development of materials has also become a criterion for receiving funding for a program by both government and private funding agencies. Thus, a program focussing primarily on training teachers in teaching techniques, an intangible commodity, would either not qualify for grants or would be obliged to also produce materials. Teaching methods and techniques have not been viewed as a high priority.

2. Funding

Throughout this study there have been references to funding as one of the major difficulties facing the development of a Native language program. The funding issue breaks down into a number of different categories:

a) Cultural politics and the status of Native languages.

Ultimately the amount of money allotted to a particular ethnic language program by either a Provincial or Federal government department reflects the value or status awarded to the language. Burnaby (1980) refers to this as "Cultural Politics" and discusses it in relation to School Policies. This topic was also addressed at the Second Pacific Region Native Language Conference held in Kamloops, October 1986.

Under the Official Language Act of 1972 sizeable amounts of money were authorized by the Federal government to establish French Immersion programs across Canada, the goal of which was to maintain and enhance the French language in Canada. In the first year alone $438 million dollars were allocated by the Federal Treasury Board in 1985-86 for the teaching of Heritage Languages in Canada. These are programs to ensure that the mother tongue of various immigrant groups such as Ukrainian, German, Punjabi, Mandarin, Cantonese, Portuguese, Spanish, Greek, etc. are learned by the children of immigrant parents. In the same year of 1985/86 $1 million dollars was allotted to the teaching of Native languages across Canada: one quarter of that given to Heritage Language programs (Second Pacific Region Native Language Conference, Kamloops, October 1986, personal communication).

b)   Sources of funding for different aspects of the Native Language Program

Although in school-based Native language programs funding for the actual operational costs – the teacher's salary, cost of classroom (electricity, janitor, etc.) – has been available through allotments from the Special Programs Division (Indian Programs), Ministry of Education, money

for the planning and development of materials and the training of Native language teachers has not. Thus, funding for the latter has had to be sought through other sources such as the First Citizen's Fund, the Secretary of State Department, the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, churches, or a variety of private foundations and institutions. Community based language programs, outside of the public schools, must also seek funding from the above sources.

It must be mentioned here that many school districts and regular classroom teachers have been supportive of the Native language programs in their schools. Ultimately, however the approval of these programs goes through a three-step process: the Native community makes a request to the school district for a language program; the school district submits plan for such a program to the Ministry of Education, and the Ministry approves/rejects the program based on guidelines and available funding (Pacific Region Native Language Conference Report, p. 55). The process of obtaining funds through writing grant proposals is both time consuming and unreliable. Often it is difficult, if not impossible, to obtain. At the 1983 Pacific Region Native Language Conference, Gloria Cranmer, Director of the U'mista Cultural Centre at Alert Bay, B.C. commented that 60% of her time was spent writing proposals in order to secure funding.

Funding for the development of local materials, and for the training of teachers is scarce, and the cost of hiring and bringing in an outside professional, such as a linguist, second language specialist, or curriculum developer, even for periodic workshops, is high. In addition, at the present time, there is a scarcity of professionals with knowledge of Native language programs and/or of the

particular Native language who are willing and/or able to travel to the communities for short periods of time, never mind extended periods.

c)   Linguistic diversity and number of Native languages

British Columbia is noted for the lingistic diversity of its Native people. Of Canada's fifty-three distinct indigenous languages, more than half are spoken in British Columbia (Foster, 1982). Many language programs occur in geographically isolated areas of the province, and involve relatively small numbers of students and teachers. This increases the funding required. Even though "B.C. has the majority of language groups from across Canada, only 10% of Federal funds are allocated to this province" (Pacific Region Native Language Conference Report, p. 63).

d)   Cost of programs

The cost of running university-based programs for training Native language teachers, both on-campus and off-campus, is high. Both the cost of transportation and accommodation as well as the salary of instructors and operating costs of programs is expensive. As was mentioned earlier, the University of Victoria has cancelled both its on-campus Native Language Teaching Diplomas. The Simon Fraser experimental off-campus course in Native second language teaching offered to students enrolled in university degree programs is also costly, and as a result, has only been offered once.

Another important issue related to university-based programs is that many Native language teachers are not interested in receiving training so that they can become more effective teachers in their local language.

3.   Status of Native Language Programs

In a number of instances, a professional, such as a linguist or curriculum developer has been hired by a Band on a full-time basis to work with the language program.   In other cases, linguists or graduate students in linguistics have contributed to the language programs while also doing linguistic field research.   Sometimes this has been for short periods and sometimes for relatively extended periods of time.

These linguists have played a significant and important role in working to maintain and revive Native languages through setting up programs.   On the whole, however, the academic world of linguistics and university departments appears to have awarded a low status to work other than "pure" linguistic research.   This lack of value extends to programs for teaching Native languages, to the development of teaching materials and to Native language teacher training programs.   Little, if any encouragement or recognition has been awarded the more day-to-day business of setting up programs, helping teachers and developing actual teaching materials.   Rivers (1983:327) refers to the low status of teacher training within graduate programs of liberal arts departments at universities.   This also appears to hold true for the teaching component of Native languages.

In terms of their academic careers and professional reputations, it has been necessary for linguists to produce academically 'acceptable' research focused on linguistic aspects of the language, at the same time as working on the language programs.   Academic research, contrary to applied educational research, is very highly rated (it is interesting to speculate about the status of various academic fields)!   Barnhardt (1986) writing of the advantages of field-based teacher training programs for Alaskan Native teachers has called for adjustments in attitude and in resources to be made by the universities, so that faculty working in

fieldbased programs receive equal recognition and support for their work as their more academically inclined university based colleagues.

This situation of the low status of teaching combined with the difficulty of obtaining funding for programs generally, with busy professional schedules, and with language programs and teachers desperate for ideas of what to do and for materials has resulted in very little written information about the programs whether the Native language programs themselves, or programs for training teachers. There seems to be too much to do, too few people to do it, and too little reward for writing reports and evaluations on programs.

4. Lack of Continuity and Lack of Contact

Another factor contributing to the lack of information on Native programs and the training of teachers has been that frequently professionals are hired as short-term consultants to do brief, isolated workshops for the teachers in the program. Often, different consultants from different fields of study (e.g. linguistics, education, curriculum development) come at different times to work with the teachers. They are unaware of who or what has been offered before. The result is a lack of co-ordination and continuity.

5. Lack of Evaluation

Unfortunately, systematic evaluations or even detailed descriptions of small educational programs are not common (Burnaby, 1980). A general but persistent attitude amongst many professionals working in the Native language programs, educators as well as linguists, is reflected in the statement, "Who would read an evaluation or description of the program anyway?!"

6. Split Jurisdictions of Authority

Although in any one language project there are usually only a few people directly involved at any given time, if one were to add up the variety of groups and individuals which ultimately are involved in one capacity or another, it is quite overwhelming!

Native language programs in Provincially operated schools must go through the B.C. Ministry of Education, District School Boards and individual school principals, and then rely on members of the local community and on the research conducted by linguists for their resources. Those programs operating in Band controlled schools or in a community setting outside of the school must go through Band Councils, Education Committees, school administrators and perhaps an Elders Group, and then like the former rely on community members or cultural and the work of linguists. Thus a wide variety of groups, government departments and individuals are involved without the unifying influence of a co-ordinating body or mechanism. The result is fragmentation at all levels of decision-making in the programs. This is compounded by a general lack of knowledge or information of second language teaching.

Added to this is the difficulty of having no long term funding for programs. The consequence has been that the money obtained for programs has gone to what has been perceived as the most pressing need of Native language programs, the development of materials. It is only recently that the training of teachers in teaching methods and techniques has been recognized as an extremely important factor in the success of programs.

3.5   SUMMARY

Over the years there have been comments made regarding the need for teachers to receive training. Bauman (1980) in A Guide to Issues in Indian Language Retention identified the recruitment and training of teachers as one of the five necessary aspects to be considered in planning for Native language programs. Professionals

working in B.C. Native language programs have talked of the necessity of teacher training (Galloway, 1977; Hébert, 1984; Levine, 1976; Toohey and Hansen, 1985; Wyatt, 1974). On a broader level calls for training have also been heard (Burnaby, 1980; Kirkness, 1981; TESOL - Canada, 1982; The National Indian Brotherhood, 1972). Many of the papers in the Georgetown University Roundtable Discussions of '83 called for research to be conducted on the training of second language teachers generally.

As was mentioned earlier, the training that Native language teachers have received has been mainly in linguistic analysis and in the development of materials; little if anything was done to develop teaching techniques and classroom management skills. Barbara Burnaby (1980), in her book, Languages and Their Roles in Educating Native Children states the case nicely:

> ....the best designed programs and the best curriculum and materials can be completely compromised if the teachers are not well enough trained, suitably prepared or carefully selected to meet the challenge (p.6).

At provincial meetings and conferences over the last few years, discussions among Native language teachers have often focused on the need for learning more about how to teach (methods and techniques), and how to handle children in the classroom (classroom management).

Strong recommendations regarding the training of Native teachers in second language teaching methods and techniques, and the funding necessary to accomplish this were among those made by the TESL - Canada symposium entitled "Language Development" (March, 1982), by the "Wawa Kunamokst Nesika": British Columbia Native Language Instructors' Conference held in 1979; by the Pacific Region Native Language Conference held in February, 1984; and by the Second Pacific Region Native Language Conference held in October, 1986.

The increasing number of calls for training in teaching methods and curriculum preparation by both Native people and non-Native people involved in the maintenance and revival of Native languages attests to the fact that the ability to speak a Native language is not enough. In a paper entitled <u>Native Languages: Confusion and Uncertainty</u> Kirkness (1980) states:

> The confusion arises when children appear dissatisfied in having to learn their native languages. Often parents do not realize that the objection is not to the language but to the delivery. I firmly believe we owe it to the Native language teachers to provide the necessary training they require to do their jobs more adequately.

Burnaby raises a similar point and emphasizes that if Native language programs are not well taught they may have the opposite effect of what is desired. Native children may decide they do not want to learn their ancestral language.

The calls and requests for training for Native language instructors are not new, and come from many different sources and locations across Canada. They are often accompanied by the recognition of other needs and concerns: for increased funding to be spent on Native language and culture programs, for the recognition of Native language instructors by provincial Ministers of Education, teacher federations, local school boards and school administrators for research into effective training programs for Native language instructors.

With more and more communities expressing interest in establishing Native language programs, and many practising Native language teachers requesting training in teaching techniques, it is important that information be gathered, and that research be done on the training of Native language teachers. This is important so that a body of knowledge is accumulated which could provide insight and understanding upon which to build effective programs for Native language teachers.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

The form of the study and the method of research evolved as the review of the literature progressed, and draws from a number of different, though related areas: educational evaluation, the social sciences in educational studies, studies in cross-cultural settings, ethnography, adult education, and second language teaching.

This section will provide a historical perspective on the use of qualitative research designs in educational evaluation, background information which influenced the research design of this study, and finally, the design of the study, the form, the procedures to be used, and the treatment of data.

4.1 HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE ON QUALITATIVE RESEARCH IN EDUCATIONAL EVALUATION

The use of qualitative studies, often in the form of case studies, is well established in a variety of academic and professional fields including anthropology, sociology, psychology, medicine, law, and engineering (Walker; 1981), however, until recently, qualitative research methods have not been well received within the field of education. Education has traditionally been very closely aligned with the behaviourist tradition in psychology and its strongly psychometric, experimental orientation to research. This has been the case in both Britain and in North America, although more so in the latter. Over the past fifteen years, however, qualitative methods of research have been gradually gaining acceptance in educational research in Britain and in North America and are now being widely used alongside quantitative studies.

There have been many discussions regarding the pros and cons of using both qualitative and quantitative research in educational research, particularly in the evaluation of programs. These discussions have ranged over the limitations created by the

nature of each of the methods in adequately portraying educational endeavours, the benefits of one mode over the other, the misuses and abuses of qualitative methods, and precautions regarding the use of qualitative methods. They will be touched on briefly in this discussion.

According to a number of writers (Fetterman, 1984; Hamilton and Parlett, 1977; LeCompte and Goetz, 1984), the major impetus for interest in qualitative research methods was the realization that quantitative methods failed to adequately contend with the many issues, influences, and dynamics that are a part of, and that shape an educational endeavour. This failure is attributed to the very nature of the experimental design, the cornerstone of quantitative studies. Such studies are based on deductive modes of inquiry which are characteristically tightly structured and controlled, and are based upon predetermined hypotheses established by the reasearcher. It is contended by proponents of qualitative research methods that this very narrow focus, established prior to the actual research beginning, runs the strong risk of prematurely limiting the focus, thereby ignoring significant data which causes changes in the educational situation, of not acknowledging the many perspectives of those involved, and of not addressing their concerns and questions.

On the other hand, advocates of quantitative research methods question the reliability and generalizability of qualitative research methods. They maintain that its subjective nature is problematic and that it is too loosely structured, both in data collection and data analysis. Concern is expressed over the seeming lack of direction in the early stages of the research due to the lack of predetermined hypotheses and of controls over variables.

Issues and concerns relating to the quality of qualitative methods of research have also been raised and discussed by experienced researchers who are themselves strong advocates of qualitative research (Erickson, 1983; Fetterman, 1984; Parlett and Hamilton,

1977; Spindler, 1981; Wolcott, 1975). This concern has been sparked by an array of qualitative studies in the evaluation of educational programs, particularly observational studies and ethnographic studies which were conducted by researchers who do not have a solid understanding of the methodology underlying their research. Frequently qualitative techniques have been employed to gather data, while the assumptions and constraints underlying the methodology have not been adhered to, especially in the analysis and interpretation of data.

A result of the misuse of qualitative methods of research has been that a number of its advocates have put forth strong recommendations and precautions regarding its use (Fetterman, 1984; Firestone and Herriott, 1984; Spindler, 1981; Spradley, 1979; Wilcox, 1981; Wolcott, 1974).

While many of the early papers advocating the use of qualitative research methods in education contain a defensive tone regarding its value and use in educational evaluation, the later ones do not. Instead, they reflect the knowledge that qualitative studies have a valuable and important role to play in educational evaluation.

In discussing the history of multisite qualitative policy research, Firestone and Herriott write:

> In recent years qualitative researchers have moved beyond the need to defend the legitimacy of their craft in the policy arena (Rist, 1977; Smith, 1978; Stake, 1978). Moreover, quantitative researchers are beginning to acknowledge a role for qualitative research in policy and evaluation studies (Cronbach, 1982; Hoaglin, et.al., 1982) and to consider the proper balance of qualitative and quantitative techniques (Cook and Reichardt, 1979; Smith and Louis, 1982).
>
> (Cited by Firestone and Herriott, 1984:64)

A number of papers reflect this call for the use of both qualiative and quantitative research designs (Fetterman, 1984; Firestone and Herriott, 1984; Greenbaum and Greenbaum, 1984;

Gumperz, 1981; Lutz, 1981; Parlett and Hamilton, 1977; Sevigny, 1977; Stake, 1975; Stenhouse, 1975) stating that well conducted studies can provide different kinds of insights and information, both of which are needed for a fuller understanding of the contents and processes of education. Qualitative studies can be used initially to explore a program and to provide a more complete picture of the context and issues involved. This information can then be used as an indicator of areas requiring quantitative research.

Gumprez in discussing what happens in classrooms acknowledges the complex processes that characterize education, and calls first for qualitative studies to identify the processes that have meaning for those involved in the teaching activity, and then quantitative designs deriving out of those insights:

> Classroom experience, whatever its effects, clearly involves complex and subtle processes and many more factors than can be handled by traditional formal behavioral measures which concentrate on a limited set of predetermined variables. Systematic measurement will ultimately be necessary, but before such measures can be devised, we need to begin ethnographic work in order to isolate the processes that are demonstratably meaningful in terms of the participants' perceptions.
>
> (Gumperz, 1981:p 4)

Myron Atkin in discussing the need for a research design which can encompass the complexity of educational activities states:

> Activity in a classroom is complex and subtle....the traditional perspective from which investigators have viewed the educational process has been extremely narrow in relation to that process....the end result has been a view so simplified or so segmental, as to have little relation to the total educational process (1977:78)

Sevigny too, points out the complexity of learning situations and calls for an understanding of the contexts of learning before attempting to identify variables.

> I have found that the search for single variables to explain learning outcomes has to be less fruitful than a

search for related, or clustered variables. Past research
has failed to carefully map out the complexity of classroom
learning. It has proceeded to data processing before
understanding the contexts against which the variables are
considered.

(Sevigny, 1981:68).

Paul and Susan Greenbaum (1984) describe well the need for
'collaborative' as opposed to 'competitive' efforts between qualitative
and quantitative researchers. Responding to the Kleinfeld/Cazden
dialogue, which appeared in the Anthropology and Education
Quarterly journals of 1983, they state:

The real objective of educational researchers should be to
furnish data and insights conducive to improvements in
classroom practice and performance. Anthropology provides
an excellent basis for framing hypotheses about cultural
variables which other disciplines have tended to opera-
tionalize inappropriately or to ignore altogether. Psycho-
logy, in turn, offers powerful techniques for assessing the
validity of propositions derived from ethnographic research
and can render results succinctly, using terminology that
is understood and accepted by a broad spectrum of prac-
tioners and policy makers (p. 173).

Of significance to this study are two forms of qualitative
research that are widely utilized in the evaluation of educational
programs. These are Illuminative Evaluation and Ethnography.

4.1.1 ILLUMINATIVE EVALUATION

In Britain much of the impetus for the use of qualitative
studies in education came out of the movement of curriculum
development and innovation, and the evaluation of these innovations.
The first concerted public call came in 1972 from a small working
conference held in Cambridge. It was funded by the Nuffield
Foundation. The aim of the conference was "to examine
non-traditional modes of curriculum (ie. curriculum and programs)
evaluation, and to set out guidelines for future developments in the
field." (Hamilton, et.al. 1977:vii).

The conference, reported in MacDonald and Parlett (1972) and in Walker (1982), produced a 'Manifesto" which advocated the need for a new type of evaluation based on qualitative research methods, and which also proposed

> the possibility of a political shift in the power relations between evaluators and practioners, opening up the opportunity for teachers and administrators to enter into what were often previously considered to be evaluator's (or researcher's) areas of authority.
>
> (Walker, 1982:195).

An important alternative form of evaluation known as Illuminative Evaluation was proposed by a number of researchers involved in the conference.

Illuminative Evaluation, described as a "general research strategy rather than a standard methodological package" (Hamilton and Parlett, 1977), is based on inductive modes of inquiry, and belongs within the social-anthropological research paradigm. It seeks to provide a full portrayal of a program by studying the program in its natural setting. Thus, the investigation includes the planned instructional program, the broader socio-cultural context, and the relationship between the planned instructional program and the context within which it occurs.

A number of premises and corresponding strategies underlie this form of evaluation. The program is studied as a whole. Secondly, data is gathered and analyzed using the perspectives of the various participants within the program rather than being based upon the predetermined categories of the researcher. Thirdly, importance is placed on the researcher taking a non-judgemental stance in the treatment of data. Fourthly, data is interpreted in the context of the whole program. A variety of research techniques are used in the investigation.

The primary goal of this form of evaluation is "to understand"

a program or educational innovation rather than to judge or assess its effectiveness as does a more traditional evaluation which endeavours to objectively measure a program's outcomes against its stated objectives.

An important function of Illuminative Evaluation is to contribute to the process of decision-making. This requires that the final report be written in a manner that is intelligible and useful to those in a decision-making role. Because of its significance to this study a more detailed description of Illuminative Evaluation follows in the next section.

4.1.2 ETHNOGRAPHY

In North America the field of Cultural Anthropology with its strong reliance on Ethnography as a method of research, significantly contributed toward the use of qualitative studies. While a relatively small number of anthropologists in the first half of the twentieth century conducted ethnographic studies of various minority cultures, and of schooling in general, it was not until the anthropology of schooling movement began in earnest in the late 1960's that anthropological understandings and research in the form of ethnographies began to be heard in educational circles.

Ethnography as a method of research is strongly based in the discipline of anthropology, and includes ethnographic theory, specific procedures, research techniques and methods of analysis. It utilizes an inductive mode of inquiry, requiring the researcher to spend extensive time in the field in order to become familiar with the group being studied in their natural setting. The values underlying ethnographic research include holism, phenomenology, a non-judgemental stance and contextualization. Analysis and interpretation of data are guided by a cultural orientation by which the researcher seeks recurring social and cultural themes or patterns.

The benefits or advantages of using ethnographic methods in conducting evaluations of educational settings and programs is that they portray a much fuller, more complete picture of a community or a program from the perspectives of the people involved. This in turn can lead to valuable insights and understandings which in a traditional evaluation would not be available. The goal of ethnographic research is to discover what is, and how things are, rather than to judge how effective a program has been.(Spradley, 1979; Wolcott, 1975). Like Illuminative Evaluation it has influenced this study, and will be described further in the next section.

4.2 BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON THE RESEARCH DESIGN OF THE STUDY

The methodology of Ethnography and the general research strategy known as Illuminative Evaluation have provided the underlying theoretical basis, the research strategies and research techniques for this study. They are briefly discussed and a comparison of them, outlined in chart form, follows.

In addition, a two-part, adult education curriculum design model developed by British researcher, Jarvis (1982), is to be used to help facilitate the study. The model which is described later in this section will not be used to control the study, but rather to aid in organizing and focussing the data. The reason for using this particular model is twofold Firstly, Jarvis has interpreted the term "curriculum" in its broadest sense, and thus includes both the learning-teaching process, which corresponds to the planned instructional program, and the planning process, which corresponds to the broader context in which the program occurs. This fits nicely with the underlying assumption of both Illuminative Education and Ethnography that a program must be studied within its broader context. Secondly, training programs for Native language teachers, especially those which are community-based, and are not part of an organized, university teacher training program, do fall under the

category of adult education. The model itself and a discussion of its strengths in relationship to this study will be presented later in this section.

4.2.1 A COMPARISON OF ILLUMINATIVE EVALUATION AND ETHNOGRAPHIC EVALUATION

The following chart provides a summary and comparison of Illuminative Evaluation and Ethnography. It can be seen that both utilize an inductive mode of inquiry, and that they share many of the same characteristics: aims, underlying values, types of data, research strategies and techniques. Information for the chart is drawn from MacDonald and Parlett (1972), Walker (1982), Spradley (1979), Wilcox (1982), Wolcott (1975).

Illuminative Evaluation and Ethnography differ in a number of ways. Ethnography is a distinct method of research, solidly based on a set of discipline-based, theoretical assumptions and values; Illuminative Evaluation is a general research strategy which utilizes a variety of methods and techniques. While both require that the researcher spend time in the field becoming acquainted with the group and the context, the amount of time required in the field is greater in Ethnography, and the focus is initially more general. Another important distinction is in the orientation toward the analysis and interpretation of data. Ethnography with its foundations in Anthropology requires that a cultural orientation be taken toward the interpretation of data; thus, the researcher seeks for recurring cultural and social themes and patterns. Illuminative Evaluation, on the other hand, seeks general prinicples interpretation of data, thus, the researcher seeks for recurring cultural and social themes and patterns. Illuminative Evaluation, on the other hand, seeks general principles underlying the organization of the program, and patterns of cause and effect. It then places these findings within a broader explanatory context.

FIGURE 3: A COMPARISON OF ILLUMINATIVE EVALUATION AND ETHNOGRAPHIC EVALUATION

ILLUMINATIVE EVALUATION

Over-all Goal
Understanding: describe and interpret.

Mode of Inquiry
Inductive approach: uses variety of methods & techniques; use of natural-istic, empirical techniques; falls within social-anthropological research paradigm.

Values Stressed
a) Seeks participants' viewpoints
b) Holistic: investigates both planned instructional program and the learning milieu or broader socio-cultural context.
c) Non judgemental: researcher's biases and perspectives made explicit.
d) Contextualization: requires program to be placed in broader socio-culture context in which it occurs and is a part. Detailed description requires.

Interpretation of Data
Researcher seeks insider's perspective; presents "all sides". Seeks general principles and underlying organization of program; also cause-effect patterns.

ETHNOGRAPHIC EVALUATION

Over-all Goal
Understanding: describe and interpret.

Mode of Inquiry
Inductive approach: methods and techni-ques derived from ethnographic theory; use of naturalistic, empirical techni-ques; falls within social-anthropological research paradigm.

Values Stressed
a) Phenomenology: inquiry guided by insider's viewpoint, the "emic" perspec-tive.
b) Holistic: investigates larger picture and interrelates nature of parts to whole system.
c) Non judgemental orientation: research-er's biases are made explicit to mitigate unintended effects on research.
d) Contextualization: - places data in own

   environment so as to present fuller, more accurate representation. Requires "thick description".

Interpretation of Data
Ethnography is guided by Cultural orien-tation concerned with cultural patterns and social organization. Data interpre-ted in this light.

ILLUMINATIVE EVALUATION

3 Characteristic Stages of Inquiry
These overlap and interrelate functionally.
a) Investigator observes on site and in informal situations; acquaints self with people, context; formulates early hypotheses

b) Inquires further to add to hypotheses; checks with program participants for verification/rejection of hypotheses.

c) Seeks general principles re underlying organization of the program; spotting patterns of cause and effect with program's organizations and operation. Places individual findings within a broader explanatory context.

Techniques for Analysis of Data
Begins by collecting large data base in natural settings; researcher systematically reduces breadth of inquiry to give more concentrated attention to emerging issues; refocussing process permits unique and unpredictable phenomena to surface. This reduces problem of data overload.

Existing models and insights from the

ETHNOGRAPIC EVALUATION

3 Characteristic Stages of Inquiry
These overlap and interrelate functionally
a) Researcher immerses self in context/culture, becoming knowledgeable of the scene; "shagging around"; forms early hypotheses.

b) Initial hypotheses emerge; underdings/interpretations checked with "insiders". Hypotheses rejected/confirmed -- used to reform new hypotheses.

c) Interpretations of hypotheses made - insider's perspective; cultural interpretations based on recurring patterns or themes which emerge from data.

Techniques for Analysis of Data
Hypotheses and questions for study emerge as study proceeds in setting. Judgement of what is significant is deferred until orienteering (Phase I) of study is completed. Large amounts of data collected, sorted through for recurring cultural and social patterns and themes. Allows for unexpected phenomena to emerge. Hypotheses formed, checked with insider's view point, then

ILLUMINATIVE EVALUATION

Literature may be used to guide the
collection and analysis of data.

Techniques for Collection of Data
a) Observation: Onsite and offsite;
   questioning and discussions with, and
   between participants; codified
   observations made.
   Continuous record made of on-going
   events, transactions, formal remarks.
   Discovering views of participants
   critical to discovery of impact of
   innovation.

b) Interviewing (formal and informal)
   Key informants: People with represen-
   tative and particular positions or
   insights.
   Respondent informants: cross-checking
   of earlier hypotheses and understandings
   Information collected and recorded in
   extensive field notes; then codified.

c) Questionaires and Test Data
   These vary from free to fixed response
   formats. Drawback mindless accumula-
   tion of data if used in isolation.

ETHNOGRAPHIC EVALUATION

reformed. Ongoing process of refocussing.
Cultural interpretations sought for recurring
patterns and themes. In educational ethno-
graphy the researcher's knowledge of existing
social theory is used to guide and inform
observations.

Techniques for Collection of Data
a) Observation: characterized by recording of
   extensive descriptive detail of context --
   "thick description".
   Attempt to capture in concrete detail
   interactions and essence of settings and
   people in them.
   Native or "emic" perspective of the
   insider sought.

b) Interviewing (formal and informal)
   Key informants: People with representative
   and/or particular positions or insights.
   Respondent informants: cross-checking
   of earlier hypotheses and understandings
   Information collected and recorded in
   extensive field notes; then codified.

c) Questionnaires and Test Data
   These vary from informal encounters to
   highly structured.
   Questions are open-ended
   Socio-metric and other data is gathered

ILLUMINATIVE EVALUATION	ETHNOGRAPHIC EVALUATION
d) <u>Documentary and Background Information</u> Reports, funding proposals, letters, tape recordings, video recordings, samples of assignments, minutes of meetings, eye-witness accounts; formal and informal evaluations by participants, etc.	d) <u>Archival and Demographic Information</u> Records, letters, curriculum materials, reports, minutes of meetings, funding proposals, "and almost any other conceivable bit of material which prove relevant to the topic under study" (Wilson, 1981:461); student evaluation, etc.

FIGURE 3a: A Curriculum Planning
Model For the Education
of Adults

| a.Philosophical factors eg. aims, values |
| b.Sociological factors eg. technological change |

c. Social policy factors
eg. financial grants
from government,
professional body
decisions

d. Perceived
demands eg.
successes, re-
quests,needs

e.Psychological
factors eg.
ethos,moti-
vation

f.Resources eg.
human,physical

j. Evaluation ie.
of the whole
process

g.Advertised pro-
gramme eg. pros-
pectus brochure

h.Actual demand
eg: enrolment

i.Actual curriculum
courses actually
mounted

FIGURE 3b: A Learning and Teaching
Process Model For the
Education of Adults

Aims and Objectives

Evaluation

Subject Matter

Methods and Organization

4.2.2 MODEL FOR CURRICULUM DESIGN

British researcher, Peter Jarvis (1982), proposed an interrelated two-part, curriculum design model Figure 3a and 3b, comprised of a learning-teaching process part and a planning process part. The latter includes the external and internal factors influencing the actual curriculum.

This model was originally used in a case-study conducted by Jarvis (1982) in a small adult education centre in England; however, he claims that it can be used in a broad range of adult education situations including professional training programs. It is described as being within the parameters of general systems theory (Jarvis, 1983:222). The claim has been made that general systems theory has much to offer as a means of ordering data from various social sciences, as a model of an organization and its environment, and as a powerful heuristic device (Derricott citing Bolan, 1982: 285). Stenhouse (1975) echoes this. Jarvis points out that there is actually very little information available on the field of adult education, and states that his book, Adult and Continuing Education: Theory and Practice (1982), is an attempt to provide an overview of important issues and considerations in the field. Many of the issues he raises closely parallel work that has been done in the field of Native education, particularly in the area of Native learning and teaching styles. The issues are very relevant to programs for training Native language teachers.

The philosophical perspective of Jarvis' work derives in large part from the writings of John Dewey, who viewed education as a humanistic, idealized process leading to the growth of the individual learner and saw learning as a continuing need throughout life. Jarvis places' adult education and his curriculum model within the Romantic approach to curricula and draws many parallels between adult education and the progressive liberal traditions of initial education (K-12).

In discussing the theoretical perspectives on adult learning and on the teaching of adults which underlie his model, Jarvis draws on the work of a range of theorists and practitoners involved in a variety of fields related to education: Bruner, Dewey, Friere, Gagné, Illich, Knowles, Mezirow, Rogers. Like Jarvis, their works reflect a humanistic philosophy toward education, and view education as a dynamic, social process strongly influenced by culture and society.

THE CURRICULUM PLANNING MODEL

Jarvis' Curriculum Planning Model (Figure 3a) is a comprehensive model which includes the external factors of the broader society which influence the development and implementation of the actual teaching/learning program, in other words,the planned, instructional program.

Ten elements or factors are included in the planning model, and will be described:

    A. Philosophical Factors
    B. Sociological Factors
    C. Social Policy Factors
    D. Perceived Demands
    E. Psychological Factors
    F. Resources
    G. Advertised Programs
    H. Actual Demand
    I. Actual Curriculum
    J. Evaluation

A. Philosophical Factors

Jarvis contends that "underlying every programme of education there is a philosophy, whether it is explicit or implicit, considered or rarely thought about, consistent or inconsistent" (p.229), which plays a major role in shaping the program.

The philosophical factor includes beliefs and attitudes toward education generally held by those involved in the planning, develop-

ment and implementation of the program, by the students' beliefs and attitudes toward the processes of learning and teaching, and the roles played by institutions, instructors, students, and communities in the educational process. It pertains to the philosophical basis of the program, and would, in the case of a cross-cultural program, include the cultural world-view held by the participants. A variety of forces from the broader society could also influence the philosophy of the program.

B. Sociological Factors

There are a variety of social pressures and attitudes which effect the development and implementation of programs, as well as the content (type) of information and knowledge, included, the status and value awarded the knowledge, the organization of students, and methods used for presenting the knowledge.

> The relevance of knowledge is also significant in its
> inclusion in any curriculum (Jarvis, 1978). If curricula
> contain socially organized knowledge selected from culture,
> then it is significant to know where, why and by whom
> such a selection of knowledge is made.
> (Jarvis, 1982:230)

Many influences are seen to effect the program: the social history of the group, the attitudes of the broader society and its governing bodies toward the group's culture, language, education and its contribution to the larger society, and the attitudes of the group's own members toward itself (language, culture) and toward the larger society. There are also internal influences at work within the program itself.

C. Social Policy Factors

The decisions and policies of the federal, provincial and local governments, as well as institutional policies exert a great deal of influence on the development and implementation of programs. Funding for programs is determined by a variety of criteria including geographical distribution, political considerations, status

of the project and group, and perceived needs of the group.

D. Perceived Demands

Jarvis provides a lengthy discussion of the term "need" as it applies to adult education. He favours the term "learning need" over "educational need" stating that the "need to learn, as recognized by the potential learner, is a better basis for the education of adults" than educational need which has a variety of connotations and carries with it both moral and ideological implications. Once a learning need is recognized by the potential learner it then reflects a want, interest or desire, and may be expressed as a "demand". Questions to be explored include such things as: Who initiated the program and why? Was it requested/demanded by the learners themselves or was it initiated by an "outside person" such as a teacher, linguist, local agency, etc.? Is the program actually "needed" by the people and/or by the community in which it occurs? What kind of attempts were made to discover the learning needs of potential students?

E. Psychological Factors

A variety of issues concerning the factors relating to learning and to teaching are included in this: the learning styles of students, teaching styles of instructors, the effects of past schooling experiences, students' learning orientation (problem-centered vs. subject-based), the influence of the location, structure, organization and atmosphere of the classroom, the student's attitudes toward the program and reasons for attending.

F. Resources

The primary resources pointed to by Jarvis are financial, accommodation and staff and the kinds of stipulations or controls placed on these. Who controls the resources? Other resources to be considered are those of knowledge and information related to the content and/or processes of the course or program being offered. Questions arise about the types of knowledge available and the forms

in which it occurs (oral, written, visual); how accessible the resources are to the learners; are there restrictions on certain kinds of knowledge? The interrelationship between the different elements of the curriculum planning model is easily seen with regard to resources.

G. Advertised Programs

Jarvis indicates two major issues that need to be considered: the actual program and the way it is advertised.

1. Actual Program - Three issues need consideration:
    a) Scheduling -- The actual time when the courses are held: Whether courses are offered at a time potential students are able to attend; What types of considerations and/or obstacles face students when arranging to attend classes.
    b) Balance -- Programs in adult education and even in continuing education tend to try to respond to several publics, .ie. potential students may vary widely in previous educational background, in age, in work experience and in what they want to learn. In offering programs it then becomes necessary to attempt to balance the type and content of courses offered according to the learning demands of the various students. Jarvis states that "if there is a learning need that should be responded to in terms of human justice then there is reason for organizing an unbalanced program" (p. 238). Balance ultimately depends upon the philosophy of the program designer.
    c) Level -- The concept of "level", the degree of difficulty, the amount of content and the method of instruction in a course, can be considered in much the same way as "balance". Again this is because of the wide variation in students' educational backgrounds, and work experience.

2. Advertising of Program - This concerns the method in which a program is made known to the public, and includes the time and location of the program.

H. Actual Demand

The actual demand can only be determined after a program or course has begun; it concerns how many people actually enroll in a course, and, in the case of a program composed of a number of courses, how many people continue to enroll in each succeeding course. Other issues include the popularity of courses and the rate of attrition.

I. Actual Curriculum

The actual curriculum as discussed in this model refers to "the total learning situation; the whole ethos of the institution, its hidden curriculum and the teaching and learning curriculum" which all unite at this point (242). In Jarvis' model, the curriculum planning model leads directly to the product of the actual curriculum, learning and teaching curricula, which can be inserted at this point.

J. Evaluation

Jarvis maintains the curriculum planning model "demands that the educator of adults should evaluate many of the elements of the process". He claims that the basis of the evaluation, the major criterion, is the educator's educational philosophy, but that certain factors need to be evaluated by other criteria ie. the use of physical resources by financial criteria, the whole of the operation by the criteria of organizational efficiency. Jarvis does not propose a particular research method by which to conduct an assessment or evaluation of the elements which comprise the curriculum planning model. What he does say is that in the education of adults the evaluation should not be undertaken by the teacher alone; students should be full participants in the process. It would thus appear that the research methods employed need to reflect a democratic stance toward the evaluation process and the control of its product, rather than a bureaucratic or autocratic stance which does not share control between students and "the evaluator".

THE LEARNING AND TEACHING PROCESS MODEL

Jarvis describes the Learning and Teaching Process Model as "a reasonably familiar one within curriculum theory in that it contains the four elements that occur in almost every learning and teaching process" (p.223). These elements are Aims and Objectives, Subject Matter, Methods and Organization and Evaluation. Jarvis' model is a slightly adapted version of an earlier model proposed by Giles, McCutcheon and Zechiel (1942) cited in a study by Taba (1962:425). Of note in Jarvis' model is that the four elements are interrelated and influence each other. The earlier model by Giles, et al depicted the four elements as being separate and self-contained.

A.   Aims and Objectives

Of concern here is the distinction between aims, or general goals of the program, and objectives, the more specific steps by which the aims are achieved. Jarvis identifies a number of different types of objectives (instructional, teaching, learning, behavioural, expressive, etc.) stating that the philosophical stance of the educator may affect his/her attitude toward the concept and use of objectives. Issues to be explored include the nature of objectives, the aims and objectives; the relationship between stated aims and objectives, to determine whether the latter reflect the former; who was involved in setting the aims and objectives of the program and the method by which it was done.

B.   Subject Matter

This concerns the content offered within the program. To be exposed are the methods by which course content is decided upon; who is involved in the selection; whether or not the content matches the program aims and objectives; how it is presented; what subject matter is evaluated and how.

C. Organization and Methods

Included in this is the location of the teaching, the organization of the environment in which learning and teaching take place; and its relationship to the methods used and aims of the program; how the subject matter is structured; how classroom activities and interactions are structured; how methods of instruction and interaction patterns of the classroom relate to the learning needs and learning styles of the students; whether or not the teaching methods employed relate to the ethos of the group; ie. human interactions and skills; the manner in which the organization and methods reflect or fail to reflect the program's aims and objectives and the underlying philosophy; the manner in which the organization and methods are decided upon and who is involved.

D. Evaluation

Considerations include:

-   whether or not the stated aims and objectives have been met.
-   whether stated aims and objectives were deviated from and how? what circumstances led to this?, who was involved in the decision to change?
-   How the evaluation was conducted?
-   Who was involved in the evaluation process?
-   What was evaluated?

THE HIDDEN CURRICULUM

Within the ethos of an institution or program and embedded in the content of the program, methods of instruction and organization structure of a course lie a variety of values and attitudes held by the program planners and instructors. Many are recognized and intended; however, others are unrecognized and unintended. Students may be aware of aspects of the hidden curriculum that educators are oblivious to; however, whether or not students are aware of them, they can affect students' learning and their

attitudes.

In concluding this section, it is important to point out that the recognition of the affect of the "hidden curricula" on an educational program can be seen in the assumptions underlying Illuminative Evaluation, Ethnographic Evaluation and Jarvis' model. As Parlett and Hamilton point out:

> Students do not respond merely to presented content and to tasks assigned. Rather, they adapt to and work within the learning milieu taken as an interrelated whole. They pay close attention to the hidden as well as visual curricula (1977, p. 13).

The belief that a full understanding of a program requires that the planned, instructional system be studied within the larger context of which it is a part, underlies the growing body of research by many people from a variety of academic backgrounds who are involved in educational endeavours and in evaluations both in North America and in Britain.

4.3   DESIGN OF THE STUDY

This section outlines the theoretical assumptions and values underlying the study, describes the treatment of data, the sources of data, the research strategies to be used, and procedures for controlling data.

4.3.1   THEORETICAL ASSUMPTIONS

The research in the form of a case study will employ inductive research strategies. The research design will draw from the methodology of Ethnography and from the general research strategy of Illuminative Evaluation.

A characteristic of this mode of inquiry is its loose, evolving nature. No concrete hypotheses will be made in the early stages of

the study. Rather, a broad data base will be established, and through a recurring cycle which consists of gathering data, forming tentative understandings (hypotheses), cross-checking data, gathering more data and confirming understandings, the study will be progressively refocussed and narrowed. Thus, there is a constantly evolving methodology in which hypotheses and strategies emerge as the study progresses. An important aspect of the thesis is the themes and issues that consistently come up in the data.

Jarvis' two-part curriculum design model which was described earlier will be used to facilitate the study by providing a focus for collecting, sorting through, and organizing the data on KTTP. It should be emphasized that the elements in the model will not be used to control the study, but rather to delineate starting points for investigating the program. Should other issues and themes emerge in the data they will be explored.

Illuminative Evaluation, Ethnography and Jarvis' model have in common the assumption that programs should be studied within the broader context in which they occur. Thus, an investigation needs to include: 1. the planned, instructional program, 2. the broader, sociocultural context in which it occurs, and 3. the relationship between the two. This assumption is also implicit in Stern's model of the Factors of Language Teacher Education.

It is based on the "naturalistic-ecological hypothesis" which proposes that human behaviour is significantly influenced by the social setting or context in which it occurs, and that there are particular roles, norms of interaction, values and traditions inherent in any given social situation. These, in turn, are culturally rela-tive. Thus, in order to gain an accurate picture and understanding it is necessary to study the program in its natural setting. This is particularly important in a cross-cultural program

A second assumption underlying the need to study a program

in its broader contexts is that formal instructional programs rarely, if ever, are actually taught in the original form in which they are conceived. A variety of internal and external influences and forces combine to bring about changes in the original planned program.

Modifications are made or changes can occur in various elements of the original, planned instructional program at any time during the planning, development or implementation of the program. Changes can take many forms; they may involve the timing of sessions, the structure or organization of the program, the method of instruction, the content of courses, etc. According to Parlett and Hamilton (1977) changes are rarely trivial. They usually come about as a result of insights gained after the program has begun or because of some external factor or influence in the broader social context which manifests itself after the initial planning stage.

Gumperz (1981) points to the contrast between the official descriptions of curricula and program goals, and what actually takes place in a classroom, in other words, the changes from what was planned to what actually occurs. He maintains that "in order to understand educational problems (and programs; my addition in parenthesis), we need to know how and by what mechanisms cultural, political and economic factors interact with teaching strategies to affect the acquisition of skills and knowledge" (p.4).

A third assumption underlying the study is that there is no single truth, but rather there are many truths depending upon one's perspective. Thus, there is a need to understand educational pro-grams and activities from the perspective of the participants them-selves: students, instructors, administrators, community resource people, policy makers, etc., and to discover the "meanings" which participants attribute to the various features, processes and events of the program and the context within which it occurs. This derives from the qualitative-phenomenological hypothesis which maintains that in order for the researcher to understand human behaviour it is

necessary to understand "the framework within which the subjects interpret their thoughts, feelings and actions" (Center for New Schools, 1977:195). This framework is strongly influenced by the subjects' cultural background, and, by the fact that much of the subjects' framework for meaning is not consciously known, and thus is not available for articulation. This necessitates the use of inductive modes of inquiry. The study will seek a number of different perspectives, and will refrain from making value judgements.

The above assumptions can be seen to be reflected in the following values common to both Illuminative Evaluation and Ethnography and underlying this study:

1. A holistic portrayal of the program

An investigation is made of both the planned instructional program and the context within which it occurs. It therby focusses on the larger picture, yet indicating the interrelated nature of the various parts of the whole, thus providing insights into the influences shaping and challenging the program and helping to provide a context to interpret data meaningfully.

2. A non-judgemental orientation

The researcher seeks to understand and describe rather than to judge and assess. The emphasis placed on a non-judgemental stance helps to avoid researcher bias and value judgements.

3. A phenomenological approach

This requires that the researcher seeks to understand the meaning of events of various factors and influences, in fact what it means to be a participant in the group, from the "insider's viewpoint", the emic perspective. This also helps to prevent researcher bias from colouring the research, and helps to provide a fuller picture. Such an approach is essential in cross-cultural educational contexts where the researcher's cultural background differs from the participants' and a greater possibility exists of the

researcher either misinterpreting the meaning of cultural interactions and situations or missing them altogether.

4. Contextualization

A characteristic of both Illuminative Evaluation and Ethnographic inquiry is their close attention to detail which in Ethnography is sometimes called "thick description". Fetterman writes:

> "Fieldwork with its close attention to the details of program implementation, can identify causal features and causal linkages that may be overlooked or misattributed on the basis of correlational analysis of survey data or predetermined observational category systems "(1984:30).

Thus, rather than investigating isolated elements of a culture or a program, data is placed within its own evironment.

4.3.2. TREATMENT OF DATA

Included under Treatment of Data are the stages of inquiry, sources of data, research strategies, procedures for controlling data.

STAGES OF INQUIRY

Stage 1: Data Collection: The Early Stages of the Study.

The researcher becomes familiar with the program, the participants, the context within which the program occurs and the community. Data is collected in the program's natural setting from observations and interactions with participants. The researcher begins to fit into the situation. Early questions are posed, data collected and tentative hypotheses or understandings are formulated.

Stage 2: Analysis and Early Interpretation of Data

i) Analysis of early data, combined with the researcher's own past experiences in training other Native language teachers, and

insights gained from reading various research studies and theories to form a tentative understanding or hypotheses. More data is collected to confirm, add to, or reject the hypotheses.

ii) Tentative understandings are to be checked with various program participants. Their responses will be recorded and become part of the data. The insights and understandings gained will be used to gather more evidence to support, revise or reject early hypotheses, and to formulate new questions and hypotheses.

iii) Understanding and hypotheses will be confirmed with program participants (Respondent interviewing), and their responses will become part of the data. The entire process recurs with each phase overlapping and interrelating. All initial hypotheses are open to question and may be revised, redefined or rejected. Also, the researcher will be open to the possibility of unanticipated discoveries.

Stage 3: Interpretation of Data

The researcher will seek to interpret and explain the hypotheses that have been formed using the following types of concepts:

- recurring cultural and social themes or patterns,
- general principles regarding the underlying structure and organization of the program,
- cause and effect patterns in the operation of the program,
- relationships between various elements of the program, changes which occurred in the program: the nature of the changes and their relationship and/or effect on the various elements. "Change" will not be measured, but rather described. Previous teaching experience and understanding from the Literature will also be used to help gain understanding

4.3.3 SOURCES OF DATA

The following sources of data will be used.

1. Observation.

Observations over an extended period of time in a natural setting are often one of the major techniques used in qualitative research. Because KTTP has already ended, it is not possible to use this technique and the resulting fieldnotes as a major data collecting technique. During the program, however, both the researcher/ instructor and the other instructor, independently made regular, though not systematic, written observations of what had happened during each session of the courses. Included were observations regarding how the sessions went, student behaviour and reactions to the sessions and assignments, community events or happenings which affected the program or participants, the instructors' reactions and insights into what was actually happening in the program and to their own teaching behaviour. Also included are the researcher's notes and observations taken while participating in the Second Educational Conference of the Kwakwa̲k'a̲wakw and while observing KTTP students teaching in their own classes.

These informal written observations, and the variety of experiences the researcher shared with the participants of KTTP will be used as a source of data for the early stage of the study, and become the basis together with Jarvis' curriculum design model, for developing initial questions and hypotheses.

2. Interviews.

Since systematic participant observation is no longer possible in this study, interviews will be considered one of the major sources of data. A number of interviews were conducted during the last session of KTTP as an informal evaluation. These will become part

of the data.

Informal Interviews with Program Participants

During the last session of KTTP interviews were conducted
with a representative number of participants to gain their
perceptions of the program. The types of questions initially asked
were general and were of the following nature:

- what it was like to be involved in KTTP;
- what they felt the major factors were in the successes of the
  program and what contributed to that;
- what difficulties they encountered, problems they had;
- what changes they noticed in the program: in content, in method
  of teaching (instructors' method of teaching and ways of
  behaving in class); in timing; in the structure of the program
  type and length of activities or sessions, how it was organized;
- changes in themselves (students) as a result of the program;
- that they attributed the changes to (for each type of change
  they identify).

Whenever possible the interviews will be tape recorded,
however, there are some times when this is not possible, and there
are people who do not wish to be taped. Field notes will be made
in those cases.

3. Archival and Demographic Collection Alias Document Analysis and
    Background Information

In any project or program there is always a great deal of
paperwork generated: funding proposals, records of planning
sessions, plans for conducting sessions, notes and observations made
during the workshop, student assignments, evaluations of student
projects, letters to students, the administrator, resource people,
written observations referred to earlier, course outlines and
proposals, a number of informal surveys, student suggestions from

the "suggestion box", field notes from teaching sessions and minutes of class meetings. There are also a number of video recordings of class sessions in which program participants were discussing the program.

RESEARCH STRATEGIES

The following strategies will be used in the study.

1. The researcher will seek to discover the program participants' perspectives and beliefs regarding the program, and to understand the meaning they attribute to various aspects of it. The study will seek the following kinds of data: what people say to and about each other about the program and their teaching situation; what is said to the researcher; non-verbal behaviour; planning records and observation notes kept by the instructors throughout the program.

2. The goal and nature of the study require that the researcher have indepth knowledge of the program and its setting by frequently being present and observing in it. It also requires that she be closely involved with and have access to program participants. It is important that the program participants feel comfortable and be willing to share their own perceptions, and voice concerns, opinions and beliefs about the program. A well researched characteristic of Native social norms of interaction, is that Native people generally are reticent to fully express their own feelings and ideas with someone they do not know. This strategy has been implemented since the researcher was involved in planning the program, and was one of the instructors in the teaching methods courses.

3. The study will seek to provide as whole a portrayal of the program as possible. Jarvis' curriculum design model will be used as a checklist or guide for exploring various elements of both the planned instructional program and the broader context, and the

relationship between them. The model will also be used to help organize data as it is analyzed.

4. "Change" will be utilized in the study as an indicator of influences or factors which affected the program and/or the processes by which it developed. Thus, wherever "change" occurs or is alluded to by program participants it will be investigated. Change will not be measured or assessed, rather, it will be described and understandings of it will be sought.

A number of different kinds of change will be looked for: however, should other types of change emerge it will be incorporated into the data:

- changes in the program as a result of external influences
- changes in the program due to insights or realizations gained as the program progressed
- changes in students which they or others attributed to KTTP.

5. The researcher will seek to build a historical and social context for the program through analyzing data obtained from interviews, notes taken during class discussions, meetings, and assignments, the report of the First Educational Conference of the Kwakwak'awakw, observations recorded by herself as a participant at the Second Educational Conference of the Kwakwak'awakw, and observations of KTTP students teaching in their classes.

6. A variety of research techniques will be used to collect data, and to substantiate findings. A process of "triangulated inquiry" will be used to cross-check findings (Lutz, 1981; Sevigny, 1981; Wolcott, 1976). This involves using a number of different research techniques and a number of participant perspectives to verify a particular understanding.

PROCEDURES FOR CONTROLLING DATA

Concerns about qualitative research methods (open ended techniques, progressive focussing and qualitative data) involve issues of generalizability and reliability, more so than validity. Attempts will be made to safeguard the research in the following ways:

1. A process of "triangulated inquiry" (Lutz, 1981; Sevigny, 1981; Wolcott, 1976) will be used to cross-check findings. This involves seeking verification of a finding from a number of different sources and/or by using a number of different techniques for collecting data (ie. observation, interviews, documents).

2. A record will be kept of the progress of the research
   - diary of what has been accomplished
   - difficulties encountered
   - insights gained along the way.

3. The researcher's understandings and interpretations will be checked with program participants.

4. The researcher will attempt to avoid personal and theoretical bias through a "disciplined subjectivity" whereby initial understandings are weighed through introspection and critical evaluation, including understandings gained from past experiences and the Literature. In addition, the researcher's own assumptions, theoretical principles and methodological ground rules will be made explicit.

5. Open-ended data will be coded and organized so that they can be checked by outside researchers.

CHAPTER 5
THE KWAK'WALA TEACHER TRAINING PROJECT

5.1   INTRODUCTION

The Kwak'wala Teacher Training Project (KTTP) was a community, workshop-based program focussing on the teaching of Kwak'wala which ran for two and a half years, from January 1984 to May 1986. It was open to people who were involved in teaching or were supportive of the teaching of Kwak'wala, and also the Native culture. The program consisted of eight individual courses. Five of these focussed on second language teaching methods and techniques, and on the development of teaching materials for Kwak'wala language classes or the culture classes. The other three courses were aimed at helping people to develop reading and writing skills in Kwak'wala, as well as to increase their knowledge about the lanugage.

The over-all stated goals of the program included:

1. An introduction to basic second language teaching methods and techniques.

2. The practical application of second language teaching techniques in developing Native teaching materials.

3. An introduction to the process of planning and developing teaching units, including planning lessons.

4. Increasing students' proficiency in reading and writing Kwak'wala, and their knowledge about the language.

Amongst the objectives of the program was the preparation of a set of teaching materials which would expand the existing resource books, the Learning Kwak'wala Series. An unstated goal was to develop a support group of community members knowledgeable of the issues and factors affecting the teaching of a Native language.

The program was sponsored and administered by the U'mista Cultural Centre of Alert Bay, and was financed by short-term grants provided by a number of outside agencies. Funding for the entire program was not available in a "lump sum", but rather had to be sought in an on-going process throughout the time it ran. Classes were held at the U'mista Cultural Centre. North Island College agreed to give first year college credit for the courses, and so students had the option of either receiving credit or auditing.

Throughout the two and a half years the project ran people from a variety Kwakwaka'wakw communities came to the courses. Some took the courses for credit; some audited; and others dropped in as visitors. In total twenty-eight students and a number of visitors participated in the Kwak'wala Teacher Training Project. The majority of people attending KTTP lived in Alert Bay; however, a number of Native language teachers travelled from other communities including Campbell River, Fort Rupert, Kingcome Inlet and Rivers Inlet.

Those attending the courses came from a broad range of ages, work and life experiences, and educational backgrounds. Their ability to understand and speak Kwak'wala, knowledge of traditional Kwakwaka'wakw culture, literacy skills in Kwak'wala, and sense of cultural identity also varied widely.

The program was taught by three non-Native professionals who lived in the Vancouver area, and travelled to Alert Bay for the workshops. Two of the instructors, Jay Powell and Vickie Jensen, had previously worked for the U'mista Culture Centre. They were familiar with the existing Kwak'wala language programs and the culture classes in both of the Alert Bay schools, as well as with a number of the Native teachers and resource people who worked in them. The third instructor, Joy Wild, had worked with a number of other Native language programs and their teachers in the province, but had not previously been involved with Kwak'wala.

Like all programs, the Kwak'wala Teacher Training Project
was influenced by a variety of factors, some anticipated, others
unforseen. Numerous events occurred in the broader context of the
community, and also in the provincial and national scene, which
affected the program, bringing about changes to the original
conception of the program planned by the instructors. Perhaps more
significantly, changes occurred in the program which were a result
of student input and of insights gained by the instructors as the
courses progressed.

KTTP officially ended in June 1986; however, on May 24th a
full-scale graduation ceremony and celebration was held in the
magnificent Nimpkish Big House overlooking the Village of Alert Bay.
When asked by the instructors about what kind of graduation they
wanted, the students had overwhelmingly agreed upon a formal
ceremony in the Big House. In keeping with Kwakwaka'wakw
tradition, families and friends, as well as all those involved with
the running or support of KTTP were invited to witness the event,
share in the students' accomplishments and pride, and celebrate with
them the completion of two and a half years of work. Speeches were
given, dinner was served and traditional dancing followed. Both
students and instructors wore the traditional button blankets of the
Kwakwaka'wakw. Those who did not own one of their own were lent
one.

The graduation was encircled with overwhelming feelings of
pride and accomplishment at having completed the course, a sense of
relief that the work was finished, and regret that the group would
not be meeting again, at least not as the same group. For many of
the students it was the first time they had completed an educational
program.

Over the two and a half years KTTP ran much had been
shared by the students and the instructors. There had been many
events and much learning, some difficult, some exhilerating. There

had been laughter, frustration and occasional anger, but above all was the knowledge that together the class had seen the program through to its end, and that all had grown in the process of sharing and working together.

While the Kwak'wala Teacher Training Project was one particular program planned for a particular group of students, it is this researcher's belief that valuable insights can be gained regarding factors to be considered in the training of Native language teachers in general by describing and investigating the process by which the program was planned, developed and implemented.

5.1.1 STRUCTURE OF THE STUDY

The study takes the form of a case study, and is based upon the underlying assumptions, research strategies and techniques of Illuminative Evaluation and Ethnographic Evaluation as described in Chapter 4. The intent of this form of evaluation is to describe and understand the program, not to judge it. It is comprised of three parts:

Part I explores and describes the broader context in which the Kwak'wala Teacher Training Project occurred. Included in this are a variety of areas: the philosophical assumptions underlying the program, an overview of the social history of the Kwakwaka'wakw and of the development of Kwak'wala language programs in Alert Bay, factors concerning the design and structure of KTTP, the resources available, the demand for the program, the ethos of the program. An attempt is made to provide insights from both the instructors' and the students' points of view. Jarvis' Curriculum Planning Model is used in this section to facilitate a description of the broader context by providing starting points for the study, and by helping to organize findings. It is not used to control the study. This comprises Chapter 5.

Part II describes the learning-teaching process of KTTP. It examines the four components of the actual curriculum as proposed in Jarvis' Learning-Teaching Model: aims and objectives, organization and methods, subject matter, evaluation. It also seeks understandings of the relationships between the four components of the curriculum, as well as between them and the broader context. This occurs in Chapter 6. Understandings of the relationship between the program and the broader context, and of the changes that occurred are sought throughout the study.

Part III contains a summary of the major understandings arrived at by the researcher as a result of the study. Stern's model of Factors in (Second) Language Teacher Education will be used to facilitate the summary. It also contains conclusions arrived at by the researcher regarding factors to be considered in the training of Native language teachers to work in Native as a second language programs, suggestions for future training programs, and a number of areas for future research. These comprise Chapter 7.

5.2   BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON KTTP

This section contains general information about the students, the instructors and the sponsoring organization, the U'mista Cultural Centre.

5.2.1 THE U'MISTA CULTURAL CENTRE

The U'mista Cultural Society is a non-profit organization dedicated to the preservation and continuation of the language and culture of the Kwakwaka'wakw. The society was formed in 1974 with the specific goal of repatriating ceremonial objects confiscated from the Kwakwaka'wakw by the Canadian Government in the early twentieth century. These have become known as the Potlatch Collection.

The building of the U'mista Cultural Centre, a museum-quality

facility, was a condition of the return of the Potlatch Collection. It was opened in 1980. In addition to housing the Potlatch Collection, and other displays of cultural artifacts, the U'mista Cultural Centre is committed to promoting a living culture. It is a vital, active centre encouraging and sponsoring a variety of programs and projects aimed at strengthening the cultural heritage of the Kwakwaka'wakw.

The following objectives guide both the U'mista Cultural Society and the Cultural Centre:

1. To collect, preserve and exhibit Native artifacts of cultural, artistic and historical value to the Kwagu'l people.

2. To promote and foster carving, dancing and other cultural and artistic activities engaged in by the Kwagu'l people.

3. To collect record and make available information and records relating to the language and history of the Kwagu'l for the use of the Kwagu'l people.

4. To promote, build, maintain facilities for carrying out the above aims and objectives.

5. To recover from other institutions and individuals, artifacts and records of cultural, artisitic, and historical value to the Kwag'l.
                                    (The U'mista Cultural Centre's Brochure)

5.2.2 THE STUDENTS

The Kwak'wala Teacher Training Project was open to persons interested in learning more about Kwak'wala and the teaching of it. While the main group of people the program was set up for were those teaching Kwak'wala in the schools, others were welcome. No restrictions were imposed in terms of pre-requisite skills. One of the reasons for this was that an important objective of the U'mista Cultural Centre is to promote and make available to the Kwakwaka'wakw people information relating to their language and history. Another reason was the knowledge that those Native people

presently working in school language programs come from a broad range of educational backgrounds. A third reason was the belief held by those setting up the program that if language programs are to be successful, they require a strong support base of interested, informed people within the community, including those who teach in the programs. A fourth, more pragmatic reason, was that a certain number of participants are required by funding agencies for granting purposes. The Secretary of State regional office had indicated that the program was more likely to receive a grant if it was open to a broad geographical group, ie. to people from all Kwakwaka'wakw communities.

The actual number of people enrolling for the first KTTP course in January 1984 was much greater than was expected. The projected enrollment was between 12 and 15, however, 23 actually came. Those who enrolled for the first course came from a wide variety of work situations, ages, educational backgrounds, and a number of different communities.

WORK SITUATIONS AND COMMUNITIES

The majority of students came from Alert Bay. They included Native language and dance teachers, resource people, and Native teacher aides from the Band School and from the Alert Bay Native Education Program in the Provincial School. There were also several parents, a nurse, and a number of people enrolled in the Early Childhood Education Program (ECE) at North Island College, one of whom was the Playschool teacher at the Band School. Included in the dance and resource people were two very respected Old People from the Nimpkish Band, Agnes Cranmer (Gwantilakw) and Ethel Alfred (Auntie Ethel).

Several Native language teachers came from the Pt. Hardy area, one from the Provincial School in Ft. Rupert and two from the Tsulquate Band School; one of these, Harry Walkus, was an Old

Person. Another Native language teacher came from the Provincial
School at Coal Harbour. Of the twenty-three students, fourteen took
the course for credit, and four audited; one Old Person acted as a
resource person to the course. The others were visitors.

Their experience working as teachers or resource people for
the Native language and culture programs, or on projects for
developing materials for the programs varied widely. Some had been
teaching in the program for six or seven years, and several had
worked closely with the Kwak'wala Language Curriculum Project
(1980-81), developing the Kwak'wala Learning Series. Those in the
Provincial School had been involved in developing teaching materials
for use in the Alert Bay Native Education Program. Others had just
begun teaching Kwak'wala, and had no experience developing
materials. The Native teacher aides helped with a variety of
programs in the schools. The playschool teacher had taught for a
number of years. Her program was part of the Band School and
included a Native language and culture component.

AGE AND EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND

Course participants represented a broad range of ages and
educational backgrounds, from young people in their late teens to
Old People in their seventies. Many of the language and culture
teachers were in their thirties and forties. Some students had
attended just a few years of elementary school; a number had
attended St. Michael's Residential School; and while a number had
gone to high school, only two had graduated.

KNOWLEDGE OF KWAK'WALA AND TRADITIONAL CULTURE

There was a broad range in the students' understanding of
and ability to speak Kwak'wala, and in their ability to read and
write the language. On the whole people's ability to speak
Kwak'wala was related to their age. The three Old People who

attended were completely fluent, and knowledgeable of the "old way of speaking". They had a distinctly different way of speaking Kwak'wala than the others. Those in their thirties and forties possessed varying degrees of fluency. While most were able to converse in everyday conversations, they did not consider themselves as fluent as the Old People. English was the language of day to day living in their homes and with their families. One observation made by the instructors was that on occasion the Old People would correct a language form or structure that was being used. Most of the people teaching language or culture had attended at least one Kwak'wala reading and writing course sponsored through the U'mista Cultural Centre, and several had taken more. Most of the other participants in their twenties did not speak or understand Kwak'wala, other than greetings and common expressions. These people were described by one student as "coming from families that were not culturally minded", and as "not having been brought up in the culture since they were young". The exceptions to young people who did not speak the language were those who had been raised by their grandparents or an older family member. One young woman was a fluent speaker of Kwak'wala and had very well developed literacy skills. She worked transcribing materials at the Cultural Centre.

A similar range existed in students' knowledge and understanding of traditional Kwakwaka'wakw culture. While many of those attending KTTP were actively involved in potlatching, there were several who were not, and had little knowledge of it. A fascinating realization for the instructors was that with the exception of the Old People it was impossible to predict who had knowledge of or particular skills in various areas. This seemed to depend upon what had been taught in the family.

A number of students did not return to the second course (this will be discussed later); however, in Kwak'wala 210, the third teacher training course, a number of new students joined. Three of

these, two pre-school teachers from the Campbell River area, and a new teacher from Tsulquate, continued attending to the end of the seventh course in May 1986.

The core group of students' numbered fourteen. Four travelled from other communities such as Campbell River and the Pt. Hardy area; the others lived in Alert Bay. One other teacher from Kingcome Inlet attended classes as often as possible, transportation being a difficulty. There were also numerous visitors, some who dropped in for one day, others who returned periodically.

While the majority of students came to KTTP to improve their teaching skills, many were also there because of a personal desire to learn more about their culture and to learn Kwak'wala. Initially, virtually all people attending the program were employed; the exception to this was the Early Childhood Education Students. Toward the end of the first year, however, approximately half of the class found themselves out of jobs due to provincial educational cutbacks, and a shift of children from the Provincial School to the Band School. Most continued to attend KTTP. At the Band School principal's request attendance at KTTP was made mandatory for those employed by the Band Council.

Only three men attended KTTP during the time it ran; two of these for only one course. The rest of the students were women who were like any other group of women leading busy lives in their communities and families. Many were mothers working half or full time. They were actively involved in a variety of groups and organizations in their community. These included the recreational association, sports, various boards in the community, church, the Band Council, the Kwak'wala Singing Group, provincial and national Native organizations. They were also busy with the numerous comings and goings, and events which are part of living in a large extended family.

Many of them either knew each other, or knew of each other, having lived together in a small community much of their lives. Most of them were related to at least one other person in the class either an aunt, a cousin, or a sister. A number were also co-workers in the school programs, or had been prior to the disbanding of the Alert Bay Native Education Program. The out of town people stayed with either a relative in town or one of the other students.

Throughout KTTP's two and a half years, two of the students had babies, two others were grandmothers for the first time. There were also several operations, bouts with bad backs and the occasional cold or flu. Generally, however, people were healthy and had a never ending supply of good humour and gentle teasing. One example of the latter was the nicnaming of the instructors as "Chip and Dale" because they had a habit of jumping in and out of each other's presentations, and of talking a lot!

5.2.3 THE INSTRUCTORS

The three instructors, involved in planning and teaching the Kwak'wala Teacher Training Program were Jay Powell, Vickie Jensen and Joy Wild. Jay Powell planned and taught the Kwak'wala reading and writing courses offered in the summer. Vickie Jensen and Joy Wild planned and taught the courses which focussed on second language teacher training and on the development of materials. All had been involved in a variety of Native language programs before working in KTTP.

Jay Powell, a linguist in the Department of Anthropology at the University of British Columbia, has been involved in a variety of projects in British Columbia and Washington aimed at developing materials for Native language programs, and at generally helping Native language teachers. He is one of the few academics who has been willing to invest time and energy in the Native language

teaching programs in Native communities. Powell's involvement with Alert Bay and teaching Kwak'wala has been through Gloria Cranmer Webster who, in the early 1970's invited him to begin working on a orthography for the 'Namgis dialect of Kwak'wala. Since then he has offered a Kwak'wala reading and writing course through the Cultural Centre most summers. He and Vickie Jensen were hired by the Centre to work on the year long Kwak'wala Language Curriculum Project. Together with a small committee of Nimpkish people they researched, wrote and published the Learning Kwak'wala Series (1981). Jay Powell and Vickie Jensen are married.

Vickie Jensen's professional training was as a high school English teacher; however, she has become a recognized photographer. Jensen has worked extensively with Powell on numerous Native language projects, and with him has published an impressive array of materials for Native language programs. She has also done a considerable amount of photography for the U'mista Cultural Centre, and has taught a number of photography courses. In addition to working on the Learning Kwak'wala Series, Jensen also wrote the Kwak'wala Teachers' Manuel. Both liked Alert Bay so well that they bought a house there and have returned each summer for a period of time.

Joy Wild's professional training was also as a high school English teacher. In addition she has training in English as a Second Language (ESL). Her experience in teaching was with Native children and immigrant children and adults. Since 1974 she has been involved in a variety of workshops and short courses aimed at training Native language teachers.

In 1982-83 Wild, Jensen and Powell worked together on a curriculum development project for the Northern Shuswap Language Committee. During this project Jensen and Wild began seeking new ways of involving the Native teachers in developing teaching materials that were culturally and sociolinguistically appropriate.

Prior to the Second Educational Conference of the Kwakwala'wakw, Joy Wild had never been to the northern end of Vancouver Island. All three of the KTTP instructors were invited as resource people to the conference, and arrangements were made for them to give a presentation on KTTP in order to interest people in attending the program.

5.3   THE BROADER CONTEXT IN WHICH KTTP WAS PLANNED, DEVELOPED AND IMPLEMENTED

The following section explores and describes the broader social context in which the Kwak'wala Teacher Training Project occurred. Jarvis' Curriculum Planning Model will be utilized to delineate the broad areas to be investigated. These can be seen to fall within the even broader factors identified by Stern as affecting the education of second language teachers. The model is not used to control the study, but rather to facilitate a description of the program by providing starting points for the study, and by helping to focus the analysis of data, and to organize findings.

5.3.1 SOCIOLOGICAL FACTORS

INTRODUCTION

Jarvis' model explicitly identifies sociological issues as an element to be explored in the planning of programs for adult learners. The sociological considerations involved in a discussion of a program such as KTTP, which seeks to train Native people to teach their own language and culture within the context of a school setting, are varied and complex, and include both cultural and political issues. They encompass the historical and contemporary relationships and structures which have developed between the Native community and the Canadian government and its dominant society. Included in this is the relationship between the school and the Native community. An understanding of them is essential for those

people, both Native and non-Native, who genuinely seek to improve Native education in Canada. However, an indepth exploration of them is beyond the scope and focus of this study. Instead a variety of issues, both historical and contemporary, are touched on briefly in an attempt to provide an overview of the social context in which KTTP developed, and which influenced the attitudes and interactions of the students and instructors.

While the focus of this study is KTTP, the underlying reasons for the program, for the need to train Native people to teach their own Native language and culture in the context of a school, can be found in the historical events surrounding the settlement of British Columbia, and the attitude and actions of the Canadian government and society toward Native communities and their cultures. These attitudes are not like historical artifacts which remain in the past, rather they continue to shape the structures of the communities, the relationships between Native people and schools, and the attitudes and perceptions of Native people and non-Native teaching staff toward each other.

Attitudes, perceptions, and relationships are also influenced by each cultural group's particular cultural world view and the values and social interaction patterns which have evolved over centuries. One difficulty in attempting to provide an overview of the social context in which KTTP developed is that very little information is available on the present day society and culture of the Kwakwaka'wakw, particularly from their perspective. Another even greater difficulty is this researcher's awareness that many Native people strongly dislike being described and analyzed by non-Native professionals. On numerous occasions throughout the course of KTTP comments were made by Native people about how non-Natives have benefitted or profited by talking about or writing about Native culture and people. The intention in this study is to begin providing insights and understandings which will benefit Native teachers and communities, by helping them to understand the

issues facing, and the factors affecting, their programs and schools. KTTP was their program.

Much of the information about aboriginal Kwakwaka'wakw society and culture, the historical events of the past one hundred years, and the present day community of Alert Bay is drawn from a newly released book entitled An Error in Judgement: The Politics of Medical Care in the Indian/White Community (1987) by Dara Culhane Speck. It is a book which attempts to provide insights and understandings of the struggle of the Kwakwaka'wakw of Alert Bay to shape their own community and lives, and "is traced through the words of the Native community itself". Other sources of information have been discussions with community members involved in the teaching of language and culture, and with Jay Powell and Vickie Jensen who have had a continuing involvement and interest in the Kwak'wala language programs and community since the early 1970's.

The various discussions pertaining to aboriginal Kwakwaka'wakw society and culture, an overview of white contact and the establishment of Alert Bay, also the history of schooling for Nimpkish children have been included in a section entitled Social History. Following this a section on the Development of the Native language programs in Alert Bay, one on the needs identified by Native teachers at the First and Second Educational Conferences of the Kwakwaka'wakw, and another on the health and status of Kwak'wala in the community.

In addition to looking at the broader sociological context in which the program occurred it is also important to look at the issues and influences within the program itself. Designing a teacher training program requires a double focus which takes into consideration both the school programs in which the the teachers will be working, and the teacher training program itself. The reason for providing information about the existing Native language and culture programs is that KTTP students were already teaching in them prior

to KTTP beginning. In fact, it was the teachers' concerns over the existing programs which prompted many of them to join KTTP. They felt something more was needed. In this way, then, the existing language and culture programs influenced both the planning and the development of KTTP. The following types of information were looked at in relationship to the existing programs the teachers were working in:

- Type of program: What kind of teaching and learning activities were being used.

- Goals of program: What they are and how they were arrived at?

- Working situation and conditions.

- Status of program in the community.

- Status of program in the school.

- Attitudes of the Native teachers, themselves, to the programs.

- Health and status of Kwak'waka in the Native community.

Some of this is described and discussed in the section on the Development of Native Language and Culture Programs in Alert Bay. Information on the KTTP students' attitudes towards the existing programs will be presented in this section.

Insights into the training program itself, (KTTP), are sought throughout the study, however, a number of issues are specifically included in this section. They include factors relating to the Perceived Demand for KTTP, how it was initiated, who supported it, and how it was initially set up, also to the social context surrounding KTTP and the influence of Community/School Politics. A discussion of sociological factors in the context of a training program for Native language teachers would be incomplete without a discussion of the changes which KTTP students, community members and the instructors perceived as resulting from the program. These, however, will be left to later in the study.

SOCIAL HISTORY

Insights into the present day structure and interactions of a
community can be gained from looking at its social history. It can
also provide insights into the attitudes within a community toward
education generally, and toward the teaching of the Native language
and culture.

The Past: Aboriginal Kwakwaka'wakw Culture

The Kwakwaka'wakw are the Northwest Coast cultural group
living on the central eastern and northern coastal areas of
Vancouver Island, the adjacent mainland, and the islands between.
The term, Kwakwaka'wakw, means Kwak'wala speaking people, and is
the preferred term used by the people to identify themselves. In
English they are known as the Kwakiutl. The Kwakwaka'wakw are
linguistically part of the Wakashan Language Family. It is
theorized by archeologists that the Kwakwaka'wakw originally came
from Asia as one of the hunter-fisher-gather groups that crossed the
Bering Bridge some 12,000 years ago. According to the
Kwakwaka'wakw origin legends, the creator placed them in the world
at the beginning of time (Speck, 1987:67).

Like other hunter-fisher-gatherer groups of the Northwest
Coast complex, the aboriginal Kwakwaka'wakw existence and life
style relied heavily on the sea, and on the abundant natural
environment. Over thousands of generations, the Kwakwaka'wakw
developed a complex society and rich culture which had as its
central institution the potlatch. In post contact times, the
Kwakwaka'wakw have developed a reputation for being amongst the
strongest resisters of the dominant Canadian culture. Many have
lobbied and fought for Native rights and resources in Canadian
society.Speck writes that before the arrival of Europeans in the
eighteenth century, the Kwakwaka'wakw were comprised of
"approximately eighteen relatively autonomous bands of people who

spoke the same language, but lived in different locales and had different names for themselves. Anthropologists claim that there were eight local clusters of neighbouring bands, and that all eighteen bands had relationships with each other, and with other linguistic groups up and down the coast and the mainland, based on trade and intermarriage" (1987:21).

Records compiled by Europeans in the latter half of the nineteenth century indicate that the aboriginal Kwakwaka'wakw were organized into a number of 'na'mima, each one being made up of several extended family groupings or houses, and headed by a chief. Groups of 'na'mima formed larger units or tribes like the Nimpkish. The society was organized hierarchacally into three main groups: aristocrats or nobility, who inherited their status based on claims of direct descent from one of the original mythical ancestors; commoners, who were members of the families, but had no claims of descendency from the original ancestors; and, slaves, captured members of other cultural groups (Speck 1987:68). It was the nobility who actively participated in the potlatch.

The following quotes from Speck point to a number of important cultural beliefs and values held by the aboriginal Kwakwaka'wakw, and to their manifestation in social organization and behaviour.

> The founding ancestors entered into pacts with the
> supernatural beings who controlled the land, the animals,
> the fish, and other resources. In exchange for promising
> to demonstrate self-control, to share land and resources
> with others, to show proper respect for the animals, birds,
> fish and trees upon which human survival depends, and to
> pay appropriate homage to the supernatural owners of
> these riches, the ancestors were given the right to use
> these resources and to control their distribution among
> their people.
>
> (Speck 1987:68)

Thus, the chief of each 'na'mima could trace his ancestry

back to the founding mythical ancestor. He had both the right to use the natural resources, and to control their distribution amongst his 'na'mima. He also had the responsibility to behave in accordance with the following values: respect for the natural world and the supernatural world, self control, and willingness to share with others.

> Chiefs organized their 'na'mima members in hunting, fishing, gathering, building and manufacture to meet both everyday subsistence needs, and to produce surplus for redistribution at potlatches. The ability to accumulate large enough amounts of such surplus goods entitled a chief to give a potlatch. In doing this a chief and his 'na'mima fulfilled their obligations to the ancestors, and through them, to the supernatural owners of the land.
>
> (Ibid, 69)

The potlatch was the central institution in Kwakwaka'wakw society by which the 'na'mima interacted. It combined social, political, economic and religious functions. It was through the potlatch that the nobility

> ....reaffirm their hereditary rank, social position, and their right to govern by demonstrating generousity, displaying masks and crests, and (performing) in dance and song. Alliances are consolidated with other 'na'mima and villages, and disputes between individuals and groups are also settled at these gatherings.
>
> (Ibid, 69)

As Speck points out, although the rituals were elaborate, the basic process was quite straight forward. The speaker for the person hosting the potlatch would state the host's case, and those invited guests who had knowledge of the events of the case would "either attest to, or deny the validity of the speaker's account. Through this process, the truth (was) established and publicly confirmed and recorded."

While the institution of the potlatch is often what is focussed on in discussing Kwakwaka'wakw culture, it is important to remember that day to day living centered around the extended family in relatively isolated, closely-knit, small villages. It was mainly

through the institution of the potlatch that the family groupings interacted. From historical accounts, as well as from the accounts of the Old People alive today, it appears that day to day living within families and villages was very peaceful. Conflicts and disagreements between families were primarily handled through the potlatch.

Community/Family Politics

An aspect of Northwest Coast cultural groups which has received the attention of academics is the rivalry which occurred between the 'na'mima, or extended family groupings (Powell, 1981). The cultures are described as being based on rivalry behaviour, in which the concepts of status and shame played significant roles in the political system of the society. This is contrasted to competition behaviour which underlies Europoean and Mainstream North American society. In a rivalry system, status and shame are the means by which individuals gain or lose political stature and authority within the society. What was important in this was how one stands in relationship to others, rather than how much status one has. This differs from competition behaviour which tends to focus on how much status, as if status is "a quantifiable entity" (Powell, 1981).

Powell writing of the Quileutes, a southern group within the Northwest Coast culture complex writes:

> For the Quileutes, status was, and continues to be a relationship with others rather than a quantifiable entity. Thus, one is not concerned with "how much" status one has, but with how one stands in relationship to others. In the old days, Quileutes claimed status by possession of names and perogatives that had been validated through potlatching, or by the membership in secret societies and demonstration of appropriate spirit powers, or by having spouses with such names and memberships. And one bested others in terms of status through the extravagant disbursement of property at potlatches.
>
> (Powell, 1981:6)

It was not material possessions, themselves, from which status was

derived but rather the act of generosity in giving them away. The receiving of gifts in the potlatch carried with it the obligation to return the gifts, "with interest," at a later potlatch. An aspect that needs to be pointed out is that the guests attending the potlatch were from other families, and were, in fact, paid witnesses of an important event in the history of the family hosting the potlatch. The amount a guest received was in proportion to his/her status. Thus, the higher one's status, the more one received. These gifts were later shared with the guest's own family members who also received according to their status within the family.

It is interesting to note that while the rivalry between families has been pointed out and studied, mainly through the potlatch, little is said of the everyday lives of people living within the context of their family groupings. As was mentioned earlier, anthropological studies, as well as the Old People alive today, point out that day to day living within the context of the family grouping was very smooth and peaceful.

A characteristic of societies based on rivalry behaviour was their orientation toward a non-confrontational approach to dealing with conflict. The concepts of guilt and blame were not factors of significance. Because of the focus on relationships, when a situation arose causing conflict within a relationship, both parties were involved. It served no purpose for one to blame the other, since both could do this, and both would loose. Avoidance of open conflict situations, if at all possible, was the social norm. When conflict did surface it was handled differently depending whether it was in a family grouping, or between family groupings. In the case of the latter, it was handled in the potlatch, in the former it was often handled by the Old People or by the Head of the family.

Rather than outright conflicts, dissatisfaction within a family grouping or community was often talked around, and made known through criticism being expressed about the person or through stories

being spread. As Powell comments these behaviours are negatively viewed within the context of Mainstream culture; however, within a rivalry system they work to preserve a co-operative ethos within the basic family grouping. They are not right or wrong, they are part of a total cultural system. Other references to this form of social behaviour in aboriginal societies occur in anthropological literature (Cline, 1974; Wolcott, 1976). Another common tactic which has been identified as a means of modifying social behaviour within Native communities is teasing and good humoured kidding. This serves to point out a particular behaviour to the person being kidded, and leaves the choice of what to do about it to the individual (Kleinfeld, 1974; Preston, 1986).

Powell has suggested that the values underlying aboriginal social behaviour can be seen in present day communities, even though the physical circumstances of people's lives have changed. One of the areas he points to as being influenced by the continuation of cultural value orientations is present day community politics. This will be discussed later in this section under Present Day Community School Politics.

Overview of White Contact

Beginning with the European fur trade in the eighteenth century Kwakwaka'wakw life styles and culture began to change; however, it is the past 150 years which have brought about the most drastic changes. During the boom of the fur trade, and up to the middle of the nineteenth century, the Kwakwaka'wakw enjoyed a period of high economic growth. The Canadian government, economically benefitting from the industriousness of Native hunters, and having no other pressing use for the lands of the Pacific Northwest, did not interfere with the traditional life styles or resources. Kwakwaka'wakw society and culture remained intact. Like other cultures around the world it adapted and accommodated itself to the changes in technology. The increased economic activity

and European goods were incorporated into the traditional social structure, and resulted in the growth and elaboration of the potlatch system.

This situation soon changed, however. With the decline of the European and Asian fur market, Native hunters and trappers received little for their furs; the social and political unrest in Europe attracted large numbers of European immigrants, seeking a better life, to the New World; with the industrial revolution came the need for increased natural resources. British Columbia began to open up as increasing number of immigrants began to settle permanently and to establish communities, bringing with them European belief systems and values.

They also brought European diseases, small pox, measles, influenza, and tuberculosus, against which the Native population had no natural immunities nor effective medicines. Although there are recorded cases of the diseases occurring during the fur trading period, they were relatively isolated. During the second half of the nineteenth century, however, the diseases became full scale epidemics. Native people, who had travelled to white settlements to trade or look for work, upon contacting a disease returned to their home villages, transmitting the disease as they went. The result was a decimation of the Native population by European diseases. A survey of the Kwakwaka'wakw in 1835 showed a population of approximately 10,700; by 1885 seventy percent of the people had died, leaving only 3,000; and by 1929 the population had dropped to 1,834. Over a mere fifty years, eighty five percent of the Kwakwaka'wakw had died (Speck, 1987:82).

Despite the fact that approximately seventy per cent of the Native people in British Columbia had died, in the late 1800's the Native population still outnumbered the white population. Native people, eager to work, sought employment in the new and growing industries of commercial fishing, canning and logging. Workers were

needed.

Increasing numbers of European immigrants continued to arrive, and noticeable changes occurred in the Canadian government's attitude toward Native society. No longer required to contribute to the Canadian economy through the fur trade, Native communities ceased to be of value to the government which perceived "worthiness" and "value" in terms of European ideals and concepts of civilization. Aboriginal societies were now perceived as "primitive and pagan"; the British saw themselves as a superior culture with the right to own and control the land, including the aboriginal people who inhabited it.

As a result, restrictions began to be imposed on Native populations. The first official land confiscations occurred in 1864 when the colonial land commissioner allotted land to Native people on the basis of 10 acres per family; homestead settlers were given 160 acres each. The grounds given were that "savages" were incapable of understanding "abstract" ideas of property (Speck 1987:77). Native leaders protested by means of petitions to the authorities. The government's response took the form of the Indian Act of 1876 which placed even greater restrictions on Native life. For the Kwakw_aka_'wakw, as for other groups, this meant confinement to reserves under the direct surveillance of government agents, compulsory education by missionaries, the prohibition of alcohol, and, in 1884, the banning of the potlatch (Speck 1987:79).

It is a mistake to think that because Native people did not go to war over the invasion of their land by Europeans, they passively allowed it to happen. They did not. It is equally important to remember that during this same period, epidemics were ravaging Native lives and communties. In numerous cases, whole families and communities were wiped out, and vast stores of traditional knowledge went with them.

Throughout this period, Native leaders, amongst them many Kwakwaka'wakw leaders, protested the confinements and restrictions. This occurred mainly in the form of personal delegations, and in letters and petitions to government authorities: local government agents, provincial bodies, the Federal Canadian government, even the British Privy Council and the British monarchy. The results were further restrictions.

In 1884 the government had passed legislation banning the potlatch, but despite this, potlatching continued. There were missionaries and government agents, however, who continued lobbying against it, and in 1921 at the wedding potlatch of Nimpkish Chief Dan Cranmer, a major crackdown was orchestrated. Forty-five Kwakwaka'wakw were sent to Oakalla Prison. Their dance regalia, masks and other potlatch gifts were confiscated; some went to private collectors, others were sent to museums. Potlatching went underground, and continued secretly in the more isolated villages and in Alert Bay. The protests continued. A Joint Federal/Provincial Committee in 1927 outlawed the formation of political organizations, the calling of meetings, and the raising of funds for the purposes of pursuing Native land claims (Speck 1987:80). This legislation lasted throughout the 1930's and 1940's, and then was quietly rescinded in the Indian Act of 1951 in which Native people were recognized as citizens of Canada. From the enactment of the Indian Act of 1876 until the changed act of 1951 Native people had not been recognized as citizens. Instead they were designated as wards of the Federal Government, and were considered to be incapable of making decisions for themselves. Thus, 1951, marks the turning point for Native people in Canada; however, the signing of papers does not erase the effects of one hundred years of domination, of the frustration and anger of not being able to make decisions about one's own life and community, of five generations of children being separated from their families and communities, and the resulting loss of language and cultural knowledge. The signing of a government paper also does not quickly

change social attitudes which have developed in both the Native and
non-Native communities, or erase the changes in Native social
structure and culture.

Alert Bay

The town of Alert Bay is situated on Cormorant Island, a
narrow, four mile long, crescent-shaped island in Johnstone Strait
which separates northern Vancouver Island from the mainland. The
Kwakwaka'wakw have used the island as a refuge in storms for as
long as people can remember, and know it as "Yalis" or "spread-leg
beach", for its shape resembles a woman with her legs spread open
in front of her (Speck, 1987:68).

During the 1870's Cormorant Island was leased from the
government by two white pioneers, Spencer and Huson, who
established a small saltery. They soon found they needed a local
population of Native workers, and convinced Rev. Alfred James Hall,
a missionary working with the Kwakwaka'wakw people living on the
Nimpkish River, to persuade the families to move to Alert Bay in
1878. A mission house was built in return. The saltery was thus
assured of workers. In a region dependent upon transportation by
water, Alert Bay with its natural harbour was an ideal location.
The Kwakelthtl Agency of the Department of Indian Affairs
established its regional administrative headquarters there in 1890,
and in 1929 St. Michael's, an industrial residential school
administered by the Anglican Church was opened. The school housed
upward of 200 students drawn from Kwakwaka'wakw villages of the
area, and other Native groups up the coast. Within a short period
Alert Bay had become the administrative, economic, educational and
religious centre of the area. It continued as such until the 1970's
when a decline in the fishing and logging industries, and the
opening of the northern section of the Island Highway, caused it to
decline in importance.

Alert Bay is in actuality two communities, living side by side. At one end is the Native community made up of the Nimpkish Indian Reserve with approximately 1,000 members, half of whom live on reserve, and the smaller Whe-La-La-U All-Bands Reserve with about 150 members. The latter are families from bands other than the Nimpkish. Each reserve has its own independently run Band Council. This end is locally known as "The Village" or the "Indian End." The main occupation is fishing.

Initially, the Village was predominantly residential; however, since the 1970's Federal Government funding has been available to set up and run social and economic development projects on the reserve, and the bands operate their own local government offices as well as reserve-based social services. A band administered school opened in 1977, the U'mista Cultural Centre in 1980, and the Native Health Centre in 1983.

At the other end is the white community with a population of approximately 600. It is made up of permanent residents and transients, and is composed of people from the wide spectrum of Canadian society. It is the "White End" in which the majority of stores, businesses, trades and services both private and government, are located.

According to Speck, the development of Alert Bay was based on the economic needs of the white community, and although a hundred years have past, the basic economic and social structure of the community has remained largely unchanged (page 94). The Native community is still predominantly dependent upon the white community for its goods and its services. In ways this is gradually changing, the Band has its own school and administers its own Native Health Centre; however, self administration does not necessarily bring complete independence in decision-making.

Native Cultural Revival Movement

Underlying the cultural revival movement in Native communities across Canada, which began in the early 1970's, is the valuing of traditional Native cultures and languages, and the belief that Native people have a right to control their own lives. This belief has been kept alive and quietly nurtured in Native communities over the one hundred years of domination by the Canadian government, of policies based on assimilation and acculturation which were ultimately aimed at destroying Native cultures and languages.

The cultural revival movement, which had been gradually developing, was heralded by the National Indian Brotherhood's policy statement, Indian Control of Indian Education in 1972. This was nationwide Native response to the Federal Government's White Policy Paper of 1969, which had proposed the termination of the Indian Act, and with it the recognition of the special status of Native people in Canadian society. The underlying principle, that Indian parents and communities should have control of the education of their children, was adopted by the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs as their official policy in 1973; however the structure and control of education funding remained with the Federal Government. This arrangement has proven difficult and unwieldy for Native communities such as Alert Bay which have decided to have their own Band-controlled schools, since funding for schools is still controlled by bureaucrats within the Federal Government. Another objective advocated by the National Indian Brotherhood was the teaching of traditional languages and cultures in schools. It was believed that the teaching of the culture and language in a school context would be a recognition and a validation of the culture and language. It would enhance Native children's cultural identity, and thus, their self image, and would also help to strengthen, even revive, the traditional culture and language.

The goals and objectives of <u>Indian Control of Indian Education</u> are proving to be very difficult to implement on a practical basis. One possible reason is that the historical structures underlying the relationships which have developed between Native communities and the institutions and professionals of the dominant Canadian society which serve them have, in actuality, changed very little (Speck, 1987) Another reason is that present day Native communities are communities in transition. The Native people living in them encompass a wide degree of acculuration and assimilation into the dominant Canadian society, and represent a wide range of attitudes toward traditional culture, and toward mainstream Canadian culture and society.

The Village

Throughout the one hundred plus years in which the Kwakwaka'wakw, like other Native groups in Canada, lived under the policies of the Canadian government based on assimilation and acculturation, they have managed to maintain their culture and communities as distinctly different from those of the mainstream society. Given the degree of domination and the time span over which it continued, this is a testimony to the strength of the people and their culture. That is not to say there have not been wounds; these are most obvious in human lives. They can be seen in the high rate of alcoholism, in the number of broken families, in the suicide amongst the young. It can also be seen in the drastic decline in the use of the Native language and the loss of cultural knowledge.

The present day Native community of Alert Bay, the village defies definition. It encompasses the past one hundred years of history, with its families reflecting a wide range of attitudes toward traditional culture, and of stages of acculturation and assimilation. There is a strong vein within the community which continues to value and to nurture Kwakwaka'wakw culture and language. Amongst these

are strong advocates of Native self determination and cultural revival, as well as those who quietly live according to Kwakwaka'wakw values. Perhaps the most dramatic example of the former are those who have continued to follow the potlatch tradition even though it was outlawed from 1884 to 1951. Wonderful stories are told of potlatches being held in more remote villages, and in Alert Bay itself during winter storms when government officials and the police did not venture out. Others are told of people who distributed potlatch gifts during the Christmas season to avoid being charged.

There are others who believe that the old days are gone. They have turned toward the culture of the dominant Canadian society, and no longer involve themselves in cultural practises or teach their children to value Kwakwaka'wakw ways. This range, with the exception of individuals who have no interest at all in Kwakwaka'wakw culture, was represented amongst the students in KTTP.

Commissioner Dr. Gary Goldthorpe in his 1981 report on the Government of Canada Inquiry into Indian Health and Health Care in Alert Bay, B.C. made the following comments about the overall health of the Native community of Alert Bay:

> Health has a less tangible dimension not demonstratable by death or disease statistics, yet just as real and possibly more important. It is 'whole health', involving spiritual, social and mental aspects of the life of the individual and the community. It is 'health as strength', as togetherness, as harmony with the universe, as self-esteem, pride in self and group, as self reliance, as coping, as joy in living.

> Their health (the Kwakwaka'wakw of Alert Bay) has declined with suppression of their language and culture, with the anti-potlatch laws, with compulsory schooling away from home, family and language, with disrespect by powerful whites for their social and political institutions, with assimilationist assumptions that they should join in general Canadian (or B.C.) social and political

institutions, and forget their own.
<div style="text-align: right;">(Quoted by Speck, 1987:259)</div>

The population of the Village in Alert Bay contains within it
a number of extended family groupings that, in former times, would
have constituted 'na̱'mima. The extended family ties and family
loyalties are still very strong, and even though Village life is
changing, and people are moving toward a more individual
perspective and politically isolated nuclear families, there is still a
strong orientation toward, and valuing of family (Speck 1987:225).
The social lives of many continue to revolve mainly around the lives
of family members. This is perhaps most evident in the way in
which family members support each other, in good times and in bad.
It can be seen in how they work together to prepare for a potlatch,
to run a variety of recreational programs, to prepare for a large
family event. It can also be seen in how people support each other
during times of illness or a death. During the two and a half
years that KTTP ran, the class was cancelled or re-scheduled on
four different occasions because students were attending the funeral
of a community member and on several other occasions the workshops
were re-scheduled so they would not coincide with times when
students were busy helping to prepare for a family potlatch. This
will be discussed under scheduling in the section on the Actual
Program.

Family also continues to be a significant factor in the
political life of the community. In describing the situation in the
community, triggered by a little girl's death, that led up to the
Government of Canada's Goldthorpe Inquiry into Indian Health and
Health Care in Alert Bay in 1980, Speck writes of how community
members aligned themselves with their families over the issues:

> Everyone experienced at least some strain within
> their families and/or their jobs as a result of the
> controversy, and conflict within families in an Indian
> community is extremely painful. Not only are relationships
> multi-facited, but they are also intense as daily life is
> lived in constant contact and social interaction. In the

> complex web of relationships that bind people together in
> a town like Alert Bay, conflicting loyalties of the most
> personal, intimate and painful nature pulled members of
> both communities in several different directions.
>
> (Speck, 1987:105)

For a non-Native instructor, such as the researcher, who had
not had previous contact with Kwakwaka'wakw people or communities,
and who travelled to Alert Bay for short, work-oriented stays, the
political dynamics of the community, and the scars of the past are
not immediately apparent in the everyday lives and talk of the
Native students. Village life seems very full, filled with talk of
families, community and school events, Bingos, soccer and basketball
tournaments, dinners, out of town visitors, and depending upon the
time of year, plans for Christmas, June Sports, fishing or a
forthcoming Potlatch.

History of Schooling of Nimpkish Children

While little specific information is available on the traditional
learning and teaching styles of the Kwakwaka'wakw, it would seem,
from talking to various commmunity people, and from the writing of
a number of professionals familiar with Northwest coast cultures,
that they shared many of the same assumptions about learning and
teaching as other Native groups. In pre-contact times the
Kwakwaka'wakw controlled the education of their own children.
Learning occurred as a natural part of everyday living. The world
in which a child lived was the classroom. The knowledge, values
and skills necessary for surviving in a harsh, natural environment
were transmitted to children mainly by the members of their extended
family.

It appears that there were two primary modes of teaching that
occurred. One was used in learning skills, and the other in
learning values and social behaviour. Skills were basically learned
through observing someone in the process of making or doing
something. The role of the learner was to watch carefully, and only

ask about something if it was unclear. There were no long
preambles or explanations given by the person demonstrating the
skill, and no questioning sessions to ensure that the learner
understood what was happening. Learning was very much the
learner's own responsibility. Another mode of teaching was through
the telling of myths and the recounting of personal experiences.
This form of teaching was highly verbal, and was used to teach
values and proper social behaviour. In both forms of teaching the
context in which it occurred was very personalized, pertaining to
situations, places and people the learner was familiar with; in both
cases the responsibility for learning was placed on the learner. As
in other aboriginal cultures around the world, cultural transmission
from one generation to another through personal contact and oral
teachings had continued in Kwakwaka'wakw society for hundreds of
years. The social structure of Kwakwaka'wakw society organized
into closely-knit units comprised of members of the extended family,
was dependent upon the living knowledge and skills of its members.

Three phenomena during the nineteenth century were to have
horrendous repercussions on the transmission of aboriginal
Kwakwaka'wakw culture: one was the epidemics of European-
introduced diseases; another was the compulsory schooling of Native
children in residential schools; the third was the banning of the
potlatch tradition. From an educational perspective, a major effect
of the effect of the epidemics was the loss of the cultural knowledge
and skills possessed by those who died. The educational policies of
the Federal Government, following the enactment of the Indian Act of
1876, were deliberately designed to block the further transmission of
aboriginal culture by separating children from their families and
communities. For many, although not all, the banning of the
potlatch coupled with Christian teachings, resulted in the discontinu-
ation of the central institution of Kwakwaka'wakw society.

Initially, although education was compulsory after 1876,
children and their parents were taught in small local mission

schools; often together; however, within a relatively short time after the Act was passed, large, centralized, residential industrial schools were built, and Native children required to leave their homes for ten to eleven months of each year. Thus, the traditional teachers in the family and the natural learning environment were replaced by professional educators, and by formal systems of education called schools.

The schooling of the Nimpksih children from Alert Bay and the other Kwakwaka'wakw communities of the region follows a similar pattern to other Native communities in the province.

The following chart shows this, and the changes which occurred.

Up to
1876   Prior to intensive European settlement Native children were educated in the traditional manner in the context of their families.

1876   Indian Act: Compulsory education: Children and adults are taught together by missionary in the 'Namgis community on the Nimpkish River.

1881   Establishment of Christian mission at Alert Bay.

1891   Construction of a Mission School.

1929   Establishment of St. Michael's Residential Industrial School for girls and boys; operated by the Anglican Church. Instruction in Christian teachings; academic program to Grade 8. Manual skills in farming, animal husbandry, carpentry for boys. Cooking, sewing and homemaking for girls. Housed upward to 200 students from Kwakwaka'wakw villages of the area. Students forbidden to speak Kwak'wala. Punished if they do. St. Michael's residential school closes. Department of Indian Affairs Day School opens. Out of town children continue to live in St. Michael's residence.

1955   DIA Day School closes, all children attend the provincially run, integrated public school. Children from outlying villages live in St. Michael's residence.

1977   A revolt against the public school by a number of Nimpkish
        band members supportive of the cultural revival movement
        results in the establishment of an independent,
        band-administered school named, T'lisalagi'lakw, "the mink".
        It is housed in the old St. Michael's School. Parents of
        children from the Nimpkish and Whe La La U All Members
        reserves can choose to send their children to either the Band
        School or the public Provincial School.

Beginning with the first days that Kwakwaka'wakw children began attending schools, until the 1960's, a predominantly negative attitude was held by first church, then government, and later school authorities toward the traditional Native culture and language. As Wolcott (1967:viii) writes, the mission of the educational system was "to minimize traditional Indian culture." Dara Culhane Speck (1987) writes more graphically:

> The explicit goal of the residential school system was to
> break the bonds between generations, thus "freeing" the
> young from the shackles of tradition and the influence of
> their families. Native parents, of course, made every
> effort to thwart this estrangement from their children and
> more and more people migrated from the smaller, more
> isolated Kwakwaka'wakw villages to Alert Bay in order to
> be able, at least, to visit with their children regularly.
> For the most part graduates of the residential schools did
> not assimilate into Canadian society. Many had no desire
> to, and others who tried found the doors closed to them.
> At the same time, when they returned to their home
> villages they often found they had lost both the ability to
> communicate fluently with parents and grandparents, and
> the practical, as well as social skills necessary to fit into
> village life. (Speck, 1987:84).

The aspect of such schooling practises most significant to this study is the devastating affect that the separation of children from their families and communities, and the suppression of the Native language has had on the traditional culture, and on Kwak'wala as a vital language of communication in Kwakwaka'wakw communities.

While a great deal of documentation and research has been conducted on the culture of the Kwakwaka'wakw and on the linguistic structures of the language, little research has been done on

present-day language use patterns in Native communities (Levine, 1976).

DEVELOPMENT OF THE KWAK'WALA LANGUAGE PROGRAMS IN ALERT BAY

Since the mid 1970's there have been a variety of programs focussing on Native culture started in a number of Kwakwaka'wakw communities, ranging from Cape Mudge in the south, to Rivers Inlet in the north, for both schooled-aged children and for adults. The 1970's mark the beginning of a period of a strong cultural revival movement.

It would appear that the programs have had little connection with each other; people living in the different communities have set up their own programs when the time seemed right for them. The great majority of the programs have been set up in a school context. Burnaby (1980) speculates that there are two major and related reasons for this. One is that schools have come to be seen in Native communities, as well as the Mainstream communities, as places in which important learning occurs. A position taken by the National Brotherhood's policy paper Indian Control of Indian Education (1972) is that Native language and culture programs should be taught in schools as a form of validation of the language and culture. A more practical reason is that schools are convenient places to run a program since children are gathered there every day.

Kwak'wala has been taught in Alert Bay in courses or classes since the late 1960's. While there is virtually no written reports on them it has been possible to gain insights into their development from discussions with a variety of people involved with them, and from the report of the First Educational Conference of the Kwakwaka'wakw held in June 1982. It appears from these sources that the programs began quite independently of each other in several different settings at different times in the late 1960's and in the

1970's.

In the early 1970's several initiatives were taken by members of the Nimpkish Band toward retaining Kwak'wala. Work began on a writing system for the 'Namgis dialect of Kwak'wala which is spoken by the members of the Nimpkish Band. This was organized by Gloria Cranmer Webster who invited Jay Powell to work with her on the language. At around the same time adult classes for learning oral Kwak'wala were also started; arrangements were made to offer them through North Island College. During the second year they were offered, Simon Fraser University and the University of Victoria agreed to credit students completing the courses with first year Kwak'wala. When the writing system for the 'Namgis dialect was completed, courses in Kwak'wala reading and writing skills were offered. Periodic courses have continued to be offered to the present, many taught by Jay Powell. In 1974 the U'mista Cultural Society was officially registered as a non-profit organization and a variety of projects aimed at researching and preserving Kwak'wala and traditional culture were organized by and operated from the society.

The 1970's was the period in which a strong Indian cultural revival movement developed in Alert Bay, as in many other Native communities across Canada. One of the manifestations of the movement was a "revolt against the public school" which Native children in Alert Bay attended (Speck, 1987:93). In 1977 the Nimpkish Band Council opened its own independently run Band administered-school. The teaching of Kwak'wala and the traditional Kwakwaka'wakw dances became part of the curriculm offered.

The U'mista Cultural Society, with Gloria Cranmer Webster as the Director, obtained federal money under the Cultural Centre Education Program, a federal program for furthering the teaching of Native culture. The funds were required to be used to hire teachers and pay resource people for the Kwak'wala program and the

traditional dance programs offered in the Band School. Money for the development of teaching materials had to be sought elsewhere. Under this arrangement the Native language and culture classes were taught as part of the Band School's program, but the salaries for Native teachers and resource people were paid through the U'mista Cultural Society.

The Native language and culture programs at the Band School gradually expanded until by the Fall of 1983 they included two Kwak'wala teachers, one for the primary and one for the intermediate grades, and a traditional dance program which was taught by Agnes Cranmer, a respected Nimpkish Old Person, accompanied by Jack Peters singing and drumming, and assisted by one of the Native teacher aides. An important component of the dance program at that time was the telling of Kwakwaka'wakw legends, and teachings about the ceremonial masks worn in the dances. In talking about this, Gloria Cranmer Webster commented:

> I had the nursery (ie. elementary) school class come in and I would be with them for twenty minutes or half an hour, and that was my time to tell them legends about the masks that they were using and the dances they were learning. We had six classes come through everyday. It was something I enjoyed doing and I think the kids learned something. It tied together the dance instruction, too... that they weren't just waving around their hands and feet, that they were understanding.

During the winter of 1980-81, the U'mista Cultural Society engaged Jay Powell and Vickie Jensen, to develop and produce Kwak'wala teaching resource materials. They worked very closely for a year with a committee of Nimpkish band members, and the result was the Learning Kwak'wala Series, a series of twelve books designed to aid in the teaching of Kwak'wala, and a book of Kwakwaka'wakw dance. These were the first published teaching materials available to Kwak'wala teachers.

Another setting in which the teaching of Kwak'wala occurred

was the Alert Bay Provincial School located in the "White End" of
Alert Bay, and operated by School District No. 85. It was to this
school that Nimpkish children were sent when the DIA day school was
closed in 1955; it was also this school that the advocates of a
Band-operated school revolted against in 1977.

Flora Cook, the principal and a member of the Nimpkish Band,
related the history of the Provincial School's Native Studies program
at the First Educational Conference of the Kwakwaka'wakw held in
June 1982. She said the program initially began in the mid 1960's
when Mit'sa (Herbert Martin), a local Old Person, started teaching
the Hamat'sa to fifteen boys who were having difficulty adusting to
the school system. By 1968 the program had changed its emphasis to
encompass more of the culture, and it involved all children in the
school. Local resource people were invited to talk to the students
about their traditional culture or to do a demonstration for them.
These cultural days were referred to as "Indian Days".

> It was a special day set aside to do mainly Native culture
> of the area....language, art and dances. We used mainly
> volunteers from the community and without their help
> nothing would have been accomplished. (Conference
> Report: The First Educational Conference of the
> Kwakwaka'wakw, 1982:8).

One of the difficulties Flora referred to was the "continual
change of school administration that sometimes gave her (then a
teacher) no support towards the programs". Another difficulty
encountered was that operating programs such as the above with
volunteer help from the Native Community became more difficult
because the National Indian Brotherhood, in lobbying for Indian
control of Indian education in the early 1970's, advocated no local
Band support of provincial schools.

In 1977 School District No. 85 hired a Nimpkish Band member
to teach Kwak'wala on a regular basis at the provincial school,
later a second language teacher was hired and a dance teacher, who
was aided by a local Old Person who worked as her assistant. In

1979 the staff of the Provincial School in conjunction with the Nimpkish Band Council lobbied School District No. 85 to support and fund the Alert Bay Native Education Program. The staff of this program included the existing Native language and dance teachers, and Native teacher aides in the school, and a Nimpkish co-ordinator was hired. The main aim of the program was to develop local materials for, and to provide support for the teaching of Native culture in the school. The Native teachers acted as resource people for the regular classroom teachers who were encouraged to incorporate Native culture into regular classroom teaching. Native language and culture teachers also helped each other with ideas for teaching.

Because of the strong union stance taken by CUPE regarding the hiring of untrained people to work in the schools, all of the Native teachers, including the co-ordinator, were classified as child care workers, and were required by School District No. 85 to become members of the union. While the Native teachers did not like this, they had no other choice. In talking about the situation, the former co-ordinator, a KTTP student, said she even checked with the provincial Ombudsman who told her there was nothing they could do about it.

> We were classified as child care workers, and I think that really pissed us off. Gee, we're not just child care workers! No one in the whole CUPE thing could do what we were doing in school. And senority, to boot... Forget it! (Tape 9A:146)

It was after this that the Native teachers began to talk about ways of being recognized by the school administrators, and about being accredited for the type of work they actually did.

From the information available in the data it appears there was very little working contact between the Native language and culture programs at the Provincial School and at the Band School. Certainly the Native language and culture teachers knew each other

socially. For one thing the Village is a small, closely-knit community in which most people are related to and/or involved with each other in one way or another. For another, several of the Native teachers at the Provincial School, because of their family's active involvement in potlatching and their interest in maintaining the culture, were members of the U'mista Cultural Society's committee working on the Learning Kwak'wala Series. The lack of contact is not surprising, however, given that the two schools were in a rivalry position: parents from the Native community could choose to have their children attend either the Band School or the Provincial School. If they attended the Band School, the enrollment dropped at the Provincial School; if they attended the Provincial School there were fewer students at the Band School. Speck, who was involved in setting up the Band School, writes that a Band School controlled by the community seemed "like the perfect solution". The Band School, however, initially received less support from the community than was anticipated. Many Native parents, unwilling to risk their children's education in an untried school, continued sending them to the Provincial School.

> But what happened was not what we had idealistically envisioned. The public school administration (who was Nimpkish) and some staff, finding themselves fighting for their own survival, mustered their forces and did everything they could to undermine the band's school. The District Supervisor for Education for the Department of Indian Affairs, the man in charge of funding, was philosophically opposed to separate education. He did not go out of his way to facilitate Indian control of Indian education. The Band school was constantly faced with shortage of funds and with last minute changes in program directives. Many parents were reluctant to gamble with something as important as their children's education and, at least initially, the school did not have the support in the community we had expected. (Speck, 1987:211).

Support for the Band School gradually grew, and in 1983 was given a boost by the results of an assessment given by School District No. 85 to Grade 10 students in the Provincial School. It was rumoured in the community that they were two years behind

their Pt. McNeill counterparts. The Band School had developed a reputation for concentrating on the 3r's, and within a short period of time a number of students had moved to it. Within the same year provincial cutbacks occurred in education, and the decreasing enrollment in the Provincial School, coupled with this, appear to have resulted in the Alert Bay Education Program eventually being closed.

PROGRAMS IN OTHER COMMUNITIES

Over the same period of time that the Native language and culture programs were beginning in Alert Bay, similar efforts were being made in other Kwakwaka'wakw communities, and in a number of provincial schools in the district with large numbers of Native children. Amongst these were classes in the provincial schools in Ft. Rupert, in Coal Harbour, in the Band school at Tsulquate. The Oweekyala Language Project had been operating in Rivers Inlet since the early 1970's. Campbell River to the south, in a different school district, had developed a large, school program which mainly focussed on Native studies and on teaching Kwak'wala. It received support from the local Bands, especially Cape Mudge, and from the Campbell River Museum, the Cape Mudge Cultural Centre, the DINA and the school district's Resource Centre. A different orthography system had been developed for the Kwak'wala dialect spoken in the Campbell River area than in the Alert Bay area. A Kwak'wala program was also started in one of the Victoria schools.

The majority of Kwak'wala programs and the Native culture programs have been initiated by local Native people working in conjunction with non-Native specialists such as linguists or anthropologists, or with teachers in the schools. Support for the programs in the form of time allotted in the school schedule, and salaries for the language and culture teachers has been obtained from the provincial school district or from the DINA, depending upon the type of school. The teachers in the programs are members of the

local Native community who have attended occassional workshops; however, they have had no teacher training. In the majority of cases there has been no specified curriculum or program to follow, and the teaching materials have been self-made or locally developed.

NEEDS IDENTIFIED AT THE FIRST EDUCATIONAL
CONFERENCE OF THE KWAKWAKA'WAKW

The First Educational Conference of the Kwakwaka'wakw hosted by the U'mista Cultural Centre at Alert Bay in June 1982 was the first time that people involved in various aspects of Native Education in the region came together to exchange ideas, share concerns and explore ways of improving the programs. Included were Native language and culture teachers, Native Home School co-ordinators, Kwakwaka'wakw Old People, and representatives from School Districts and the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs (DINA). It was funded by DINA, and received the support of School District No. 85, and the Native teachers from a number of different programs. In the preface of the Conference Proceedings Report, Colleen Hemphill, the Native Studies Co-ordinator in Port Hardy wrote:

> Native Studies programmes have been in effect on a fairly large scale in the Campbell River and Alert Bay areas for over five years. It has also been in the Victoria and Port Hardy areas for the past three years. Though basically the same language, history and art are being taught, there has been very little communication between the three areas. It was this awareness of the lack of interchange that made us decide we should have a conference - thus, giving us the opportunity to know what each area is doing for Native Indian education.
> (Conference Report, 1982:3).

Representatives from many Kwakwaka'wakw communities attended: Campbell River, Port Hardy, Coal Harbour, Alert Bay, Victoria and Kingcome Inlet. Reference was also made to the Oweekyala Language Project at Rivers Inlet; athough their representatives were unable to attend, they had also expressed a desire for "a conference to be held for Native Educators from Campbell River, north to Klemtu". In keeping with traditional

Kwakwaka'wakw values and practises, the Old People had an
important role to play in the conference.

Those planning the conference identified four main concerns
facing Kwakwaka'wakw educators which became the focus of the
conference:

1.   Common curriculum materials.
2.   Ideas for new curriculum.
3.   Issues and problems encountered in the education system
        within the school districts.
4.   The need to develop a common support system.

In the conference proceedings, and in discussions recorded in
the Conference Report a number of issues and concerns emerge,
voiced by a wide variety of people involved in the programs. These
included:

Curriculum Development: The following concerns and questions
regarding curriculum and its development emerged:

- How curriculum would be developed, by whom and in what
  manner. Would it be developed in the way of the non-Native
  school or in the Native way using and consulting the Old People?
- Would knowledge be shared as in the old ways, or paid for, as
  in the white men's way?
- Would children be taught by words as they are in school, or
  would they be taught through actions and examples as in the
  Native way?
- Is the whole of culture to be taught ie. a way of thinking,
  behaving and living, or is only a segment of culture to be
  taught?
- Acknowledgement was made that the responsibility of planning and
  developing the language and culture programs is too much for one
  person, and requires the knowledge of the Old People.
- Funding for the development and production of teaching materials
  was also pointed to as a need for the programs. While money
  was available for paying the salaries of teachers and resource

people, it had to be specially obtained for the development of teaching materials.

Community Involvement and Support: Another set of concerns and issues revolved around gaining community support for the programs, involving parents, and motivating students, particularly those whose parents or family no longer spoke Kwak'wala.   The Kwak'wala teachers expressed concern about children's behaviour during class.

School Support and Recognition of Native Teachers: A variety of comments were made about the seeming lack of real valuing of the programs teaching Native language and culture by school administra- tors and by non-Native teachers.   Several reasons were seen for this: the low classification of Native teachers as child-care workers or as teaching assistants, and the lack of certification.   Both of these were thought to   result in Native teachers not being recognized as "professional peers".   Overall most people attending the conference felt that further training and certification would be beneficial.

The following exerpt from the Conference Report, describing the response of Ernest Willie, from Kingcome Inlet, to the workshop reports given at the conference, points to the dilemna facing those involved in the Native language and culture programs being taught in schools.   It also illustrates a number of differences in cultural orientation between the Native community and the non-Native school. The underlying issue raised is that of cultural compromise and of cultural integrity.   Native teachers were cautioned not to compromise their own cultural identity and cultural teachings by trying to validate themselves in the eyes of non-Native teachers,or by following the same practises.   Another issue raised is that of language use patterns in the community, and the valuing of the language and culture by Native people themselves.

"Everyone of us have denied being Indian at one point of our lives.   How do we legitimize our peoples' knowledge?

Are we to cater to the non-Indian way of certification?
The spirit of dancing is a living reality. We must not
sell ourselves short. How can we take from the Old people
and label them as professionals for we cannot put this
knowledge into dollars. Their culture makes them alive.
We must get together and share what we have, not
methodology, but share ourselves as people, we must find
ways of teaching our children." He stated that he would
like to see people return to their respective homes and
reserves to be taught again - kindness, love and
gentleness by action instead of studying. "We teach our
children Kwak'wala in schools, then speak English to them
when they go home." (Conference Report, 1982:6)

Throughout the conference report numerous references were
made to the importance of, and need to involve the Old People in the
programs. Agnes Cranmer reminded the participants that "Without
the Old People you would have had no knowledge of the culture,"
and Gloria Cranmer Webster pointed to the importance of showing
respect for their knowledge by involving them in the programs.
Ernest Willie stated that "There is a way of life we are letting float
by like a cloud, and we are forever trying to pick pieces from
it...We should put this in (the) context of these old people, for they
share what they have, not what we think they should share."

The conference report is important in that it is one of the few
written accounts of the concerns and issues facing Native teachers
and programs in the schools. It is also an indicator of the needs
faced by the programs and teachers. Although there is mention made
that the responsibility of planning and developing programs is too
much for one person, it is significant that there is no mention of
setting goals for the programs, of looking at the way in which
existing programs were set up and taught; there is little evidence of
over-all planning or an awareness of the need for it. There was a
great deal of concern expressed however, about the need to improve
the programs.

A second conference of the Kwakwaka'wakw, similar in format
to the first, was held at Fort Rupert in September 1983. There was

a greater focus on training teachers of Kwak'wala and on the development of teaching materials; several non-Native consultants with backgrounds in linguistics and/or teaching Native as a Second Language were invited as resource people. Included amongst them were the three KTTP instructors who talked to conference participants about KTTP and sought their ideas of what needed to be in the program. Similar concerns were expressed during this conference as in the first. There was no write up or record made of the conference proceedings, and no conference has been held since that time.

Discussions of the need for teachers to obtain training, for the development of materials for language and culture classes, for a clearing house for information, and for recognition of salary and standards occurred in both Kwakwaka'wakw conferences, as they have in other Native language and culture conferences in B.C. and across Canada.

HEALTH AND STATUS OF KWAK'WALA

While considerable work has been done on researching the linguistic systems of Kwak'wala, and work continues with the Old People to record the language, there appears to be little, if any, research conducted regarding the present day health and status of Kwak'wala in Kwakwaka'wakw communities. As a result, the information for this section is drawn from observations, from listening to community members and KTTP students talking, and from two assignments given KTTP students which focussed on language use patterns in the Native community of Alert Bay. All it can hope to do is provide a generalized view.

It appears that the truly fluent speakers of Kwak'wala, the people who have the "deep understanding of the language", are the Old People. In most cases they are over sixty years of age; many are strong advocates and supporters of the Native language and

culture programs. While there are younger, fluent speakers, there are not many. The Native language and culture teachers tend to be between about thirty and fifty years old, with a few exceptions. These exceptions are often older women who help as resource people in the language and culture programs. The Native teacher aides in both the Band School and the Provincial School were in their twenties and thirties, and spoke very little Kwak'wala. Virtually all of Kwakwaka'wakw children now entering the school system have learned English as their first language, and come from homes where English is the everyday language of communication. Children attending Kwak'wala classes are thus beginners in Kwak'wala, and are learning Kwak'wala as a second language. These children come from families which represent the whole spectrum of attitudes in the community toward the continuance and teaching of traditional language and culture. They range from families that have continued to actively participate in the potlatch tradition and that have family members who fluently speak Kwak'wala, through to families that have openly rejected the old ways, and see no reason to maintain them. Thus, Native language and culture teachers are working with students who have varying degrees of motivation to learn the language, and varying opportunities to hear it being used by people in the community.

According to the information provided by the KTTP students who surveyed their own families, and discussed with family members questions such as Who speaks Kwak'wala? When? For What Purpose? and Where? Kwak'wala is mainly used in the following ways:
- during the speeches made at potlatches
- by the dancers at the potlatch
- by Old People when they are talking together
- by parents when they do not want their children to know what they are talking about
- by middle aged people who know the language when they get together for parties and telling stories
- by Old People when they are singing hymns at Church

> - by Native fishermen when they don't want people to know
>   where they are fishing
> - in the Kwak'wala singing group.

What is missing from the list are contexts in which Kwak'wala is used in the process of daily living. The exception is the Old People when they are visiting with each other.

There is an awareness amongst some of the community that currect language use patterns in the community are tied to successful second language learning amongst children, but this awareness does not appear to be widespread. Ernest Willie (Conference Report, 1982) raised the important issue of language use patterns in the previous quote. Gloria Cranmer Webster also raised it, and its relationship to motivation.

> Those are pretty smart kids we're talking about. What are you going to do when your son comes home from school, and says "Well, if it's important for me, why isn't it important for you? What are you going to say?
> (Gloria Cranmer Webster, personal communication).

The same issue was raised as the question "How serious are you about retaining your language?", by the researcher who was a speaker at the Second Educational Conference of the Kwakwaka'wakw prior to KTTP beginning. During the latter part of KTTP, one of the students referring to that conference talk said:

> I was really resentful of what you said, Joy, at the conference, about how serious are we really about our language. But I realize now it's because it's true.
> (Joy Wild, Black Binder)

A number of references appear in the data regarding how few people there are who speak the language, and how difficult it is to find people who speak the language and are willing or interested in teaching it. Even within KTTP there were only a few truly fluent speakers of the language. A number of people who had no knowledge of Kwak'wala came to KTTP because they wanted to learn more about it; others could understand everyday Kwak'wala, but

could speak only a little.

THE EXISTING LANGUAGE AND CULTURE PROGRAMS
IN ALERT BAY SCHOOLS WHEN KTTP BEGAN

The data that is available on the Native language programs that were in place at the Provincial School and the Band School at the time that KTTP began indicates a number of similarities with regard to the type of program being run, and the resources that were available. Differences appear to exist in how the programs were set up, funded, and administered; there also appears to be a difference in the relationship between the non-Native teaching staff and the Native teachers. Finally, a number of concerns about the programs and community attitudes toward them were expressed in the data by KTTP students who had worked in the programs.

The Native language and culture teachers at both schools were local community members with no teacher training. At the Provincial School the Native language and culture teachers were hired as School District No. 85 child care workers in accordance with CUPE regulations, and their salaries reflected the union scale; at the Band School they were hired as Native teaching assistants and each person's salary was set individually. The main qualification for the job in both schools was the ability to speak Kwak'wala and to speak English.

The Native language teachers from both schools indicated in an informal survey conducted early in KTTP that their overall personal goal for their classes was to teach children to eventually speak and understand Kwak'wala, to help them learn enough of the language to communicate with older family members. However, they also indicated that they did not recall any discussion of actual goals or objectives for the programs with the school administrators or others during the time they worked. They were simply hired to teach the language. It is also noteable that there appears to have been no over-all planning for the programs, and there was no

curriculum or program to follow. Each teacher had to plan his/her own program with teaching materials being mainly self made.

The exception to this was the Kwak'wala Learning Series published in 1981 which provided language teachers with Kwak'wala vocabulary and basic language structures and sentence patterns organized around topics. The underlying teaching method was a combination of grammar translation and audio-lingual drills. There was also a book on the sounds of Kwak'wala with suggestions for teaching, and a cultural book on Kwakwaka'wakw dance. Throughout the series are explanations and information on Kwak'wala as a language. The series was not designed as a program which teachers could pick up and follow, but rather was a framework from which lessons could be developed and expanded upon. It was/is an excellent resource, but the Kwak'wala teachers, with no background in teaching, found it difficult to use.

The type of language program being offered in both schools was similar to many being taught across Canada, and has been described by Burnaby (1980) as the "Twenty Minute Format". The main focus was on teaching children vocabulary words relating to familiar animals, people and objects, on counting and, on familiar Kwak'wala greetings used in the community. A number of songs that had been translated from English into Kwak'wala were also taught. The main teaching techniques were modelling, and the repetition of vocabulary and sentence patterns. English explanations were given to provide meaning. English was also used as the language of communication in the classroom to give directions, requests and generally interact with students. Kwak'wala was basically treated like any other subject area in the school curriculum.

A great deal of use was made of flash cards, and children played a number of different board games aimed at practising vocabulary. Bingo was one of these. Stories were sometimes told in English, and occasionally a community resource person would visit.

The Kwak'wala alphabet sheet was used to teach Kwak'wala sounds.
The younger children played a number of activity games, and
colouring was used to help reinforce the vocabulary being learned.

From interviews with people who had taught in the programs,
it appears that at the time KTTP began the children at the Band
School attended twenty minute Kwak'wala classes twice a week, and
they had an hour long dance class once a week. This changed when
a new principal took over in the 1984-85 school year to fifteen
minute language classes each day. The dance program was
temporarily closed down at this time. Children at the Provincial
School had a fifteen minute language class each day and a half hour
dance class three times a week until the classes ended in June 1984.

Like many programs newly starting out, the initial excitement
and enthusiasm of actually "getting going" carried the Kwak'wala
language classes for a time. It appears that the main needs of the
programs were seen by those setting up the programs, usually the
principal, to be a Native person who could speak Kwak'wala and
English, and some teaching materials. Much of the early help given
the language teachers was in the form of short workshops which
focussed on developing teaching materials. The Provincial School
brought in a number of anthropologists and linguists to run
workshops for its entire staff, including the Native teachers. In
addition, when the Native teachers approached the principal for
help, weekly evening work sessions to develop materials were set up,
and interested regular classroom teachers from the Open Area
Program came to work with the Native teachers from the Alert Bay
Native Education Program. The KTTP students who had attended
these commented that they had been very helpful.

The U'mista Cultural Centre sponsored Kwak'wala reading and
writing workshops taught by Jay Powell, and in 1980-81 initiated the
Learning Kwak'wala Series with the intent of providing teaching

resources for the Native language programs.

From comments made in the data, however, it seems that during the time the funding for the language and dance classes was handled by the U'mista Cultural Centre, the Native staff were not treated as an integral part of the school. Although the programs were housed in the school, time was made available in the school curriculum, and supplies were provided, the Native teachers' salaries were paid by U'mista. Native teachers and teacher aides did not attend staff meetings, and were not involved in making decisions about the school program, including the Native language and dance classes. Some individual non-Native teachers, if interested in the Native culture, involved themselves in community events, and offered help to Native teachers; however, this did not appear to be a school policy.

The Native teachers became much more a part of the Band School when the principal changed in September 1984; however, the emphasis in the Band School remained on the provincial core curriculum and the 3r's. It is noteworthy that a number of the Band School's regular classroom teachers rarely utilized the resources of the U'mista Cultural Centre which was located right beside the school.

ISSUES CONCERNING KTTP STUDENTS: STATUS OF THE PROGRAM

In the latter half of the program, KTTP students began to voice their concerns openly about the seeming lack of interest in the language and culture programs within the community, and also within the school itself. A variety of comments occur in the data which reflect this concern. Two issues appear in relation to this. One was the lack of support from the community and parents, even a seeming lack of concern; the other involved the attitudes of those responsible for the programs in the school.

A perspective voiced numerous times by the students, both in class, and also in the interviews conducted for this study, was that although Native language and culture classes were offered in the school, they did not seem to be highly valued by the school administrator or non-Native teachers, nor did they appear to be a priority of the current Band Council. Various reasons were given to substantiate this feeling. Amongst them were that Native programs were the first to be cancelled if something "important" came along, or the first to be dropped if there was a shortage of funding. Another reason given was that little or no effort was made to find substitutes if the Native teachers were unable to come to school, thus the classes were cancelled. It was felt this would not happen with regular classes, and that it gave children the impression that Native programs were not important. A third reason given was the students' feeling that a number of the Band Councillors did not attend class open houses or special performances. The principal's seeming lack of concern over not having a replacement for a language teacher who was resigning was also seen as a lack of interest in the program.

It was very apparent that while the Native language and culture programs were offered within the school program, they were clearly treated very differently from other "regular subjects". Much less time was allotted for them, and few resources were provided. The Native teachers in the Provincial School were hired as child-care workers, and in the Band School as Native teaching assistants. Both commanded low salaries, compared to regular teachers, and some were on an hourly wage. The Native teachers attributed the lack of interest or concern to their own lack of training, as well as to a general lack of valuing the programs. They felt that if they were accredited they would be better recognized by the non-Native teachers, and this would help the programs.

While this researcher has no data from the perspective of the school or Band Council, a number of observations can be made. The

principals of both the Provincial School and the Band School were both in favour of the Native teachers and teacher aides participating in KTTP. School District No. 85 supported the program by providing a number of supplies, as well as through paying the cost of substitutes, and the tuition of the Native teachers attending the program. When the Alert Bay Native Education Program was cut as a result of provincial educational cutbacks, the Nimpkish Band Council agreed to take it over until the end of the school year, rather than having it fold. The Band Council also assumed financial responsibility for the Native language and culture programs in the Band School when the federal funding for CECP programs was frozen. At the principal's request in September 1984, the Band Council approved the hiring of a curriculum developer to look into developing a curriculum for the Native language and culture programs. This was seen as a way of improving the programs.

It can be seen that there was interest and a willingness to financially support the teaching of language and culture by the Band Council and the School. From the Native teachers' perspective, however, the language and culture programs were not as highly valued by the teachers and School Administrator as the regular programs. It is also significant to note that the Native teachers in the Band School were not asked what they thought about the curriculum development project; no one knew for sure what the project was really about.

PRESENT DAY COMMUNITY/SCHOOL POLITICS

In a paper which focusses on the Quileutes, a southern group of the Northwest coast cultures, who live in Washington, Powell (1981) suggests that in the present day, when the potlatch is no longer the central social institution in the community, and the hereditary system of leadership has been replaced by democratic elections, traditional rivalry behaviour has been transferred to the arena of public office and the control of various programs within the

community. Thus,, individuals can gain status for themselves and
their family by assuming responsibility of various programs. This
happens either through elections or appointments. In other words,
one's position in, or control of a program, raises one's own status
and that of one's family in the community.

Powell has also suggested that this concept of the continuation
of cultural values in community politics also applies to
Kwakwaka'wakw communities, and that it is an indication that the
culture is alive and well in the present day (Presentation given at
the Second Educational Conference of the Kwakwaka'wakw, 1983).

Speck, writing of Alert Bay in 1979, also refers to the
continuation of status in the present day community.

> Social status continued to be determined by a complex web
> of relationships in which status was defined partly by
> individual achievement, and partly by family affiliation,
> partly by the potlatch hierarchy, and partly by the
> degree of success obtained in contemporary economic and
> poitical structures   (Speck, 1987:94)

As in all communities, local politics have an affect on school
programs and on teachers. While teachers in cities may not directly
feel the affects of politics in their personal lives and relationships
in the community, because of the anonymity a city can provide, such
is not the case of Native teachers working in their own small
communities where people's lives, as a whole, are closely
interconnected.

Numerous references to community politics occur throughout the
data of the study, and while politics did not surface openly in
KTTP, the political social interactions of the community appear to
have had an influence in shaping the ethos of the program and
students' receptiveness in class. The instructors' perceptions of
community politics also influenced the strategies they used in KTTP.

Several situations arose during the period the program ran in which community politics appeared to be at work, and community members, including KTTP students who were from different family groupings appeared to align themselves along family support lines. In both cases, the Band School was the context in which this occurred, and students' jobs were involved. What is apparent from the comments that students made is that even though their relationships with each other were very strained at times in their everyday lives in the community, while in KTTP, they mainly put these aside and focussed on becoming better teachers. Several students commented on being surprised that KTTP continued, or that people did not explode at each other in class; others mentioned the "thick atmosphere" in the class. A number of students commented that the situation had nothing to do with KTTP, but rather involved "personalities" in the community.

Two Examples of How Community/School Politics Influenced KTTP

As has been previously stated from the outset KTTP received the support of the administrators of both the Band School and the Provincial School, of the Nimpkish Band Council and of the Director of the Special Programs Department of School District No. 85. This support was in the form of encouragement to the Native teachers to attend, a willingness on the part of the schools to facilitate the absence of the teachers, and a requirement recommended by the school administrator and endorsed by the Nimpkish Band Council that Band employees attend the program. School District No. 85 was also able to help with a number of supplies, with some xeroxing services, and later in the program, the rental of a bus for a field trip.

Two situations arose, however, during the time KTTP operated which involved the Native language and culture programs of the schools, and involved the KTTP students who were working in them. These two situations serve to illustrate how community politics can influence a program like KTTP. The first situation described,

illustrates how the policies of the Federal and Provincial Governments play a part in these situations; the second one shows how the traditional relationship of the school to the Native community, ie. the relationship of "care giver", and the different reactions of community members to it, affects a program.

Situation #1:   The Influence of Federal and Provincial
                    Policies on the Working Conditions of
                    Native Teachers: Who Makes the Decisions?

At the time KTTP began, funding for the Band School's Native language and culture classes was obtained for the school program by the U'mista Cultural Centre through the Cultural Education Centre Program of the Federal Government. To reiterate an earlier statement, while the Native language and culture teachers worked with Band School children, their salaries were paid through the U'mista Cultural Centre. Scheduling of classes, and the amount of time allotted them were determined by the School Administrator and regular teaching staff. It appears from the comments of KTTP students working there that they were not involved in staff meetings or school decisions at that time. (This situation has since changed with a change in administrators.) The Native language and culture classes offered in the Provincial School were funded through Special Programs in the School District No. 85. In accordance with the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE), untrained personnel working in the schools must be union members. Consequently, the Native language and culture teachers were classified as child care workers.

During the first course of KTTP funding cutbacks at both the federal and provincial levels drastically altered the teaching situation at both the Band School and the Provincial School. The CECP budget was frozen by the Federal Government which meant the U'mista Cultural Centre was no longer able to obtain funds for the Band School's Native programs. Provincial Government cutbacks in educational funding resulted in School District No. 85 cutting back

on CUPE workers. The Native teachers in the Provincial School, being CUPE members with low senority, were either cut or had their hours reduced. In order to prevent the Native language and culture programs at both Alert Bay schools from folding, the Nimpkish Band Council decided to financially carry both programs until the end of the school year. Suddenly, all Native language and culture teachers in Alert Bay schools were employees of the Band Council.

Prior to this happening the Native teacher aides in the Band School had discovered, through their pay cheques, that they were being docked for the time they attended KTTP. This had been done by a Band staff member. The aides asked the Native co-ordinator from the Provincial School's program to speak to the Band School's administrator on their behalf regarding docked wages. This she did with the result that individual aides were called in separately and talked to about the issue. In the words of the KTTP student describing this, they were "interrogated." Shortly after this, attendance at KTTP became mandatory for all Band employees involved in the programs.

With the change in financial support of the programs came a slight shift in some of the Native teachers' responsibilities. Such situations are always fraught with a degree of uncertainty and tension. The Native co-ordinator from the Provincial School was asked to also work a few hours a week with children from the Band School. An incident later in the spring involving the co-ordinator, now a Band employee, and the School Administrator of the Band School led to her being fired.

What appears to be the result of this was that traditional family alliances manifested themselves in support of either the Native co-ordinator, or of those involved in the firing. Strong supporters of both sides could be found amongst the students of KTTP. To make an understatement, the influence of community politics was suddenly very apparent in the atmosphere of KTTP.

The following entry appeared in one of the instructors' field notes following the March workshop:

> Be very aware that the Indian culture is alive and
> working in the class - status polarity especially.
> Example of KTTP Student #1 being fired by the Education
> Committee which is part of the power block with the Band
> Council Chairman. Another student, #2, who is closely
> related to a member of the Band Administration doesn't
> show up for (KTTP) class on the first day. One does need
> to call, or have someone else do it, and check on
> no-shows. She reported she was too stressed in the
> situation. Later when (instructor) asked U'mista staff
> member if she should call KTTP Student #2, staff said "Oh,
> sure!" as though she was surprised instructor would even
> have to ask. Instructor called Student #2. Student #2
> explained she was really hurt when KTTP Student #3,
> Student #1's cousin and colleague, pulled her child out of
> (the language) class in support of Student #1. Instructor
> urged her (to come to KTTP) saying "but you can be above
> all that!", and she said "Okay, I'll come for you"
> (Instructor). She came the second day. Class atmosphere
> was noticeably quieter, but there was nothing said
> directly, and no one seemed surprised that she was back -
> or that she had been away!

As instructors, Jensen and Wild felt it essential that KTTP remain as neutral as possible in the situation, since students from both sides were in the program. The decision was made to openly acknowledge the difficulty of the situation for all involved, to discuss with the class the implications such a situation could have on Native language and culture programs in schools. It is important to note that while the situation was openly acknowledged, discussions were not directed at particular members of the class, but instead occurred on a general level.

Two major topics were addressed; one regarding profession-alism, the other on how to learn from negative situations, and turn the negatives into positives. The discussion on professionalism involved examining how the role of a professional differs from that of a community member, and dealing with criticism directed at you as a teacher or at your program, and with issues of confidentiality. Also discussed was the need for a co-operative attitude amongst

teachers, and the fact that KTTP depended upon the willingness of schools, the Band Council, and the U'mista Cultural Centre to support it.

Although the discussions on professionalism were initiated by Jensen and Wild, both were very clear that the situation being dealt with involved the Native community of Alert Bay and the teachers themselves, and that the Native teachers needed to seek solutions and understandings of how to deal with it. Students were actively engaged in the discussion, and then asked to break into small groups to further seek ways of dealing with the situation. In addition, the instructors acknowledged to the group, that although circumstances vary from situation to situation, many teachers are faced with such difficulties.

A result of this incident was the decision by Jensen and Wild to have KTTP keep a very low community profile, and to focus inwardly as a group, rather than make overt attempts to become involved with the school.

A very calming influence in KTTP throughout the situation was the presence in class of two highly respected Old People from the community. One was involved in the Band School's program; the other had been in the Provincial School. She later came to work in the Band School when poor health caused the former to leave. They sat side by side in class, and every once in a while would remind KTTP students that all of them were working toward teaching the Native language and culture.

Situation #2: A Simple Case of Curriculum Development

A situation in the fall of 1984 brought on by the newly-hired School Administrator's perception that the Native language and culture programs in the Band School needed a well planned curriculum had strong repercussions for the ethos of KTTP, and

resulted in the instructors continuing to have the program keep a very low community profile.

The School Administrator believed that the Native language and culture programs needed a properly designed curriculum for the teachers to use. He pursuaded the Band Council to use funds within the Band's education budget to hire a curriculum developer to do this. The Dance program was temporarily cancelled because of this.

In September 1984 the School Administrator initiated a meeting with the KTTP instructors in which he generally mentioned the notion of developing a long range curriculum for Native language and culture programs, and asked if they were interested in the project. They expressed an interest in the curriculum and in involving KTTP students in the process; however, before committing themselves, they asked for specific details about goals and a timeline for the project. There was no further contact. In November there was talk around the school and commmunity about hiring someone for the position, but no one really knew for sure what the goal of the project would be.

When the time came for the Band's 1984 Education Committee to hire for the position two people applied. One was the former co-ordinator of the Alert Bay Native Education Program who had been fired as a result of a confrontation with the previous Band School administrator. She had worked co-ordinating the language and culture programs, and finding resources for Native language and culture teachers as well as regular teachers in the Provincial School. She was a member of the Nimpksih Band who had a good relationship with the Old People and many contacts in the community. The other person was an experienced, non-Native, professional teacher who had worked in the Band School for several years and was working on a Master's Degree in curriculum development. The Education committee made the decision to hire the non-Native, experienced teacher.

The reaction of many Nimpkish Band members, particularly those actively involved in promoting and supporting cultural revival and Native rights in the community, was outrage. Amongst them was the Director of the U'mista Cultural Centre who stated strong opposition to the appointment of a non-Native person to develop an overview and materials for the Native language and culture program. Adding fuel to the situation was the knowledge that the non-Native teacher did not speak Kwak'wala, had no background in linguistics or second language teaching, knew little about Kwakwaka'wakw culture, and had few relationships within the Native community. What she did have was knowledge of regular teaching and of curriculum development.

A complicating factor to the situation was that no one knew for sure what the curriculum developer was to do, and no one was sure of who really made the decision. In the end it appeared as if those opposing the appointment held people in the Band Administration and on the Education Committee, as well as the School Administrator responsible. The result was very little communication between the U'mista Cultural Centre and the Band Council or School.

KTTP was in the position of being a program sponsored by the Cultural Centre, yet of having students who were on both sides of the issue. Amongst them was the former co-ordinator who did not get the job of curriculum developer, plus other members of her family, and five Native teachers and aides who worked for the Band School and were required by the Band Council to attend KTTP. The situation had the potential of ending the program.

As in the first situation described, the instructors decided to be very low key about the situation, and although their own beliefs regarding the importance of Native involvement in decisions about the programs and in developing materials was known by the students, little was said in class except an acknowledgement of the difficulty of the situation. There were also several sessions in which the role

of the Native teacher in the community was discussed in general terms, and ideas solicited from the students for how to deal with difficult situations.

In looking back at the two situations, it appears to the researcher that several factors worked toward keeping KTTP going during this time. One is the Kwakwaka'wakw cultural orientation toward non-confrontation in dealing with conflict. This is characteristic of cultures such as those of the Northwest coast complex which have been described as being based on rivalry behaviour as opposed to competition behaviour. Another factor working to keep the program together was that Jensen and Wild inadvertently used a strategy of dealing with the situation in class which appears to be compatible with the Kwakwaka'wakw social interaction patterns of dealing with conflict situations. This was to openly acknowledge the situation in a general way without drawing attention to individuals. it was discussed, the difficulties acknowledged and then people were left to make their own decisions. No sides were taken.

Also helping the situation was the presence of Agnes Cranmer, and Auntie Ethel. Throughout both times they quietly sat side by side. On several occasions one or the other of them spoke of how daily life in the old days was peaceful and smooth, and that conflicts were handled in the potlatch. They also emphasized that really all the Nimpkish were part of the same family.

Of significance to non-Native people working in a school program in a Northwest Coast Native community is that there was rarely anything openly said in public about the actual situation involving the Native co-ordinator and the non-Native teacher; instead, the situation was talked around. References were subtly made by students in class about non-Natives developing Native programs; the Native language teachers in the Band School spoke indirectly about how hard it was to have one's teaching and

program criticized. A great deal was said in private by those who the instructors knew well! This situation seemed to aggravate people's feelings about the initial firing of the co-ordinator earlier in the spring.

The impact on KTTP was an underlying tension between two groups of students from Alert Bay, and a lack of communication between the Cultural Centre and the Band Council. This lack of communication also resulted in the Band Council never being approached to help financially support KTTP. At the beginning of the program reference to this possibility had been made by the Band School's administrator in a letter to Powell, and at the end of the program one of the students who was closely connected to the Band Council made mention that this possibility had never been pursued.

Another side effect was that a number of KTTP students working in the Band School expressed the feeling that they did not feel welcome at the U'mista Cultural Centre and did not go there or use the resources except when KTTP classes were running.

In the data for the study the KTTP students are very clear that the politics in the community had nothing to do with KTTP itself. They also observed that although the class atmosphere was at times "tense" and "thick", the program was not harmed.

5.3.2 PHILOSOPHICAL FACTORS

INTRODUCTION

Underlying the planning, development and implementation of any program are the beliefs and assumptions held by those involved in the process. "What" is taught in a program is dependent upon the planners' knowledge and understanding of the nature of the field or subject area, and their beliefs and assumptions about what concepts and skills are of value to the learners. "How" the program

is structured and taught reflects the planners' and instructors' perceptions of the way in which people learn, and how teaching relates to learning. Both the "what" and the "how" are also affected by the planners' beliefs regarding whether or not students should have input into the program, and by outside influences. These are primarily organizations or institutions which determine the resources available for the program, and the requirements or stipulations regarding the use of the resources. The assumptions and beliefs held by all are shaped by their particular cultural worldview and their past experiences.

A teacher training program differs from purely academic programs in that what is taught requires a double focus. Potential teachers learn about the subject matter they will be teaching, as well as the methods and techniques for teaching it. Thus, in the case of training Native language teachers, the program will reflect the program planners' beliefs about the nature of language and views of second language teaching and learning. "How" a teacher training program is set up and run depends upon the planners' and instructors' beliefs and assumptions regarding how potential teachers learn, and what the roles of the instructor and students are in that process.

Another philosophical decision affecting the program is whether teachers are to be trained to work in school programs as they currently exist, or whether they are to receive the kind of training that will enable them to bring about changes in the existing school programs. This decision reflects an assumption regarding the role of a teacher in a program.

The philosophical views to be examined in this section are primarily those of the instructors, Jensen and Wild, who planned KTTP as well as taught in it; however, where there is data available the views of the students and others involved with KTTP are presented. The philosophical factors to be examined pertain to

beliefs and assumptions regarding the following:
- the instructors' views of learning and teaching generally, and of the teaching approaches to be used in a Native language teacher training program,
- the instructors' views of Native language programs, particularly Native as a Second Language Programs,
- the nature of culture and of language,
- the instructors' view of second language teaching,
- the instructors' view of curriculum development.

The beliefs and assumptions held by a variety of individuals, other than students and the instructors, influenced the program, either directly or indirectly, in that they affected the students' work situations and relations with each other. Where data is available they will be presented.

The philosophical underpinnings of KTTP were not based on a particular ideology, or school of thought, but rather were the result of the instructors', own philosophical and theoretical perspectives which developed over their years of working, and draw from a variety of sources and experiences.

While both had originally trained as high school English teachers, their orientation and work experiences were very different. Jensen's was strongly influenced by her work with her husband, Jay Powell, in researching, developing and publishing curriculum materials for a variety of Native language programs, in conducting workshops for Native language teachers, and by her work as a photographer. Wild's was influenced by her experience teaching Native children, her training in English as a Second Language (ESL) and subsequent work experiences teaching ESL to children, by conducting in-service workshops for regular classroom teachers in ESL methods and techniques and in Indian Education, and also by conducting workshops for Native language teachers in second language teaching methods and techniques.

The differences in their backgrounds helped to provide a
balance for each other, and the program. Wild's orientation tended
to be more towards developing teaching skills, and an overall
understanding of the issues and factors inherent in running a Native
language program. Jensen had a very practical orientation that
comes from developing and producing materials. Previous to KTTP
they had been co-workers for two years on a curriculum development
project with the Shuswap Language Committee, and both trusted and
respected each other's understandings, perceptions, and experiences.

While Jay Powell was the planner and instructor of the KTTP
courses focussing on Kwak'wala reading and writing skills, and was
not directly involved in planning the courses focussing on teacher
training, he was always available for discussions and advice, and
his perceptions were invaluable in helping to shape the overall
program of KTTP.

Two major issues, more accurately people's perceptions of the
issues, were very influential in shaping KTTP. One issue, the value
placed on the Native language and culture, and its importance in
people's lives is at the essence of why Native language and culture
programs even exist. The second issue, the principle of Native
ownership or the right of Native communities to "own" and to control
their own language, culture and programs, underlies the question of
aboriginal rights. It is both philosophical and political. Both
issues must be considered in a discussion of the philosophical factors
underlying a Native language program.

The information and insights offered in this section are drawn
from a variety of sources. They include first hand observations and
notes taken by the researcher who, as one of the planners and
instructors of the teacher training courses, was intimately involved
in the ongoing planning process. This involved discussions between
the instructors, with the class, and with the Director of the U'mista
Cultural Centre, as well as with school administrators. Notes were

taken by the researcher during the numerous discussions with the
class regarding the teaching of Native language and culture, and
several observations were made of the Native language and culture
teachers working with their classes.   There are also written
evaluations of smaller assignments, and of teaching units and
materials prepared by KTTP students.   There are informal written
surveys which were given students on a number of occassions
throughout KTTP, evaluations of KTTP courses by the students, and
interviews conducted with a representative selection of students
during the final course.

THE INSTRUCTORS' VIEW OF TEACHING AND LEARNING, GENERALLY, AND OF THE TEACHING TO BE USED IN NATIVE LANGUAGE TEACHER EDUCATION

A perspective shared by the instructors was that teaching and
learning are predominantly social and cultural activities.   The ways
in which both the instructors and the learners conceptualize teaching
and learning, and the perception of the relationship between the two
are culturally based, and reflect basic cultural values, attitudes
and a particular world view.   In a cross-cultural teacher training
program such as KTTP, in which the instructors are non-Native and
the students are Native, this cultural perception of teaching and
learning has a double implication.   On the one hand it requires
close attention be paid to the teaching and learning assumptions
made about the teacher training program itself: how the courses will
be structured and organized; what will be taught and how it will be
planned; the learning styles of the adult Native students in the
program ie. the Native language teachers.   On the other hand it
requires the consideration of what Native teachers will be taught in
the program about the nature of second language teaching and
learning, the nature of language, the nature of culture, and also
the relationship between language, culture and the community.   In
other words, what Native teachers will be taught about how to teach
a second language, what factors to consider in a second language

program, what their role as a teacher is.

Teaching was also seen as an enabling activity aimed at
providing opportunities for learners to examine what they know, and
to extend their knowledge and understandings in directions and
areas meaningful and useful to themselves. The learners' knowledge
and experience were seen as important resources to be built on.
Value was placed on the instructors and learners structuring the
process of learning together so that the program would be relevant
to the learners' situations and perceived needs, as well as provide
an opportunity to expand their knowledge and skills.

Another belief held by the instructors was the necessity of
having students relate and apply the concepts and skills learned in
the program to their own situations and experiences, rather than
treat them on a theoretical level. Tied in with this was the belief
that it is important for learners to have the opportunity to question,
to critically examine what they are doing, to explore issues, express
concerns, disagree and/or offer alternative perspectives to what the
instructor presents. In short, they need to be treated like thinking
adults, responsible for their own learning.

The instructors were also very aware of the school system's
failure to meet the educational needs of Native children. They held
the view that many Native language teachers having been taught in
that education system, particularly the residential school system,
possibly carry negative attitudes toward learning, and scars as a
result of their predominantly negative experiences as school children.
They also perceived the possibility of KTTP students having
culturally different learning/teaching styles than are usually found
in post secondary courses, and that the methods and organization
used in KTTP would need to be carefully monitored by both the
instructors and the students. Based on their previous experiences,
the instructors believed that the optimum learning/teaching
environment for Native adults would be an informal classroom

atmosphere in which instructors and students were on an equal status, and in which there was a genuine sharing of insights, concerns, and needs. This would involve an atmosphere in which students could ask for help, and share in planning and developing the program.

Another belief lay behind the perceived need for such an atmosphere in the program. This was the belief that while the instructors were knowledgeable of teaching in general, of second language teaching methods and of processes for developing curriculum and teaching materials, it was the Native students in KTTP who, as community members, were the "experts" of their Native culture and community, and of the way in which Kwak'wala is used to communicate. KTTP students, who were also teaching in the schools, were also more knowledgeable of their own working situations and difficulties they faced. As such, they needed to play an intregal part in developing teaching materials, and in making decisions about the Native language and culture programs. The instructors felt that a means could be found in KTTP to help students to tap into their innate cultural knowledge of how to behave and speak as a member of the Native community, so that sociolinguistically appropriate interaction patterns and behaviour, which reflected Native culture, could be built into the teaching materials in KTTP. They also saw the possibility of both themselves and KTTP students exploring Native learning and teaching styles through the program.

In order to do this they believed that they needed to establish a safe atmosphere in KTTP in order for students to explore their own understandings. They also believed that there needed to be a sense of shared responsibility between the instructors and students for developing the program in KTTP, and for developing teaching materials for the Native language program.

The instructors were very aware of the cross-cultural nature of KTTP, and perceived the possibility of many unknown cultural

factors at work in both the program itself, in the broader context of the Native community, and in the school in which Native language and culture programs were taught. They believed that an open acknowledgement of the possibility of cross-cultural differences was the best approach in terms of enabling both the students and themselves to develop an understanding of them. This could also help to provide insights into Native learning/teaching styles which could be used in working with Native children in the language and culture programs.

While Jensen and Wild believed in the necessity of involving KTTP students in the ongoing planning, development and evaluation of the program, they also felt that as a teacher training program, KTTP needed to address particular issues and topics relevant to the field of second language teaching, and to the profession of teaching. They also believed that "teachers in training" are not always aware of what they need to know. They thus saw themselves as having a dual role: as facilitators in introducing KTTP students to second language teaching concepts, curriculum concepts and program considerations; and, as co-learners in discovering, exploring and developing culturally appropriate teaching materials, and teaching styles, and in seeking solutions to problems that the KTTP students perceived.

INSTRUCTORS' VIEW OF NATIVE AS A SECOND LANGUAGE PROGRAM

An important focus of the cultural revival movement amongst Native groups has been the establishment of school programs for the teaching of Native languages. Behind this is the recognition of the close relationship between language and culture. The teaching of Native languages in schools was given impetus by the emphasis placed on its importance by the National Brotherhood in its 1972 policy paper, Indian Control of Indian Education, which viewed the teaching of Native language and culture within the context of the

school as a form of validation and recognition of their value.

The two major goals of teaching Native children to speak their ancestral language in a Native language program appear to be 1) to develop a stronger cultural identity, thereby enhancing self concept, and 2) to help stem the decline of the language by creating another generation of speakers. In actuality, a Native language program can be viewed as a component of the broader cultural program which has as its goal the strengthening and enhancement of Native children's cultural identity, and, in the long run, the strengthening of the Native culture and continued use of the Native language.

A variety of language programs are possible. One major determiner of the type of program to be set up is the students' existing facility with the language ie. whether it is their first or second language; this relates to the degree the language is spoken in the community, and the value placed on it. Another determiner is the resources given the program, the teachers, the materials, the time given in school. Yet another determiner is the goals that are set for the program. In the case of the Kwak'wala language program, virtually all children speak English as their first language. They are therefore learning Kwak'wala as a second language. Within the field of second language learning there are choices to be made about what and how children will be taught.

Second language programs come in many shapes and sizes, and a variety of goals are possible. These range from full fluency and literacy, all the way to familiarity with the language. A variety of methods for teaching a second language has emerged over the years reflecting different theories about the nature of language and how it is learned. During the past twenty years in particular, research in the fields of linguistics, psychology, sociology, anthropology and second language education has significantly changed beliefs held about the nature of language, factors affecting language learning, and methods and techniques of language

teaching. A range of teaching methods now exists, each with advantages and disadvantages. Each method advocates particular teaching strategies, techniques and materials. Much of the impetus for second language research has come from the greatly increased movement of people around the world, and from increased world-wide commercial activity. Yet despite the gains that have been made in understanding the field, and the continuing increase in the numbers of second language programs, second language teaching remains a relatively specialized field. For a variety of reasons the current insights which have been gained in understanding second language learning have not, on the whole, been applied to the teaching of Native as a second language.

A perspective held by both Jensen and Wild was that if Native as a Second Language programs are to have a chance of being successful, it is important that they be based on clearly defined, realistic goals which have been arrived at through a process of assessing the health and status of the language and the community's perceived needs. Without well defined goals teaching has no direction, and the teacher never knows when s/he has arrived! A clear articulation of goals is important so that the Native teachers, program developers, students, as well as community members know what they are aiming for, and what direction to move in. It is also essential for deciding upon appropriate instructional methods and techniques.

Equally important to the continued success of a program is the need for periodic assessments to check that the program is moving toward the desired goals. If a program is not assessed, it runs the risk of becoming ineffective or stagnant. There is also the distinct possibility that the program would lose touch (or never be in touch) with the community, and vice verse. This is particularly true of a school-based program, since schools and teachers are perceived by many to be responsible for virtually all of a child's education.

In actuality the people to whom the local Native language program is of greatest importance and greatest concern are members of the cultural group and communities which speak the language. These cultural groups and communities tend to have small populations, particularly in B.C. where there are numerous Native languages spoken. The Native community and speakers of the language are the program's greatest resource. In addition, the community and family provide the motivation for children to want to learn the language. Because of this a Native language program needs to be firmly rooted in, and have the support of the community. What was evident to the instructors at the beginning of KTTP was that there had been no articulated statement of the actual goals of the programs in either the Provincial or the Band School. Instead there had been the general expectation by teachers and the community that children over a period of years would learn to speak Kwak'wala in the Kwak'wala classes. The term frequently used was that children would become fluent or that they would learn to talk Indian. It appeared, in talking with KTTP students, that their belief was that this would lead to two other main results: an increase in children's sense of cultural identity, and thus a stronger self image, and retention of the Native language. It was also apparent that a variety of people involved with the programs had begun to feel this would not happen in the programs as they existed and changes were being looked for.

INSTRUCTORS" VIEWS OF THE NATURE OF LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

View of Culture

The predominant view of culture held by the instructors is that it is a dynamic, adaptive system of learned behaviour, skills and beliefs that is shared by members of a society, and is passed from generation to generation. It is continually evolving to accomodate new physical and social conditions. Culture is a total system of living and behaving meaningfully which "establishes for

each person a context of cognitive and affective behaviour, a blueprint for personal and social existence" (Brown, 1980:123). It shapes people's ways of acting in everyday life. Language is viewed as a part of culture in that it is a learned and shared system of symbolic verbal and non-verbal social behaviour by which the rules and patterns for living in a culture are communicated.

The instructors recognized that contemporary Native culture, while having its roots in aboriginal cultural patterns has changed tremendously as a result of its contact with European culture, and the profound attention of conditions since that time, also that it continues to do so, just as all living cultures do. They recognized the cultural uniqueness of Native communities, and also the wide range in of degree of acculturation of families and individuals, and in their attitudes toward Mainstream Canadian culture.

A prevalent view of culture, one frequently found in school texts and held by teachers, has been to view culture as material culture and artifacts, most particularly traditional material culture. Thus, culture has been perceived as traditional clothing, technology, food, art, language, legends, dancing. From the instructors' perspective this is a very limited perspective of culture for it focusses on only one aspect of past culture. What they believed is needed in Native language and culture programs is a broader view by which culture is seen as an interplay of values and interactional patterns, a way of viewing the world, a view which acknowledges both the contemporary and the traditional, and which recognizes the relationship between culture and language.

An assumption held by the instructors which influenced the planning of KTTP was that the students, as members of the Native community, "know" their present day culture, subconsciously, if not consciously. One of the objectives of KTTP was to help them become aware of their cultural knowledge in order that it could be used in developing Native language programs and materials. In other words,

as members of the Native community, the students knew the culturally and socially appropriate ways to behave and to speak in various situations. Another assumption held is that the learning of a second language also involves cultural learning. This view and its implications for KTTP will be expanded further in the next section on the social use of language, and in the later section on curriculum development.

View of Language

Language has been viewed in a variety of ways: as knowledge, as skill, as habit, as behaviour, as a treasured object. Much has been written about the relationship between language and culture, and about language and thought. All three are intricately intertwined.

A perspective held by Jensen and Wild as planners of KTTP is that language is social behaviour shared by a social group and is an integral part of culture. Its primary function in a society is communication; this occurs at both a verbal and non-verbal level. Language is a tool used to think and to learn, to express emotions, attitudes and needs; it has many functions. It is used in different situations for various purposes. Within speech communities rules have evolved which underlie the social use of language. They are known to academics as sociolinguistic rules of language use; for the majority of people their knowledge of these rules is innnate, and manifests itself as a "gut level feeling" or sense of what is the right (or wrong) way of doing or saying something. These sociolinguistic rules are generated by cultural values (Hymes, 1969; Philips, 1972; Preston, 1986).

Communicative Competence

The ability to communicate in a language, even to communicate in a limited way, requires much more than being able to

manipulate grammatical structures (being grammatically competent).
It also requires communicative competence; that is, knowing the
appropriate language to use in a given social situation, and having
the ability to produce it (Hymes, 1969). This is, of course, relative
to the age and level of maturity of the student. Given the research
in second language learning over the past twenty years, the
emphasis of a program which has communication as its goal needs to
be on language skills and functions as they are used in particular
situations in the community, on language that is socially and
culturally appropriate.

Cultural Factors Affecting the Social Use of Language

Within different cultural groups there have evolved sets of
rules which determine a) the forms in which communication will
occur, and b) the social conditions for communication to occur in.
These rules dictate the group's acknowledged common ways of using
and interpreting speech, and other forms of communication, including
various forms of non-verbal communication. They underlie a
community's concept of what is the appropriate way to behave and/or
speak in particular situations (Hymes, 1969). They govern such
speech behaviours as:

- the nature of topics discussed among people depending upon their relationship and age.
- the way in which language functions are performed (request, commands, information giving, insults, invitations, etc.
- turn taking
- expressions of emotion
- pause-time in conversations
- use of silence
- introductions

These are but a few of the many speech behaviours governed
by the culturally generated rules for the social use language.
Learning and teaching styles are also strongly influenced.

The underlying rules governing how a group uses language

are derived from its cultural values, attitudes and world view. They are a separate system from the grammatical system of a language, and go to comprise the discourse system of a speech group.

There is no "one-to-one" correspondence between linguistic structures (the form of language) and the meaning of what one says. The form of a communication is related to the intent of the speaker and the context in which it occurs. As a result, there are numerous grammatical patterns that could be used in a particular situation. In a program which aims at communication, even limited communication, children need to learn both the linguistic forms of the language (what to say), and the rules of language use (how, where, when; to whom). The two combine to form the communication strategies in a community.

While research has been conducted on the linguistic systems of Kwak'wala, little, if any, work has been done to investigate the rules governing the social use of language in Kwakwaka'wakw communities. The people with this knowledge are the community members themselves, and those with the greatest knowledge of the "proper way" to speak Kwak'wala are the Old People, the people who themselves learned to speak Kwak'wala as their first language. A difficulty facing the programs is that there are no child speakers of Kwak'wala, and thus no models of how Kwak'wala is spoken by children.

From the instructors' perspectives, non-Native specialists such as linguists, second language consultants, curriculum developers and anthropologists, have important roles to play in developing the programs, but different ones than have been played in the past. In the past the emphasis has been placed on the specialists' knowledge and perceptions of learning and teaching. There is a great need for a more Native perspective. The knowledge and understandings regarding the linguistic systems of the language, second language

teaching and learning, the process of curriculum development, anthropological insights that have been gained over the years are useful to the programs, and benefit them. However, they are not enough to enable children to develop communicative skills appropriate to their communities.

A major factor influencing KTTP, particularly the activities involving the planning of language programs and the development of units and teaching materials, was Wild's and Jensen's belief that if a Kwak'wala program is to have the potential of enabling children to develop the ability to communicate in Kwak'wala, it needs to incorporate and to utilize the socially appropriate ways of communicating common to Kwakwaka'wakw communities. Since community members are the only people with this knowledge, it is necessary that they be an intrinsic part of the planning and development of all aspects of the programs and materials. Thus, members of local Native communities have an essential role to play in deciding both the cultural content and the type of language to be taught in the programs.

INSTRUCTORS' VIEWS OF SECOND LANGUAGE LEARNING
AND TEACHING AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS FOR KTTP

Early in KTTP it was obvious to the instructors that the over-all goal held by the Native language and culture teachers and community members was that Native children would learn to become fluent, or at least partially fluent in Kwak'wala as a result of attending the Native language classes. Given this, a number of basic assumptions held by Jensen and Wild regarding the nature of second language learning and teaching, and factors affecting second language learning influenced various components of the program. These included the aims and objectives, the organization and methods employed to aid KTTP students in their learning, and the subject matter covered ie. the topics and types of second language methods and techniques advocated and the issues explored. Also influencing the planning of KTTP was their realization that there had been no

over-all planning for the Native language programs, and that no clearly stated goals had been set. The teachers indicated that when they had been hired there had been no mention made of goals for the program. Each individual Native language teacher was responsible for planning, gathering materials for, and teaching his/her own classes. For the most part the Native language teachers worked in isolation of each other.

Factors affecting second language learning

The instructors perceived a variety of factors which affect the learning of a second language, most particularly, learning to communicate in a second language. To begin with learning a second language requires a great deal of effort and persistence on the part of the learner, and an encouraging atmosphere. It is not an easy task, and requires that the learner be willing to take some emotional risks. Motivation to learn the language was seen as a critical factor. The instructors felt that children need to have real purposes for learning, and places to hear and use Kwak'wala. In addition, the language being learned needs to be relevant to children's own experiences and background knowledge, and to be appropriate to their ages.

It was also believed that there is a correlation between the type of language and the amount of time children are exposed to a language, and the learning that occurs. Thus, the greater amount of time, the greater the possibility of learning. If children are taught to identify various objects, then that is what they learn; if the teacher is always translating the meaning of Kwak'wala to English or English to Kwak'wala, they learn to translate; if the teacher interacts with them in Kwak'wala, they learn to do that.

Underlying this was the instructors' view that children's motivation to learn a language is influenced by their perceptions of the value and importance placed on it. These are shaped by the

family's, the community's and the teacher's attitudes toward the language and their use of it. Children, in particular, are very good at picking up the discrepancies between word and deed in the adults around them. If adults verbalize support for the language, yet do not use it themselves, then children will pick up on this. Thus, the language use patterns of the family and community, as well as the form of support given the the Kwak'wala program have a strong influence on children's motivation.

The degree of support and importance placed upon the language program by the school itself, both the administration and regular classroom teachers, was another factor perceived by the instructors to be affecting the Kwak'wala learning of children. This was seen to manifest itself in the following ways.:

- the amount of time allotted to teaching the program ie. how much of the school day or school week is allotted to the teaching of Kwak'wala.

- the resources allocated to the program, including the types of materials used and the room or space in which the class is taught.

- the importance placed upon the Kwak'wala program compared to other subject areas being taught. For example, is it the first class or program to be cancelled if there are budget cutbacks, or if something special comes up in the day for students to do?

This particular view sounded a like chord in the KTTP students and discussions of the value or importance of the program became an ongoing topic which was explored in a number of ways. This included several joint sessions with the teachers in Band School and with the School Administrator. and with the principal. It also pointed to the need for the Native teachers to become advocates in the school and community for the Native language and the culture programs.

The Nature of Second Language Learning

Second language learning is seen to be similar to first language acquisition in a number of ways, and also to differ in a number of ways. The following chart taken from the B.C. Ministry of Education's, <u>English as a Second Language/Dialect Resource Book</u> (1981:59) reflects the instructors' views on learning. Learning a language whether a first or a second language is a predominantly social behaviour, and the speakers main purpose in speaking is to either make or to gain meaning in the situation.

FIRST AND SECOND LANGUAGE LEARNING

SIMILARITIES	DIFFERENCES
-Both are developomental	-In L2 learning language is filtered through at least one existing system.
-Both involve creative construction	
	-L2 learning usually occurs when learner is chronologically older and cognitively more developed.
-Both may be adjusted by testing hypotheses against linguistic input (although Braine, McLaughlin, and others believe that the evidence is against hypotheses testing in L1).	-Concepts and experiences from L1 must be transferred and possibly reordered.
	-The learning environment and the time given to learning are totally different from L1.
-Both contain predictable errors (but not necessarily the same errors).	
-In both, communicative competence develops in real situations.	-L2 acquisition seems to move from form to meaning, L1 acquisition moves in the opposite direction. *(Researchers note: In both, however, meaning is central to language use and communication.
-In both, the learner is an active agent.	-Some explanation about language may help some learners, especially older ones.
	-L2 acquisition may interfere with self-concept.
	-L2 acquisition is influenced greatly by attitude, motivation, and pride in heritage.

These views of second language learning strongly influenced both what KTTP students were taught about how to teach a second language and what to teach. They also had implications for what was taught about developing curriculae, both the development of programs and the development of materials.

View of Native Language Teaching

The over-all view held by the instructors of second language teaching in NASL programs aiming at fluency, or even limited fluency, can best be described as confluent teaching in which a variety of approaches are used; however, the main orientation would be a functional, communicative approach with the emphasis for beginning learners on developing oral language, ie. on understanding and speaking language. While saying this, it must also be acknowledged that the instructors recognized a very real need for beginning language learners to be exposed to clear modelling of the second language, a great deal of repetition, and to be helped to understand the meaning of what they are learning through audio-visual aids, and a variety of other teaching techniques. Given their view that language is social behaviour, and that Native children need to learn ways of speaking and behaving that reflect community norms of social interaction, they believed that the Native language teachers needed to develop ways of working with children in the classroom that reflected these.

One promising possibility was perceived to be having teachers develop their lessons and units around cultural activities that occurred in the community, particularly situations in which people still speak Kwak'wala. This would involve children in interacting in activities which require language. Another was to encourage the Kwak'wala teachers to use a Kwak'wala immersion approach to teaching, so that for at least the length of the Native language class Kwak'wala was the main language of interaction; translation from Kwak'wala to English was discouraged. A contention held by

the instructors was that if Kwak'wala classes are conducted primarily in English, that is, the instructions, comments, classroom interactions are in English and the meaning of Kwak'wala is always explained in English, then the message the children receive is that English is the language of meaning, and of power. They never learn that Kwak'wala is a language which one can communicate in. These perceptions led to numerous discussions in KTTP about how to extend Kwak'wala learning opportunities in the school and in the community. Others occurred on how to involve the community in the program.

An opportunity seen by the instructors to extend the Kwak'wala learning opportunities in school was to co-ordinate the teaching of some of the Kwak'wala in the language classes with the Native dance and art classes. In other words, children could be taught Kwak'wala in the language classes which could then be used when they were learning various dances and even art lessons. There were many opportunities seen in the teaching of dance for language learning, amongst them, directions and comments about how to move, where to go, what the dance meant, praise-giving, asking questions, and various vocabulary around body, body movements, location, types of dance regalia. Proper ways of behaving are also important in dancing and the potlatch. There are myths and songs for each dance which provide wonderful opportunities for language learning and cultural teaching. This latter was not a new idea. In describing her earlier involvement with the dance program in the Band School, the Director of U'mista talked about how she told the children legends connected with the dances to help them understand what the dances meant. While the myths were mainly told in English, she tried to use as many Kwak'wala words as possible in the telling, and children were periodically asked what they thought the myth meant. At the time KTTP began this was no longer happening.

The current dance teacher, who spoke Kwak'wala fluently, was

very receptive to the idea of using Kwak'wala in teaching dance
when it was presented in KTTP. Her reaction and comments are
revealing of her perception of teaching in a school setting:

> I speak Kwak'wala, and in all the time I've been
> teaching Dance, it never ever entered my head to speak
> Kwak'wala to the kids!
>   (Personal observation in class)

Another KTTP student involved in helping with the Dance
program as well as the Native art teacher were also receptive to the
idea, and designed many of their assignments around the concept of
integrating Kwak'wala into their materials and teaching.

The notion of co-ordinating language and culture classes is
not as straightforward as it has been presented. It requires that
the language and culture teacher both speak Kwak'wala, that they
have the opportunity to plan classes together, and that the language
teacher knows the dances and something about art. It also assumes
that the school administration is in favour of such co-ordination.
Shortly after this notion was presented to students in KTTP, the
Band School's Dance program and the Provincial School's program
were shut down. In addition, the community/school politics found
the dance teacher and the language teacher with differing positions
over the issue. There was no opportunity for them to work together.

As will be discussed in the section on Perceived
Needs/Demands, throughout the first course in KTTP a variety of
means were used to assess the students' perceptions of language,
culture, second language teaching and learning, and curriculum
development, as well as their attitudes towards the existing
programs. In part, Kwak'wala 110 acted as a probe by which the
instructors and students themselves gained insights into the needs of
Native language teachers and programs. The instructors gained new
insights into the needs of the KTTP students, and the students' own
perceptions and beliefs about language, culture, teaching and
learning also began to emerge.

From the outset it was apparent that the students had not had
an opportunity earlier to formulate a perspective of language as a
linguistic system. Their knowledge and understanding of language
was from the perspective of a speaker. They also had not had
exposure to second language teaching, considerations, methods or
techniques. That was one of the purposes of KTTP.

The instructors' views of second language learning and
teaching as well as those on the nature of language and culture and
the purpose of Native language programs led them to incorporate
sessions in which students explored their own assumptions about the
nature of language and communication generally. Those who had
learned English as a second language were encouraged to reflect
upon their own experiences and feelings. Other sessions dealt with
exploring the purposes and functions of language, and assignments
were given which required students to observe and record language
use patterns in the classroom and at home. While research has been
conducted on the linguistic structures of Kwak'wala, no information
is available on sociolinguistic rules governing language use. This
topic was periodically discussed and students were encouraged to
observe cultural differences in the use of language between Native
speakers and non-Native speakers. Throughout KTTP a variety of
topics and activities were chosen which encouraged students to begin
developing their own sociolinguistic notions of language and also of
culture.

It was felt by the instructors that activities which require
students to explore their own assumptions and actions, to reflect
upon their own experiences and ways of teaching, and then share
these with others require an atmosphere of trust and respect. They
were therefore careful to establish a supportive environment, and
sought a variety of ways in which students could express their
feelings and ideas. They were also aware that a characteristic of
Native interaction patterns is for students to be relatively quiet in
class until they feel confident of their relationship with the

instructor. (personal observation; Kleinfeld, 1974; Nachoneckney, 1986; Preston, 1986; Scollons and Scollons, 1981).

NATIVE LEARNING/TEACHING STYLES IN
NATIVE AS A SECOND LANGUAGE PROGRAMS

Instructors' Perspectives of Learning and Teaching

It is necessary to remember that Native communities are attempting to maintain their own unique culture and language, and that school-based Native language and culture programs are part of that process. The way in which a cultural group passes on its understandings, knowledge, values and skills from one generation to another, its way of teaching, is intrinsic to the nature of the culture. Underlying teaching and learning styles are cultural values and assumptions regarding the role of teacher, the role of learner, and the role of language in the learning/teaching process.

There is a growing body of research which would indicate that many of the characteristics of Native learning/teaching styles continue to persist in home and community contexts, as do sociolinguistic rules governing the use of language (Arbess, 1981; Barnhardt, 1982; Erickson and Mohatt, 1981; Kleinfeld, 1974; More, 1984; Nachoneckney, 1986; Philips, 1972; Preston, 1986; Scollons and Scollons, 1981). However, schools generally utilize both learning/teaching styles, and sociolinguistic rules based upon Euro-Canadian culture.

In considering the type of second language teaching methods and techniques to present in KTTP, Jensen and Wild realized that underlying the second language teaching methods and techniques which have been developed for ESL and French Immersion programs, and for many of the existing Native curriculum materials which have been developed by non-Native specialists are basic cultural assumptions regarding teaching and learning that have been derived from Euro-Canadian culture. They were also aware from previous

observations of the Native language programs, that the types of teaching activities which were being used by the Native language teachers were similar to other regular subject areas. This will be discussed in the next section, Other Perspectives of Teaching and Learning.

They believed that insights into second language teaching and learning can be gained by looking at the experiences of other cultural groups involved in retaining their language, and at second language research. Ideas for teaching methods, techniques and materials can be obtained by looking at those used in ESL and other modern language teaching programs. However, they also felt that it was of utmost importance to remain open to examining and questioning their cultural appropriateness for teaching a Native language, and for developing Native language teaching materials. Behind this was the concern that if the primary mode used to teach the Native language becomes the Native as a second language program in school which is taught using methods and techniques that have developed out of Euro-Canadian culture, then there is a great danger that such methods will undermine what is left of the Native language and culture by teaching children interaction patterns that are not Native.

As a result of this perspective the instructors decided to incorporate into KTTP a component which encouraged KTTP students to examine their own assumptions about language, culture, and how they were teaching. This component stressed the cultural aspect and content of second language teaching. One of the unwritten objectives of KTTP was to enable students to develop an awareness of the close relationship between language and culture, and of the cultural nature of teaching.

This decision was strengthened by the instructors' perception that the Native teachers, at this point in time, appear to have been given the major responsibility for planning, developing and teaching

the Native language and culture classes, as well as developing their
own teaching materials. They have not however, had much input
into the decisions affecting the school programs. Given this
situation, the instructors believed it important that the Native
teachers and other KTTP students gain an understanding of the
broader general issues and factors influencing the programs. They
also felt that the teachers needed to gain such understandings in
order that they could become advocates for the programs in the
community.

Other Perspectives of Learning and Teaching

The issues just raised about Native learning and teaching
styles did not arise in discussions with the school administrators of
the Band School. However, they were of concern to the Director of
the U'mista Cultural Centre who had a number of discussions with
the researcher on the topic. They were also raised in the
Conference Report of the First Conference of the Kwakwaka'wakw
(1982) by Ernest Willie from Kingcome Inlet.

In discussing the Native language and culture programs,
Gloria Cranmer Webster, the Director, expressed concern over the
distinct separation of language teaching and culture teaching,
likening the set up to when her daughter took French in high
school, and questioning if it is the right way for Native language
and culture programs to be organized and taught.

> Yes, and when I think of what Peter Christmas said about
> destroying the language by teaching it in the school. You
> think of how many kids who take it because they must.

> French was completely separate from everything else she
> was doing. Forty-five minutes of French and forty-five
> minutes of English, of science, of whatever, and then it
> wasn't in anyway tied together. I don't know. I don't
> know if we're doing it the right way. How did any of us
> learn to speak anything? It was part of living, and we
> really need to look at what we're doing.

> It's going to make a whole lot more sense if first of all
> you know who you are, and how it fits, too, you know. I
> think teachers aren't taught to think like that. I think
> everything is so compartmentalized, and I don't know if
> you can teach culture like that. It should somehow all fit
> together, and I don't know how, but it seems to me that
> we should give it a try.
>
> (Tape 3:126)

This transcript alludes to the need for a holistic
approach to teaching and learning, and to the importance of
learning being closely tied to the learner's own situation and
experience. References to both of these occurred throughout the data
in relation to learning and appear to reflect a cultural orientation.
They will be discussed further under cultural values.

Ernest Willie (Conference Report) cautioned Native teachers not
to compromise their own cultural identity and cultural teachings by
trying to validate themselves in the eyes of non-Native teachers, or
by following the same practises. Like Gloria, Cranmer Webster, his
perception of teaching and learning involved a holistic orientation;
children were taught the language and culture "by action instead of
study". He also stressed the importance of listening to the Old
People. Respect for the experience and knowledge of Old People is
another cultural orientation expressed throughout the data.

> There is a way of life we are letting float by like a
> cloud, and we are forever trying to pick pieces from it.
> We should put this in the context of these Old People for
> they share what they have, not what we think they should
> share. Through our Old People we will sustain our way of
> life, not just a segment of it.
>
> (Conference Report, 1982:6)

Ernest Willie's comment about teaching "by action instead
of study", is reflected in comments made by a KTTP student
regarding the teaching methods used by the instructors in KTTP.
She had just observed that in the later KTTP courses it was not as
structured and formal as in earlier ones. In response to the
researcher's question "Does it work better, do you think, to be less

structured?" the student replied:

> It's just like teaching. You know, sitting there and
> telling the kids about how you're going to peel cedar bark
> off the tree is just...but when we actually went out and
> did it.
>
> (Tape 9:358

In both cases teaching in school is equated with "study" and
with "telling about things"; it does not appear to be perceived as
doing things. This appeared to be a relatively wide spread
perception of school learning and teaching amongst the KTTP
students, and can be seen again in the following section especially
in the description of students' seeming perceptions of the process of
second language teaching.

A Generalized Profile of the KTTP Students' View
Of the Nature of Language and of Second Language Learning

A generalized profile of the KTTP students' view of language
and of second language learning was developed based upon an
analysis by Joy Wild of a two week language teaching unit which
was the students' major assignment in Kwak'wala 110, the first
course. Five units were analyzed.

The following categories were used to evaluate the units for
the students underlying assumptions about the nature of language
and the process of learning a second language:

1. the actual Kwak'wala taught in each lesson
2. the Kwakwaka'wakw cultural content
3. references to the involvement of family or community
   either in class or out
4. the concepts and thinking skills taught
5. the types of learning/teaching activities used
6. the types of teaching aids used.

A number of general observations can be made regarding the difficulties inherent in using written unit plans to evaluate the students' assumptions regarding the nature of language and of the process of learning a second language. It is also important to keep in mind that the units evaluated were the first units ever developed by their authors, and were done as part of the first course in KTTP.

- The teachers are unused to writing out their lesson plans, never mind entire units. They found it very difficult and tiring. Information is sometimes left out, and explanations of how activities would be run or materials used are not always complete. Based on past observations of Native language teachers in their classrooms, however, the assumption is made that classes are run very much according to how the units have been written.

- In some cases it is unclear whether or not the language being taught is English or Kwak'wala. Teachers were explicitly asked to write out the Kwak'wala that would be taught. Some of them, however, were unsure of writing the language since they do not have highly developed Kwak'wala literacy skills and so gave only the English equivalent.

- There is always a discrepancy between a lesson plan and what actually happens in the classroom. Teachers, however, were asked to detail what they would do in their lessons. Several opportunities were provided in the course for teachers to get feedback on their units from the instructors, and other course participants in order to revise the units. Therefore, the units are being taken as valid indicators of the teachers' underlying assumptions.

The general profile given of the five students is very representative of other students. In retrospect, the instructors felt the assignment was too much for a first course; however, it did provide some very useful insights.

The following is the generalized profile of the teachers' underlying assumptions regarding the nature of language and the process of learning a second language which emerged from the units.

Nature of language taught in the classroom

- Kwak'wala is a set of words and sentences to be memorized.

- The alphabet is synonymous with sounds.

- Language is viewed as an entity of its own in the language classroom, and does not appear to be treated as part of culture. In discussions about Kwak'wala the students connected it with Kwakwaka'wakw culture, but in the classroom it is taught as words and structures and nct related to culture.

- Language needs to be pronounced correctly.

- The "concept system" of Kwak'wala does not appear to be seen to be different than that of English, eg. counting, family relationships.

- There are "some" patterns in language, ie. simple sentences but the longer Kwak'wala sentences are too hard for students.

Process of learning a second language

- Language is learned mainly by repetition and memorization.

- The teacher "gives" students the language; students are passive learners.

- The meaning of Kwak'wala is conveyed either through real objects, pictures or translation, ie. English explanations.

- Seeing the written words helps students to learn to speak the language.

- Students will learn to communicate by responding to, or answering the teacher's questions.

- Students learn to speak properly by being corrected.

- All students learn at the same rate and in the same way.

In discussions with the teachers they stated that teaching children to communicate in Kwak'wala was their over-all goal. Unfortunately, the content and procedures used in the units do not

match such a goal, nor do the roles assigned either to the teachers, the learners, or the materials. Learners spend the greastest amount of time repeating after the teacher. They have no control over the content of learning, are treated as a homogeneous group, have no influence on each other's learning, and are treated as "jugs to be filled". Teachers, on the other hand, have virtually complete control over all aspects of learning and initiate all interactions. The only time when students are not always directly controlled by teachers is when they are engaged in language games, yet even then the language has been predetermined by the teachers, and the structure of the games determines what students will do.

Overall, the units indicate a limited view of both the nature of language and of the second language learning process. The approach used to teach Kwak'wala is disconcertingly like that of a traditional language arts classroom. This is not surprising since the teachers had had no previous training or exposure to second language classrooms, and it is common for people to model their teaching upon their own school experience. The methods and techniques for teaching a second language are different than for other subject areas, yet even many experienced, trained, regular classroom teachers have difficulty seeing that.

There is evidence in the "brainstorming" section of the units that the teachers have a much broader understanding of the topics than is presented in the lessons. For example, the teacher of Unit V, Birds, presented only the six birds as vocabulary, and a few question-answer sentences designed to identify the birds in her lessons. Her learning-teaching activities were mainly the repeating of words and sentences after herself, or games in which students did the same things; her teaching aids were a set of pictures of the birds. On the brainstorming page, however, she mentioned:

- they will learn about migratory birds

- some are water fowl for eating, some birds are used in

    mythology, legends, dance and art

- bird watching on a hike

- films and slides

- have duck soup

- draw Indian designs or carve designs of birds

- dance to songs of some of the legends about birds

- take students down to the beach to study and observe shore
  dwellers

There is tremendous potential for language teaching in these ideas
but she had chosen only to identify them through pictures. It
appears from this analysis that the Native teachers had a very
definite notion of what school is, of what can and cannot be done,
and of how people behave and relate toward each other. These
notions appeared to limit what they thought they could do in a
classroom.

Of the thirteen students who regularly attended KTTP only one
appeared to be aware of the relationship between language and
culture in the early courses. However, in the interviews conducted
at the end of the last course one of the changes attributed to KTTP
was in students' views of language and culture. They had begun to
see them as being interrelated.

VIEWS OF CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT[1]

The predominant view held by many involved in the setting up

[1] There is a huge range in meaning of the term "curriculum

The predominant view held by many involved in the setting up
of Native language programs has been that the development of
materials, often referred to in the field as curriculum development,
is one of the greatest needs of Native language teachers (Burnaby,
1982; Hébert, 1984). It appears that teaching has been mainly
perceived as being based on materials rather than on techniques.
There has also been a general assumption that a Native speaker
automatically has the ability to teach. According to Stern (1983)
this is not an uncommon assumption in second language programs.
Burnaby and Hébert also point out that in addition to making
materials such as games and other audio-visual aids the training for
Native language teachers has focussed on literacy skills in their
Native language and on techniques of linguistic analysis.

In discussing the development of materials for Native language
classes, it is necessary to differentiate between materials produced
by non-Native specialists, and those produced by Native teachers
themselves. The former have included an orthography and alphabet
sheet, a descriptive grammar of the language, literacy materials
such as basic primers and simple stories, basic language lessons
and students workbooks based on vocabulary and sentence structures.
In a few cases more extensive materials have been developed, and
also a teachers' manual. Many of these materials are based upon a

development". On the one hand it can mean an entire program of
studies, including the underlying philosophy, the goals and
objectives of the program, the scope and sequence of various courses
to be included in the program, the recommended methods of teaching
and materials. On the other hand it can mean simply the
development of actual teaching materials. It is the latter that most
often applies to Native language curriculum projects.

a structural orientation to second language teaching and draw
heavily upon teaching activities used in audio-lingual and in
grammar-translation methods of second language teaching. Native
teachers, have been shown how to make flashcards, teaching
pictures, big books, and board games based on identifying
vocabulary items. The linguistic content of language lessons and
student workbooks has mainly been determined by the linguist,
working with the language group. S/he elicits material from Native
informants, and then determines what is the most linguistically
valuable language structures and vocabulry to teach children.
Increasingly the structures and vocabulary included in lessons and
workbooks are organized around topics which have been decided by
both the linguist and the Native informant.

A number of basic assumptions appear to underlie this
curriculum development process. These are:

1. That the main concern in Native language curriculum materials
    is the linguistic structures and vocabulary.

2. That the person best qualified to decide upon the linguistic
    structures is the linguist or curriculum developer.

3. That learning/teaching activities used in the audio-lingual and
    the grammar-translation methods are suitable for teaching Native
    as a second language.

4. That Native language teachers will be able to use these
    curriculum materials to develop their own language programs,
    and that these will help children to learn to speak and
    understand the language. (With respect to this last assumption,
    it may only be the Native language teachers who held this
    belief).

A major difficulty faced by the Native language teachers
has been this fourth assumption. From the perspective of the KTTP
instructors this has been too much to expect of untrained teachers
working with large numbers of children.

From the perspectives of those involved in setting up Native
language programs, there seems to be a very practical reason for

this emphasis on materials: teachers need to have something to use in working with children, particularly teachers with little or no training. Many in the field, however, are beginning to see that materials are not enough. This realization was in part behind the U'mista Cultural Centre's sponsorship of the Kwak'wala Teacher Training Program.

A factor relating to the emphasis that has been placed on the development of materials for Native language programs has been that many funding agencies, both government and private, have made the development of materials a priority, and in some cases a criteria, for receiving funding for projects. Thus, a program focussing primarily on training teachers in teaching methods and techniques, which are both intangible commodities would either not qualify for grants or would be obliged to also produce materials. In discussing this with a staff member of the Secretary of State Office, it was pointed out to the researcher that the department had adopted this policy for its five year Language Retention Program after Native participants at the 1984 Pacific Region Native Language Conference indicated that the documenting of the existing knowledge of the Native Elders (or Old People) before they were gone was a priority, since many were getting older. He also commented on how difficult it was to monitor programs which focussed only on instructional techniques.

From the data for ths study it appears that the Kwak'wala programs in which KTTP students worked followed many of the assumptions that have just been presented. In talking about the programs a number of students commented that they had been hired because they could speak Kwak'wala. One of the Native teachers quoted a former school administrator as saying, "All that's required is you've got to know English and your language". Another administrator, in the school at the time KTTP ran, cancelled the Dance program, and arranged for the funding of a curriculum development project with a curriculum developer, aimed at developing

teaching materials for the Kwak'wala program. Those KTTP students who had worked in the Alert Bay Native Education Program in the Provincial School spoke of asking the principal for help and of evening workshops being set up with teachers to make games and other materials for their classes. The Learning Kwak'wala Series (1981), a series of twelve student workbooks was developed as part of the Kwak'wala Language Project sponsored by the U'mista Cultural Centre. Jay Powell, Vickie Jensen, Agnes Cranmer and Margaret Cook wrote the books, which became a valuable resource, full of linguistic information and "potential" lessons for the Kwak'wala language teachers, and for the culture teachers. It was hoped that the books would help to improve Kwak'wala language teaching.

Like many other Native language materials the emphasis of the books is on linguistic structures organized around various topics. Within each topic basic vocabulary is given, and linguistic structures in which to use the vocabulary. A number of basic sentence patterns are suggested, grammar explanations are given, as well as question and answer drills and translation drills. One entire book is on Kwak'wala sounds, another is devoted to a number of important Kwakwaka'wakw dances.

Because many of the Kwak'wala (language) teachers did not have highly developed Kwak'wala reading and writing skills, English translations were given for all the Kwak'wala so that there would be no misunderstanding of meaning, either for teachers or students.

Within a couple of years of publication it was realized that the books alone were not enough. It was also realized that a number of the Kwak'wala teachers needed to develop their reading and writing skills in Kwak'wala.

Instructors' Views Regarding Curriculum Development in KTTP

Underlying the planning of KTTP were a number of basic

assumptions held by the instructors regarding the development of
curriculum for a Native language program, and the roles that Native
community members, including Native teachers, and non-Native
professionals play in that process. At the outset of this discussion
it must be kept in mind that even though the two instructors
involved in planning and teaching the teacher training courses had
worked together for two years prior to KTTP on the Shuswap project,
they came from different work experience backgrounds which
influenced their perspectives on curriculum development. Jensen had
worked extensively with Jay Powell on producing Native teaching
materials, particularly workbooks, for a number of different Native
language programs including Kwak'wala. The orientation of the
books was like that described for the <u>Learning Kwak'wala Series</u>.
Wild had been involved in teaching Native language teachers second
language methods and techniques and perceived curriculum
development* in the broader sense of an over-all program,
philosophy, goals and objectives, scope and sequence, methods and
materials. Thus the instructors saw the process of working together
as exciting, since both learned from each other, and helped to
balance each other's perspectives. Vickie was very practical in her
orientation, often stating that something had to be produced; Joy was
more theoretical, maintaining that the process by which something is
produced is as important as the product.

Both held the assumption that Native community members need
to play a central role in determining the goals of a Native language
program, that if a language program is to be successful it needs to
be based on realistic goals, that teaching methods, techniques and
materials need to lead toward the goals, and that teachers need to
understand and be trained in those methods. Thus, the view taken
for curriculum development in KTTP was that of the broader, over-all
program. The development of teaching materials was percieved to be
part of the process of curriculum development, and was used as a
devise in helping KTTP students to develop an understanding of
second language teaching methods and techniques. It was also used

to produce much needed materials for their own classes. The belief was also held that teachers are much more likely to use materials that they had been involved in preparing, and that the materials produced by the KTTP students would be shared, and thus accumulate as a teaching resource.

A second assumption held was that given that the over-all goal of the Kwak'wala program as expressed by the Native teachers was to help children develop a degree of fluency, as well as a stronger cultural identity, curriculum development needed to be oriented toward developing communicative skills, and that these skills needed to be culturally appropriate.

A third assumption involved the roles played in developing curriculum by Native community members and Native teachers, and by non-Native specialists. The usual way that materials have been developed has been previously described: the non-Native specialist or "expert" with input from Native informants has decided the language structures and vocabulary, and then the teachers have been expected to use them. That procedure may work when the "expert" and the teachers and students are from roughly the same cultural background, and hold similar underlying assumptions about the use of language ie. sociolinguistic rules of language use; however, when they are from different cultural backgrounds, serious questions arise regarding the cultural appropriateness of both the language forms chosen for language lessons, and the underlying communication strategies, in other words the discourse system. Although non-Native linguists or professional curriculum developers or teachers may be familiar with the linguistic systems of the language, they are not members of the Native community, and are generally unaware of the social norms of interaction. In other words, they may be grammatically competent in the Native language, but they are not communicatively competent. It is for this reason that Native community members need to play a central role in planning and developing language programs, as well as teaching in them. Related

to this assumption were several others held by the instructors.

The Native people with the greatest degree of communicative competence in Kwak'wala are the Old People, those who learned Kwak'wala as their first language, and had lived in predominantly Kwak'wala-speaking families. They were also seen as the programs' greatest resource. However, other younger community members, even though they are not as fluent in Kwak'wala as the Old People, also possess an innate knowledge of the communication strategies culturally appropriate in their communities: how to talk to various people and what to talk about in different situations. These younger community members, amongst them Native language and culture teachers and Native teacher aides, are ideally suited to work with the Old People particularly in developing the Native language programs and materials.

Several reasons were seen as being important for the Native language teachers to be part of planning and developing language curriculum:

1. They have already been given the responsibility of developing their own programs for their classes.

2. Even though the Native teachers may be unaware of their knowledge of the "right way", the culturally appropriate way, to talk in their homes and community except on a gut-level feeling of what is right and what is not, they do know this as members of the community, and it needs to be built into the programs.

3. The Native teachers' involvement in the planning and development of curriculum, both their classroom program and teaching materials, would provide them with insights and skills important to teaching.

4. Teachers have a greater vested interest in teaching a program

which they helped to create.

The role of the non-Native specialists in developing
curriculum was perceived much more as that of facilitator, and the
overall process seen as collaboration in which the strengths and
areas of knowledge of both Native and non-Native are valued. The
main areas of knowledge possessed by the non-Native specialists, and
seen as important to the development of curriculum, included
knowledge of the linguistic features of Kwak'wala, knowledge of and
experience in writing and printing materials, photographic skills and
experience in planning illustrations for materials, organizational
classroom skills, knowledge of second language teaching methods and
techniques. Many of these areas of knowledge, however, were seen
as working hand in hand with Native decisions of what kinds of
values, and activities and language to teach.

In addition, teaching itself was seen by the instructors to be
a highly cultural activity; the assumptions being made about "how"
something is learned are as important as "what" is learned. Thus,
it was believed that there needed to be built into KTTP, a process
whereby students were encouraged to question the underlying reasons
for how and what they taught in their classrooms, and to examine
the cultural appropriateness of it.

The Curriculum Development Process Used in KTTP

Based on their work with the Shuswap Language Committee
Wild and Jensen had developed a process of collaboration in
curriculum development which they believed had the possibility of
generating a language program and teaching materials which were
sociolinguistically accurate. This process involved having the
KTTP class and resource people brainstorm and identify cultural
themes and values and activities that they felt were important for
children to learn, and were appropriate to the age of the children.
Each of the themes would then be looked at in terms of:

1. Possible situations that a child might encounter, including the people who would be involved, and the types of activities or things they would be doing.

2. Various smaller topics that could be included in the theme.

3. Potential concepts that could be taught eg. size, location, quantity, etc.

4. The communication interactions that would typically occur in each situation or activity, the functions of language (both verbal and non-verbal).

5. The Kwak'wala language forms or structures and vocabulary that would typically be used.

   There are two important considerations regarding the choice of language to be taught in the program:
   a) In everyday conversations the speakers of a language do not always speak according to the formal grammatical rules of the language. The form of the spoken language is determined by social conventions of use. Since the goal of the Native language program is to teach children to communicate, they need to learn the commonly used form.

   b) In cases where two or more forms of the language are used to express a similar meaning, a decision needs to be made regarding which is the most valuable form from a linguistic perspective.

6. The teaching and learning strategies that could be used.

7. The language teaching and learning activities and teaching resources that could be used.

It was this process that was used as the principle means of generating curriculum ideas in KTTP.

Underlying the entire area of curriculum development is the larger issue of the principle of Native ownership which includes the question of who possesses the important knowledge to be incorporated into the Native language and culture programs, and who should be involved in the process, and in decision making. This larger issue was one which significantly affected KTTP both from without and from within. It was discussed in the section on Sociological Factors.

CULTURAL VALUE ORIENTATION

Reflected in the data are numerous references to a cluster of qualities or attributes which appear to be highly valued by the KTTP students. It seems to this researcher that these are reflections of underlying cultural values held by the community. These values emerged in a wide variety of contexts: in class discussions, in students' assignments, in their evaluation comments, and in the interviews. They can also be found in statements in the Conference Report, and were expressed to the researcher in conversations with other community members. The qualities or attributes which KTTP students frequently referred to have to do with a willingness to share one's knowledge and experience, with doing something because you really care about it, with being supportive of each other, and with having a commitment and sense of responsibility to one's family and/or one's community.

Joanne Preston (1986) quotes Condon and Yousef regarding the usefulness of describing value orientations in cross-cultural situations:

> Value orientations are abstract constructs. They are useful only when tempered by an "as if" caution. People in culture X act "as if" they believe that materialism is more important than spiritual concerns, "as if" older persons deserve more respect than younger ones, "as if" intuition is a better guide than reason. Applied with caution, as a framework in which revealing questions can be asked and a great variety of specific behaviours can be related and organized, value orientations can be most helpful.
>
> (Condon and Yousef 1975:118-119)

Condon and Yousef point out that value orientations do not occur in isolation, but rather are meaningful only in combination (1975:119). They also emphasize that caution is required in applying them since:

> Value orientations are incomplete, biased and
> reflective of the purposes for which they are invented and

for which they may be applied. Such are the limitations
of labelling anything, but the significance is even more
apparent where there is no standardized system and where
the referent is as amorphous as the term, culture.
(Condon and Yousef, 1975:119)

Another researcher who discusses cultural value orientations in
relation to the Native cultures of the Pacific Northwest is Jay Powell.
Powell in his paper Aboriginal Value Continance Among the Quileute;
Cultural Adaptation Among Amerindian Hunter - Fisher - Gatherers
(1981) suggests that "the contemporary Quileute value system can be
shown to derive from their aboriginal values and world-view". This
researcher has also heard Powell apply this premise to
Kwakwaka'wakw culture, and talk to Native language and culture
teachers about its effects on Native language and culture programs.

Writing of the underlying belief system held by the aboriginal
Kwakwaka'wakw society regarding how they originated, and of their
traditional social organization Speck (1987:68) says:

> The founding ancestors (of each 'na'mima) entered
> into pacts with the supernatural beings who controlled the
> land, the animals, the fish and other resources. In
> exchange for promising to demonstrate self-control, to
> share land and resources with others, to show proper
> respect for the animals, and birds, fish and trees upon
> which human survival depends, and to pay appropriate
> homage to the supernatural owners of these riches the
> ancestors were given the right to use these resources and
> to control their distribution among their people.

> Chiefs organized their 'na'mima members in
> hunting, fishing, gathering, building and manufacture to
> meet both everyday subsistence needs and to produce
> surplus for redistribution at potlatches. The ability to
> accumulate large enough amounts of such surplus goods
> entitles a chief to give a potlatch, and in so doing a
> chief and his 'na'mima fulfill their obligations to the
> ancestors and, through them, to the supernatural owners of
> the land. They re-affirm their hereditary rank, social
> position and their right to govern by demonstrating
> generosity, displaying masks and crests, and in dance and
> song. Alliances are consolidated with other 'na'mima and
> villages, and disputes between individuals and groups are
> also settled at these gatherings.   (Speck, 1987:68-69)

It can be seen that the values of sharing, of supportiveness, of responsibility, and commitment to the group are a part of this belief system. According to a number of sources, values such as these evolved in aboriginal cultures like the Kwakw_aka_'wakw which in traditional times depended upon the co-operation of the group for their survival. People lived in relatively isolated, small, self-sufficient communities, and the willingness of their members to share, as well as their sense of group commitment, was essential to life. Patterns of social behaviour and social interaction evolved over generations and reflect these values. Another characteristic of these communities was that the basic unit of social organization and of economic activity was the extended family grouping.

Sharing One's Knowledge and Experience

A variety of remarks were made by the KTTP students in class and in the evaluations which indicate they view sharing as important and valuable. Frequent references were made about how much they enjoyed sharing. Often a class activity or assignment was pointed out as being valuable or useful because it allowed people to share their ideas or knowledge, their feelings or experiences.

Writing of the first workshop, a student commented "We like to see everyone here get together to share"; another said, "We felt very useful and liked working together". In Kwak'wala 112, different students commenting on what helped them the most wrote, "Helping us gain confidence by making our own presentations, singing, sharing"; "Sharing different ideas"; "I enjoyed us demonstrating our assignments and sharing"; "I liked the demonstration of games. These were useful, because I've tried reading instructions in books. Actual demo's were great fun, too! Ideas... I like exchanging and sharing".

The opportunity to work co-operatively in class and on

assignments was also mentioned as being useful in that students could share their knowledge and strengths with each other. Commenting on this a student said:

> And being able to plan activities; being able to say "Heah, why don't you and I work together on this. You're really good at this part and I'm good at that part". To find out what we are good at, and to work together as a team.
>
> (Transcript 5:19)

In asking about the kind of activities that the instructors did in class which students found useful or valuable, the researcher was told that the instructors' willingness to share their own personal experiences and feelings was very important to the students. It was commented that their sharing helped students open up, and that it helped to keep KTTP together. One incident pointed to was a class session in which Jensen talked on a very personal level regarding her feelings about death. Just prior to this class the brother of one of the students had died.

Researcher:
> One of the things I can remember you saying ...I guess it was the last session we had when Vickie...really started to share how she felt about death...I remember you saying to Vickie that it helped to have people who shared their own feelings. Do you think that has been helpful... something that helped?

Student:
> Keep KTTP together? Um hu! I think so, for sure...cause a lot of things...I noticed that at that session some of the people who are not very vocal, they actually came out and said how they were feeling and some of the past experiences they've had with death, cause it's a reality. It happens to everyone...and it's not just exclusive to a few people, you know. And like it's really important; it's really nice to be human once in a while and show feelings. It's important to have teachers who will share their feelings.
>
> (Transcript 4A:32)

Related to the value of sharing were references made to students' behaviour when they felt they did not have anything to

share or to contribute to KTTP. References were also made to changes that occurred in students' attitudes and behaviour when they did realize they had something to share with the group.

One KTTP student who had taught for a number of years spoke of a change that occurred in another KTTP student who realized during class that s/he had cultural knowledge about cedar bark gathering that no one else knew.

Student:
Did you notice (Student's name) never used to ever speak?...And then s/he grew, and especially when we did Cedar bark, because s/he had actually done it. S/he's actually done it for years with his/her dad. S/he's actually gone there, and that's where his/her self-confidence came in, I noticed. S/he actually thought s/he didn't have anything to offer, and then when we talked about cedar bark, s/he mentioned "I do that all the time with my dad, you know!"

I said "Well speak up tell Vickie and Joy. And that's when s/he spoke up...S/he was just sort of bursting, "These guys have never gone out to get cedar bark, but I have, I know how it's done".
(Transcript 1:52)

Another observation that was made linked a different student's lack of talking in class to the feeling that s/he did not have something to offer to others in the class.

...She was really self conscious. She just thought that she didn't have much to offer, because she's not cultural minded...KTTP really helped the students that were self-conscious. They, lots of them, really thought that they didn't have anything to offer, but, half way through, and towards the end they realized they really did have lots to offer. (Transcript 1:53)

Caring

The value of caring seemed to be linked in students' minds to a willingness to share one's experience and knowledge. Sharing one's self was also sometimes talked of as a responsibility, in the

sense of sharing valuable knowledge with others.

A student talking about how she herself was taught told the researcher:

> You took care of yourself, because if you don't take care of yourself you're not going to be any good at anything, just foolish. Like Old Man Jack shared that a lot...He realized that he had something to share, and to give back to the community.
> (Transcript 4:3)

This latter reference had to do with sharing his knowledge of songs and the culture. Another statement made later in the interview was:

> I know that what I've learned by teaching for so many years, that it's not good enough for us to sit back here and say "Well, it's not the same anymore. I'm not there...It's not important to me!" What's important to me is to share what I've learned.
> (Transcript 4:20)

This belief in the importance of sharing was reflected in statements made by Native people at the First Educational Conference of the Kwakwaka'wakw. Ernest Willie of Kingcome Inlet spoke of sharing as a way of teaching.

> We must get together and share what we have, not methodology, but share ourselves as people. We must find ways of teaching our children.
> (Conference Report, 1982:13)

In another quote from the talk by Ernest Willie the distinction appears to be made between being paid for your knowledge, which is viewed as being a "professional thing to do", and doing something, ie. sharing your knowledge, "because you really care". This latter is seen as a Native thing to do.

During the time KTTP ran there were several periods of time that relationships between some of the students were slightly uneasy, and reflected the community/school politics. Comments were made by

a number of KTTP students in which a distinction was drawn between people who teach in the schools because they really care about the children and the culture, and those who teach because it is a job they are paid to do. This same distinction was also made with regard to students who attended KTTP because they really cared about the culture and teaching, and those who came because it was a job and the Band Council had made attendance at KTTP mandatory for Band employees. It appeared that the value of doing something because you care is highly significant to people involved in the cultural programs.

One KTTP student made the following comment, observing that children pick up quickly on whether or not one really cares about the one's job.

> Any of our own people that are working in the schools should be there because they sincerely care. I don't think people should be there because they want a pay cheque. If they want a paycheque they should go and get a job somewhere else, and get a paycheque. Because it's really important to put out and let the kids know you really care. You can be the best photo copier, you can be the best math problem solver in the world, but if you don't have a sincere heart the kids pick up on it real fast.
>
> (Tape 4:304)

Personalizing

Various classroom discussions and comments made by students in the evaluations and interviews seem to point to a high value being placed on the personal relevance of experiences or lessons or assignments. Students appeared to prefer those situations or topics or contexts which were highly personalized. Within classroom presentations topics which related to their own personal context seemed to be much better received by students than those of a more general or decontextualized nature. On the whole students seemed to find generalized discussions or assignments difficult to follow.

It appears possible to the researcher that their preference for personal topics and contexts may be related to traditional teaching/learning styles which largely consisted of a "teacher figure" working on a one-to-one basis with a learner, sharing a skill or area of expertise. The telling of personal stories, which was another form of traditional teaching and learning, was also based on personal experience. Myths, too, were set in a highly individualized context. The social interaction patterns of Kwak'wala have evolved over generations of people living in small communities where people knew each other well.

In talking about how the Native teachers in the Alert Bay Native Education Program would plan materials for the school program, one of the students described the following process.

> What we used to do is to take out the class list, and look at the kids all involved in there, and see if their families were connected at all. See if they had some skill, or owned a boat or whatever, that we were trying to do. And see how they could be brought into it, you know, and a lot of time what we did was try to really personalize the class. Like when the kids all got their little pictures....It was always trying to get them feel good about themselves.
>
> (Tape 9A:381)

Jensen, too, comments on her own experience in working with the class.

> You need to let people know what it was like for you. The times you were afraid, confused, making mistakes. Up until you can do that the class sees you as an outsider. There's a difference between being an outsider they invite in, and someone sent in.
>
> (Tape 7A:430)

Importance of Knowing Who You Are: Family and Culture

Amongst the students of KTTP there was a strong family orientation. Students often spoke of family members and family happenings. Students also talked of the importance of knowing about

one's family to having a positive self image and self confidence. In the previous quote reference was made to using a child's family to develop curriculum. There are also references to knowing about and having pride in one's culture, and developing a strong self image.

> When you know your own, what's anybody going to do to you? Nobody can take that away from you. When I'm wearing my Indian blanket and heating on a drum, that's when I'm at my strongest. Nobody can touch me, and it's up to me how I present myself because what I represent reflects on my family, my people, where I come from, my community, myself. When I pound on my drum, who's going to laugh? It doesn't matter if they laugh. Let them laugh.
> (Tape 5A:340)

While discussing the benefits of the culture program for school children a student said:

> When you don't feel good about who you are there's no way you're gonna be a strong adult, let alone be a strong leader. Gloria says it all in "Box of Treasures"; our kids are going to leave this island, and their chances of surviving is going to be more if they have a strong, real good self image...The kids were interviewed for "A Box of Treasures", and Chuck asked them "Why are you taking the dance program?" Name said "Maybe if we'd had that (ie. culture program) I'd be part way through teacher training or nursing....or had our people there to say the importance of education, an' how we keep an equal balance between our culture and their society today".
> (Tape 4A:181)

The reasearcher was involved in a discussion about Native education with a community member who said "It's going to make a whole lot more sense if first of all you know who you are". References were made to this in another interview with a KTTP student who make the following remarks:

> ...and for people to feel good...cause that's the bottom line...you've got to feel good about yourself as a person, you know. And, like...I remember a workshop Jay Powell did with our staff up there, and when he talked about our culture, Christ Almighty, he said things about our culture I never even thought of!
> (Tape 4A:452)

There was also mention made to the connection between <u>not</u> having knowledge of one's cultural background, and a resulting poor self image.

A Non-Confrontational Approach to Dealing with Conflict

Amongst aboriginal cultures such as that of the Kwakwaka'wakw there was a strong orientation toward avoiding conflict situations (Powell, 1981). As has been described in the section on Sociological Factors, conflicts between families were mainly handled in the potlatch; within families they tended to be dealt with by the Old People or the Heads of the family grouping. It has been suggested that such an orientation evolved as a means of ensuring the existence of communities dependent upon the co-operation of their members for survival.

In traditional times this avoidance was relatively easy, since family groupings tended to live in small, relatively isolated communities. In the present this is much more difficult since communites like Alert Bay are comprised of people from various family groupings who, under the current structure of community life, have to work with each other in various Band structures and programs. The most obvious place this occurs is in the structure of the Band Administration with its various elected and appointed positions on the Band Council, and in school programs.

Amongst KTTP students there was a noticeable discomfort at being directly confronted by another person with an issue or concern or a question. Several situations occurred within the class time in which the researcher noticed the students were very uncomfortable at being singled out and asked a particular question about why they were doing something in their school classes. On one occasion the school administrator asked a KTTP student why she had not come and spoken to him about a scheduling concern. On another occasion an instructor pointed out to a KTTP student that she had not appeared

to be teaching for meaning in a lesson that the instructor had observed. Another occasion involved a non-Native parent asking a Native teacher why a particular situation occurred in her class. The reaction in all cases was the KTTP students appearing to feel annoyed, and uncomfortable, and turning away from the person asking.

Another observation regarding non-confrontation was that throughout KTTP, during all the time the difficult politics occurred in the community, nothing was openly said in class. Out of class students simply did not talk to each other.

What did happen, and appears to be tied to conflict situations, was that KTTP students privately talked to the instructors about their programs and teaching being criticized in the community and by parents. For those KTTP students who were working this was a concern. However, it was also apparent to other KTTP students that criticism was not good for the school programs. In a discussion between students during the final teacher training course the following exchange occurred.

Student A: We need to get going on the cultural program. It's going to be impossible in five years. People will be desperate, trying to grab at things, but it's going to be too late.

Student B: One of the problems is working in isolation. People are going to criticize you. You've got to believe in it, and keep working on it. Don't take things personally, because people <u>are</u> going to criticize you.

Student C: Criticism. We've got to start here, around this table. We've got to stop criticizing each other around this table. (It would be) a big step in ourselves if we stopped doing this.

               We used to have big fights over discipline in the school on the hill (the Provincial School). One of the things I learned from Peter King... he said he used to

look in the mirror in the morning and say "Well, am I
going to be part of the solution or part of the problem?
We've got to start by not criticizing each other.

Student A: Well, for sure.   If you decide you're going to do
               anything... it depends upon what you want to do
               yourself.

Student B: (States agreement).

Ways of dealing with gossip and criticism became a recurring
topic within the KTTP program.   The way in which it was dealt with
will be described in the section on Organization and Methods.

A Holistic Orientation

One other cultural orientation that was evident amongst KTTP
students was a tendency to see things as being interrelated.
Initially in the course, however, many did not appear to apply this
to a school situation.   In other words, in the school setting
language and culture programs appeared to be completely separated.

Several statements were made by students at the end of the
first course which indicated that they liked the integrated approach
to language and culture taken by the KTTP instructors.

> To understand that everything is connected one way or
> another, whether the subject is language, art or dancing.
> You can never do one without the other being connected.
> And to have realized these things, it will help us to teach
> in a more organized and meaningful fashion.
>   (Student Evaluation: Kwak'wala 110)

> The programs are all interwoven; needed saying by you
> guys
>   (Student Evaluation: Kwak'wala 110)

Other quotes appeared in the interviews which indicated that
changes had occurred in other students' perceptions of teaching.
These changes also involved seeing language teaching and culture
teaching as being related.

In talking about the Band School in Alert Bay, and its
compartmentalized orientation to subject matter. Gloria Cranmer
Webster referred to the need for an approach which recognized
language and culture and learning as being interrelated, and which
taught children first about themselves, their culture and their
community before extending outward. She also spoke of assessing the
present and seeking further.

> I really think we need to look honestly at what we're
> doing. I wouldn't throw out KTTP because some good
> things have happened. The language books series are a
> part of it; KTTP is a part of it. Those are good things
> but they are only part of something much bigger, and we
> haven't looked at the much bigger.
>
> (Tape 3A:105)

5.3.3 SOCIAL POLICY FACTORS

The decisions and policies of the bodies which control the
allotment of funds for programs and the conditions under which
potential students can participate exert a great deal of influence on
the structuring and development of a program, as well as affecting
its ethos. From the data it appears that KTTP was affected by the
social policies of three different levels of government; Federal,
Provincial and Local Band, as well as by North Island College, the
Anglican Church of Canada, and the U'mista Cultural Centre.

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT OF CANADA

Under the Official Language Act of 1971 multiculturalism
within a bilingual framework has been the official policy of the
Government of Canada. From this policy the Canadian Consultative
Council on Multiculturalism and the Multiculturalism Directorate were
created within the Department of the Secretary of State, and were
made it a source of funding for multicultural activities such as
Heritage and Native language programs and conferences (Hèbert,
1984:128). Also under the act very sizeable amounts of money were
authorized to establish French Immersion programs across Canada,

the goal of which was to maintain and enhance French, one of the
official languages of Canada.

In the first year alone $438 million dollars were spent on
setting up French Immersion programs across the country. In
contrast to this $4 million dollars were allocated by the Federal
Treasury Board in 1985-86 for the teaching of Heritage Languages in
Canada. These are programs to ensure that the mother tongue of
various immigrant groups such as Ukrainian, German, Punjabi,
Mandarin, Cantonese, Portuguese, Greek, etc. are learned by
children of immigrant parents. In the same year of 1985-86 $1
million dollars were allotted under the Language Retention Program
to Native language projects across Canada: one quarter of that given
to Heritage Language programs and a fraction of that given to
French Immersion programs. (Second Pacific Region Native Language
Conference, Kamloops, B.C., October 1986; conference speaker). The
number of dollars allocated to a particular ethnic language program
ultimately reflects the value or status awarded to the language by
the government.

In early 1982 the Department of the Secretary of State
announced the renewal of the Cultural Development Program and
designation of $1 million dollars to be made available to assist in
the retention and enhancement of Native languages in Canada. The
one million dollar allocation was shared among ten regions across
Canada with the Pacific Region (B.C. and the Yukon) allocation
equalling $200 thousand dollars. The Northern Vancouver Island
Region, of which the Kwakwaka'wakw communities are a part,
received $80 thousand dollars. This was allocated by the Division
office to project proposals submitted with the approval of the Native
communities within the region. Decisions about who receives funding
are influenced by such factors as geographical distribution, status
of the project and group and perceived needs of the group. In 1984
the Department sponsored the Pacific Region Native Language
Conference to which representatives of the different Native groups

within the B.C./Yukon (Pacific Region) were invited. The Native participants passed a resolution which recognized that a priority of funding would be to document the existing knowledge of the Old People/Elders before they were gone. The resolution was accepted as a policy by the Pacific Region office, and the preservation of Native languages became a priority in determining funding allocations to projects. Projects could take a variety of forms, including research with Old People and developing materials for Native language programs. It implied, however, that projects which only focussed on instructional materials and techniques did not have as good a chance as those which incorporated the researching and development of language materials.

Two other factors affect the funding of projects under the Language Retention Program. One is that the budget is set on a yearly basis; the other is that there are numerous communities with projects they would like to have funded in the region. As a result funding allocations are on a yearly basis, and for single, short term projects in order to accomodate as many projects as possible. Long term programs, or ones consisting of a series of courses cannot be guaranteed funding.

The implication of these policies for KTTP was that funding needed to be sought on an ongoing basis for individual courses, and that the program needed to incorporate researching and developing language materials as a component. The writing of proposals and submission of fairly lengthy evaluations for three courses a year is time consuming. Not only were proposals sent to Secretary of State, but also a variety of other private funding agencies.

Twice during the two and a half years KTTP ran the money for the courses was not forthcoming, even though it had been approved. In the Spring of 1985 the Federal Government's cutbacks stopped project money, and in the Spring of 1986 ten thousand dollars that had been earmarked for KTTP were caught in a funding

freeze. Over thirty funding proposals were sent out to private agencies at the time of the cutbacks. Eventually the Anglican Church's World Relief Fund authorized ten thousand dollars for KTTP.

In 1986 the U'mista Cultural Centre carried the program until the money was released from the freeze. Because of the uncertainty of the freeze KTTP students and instructors organized a number of bingos and raffles to raise money to pay the students' tuition fees for North Island College and to help finance the cost of producing materials.

PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

While the Provincial Government of British Columbia has no formal policy on the teaching of languages, within the Ministry of Education's Division of Programs is a Director of Indian Education. Through this office funding is available for Indian education projects, including language projects, which are within the public school system (Hèbert, 1984:129). The existence of Native language and culture programs in public schools largely depends upon the attitude of the school and district administrators. In School District #85 Native language programs have been well supported by the Director of Special Programs, who was also very supportive of KTTP. While the School District was unable to provide financing for KTTP it did encourage its Native teachers to attend the courses and paid their tuition fees. The District was also helpful in defraying the cost of xeroxing costs for the reproduction of materials produced by the students, and in supplying a school bus for the Cedar field trip.

One policy which indirectly affected KTTP was that Native language and culture teachers working for the Provincial School were classified as child-care workers and required to join CUPE. They felt this low classification resulted in school administrators and teachers not valuing the language and culture programs. As a result they requested that KTTP be offered as a university credit

course. Efforts to this effect were made by the instructors, however, the three provincial universities had previously filled their off-campus courses.

NORTH ISLAND COLLEGE (NIC)

In the late Spring of 1984 Vickie was in touch with the Alert Bay Director of North Island College, a community college which has been operating in the region for an extended period of time. The courses being offered in KTTP fell very much within the scope of the college and met an expressed community need. The suggestion was made that KTTP courses be offered through the college, thus allowing students, if they chose, to receive college credit for them. Those who wished to audit could do so without cost. The arrangement made was that KTTP would pay a $32 tuition fee per course for each student taking it for credit, and NIC would pay the salary of one of the instructors. A minimum of 12 students was required. This proved very fortuitous for KTTP; it provided college credit for students who wanted this and helped to reduce the amount needed to finance the program through grants. This was much appreciated since the Federal Government had announced funding cutbacks.

ANGLICAN CHURCH OF CANADA

The Anglican Church of Canada has had a long association with the Native community of Alert Bay, as well as with several generations of Kwakwaka'wakw children from other communities who attended St. Michael's Residential School. In the early days of white settlement on the coast the church's stance toward aboriginal Native language and culture was reflected in the Federal Government's policy of assimilation, belief that in order for Native children to become "civilized" they needed to be separated from their homes and communities.

Fortunately, this position has changed and the Church is now

very supportive of Native culture. This was reflected in the $10,000 grant given KTTP by the Anglican Churches' World Relief Fund. It was this grant that allowed KTTP to offer Kwak'wala 210 in the winter/spring of 1985.

BAND COUNCIL AND SCHOOL ADMINISTRATOR

The policies of the Band Council and the Band School Administrator also indirectly influenced KTTP. More than affecting the design or structure of the program, they influenced the ethos of the program. These policies included the stance taken in trying to improve the National programs of the school and it appears from numerous comments that the researcher heard expressed by community members and KTTP students, that the Band School has worked toward establishing a reputation for itself as emphasizing the teaching of the 3r's and the provincial core curriculum. It appears that on this basis, a number of Alert Bay families have moved their children from the Provincial School to the Band School. Within the time KTTP ran there was a significant increase in the number of children attending the School. It is the researcher's understanding, from talking to students that the principal, at the time KTTP began, did not involve the Native staff in Staff meetings nor in decisions affecting Native programs. From a letter written to KTTP by this principal, it also appears that the principal recommended to the Band Administration that KTTP workshops be compulsory for para-professional Native teaching staff, and that the Band Administration accepted this. Thus, if Native teaching staff employed by the Band wanted to receive their salary, attendance at KTTP was mandatory. This was not so for those working in the Provincial School. Their attendance was voluntary.

In March 1984, the Provincial School's Native programs were being reduced because of educational cutbacks at the Provincial level. The Nimpkish Band Council agreed to take over the Native salaries of those programs rather than have them cut. This meant

that attendance was now mandatory for Native staff at the Provincial School, too, since they became Band employees. It appears that this kind of policy created a degree of friction between the Band School's Administrator and Provinicial School Native teachers. This friction was aggravated later in the course by the firing by the Band of one of the Provincial School's teachers over an angry exchange of words with the same Administrator. The Administrator left to further his education at the end of the school year; however, he left a legacy of hostility behind him. As was described under Sociological Factors, this situation caused a tension to emerge in KTTP between those students who supported the fired teacher, and those whose relatives were involved in the firing, or were even in the Band Administration.

The following fall a new School Administrator was hired. He appears to have continued to not involve Native staff in the decisions of the school. In the fall he persuaded the Band Council to temporarily cancel the Dance Program at the Band School, and instead to hire a curriculum developer who would develop a proper curriculum for the Native programs. The Native language program continued to be taught.

As was described in the section on Sociological Factors, the Education Committee hired the non-Native teacher as the curriculum developer. This created an even greater rift between the students of KTTP and caused a strong protest to be expressed by the U'mista Cultural Centre which has as its basic policy and philosophy the principal of Native ownership of the language and culture. To have the Band-operated school hire an outside, non-Native teacher instread of a Native community member to develop a program for the teaching of Native culture and language was unthinkable. From a policy point of view it placed curriculum development skills above Native knowledge and experience.

The result of this for KTTP was an underlying tension between

students which periodically "thickened", but was never openly acknowledged. It also created a rift between the U'mista Cultural Centre and the Band Administration and Band School. One consequence of this was that the Band Council was never asked to help to support KTTP financially, which was a U'mista sponsored project; another was the decision by the instructors to have KTTP maintain a very low profile in the community, and to maintain as neutral a stance as possible in class, since people from both sides were students. A third consequence was that the instructors had very little association with the school, in particular the new curriculum developer. This was mainly because of the very short amount of time in the workshops, but also in respect of the strong stance taken by the Cultural Centre against the hiring.

U'MISTA CULTURAL CENTRE

The U'mista Cultural Centre has been described in the section on The Background Information on KTTP. It is important, however, to emphasize that the prinicples which underlie the work of the Centre are the belief in the right of Native people to control and guide their own lives and communities, and their right to own their own language, culture, and programs. The U'mista Cultural Centre is actively working to support and strengthen a living Kwakwaka'wakw culture. These beliefs influence the decision made by the Centre.

5.3.4 PERCEIVED DEMANDS/NEEDS

Perceived demands as presented by Jarvis begin first as "learning needs". He contends that once a learning need is recognized by the learner it then reflects a want or desire, and may be expressed as a "demand". Of importance to understanding a program are questions which explore:

Who initiated the program, the learners themselves or someone else?

Why was the program initiated, and how did it occur?

What kinds of attempts were made to discover the learning needs of students in the program?

It is this researcher's belief that another question involving the assumptions initially made by the planner/instructor of the program regarding the learning needs, as well as the professional teaching needs of students, is also helpful in understanding a program. While this ties in with the philosophical stances taken by the instructors, it will be quickly reviewed in this section.

The initial idea of offering an extended teacher training program through the U'mista Cultural Centre for Kwak'wala language teachers and others interested in the Native language and culture programs was proposed by Jensen to the Director of the Centre in the Spring of 1983. Through Jensen's and her husband, Jay Powell's, continuing involvement with the U'mista Cultural Centre, and their interest in the Kwak'wala program, they were both aware of a growing awareness amongst a variety of people involved with the programs that "something more" was needed. Teacher training was part of the "something more", as was the development of appropriate teaching materials, and training in Native language literacy skills.

Jensen, Wild and Powell were in the process of finishing a curriculum development project with the Northern Shuswap Language Committee. This had focussed on of jointly developing sociolinguistically appropriate Native language materials for the Shuswap language programs with the Shuswap teachers. The possibility of working with Kwak'wala teachers to increase their teaching resources, and to introduce notions of second language teaching methods and techniques in the process was very inviting. It was also known that federal money was available for projects related to the Native language programs through the Language Retention Program of the Department of the Secretary of State.

The Director of the U'mista Cultural Centre was interested. A proposal was written by the instructors for a three year project to produce visual curriculum materials to amplify the Kwak'wala Language Program in both the Band School and Provincial School in Alert Bay, and was submitted in the Spring of 1983 by the Centre to the Department of the Secretary of State for funding. The Pacific Region Office of the Department of the Secretary of State expressed interest in the project, but suggested it would have a greater chance of receiving funding if it incorporated a greater emphasis on teacher training.

The project went back to the drawing board, and was resubmitted as the first course of a three year teaching training program which had as its aim to provide a comprehensive, general background in understandings and skills useful to Native as a Second language (NASL) teachers. This involved an introduction to basic second language teaching methods and techniques, the development of teaching materials and of Kwak'wala literacy skills. The course was entitled "Introduction to Curriculum Development and Teaching Techniques for a Native Language: A Course for Kwak'wala Teachers." Approval was received by the U'mista Cultural Centre in the Fall of 1983 for this first course.

One difficulty facing the program from the beginning was the issue of funding. In accordance with the policy set down for the Language Retention Program, funding for projects was on a short-term basis only, for individual projects. Thus, a program consisting of a series of courses and lasting over several years could not be guaranteed funding. Interest in the proposed extended program was expressed by the Pacific Region office, however, and although no guarantee of funding was given for the entire three years program, assurance was given that grants could be sought for each course as it came along. Future funding for KTTP would be dependent upon evaluations and other submissions within the Coastal Division of the Pacific Region. Thus, the Kwak'wala Teacher

Training Project as a whole program was in actuality a program in concept only, dependent upon the ability of the instructors and the U'mista Cultural Centre to obtain funding for future courses. It began with a grant for the first course, interest in subsequent course proposals expressed by the Pacific Region Office, and the promise of a great deal of writing of funding proposals.

Reference was made in the section on Sociological Factors to earlier attempts to address the perceived needs of the Native language programs and teachers, both by the teachers themselves and by their employers. These were in the format of short workshops which mainly focussed on developing teaching materials and on enabling the teachers to develop reading and writing skills in Kwak'wala. The Native teachers, particularly those in the Provincial School's Alert Bay Native Education Program, had also sought help to develop their organizational and planning skills.

The U'mista Cultural Centre, which handled the funding for the Band operated School until March 1984, had sponsored workshops on reading and writing Kwak'wala taught by Jay Powell. It had also, in 1980-81, undertaken the year long Kwak'wala Language Project in which Jay Powell and Vickie Jensen were hired to research and write the Learning Kwak'wala Series (1981) in conjunction with a committee from the Nimpkish Band. The main intent of this project was to provide teaching resources for Kwak'wala. Vickie had also written the Kwak'wala Teachers' Manual in an attempt to address some of the Native teachers' classroom needs.

While these materials were a tremendous improvement, within a relatively short time it became apparent that "something more" was still needed. The Director of U'mista described that "something more" to the researcher while discussing the actions taken to meet the needs of the Kwak'wala program. Talking about Powell's reaction to the affects of the Learning Kwak'wala Series, she said:

>Oh, they (Jay and Vickie) went away one year after they
>were here, and when they came back he said "They didn't
>work. I failed!" And I said "No, you didn't fail. You
>did what we wanted you to. It's up to us to make them
>work." And then we began to realize, at least I certainly
>began to realize...We'd fling these people into classrooms
>and wonder why sometimes it didn't work. Then we
>realized that as good as the books were, they weren't
>enough. The people who used them needed to be trained.
>   (Personal Communication).

This need for teacher training was expressed by the participants at the First Educational Conference of the Kwakwaka'wakw held in April 1982 and again at the Second in September 1983. Recognition of the need for Native language teachers to receive teacher training had also crept into the broader national arena, in the policies of the recently established language retention program. It was for this reason that the Pacific Region Office suggested a stronger teacher training component be added to the proposal.

THE INSTRUCTORS' ASSUMPTIONS REGARDING NEEDS

All of the instructors involved in the Kwak'wala Teacher Training Program had previously worked with a variety of Native language programs and Native teachers. While Joy Wild's work had not been with Kwak'wala teachers, Vickie Jensen's and Jay Powell's had, and this provided them with valuable insights into the Alert Bay programs. As can be seen from the discussion of Philosophical Factors the instructors had developed a strong, general sense of the factors and issues influencing the teaching of a Native language, and of the teachers' needs. This influenced their perception of the needs to be addressed by a teacher training program. Some of these pertained to the Native community, some to the over-all needs of a Native language program, ie. the factors to be considered in setting up a program; some related to the "professional" needs of the teachers, and others to the needs of the Native teachers, themselves, as learners in KTTP.

Community Needs

An underlying belief held by the instructors was that the Native community ultimately owns its own programs. It has both the right and the responsibility to make important decisions about the programs. This implies the need for at least a group of people within the community to be knowledgeable and informed regarding the major issues and factors to be considered, and also that they play a central role in all phases of planning, developing and evaluating the program. Related to this is the belief that Native people possess forms of cultural knowledge and understanding essential to the development of culturally relevant programs, and sociolinguistically appropriate second language teaching materials, also that ways need to be explored to utilize such forms of knowledge in second language programs.

Program Needs

A number of beliefs about the factors to be considered in setting up and running a Native language influenced the perceived needs of teachers in KTTP. The following were seen as necessary factors to consider:

- The health and status of the Native language in the community
- The type of over-all goals held for the program by the community
- The on-going recruitment and training of teachers
- The development of materials
- The involvement of the community in the program

Another belief held was that if programs are going to have a chance of being successful they ultimately need to be planned in accordance with long term goals, and with the teaching methods and materials leading toward those goals. They also need the support and involvement of the community and family. This in turn could imply

the need for the program to have advocates within the community and school to aid in building this support, and in influencing the decision-makers. Overall, this implies the need to build an awareness of the value of the language and culture.

Professional Needs of Native Language Teachers

Influencing the perceived needs of the teachers was the instructors' views of what areas of knowledge and what skills are useful to a second language teacher. It was also affected by their perception that Native teachers, at this point in time, appear to have been given the overall responsibility of planning, developing and teaching their own programs, as well as developing most of their own materials. The following assumed needs are described in very general terms:

- Basic understandings of the nature of language, of culture, of the relationship between the two, of language learning and teaching.

- Understandings of the various factors to be considered in planning a Native language program.

- Notions of different possible types of goals for a Second language program.

- Understandings of various second language methods (basic, understandings, not technical) and skill in using a variety of teaching techniques.

- Understanding of cultural differences in learning and teaching styles.

- Understanding of the developmental nature of learning age appropriate activities and materials.

- Understanding of the process of developing teaching materials, and practise in doing it. Practice in program planning and developing teaching materials as a group in order that a variety of view points be represented and to accommodate accuracy in language forms.

- Planning and organizational skills in lessons, units, program

- Research skills for use in gathering and developing local materials.

- Skills in reading and writing Kwak'wala.

As KTTP progressed and the instructors and students came to know each other better a number of other teaching needs emerged. These are listed under the section on Needs Assessment.

Learning Needs of Native Students in KTTP

As with their perceptions of the professional needs of Native teachers, the instructors held a number of assumptions regarding the learning needs of KTTP students prior to the program starting: and others emerged later.

The instructors were aware that the Native teachers, as adult learners in KTTP, had learning needs that needed to be addressed. The record of the public and residential school systems in meeting the needs of Native students has not been good; the negative effects of the residential school system eventually led to it being closed down. An assumption held by the instructors was that many of the Native people working in the Native language and culture programs today carry emotional scars and negative attitudes towards themselves as learners which they acquired during their own school experiences as children. There was a need seen to acknowledge this in KTTP, as well as the possibility of it being a sensitive area for the students. The need was seen for providing a positive, encouraging, supportive classroom atmosphere in which each individual's strengths and areas of knowledge and experience were valued. It was felt that this approach had the potential of encouraging KTTP students to seek help in the areas they needed it, and to increase their confidence as learners.

Related to the instructors' assumptions regarding the students' learning needs was their understanding of KTTP as a cross-cultural

program. This had implications for how the program was set up and run, as well as for its relationship to the school and community.

The instructors recognized the cross-cultural nature of both KTTP and the Native language programs, and the potential of differences existing between their own learning/teaching assumptions and interaction patterns and those of the KTTP students. This applied to the methods and subject matter used to teach in KTTP itself, as well as to what KTTP students were being taught about how to work with children, and what to teach in their Native language programs. To the extent that they were known, Native learning/ teaching styles were incorporated into the program.

The instructors saw a need to design the courses in such a way that both the students and instructors would have input into the general objectives for each course, the subject matter covered, the methods and organization used. It was believed that KTTP students, as members of the Native community, had a far greater knowledge of their language, culture and community than the instructors, and that this knowledge was essential to developing effective Native language programs.

Another perceived need related to this was to build in an on-going means of assessing the training courses both from the students' and the instructors' perspectives. This would provide an opportunity for discovering, or uncovering, the unknown cross-cultural factors at work in the program.

A factor which was seen by the instructors to affect KTTP students' learning, in the sense that they would be willing to participate in the program was community politics. The influence of community politics on school programs in Native communities is often talked about in a general way at conferences, but little is actually known about the dynamics. From the beginning of KTTP, the instructors saw a need for the program to maintain a very low

political profile, and as neutral a stance as possible in situations arising in the school or community which affected the students. They also saw a need for them, as instructors, to not take sides or become involved in community issues. A very good reason existed for this. The students in the program represented a number of different family groups, and the instructors wanted them all to attend. This was to prove a wise decision.

NEEDS ASSESSMENT

The instructors were able to gain insights into the needs/demands of the Native teachers in a number of ways prior to the start of KTTP, and then actively sought their input throughout the duration of the program.

An important source of insights initially came from Jensen's and Powell's prior involvement with the Alert Bay programs and teachers. Another source was the Second Education Conference of the Kwakwaka'wakw in September, 1983 at which all three KTTP instructors had acted as resource speakers and as workshop facilitators with small groups of Native teachers. The needs of the Kwak'wala language classes and teachers had been explored in the workshops, and one of the sessions focussing on the development of second language teaching materials generated some of the ideas for language units which were later used in the first course of KTTP.

A number of concerns identified by the Native teachers had been expressed in an earlier conference in April 1982. These were reiterated at the second conference in September 1983, and can be looked on as the expression of needs. They included: common curriculum materials, ideas for new curriculum (ie. planning language programs), means for dealing with issues and problems encountered in the education system within school districts, the development of a common support system, teacher training, and university certification for training taken so that greater recognition

would be given the Native teachers for the work they were doing.
The expressed desire for certification and for university credit led
the instructors to attempt to have KTTP accredited through one of the
three provincial universities.

Because no one knew for sure who would actually be attending
KTTP until the program began, it was impossible to conduct an
indepth needs assessment upon which to base the first course. As a
result, the first course, Kwak'wala 110 was based upon Jensen and
Wild's perceptions of what an introductory course for Native
language teachers should include, and was also designed to act as a
probe by which the instructors could further assess the needs of the
Native language teachers and programs. Subsequent courses also
acted as probes.

A number of strategies were used in Kwak'wala 110 to begin
to determine the KTTP students' needs:

- Informal class discussions and sharing sessions regarding
  teaching concerns and reactions to KTTP were encouraged. These
  included what the students felt good about in their teaching,
  what they had difficulty with. In these, the instructors also
  shared their own teaching experiences.

- A needs assessment survey was given in class. It focussed on
  two main areas: students' rating of their own teaching skills, of
  their skills in understanding, speaking, reading and writing
  Kwak'wala and of their cultural knowledge.

- Students were encouraged to use the "suggestion jug" to
  anonymously express concerns or ask questions which they had
  difficulty voicing in person. These were then brought back to
  the whole group in a de-personalized form by the instructors for
  discussion; solutions were then sought within the class.

- At the end of each workshop students were asked to fill out a
  short evaluation which asked them to comment on what they
  found most/least valuable in the course, and what was
  most/least helpful in terms of activities and the way the
  instructors presented the course. They also were asked to make
  suggestions for what they would like to tackle in the following
  session.

- The instructors found a team teaching situation of great

advantage in observing students' reactions to different topics and types of activities. While one instructor was teaching a session, the other was able to observe or interact with students.

As a result of using the above strategies, the students had a chance to voice their felt needs, and a number of other needs gradually emerged. The insights gained in the first course were used to shape the following course. This process continued throughout the program with adjustments or changes being made when needed.

One reason for structuring the program in this way was the instructors' belief that a learner's perception of need is influenced by how much s/he understands about the subject area. Thus, it was felt that as the Native language teachers gained more understanding of the nature of second language learning, their insights into their own needs would grow.

Needs Expressed by the Students

During the first course in KTTP, particularly, the students indicated a number of areas they wanted to learn about. These included learning to plan their lessons so that they built on each other rather than being individual, isolated lessons, and learning to develop materials that would help them with this. They also wanted to learn to organize their teaching and materials. A number indicated that they wanted to learn how to read and write Kwak'wala, and several said they wanted to learn more about their language and culture. All felt they needed more confidence and to learn how to communicate their ideas, both in writing and in speaking to a group of people. Toward the end of Kwak'wala 110, they also said they thought they needed to learn study skills and to operate the different kinds of equipment in a school.

Further Needs of Students as Perceived by the Instructors:

As KTTP progressed insights were gained by the instructors regarding the students' needs. These included

- a need for the Native teachers to expand their perceptions of teaching and learning in a school setting, both in subject matter and methods used. This led to a change being made in how teaching materials were developed. Instead of having students work on units they instead focussed on cultural activities as the basis for materials. Changes were also made in the structure and pacing of the workshops to allow the instructors more time to talk to students on an individual basis, to allow students more time to work out ideas for assignments in class, and to allow for cultural activities to be incorporated into the program.

  - a need to value and to utilize students' own cultural knowledge and Native communication and interaction patterns in the classroom

  - a need to practise planning and developing teaching materials

  - a need to gain an understanding of the relationship between language and culture, and language and community

  - a need for teachers to develop understandings of how their working conditions affect their jobs

  - a need to develop skills in dealing with community politics as teachers in a school setting

  - a need to increase their own cultural knowledge, both understandings and skills

  - a need to develop advocacy skills for promoting interest in the Native language and culture programs both in the school and in the community

  - a need to have assignments clearly written out in simple clear language.

While a great many of the KTTP students' needs were anticipated by the instructors, there were others which emerged as the courses progressed. These were discussed with students, and strategies to address them jointly planned and incorporated into the following course or session. They thus influenced the planning and

development of KTTP courses as they occurred, and brought about changes in the planned program.

5.3.5 PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS

A variety of issues relating to the attitudes and feelings of the students and instructors helped to shape KTTP, both the atmosphere of the program and the program itself. Some of the issues appeared early in the program, others became apparent more gradually. It appears from the data that KTTP, in turn, also brought about changes in the students. These occurred in their attitudes towards themselves as learners, and in how they perceived second language teaching.

A number of these will be discussed in this section; others will be identified, and then described in datail in the section on themes and issues arising out of the study.

ETHOS OF KTTP

The underlying ethos of KTTP reflected the belief that people learn best when they are in a supportive, encouraging environment. It also reflected the importance placed on acknowledging the value of Native knowledge and experience, and the necessity of Native students and the instructors sharing in the process of developing KTTP. While there were times in the program when the class atmosphere was noticeably more strained than usual, overall the time the class spent together in KTTP was positive, characterized by a good deal of humour, gentle teasing and sometimes outright fun! An overriding number of comments made by the students in various evaluations throughout the program indicates that they enjoyed being part of KTTP, and felt it was very worthwhile both in terms of teaching and of personal growth. This feeling was shared by the instructors.

STUDENTS' ATTITUDE TOWARD THE APPROACH IN KTTP

As will be seen in the section on Organization and Methods, the methods used in the program were oriented toward encouraging and supporting the students. It was aimed at enabling them to build their confidence as learners, and to use their own knowledge of Native language and culture in developing their Native programs. The subject matter was also strongly oriented toward the needs of the students, toward having them apply learnings to their own community and teaching situations and toward expanding their understandings (and the instructors') of Native culture and the relationship of language to it.

The students' attitude to the approach being taken in the program was positive. This can be seen in the following comments in the evaluations.

Student 1:   We like the importance/emphasis put on us
               Natives in terms of our knowledge and
               abilities. Because we feel it's true.
                              (1st Workshop Evaluation:
                              Kwak'wala 110)

Student 2:   I like the way you professionals treat us.
               You make us feel comfortable.
                              (1st Workshop Evaluation:
                              Kwak'wala 110)

In response to the question "What were the most valuable things you learned in this course?" the students answered:

Student 3:   Having instructors who are positive and not
               condescending, that's really important.
                    (Course Evaluation: Kwak'wala 110)

Student 4:   The assignments are good, in the sense that
               it forces us to THINK! Organizing skills are
               learned. Which I really needed. It's a
               plus for us because we can share, but also
               adjust them (the units) to suit our needs.
                    (Course Evaluation: Kwak'wala 112)

Student 5: Most Useful:
- The way you carry right on when the atmosphere in class has been thick.

- Your openness for approaching the staff in schools and the health centre for possible working relations.

- Your tremendous support!! school wise, social wise, and otherwise.

- Most of all your sincerety.
(Course Evaluation: Kwak'wala 212 & 310)

Student 6: This whole course has been a very good learning experience. It's been a pleasure to be a part of this team!
(Course Evaluation: Kwak'wala 212 & 310)

Student 7: Like I said, this course is really great, and too bad it isn't offered in other villages so that more people could get involved and see that it is an important part in our culture in order for us to keep it alive. I am very proud to be part of this class. You girls are great teachers.
(Course Evaluation: Kwak'wala 212 & 310)

Other comments included:

I honestly cannot think of bettering this past course. I have truly learned a lot, for the betterment of the students I teach, and also myself. Thank you!
(Kwak'wala 110)

I enjoy the classes very much. Keep up the good work!
(Kwak'wala 112)

I don't have any suggestions, just keep up the good work!! You're all great. (Kwak'wala 112)

STUDENT INTERACTION.

While the students knew each other at the time KTTP began, they could not be considered a unified group. Instead, they could be viewed as several groups, and a number of individuals within the program. Some were related and came from several of the large extended families which in traditional times would have been status

rivals. A number of students were co-workers, and several came from other communities. The two Old Ladies, Agnes Cranmer and Ethel Alfred were related in one way or another to most of the students in the program.

Throughout KTTP the students tended to interact most with others they were related to, or knew well; however, about half way through the course they began to interact more as a group than they did at the beginning. A number of them began referring to KTTP as being "a team"; there was a noticeable increase in the amount they interacted in class, and in their supportiveness of each other in class. They were still very attuned to what was occurring politically in their families and the community, and the class atmosphere was affected by this. However, despite some very trying community/school politics, in which members of the class were on "opposing sides", students continued coming to KTTP and continued working and talking to each other in class, even when they did not outside.

EFFECTS OF COMMUNITY/SCHOOL POLITICS

A number of comments were made by students in the interviews about the tension caused by community'school politics. One out-of-town student made the following observation.

> I knew there was something wrong, but I didn't know
> what it was. I knew it was affecting other people, but I
> didn't allow it to affect me...

> I was amazed that the program kept going. One or two
> times I could see that people were about to explode, but I
> guess..   (Transcript 6:3).

> Researcher: Were there any political things going on that
>   influenced people?

> Student 1:   Yeah, of course, at times there were...Well,
>   um, it's such a small community and there's
>   so many political people in this small little
>   community. It's like there are two families

feuds, right, and a lot of people were on both sides of that in KTTP. And what is really funny, and rather nice was that when we were in KTTP it was all put aside, and you never seen any of that when we were in KTTP. But the minute they were out that door, it started all over again.

Researcher: Vickie and I knew there was that stuff going on, you know, but we didn't feel the effects of it while we were in class. Why do you think that happened?

Student 1: I don't know, I really don't. There were times when I went there that I thought "Oh, no, what are we in for here!" But it never did happen.

(Transcript 2:28)

Another student talked about her experiences of this in KTTP. This lengthy transcript is included because it provides an insight into the dynamics of what happened. The conversation started with the researcher asking "What kinds of things did you find difficult in KTTP?"

Student 2: It wasn't KTTP, it was personal reasons, and I was going to quit twice, and you and Vickie had to phone me to come, because things got so heavy it was really, really bad...

Researcher: Were there political things going on?

Student 2: Yeah, with (student's name) and (student's name) who wrote really nasty letters to (name) outside of KTTP...And it got so that I was turning bitter with them. I didn't want to be in the same room with them. Like for a while I could handle it. I just thought, "Well, I'm in KTTP. I'll ignore them, and I did. But the pressure got really heavy, and we'd have General Meetings...

(Student goes on to tell what happened between them at the General Meeting of the Band Council).

...and it had absolutely nothing to do with

KTTP. It was personal, and I told Vickie about it. And she said, "Well, you should come back" so I did, and I learned to ignore it. It was kinda hard sitting in the same room as them. And before we used to work so well together...I wondered, "How am I going to handle this?". Well, I kept coming because I thought, "Well, Vickie's right, you know, if you're enjoying the course, keep going!".

And I'm just kind of glad the aides were there, because I work with them, and I'm real close to the aides and (student's name). So that kinda helped me...So I didn't feel isolated.

(Other comments are made about the situation).

Researcher: It's interesting, because from the instructors' view, from where Vickie and I stood, we felt like...we knew that there was a conflict, and yet we felt really pleased that it didn't interrupt our classes.

Student 2:   Yeah, right!

Researcher: Did you feel that as well?

Students 2:   Yeah, I felt that it wasn't... um...

Researcher: It didn't interfere?

Student 2:   No, it didn't interfere. I have to really take my hat off to (student named first). Even when she wasn't talking to me (outside of class), during KTTP she talked to me. She'd ask me some...remember...when we did...or whatever?

Researcher: Yes, I remember.

Student 2:   She was good about that, and I'd be good to her. And, a lot of times when them other girls didnt want to go because of their feud, I guess, or whatever's going on between them. And I'd tell them, "Well, we gotta go. I am in the same boat as you." So we pulled through it.
                                        (Tape 1A:424)

In a separate interview one of the students "on the other side" who was referred to in the previous conversation, also spoke of the situation and gave her perspective of it. This, too, is a lengthy transcript, but again the researcher decided to include it because it adds to an understanding of the dynamics of the situation, and of how community/school politics affect student behaviour. The student had just finished talking about changes she had observed amongst the KTTP students, most particularly a gain in self-cofidence, and her feeling that the class "now" had a good feeling about being a support group. She commented that they could have done better if outside things had not happened (ie. if the Native co-ordinator had not been fired).

Student 3:   It's unfortunate that we had all that outside stuff happen, because when we still had (name of KTTP student) working she was really gifted at getting us all together. We'd just started all getting together to get our homework done, and when she was fired everything went haywire, and my attitude toward that wasn't very good, and it's too bad outside happenings have to get involved here. I guess it's just human nature. I hope it's not just our people.

Researcher: Can you talk a little bit from your point of view about what happened, and what went wrong?

Student 3:   Personalities...personalities is a real destructive thing, you know. A lot of people haven't grown enough to let other people have opinions. And like because of people not doing their homework, or not wanting to be there they brought in their attitudes of...they could of destroyed the class if they had all been like that.

Researcher: But it didn't, did it?

Student 3:   No, it didn't, and I think a lot of it is the attitude you bring into it....One of the best changes I've seen...a very strong person because of the changes she went through was (student's name) she would say, "Heah, let's ask ourselves what we are doing here?"

She'd always throw it back at us. It's
okay for instructors to say it, but when it
comes to your own students saying it (ie.
KTTP students). You guys are going to be
leaving us in May (referring to Jensen and
Wild), so it's up to us. I think (student's
name), (students name), (students name). I
think everyone of us, myself, is capable of
training new people coming through the...and
because of KTTP, we could do a really fine
job.

Researcher: We're really proud of all of you, you know.
We've been really pleased with the program.

Student 3:   Yeah, but unfortunately personalities get
involved, and games get played, and that's
a real killer, and it seems so common.
Like, that's a real struggle I had when I
worked in the program the last two or three
years (ie. the Cultural Program at the
Provincial School).

Well, when they fired (student's
name)...people are not right up front.
People cannot say "X, I really resented the
way Y handled that situation this
afternoon.", without X going on a real hate
campaign against me. There are people like
that, unfortunately, and it ends up being X
and Y popularity contest. Like who likes X
and who likes Y. That's what destroyed our
cultural program to begin with.

I could of seen it (happen) if we were not
big enough and open enough in KTTP.

(Tape 5A:59)

WHAT KEPT KTTP TOGETHER?

From comments made by students in the data, it appears a
number of them were surprised that KTTP continued to operate
throughout the period that community/school politics were most tense.
A number of things are pointed to as helping to keep the program
together. One is the attitude of the instructors who were open about
the situation, yet discussed it in general terms, and placed the
responsibility of finding solutions with the students themselves. In

this way, no sides were taken and the difficulty facing everyone was acknowledged. Another aspect which appears to have contributed to holding the program together was the emphasis placed by the instructors on the need for community people to work together to make the programs successful. This appears to have hit a chord amongst students in terms of Native people helping each other. Various references are made to how much students enjoyed and valued the sharing process. Sharing also appears to have worked toward establishing and maintaining a group feeling amongst the students during class time. Also working toward this was the presence of the Old People, who through their example encouraged students to work together. From the researcher's perspective, several other things may have also contributed to this. The very personal atmosphere of KTTP which encouraged students to explore topics of interest to themselves may have helped as well as the emphasis placed on the importance of everyone's contribution. In addition, KTTP provided a forum in which students could voice the concerns they had been feeling about the programs they were working in, and their concerns about what was happening to the language and culture. Perhaps more importantly, however, it helped them develop an awareness that they could do something about it.

STUDENTS' CONFIDENCE AS LEARNERS

Throughout the period that KTTP ran it was very apparent to the instructors that the students, on the whole, lacked confidence in their abilities to learn in what they saw as a school-like setting. The exception to this was one student who had completed Grade 12, and who had gained experience working in a school setting, and was described by others as having a gift for working with people. The majority had left school before graduating.

The lack of confidence manifested itself in a number of different ways. Initially it surfaced in relationship to doing the major assignments for the first course. This was a major project

which required students to develop and write out a unit of their own choice. Several of the students who knew Jensen well, privately approached her in out-of-class time, expressing concerns about doing the unit. They were araid to write their ideas down, they said, because of their bad spelling and poor English grammar. They also said they found it difficult to write for long, and got tired quickly. The instructors discussed the concern with the class in a general way without naming anyone, and found that virtually everyone felt the same.

Lack of confidence and fear of writing were the two things pointed to by the students as causing them the most difficulty. Conversely, learning how to write and communicate, and gaining self confidence were the things in the early courses people felt they needed most.

LACK OF CONFIDENCE AND FEAR OF WRITING

A number of students commented on how difficult they found school. Several attributed their lack of confidence, their fear of making mistakes and their fear of writing to their past schooling experiences.

One student spoke of having confidence in her job, but not to learn in school.

Student: Well after what kind of education I had for
                  so many years I didn't have much
                  confidence. I had confidence to do a job.
                  I had confidence toward kids. I know I
                  could do a good job as a dance
                  instructor...But to lay it all down in a
                  book, to lay it all down, and plan things
                  out in a program, to actually have things in
                  a written form; I didn't really have that
                  skill down so I avoided it. Like, you know
                  when I first went to KTTP I felt inadequate
                  to be a student, you know.

Researcher: Had you been a student before?

Student: I'd tried to but never ever finished
           anything. So it was good because it make
           us think; it was really good because it make
           us use our brains a little.

Later in the interview the student commented on her feelings about herself in school.

Student: When I went to school I never ever felt good
           about who I was, or what I knew, never!
           It was a real hang-up. So right away from
           when I had an authority figure standing in
           front of me, right away I didn't think I had
           anything upstairs, so I would never answer
           questions. Even if I knew the answer, I
           wouldn't answer, even if the teacher asked
           me, "name do you have the answer for
           this?", I would just ignore them, cause I
           didn't want my classmates to make fun of
           me, or laugh at me if I made a mistake. So
           I had some real strong hang ups.

Researcher: Did you feel the same way when you first
           came into KTTP?

Student: Not the same way, not that kind of thing,
           but when I first ever went, and I still
           suffer from it today, was when Jay Powell
           came to our class in the school (Alert Bay
           Provincial School), and taught us Kwak'wala
           class once a week. As soon as he stood in
           front, and as soon as he asked me a
           question, I would get it in my head that I
           don't know. I would just stiffen up.

Researcher: Get really scared?

Student: Yeah, and it's the first time I even admitted
           that I got real scared, nothing would come
           out, and I'd say "Oh, don't ask me!". So,
           I can see that in some areas I am strong,
           and in other areas I was very, very
           weak...really nervous.
                      (Tape 1A:397)

Another student spoke of feeling nervous because she had been out of school for a long time.

I was really kinda nervous when I first joined it. Guess

everybody was, because you've been out of school for
years, and years and you're kinda thinking, "Jez, I don't
want to look dumb; I haven't been to school for thirty two
years. What's happening here?"
(Tape 1A:397)

Numerous comments were made by other students in the
evaluation forms about needing confidence or needing to learn how to
communicate. The following were in response to the question, "What
do you need to improve your teaching?"

Learn to speak properly (more clearly), and more able to
express myself, short and to the point.
(Kwak'wala 110)

How to get up and share different ideas with the class.
(Kwak'wala 110)

I would like to learn more, and get over the mental block
I placed in writing our Kwak'wala language, because I
know it's important for my job to be able to write our
language and do it properly.
(Kwak'wala 112)

The first assignment that was given to our class
frightened me terribly for the reason that I didn't
understand it. (Kwak'wala 112)

The problem I have is putting my ideas on paper in order
to understand what it is I'm trying to present.
(Kwak'wala 310)

What do I need more of to help me? - confidence?
(Kwak'wala 310)

I need to be more confident of myself. Once I get going
I'm okay.

Strategies Used to Help with Lack of Confidence

The main strategies used by the instructors to help students
deal with their lack of confidence and fears were: 1) to openly
discuss being afraid of trying something new; 2) to share some of
their own experiences of being afraid and to encourage other
students in the class to share their experiences. The instructors
also stressed that the students were not being marked for their

English spelling or grammar, and that the most important thing was to try. The students did try, and throughout the program they gradually gained in confidence.

In the first course all of the students were terrifically nervous and fearful of writing up and presenting their major project. Most managed to get through it; however, six just could not. Five of these deferred their grades, and completed their units in the following course; one dropped out.

Jensen's entry in her field notes for the workshop was as follows:

> - extreme tension, nervousness, insecurity re handing in projects; even one no show. Next time have halfway deadline for written work.

> - 5 deferred grades (most without substantial reason); 1 of these a problem with habitual lateness; 3 or 4 just scared.   (Jensen's Grey Binder)

The instructors noticed that as the program continued, students gradually gained more self confidence, some more quickly than others. In the data, some students attribute this growth in self-confidence to the instructors' encouraging approach; others felt it was being able to share ideas with each other. Another student attributed it to a student realizing that s/he had cultural knowledge that could be shared with others, and that would benefit them. Other students referred to learning more about their own families and Native culture.

Student:	One of the things was that you made us get gutsey enough to get up and do something.
Researcher:	But there are some people who could have just refused, and we didn't have people refuse.
Student:	Uh hem, an' like just having that encouragement. I think it's really important the kind of insturctor you have. Like what

> we had there was a lot of gentle pushing,
> and I know that I wouldn't have been as
> patient if I had been an instructor. But
> that, to me, was a real positive plus, the
> approach that you and Vickie came on with,
> how you treated us. Because even I got
> impatient with some of the rest of the
> students sometimes, you know.
> (Tape 5A:216)

This reference to "gentle pushing" is similar to the quality of "friendly, active demandingness" which Kleinfeld (1974) refers to in her typology of the successful teacher of Native children.

Mid-way through the program there was a noticeable change in the attitude and level of participation in class of a number of students who had been very quiet up to that point. This seemed to coincide with the workshops which focussed on cultural activities. Students commented on enjoying learning about their culture and discovering more about their own families. The comments made about these assignments by the students in the course evaluations, as well as by several students in the interview, indicate that they link knowing who one is and one's family with a strong self-concept and self-confidence.

Overall, the students were wonderfully supportive and encouraging of each other in the workshops, and they commented on how important this was.

5.3.6 RESOURCES

A variety of resources are required by a program such as KTTP. Some of these include the staff who teach in the program, accommodation and equipment, supplies and materials for students to work with, and financing for all of these. Of interest is who controls the resources, and how they are acquired. Other equally important resources to be considered are those of the knowledge and information related to the content and methods of the course, and the

availability of these resources to course participants.

The field of Native as a Second Language (NASL) teaching is
a relatively specialized and small field in British Columbia. The
three instructors who worked in KTTP are among a few professionals
in education, linguistics and anthropology who have an interest in
working with native teachers to improve the programs. Alert Bay,
like many other Native communities, is in a more rural area of the
province, and this required that the instructors travel from the
Vancouver area to teach in the program. Because of the distance
and time factors the instructors mainly travelled by plane to Pt.
Hardy, took a local "limo" from there to Pt. McNeill, and then
caught the Government ferry to Cormorant Island for each workshop.

The sponsoring organization of KTTP, the U'mista Cultural
Centre, was able to accommodate the program by providing a large
comfortable meeting area within the Cultural Centre, a variety of
equipment, and resources on the Kwakwaka'wakw culture.

Financing for the program was obtained through a variety of
grants. It was administered by the U'mista Cultural Centre. As
can be seen from the Social Policy section many of the organizations
which provide such grants have regulations outlining what grants
can be used for. Few are willing to provide grants for salaries;
they prefer to fund the tangible product of projects. In addition,
most grants are only available for short term projects, not extended
ones. A consequence of this for KTTP was very frequent and
voluminous amounts of writing grant proposals. Both Jensen, as the
project director, and a staff member of the U'mista Cultural Cente
were involved in the process. Unfortunately, the period during
which KTTP ran was marked by financial cutbacks at both the
federal and provincial levels of government, and a recession in the
economy. Grants were not as easy to come by as they had been!

The projected budget for the first year to cover the costs of

three courses, two teacher training courses and one reading and
writing course, was estimated at twenty-seven thousand dollars.
This was to cover travel expenses for the instructors, salaries,
printing costs of course materials, materials and books for the
students, artists fees for teaching materials, photographic supplies
and miscellaneous expenses such as postage and telephone. It also
covered a thirty-two dollar fee to North Island College for each
student taking the course for credit. The actual costs were close to
that figure.

Grants were received from a variety of sources including the
First Citizen's fund, the Language Retention Program of the
Department of the Secretary of State, the Anglican World Relief Fund,
and the Leon and Thea Koerner Foundation. School District No. 85
was able to help by providing some materials for the program.
North Island College paid the salary of one instructor for each
teacher training course, and the students and instructors raised
money through several raffles and bingos. At the end of the
program in May 1986 the Kwakiutl District Council contributed money
to help defray the cost of the graduation ceremony which the
students paid for themselves.

Overall the process of obtaining grants was very time
consuming and often frustrating. This sentiment was voiced on a
number of occasions by the Director of the Cultural Centre,
particularly after the Financial Assistant unexpectedly left. Jensen
also mentioned this. It was fortunate for KTTP that the Cultural
Centre was willing to carry the program over the periods when
grants were not forthcoming.

Fortunately for Wild and Jensen, (and the program finances!),
they were invited to stay in the home of Bill and Denise Cranmer
whenever they came up for workshops. Good food, good beds, good
company and wonderfully enjoyable times were provided.

The travel expenses for students from other communities were covered by their school districts or Band. These students made their own arrangements for accommodation, usually staying with relatives or friends in the village.

An extremely important resource for the program was the knowledge of Kwak'wala and Kwakwaka'wakw culture of the students themselves, and of other community members who demonstrated particular cultural skills for the students. Although research on the culture and language continues, much of what is written or taped is not in a form easily used by the teachers. A highly valued, respected and much loved resource to KTTP were the Old People who came to KTTP, and willingly shared their knowledge and insights with students. They are considered by many community members to be the "experts" on Kwak'wala. A number of references are made to this in the Conference Report of the First Educational Conference in 1982, and KTTP students also spoke amny times of the importance of acknowledging the Old People and learning from them.

Two Old People from different families of the Nimpkish Band, Agnes Cranmer (Gwaantilakw) and Ethel Alfred (Auntie Ethel) attended the majority of KTTP workshops. Several of the courses they took for credit. The times they did not come were when they were not well. Both also have a long time involvement in teaching in the dance program. At the beginning of KTTP, Agnes Cranmer taught in the Band School and Ethel Alfred in the Provincial School. A third Old Person, Harry Walkus, from the Pt. Hardy area Kwatsino came to a number of workshops in the first two courses, and then was unable to continue. Not only did Agnes Cranmer and Ethel Alfred share their knowledge of the language and culture when students asked them, but they watched over the program, reminding the students at times of the importance of the language and culture, and of working to maintain it. When they felt it was the right time, one or the other would share an experience, and on several occasions sang a traditional song for the class, and demonstrated a

dance.

The following are students' quotes from the data about having the Old People there.

> I liked having Ethel and Agnes present in classes.
> (Student Evaluation, Kwak'wala 112)

> It was really valuable for our class to have Ethel and Agnes here to be our resource people.
> (Student Evaluation, Term 7)

> Yeah, and being able to sit down, especially with people like Kwantilakw (Agnes Cranmer), and Auntie Ethel...Boy, they were real valuable to us. And when I think of translating that love song of Mungo Martin's. I never would have been able to do it myself. But the old lady was there to help me, and Harry was there
> (Tape 5:230)

> Auntie Ethel has been involved in the program, in KTTP, until this January and I really missed her when she didn't come after Christmas.
> (Transcript 2:17)

As was mentioned earlier, the students themselves were seen by the instructors as important resources for the program. Many had knowledge of particular aspects of Kwakwaka'wakw culture. Most importantly they had innate knowledge of Kwak'wala communication structures and social interaction patterns which the instructors saw as essential for planning Kwak'wala language materials aimed at having children learn to communicate in Kwak'wala. As the study will show, having the students use their innate knowledge of communication structures and social interaction patterns of the community proved to be a more complicated process than the instructors anticipated. The courses in KTTP, however, have been very fruitful in providing insights into the needs of Native language teachers.

One difficulty (challenge?) facing the program is the lack of information on the resources for training Native language teachers. As the Review of the Literature shows, very little has been written

about training teachers other than several outlines of university courses and generalized statements made in conferences and papers about should be included in such a program. Visual resources or books to use in the program are also lacking. There are no videos, that the instructors could find, demonstrating the teaching of a Native language, nor even good ESL or French Immersion teaching. Two books were found to be useful. The La Rec Manual which describes using a second language approach to teach a Native language in a community recreation context was useful since it stressed teaching language for communication in real situations. The Teachers' Resource Manual for the Algonkian Native as a Second Language Program was also useful in that it presented a great deal of basic information about issues to be considered as well as teaching activities and techniques. The drawback to the Algonkian Manual is that it is strongly oriented toward a structural ESL model of second language teaching and learning, and does not reflect or acknowledge Native orientations toward teaching and learning.

Much of the material for the courses in KTTP were developed by the instructors, and were based upon their past learning and experiences working with Native language teachers and developing materials. They drew ideas and gathered information and resources from wherever they could find them, and adapted them for the class. A variety of these included teachers' manuals and books, BCTF materials on study skills, cultural resource kits developed for the Northwest Coast cultures, teaching materials used in Wild's own second language teaching, Jensen's photographs and various books and resources on the culture and language from the U'mista Cultural Centre. Inevitably when the instructors flew up for a workshop their suitcases were bulging with materials and their shoulders sagging. An important resource which did exist was the series of thirteen books in the Learning Kwak'wala Series.

The Director of the U'mista Cultural Centre was another important resource for the program. She took time out of her busy

schedule to help students when she could, pointing out books or resoruces they could use, and helping with writing the Kwak'wala in their materials.

The students own lack of facility in writing Kwak'wala became a stumbling block in the development of teaching materials. The orthography system for the 'Namais dialect of Kwak'wala has been developed since the early to mid 1970's, and a reading and writing course has been sponsored by the Cultural Centre each year. The language, however, is complicated; the phonological and phonemic systems as well as the structural system are different than English, and reading Kwak'wala is a skill that is not picked up in one course. It takes considerable time and practice.

"More time" is mentioned by a number of KTTP students as something they felt they needed to improve their teaching; that, and also learning to read and write Kwak'wala properly. The following quotes by different students reflect this.

> Myself, I need to learn more language, but just don't have the time to learn right now.

> More time! kidding. I feel that I need to study more about my culture, and the way of teaching the language and dances.

> More familiarity with the language.

> I would like to further my education more in the reading and writing part of Kwak'wala.

> I would like to learn more and get over the mental block I placed in writing our Kwak'wala language, because I know it's so important for my job to be able to write our language and do it properly.

Through working with the students in the early courses of KTTP, the instructors began to feel that the students' perception of classroom teaching was limiting what they attempted to teach in the language classes, and also was influencing how they taught. This has been described in other places in the study as a socialized view

of teaching. It seemed to the instructors that one effect of this was that students did not utilize much of what they knew about Kwakwaka'wakw culture in their teaching and materials, because they did not see this as part of school teaching and learning. Thus, one of their prime resources, their own knowledge, was not well used. Another realization was that while some students had considerable knowledge of particular aspects of the traditional culture, there were others who felt they knew little. All were interested in learning more.

This led to having one entire course focus on the cultural content of language teaching, and to this becoming an emphasis in the rest of the program. In Kwak'wala 210 the class identified several broad cultural areas they felt were important for children to learn about, and that they wanted to learn about. The gathering and preparation of cedar bark was one; the ocean and beach was another; and the teaching of myths with puppets another. The first was suggested by a student, the second by an instructor and students, and the third was a request from students to learn more teaching techniques identified in the previous course. The class then brainstormed what they knew of these and then chose an activity or skill which they wanted to learn more about within the area.

The first two were then planned as cultural activities which could be incorporated into a KTTP workshop. The knowledge and skills gained from these activities became resources for the students who used them as a basis, or jumping off point, for developing their own teaching materials. Examples of these appear in the section on Subject Matter. The use of puppets or a flannel board to teach myths became the focus for one workshop.

Another factor which had strong repercussions for KTTP involved the issue of resources for the Native language programs in the Band School; it revolved around the issue of who should make

the important decisions about what is taught in the program, and upon what type of knowledge such decisions should be based. This situation has been discussed as Example #2: A Simple Case of Curriculum Development, under Sociological Factors.

To briefly recap, it appears that the school administrator's perception of the needs of the language and culture programs involved a curriculum overview of the program. The person hired to do this was a non-Native teacher with knowledge of curriculum development but little knowledge of Kwakwaka'wakw culture or of Kwak'wala itself. Thus, curriculum development skills appear to be considered more important to the hiring committee than knowledge of the community, culture or language. This, in the end, led to a tension being created between two groups of students in KTTP that continued for the duration of the program, and meant that KTTP, as a program, had little contact with the Band School.

5.3.7 ADVERTISED PROGRAMS

A consideration in developing a program for adult learners is whether or not the program appears as if it will meet the needs they perceive, whether it is scheduled at a time they can attend, and where it is located. The schduling aspect is dependent upon work situations and family responsibilities. Two aspects affecting the program and students' interest in returning for more courses are the level at which the work is presented and the balance of different types of subject matter offered. The former refers to whether course work is too elementary, too advanced or whether it accommodates their learning needs. The latter refers to what various people want from the program. Another aspect influencing the number of students who attend is the way in which the program is advertised.

The original group that KTTP was designed for were Native language teachers and resource people working in the Alert Bay schools. The teachers working in both the Band and the Provincial

School had indicated they were interested in teacher training, and the administrators had indicated support for such a program. Invitations to participate in the program were also sent to teachers in other communities.

SCHEDULING

From the beginning KTTP was conceived of as being comprised of a series of short courses taught as workshops. These courses were related to each other, but were not dependent upon each other. Students could join KTTP at the beginning of any of the courses and could take as many courses as they chose. As was mentioned earlier, this way of structuring KTTP was decided upon by the instructors in order to encourage people to attend KTTP, and to complete individual courses. During the initial planning phase it was felt that since many potential students had heavy school and/or family responsibilities as well as community commitments, a short course format in which students could opt out for a course if necessary and then rejoin the program was preferable to a longer course requiring students to commit themselves for a year or longer.

Because of the existing demands on students' time, and the fact that a number of them travelled from other communities, the instructors saw a need for involving students in the scheduling of workshops, and a need for flexibility. They were aware that rearranging classes because of number of teachers are in a training program such as KTTP is not easy for administrators. Another factor affecting the scheduling of classes was the instructors' travel arrangements. Airplane schedules into and out of Pt. Hardy, and the Cormorant Island ferry schedule from Pt. McNeill had to be taken into consideration.

Two different kinds of courses were offered and taught at different times of the year. The Kwak'wala reading and writing courses, which were taught by Jay Powell, were organized as short,

six day courses offered during the early summer. This was necessitated by Powell's teaching schedule at the university. Two, four-month courses aimed at second language teaching techniques and the development of teaching materials (the teacher training courses) were offered during the regular school year between September and June. Wild and Jensen felt this was best for the Native teachers since they could "try out" on their classes what was being learned in KTTP while the ideas were fresh. A fall course ran from September to December, and a winter/spring course from January to May.

Because the instructors travelled from Vancouver to teach the course, and the students were working in the schools, a community-based, workshop format was required. The initial scheduling was for four, two day workshops approximately four weeks apart. The workshops were held on either a Tuesday-Wednesday, or a Wednesday-Thursday. This was believed by the instructors to work best in the school wekk since Mondays and Fridays are usually starting up or closing down days. To accomplish anything it was felt that at least two days were needed with the students, since time was required to review previous workshops as well as to work on new material. Another factor for the insturctors was that they both had young children at home whom they did not want to be away from for too long.

Because of the Native teachers expressed desire at the First and Second Educational Conferences of the Kwakwaka'wakw to take university accredited courses, the instructors attempted to have the provincial universities accredit KTTP courses through their off-campus programming. The courses were set up to have approximately 52 hours of instruction, which was seen as being roughly equivalent to the hours of instruction for 1 undersity credit. Unfortunately, the universities had already committed their off-campus credits, and this was not possible to arrange. North Island College, which had its regional offices in Alert Bay, was

interested, however, and the courses were offered through its calendar. Students were able to receive one first year college credit for each course completed.

The first two teacher training courses, Kwak'wala 110 and 112, were scheduled as above. In order to reduce the inconvenience to the schools, the first day of the workshop was scheduled from 3:30 p.m. to 9:30 p.m., the second day from 9:00 a.m. to 2:45 p.m. Thus, the teachers were only away from school for one day. The 2:45 p.m. close on the second day allowed the instructors to catch the 3:00 p.m. ferry to Pt. McNeill, and then the 6:00 p.m. plane back to Vancouver. A later ferry would have meant another full day away from home.

By the middle of Kwak'wala 112, it had become apparent to the instructors that the two day workshops were too rushed. There never seemed enough time to adequately cover the mateial, and to look after administrative tasks with the U'mista Cultural Centre or North Island College. More importantly, within the workshops it was difficult to find time to talk to individual students. The students also commented on feeling rushed, and expressed the desire to do more planning for assignments in class. In the third workshop 112 the pace was slowed and was expanded to three days to allow the students to attend the School District No. 85's Pro D Day in Pt. McNeill. Less material was planned for the class, and a deliberate attempt was made to have time with individual students. Everyone noticed the difference.

> The students really enjoyed the Pro D Day. It is the first time they have been included.
>
> Overall reaction to this past 3 days were positive; people especially liked the "hands-on" sessions for L2 technieques of games. In evaluation people noted that they enjoyed the sharing process - people developing games, then teaching them to the group, also songs and parent questionnaire.
>
> Our pacing of this session was different than in past

times. We deliberately slowed it down, a more relaxed, comfortable atmosphere. Interestingly enough, we covered everything we had planned on covering. Note: Pace much more attuned to Native culture.
(Wild's Black Binder, November 1984)

The decision was made in conjunction with the students to change from a two-day to a three-day format in Kwak'wala 210, and to have three sessions instead of four per course. This allowed more time for informal talking with students, and it expanded the possibilities for varying the types of activities that could be offered in KTTP. With a two-day format it was virtually impossible to have an outing or fieldtrip.

It was also decided that Kwak'wala 210 would have a cultural focus. In the first two courses, the students had been encouraged to incorporate cultural content, and Native ways of interacting into their classes and assignments. They had also been encouraged to look for ways of co-ordinating the language and culture programs. While the majority were enthusiastic about this approach they found it very difficult to actually use it, either in devl'oping materials or in working with their classes. It had also become apparent to the instructors that although a number of the students had indepth knowledge of particular aspects of kwakwaka'wakw traditional culture, there was much they did not know. A number of students who were from families that were "not culturally-minded" knew very little, and had come to KTTP to learn more. The only ones who did have extensive indepth knowledge of the culture and language were the Old People. These cultural activities became the basis for developing materials in Kwak'wala 210.

With the increase to a three day workshop, the number of workshops per course was reduced from four to three. This actually allowed one day more than the previous schedule. The three days allowed for planning for the activity on the first day, the activity on the second, and work to be done on teaching materials on the third. It also provided the much needed time for instructors to talk

to students, and more working time within class. This schedule was
kept for the remaining courses.

Community Events and Activities

As much as possible KTTP was planned not to coincide with
important events and activities in the community. The format was
deliberately planned to be flexible. A variety of factors were found
to influence the times when the workshops were held, and the degree
to which students were involved in class. These included busy times
in the school calendar such as the beginning and end of school,
Christmas concerts and Easter, as well as, June Sports. This latter
is a large three day celebration held in Alert Bay every year to
which Kwakwaka'wakw families from around the region come.
Workshops were also scheduled not to fall too close to potlatches
since family members are expected to help with the preparation, and
to attend. Weddings were also avoided. Another event which
influenced the scheduling of classes was a funeral in the community.

When a death occurred day-to-day activities were put aside
and people supported each other. In talking about scheduling with
the Co-ordinator of the SFU Native Teacher Education Program, Jensen
made the following observation:

> ...when there's a death it's a big thing, and you're
> (students) going to have lots of visitors. And so, people
> may take time off (of work or school) for three days,
> because they have to go and help the family. The other
> big occasion is when there is a potlatch. It's no less an
> obligation for people to go and work when their family is
> putting on a potlatch.   (Transcript 10:10)

In a recorded discussion between Wild and Jensen in March
1986, Jensen made the following comments about the program.

> First of all, I think it's one of the places that you are a
> different kind of teacher. On reserve you need to have
> the flexibility to shift your agenda to what's going on in
> the rest of their (the students') world. Sometimes that's
> politics; sometimes, as in (student's name) case, it's the
> death of a family member that affects a lot of people in

the community; sometimes it's just how busy the rest of the school is. And we've had that situation of trying to teach a class in the beginning of June Sports, the end of May and the beginning of June, and just realized that the logistics of what else is going on will determine how successful your class is. (Tape A:244)

A major factor affecting the scheduling of the summer course was "fishing openings" for local fishermen. These were followed by intensive canning by the women. The one summer course which was scheduled during fishing season had only six students attend; other summer courses had had fifteen to twenty.

In addition to affecting the attendance in classes, scheduling also influenced the students' participation or involvement in the workshops. During busy times, it was observed by the instructors that they tended to be more preoccupied and to involve themselves less in class discussions. They also appeared to have put less time in on their assignments.

Flexibility in Assignment Deadlines

The instructors recognized the pressures students were under, particularly people with young children who worked and were studying. They wanted to encourage students to complete their assignments and to succeed. They thus had a policy of flexible dieadlines. If students were unable to finish the assignment within the time given, they could ask for an extension. In some cases final course grades were deferred until the assignment was completed.

This policy caused some dissension amongst students who handed their assignments in on time. Several comments were made in the course evaluations stating that the students who were given extensions had an unfair time advantage over those who handed them in on time. There were also a number of comments made about the instructors being "too soft" and "needing to be stricter with us about

handing in assignments on time and being late". One student commented "Yeah, you just got to lay down the law...you don't have to be scared to push that. I mean, you're the boss of all of us attending KTTP."

It appears from these comments that the students' perception of school includes strict deadlines, and penalties for those who do not meet the deadlines. These are notions consistent with the regular school system. Within the community setting Native people appeared to be more flexible in terms of time and schedules. In fact many good humoured references were made about being on "Indian time."

In some cases, particularly during the times when tensions were high in the class or people were sick, the extensions for assignments did get out of hand. A few students eventually chose to change from credit to audit, or took an Incomplete standing for the course. This occurred on only a few occasions.

While believing in the need to be flexible with deadlines, the instructors were also aware that the courses were being offered for college credit, and they felt a certain standard and amount of work was required. This was one of those dilemnas that teachers are periodically faced with. In KTTP, the tendency was to encourage the student rather than enforce the deadline or have a penalty.

Level and Balance

While KTTP was initially conceived of and designed as a program for people teaching or involved in the Native language programs, the students who came were from a wide variety of jobs. They included Native language teachers, dance and art teachers, resource people for the culture programs, play-school teachers, Native teacher aides, and interested community members. There was also a wide diversity in their ability to speak Kwak'wala, their

educational backgrounds, their knowledge of Kwakwa̲ka̲'wakw culture, their ages, and the amount of experience they had had working in schools. Some had just started, others had worked in the programs for seven or eight years. The needs assessment conducted in the first course showed that some students were there because they wanted to learn about teaching and developing materials, others were there to learn more about the language and culture.

While the instructors had anticipated a wide range of background experiences, educational levels and even facility in reading and writing Kwak'wala, the diversity in types of work was somewhat unexpected. Given that their perspective of a Native language program is that it is an extension of the culture program, the diversity was seen as an advantage. Those attending the program brought with them a varied and rich knowledge of various aspects of community life. They were also seen as potential support base for programs teaching Kwak'wala.

An emphasis throughout the program was that language and culture are interrelated. This perspective helped to accommodate the wide range of interests and needs amongst the students for language materials and second language teaching and learning notions which were presented in class were always placed in a cultural context. In addition, the presence of the culture teachers in the class facilitated discussions of how language and culture classes could be used to reinforce each other, and how they could be co-ordinated.

The main way in which students' ability levels and interests were accommodated was through individualizing assignments, and by having students work on materials which were suited to the classes they taught. Thus Kwak'wala teachers worked on materials oriented toward the second language classes, dance and art teachers worked on aspects of the culture and language related to those fields, and Native teacher aides generally worked on Native studies materials to be taught in English. The exception to this was an aide who helped

to assist in the dance programs. The play-school teachers and others worked on whichever type of material they chose. All were encouraged to incorporate as much Kwak'wala into the materials as possible, and students were encouraged to share knowledge and ideas with each other. A variety of strategies were used to help bridge the differences in educational backgrounds. These were discussed in the section on Organization and Methods. They included reading and discussing written articles together in class, having students use each other a sounding boards and as resources, orally presenting assignments to each other in class, having class time to plan and write out assignment ideas, and a non-competitive grading system. While many of the assignments were written, there were also a good number that were geared towards activities and a non-print presentation. Students were encouraged to concentrate on expressing their ideas, and emphasis was placed on the fact that they would not be marked for grammar or spelling.

The advertising for KTTP occurred in a number of ways. Initially it was talked about at the Second Educational Conference of the Kwakwaka'wakw held in September 1983. People from a variety of communities were in attendance. In the fall of 1983 letters were sent from the U'mista Cultural Centre to individual Band and Provincial Schools and Band Offices throughout the region announcing the program, and inviting Native language teachers to participate. Information on KTTP was included in the U'mista Cultural Centre's Newsletter, and was also passed by word of mouth. In subsequent courses letters were sent from the Cultural Centre, and information was put in the Newsletter.

5.3.8 ACTUAL DEMAND

The early estimate of those who would be interested in attending KTTP was between twelve and fifteen people, and it was this number that was submitted to the Department of the Secretary of State in the initial proposal. The number that actually enrolled in

Kwak'wala 110, the first teacher training course, was twenty three.
Fourteen of these took the course for credit; four officially audited;
one Old Person came as a resource person; four others just came.

Kwak'wala 111 was aimed at reading and writing Kwak'wala.
Twelve of the same students attended; all people from Alert Bay.
Five new students, interested only in learning Kwak'wala, joined the
class.

In Kwak'wala 112 a number of the Kwak'wala teachers
working in the School Distsrict No. 85 schools around Pt. Nardy did
not return. This was because the number of hours they had been
working in the schools was reduced due to provincial educational
cutbacks. Several Alert Bay students also did not rejoin the class,
one due to illness, another for family reasons. One new teacher
from the Tsulquate Band School joined KTTP, and also a teacher from
Kingcome Inlet. The latter was only able to attend on workshop
session because poor weather cancelled plane travel from her area.
In total there were seventeen students who registered for the course.
Three audited; two dropped the course; and twelve took it for credit.

Once again in Kwak'wala 210 a number of new students joined
the program. These included two play-school teachers from the
Campbell River area, and an interested community member from Coal
Harbour. All of the students from 112 rejoined except for one young
woman who had moved, and a nurse who was unable to come because
of shift work. Ten students took it for credit and five for audit.
Two people were only able to attend two workshops.

Kwak'wala 211, another Kwak'wala reading and writing
course, was held toward the end of July, much later than usual.
This happened as a result of Kwak'wala 210 workshops being
scheduled to coincide with the best time to gather cedar bark.
Unfortunately, the period the Kwak'wala 211 was offered coincided
with a fishing opening, and a number of students who had planned

to attend were unable to. As a result only six peole registered for the course. These were all Alert Bay residents.

Thirteen students registered for Kwak'wala 212 in the fall of 1985. Five audited, and eight took the course for credit. These were all people who had been in KTTP previously. Four travelled to attend classes: two from Campbell River and two from the Pt. Hardy area.

Kwak'wala 312 was the final teacher training course. Fourteen students registered. All of those taking 212 rejoined, and the teacher from Kingcome Inlet was able to attend. Two students audited the course, and twelve took it for credit. Two of these, however, received an Incomplete standing as they were unable to submit overdue assignments.

The final course, Kwak'wala 311, which focussed on Kwak'wala reading and writing, had nineteen people register. Eighteen of these were from Alert Bay, amongst them were ten of the students from the previous course. One student from the Pt. Hardy area was able to come. Seven other students, interested only in the language attended. Thirteen took the course for credit; six audited. One student dropped out of the course.

Throughout the eight courses there was a core of the same people who attended. These included nine people from Alert Bay, and two from the Pt. Hardy area. Two other students from Campbell River joined in Kwak'wala 210, and attended the remainder teacher training courses. Throughout the program a number of Native language teachers from other communities visitied for a session here and there.

5.3.9   ACTUAL CURRICULUM

The actual curriculum as discussed by Jarvis refers to the

total learning situation: the whole ethos of the program, its hidden curriculum and the teaching and learning curriculum. It is at this point that Jarvis' Curriculum Planning Model leads directly to the product of the actual curriculum which is the teaching and learning curriculum of the program. In Section 5.4.2 of the study the courses offered in KTTP are described. Each of the five teacher training courses are described. They are placed in a broader context, a discussion occurs of the atmosphere within the course, general objectives are described, the subject matter, organization and methods are examined and an evaluation in the form of the instructors' observations and understandings is offered.

5.3.10 EVALUATION

The over-all evaluation of the various factors in the broader context which affected the planning and development of the teacher training courses of KTTP is contained in this study. Understanding will be discussed in Chapter 7.

Included in this section are statements of learning written by the KTTP students during Kwak'wala 310, the final teacher training course. A variety of changes in the students which were attributed to KTTP were also commented upon by the students, themselves, and by others.

STATEMENT OF LEARNING

The following statements of what they had learned in KTTP were made by KTTP students part way through the final teacher training course

Student 1

The Kwak'wala Teacher Training Project has helped us so much in gaining confidence in doing our job better.

We have shared ideas with the other language and culture

teachers.

We've learned how to do long range planning for our classes. We've learned how to make lesson plans for each subject. We've learned how important our community people are, and how to use them as resource people. It's taught us how to appreciate our culture more, and made us interested to learn more about our people.

We gained a lot of self-confidence, and how important it is for our own people to do culture work. And this course has helped us improve our own skills so we could do our job better.

Student 2

Being involved in the Kwak'wala Teacher Training Project for 2 complete years and successfully beginning our 3rd which will lead up to the first Graduation, I have had the chance to better myself in the teaching techniques such as lesson planning, preparing units that deal with the seasonal year, making materials that are related to the lessons being taught, and being able to gain enough confidence to present it to an audience.

Through KTTP I have learned a great deal about my family's history, about myself and about the future of my culture.

I feel the way KTTP has been administered has helped me a lot by the Instructors outlining their lessons in great detail which enabled us to fully understand what they wanted us to do. By being on a one to one basis and also by making audio visual equipment available to us in order for us to learn how to handle them. They also had courses on Kwak'wala speaking and writing available to us which enriched my understanding of my culture and through all this I will be able to walk into a classroom with a lot of self-confidence because I now know what to do.

Student 3

I would like to express the feeling I feel for our class. When I started the KTTP about a 1-1/2 year ago, I knew there was a Native culture but not the language, art, dancing that we have

gone through in class.

The things that stand out in my mind is the cedar bark trip. We went out and peeled bark off trees, and cleaned it, and dried it, and also had someone come in and make baskets. If you see a finished project in a gift shop I now appreciate the work that has gone into it. As a teacher it has helped me with the units we have done. When I want to do something on dancing, I look at the KTTP unit on dancing and it is all there written up for me. I can pick out the things on dance I want to use.

Student 4 & 5

We have been in KTTP for two years. We have gained a lot of confidence in teaching skills and doing lesson plans and making materials.

It also has been very helpful in teaching us the Kwak'wala alphabet, and then learning how to write in our language.

And we've learned a lot about our culture as we've had to do research on a lot of our courses, including our family background and where they originally came from.

It's broadened our minds to the needs of our people to learn our language and more of our culture. Where we as language teachers must also continue to grow so we can help the children we are teaching.

Student 6

For the time that I've been in the Kwak'wala Teacher Training Project I have enjoyed the sharings of the other students, and the instructors' way of helping us understand, and the encouragement from everyone.

I wish there were more programs available to us. I work with 3yr & 4yr old children at the Kwak'wala Preschool in Campbell River, and by coming to these training programs it has given me a better way of teaching. I hope in the future to have a full immersion class in Kwak'wala.

Student 7

I've been to Kwak'wala Teacher Training Project (KTTP) since it started, January 1984.

I've found it helped me a lot, for I've learned to prepare lesson plans, which I really didn't like to do before. I started having to do more writing, which I also didn't like to do. It makes everything work more smoothly for me to do my job, without getting upset.

All I want to say is thank you both for making it possible for us to be where we are now. For I never really figured I'd be able to do my job properly.

Student 8

There was a need to learn lesson planning and methodology in teaching techniques. This is what I have learned in this program. It have given me confidence in being a language teacher.

I have learned that teaching can be turned into adventure and activity. That teaching is more than teaching words and sentences.

We have been taught by two excellent instructors. They have been a storehouse of information.

Student 9

I am very happy to learn how to do lesson planning, short and long term planning. How to be a more effective teacher. Learning how to make materials. Learning how to write Kwak'wala, etc. I hope to attend the scheduled workshops

Student 10

KTTP, has taught me, which I believe is one of the most important qualities to being a teacher, is self-confidence, in my ability to recognize my potential and influence in teaching children.

It has has brought in proper lesson planning, and unit making, ability to visualize my ideas and to put them down in planning lessons for students of all ages. Most of it has given me

all the long term goal of immersion classes. Of course starting from immersion classes of the Kwak'wala class, 15-20-25 minute classes (starting from this).

Student 11

During the last 2 years I have been involved in the KTTP program. Over these years I have learned how to develop my own lessons, how to write and read Kwak'wala, a great deal more about myself and culture, and I have gained more confidence in myself. One of the most important things I have learned is that our children must have an immersion program if we ever want them to become fluent or at least partially fluent in our language. Learning the techniques of teaching a second language have helped me and I have developed a unit on the Mordam. Before we started with KTTP few of our teachers had an idea of how to go about teaching a second language. You would walk in a Kwak'wala classroom and most of the communicating would be going on in English. The words being taught had no meaning to the children because all they were being taught was words, not sentences. Now our teachers are using techniques taught in KTTP, and you can see the change in the amount of language the children are learning and retaining.

Student 12

In the time I've been in KTTP I've learned a lot about myself. Before KTTP I never really gave much thought to who I was culture-wise. Being able to develop something that may help my child learn his language or about his ancestors gives me a great deal of satisfaction. I have never been able to do this myself, speak Kwak'wala, dance, etc.

It also helped me in my daily teaching. I am now able to write my own lesson plans, and teach something I have developed.

CHAPTER 6

THE ACTUAL CURRICULUM OF KTTP

ALIAS

THE LEARNING/TEACHING PROCESS

6.1   THE FOUR COMPONENTS IN THE LEARNING/TEACHING PROCESS

Described in this section are the four main components of the
actual KTTP curriculum: the aims and objectives, the organization
and methods, the subject matter and evaluation.   These four
components are commonly found in models of the learning and
teaching process.   Jarvis' Learning and Teaching Model show that
the four components are interrelated, and that they influence each
other as well as being influenced by factors in the broader social
context.   An attempt is make to show how each of the components
evolved in the program, and how they influenced each other.
References are made to factors described in the overall context which
affected the four components.

Figure 3: Jarvis' Two Part Curriculum Design Model

FIGURE 3b: A Learning and Teaching
Process Model For the
Education of Adults

Aims and Objectives

Evaluation

Subject Matter

Methods and Organization
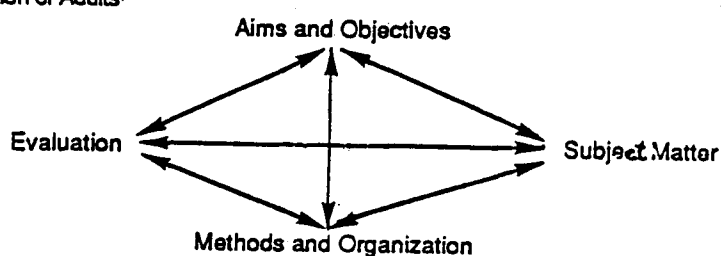
6.1.1   AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

A number of broad goals were set for KTTP by the instructors
when they initially wrote the proposal.   These can be seen as
strands or themes that interweave throughout the six teacher training

training courses. The general objectives for each course developed out of the goals and were arrived at through a co-operative process involving both the instructors and the students. Although the first course, Kwak'wala 110, was planned by the instructors based upon their perception of the needs of the teachers and programs, the remaining courses evolved as the program progressed, and were jointly planned based upon the needs as expressed by the students, and as perceived by the instructors.

At the outset the instructors recognized the cross-cultural nature of KTTP, and the possibility of unknown factors at work. They saw the program as providing an exciting possibility for developing new insights into the needs of Native language teachers and the school programs, and for "a start" in addressing those needs. They also believed that if Native teachers are to be able to meet the demands placed on them to plan their programs, develop materials, and teach, they require much more than the ability to develop games and flashcards, and more than the ability to speak, read and write Kwak'wala, even though the latter is particularly important. it was felt that teachers also need to have a basic understanding of the nature of the field of second language learning and teaching and of the nature of culture, and that they need a resource of teaching techniques.

As will be seen from the goals listed below the program reflects the above beliefs. It was also based on several other premises:

- That Native language teachers and community members possess forms of cultural knowledge necessary for the development of effective teaching materials for a Native as a second language program,

- That they have the right to be part of making the important decisions regarding what is taught in the programs, and how it is taught,

- That if teachers have input into, and are involved in the development of teaching materials they are much

more likely to use them,

- That Native teachers can learn much about second language teaching by applying course learnings to the processes of planning curriculum and developing teaching units and activities. The latter were seen as a way to help provide the much needed teaching materials.

In a sense the process of co-operatively developing materials and planning curriculum is a melding of both theory and practise, a means of grounding the more theoretical aspects of second language learning and teaching concepts by having teachers go through the process of developing teaching materials based on their own cultural knowledge and experiences, and geared to their own teaching situations.

Behind the development of teaching materials was the notion that KTTP students could, by sharing their materials developed in assignments, build a resource of teaching units and materials that many teachers could benefit from. There was even the thought that, provided the materials were well done, they could be reproduced and eventually marketed by the U'mista Cultural Centre to other communities involved in Native as a Second Language programs.

KTTP was also seen as a possibility for developing a support-base of informed, interested community members, both within the school and outside, who could support and guide the development of the language and culture programs, and act as advocates for the programs. This led to an emphasis being placed on having KTTP students work co-operatively within the program, and on working as a group to plan teaching materials, and to solve problems which arose during the program.

In summary, the following aims established for KTTP as a program were designed to provide a general background in understandings and skills useful to people teaching in and/or supportive of the Native language programs. The intent of the aims

was to provide students with the opportunity to:

- Develop a basic understanding of the nature of second language learning, of second language teaching methods, and of the relationship between language and culture.

- Develop the ability to use a range of second language teaching techniques, and an awareness of cultural appropriateness in planning teaching and learning activities and materials.

- Develop an understanding of, and skill in the process of planning and developing lesson plans, teaching units and teaching materials.

- Develop sociolinguistically appropriate Native teaching materials using understandings of second language learning and teaching methods and techniques learned in KTTP.

- Develop an understanding of the overall factors and issues to be considered in planning and developing a Native language program.

- Increase their proficiency in reading, and writing Kwak'wala, and the understanding of the languages as a linguistic system.

- Identify their needs as NASL classroom teachers, and share in planning and developing the courses offered in KTTP.

- Increase their, self-confidence in their own ability to learn and in their ability to teach.

The overall orientation and the general objectives for each of the courses was derived from the above aims. At the end of each course the instructors and students evaluated what had been covered and how it was taught. Student input was sought regarding what they would like to work on in the following course.

GENERAL OBJECTIVES FOR EACH OF THE SIX COURSES

Kwak'wala 110: Introduction to Curriculum Development and Teaching Techniques for a Native Language (January – May, 1984)

1. Introduction to basic second language teaching methods and techniques.

2. Practical application of second language teaching techniques in developing Native teaching materials.

3. Introduction to unit structure and age appropriate language and activities.

4. Introduction to concepts of the relationship between language and culture, language and community, and the social use of language.

5. Introduction to a process of planning units and daily lesson plans.

Kwak'wala 110 was designed to introduce KTTP students to a number of basic concepts in second language teaching and in the development of teaching materials. It also worked toward having students begin to look at their own understandings of language, of language learning, and of the relationship between language and culture. In addition students began to look at, and clarify their own personal goals for the programs in which they taught.

The topic of Weather was used as a focus for the class to jointly plan a unit. This topic was suggested at a workshop session in the Second Educational Conference of the Kwakwaka'wakw by Kwak'wala teachers, mainly because weather was a factor which affected many aspects of Northwest Coast living. The instructors used the weather topic to model a process by which language teaching units can be planned. It provided an actual context, familiar to all the students, for talking about various factors to be considered in unit planning, as well as showing the process itself. It also served to illustrate how important cultural attitudes and knowledge are to developing language teaching materials. In addition to the class jointly working on a Weather unit, each student chose his/her own topic and began to develop it into a unit. The steps taken in planning the individual units followed work done together in class on the class unit. Several important, though unstated, objectives of Kwak'wala 110 were to assess the needs of the students both as teachers and learners, to introduce them to the process of jointly planning the course, and to gain an understanding

of the programs in which they worked.

Kwak'wala 111: Introduction to Kwak'wala Reading and Writing for Teachers (June 1984)

1. To provide a foundation in the phonetics and practical orthography of Kwak'wala currently used in the North Vancouver Island School District (#85) language program

2. To provide practise in reading and writing Kwak'wala.

Kwak'wala 112: Introduction to Curriculum Planning (September – December 1984)

1. Review of second language teaching methods and techniques; use of Native language as language of instruction in the classroom.

2. Introduction to curriculum planning -- long term planning.

3. Practical application of second language teaching techniques in the classroom and in the production of materials.

4. Introduction to the use and operation of classroom equipment.

The general objectives for Kwak'wala 112 had a much more practical orientation than in 110, and incorporated several of the students' requests. The objective focussing on long term planning allowed the instructors to review planning skills that had been introduced in Kwak'wala 110, including the Brainstorming process, and to encourage students to collectively use their own knowledge of the community and culture as a basis of their teaching materials. Emphasis was placed on the importance of the latter.

Kwak'wala 210: Developing Cultural Content in a Second Language Classroom (February - June, 1985

1. Examine and develop cultural aspects of the language curriculum.

2. Develop understanding strategies for teaching language components other than vocabulary.

3. Develop proficiency in planning and conducting out-of-classroom teaching activities.

4. Discuss and evaluate suitable goals for the language and culture programs; examine teaching methods in relationship to goals.

The focus in Kwak'wala 210 on cultural content was a combination of the instructors realizing that yet another approach needed to be tried to enable students to gain a different perspective of teaching, and of the students' expressed interest in learning more about their own culture. The enthusiasm students had shown doing games together in the final workshop of 112 led to the instructors planning more activities in which students worked together.

Kwak'wala 211: Intermediate Kwak'wala Writing and Language Structure (Late July, 1985)

1. Continuation of development of writing skills in Kwak'wala (commenced in Kwak'wala 110).

2. Introduction to aspects of the structure of Kwak'wala (the form of Kwak'wala sentences, the concept of "language patterns", recognition of patterns for use in language teaching).

3. Development of skill in planning and preparing language tapes for classroom use.

With Kwak'wala 210 extending into June, it was decided to

hold the summer reading and writing course in early August. Unfortunately this coincided with a fishing opening and resulted in only four students attending the course. With the small enrollment the decision was made to change the original plans of having the summer students work on gathering the Kwak'wala for the teaching units in progress in order to finish them off. Instead the students focussed on exploring the domain of language use in Alert Bay. This proved to be valuable in the next course.

Kwak'wala 212: Positive Teaching Strategies for the Native Language Classroom (Septemper to December 1985).

Original Objectives:

1. Compile and view video-taped classroom examples for using a second language (Native) as the language of instruction.

2. Develop awareness and skills in utilizing a variety of interaction patterns in the classroom.

3. Further develop skills in using second language teaching techniques and classroom activities.

4. Observation and informal evaluation of students' teaching skills

Changed Objectives:

1. Practical application of second language teaching techniques in developing materials for the language teaching units that are underway.

2. Continue to develop an awareness of and skill in utilizing a variety of interaction patterns in the classroom and in using an immersion approach to teaching Kwak'wala.

3. Reaching out to the community and school to acquaint them with KTTP and to seek their involvement and support for the language and culture program.

4. Develop basic skills in researching Kwakwaka'wakw culture; integrating language teaching and culture teaching.

An important focus for Kwak'wala 212 was the development of positive teaching strategies. During the first three courses of KTTP the instructors had become aware of a need for the KTTP students to develop skills in building support for the programs, both in the community and in the school. On numerous occasions concern had been expressed by the students about the seeming lack of interest or lack of support for the programs in the community and amongst the teaching staff. KTTP seemed like a good place to begin seeking ways of dealing with this. As in the earlier teaching training courses the topic relating to second language teaching techniques, planning and the development of teaching materials continued to be developed.

The initial objectives for Kwak'wala 212 were set at the end of Kwak'wala 210, and the decision made to develop teaching materials around the central theme of the potlatch. With little work being done during the summer on finishing the units in progress, and the growing awareness of how close the end of KTTP was, the instructors and class decided in the first workshop of Kwak'wala 212 to change the focus for developing materials. Rather than begin work on new units, it was decided to finish off those already started. Other objectives pertaining to second language teaching skills remained the same, however, rather than being applied to a potlatch theme, they were applied to other topics.

6.1.2 ORGANIZATION AND METHODS

In discussing the organization and methods used in KTTP, a

number of different aspects of the program and the factors affecting them are looked at. These include how the overall program and individual workshops were decided upon; who was involved; how classroom activities and interactions were structured. The teaching methods employed, and how they related to the learning needs and styles of the students are examined, as well as how they related to the program's aims and underlying philosophy. In addition, the location of the teaching and the organization of the environment are looked at briefly.

ORGANIZATION

The initial organization of KTTP and the decisions about the methods of instruction to be used in the teacher training courses were made by the instructors Jensen and Wild. They were based upon their philosophical beliefs regarding the nature of second language learning and teaching, Native language programs, and approaches to use in working with adult learners. They were also influenced by the instructors' previous experiences working with Native language teachers, including Jensen and Wild's work in Alert Bay, discussions with the Director of the U'mista Cultural Centre and their the recommendations of the Native teachers who attended the First and Second Educational Conference of the Kwakwaka'wakw.

As with other aspects of the program the instructors' belief in the necessity of Native people having input into, and making significant decisions about their own program affected how it was structured and organized. The students were not viewed as "raw beginners" to teaching. The majority were working in the schools at the same time as taking KTTP and the program was seen by the instructors as a means of meeting some of their immediate classroom needs as well as beginning to address the long term needs of the Native language programs. The main means of meeting immediate needs was through the assignments which students worked on each workshop, and through group planning and unit development.

From the outset the instructors' perceived a need for an
extended, on-going program which would provide Native language
teachers with the time and opportunity to develop understandings and
skills in second language teaching methods and techniques, to try
out teaching ideas and to develop teaching materials.   In providing
a rationale to the Secretary of State Office for seeking funding for
an extended three year program the following statement was made by
an instructor on the Evaluation form at the end of the first course:

> When this project was originally proposed, it was noted
> that the periodic workshops that have been offered for
> Native teachers have often given them a "lift", but there
> has been no long-term support nor any of the consistent
> instruction necessary to implement changes and improve
> teaching strategies.   The three-year format provides a
> flexible yet consistent support and information base.   In
> addition, the production of materials by Native teachers,
> aides, and subs should provide a broad selection of units
> from which a cohesive curriculum plan for Kwak'wala
> classes can be developed.   None of this happens overnight
> or even in one term (ie course)... so we are seeking
> funding from Secretary of State for a commitment to this
> three year project.
>   (Secretary of State Education
>   Form for Kwak'wala 110)

Funding also influenced the organization of KTTP since
the instructors travelled to the workshops by plane from Vancouver,
and airfare is costly.   This affected the number of workshops that
could be scheduled.   The majority of KTTP students, worked and it
was thought they and their employers would find it inconvenient for
the workshops to be too long or occur too frequently.

In order for KTTP to truly incorporate the input of the
students, the instructors designed the program to be flexible, and to
include an ongoing process of planning and assessment which
involved both the instructors and the students in making decisions
about the objectives, the subject matter and the organization and
methods of courses, as well as in evaluating them.

The Kwak'wala Teaching Training Project was comprised of

eight individual short courses offered over a two and a half year period. Two types of courses were offered; those focussing on second language teaching methods and the development of teaching materials for NASL classes, and those focussing on the Kwak'wala language itself, mainly Kwak'wala reading and writing skills. Because of the strong belief amongst Native people involved in the language and culture programs that their work and the Native programs would be valued more by the non-Native school administrators if they took accredited courses, KTTP was planned to fit the requirements, in hours, of a university course. The program was structured such that three individual courses were offered each year. Each course completed was worth one college credit. Two teacher training courses were offered, one running from September to December, the second from January to May, and one Kwak'wala Reading and Writing course was offered in the early summer. This arrangement was changed to three, three-day workshops per course in Kwak'wala 210 to allow for a different method to be used, as well as a more cultural orientation to the subject matter and methods. It also increased the amount of time the instructors could give individual students and could spend on administrative details. Kwak'wala Reading and Writing courses were offered in either the late spring or early summer, and were organized as a block of six consecutive days. They were planned and taught by Jay Powell, who had taught similar courses in the Bay in conjunction with the U'mista Cultural Centre previous to KTTP.

In total five teacher training courses were offered, Kwak'wala 110,112, 210,212 and 310, and three Kwak'wala Reading and Writing courses were offered, Kwak'wala 111, 211, 311.

The teacher training courses were related to each other, in that each successive short course developed out of the work done in the previous one, and was shaped by input given by both the instructors and the students. This way of organizing allowed for the ongoing flexibility and planning referred to earlier.

Within each workshop session, time was set aside in which the instructors and students shared insights and discussed the workshop to come. Students had the opportunity to discuss their perceived needs, to talk about what they liked and did not like in the workshop, what they found useful or not useful. The latter particularly pertained to the subject matter covered and the methods and organization. The aims and objectives of each teacher training course, with the exception of the first course, were pre-planned with the students in that the final workshop of the preceding course included a session in which the students and instructors discussed what they would like to focus on, and also set a tentative schedule based on the known forthcoming community and school events. Students who chose not to speak out in class had the opportunity to either anonymously state their views in writing, or to speak privately with one of the instructors out of class time.

While successive teacher training courses developed out of each other, they were not dependent upon each other, and new students could join the program at any point. They could also opt out for a course if circumstances required. The Reading and Writing courses were also not set up in a lock-step fashion, and were offered as individual courses which anyone could attend.

Behind this over-all structure of the program lay the instructors' assumption that since many potential students already had heavy family and/or work responsibilities, as well as being involved in community activities, a program consisting of a series of short courses, which allowed for a student to opt out for a course if necessary, would be more appealing, and look more possible to complete than a program stretching for three years in duration. The three course per year structure was thus chosen to encourage students to participate, one course at a time, and to increase the possibility of their completing courses.

The flexible organization also allowed the instructors to

incorporate unanticipated or unplanned opportunites into the program. If the Old People coming to KTTP decided to share their experience and knowledge about a particular topic with the class, time was flexible enough to incorporate this, or if students wanted to explore a pertinent issue, it could be accommodated. It also enabled them to change the program to better suit the students' learning/teaching styles. For example, part way through Kwak'wala 112, the instructors realized that the workshops were too rushed. There needed to be unscheduled time for students to privately come and talk to an instructor; there also needed to be time to adequately deal with KTTP's administrative matters, including arrangements with both U'mista and North Island College, and there needed to be more time within the workshop itself for students to discuss and plan assignments, and to share their insights with each other.

Another example of this was that the instructors and students decided to change the entire focus of Kwak'wala 212 at the first workshop of that course. This was a result of everyone realizing how much needed to be finished up in the teaching units before the end of the entire program. Instead of beginning a new unit, it was decided to complete the ones already started. Thus, the aims and objectives for the course remained the same but the topic changed. One factor in this planned flexibility was the need to keep the students' employers, the various schools, as well as U'mista well informed of when classes were scheduled.

Although the Kwak'wala Reading and Writing courses taught by Jay Powell are not being closely examined in this study, they were a part of the over-all program of KTTP, and thus it is important to describe their relationship to the teacher training courses. The main goal of the Kwak'wala Reading and Writing courses was to acquaint Native teachers and others interested in Kwak'wala with a basic understanding of the phonology and practical orthography system is that was being used in the Kwak'wala programs in the northern part of Vancouver Island, and

to provide practise in reading and writing Kwak'wala. It was believed by the instructors as well as the Director of the U'mista Cultural Centre that Native language teachers need Kwak'wala literacy skills in order to correctly write out the Kwak'wala being taught to students, to keep an accurate record of what they are teaching, and also to have access to materials recorded in Kwak'wala, in order to learn more about traditional culture.

In addition, other subject matter useful to teaching Kwak'wala was presented in these courses. For example, students were introduced to aspects of the structure of Kwak'wala, to the concept of "language patterns", a useful tool in second language teaching. In Kwak'wala 211 they did some basic research within their own families regarding language use patterns of Kwak'wala. This latter concept had first been presented in the beginning teacher training course, Kwak'wala 110 in order to help Native language teachers to gain an awareness of language use patterns in their classrooms. Later, the information gained from Kwak'wala 211 was used as a basis for an assignment in Kwak'wala 212 in which class members gathered more information regarding the language use patterns of Kwak'wala, and discussed how to encourage use of Kwak'wala in the community.

While a need was seen for Native teachers to attend both types of courses, and KTTP students were encouraged to do so if at all possible, the instructors also realized that due to the busyness of summer, and fishing in particular, it might not be possible. This, in fact, was the case, and while some students from Alert Bay were able to attend both teacher training and reading and writing courses, a number, including people then currectly teaching Kwak'wala in the schools were unable to. Students who had to travel from other communities such as Pt. Hardy, Campbell River and Rivers Inlet also found that they could not attend. The lack of facility in reading and writing Kwak'wala amongst KTTP students was a drawback faced by the program, particularly in the

development of teaching materials.

In addition to teaching the workshops in Alert Bay, the instructors also worked several days a month at their homes. Time was spent together finalizing plans for the workshops, and outlining individual sessions. Using the evaluations and input from KTTP students regarding what they would like to learn, and their own observations and insights gained during the workshops the instructors planned the subject matter to be covered, the questions and issues to be addressed. Each instructor then assumed responsibility for gathering the needed materials, fleshing out and presenting given topics or activities for the class.

At the end of each course an evaluation form had to be completed and sent to the Secretary of State office, and a proposal for the next course drawn up and submitted for funding. Grades and a course description of the forthcoming course were sent to North Island College.

While both Jensen and Wild shared the planning, preparation and teaching of the teacher training courses, Jensen who was interested in working more hours than Wild, also assumed an administrative role for the program. This involved working closely with staff at the U'mista Cultural Centre and at North Island College. She also was the typist, a large responsibility for it entailed typing the teaching units prepared by KTTP as well as course outlines, funding proposals and other correspondence connected with the program.

Organization Within Individual Workshops

While the workshops were planned and the sessions mapped out by the instructors ahead of arriving in Alert Bay, at the beginning of each one they always had the sense of "Well, I wonder what has happened since the last time?" This was mainly due to the length of

time between workshops, the lack of contact between students and instructors because of distances between Alert Bay and Vancouver, and the many happenings which can occur in a community over a four to six week period.

A variety of topics and different types of sessions were planned for the workshops; however, the initial session of the first day was set aside to go over the planned contents with students, and to quickly review what had occurred in the previous one. One reason for this was to check with students about what was happening in the community in order to make adjustments to the schedule if necessary. Another was to see if there were topics students would like to cover.

The general organization for the workshops was as follows:
    In Kwak'wala 110 and 112:

Day 1	3:30 – 5:30	Class sessions
	5:30 – 6:30	Dinner Break
	6:30 – 9:30	Class sessions with 15 minutes coffee break
Day 2	9:30 – 12:00	Class sessions with a 15 minute coffe break
	12:00 – 1:00	Lunch Break
	1:00 – 2:45	Class sessions

    In Kwak'wala 210, 212 and 310

Days 1 and 3 were similar in format to the above, however, there was more of a cultural orientation to the activities. Day 1 was used, in part to introduce and jointly plan an activity with a focus on culture and students also presented their assignments. The assignment was presented and talked over. Day 3 was used to discuss the activity, and to explore how it could be used in developing teaching materials.

Location of KTTP

The setting in which the majority of KTTP workshops were held was a large lecture gallery in the U'mista Cultural Centre. The Centre was designed like a series of linked Big Houses located on the Nimpkish Reserve in Alert Bay. The gallery was a spacious, high ceilinged room lit with track lights located one level down from the main entrance and Gift Shop. A large display case with a collection of various traditional spruce root and cedar baskets sat to one side with a magnificent Chilkat dance cape beside it. On the other side of the room lying on the floor was a large log used for drumming and singing. The back of the room overlooked a second gallery, and was bounded by a four foot wall. The floor was carpeted. Students sat around a set of long tables arranged in an open U shape, and the instructors tended to either sit on a chair, on the edge of a table or stand at the front while running the class. A large portable chalkboard was available and charts could be put up on the walls.

There were several reasons for KTTP being held at the U'mista Cultural Centre. For one, the Cultural Centre was the sponsoring organization, and could provide spaces and equipment at a minimal cost. It had been built as a cultural and resource centre for all the Kwakwaka'wakw, and housed a valuable resource collection of cultural materials as well as resources for Kwak'wala. Alert Bay was relatively central to a number of Kwakwaka'wakw communities in the northern part of Vancouver Island and adjacent mainland.

While the majority of KTTP workshops occurred at the Cultural Centre, several days took the form of field trips. These included a day spent at the School District No. 85 Professional Development Day, a day spent gathering cedar bark in the forest north of Pt. McNeill, and a day observing and collecting at the beach and later barbequing salmon.

The U'mista Cultural Centre was well equipped with audio visual equipment, tape recorders, movie projector, slide projector, laminator, as well as typewriters and a modern xerox machine, which were available for the instructors to use. There was also a large workroom and kitchen facilities in which, on occasion, delicious lunches were whipped up by Davina, the assistant, and then shared with whomever was there.

The atmosphere of the Centre reflected a strong belief that the Kwakwak'wakw culture is a dynamic, vital force in people's lives. A variety of activities occurred there amongst them meetings, weekly session for people interested in learning Kwakwaka'wakw singing, video courses, photography courses, on-going research in the language and culture. The Salmonista Video Crew also worked out of the Centre on a number of different projects related to cultural concerns and land claims. A variety of visitors also found their way to the U'mista Cultural Centre where they could visit the impressive Potlatch Collection of dance masks, and regalia housed in the lower gallery, which had been impounded at the 1923 Wedding Potlatch of Dan Cranmer, and watch the two award winning films, A Box of Treasures and Potlach, which were produced by the U'mista Cultural Society.

One disadvantage of holding KTTP workshops at Alert Bay was having to travel to Cormorant Island by ferry. The ferry schedule combined with the place from Vancouver to Pt. Hardy, then down to Pt McNeill and across Alert Bay by ferry. Students travelling from other communities also worked around the ferry schedules.

METHODS

Like other components of the program in KTTP the methods initally used by the instructors were based on their understandings of the needs of the students, both as teachers and as learners, on their views of second language teaching, and on the process of

developing materials. Underlying the methods was a strong conviction of the importance of recognizing and incorporating the knowledge and experience of Native people into the program. This led the instructors to structure the program, and to use methods which involved joint planning with students, and also a continual monitoring of various aspects of the program. The instructors were also aware of the possibility that the students' own schooling experiences had not been entirely positive. It was their view that a positive self-concept in terms of one's ability to learn and succeed in an educational setting was a prerequisite to Native teachers learning new concepts and skills in second language teaching, as well as to them being receptive to the idea of critically examining what was currently happening in the Native language programs. This, in turn, was seen to be important to the Native teachers developing planning skills and making decisions about the programs they worked in and the methods they would use. Thus, there was a need to use methods and subject matter which would build students' self-confidence and increase their self-concepts as learners. This assumption about negative experience was verified early in the first course.

KTTP was perceived as being a cross-cultural program on two levels. One level was the teacher training program itself; the instructors were conscious of the possibility of cultural,differences between the Native students' and their own interpersonal interaction patterns and communication styles, as well as in learning and teaching styles. The second level at which KTTP was viewed as being cross-cultural involved the nature of what KTTP students were being taught about Native language teaching and programs: techniques of teaching, assumptions about learning, the type and use of materials, the role of the teacher, school and community.

From the instructors' perspective the commonly used methods in English as a Second Language classes or in regular Language Arts classes were not entirely culturally appropriate in teaching a

Native language, since they are based on, and reflect the interaction and communication styles of Mainstream culture which are different than those of the Native culture. For this reason the instructors saw a need to encourage KTTP students to become observant of what was currently happening in their Native language classes, to develop an understanding of the various issues affecting a Native language program, and to begin exploring ways of teaching which are relevant to Kwakwaka'wakw culture. Influencing these perceived needs were comments and recommendations made by teachers and community members arising out of the two Educational Conferences, and Jensen's observations, while previously working with Native language teachers in Alert Bay.

A number of basic strategies and techniques were used in the program. Some were planned by the instructors prior to the beginning of KTTP; others evolved and were incorporated as the program progressed and the instructors and students came to better understand the nature of teaching a Native language, and the needs of both the Native teachers and the school programs. The strategies and techniques used in working towards the over-all goals of KTTP will be described in the following pages under the headings of various program goals and/or perceived student needs; however, it must be kept in mind that they often overlapped and reinforced each other.

Strategies and Techniques Used to Achieve Program Goals and/or to Meet the Perceived Needs of Students

At the beginning of this section several strategies which are seen to be important to all the goals and needs are described. These stem from the instructors' belief in the principle of the Native community's ownership of its culture and programs, and its right to be an instrinsic part of decision-making. The strategies include the valuing of Native knowledge, experience and perspectives in the form of student involvement and input into KTTP, the recognition and accommodation of Native interaction and communication patterns, and

learning/teaching styles, the building of students' self confidence. Several basic techniques used throughout the course will be described, and strategies and techniques used in working toward particular goals and needs will be presented. Where the data is available observations will be made about the students' and the instructors responses to the various strategies and techniques.

The Valuing of Native Knowledge, Experience and Perspectives in the Form of Student Involvement and Input into KTTP

From the outset the instructors openly acknowledged and discussed with students the need for their input and involvement in planning, developing and assessing KTTP as a program. This pertained to both the subject matter being offered, and the methods and organization used. Several reasons lay behind this. The most obvious is the valuing of Native knowledge, experience and perspectives and the need to incorporate them into the materials being developed. Another was the instructors' recognition of the cross-cultural nature of KTTP, and of the possibility of cultural differences between the students' and instructors' interpersonal interaction and communication patterns and learning/teaching styles affecting the students' learning. Yet another was their recognition that Native communities have unique cultural interaction patterns and values that need to be incorporated into the school programs, and also could effect KTTP as a program. KTTP students, as community members, were felt to be much more knowledgeable of how the community worked and of what its members expected than were the instructors. A fourth reason was the instructors' awareness that the KTTP students as Native teachers in the schools were responsible for developing their own teaching programs and materials and that they were aware of many of their own needs.

Student input was sought in a variety of ways. These included:

- Prior to KTTP Native people at the Second Educational Confernece of the Kwakwaka'wakw were asked for input regarding what they thought should be included in KTTP. In the early workshops KTTP students were also asked, and they completed a Needs Assessment directed at gaining insights into their perceptions of how they taught, their facility in Kwak'wala, and questions or concerns they had about teaching Kwak'wala.

- Open acknowledgement and discussion in the classes throughout KTTP of the value of Native input, and of the instructors' belief that while the instructors, as professionals, had developed particular areas of expertise and knowledge in teaching generally, in second language teaching and learning, and in the process of developing materials, it was the KTTP students and members of the Native community who were the "experts" on their culture, their language and their community. It was they who needed to make the important decisions about school programs.

- During, and at the end of presentations or sessions students were encouraged to share their own experiences, feelings and ideas about what was being presented, and how it was presented: whether they particularly liked a topic or the way the instructors presented it; what they found useful or not useful; suggestions or ideas for making KTTP better fit their needs.

    This was done both formally and informally. The informal input was obtained in casual discussions about KTTP during class, in private discussions individual students had with the instructors and also via the "suggestion jug". This was a variation of a suggestion box, but at the time it was introduced, only a jug was available. Students could write their suggestions, concerns, ideas, comments, criticisms, either anonymously or signed. Formal input was sought through evaluations which students were asked to complete. These consisted of a few questions which students were asked to elaborate on. Often before filling them out, time was set aside in class for students to discuss their ideas either in pairs or small groups before they filled out the surveys or discussed them in class.

- Input was sought from students regarding the scheduling of workshops ie. the dates they would be held and the time of day, preferences about pass/fail or letter grades, ideas for dealing with late arrivals, missed classes and overdue assignments.

- Difficult situations or concerns potentially affecting KTTP as a program which were privately brought to the instructors'

attention were brought back to the class in an impersonal form without naming individuals, for discussion and group problem solving. Both instructors felt this strategy of openly acknowledging concerns or difficulties, and of having the class formulate solutions was important for several reasons. The students as members of the community were much more in tune with community dynamics and undercurrents, and were in a better position than the instructors to find effective solutions. The instructors were less likely to be perceived as "siding" with particular students. The instructors saw a need for the students in KTTP to develop skills in working out concerns about teaching and their programs as a group.

- In the later courses, in addition to discussing and seeking solutions to concerns faced by KTTP as a program, the students were also led to explore, discuss, and seek solutions to the problems and difficulties they perceived in their actual teaching situations, and to consider the various factors influencing their programs. The instructors assumed the role of facilitators in such discussions.

The types of concerns brought up by KTTP students in the early courses revolved around the immediate needs they saw in their day to day teaching and classrooms. Toward the end of KTTP however, much more of their attention and talk focussed on the role of the broader Native community and the school in the language and culture programs. Two meetings, one with the administrator and staff of the Band School, another with school staff and Band Council members were held to discuss the language and culture materials being developed in KTTP and to discuss the school programs. A third meeting was held with community members and professionals involved in health care to present materials being developed for a unit on health and to receive community input.

From the instructors' observations of students during KTTP and the comments made by students both in class evaluations, and in the interviews conducted at the end of the program, this cluster of strategies aimed at the recognition of student input and the valuing of their knowledge appears to have been very well received by the students. These will be presented under the later section on Evaluation. It appears from students' comments in the data that the emphasis placed on people sharing their knowledge, experience and skills reflects a cultural value orientation of the Kwakwaka'wakw that worked toward developing a sense of group amongst the

students, and helped KTTP during the periods that school/community politics surfaced.

Sharing

Another form of input that students had in KTTP was through sharing their own experiences and knowledge with each other, and through having community people come into the class to share a particular skill. Sharing occurred in a number of ways. Some students were more knowledgeable of certain cultural areas or skills than others, and when a topic or situation arose where information was required, time was made available for them to either share it with the group, or with the individual that needed it. In addition to younger people taking KTTP, several of the Old People also attended, and when the occasions arose they shared their experiences and insights with the class. These occasions were never planned in advance, but seemed to naturally arise out of the situation. The Old People would begin to speak in a very low, quiet voice about an event or situation or dance, and everyone would become quiet, listening with a very particular kind of attentiveness for as long as the Old Person spoke.

On several occasions arrangements were made for a community member to come and demonstrate a skill which no one in the class knew. On one occasion a young woman came to demonstrate making cedar baskets, and on another two older men demonstrated how to make cedar stakes for barbequing salmon on a fire. Both times students observed, then had the opportunity to try doing it themselves.

From the data and from additional reading, this researcher has done it appears that the emphasis in KTTP that was placed on people sharing their knowledge and skills reflects a deeply ingrained cultural value held by the Kwakwaka'wakw. The sharing of personal knowledge and skill provided a tremendous resource base

for the program since there is still much of the culture that is not in written form, and, as in traditional times, people's personal knowledge and experiences are the main form of cultural transmission.

The Acknowledgement and Recognition of Possible Cultural Differences Between the Students' and the Instructors' Interpersonal Interaction and Communication Patterns and Their Learning/Teaching Styles

At the very beginning of KTTP and throughout the courses Jensen and Wild openly and frankly discussed with the students the possibility of cross-cultural differences occurring in KTTP between the students and themselves. They believed the differences could occur in a number of different areas including social norms of interaction, cultural values, learning/teaching styles and sociolinguistic rules of language use. They were also aware of the possibility of community interaction patterns, particularly what people termed "community politics", affecting the program.

Although little concrete information is available on the norms of social interaction patterns in Kwakwaka'wakw communities or on cross-cultural differences communication strategies of members of Kwakwaka'wakw and Mainstream communities, that differences do exist is known. There also appeared to be varying degrees of acculturation amongst students. The instructors believed that an open, non-judgemental acknowledgement of possible differences, combined with methods and organization which stressed the need for Native input would help to facilitate differences coming to light, and to them being incorporated into the training of Native teachers. This was seen as important for a number of reasons:

1. It was believed that acknowledgement of the differences and recognition of the value of each culture's own unique system was important to the students' cultural identity as well as to establishing a learning environment in which people felt confortable enough to explore different possibilities of learning and teaching. It recognized that the instructors did not view themselves as "the experts" in Native culture or in the teaching of Native language, but saw themselves as

co-learners with the students in discovering ways of teaching that would be culturally relevant, a particularly important aspect in a program which had as a goal maintaining Native language and culture.

2. It was hoped that open discussion of the differences would help students to recognize and come to terms with past negative schooling experiences, thereby enhancing their learning.

3. It was thought open acknowledgement would help to prevent misunderstandings between the instructors and the students, and that the students could help the instructors recognize when they were using mainstream interaction patterns that caused discomfort.

4. It recognized the students as adult learners and presented a way of looking at schooling, and at learning/teaching styles as part of cultural systems rather than as right/wrong or good/bad.

The team-teaching arrangement between Wild and Jensen greatly facilitated their becoming aware of areas in KTTP in which cross-cultural differences appeared to be at work. Frequently when one of them was running a session with students, the other would sit back and observe the over-all reactions and interactions in the class. Later these would be hashed over and examined between them, and then brought back to the class for discussion. Both Wild and Jensen's past experience in working with Native language teachers and their interest in discovering and valuing cultural differences led to an orientation in the program which emphasized discovering and working with the unique aspects of Native culture.

The following were seen by the instructors as being characteristic of or compatible with Native learning/teaching styles and interaction patterns, and an attempt was made to incorporate them in the program. They were mainly derived from the instructors' past experiences in working with Native people involved in language programs and from reading done in the areas of language and cross-cultural education.

1.   A casual, informal classroom atmosphere

A casual, informal classroom atmosphere and learning
environment were seen to be within Native interaction patterns and
learning/teaching styles. These were also felt to be important for
the development of the students' self-confidence. Students and
instructors were on a first name basis, and from the beginning, the
program was openly talked about as a joint endeavour with the need
for both the instructors and students to work together to make it
successful.

Students were free to move about the classroom. During the
workshops there was time set aside for socializing. This was mainly
short coffee breaks and shared lunches in the workroom of the
Cultural Centre. Throughout the two and a half years, a number of
students went home for lunch or spent time in the staffroom at the
Band School. Birthdays were celebrated with a decorated cake being
brought in and the Kwak'wala rendition of "Happy Birthday to You"
being sung. There was also a number of "celebrations" held at the
end of courses. The students and instructors worked together to
hold several raffles and Bingo nights to raise money for KTTP.
They also planned and put on luncheon meetings for school staff and
Band Council Members.

There was an open door policy in the class for any one in
the community genuinely interested in finding out about the program.
Students were encouraged to tell other people about the program and
they were welcome to sit in on the class. On a number of occasions,
particularly in the first two courses the class was bulging with
visiting teachers from already established other communities.

Jensen's previous work in Alert Bay, and her friendships with
a number of the students as well as with the staff of the U'mista
Cultural Centre greatly helped to establish the informal, friendly
atmosphere. Upon entering the Centre there were always warm

greetings, and a round of hugs between her and those she knew well.

The students' relationship with each other also reinforced the atmosphere. Most of them had at least one relative in the class, and students from other communities stayed with either a friend or a relative. Several of the students also worked together at the Band School; while others worked together in the Alert Bay Native Education Program at the Provincial School when it operated. The great majority had grown up together in Alert Bay and knew each other as people in small communities do. The interactions between those who had close personal relationships were characterized by good-humoured teasing and joking, talk about everyday occurrences in the community and family members and happenings. Many people in the class had nicnames for each other.

The relationship between Wild and Jensen was also helpful in establishing an easy casual feeling in the class. Prior to KTTP they had worked together for two years on a curriculum development project for another Native language group, and had developed a close friendship as well as respect for each other's experience and perspectives. While various workshop sessions were delegated in advance, both felt very comfortable in having the other interject with additional examples, anecdotes or suggestions where it seemed appropriate. In the evaluations students did at the end of the first course, a number commented that they enjoyed the interaction of the instructors and found it helpful to their learning.

Another factor leading to the informal casual atmosphere was the emphasis placed on the sharing of experiences and knowledge with each other and on the need for co-operative planning and support.

2.   Accommodation of students' individual differences

Respect was shown for students' individual differences, including their interests and work situations, their facility in speaking, reading and writing Kwak'wala, and the circumstances of their lives "outside of KTTP."

The instructors' orientation in placing Native language teaching within the broader context of Native culture led to a strong emphasis being placed on the interrelatedness of language and culture, and provided a means of accommodating students who were teaching in culture programs, such as dance and art, those teaching Kwak'wala and those working as teacher aides. It also provided a mechanism for encouraging students to work co-operatively in developing materials by allowing them to work on the same topic or activity, yet gearing it toward their own class whether language or culture.

The instructors were careful to relate the subject matter presented in the course to the students' own particular communities and teaching situations, and students were encouraged to do the same in developing teaching materials.

Assignments and grading were set up on an individual basis. While workshop sessions were aimed at everyone in KTTP, the assignments were designed so that individual students could gear them toward their own interests and classes. Because of the wide range in educational backgrounds and facility in Kwak'wala, as well as diversity of work situations, grading was done on an individual basis with the instructors paying attention to each student's own gains rather than comparing them with others. Grading was also private; comments were handed back to students on an individual basis.

Recognition of students as whole people with individuial lives,

commitments, and responsibilities outside of KTTP led to flexibility in terms of deadlines for assignments. Students were encouraged to let the instructors know if they were running into difficulties with completing assignments. This generally happened privately.

3. The right of each individual to make personal decisions

Three other strategies used in KTTP which seem to revolve around the right to each individual to decide for him/herself what to do included:

a) There was the recognition that students would probably be quiet and reserved in class, and would not voluntarily participate in discussions until they had developed a trust in their relationships with the instructors: a sense of what kind of people the instructors were, and what their intentions were. In retrospect the instructors realized that this also probably extended to students not asking the instructors to clarify assignments or instructions that they did not understand, until they felt they knew the instructors. In the early workshops, instead of asking for help or an explanation from the instructors, some of the students did not do the assignment. When it was asked for at the next workshop, they said that they had not done it because they didn't know what to do. A number of the students did not begin to ask the instructors for help in clarifying assignment instructions until into the third teacher training course, Kwak'wala 210. This seemed to coincide with a greater amount of talk in class and also more effort being put into their assignments.

b) There was the reception that in class discussions or meetings in which an issue concerning everyone was being talked about or decisions were being made, everyone had the right to voice their opinions and/or feelings if they chose to.

c) The instructors recognized that students were uncomfortable with being unexpectedly singled out or "put on the spot" in class and

attempted to avoid doing it. This applied to praising someone, as well as outright asking them in front of others for an overdue assignment, etc. On the other hand, students did like a general acknowledgement of assignments that were well done or sessions that had gone particularly well.

In the first course, Jensen, with the intention of encouraging students, made several comments in a workshop about how good a particular student's assignment had been. In her field notes she wrote that another student whom she knew well, had come to her after class "to talk about the effects of over-praising one student."

4. Context dependent and importance of personal experience

In planning and developing KTTP the instructors were aware of Native learning/teaching styles and culture being described as context-dependent, and of the importance placed on personal experience as a teaching device. As a result, presentations in KTTP by the instructors included giving many concrete examples of actual experiences and soliciting examples from the student's own experiences. Others included sharing their own personal experiences and feelings, placing the subject matter in a context which students could relate to their own experiences, and, having students apply the content areas being talked about to their own situations and communities.

5. The important role of Old People

Recognition was given to the importance of the role Old People have in Native communities, and to the value of their knowledge and experience in guiding and teaching younger people. A number of Old People who were involved in the school programs with teaching Native language and culture also attended KTTP. There was an understanding in KTTP that the Old People attending had a right to address students whenever they felt they had something to say or

share. They were the recognized experts on the language and culture. At times they shared their experience or knowledge of particular songs, dances, language with the whole class, at other times students would individually go to them for help. Their presence and willingness to share their insights and knowledge was greatly appreciated by both the students and instructors.

6. Recognition of the preference for observation and demonstrations as a form of learning

The instructors were aware that the modelling of a skill or process by a teacher-figure, with the learner observing and asking questions only when something is not clear, is much more within the Native learning/teaching style than lengthy descriptions or explanations. However, in a two or three day workshop format with fifteen to twenty students, and many second language and cultural issues to bring to light, as well as teaching skills to learn, "talk" was used as a major teaching device. Wild and Jensen were aware, however, that large volumes of talk, and long periods of being talked at, particularly by non-Natives, is tiring for many Native people, and attempted to accommodate students' learning in a number of ways. These will be described under the headings of Variety of Types of Presentation and Activities, Walk-Through Technique, Brainstorming, Group Planning, Assignments. The strategies and techniques will be described and observations and comments made by the instructors and students will be drawn from the data.

a) Variety of Types of Presentations and Activities:

Workshops were planned to include a variety of types of presentations and activities. The instructors attempted to organize the sessions so that a "talk" presentation by an instructor was followed by a session in which students either broke into small groups or worked individually to apply the ideas to their own situation, and then to share their ideas as a

class. Variety was also achieved through engaging students in the development of teaching materials as well as learning about second language teaching methods and techniques.

As much as possible the instructors used visual materials and demonstrations in their presentations, bringing in examples of a variety of teaching aides, charting what was being presented, using slides, pictures, drawings and acting out techniques such as puppet shows, flannel boards, active games, singing, dialogues and drama. Students would then, through assignments, be involved in planning and presenting their own visual materials and teaching techniques, orienting them toward use with their own classes. Three techniques used throughout the courses which the instructors and students found helpful were a "walk-through" technique, a brainstorming process, and group planning.

b) Walk-Through Technique:

A technique used when the instructor was presenting a new teaching technique, skill, or process was of visually demonstrating what was being taught by going through it step-by-step and charting the process on a blackboard or on chart paper. Students would be actively engaged in the session through a combination of the instructors posing questions to the group, and having students discuss how the ideas applied to their own situations. In a sense this technique fit in with Native teaching styles, in that the instructors demonstrated or modelled what was being taught while the students observed. In posing questions and engaging students in discussions, students were not singled out, the question was posed to the group generally, and students answered in their own time.

c)   Brainstorming:

Brainstorming is a process in which people allow their ideas on a particular topic to flow freely without attempting to organize them or to judge whether they are good/bad, or useful/not useful.   Throughout KTTP both group and individual brainstorming were used.   It was initially used in the first course to help the class begin to generate ideas that could be used in developing a unit.   When unit planning was first presented, and students were engaged in talking about what could be included in a particular language unit, their ideas suddenly dried up, and what they suggested was the usual vocabulary words flashcards and identification games typically found in regular classroom teaching.   While this was a starting place the instructors saw a great need to help the students expand their perceptions of teaching, to incorporate cultural content, both values and activities, as well as a variety of language functions and Native type of interactions.

Group brainstorming achieved a number of purposes.   It allowed the ideas and understandings of a large number of people to be generated and listed for future use.   In developing materials for Native language and culture programs this was seen by the instructors to be desirable since it tapped the knowledge base of many people, rather than being dependent and shaped by the particular areas of knowledge or interests of one of two individuals.   It appeared that one student's ideas often triggered the memories or thoughts of others, that it helped people to get over the feeling of not knowing where to begin or of not having any ideas at all.   In addition, group brainstorming gave students the opportunity to hear each other's ideas and to realize the tremendous diversity of possibilities there are for any given topic.   Individual brainstorming was a technique which the students were encouraged to use in planning their own assignments and was similar to group brainstorming.

d)   Group Planning:

Group planning was a form of shared decision making
which involved both the students and the instructors in deciding
which of the many ideas that were generated by brainstorming to
include in a given language teaching unit.   The instructor's
role in this was that of a facilitator.   Unit topics were based
on cultural activities and events in present day communities as
well as more traditional ones.   They were narrowed down by
considering and discussing such things as the appropriateness of
the topic or activity for particular ages of children, what
children of a given age would have been/are taught and how
they would have been/are involved in certain activities or
skills, the resources that would be needed and would be
available, and the time involved, also how the children's family
or the community could be involved.   Part of group planning
was also to set specific objectives for the unit.

Like brainstorming, the planning process was also used by
individual students to plan their own assignments.   In a sense
having the group "walk through" planning a unit together gave
the students a chance to observe the process that was used, and
to be involved in it to the degree they wanted, before having to
do it alone.   It was hoped that this would help to develop their
confidence in generating ideas and in planning.

It was in group planning sessions that the Old People,
particularly Auntie Ethel and Gwantilakw (Agnes Cranmer) often
spoke to the class and shared their knowledge and experience
about the topic under discussion.   On a number of occasions the
class heard old songs or were shown a dance they did not know
before.

An aspect of all three techniques that have just been
discussed is that although the instructors talked a considerable

amount, they did not assume total control of the right to talk or to direct talk in class. Talk was shared with the students. These sessions were more of a discussion or dialogue format than a lecture format, and students were invited to ask questions, interject with suggestions or share their own experiences at any time. At times the sessions lasted a considerable length of time as different students contributed to the discussion, they also sometimes diverged from the topic at hand, as various people spoke. This relaxed, casual input from students and flexible attitude toward topic control and time in the sessions was seen by the instructors to be important to the students developing a sense that KTTP was "their" program, and that their ideas and experiences were valuable in developing a Native program for the schools. It was also seen to be conducive to fostering an informal, co-operative atmosphere in KTTP.

e) Assignments:

Assignments played an important role in KTTP and took a variety of forms. Throughout the program assignments were closely linked to the subject matter being presented in the workshop sessions. They were designed to serve a number of functions other than indicating what students were gaining or needed to review in the program. The other functions which the instructors saw the assignments as filling included:

- Opportunities for student to reflect on and apply the concepts and skills presented in class to their own particular situations in the classroom, school, or community. This included assignments in which the students were asked to observe and record language use patterns and attitudes toward language in a number of different situations, as well as to do basic research of Kwakwaka'wakw culture.

- Opportunities to practise using the teaching skills and second language teaching techniques presented in KTTP by developing teaching materials for their own use and for sharing with other students.

- Opportunities for the students to increase their own cultural
  awareness and knowledge through sharing with each other, reflecting upon their own feelings, beliefs, understanding and through research.

An important part of the assignments, from the instructors' perspective was that all students were expected to present their assignments to the whole class. This included talking about the process they went through, what they found difficult and what they felt good about. After each presentation each of the other students could offer positive comments or make suggestions for other things to include if they chose; these could be incorporated into the assignment before it was submitted for marking. Through class discussion ground rules for these comments and suggestions were carefully worked out.

The instructors realized that such a method of presentation was not within Native learning styles for it required students to "perform" so to speak, by presenting their assignment whether or not they felt comfortable doing it. However, since classroom teaching requires the teacher to present lessons to groups of children, the instructors believed KTTP students needed to develop their skill and confidence in this area. They also believed that much of acquiring this skill was through practising over and over in a supportive, encouraging environment. This latter aspect, the practising of a skill, was seen as being within the Native learning style. Assignments became an important focus in the workshops, and provided an avenue for students to learn from each other.

In examining how the assignments were organized and presented to students throughout the five teacher training courses in KTTP, it appears that a number of practises remained the same while others changed.

Those aspects that remained the same were the close association of assignments with the subject matter presented in class,

the freedom and encouragement of students to seek help and ideas from each other in planning and developing assignments, the non-competitive grading of assignments, and the presentation of assignments to the group. The changes that occurred were mainly in how the assignments were presented to students and when they were given, the amount of time set aside in class to talk about assignments and for students to plan them, and the size of the assignments.

In the initial planning for the first course of KTTP it was planned that there would be an assignment given students to work on between each workshop and also one major project in the form of a teaching unit for the course. This changed for the second course, Kwakwala 212, and remained changed for the rest of KTTP. Instead of three smaller assignments and a major project, the assignments between workshops were made larger and there was no major project. In addition, a number of mini assignments were given during the workshops which students worked on either in class or in the evenings between classes. Several reasons lay behind this change. One was the realization by the instructors of how fearful the students were of expressing their ideas, and writing assignments. Another was that large projects which extended over a period of time were very difficult for them in terms of organizing their time and materials. During Kwak'wala 110 and again 112, students requested sessions in which they learned study skills. At the end of the first course Jensen made the following observation in her own written reactions to and observations of the course:

- Extreme tension, nervousness, insecurity re handing in projects. Even one no-show. Next time have halfway deadline for written assignment

- 5 deferred grades (most without substantial reasons; 1 problem with habitual lateness; 3 or 4 just scared.

- Celebration after was great! Everybody celebrated their accomplishments. Not focussing on what we had done but on what they had done.

- People very excited about their projects and the time
  they had put in.

                    (Jensen's Grey Binder)

In addition, with the many other demands on their time, a
third reason for the change was that there was little time during the
two day workshop for the instructors to talk over the projects with
individual students; there was no one for students to clarify ideas
with in between workshops. Even though the instructors gave
students their Vancouver phone numbers and addresses and
encouraged them to write if they had difficulty, no one did.

Another change was made with assignments during the second
and third courses, Kwak'wala 112 and 210. This involved how and
when the assignments were given to students. In Kwak'wala 110 and
the first part of 112 the assignments were written on the blackboard
usually toward the end of the second workshop day. One of the
instructors would read through the assignment with the students, ask
if anything was unclear or needed explaining, and then have
students write the assignment in their books.

This proved to be unsatisfactory. On several occasions a
number of students did not do their assignments, saying either that
they had not understood what to do or else that they had lost the
paper the assignment description was on. It gradually became
apparent to the instructors that they needed to handle assignments
differently. Educational terms and expressions even the most
commonly used, such as unit, goal, objective, needed to be
explained; more time was needed to allow for students to talk to the
instructors on a one to one basis about concerns and things they
were unsure of or wanted reassurance on; and also more time was
needed in class to work out their ideas for assignments. The
instructors found that assignments worked better if students were
shown a number of examples of what a given assignment could be,
instead of just being given a written description.

Several observations are made about assignments in the instructor's notes written at the end of Kwak'wala 110. They are as follows.

> You can't assume that participants will have any knowledge of educational jargon (eg. "unit", "audit") or concepts.
>
> Assignments and expectations must be very carefully explained and written down -- do not make assumptions about what they will know how to do. Many never completed high school and many have not had "credit" experience since (ie. lots of workshops but nothing which they were being graded on)--very used to being passive participants.
>
> Many participants have very low images of themselves as students and learners, and had very negative schooling experiences. This leaves a real gut level fear which means they may 1) say very little, 2) be paralyzed when it comes time to do an assignment on their own, 3) procrastinate, 4) feel that the instructor's leader's forms, statements, experiences are the right and ONLY way to do things - so they have no understanding or ability to be flexible or adapt materials, 5) miss class or drop out as the heavier assignments come due.

A number of solutions were also proposed in the notes, and these were used in the following course:

> ....the (instructors) need to talk about their own problems, fears, etc.; have people work in pairs; make sure there's time for questions and for the instructor to go around and sit and talk on a 1 to 1 basis; work in groups; look at other formats (other than written) for projects; provide an example of what you expect in assignments and *especially to work through the initial steps of choosing/outlining a major project.
> (Jensen's Grey Binder: May 1984)

Change in Format for Presenting Assignments

Thus, during Kwak'wala 112 the format used in presenting assignments, as well as the type of assignment changed. As with other difficulties, peoples' fear of assignments was openly discussed with the class, and the instructors shared their own experiences with

doing assignments. Assignments were typed and carefully laid out in terms of what the instructors expected, in addition, a number of suggestions were given. More time was set aside in the workshop for the instructors to present the assignment, to go over it and answer questions, and to talk about possible assignments they could do. Students were given time in class to think about and talk over their ideas with other students, and the instructors walked around talking to them on a one to one basis. In addition, the focus of the assignments was on having students plan an actual activity for their own classes, rather than on planning a unit.

This focus on an activity reflected a change in the orientation taken toward subject matter. This will be spoken about in the section on Subject Matter. It stemmed from the instructors' perception that the students' views of teaching were limiting what and how they attempted to teach. It seemed to result in them teaching Kwak'wala like any other subject area, and not in a way which would lead children to learn to speak Kwak'wala. This was described earlier under Philosophical Factors.

6.1.3 SUBJECT MATTER

The content offered within the courses is described. and the way in which course content was decided upon. Also examined is how the subject matter was organized and presented, and whether or not it matched the program aims and course objectives. Finally, there will be a discussion of what subject matter was evaluated and how that occurred.

The subject matter worked on in KTTP can be broadly viewed as falling under four main areas. The two main areas worked on in the teacher training courses were second language learning and teaching and the development of teaching materials. A third area in these courses was the development of the students' confidence as teachers, curriculum developers and learners. The fourth main area

was the development of the students' skills in speaking, reading and writing Kwak'wala. These were the main focus of the summer reading and writing courses taught by Jay Powell.

Within the three areas of the teacher training courses a number of strands or themes evolved, and were developed to a greater or lesser degree in all the courses. The three main areas were perceived as supporting each other, in that understandings and skills the students acquired in second language learning and teaching were applied in the development of materials, which then led to discussions and the exploration of issues involved in language learning and teaching. The development of self-confidence was worked on in both, and as students became more confident they began to perceive second language learning and teaching and the development of materials differently.

A factor affecting both the subject matter and the methods and organization of KTTP was the diversity of people attending the program. This has been described earlier. This diversity was seen to be a great advantage to the program for it necessitated and facilitated focussing on both the language and the culture. Because of this diversity, assignments were highly individualized and grading was based on the degree of improvement each student showed in his/her work rather than on a comparison of students' work. The process involved in planning and developing the assignments was valued as much as the product.

The diversity of the students' knowledge interests and work situation, as well as their interest in teaching fluency encouraged the instructors to continually seek ways in which to illustrate the interrelationship betweeen language and culture. It also offered the possibility of having students share their knowledge with each other, of language and culture teachers working together on projects, and it meant that there was a wide range in kinds of assignments.

An unanticipated phenomena which surfaced in the first course which has been already mentioned was a strongly ingrained sense of what can or cannot happen in a classroom, held by many of the KTTP students. This included their perceptions of how a teacher and students talk in class, the language they use to run the class (English), how they behaved, the kind of learning/teaching activities that can go on; another aspect was the very definite separation of language teaching from culture teaching in peoples' minds. This sense of "schooling" held by KTTP students seemed, to the instructors, to limit what Native teachers attempted to do in, and with their classes. To help them gain an awareness of this, and to expand their notions of teaching, the instructors regularly incorporated subject matter as well as methods which dealt with the interrelatedness of language and culture, and which exposed students exploring the nature of language, language as communication different methods of teaching, particularly culturally relevant ways of teaching, and ways of involving the community in the language and culture programs.

The subject matter, as well as methods were influenced by the instructors' belief that Native teachers need to have both a basic theoretical understanding of the two main areas, and the opportunity to practically apply these understandings to their own teaching situations and the materials being produced in KTTP. The latter was based on the belief that people learn most effectively when theory is grounded in actual experience. This emphasis on students applying notions to their own contexts was also seen to be compatible with Native learning/teaching styles which have been characterized as being highly contextualized. (Bronhardt, 1982; Hall, 1984; Nackoneckney, 1986, Preston, 1986)

The theoretical component was not a highly technical explanation of second language learning and teaching and curriculum development, but rather a general overview of notions about the nature of language and culture, views of second language learning

and teaching, various goals that could be aimed for in a NASL
program, the relationship between the goals chosen for a program
and the methods used to teach it. These were aimed at providing
students with a basis or framework from which they could make
choices about their teaching and the types of materials that would
aid in this.

SECOND LANGUAGE CONTENT

As was mentioned earlier under Aims and Objectives, KTTP was
planned with the intention of providing the Native teachers with
understandings and skills which would aid them in gaining an
understanding of and assessing the existing programs. The intent of
this was to enable them to work toward bringing about the changes
they felt were needed in their teaching, classes and programs. The
subject matter of the various courses was in part decided upon by
the instructors in their role as teacher trainers with specialized
forms of knowledge regarding second language learning and teaching,
the planning process and the process of developing materials, and in
part decided upon by the students who through a number of avenues
which were discussed under Organization and Methods, expressed
their desires for particular needs and types of subject matter to be
dealt with. The students, too, were the central decision-makers in
selecting cultural topics and activities which were developed into
teaching materials. With the exception of the first course, which
was planned prior to fully knowing who the students would be,
course planning was based upon the input of both the students and
the instructors.

Because it was unknown who would actually attend KTTP
before the program began, the early workshops incorporated sessions
in which the students and instructors explored, mainly through
discussions and informal needs assessments, what would actually be
covered in the program. Other sessions and assignments were
designed to have students begin to look at what it was they

understood about language and culture, and what they believed the goals were of the programs they were working in. These sessions also provided the instructors with insights into what the students understood and what needed to be taught in KTTP.

From class discussions with students and early attempts to gain an understanding of their needs, it became apparent that they had not previously been exposed to thinking about language as a "system" ie. a linguistic system or a communication system. They spoke, read and wrote it, but they had not considered the nature of language or of language learning, either first or second language learning. While being aware that the main purpose of language is to communicate, and that the Native language is important to Native culture, they had not had the opportunity to explore those notions, to apply them to the act of teaching, to think about the relationship between language learning and language teaching, or to consider the actual relationship between language and culture or language and the community in which they lived. A similar situation existed with regard to developing materials and to planning for their classes.

Many of the KTTP students, particularly the Native language and culture teachers, had previously made specific teaching materials for their classrooms, such as flashcards, and board games, but they had not learned how lessons can be sequenced or how a program is planned so that it progresses and develops. In addition, while all stated that they believed the overall goal of the Kwak'wala programs was to eventually teach children to speak Kwak'wala, they also said that when they were hired, and during the time they worked, no one spoke of the goals of the language program. Each teacher had been left to work out his/her own program for classes. The assumption had been that children would eventually learn to speak. All indicated they wanted to learn how to plan and to organize their classes and teaching.

As was stated earlier the instructors feel that since the

Native teachers had been given the responsibility of planning their own programs, they needed a basic understanding of the underlying factors affecting second language programs and the issues to be considered. Without any kind of a basis or framework from which to plan or make decisions, Native teachers could do little more than, "fly by the seat of their pants" from one day to the next. In such a case, the programs would be little more than tokens, and it would be impossible to teach children to speak and understand Kwak'wala, even a limited amount.

As was discussed under Philosophical Factors the instructors saw the Native language program as being a part of the over-all culture program. They perceived language as social behaviour intricately intertwined with culture and community. This combined with believing that the Native teachers need to be involved in making important decisions about the programs led the instructors to incorporate sessions in the first course in which students explored and identified the goals of the programs they were working in. Without exception they said that an over-all goal was to have children learn to understand and speak Kwak'wala. Some wanted fluency, others limited. All wanted a basic degree of communication. As a result of orientation taken toward second language learning in KTTP was based upon the concept of communicative competence.

Communicative competence involves the notion that language is used by people for a variety of purposes and functions, and requires that a Native language be taught within the context of culturally relevant activities and values which reflect the sociolinguistic norms of social interaction commonly used in the Native community. This requires a close look at how language is actually used in the community, and suggests that those contexts in which it is used would be good starting points for language teaching. It also implies that the materials and activities used within the class need to be appropriate to the age of the children.

The following kinds of subject matter, thus, became an important focus for the early courses in KTTP. The concepts were used in the process of developing teaching materials for the classrooms. These content areas also continued to be developed and reinforced throughout the program in a spiral approach to subject matter.

- An overview of current ideas of the nature of language. Emphasis was placed on language as social behaviour, and as a system of making meaning that reflects the culture of the group. Students explored and observed the actual language they, and others, spoke in class and at home, as well as the various functions language was used for.

- An overview of the various ideas about the nature of culture and the relationship between language and culture.

- Information on current theories about how children learn a second language, in both this area and on the nature of language and culture. This was not a complicated technical discussion, but enough to help KTTP students understand what is known about the learning process as opposed to the teaching process. Emphasis was placed on the developmental nature of second language learning and the importance of having students engage in meaningful language activities, whereby they are listening to and speaking the language in real or simulated "real" communication situations that are common to their Native community.

- Information about the different kinds of language programs that can be set up. For example, language retention, ie. full fluency; limited fluency; familiarity with the language; language preservation ie. collecting myths, personal stories, place names, geneologies, etc.

- Information about various factors to be considered in setting up a program (health and status of the language, establishing realistic goals, training teachers, developing materials, involving the community).

- The process of setting goals and objectives for lessons or units.

- Different second language teaching methods and how they relate to second language learning and the goal of

a program.

- Different second language teaching techniques and activities, and age appropriateness ie. using games, songs, stories, fieldtrips, cooking, etc. to teach language.

- Notions of how a cultural lesson differs from a language lesson, and how the two can reinforce each other.

- The process of planning a unit, and developing lesson plans. An important aspect of this was learning to use the technique of brainstorming, and to use group planning.

- The need for a supportive learning environment in which children and the teacher enjoy learning and using the language together, also the need for parental and community support of the programs.

- The importance of using Kwak'wala as the language of interaction in the classroom, as well as the language being taught. This was termed an "immersion approach" to teaching Kwak'wala. The use of English to run the classes or explain the meaning of Kwak'wala was discouraged, as were translations from Kwak'wala to English or vice versa.

While the majority of subject matter dealt with a variety of issues surrounding second language teaching and learning, culture and developing materials, there was attention paid to issues and concerns revolving around the role of being a teacher in a small community. These mainly dealt with negative situations and how to deal with criticisms and gossip. Later, as students became aware of the various issues and factors in Native language programs, they also began to initiate more discussions about the need to increase community support and build interest in the programs, to bring about changes in existing programs. As a result, in the last two courses of KTTP some time was used to facilitate meetings between the students, the school staff, Band council members and community members interested or involved in health education issues to discuss concerns and ideas regarding the programs. KTTP provided the mechanism and support base for Native teachers to speak about their

concerns with both the school staff and the Band Administration.

The various concepts, factors and issues to be considered in the planning, development and teaching of a Native language program were talked about in KTTP in the context of the program in which KTTP students were involved. In presenting these concepts to the class and discussing them, the instructors attempted to use practical examples drawn from their own experiences or from the experiences of other Native language teachers. KTTP students were then given in-class activities or assignments in which they applied the notions of their own situations. In some cases this was done as a whole class, in other cases students worked in pairs or small groups, and sometimes they worked individually. In the case of the latter, usually ideas or findings were then shared with the whole class.

DEVELOPMENT OF MATERIALS

The development of materials was initially focussed on engaging students in the process of planning and developing teaching units. This occurred in two ways. One was by having the class as a whole jointly plan a unit with the instructors acting as facilitators. This involved using a group brainstorming process and a discussion format plus the "walk-through" process. Students both observed and participated in the process of planning and developing units. The second way was through having students work on their own individual units as assignments. In Kwak'wala 112 the focus changed to second language teaching activities as the basis for developing teaching materials and in 210 the focus changed to culture activities. In later courses these teaching activities were organized into resource units for Native teachers.

A focus for the development of materials in the first course was a unit on weather which was jointly planned by the students and instructors. It provided a vehicle by which the instructors

could introduce some of the basic techniques taught in KTTP. It also provided a means for discussing various issues relating to second language learning: social and cultural appropriateness, age appropriateness, visual aids and community involvement. In essence, the instructors used the Weather unit to model the planning and development process which students were taught. It was also used as an informal assessment tool of what students understood about second language learning and teaching, and the development of materials. In each workshop after a concept or skill was modelled with the Weather Unit, students were then given the task of applying it to a unit topic of their own choice. This unit then became their major project in Kwak'wala 110.

The reasons which have been described, as the students' assumptions about schooling became evident. This focus on units was changed in the second teacher training course (Kwak'wala 112), to a focus on second language teaching activities. A need was seen to expand students' notions of teaching. It was felt that what was needed were some very practical sessions in which second language techniqes were demonstrated within the context of a teaching activity. Techniques such as story telling, singing, games, short dialogues were demonstrated. In addition, students had requested that they learn how to operate different pieces of equipment (xerox, laminator, tape recorder, language master, slide projector). Emphasis was placed on active teaching. For a number of assignments students combined a teaching activity with using a piece of equipment. For example, a leaf display was made with the laminator, a song was put on language master cards or a tape recorder. They also requested that the class plan Hallowe'en and Christmas materials. A yearly cycle curriculum was drafted based on the common activities and events that occurred in the community during the year. It included traditional and contemporary activities. This became a framework around which topics were planned in future courses.

In the assignments students were encouraged to develop
activities which related to the unit topic they had begun in
Kwak'wala 110.   These helped to build their units.   In addition, the
class jointly planned a teachers' resource unit on involving parents
in the language program.

The focus for the development of materials in Kwak'wala 210
again centred around activities; however, this time cultural
activities were used as a basis for developing second language
materials.   The cultural activities decided upon included a Cedar
bark gathering field trip, and a field trip to the Beach, plus a
demonstration of making stakes for barbequing salmon.   In addition
students had requested that they learn how to use puppets in
teaching.   This was combined with a session on using
Kwakwaka'wakw myths in second language teaching.

In all of these, the students were noticeably more
enthusiastic, and appeared to put a greater amount of effort into the
assignments than before.   The one they appeared to enjoy the most,
and produced the most creative assignments for was Cedar.   A
variety of hands-on activities were planned by the students around
Cedar; students commented on how much they enjoyed learning things
by doing them.   Many students while knowing about cedar and its
importance to the traditional culture had never gathered it or worked
with it before.   The difference in the students' enthusiasm, in the
amount of talk and in the quantity and quality of work in their
assignments was very noticeable.   Students' participation in the
presentation of assignments also increased, and they commented on
how much they enjoyed sharing and learning from each other.

A similar orientation to developing culturally focussed
teaching materials was taken in Kwak'wala 212, however, instead of
beginning a new topic, the class decided to finish the units they
had already begun.   One new topic was introduced, and proved to
be one of the assignments pointed out most frequently as being

valuable to the students. This was a research project in which students interviewed an older family member about the original village the family had come from.

While the village origin research assignment, itself, was not oriented toward making actual teaching materials, students were asked to think of ways children, themselves, could do research in their families as part of the language or culture class. Another topic developed into teaching materials was holidays and celebrations. Students had requested that Hallowe'en and Christmas activities be planned for the language classes since they have become important in the lives of modern day children. The orientation taken was twofold. Firstly, students were encouraged to look beyond the holiday/celebration, itself, to the underlying reason for it having originated. For example, Hallowe'en originated in terms of dealing with spirits. Students were then asked to explore how traditional Kwakwaka'wakw culture dealt with the same concepts. The second approach to the topic of holiday was to look at present day customs in the community, and use them as a basis for developing second language teaching materials. As was pointed out in the earlier section, Kwak'wala 212 was KTTP's community "coming out" course. A number of meetings were held with community members as part of the workshop. One of the meetings was set up with various community people involved with health care. Its purpose was to present the draft of a unit on health which KTTP students had been working on, and to invite others in the community to have input into it.

Another intention was to begin developing an awareness in the community that there was a need for community involvement in the language and culture programs. This same intention was behind meetings held with the Band Council's Education Committee and the staff of the Band and Provincial Schools.

The main focus of the development of materials in Kwak'wala

310 was to finish what had already been started, and to orient units toward the use of an immersion approach to language teaching. The one new topic was another session on researching which focussed on the history or geography of the present day community students lived in, for example, Alert Bay, Fort Rupert, Kingcome. This assignment was oriented toward how to use research with a class of children, as well as exploring the resources available on the topic. An option was to research the myths on Dzunekwa.

ASSIGNMENTS AS A MEANS OF DEVELOPING MATERIALS

The instructors' original intention of having students work on individual units which would then be shared amongst each other was, overall, too much to expect from teachers in the early stages of a teacher training program. Several things contributed to this. One was the very wide range in experience and teaching situations of the students. More than this, however, in the early courses, particularly, the students' view of teaching in school appeared to greatly limit their use of their own cultural knowledge in developing materials. Their fear of writing also inhibited them. A third factor contributing to the diffculty they experinced appears to be the orientation the instructors initially took in unit planning.

While being careful to present actual examples of the various aspects of unit planning, their main focus was on the general notion of a unit; the topic of weather was used to illustrate various planning aspects. This also happened in Kwak'wala 112 when the orientation was on second language teaching techniques. A change was noticed in the students' level of enthusiasm at the end of 112 when they were encouraged to use their own knowledge of games in developing teaching materials. This was combined with them actively teaching and participating in the games and with sharing ideas with each other in class.

Students were very positive in their reactions to the course,

however, they continued to indicate in their evaluations that they
felt they needed to learn more about organizing and planning
teaching materials.

The change in the program to having students use cultural
activities as the focus for developing materials appears to have been
more successful in helping them use their cultural knowledge than
units were. It also seems to have contributed to an increase in
their knowledge of Kwakwaka'wakw culture, and to their own
cultural identity. While many of the students had a strong Native
identity before the program began there were others who did not,
and KTTP seems to have facilitated this. As this happened, students
increasingly participated in the program, adding to the resources of
the over-all group. The change to cultural activities also affected
those units which were planned by the class as a whole. In the
end these units were combined with the students' individual
assignments.

Vickie Jensen was able to prepare a number of these units for
reproduction shortly after KTTP ended: however, the others are still
waiting. Work still needs to be done on the Kwak'wala contained in
the materials: a number need to have Kwak'wala added; others need
the Kwak'wala to be checked for accuracy of usage and spelling;
student assignments need to be added to others. The lack of writing
skill in Kwak'wala was a drawback to completing materials. In
addition to this, funding needs to be found for the preparation of
the materials and for reproducing them.

While students do have copies of each other's assignments
from class as a resource to use in their teaching, they do not have
the finished units. Prior to the end of KTTP, seveal comments were
made expressing the hope that the materials would be used, and not
left sitting on a shelf.

6.1.4 EVALUATION

The evaluation of the program was an ongoing process, and took a number of different forms. Input was sought from the students as well as from the instructors.

One of the conditions for obtaining funding through the Secretary of State Department was the submission at the end of each course of an official Secretary of State Project Evaluation Form. This form was completed by the instructors and a staff member of the U'mista Cultural Centre.

Throughout KTTP informal evaluations by instructors and by students were part of each workshop. The instructors regularly discussed with each other how the sessions went. They looked at the students' reactions, level of interest and motivation, and the seeming degree of effort put into assignments, topics, and methods that worked or did not work. Insights based on these observations and discussions were then checked out with the class. They found that team-teaching was an invaluable aid in assessing how the classes were going. While one instructor was teaching the class, the other was often able to observe or to work with students on an individual basis. After each workshop the instructors recorded observations of how the over-all session went, and noted changes or additions that needed to occur.

Students were asked to evaluate, and to react to the classes and courses in a number of ways. Their comments and suggestions became a valuable tool by which the instructors adjusted and changed the program. In the first course the students were asked to fill out an evaluation sheet at the end of each workshop and then at the end of the course. The following questions were asked:

- What were the most valuable things you learned in this course?

- What were the least successful things about the course?

- What would you like more of?

- What could be improved and how?

- What would help you become a better teacher?

- Additional comments or ideas.

These same kinds of questions were asked at the end of other courses. Informal discussions of what people liked or did not like, of what they found useful or not useful became part of the class. Students were also encouraged to offer suggestions, make comments or ask questions through the "suggestion jug". This could be done anonymously, if they chose, and it proved to be very useful. A number of students commented on feeling more comfortable about writing what they thought when they did not have to sign their name. The ideas, concerns and problems from the jug were usually brought back to the class and discussed in an impersonal way without pointing anyone out. Solutions to these were sought with the class.

Initially in the early courses there was little open talk about difficulties or concerns pointed to in class. Studetns who knew Jensen, preferred to talk privately with her. As the program continued, however, and students became more familiar with the instructors, and started sharing ideas and working more with each other, there was a noticeable increase in the quantity of their comments and suggestions.

In addition to continually evaluating the methods and subject matter of the course, the instructors evaluated the students' assignments. Early in the first course the students had been asked if they would prefer a Pass/Fail for the courses or letter grades. All indicated letter grades. As a result most assignments in the teacher training courses were graded.

The evaluation of assignments by the instructors was not competitive in that the assignments were not rated against one another. Because of the very wide range in the type of work people were involved in, as well as in interests and educational backgrounds, this type of grading was decided against. Grading was done instead on an individual basis. Using the context of what had been taught in the workshop as a guideline, the instructors noted the various second language concepts or techniques uitilized by the student. They also observed the amount of effort and improvement shown in the student's work. In addition to being graded, a written commentary was done on the assignment, acknowledging the work that had been done, offering further suggestions and ideas, and often pointing out how the assignment could be co-ordinated or integrated with other subject areas.

The over-all reaction of the students' to the grading system, and the form of evaluation was mainly positive. A number indicated that the comments were helpful, and gave them more ideas, as long as they were not too long. One student said she did not think anyone ever read the comments.

Another student commented that she felt it wasn't fair that in a given assignment students were not all expected to do the same thing, and she felt that she was expected to do more work than others. Later in the interview the student acknowledged that some students did not speak Kwak'wala, and thus were not able to include much in their assignments. She also felt everyone should have had to try out their ideas with children. (This would have been ideal, unfortunately, not everyone had a class to work with.)

A number of students commented on enjoying the course because it made them think. It appears that this excitement was tied in with their realization that they could use their own knowledge of the culture and community in their teaching.

...So it was good because it made us think. It was
really good because it made us use our brains a little.
It's really amazing how little we use our brains, you
know, because it can get really exciting because you're
thinking. I remember the first homework we had to do. I
was totally blank. I didn't know how to make ...I had
absolutely no idea what to do. And then, something hit
me, and I thought, "Yeah, I can do something on the Red
Cedar Bark Ceremony!" And all these things hit me. All

these great ideas I had, and I thought I should put them
down in some form or another. That was really exciting.
                                                    (Tape 5A:14)

Another student when asked what it was like to be a student
again responded "I really enjoyed it. It was real challenging. I
just really, really had fun." (Transcript 1A:37). Yet another
comment from a different student was: "KTTP gave me more of a
preparation for study." (Transcript 6:5)

It appears that a number of aspects of KTTP tied in or
connected with a number of cultural value orientations held by the
students. These values revolve around sharing, co-operation,
support, importance of learning about one's family and community,
respect for Old People, and a non-confrontational approach to
seeking solutions of difficulties. Linked with this was the emphasis
placed on students' applying concepts to their own personal
situations, and choosing assignment topics which were of high
personal interest and relevance.

A number of factors worked toward allowing this to happen.
One was the instructors' belief in the necessity of sharing the
planning and decision-making processes with students, and of
together regularly monitoring what was happening in the program.
This in turn, required that the program was flexible enough to
accommodate changes when they appeared necessary, both in the
program and in working with individual students. An integral
aspect of sharing was the value placed on the students' knowledge
and experience as members of Native community, and a belief that

<u>time</u> is a factor in allowing this knowledge to emerge. Another factor which was essential to allowing this shared planning and decision-making to occur was the relationship which developed between the students and the instructors. While each student formed his/her own relationship, and, as in all groups, each one was unique, there was an underlying aspect of trust which went both ways between students and instructors. Without this, sharing could not have happened.

This is not to say that KTTP classes always went smoothily, and achieved everything that had been planned or that they always satisfied the students. There were some workshops, and some types of sessions which were better, or worse, than others, and some over-all program goals which were more successfully met than others. The most obvious goal which was least successfully met was that of developing a number of teaching units which could be reproduced for the use of other teachers. About half of those planned reached the final stage where they were prepared and ready to be reproduced. The others remain in a rough stage and still require work to be done on them.

Several circumstances made this particular goal difficult to achieve. One was the students' strongly held perception of what constitutes learning and teaching in "school". The majority had a tendency to formulate their ideas for teaching in a way that was very similar to a traditional mode of teaching in a regular Mainstream classroom. This included the roles assigned to the teacher and students, the way the class was organized, the types of activities engaged in and materials used, the types of interactions between the teacher and students and the use of English to conduct the classes. Most noticeable in the language materials, and Native language classes observed, was the absence of "real" Native culture, in other words, of ways of being together, and of activities or values which have to do with being a Native person in the community.

It seems to the researcher that this "socialized view of schooling" is very understandable given the Native teachers' own schooling experiences, and the way in which the Native language classes were structured and set up. Many had attended residential school, which had a reputation for strict discipline, and had virtually nothing to do with the Native culture. For most, being a Native person was something underline of school. In addition, the present schooling situation, while acknowledging that the Native culture exists, and allowing limited time for the teaching of the Native language and dance and art, appeared to continue to still have little to do with being Native. The strong emphasis in the school was on teaching the basic 3'rs in the provincial core curriculum, and the amount of time allotted for the teaching Native language and culture classes was minimal. The hiring of a non-Native curriculum developer with little knowledge of Kwakwak'wakw culture and with no knowledge of Kwak'wala also reinforced the use of Mainstream culture teaching and learning modes and ways of interacting in classrooms.

In addition to the strong views of schooling held by the KTTP students, and possibly related to it, many appeared to not use the knowledge of the culture they did have for developing materials in the early courses. It seemed as if it was easier for those teaching dance and art to use their knowledge in developing teaching materials than it was for those teaching the Native language. This is possibly because neither Native dance nor art were taught to the Native teachers in their own school years. Language (English) on the other hand, was taught as spelling, writing, and reading. As KTTP progressed, the KTTP students seemed to gain a stronger sense of their own culture, and gradually they began using more of their own cultural knowledge to develop materials.

A third reason for the difficulty was that the KTTP students did not have the facility in writing Kwak'wala that was needed to produce the units, and there was no one who did have well enough

developed reading and writing skills or the time to work with them on a regular basis, or even to proof read what was produced. There was a strong concern within the U'mista Cultural Centre that written Kwak'wala language teaching materials which were incorrectly spelled or contained mistakes in useage would reinforce these mistakes for the children learning the language.

A fourth reason was that the funding for KTTP was affected by the cutbacks in federal funding, and the economic recession resulted in less money being available from private funding agencies. This meant that there were insufficient funds in the program to prepare and reproduce the units that students had worked on.

The most successful goal of KTTP appears to be the growth of the students' self confidence. Many of them attributed this growth to "learning about who you are and who your family is". Those assignments which produced the most enthusiastic responses from students tended to be those which enabled them to discover more about their own families culture and community and which utilized methods of teaching and learning which were personal in nature. The emphasis on students choosing their own topics to work on in assignments also allowed them to discover more about areas of particular interest to themselves.

The group, unit planning sessions were premised on the belief that Native community members know their culture and community best. These sessions proved most fruitful in the later courses, after students had had an opportunity to begin expanding their notions of teaching beyond how they themselves had been taught.

The goal of teaching students second language teaching methods and techniques was more difficult to evaluate since by the second teacher training course many of the students were without classes. What was apparent by the end of KTTP was that students were much more aware of the various issues influencing a Native

language program. Those teaching Kwak'wala indicated that they
had decided that a goal they would strive for in their own teaching
was to work toward using an immersion approach in teaching
Kwak'wala, but that it would be gradually done, and within the
existing programs. They also were working toward finding ways of
involving the community more in the programs. A number of
bservations and comments were made by students about changes they
had observed in their own teaching or in that of other students.
One of the changes pointed to was in students' attitudes toward their
jobs. Before KTTP they had seen their jobs as exclusively that of a
Native language teacher, or of a culture teacher. As a result of
KTTP students realized their jobs involved teaching both language
and culture.

One student talking about another said:

> What I found with KTTP, too, was that it changed a lot of
> (name's) attitudes. (Name) just thought that she was a
> language teacher. Whereas I always believed you can't
> just teach language. You know, because it has to be
> culturally based...And how you're going to spruce up the
> language class is doing cultural activities in it, as much
> as you can. But a lot of (name's) attitude was "Oh,
> that's (name's) department when it came to dances and
> legends, or that's (name's) bag, Social Studies, you know.
> I see a change in her attitude with that.
>
> (Transcript 9A:26)

Another student in discussing KTTP mentioned that she
noticed a change in her own attitude toward language and culture.
Discussing the difficulties she felt as a learner in an earlier
Kwak'wala literacy class she said:

> I told myself "I'm not a Kwak'wala teacher;. I'm a
> dance teacher. I don't really have to know all that...But
> I realize now that I do have to, because I have all that
> potlatch programs from my family, and one day I want to
> work on those programs, and I don't want to spell a name
> wrong, (name) or (name's) sons. I'm going to eventually
> get all those tapes done and give them to my family. So

I know all those things I've learned in KTTP are
valuable.

In talking about the development she had seen in the students
during the coruses, Jensen commented on the difference in the quality
of their assignments and in the growth in their self-confidence.

One way I see a real development is just in the
change in the kinds of assignments they are doing. I
have been amazed at the complexity of assignments coming
out, um...I think a year ago...Well, the first assignment
we gave them to do, that really big lunker of a unit...I
think the only reason people got through that is because
we had presented it in such step by step format. I mean,
all they had to do was fill in the sheets.

Now we can hand them an assignment about mapping
the village and give them several specific examples, which
I think is crucial to getting the assignment completed.
They have to have examples, or it works better if they
have a variety of examples, but where they go from there
is more than I imagined. And they come up with different
assignments.

And (student's name) assignment, last time, where
she did a very complex thing of getting an aerial map of
the island, and making an overlay from it, and taking the
class out. I mean, just setting it up with the teacher is
a big step. Whereas before they would have just done
what they were told, now we have aids who are actually
approaching the teacher, saying "I'd like to do this
project with the class." And taking the class on a field
trip, and then coming back to KTTP and having the
critical skill to say "It didn't work"; and admit it in
front of the class. Because before I think people were at
that stage where they had to pretend that everything they
did was good. I was very impressed. And our part in
that was to say, (student's name), you've done an
excellent assignment, and you can learn from your
mistakes".   (Tape 7A:287)

Both the instructors were delighted with the development in
self-confidence of the students. Numerous references are made
throughout the data by a variety of people to a growth in the
students' self-confidence.

CHAPTER 7

UNDERSTANDINGS AND IMPLICATIONS

7.1 FACTORS AND INFLUENCES AFFECTING KTTP

A wide variety of the factors and influences affected the
planning, development and implementation of the Kwak'wala Teacher
Training Project. In order to summarize them, they will be
presented within Stern's model of Factors in Second Language Teacher
Education.

Figure 2: Stern's Model of Factors in (Second) Language Teacher
Education
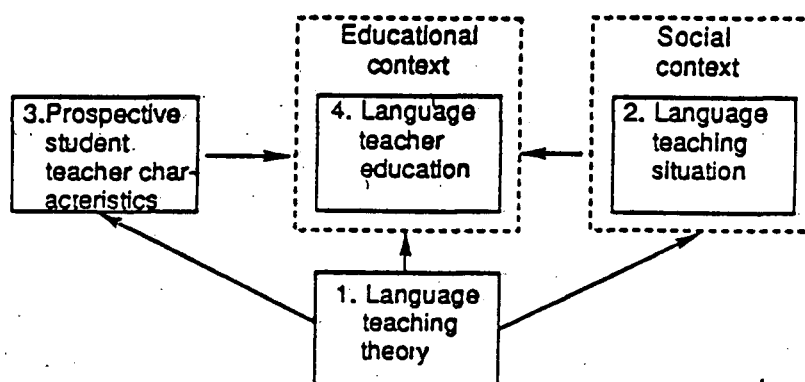
7.1.1 CELL 1: LANGUAGE TEACHING THEORY

The traditional approach to the training of teachers has
assumed that the body of professionals preparing and teaching the
program possess a corpus of knowledge which is essential for "new"
teachers to acquire, thus trainees or students have had very little
input into the content or methods of the training program.

Teaching, however, is a cultural activity: the way in which
one conceptualizes the process of teaching and of learning, what
constitutes teaching and learning, and how one perceives the
relationship between the two is culturally based, and reflects one's

basic values, attitudes and a particular world view. This is as true of second language teaching as for other subject areas. It is particularly significant for Native language programs.

In a professional training program where program planners and potential language teachers come from the same cultural background, and will be working with children from a similar background, such an approach could work; however in programs such as those training Native language teachers, where the professional is from a different cultural background than either the potential teacher or the children, this assumption needs to be queried.

The underlying philosophy of the instructors of the teacher training courses in KTTP caused them to structure the program and build into it opportunities for Native language teachers to begin to explore their own assumptions of Native language teaching, to gain understandings of the nature of language and culture and the choices available to them in teaching Native as a Second Language. The instructors also sought to have the students relate these assumptions and understandings to their own teaching situations and communities, and to their own culture.

The instructors' view of Native language programs was that they are actually extensions of the broader Native culture program. This led them to incorporate a strong cultural orientation into the program. Their understanding that the goal of the Native teachers was to help children learn to communicate in Kwak'wala led them to emphasize a communication approach in the second language teaching methods of the KTTP program, and also led to encouraging students to begin to explore the ways in which Kwak'wala is actually used in the community so that children would be taught sociolinguistically appropriate language. The intent of this was to enable children to learn to speak Kwak'wala like a Native person.

The development of materials as a part of the program was

necessitated by grant requirements, but it was also seen to be an important need of the programs. In addition, the instructors held the belief that Native people need to be involved in the development of materials in order to ensure that Native values, attitudes and social norms of interaction are incorporated. With regard to the latter, an assumption held by the instructors was that Native teachers would use Native interaction patterns in their classrooms, and also that they possessed extensive cultural knowledge upon which to draw, when developing teaching materials.

During the first two courses of KTTP several factors surfaced which caused changes in the subject matter offered, and in how it was structured. One of these was the students' view of teaching and learning in school; another was the instructors' realization that the pacing of the workshops was too rushed.

Students' View of Teaching and Learning in School

As has been discussed in the study, the students' view of teaching and learning in a school setting appeared to be very similar to teaching in a regular classroom. The Kwak'wala being taught was mainly vocabulary and common phrases. Explanations of the meaning of the Kwak'wala were given in English, as were all classroom interactions.

While the Native teachers' appeared to consider Kwak'wala as an extremely important part of the culture, in their teaching and materials it was treated more like a thing than as communication. Influencing this, perhaps, was the fact that the resource materials with which they worked were very structural in the orientation. The vocabulary and language structures in them, while being organized around topics familiar to children in the community, were not presented as if they were communication. For trained teachers the resource books would have been very helpful, for teachers unfamiliar with second language teaching techniques they provided vocabulary

and sentence patterns which were used much like a spelling lesson. In addition the way in which the Kwak'wala classes were set up and structured in the school also reinforced this type of teaching.

The instructors decided to change the focus of the next course to very practical second language teaching techniques and activities as a strategy for expanding the students notions of teaching. Much less emphasis was placed on developing materials. This orientation was later shifted again to using cultural activities as a means of encouraging students to stretch their teaching/learning imaginations. The students responded to the cultural orientation with much greater enthusiasm, and more creative, interesting ideas for assignments. They also expressed great interest in learning by doing and commented on the value of sharing and planning ideas with each other.

Cultural Activities as an Orientation For Language Teaching and Materials

The cultural orientation to subject matter and the development of materials appeared to be valued by the students. Many commented on the value of learning about who they were, and about their families and culture. With a more cultural approach many began to realize that they did have knowledge and skills that are useful in helping others learn about being Kwakwaka'wakw. As this happened students became more talkative and willing to participate in class. They gradually began to display a greater degree of self-confidence in offering suggestions to other students during the assignment presentations, in participating in classroom discussions, and in sharing their personal concerns and difficulties in teaching. In addition, the students began to develop much more detailed and varied assignments which had the potential of being developed into teaching materials.

Cultural Value Orientations
Which Emerged in the Study

A number of cultural value orientations held by the students emerged in the study, they appear to have significance to programs training Native language teachers. These values have to do with sharing one's knowledge and skill, with a preference for topics and activities of high personal interest and relevance in students' lives, with the importance of family, and respect for Old People, and with an orientation to avoid confrontation.

Sharing was highly valued by the students. The emphasis placed on the importance of sharing in KTTP, and the various ways in which it was used appears to be a contributing factor to the program continuing, even when the political climate in the community affected the students. Students commented in the data that the realization that one had something to share with others was linked with a growth in students' self-confidence, and in their increased participation in the program. The instructors' openness and willingness to share their own concerns and experiences was pointed to by students as being a factor in helping people to speak up.

The students showed a distinct preference for subject matter and methods which emphasized personal interest or relevance. Subject matter and methods which were more generalized in nature were met with much less interest and enthusiasm. Others in the field of Native education have pointed to this and have linked it with a Native world view (Philips, 1972; Nachoneckney, 1986; Preston, 1986; Scollons and Scollons, 1981). While a general, decontextualized orientation toward learning may be desirable for higher levels of education in Mainstream schools and programs, it appears to the researcher that they are not appropriate for Native language programs, nor even for programs training Native language teachers.

As was stated earlier the Native language programs are

actually extensions of the culture programs. Their intentions are to teach Native children about being Native. It, therefore, appears important to this researcher that Native orientations to viewing the world, ie. from a personal perspective rather than a detached perspective, need to be built into the training of Native teachers and into Native language teaching materials. This also applies to the importance placed on family and respect for the knowledge and experience of Old People.

Old People continue to play an extremely important role in Native communities. The presence of Old People in KTTP was felt to be invaluable by both the students and the instructors. Their knowledge of the language and culture was very helpful to the students in developing the materials, and their presence had a reassuring affect on the students.

The instructors' views of language, culture, second language teaching and learning, and the development of materials shaped the initial structure and design of KTTP; however, the students' reactions to these, and their strong orientation toward sharing, and personal contexts of learning and teaching also affected the program bringing about changes in both the instructors' perceptions of what was needed in the program, and in the program itself. As Jensen comments in a taped discussion in March 1986:

> Initially we were concerned about course content and making the course fit college guidelines. We worried about how we got people into reading a certain amount of print. Now we're much more aware of the cultural aspect, and instead of trying to have them fit our cultural style of course content, I'm fascinated with what's appropriate for them. How does it look and how do we get it done, and what is it?
>
> (Tape 7A:9)

7.1.2   CELL 2: THE LANGUAGE TEACHING SITUATION

Throughout the study a variety of factors emerged within the

language teaching situation in which the teachers worked which influenced how KTTP was developed. The most significant factor seems to be that people wanted changes in the existing programs. Other factors related to the working conditions of teachers, and the seeming lack of awareness by those responsible for the overall school program of the nature of second language teaching or learning. Classes were large, and the twenty minutes to half an hour scheduled for teaching grades prohibited very much being done. Several of the teachers travelled from class to class, others had classrooms of their own and children came to them. No goals had been set for the programs, and there were very few materials for people to work with. The Native teachers were faced with an impossible task. Because of this situation, the development of teaching materials became an important focus for KTTP. Another focus was helping students to develop a critical awareness of the situation they were faced with, and strategies for dealing with it.

The Native teachers, themselves, at the time that KTTP began, expressed concern that non-Native staff in the school did not really value the programs, or think they were important. The Native teachers also appeared to feel powerless to bring about changes in the situation. One reason seemed to be that they had little or no input into the decisions made about the programs. Later, in the course, when the school administrator changed, and the Native teachers were included in staff meetings, they continued to feel as if there was little interest in the program. Comments were also made about the low wages they received compared to other teachers, and the fact that if there were budget cuts the language and culture programs were the first to go.

During the time KTTP operated this indeed happened. Cuts to the Native programs occurred in the Provincial School when the provincial education budget was cut in 1984. Federal Government spending on Cultural programs was cut in 1984, and KTTP funding was caught in the Federal budget freeze of 1985. The result of the

first two was that many of the Native teachers who were students in KTTP found that their hours of work was reduced or that they were unemployed. When the principal decided to hire a curriculum developer for the Native programs, the culture programs were cut and more of the KTTP students were without jobs.

From observations in KTTP it appears very possible that one of the reasons for the Native teachers feeling as if the School Administrator and other teachers were not concerned about their programs lies in the difference between how the Naive teachers and the non-Native administrator presented information and raised issues. In KTTP, issues and concerns tended to be raised in a very personal context with the student presenting how she/he felt about the situation. On the other hand when the School Administrator came to talk to KTTP, concerns were often presented in terms of the over-all school in more general terms. The instructors' experiences in KTTP were that the more generalized a discussion became the less likely it was that the students saw it as relating to themselves. Relating to this was a conversation during a meeting held as part of KTTP between the School Administrator and a KTTP student who taught in the school. The administrator had finished talking about the scheduling of classes, and how difficult it was to find time for everything. A few minutes later the teacher began talking about wanting to change the amount of time given for the language classes. It appeared to this observer that she had not connected "scheduling" in the general sense with the amount of time allotted to her classes. When the principal responded with surprise that she had not raised that at the staff meeting when scheduling was being discussed, the teacher became uncomfortable and appeared to be annoyed saying "You didn't bring class time up!"

It seems from this conversation that some of the terms as well as a more generalized way of speaking commonly used by teachers and administrators in schools were different than what the Native teachers were used to. This also occurred in the early courses in

KTTP, and it was not until the students began feeling comfortable in their relationship with Wild and Jensen that they talked about not really knowing what was wanted.

The situation arising in the school involving the hiring of a non-Native curriculum developer by the Education Committee to design an over-all curriculum for the Native language and culture programs serves to illustrate the over-all lack of awareness of the nature of second language learning or the needs of the programs. To reiterate, while the teacher was experienced and was working on a degree in curriculum development she/he had no knowledge of Kwak'wala, had not taken any linguistics, had little knowledge of the culture and few contacts within the Native community.

Three issues arise. One is the value placed on Native knowledge of the culture as opposed to teacher knowledge; another is the lack of recognition that differences may exist in the social interaction patterns of Native people and non-Native teachers; the third is the perception of what schooling is and what a school program requires.

It can be seen from the study that a wide variety of factors pertaining to each of these issues emerged during KTTP courses. It appears to the researcher that the valuing of Native knowledge by Native people themselves, as well as by non-Native administrators and teachers, is a very complicated issue. One of the things that complicates it is that many Native people appear to see school, and learning in school, as very separate and removed from Native knowledge and culture. This is not surprising considering the past history of Native education policies, and the fact that many of the Native people making important decisions about the schools went to residential school themselves. School was separate from being Native.

In the present way that schools are organized, Band Schools

as well as the Provincial Schools, this separation appears to be continued in a number of sublte ways. One is that the Native language and culture programs are treated in a distinctly different way than regular school programs. There are fewer resources made available, less time and less importance appears to be placed on their value. Native language and culture teachers also appear to be treated differently. Equally significant is that they feel as if they are treated differently.

Another characteristic of the present day schools is that they tend to separate learning and teaching into distinctly different subject areas, for example reading, math, social studies, Kwak'wala, Indian Dancing, etc. Native language classes and culture classes have also been structured and scheduled in the same way as other subject areas and are treated as distinctly different subject areas. When this is coupled with the tendency of Native people to NOT associate Native knowledge or skills with the school context, it results in the Native language classes having very little to do with being Native. Instead they reflect mainstream teaching practices, and the language is treated by both students and teachers as any other subject.

There were a few people to whom the researcher spoke who expressed concern over this separation and the lack of importance placed on Native programs. They felt that a different approach needed to be used in organizing school programs; an approach which is more attuned with the Native culture, which treated language as if it was part of culture. This perception, however, did not appear to be widely held, nor did it seem to be held by those people who were in control of the Native language and culture programs.

The people within the Band Council and Education Committee appear to value Native language and culture since they approved budgets for the programs, and agreed to hire someone to develop a curriculum to improve the programs. It appears that their

perception of what was needed however, involved "teacher" knowledge. What others in the community felt was needed was Native knowledge.

When disapproval of the decision to hire the non-Native curriculum developer was publicly voiced, those students related to the people making the decision appeared to feel personally criticized. Given the cultural orientation toward viewing situations from a personal perspective and toward supporting one's family member this is not surprising. The over-all result was tension in the community and in KTTP, and a separation between the language programs in the school and the source of the criticism in the community.

As was mentioned earlier there appears to be a continuation of traditional cultural values in the community, amongst them support of family, a non-confrontational approach to conflict, and the personalizing of situations. These values influence the social interaction patterns of members of the community. In the case of attempting to influence or bring about changes in the conditions surrounding a school program, it appears as if those social norms of behaviour in this Kwakw_aka_'wakw community which discourage conflict within the group, personalize situations and value family support, work against individuals voicing public concerns about the programs. Thus, in the case of decisions made by the Education Committee or Band Council regarding the Native language or culture programs, it is difficult for Native teachers working in the programs, or for others concerned about the program to suggest it needs changes, since this is seen as criticism. In such a situation, the family members of each person tend to show their support of the person in subtle ways, and the school program is left dangling. It is difficult to bring about changes in such situations. In the case of programs being cancelled, and Native teachers not having jobs, a similar reaction occurs.

In teaching in KTTP, the instructors were aware that cultural

factors were at work in the community, although they did not know exactly how they would be manifested. As was discussed in the section on Methods, the instructors appear to have inadvertently used a culturally appropriate strategy for dealing with confrontation. This acknowledged the situation in a general sense, and allowed everyone in class to express how they felt. What people did about it was their decision.

The cultural value orientations of supporting a family member and personalizing situations which were at work in the above situation, also worked toward building a strong support base within family groupings. Several other cultural orientations, those of sharing and co-operation also worked toward this. On numerous occasions within the period KTTP ran these were in evidence. When something needed to be done, whether it was a potlatch, organizing sports events, June Sports, putting on lunches, raising money, organizing a graduation ceremony, family members supported each other and the work was done.

It appears that, somehow, the way in which KTTP was organized and taught tied in with these values of sharing, co-operation and being supportive. In the context of the program, students from various families worked co-operatively with each other to gain understandings of the issues affecting the teaching of language and culture, to develop materials and to learn more about being Kwakwaka'wakw.

The over-all orientation taken in KTTP toward seeing language and culture as interconnected, and part of the community, tied in with another cultural value orientation evident amongst most students. This was to view things as a whole and as interrelated. This was in sharp contrast with the school situation which continued to structure the programs as if they were separate.

The over-all status and health of Kwak'wala in the community

also affected KTTP, as did the ability of students in the program to write it. Ways were looked for to enable students to gain an awareness of what the real status and health of the language were, and of how a Native language teacher can both utilize existing language domains in the community, and work toward encouraging the use of the language further. The KTTP students' facility in speaking, reading and writing affected the kinds of teaching materials being developed, and, in the end, resulted in not as much teaching material being produced in KTTP as had been planned in the original goals. A great deal of material is waiting to be finished! Contributing to this was the difficulty of obtaining funding for the program.

7.1.3   CELL 3: TEACHER CHARACTERISTICS

In summary, within KTTP there was a very broad range of differences amongst the students. These differences related to age, work experience and situations, knowledge of Kwakwaka'wakw culture, facility in speaking, reading and writing Kwak'wala, educational backgrounds, and reasons for attending the program. What all students had in common, however, was an interest in the language and culture.

Initially the students displayed a tremendous lack of self-confidence in their ability to learn in a school setting. They were very fearful of writing and of making mistakes. As a result they wrote very little, and in a classroom setting they tended to be relatively quiet. This was partly due to the Native social interaction pattern of waiting to get to know someone before talking a great deal with them, however, it also appeared to be tied to their lack of confidence as learners. This tendency to be quiet changed as students came to feel as if they knew and could trust the instructors. It also changed as their self-confidence grew and as they began to realize that they had things to offer to others in the program and in their teaching.

As had been discussed in the study, the students' had strongly ingrained assumptions of what constitutes teaching and learning in school which strongly affected how they conceived of language teaching. Throughout the program subject matter and methods were used to expand their view of teaching, to include the culture as well as language, and to work toward teaching language as communication. Given the teaching situation this was not easy to do.

A number of observations were made about the KTTP students' own learning preferences which could provide insights into working with Native children in school. These included an orientation toward learning about topics which relate to the students' own personal lives and situations, and which contributed to their Native identity. They also indicated a high value being placed on the process of doing things together, sharing experiences, knowledge and ideas and of learning by doing something rather than by talking about it. Another preference was to have time in class to think about projects and assignments, to discuss them with each other and the instructors before going off to work on them individually.

Comments made by students, observations within KTTP and references in the literature all indicate that the students' relationships with the instructor is an important factor in the extent to which they participate in class. Important to this is the time for a relationship to develop, and a genuine interest in the student by the instructor. It appears from data that because of the students' relationships with the instructors, they continued to come to class, even when the community situation was difficult.

The students ability to speak Kwak'wala, as well as to read and write it, varied greatly, even amongst the language teachers. It helped tremendously to have the Old People present in the program to watch over and to listen. They occasionally would offer corrections to students when they had misused a word. This help

was never questioned. A strategy that proved useful in KTTP was to encourage students to use each other as resources in developing materials. Thus, those with knowledge of a particular area were encouraged to help others who did not know. This appears to have also helped to build a group feeling within the program since it utilized sharing as a way of learning and teaching. This appears to be an important component of Native teaching and learning styles.

As has been stated earlier many of the students were unable to attend the summer reading and writing courses to develop their Kwak'wala literacy skills. A consequence of this was that less Kwak'wala was incorporated into the teaching materials than had been hoped for.

The students' knowledge of Kwakwaka'wakw culture also varied greatly and they indicated that they wanted to learn more about their culture in class. The instructors' view that the students needed to expand their views of teaching, led to cultural activities being incorporated into the workshops. These proved very successful for they allowed a number of student learning characteristics to emerge which may otherwise not have appeared.

It appears from the study that the Native teachers own sense of Native identity was an important factor in their learning and the development of their self-confidence. Those who had a strong Native identity tended to be the students who first began to use their own native knowledge in their assignments. They also appear to have the most self-confidence. However, even those students at the beginning of KTTP did not see the possibility of doing Native things in the school program. Several commented that it never entered their heads. In a sense KTTP worked to de-socialize the students' views of what teaching is, in order to expand their visions of what is possible in teaching. It also worked to point out that school programs alone cannot help children become fluent speakers.

Those students who were less familiar with their own cultural backgrounds initially felt they had little to offer; however, through the cultural activities and research assignments they began to develop a stronger sense of their Native-ness. This, in turn, seems to have fed into the growth of their self-confidence. As people became more confident, they also became more willing to participate in class, and to express their concerns and views about the language and culture. It seems as if they began to feel as if they had the power to begin bringing about the changes that they wanted to see in their programs. They also began sharing their concerns with others in the class and in the community. In the September following the end of KTTP, seven of the core group of KTTP students enrolled in a Native Teacher Education Program which Simon Fraser University set up in Alert Bay. A number of them attributed their increased self-confidence acquired in KTTP to being able to join the program.

7.1.4 CELL 4: LANGUAGE TEACHER EDUCATION

As can be seen from this study, there are a wide and complex array of factors and issues affecting the training of Native language teachers. These stem from influences in the external context in which the program occurs, from factors within the program and from a combination of the two. Few are simple.

The section of Philosophical Factors indicates that a number of beliefs and assumptions held by the instructors shaped the initial planning and design of KTTP. These beliefs related to the nature of language and culture, the nature of the second language learning/ teaching process, and the role of student and instructor in it. They also pertained to an underlying belief in the value of Native culture and in the right of Native people to play an intrinsic part in shaping their own learning and programs. Influencing these was the perspective that cross-cultural differences could occur anywhere throughout the program. The beliefs of the students and their

perceived needs combined with those of the instructors to shape and change the program as it progressed. While the instructors, themselves had strongly developed notions of the nature of language and culture, they also recognized that differences occur in the interaction patterns of cultures and that these combined with underlying cultural values help to shape the assumptions held about teaching and learning. What they did not anticipate was that the Native teachers themselves would have strongly developed assumptions about teaching and learning within a school context which worked against them using their Native knowledge in teaching children and in developing language teaching materials.

The variety of methods and strategies used by the instructors can be found in that section. Many of them were based upon the premise of sharing insights and experiences. This appears to be very much in line with a strong value orientation held by students toward sharing. The relaxed, informal atmosphere of the class, and the instructors recognition that there were many levels of learners within the group also contributed to creating an encourging learning environment.

Two strategies used by the instructors which were positive were those of having the students seek their own solutions to difficulties that arose and of setting up a structure within the class that allowed students to express how they felt or to raise issues and concerns without drawing attention to themselves. One devise for this was the "suggestion jug", another was allowing time within the class for students to talk to the instructors privately on a one to one basis. Course scheduling had to be adjusted to accommodate this.

The strategy of having students present their assignments to each other, and of providing time for them to make suggestions to each other worked well according to the students, and also from the instructors perspective. It exposed the students to many more ideas

than the instructors' could have provided, and appears to have worked toward creating a sense of group. It also required students to practise expressing their ideas to a large group. This was something many of them found difficult; however, the more they did it, the easier it became.

Initially it appeared as if the instructors' assumptions about using Native knowledge to develop teaching materials was going to prove difficult, and it was in the first two courses. The students' perceptions of schooling were far removed from their sense of being Native. With the introduction of a more cultural orientation toward the classes, however, this began to change. In having students explore Native ways of doing things and in emphasizing that teaching language also involves teaching culture, it appears that students gradually began to realize that their own Native understandings and skills are valuable for school learning.

A difficulty facing the program, particularly after the first course, was that the changes in the teaching situation, ie. the closing of the Provincial School program and the cancellation of the Dance program, meant that many of the students did not have the opportunity to try out their ideas or their materials. Because of the prickly political situation it was not possible to arrange for students to "borrow" groups of children to practise on. Another difficulty was that the shortage of funding, combined with the plane schedules meant that the workshops, even the three-days ones, were quite tightly scheduled.

A number of comments made in the final evaluation of the program indicate that some students would like to have had more activities included in the program, while others said they would like to cut back on how much was offered.

Because the structure of the program allowed for people to join at any time, and also because of the lengths of time between

workshops, a spiral approach was taken to many of the topics covered. Overall the instructors felt this was useful, however, a number of the students commented on having things repeated to often. In the end there was a large push to complete teaching materials which proved difficult.

A number of insights were gained into approaches taken toward subject matter. One was the tremendous value students placed on topics which were of personal relevance to their own lives. A number of topics explored in the course were of general interest to everyone. In these the students explored their own family backgrounds. The research interview in particular was pointed to as being valuable. Not only did it enable students to find out about themselves and their family, it also placed them in a sharing situation with an older family member. For several of the students who had little knowledge of their family history this was pointed to as being particularly valuable. Increased knowledge of one's family background and culture was felt to contribute to a growth in one's self-confidence. As people outside of the community, it was impossible for the instructors to predict what students felt was valuable to themselves, what the program did was to provide a way for them to learn more about topics they were interested in.

Also relating to personal relevance was the observation that the mannner in which a topic is presented or approached also appears to be of importance in determining the topic is received by the student. If a topic or activity is presented in a generalized manner, it was less likely to be considered interesting. Both the topic and the mannner in which it is presented appeared to be significant.

It would appear that the ethos of KTTP, the methods and organization, the subject matter and goals worked positively toward creating a sense of group co-operation and sharing in the program. As well the program provided a means for students to discover more

about themselves, their concerns, their strengths and their culture. The change most often pointed to was a growth in students' self-confidence. The key was in the process of how the students and the instructors worked together.

7.2   CONCLUSION

The overall goals which were identified by the KTTP students for the Kwak'wala language program, are to teach children how to speak Kwak'wala, ie. how to communicate and to help them learn about being Kwakwaka'wakw. Given that the language program is actually an extension of the broader cultural program, which has as its aim to maintain Native culture and language, then the language taught needs to reflect the culture, and cultural ways of communicating. Nachoneckney (1986) points out that the regular school curriculum is oriented toward teaching de-personalized forms of knowledge.

The data from this study appears to indicate that Native learning/teaching styles have a strong orientation toward the use of sharing as a means of learning, toward a highly personal context for learning, and toward topics of high personal relevance for the learner. Within this orientation is a strong valuing of knowledge about one's family and culture, and a high respect for the knowledge and experience of the Old People. It is very possible that the reason the Native language and culture has survived to the extent it has is because of its strong emphasis toward family, and its orientation toward personal sharing. A challenge facing programs which are training Native language teachers is to discover ways of teaching which are consistent with the values, social interaction patterns, and learning/teaching styles which reinforce Native ways of speaking and knowing.

Since it is only members of the Native community who have this innate cultural knowledge, the programs which train Native

teachers need to incorporate into their curriculum types of subject
matter and methods which lead toward enabling the Native teachers
to utilize their own knowledge in teaching children to speak the
language and in developing materials. It also points to the need
for Native teachers to become aware of their own assumptions about
teaching and learning in a school setting, and of investigating ways
of teaching more attuned to their Native culture. The study points
to the importance of establishing an ethos within the teacher
training program which values and respects Native forms of
knowledge and Native learning/teaching patterns and which
recognizes the importance of establishing trusting relationships
between the students and the instructors. This requries that Native
teachers and community members be an intrinsic part of the planning
and decision-making processes, and that instructors be conscious of
how they relate to students.

The various community/school situations arising during the
period KTTP ran which influenced the students' relationships with
each other could not have been predicted by the instructors, nor
could the way in which they affected the students' recetiveness in
class. The approach the instructors used, which was to bring
various issues and concerns to the students for them to make
decisions or seek solutions, was well received. They commented upon
the instructors' encouragement, openness and "gentle pushing" as
having helped to keep the program together. They also spoke of
liking the freedom to share with each other, and to learn with each
other. It appears to the researcher that most of all the students
cared enough about the language and culture to learn about what
they could do to work toward maintaining their language and
culture.

7.2.1.IMPLICATIONS FOR TEACHING A NATIVE LANGUAGE

In discussions of second language teaching the more
traditional structural approach to language teaching is often

contrasted to a communicative approach or an immersion approach. While the approach that was advocated in KTTP was referred to as an immersion approach to teaching a Native language, in the program it actually goes beyond both an immersion approach and a communicative approach as they are usually conceived of. This approach is based on the assumption that the Native culture is the content to be focussed on in a Native language program, and that cultural considerations need to guide both the subject matter and the methods used in the teaching and learning of a Native language.

The process of language teaching and learning presented to KTTP students was not expository in nature or verbalistic in its orientation, but was actively based and experiential. Throughout KTTP it was suggested that the content of the Native language program and the teaching materials be based on activities[1] which are part of the social and cultural practises of the community. One of the activities which was explored with students as a focus for developing language teaching meterials was the teaching of traditional Dance; another was gathering and preparing cedar bark, although the latter is no longer commonly done.

By developing a program which is oriented toward teaching children the Native language as it is used in community activities, the Native language program becomes a vehicle for initiating them into the practises of the community. Without connection (with the Native language being used in the community), a school-based

[1] The term activity as it is used here refers to a wide variety of situations and can take a variety of forms. It can be thought of as purposefully doing something, and involves both a situation and the knowledge needed to accomplish the task.

program runs the risk of appearing to children to be just another school subject which is learned "by talking". The notion of using activity as the basis of education is not new. Mohan in Language and Content (1986:44) points out that "The concept of an activity is activity." In developing a rationale for the use of a knowledge framework which is based on the concept of an activity and can be applied to teaching and learning in subject areas across the curriculum, Mohan cites Richard Peters (1966) as defining education in terms of public activities.

> Education, therefore, has to be described as initiation into
> activities, or modes of thought and conduct (ie. thought
> and action) that are worthwhile
> (Peters, 1966:55, quoted in Moham, 1986:44)

He also cites Brubacker (1947) in providing a historical perspective for activities as the basis of education.

> Whether one goes back to the Egyptians, the Babylonians,
> or even the ancient Chinese, the story is likely to be the
> same -- the curriculum, whether formal or informal, took
> its origin in the daily activities of the people. Each
> succeeding generation, in order to become competent to
> assume the tasks of adults, had a particular curriculum of
> training to undergo. The would be artisan had his craft
> to learn, the warrior skill at arms and the priest his arts
> and sciences.
> (Brubacher, 1947:250, quoted in Mohan, 1986:45).

The traditional education of Kwakwakawakw children followed a similar pattern. Education was a part of living.

Mohan points out that "The functional origin of the curriculum reminds us of the link between the content of the curriculum and the public activities of society into which the new generation is being initiated" (1986:45). He also comments that the learning and teaching processes that have come to be a part of the formal, educational institutions known as school are different than those of less complex societies, and bring with them "the danger that formal

education will become too isolated from life experience" (Ibid, 45).

This latter concern was reflected in comments made by the Director of the U'mista Cultural Centre when she was talking about the present day orientation taken by the schools toward the education of Native children. She referred to the need for an approach to education which recognized language and culture and learning as "fitting together", and which first taught children about themselves and their culture and community before extending outward.

> It's going to make a whole lot more sense if first of all you know who you are, and how it fits, too. I think teachers (non-Native teachers) aren't taught to think like that, little bits and pieces. Today we start with twenty minutes of English followed by twenty minutes of reading followed by twenty minutes of math, then we do Kwak'wala... It should somehow all fit together, and I don't know how, but is seems to me that we should give it a try.

She also spoke of assessing the present and seeking to improve the education situation.

> I really think that we need to look honestly at what we're doing. I wouldn't throw out KTTP, because some good things have happened. The language books series are a part of it; KTTP is a part of it. Those are good things, but they are only part of something much bigger, and we haven't looked at the much bigger story. (Tape 3B:105)

The data from this study would indicate that the students involved in KTTP had a tendency to view school as something separate from being Native, and to perceive learning in school as "talking about things" rather than as "doing things." The latter was seen as being more Native. This view was reflected in some of the talks by community people in the First Educational Conference of the Kwakwaka'wakw. One of the aims of KTTP became to help students expand their notion of teaching and learning in school so that it encompassed much more than just talk.

Mohan comments that (second) language teaching has tended to concentrate on language itself, on discourse and structures, also that it has relied heavily on expository teaching and verbalism. He indicates that the danger of this is that:

> Language is removed from its context of thought and action, sabotaging the goal of teaching communication by eliminative what is communicated about.   (Ibid, 46)

It appears from the study that overall the Native teachers and community members in KTTP want their children to learn more about their Native culture, and that learning Kwak'wala is part of this. The approach taken in KTTP to Native language teaching which has been described, emphasized the interrelatedness of language and culture. It advocated the use of social and cultural activities actually occurring in the community as the basis for the language program, particularly those activities in which Kwak'wala is used. These have the potential of providing a vehicle for Native children to learn to communicate in Kwak'wala, and at the same time learn more about being a member of a Kwakwaka'wakw community.

A significant factor which influenced the development of KTTP was the students' perceptions of learning and teaching in a school setting, and the resulting type of teaching that was being used in the Native language programs. A contributing factor to both of these was the way in wnich the school had set up and strutured the program. This existing approach to Native language teaching and learning can be contrasted with the approach that was advocated in KTTP. It was characterized by:

- a focus on teaching vocabulary, mainly through the use of flashcards, and on teaching isolated language

- a tight control of language in the classroom with the teacher being the focus of interactions.

The approach suggested in KTTP was characterized by:

- a focus on teaching language as communication through using activities, ideally those which occur in the community.

A number of differences exist between the two approaches:

Existing Structural Approach	KTTP Cultural Activity Approach
Language teaching and learning are oriented toward structures and language analysis.	Language teaching and learning are oriented toward communication as it is used in activities, particularly social and cultural activities in the community.
English is used as the medium of instruction in the Native language classroom and in classroom interactions.	Kwak'wala is used as the medium of instruction and in classroom interactions. This has been termed a Direct Method of Second Language teaching.
The language structures are focussed on, and the content is relatively unimportant.	The focus of teaching and learning is on content rather than on language itself.
The content can be anything which allows certain language structures to be emphasized.	Kwakwaka'wakw culture is the content which is focussed on. This is different from a pure immersion approach in which various school subject areas are taught in the language. Since the goals of the Native programs is to enhance Native children's cultural identity, the focus of the program is on Native cultural activities and values.
Language teaching tends to be expository in nature; it utilizes verbalistic processes and word manipulation. In other words the language is taught through explanations and by being talked about. Learning activities have to do with repeating and manipulating words and sentences in various types of drills and exercises.	Language teaching and learning is experiential and activity oriented. It is based on involvement in an actual cultural activity in which the Kwak'wala used (and being taught) is sociolingistically viable in the community. The Kwak'wala learned could then be used outside of the school.

7.2.2 IMPLICATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The study points to a number of areas for further research which would be beneficial for Native language teacher education. These include:

- The perceptions held by Native people about teaching and learning within a school context.

- The role of cultural value orientations in shaping the learning and teaching styles of Native groups, and how these can be incorporated into the learning and teaching processes in which Native people are involved.

- The social interaction patterns of Native communities.

- The learning and teaching styles of Native people.

- The activities within Native communities which could provide a focus for the teaching of a Native language.

- The social interaction patterns and decision-making processes in school settings and their implications for Native staff.

It also points to a challenge for Native language teachers, themselves, and those interested in working with them to improve the teaching of Native languages. This challenge is to discover ways of teaching within the school context which reflect Native values, Native patterns of social interaction and Native styles of learning and teaching. This will be a very large step toward working to retain the Native languages. KTTP was a part of something much bigger.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ASHWORTH, Mary. 1979. The Forces Which Shaped Them: A History of the Education of Minority Group Children in British Columbia. Vancouver: New Star Books.

ASHWORTH, Mary. 1983. The Sociopolitical Context of ESL Teacher Training (K-12 in English Canada. In GURT '83 Applied Linguistics and the preparation of second language teachers: Toward a rationale, eds. James E. Alatis, H.H. Stern, Peter Strevens, 26-52. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.

ATKIN, Myron. 1977. Research Styles. In Beyond the Numbers Game: A Reader in Educational Evaluation. ed. Hamilton, et al., 78-81. Berkeley, California: McCutchan Publishing Corp.

BARMAN, J. Yvonne Hébert, and Don McCaskill. 1986. Indian Education in Canada. Vol 1: The Legacy. Vancouver, B.C.: University of British Columbia Press.

BARNHARDT, Ray (ed). 1982. Cross-Cultural Issues in Alaskan Education, Vol. II. Fairbanks, Alaska: Center for Cross-Cultural Studies, University of Alaska.

BARNHARDT, Ray. 1986 Domestication of the Ivory Tower: Institutional Adaptation of Cultural Distance. (Unpublished paper). Fairbanks, Alaska: Dept. of Rural Development, University of Alaska.

BARNHARDT, Ray. 1974. Educating Across Cultures: The Alaskan Scene. In Cultural Influences in Alaskan Native Education. eds. James Orvik and Ray Barnhardt, 5-10. Faribanks, Alaska: Centre for Northern Educational Research. University of Alaska.

BAUMAN, James J. 1980. A Guide to Issues in Indian Language Retention. Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics.

BROWN, H. Douglas. 1983. From Ivory Tower to Real World: A search for Relevance. In GURT '83: Applied Linguistics and the preparation of second language teachers: Toward a rationale, ed. Alatis, et al., 53-58. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown, University Press.

BURNABY, Barbara. 1980. Languages and Their Roles in Educating Native Children. Toronto: The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education.

BURNABY, B. and Elson, N. 1982. Final Report on the TESL Canada Symposium on Language Development for Native People. Winnipeg: TESL Canada.

CAMERON, Anne. 1981. Daughters of Copper Woman. Vancouver, B.C.: Press Gang Publishers.

CANNON, H. 1980. The Ahousaht Education Study. North Vancouver, B.C.: Clare Educational Development Inc.

CARNEY, Robert. 1982. The Road to Heart Lake Native People: Adult Learners and the Future. Canadian Journal of Native Education, Vol. 9, Spring 1-13.

CAZDEN, Courtney B. 1983. Can Ethnographic Research Go Beyond the Status Quo? Anthropology and Education Quarterly, Vol. 14: 33-41.

CELCE-MURCIA, Marianne. 1983. Problem solving: A bridge builder between theory and practice. In GURT '83 Applied Linguistics and the preparation of second language teachers: Toward a rationale, ed. Alatis, et al., Washington, D.C., 97-105. Georgetown University Press.

CLARKE, Mark A. 1983. The scope of approach, the importance of method, and the nature of technique. In GURT '83 Applied Linguistics and the preparation of second language teachers: Toward a rationale, ed. Alatis et al., 106-115. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.

CLARKE, Sandra and Marguerite MacKenzie. 1980. Indian Teacher Training Programs: An Overview and Evaluation. In Papers of the Eleventh Algonkian Conference. ed. William Cowan, 19-32. Ottawa, Ont.: Carleton University.

CLINE, Michael S. 1974. Covert Clans: Factionalism as an Additional Consideration for the Alaskan Bush Teacher. In Cultural Influences in Alaskan Native Education, ed. James Orvik and Ray Barnhardt, 39-48. Fairbanks, Alaska: Centre for Northern Educational Research, University of Alaska.

CSAPO, Margn and Bryan R. Clarke. n.d. Native Indian Language Instruction in British Columbia. Unpublished paper. University of British Columbia.

CUMMINS, Jim. The Minority Language Child. Interchange. Vol. 10: 72-88.

DUBBS, Patrick. 1982. Cultural Definitions and Educational Programs. In Cross-Cultural Issues in Alaskan Education, Vol. II. ed. Ray Barnhardt, Fairbanks, Alaska: Center for Cross-Cultural Studies, University of Alaska.

DUMONT, R.V. Jr. 1972. Learning English and how to be silent: Studies in Sioux and Cherokee classrooms. Functions of language in the classroom. eds. Cazden, John and Hymes. New York: Teachers' College Press.

FANESLOW, John. 1980. Over and over and over again. In GURT '83: Applied Linguistics and the preparation of second language teachers: Toward a Rationale. ed. Alatis, et al., 168-176. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.

FIRESTONE, William A. and Robert E. Herriott. 1984. Multi-site Qualitative Policy Research: Some Design and Implementation Issues. In Ethnography in Educational Studies. ed. David M. Fetterman, 63-88. Beverley Hills, California: Sage Publications.

FIRST EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE OF KWAKWAKA'WAKW. 1982. Conference Report.

GADERER, Heinz K. 1983. Learning by doing: Multiplier systems in the training of EFL teachers in Austria. In GURT '83: Applied Linguistics and the preparation of second language teachers: Toward a rationale. ed. Alatis, et al., 193-210. Washington, D.C., Georgetown University Press.

GREENBAUM, Paul and Susan Greenbaum. 1984. Integrating Ethnographic and Quantitative Research: A Reply to Kleinfeld with Implications for American Indian Self Determination. Anthropology and Education Quarterly, Vol 15: 171-173.

GRUBIS, Steve. 1982. A Cross-Cultural Training and Development Program for Rural Alaskan Teachers. Cross-Cultural Issues in Alaskan Education, Vol. II. ed. Ray Barnhardt. Fairbanks, Alaska: Center for Cross-Cultural Studies, University of Alaska.

GUMPERZ, John J. 1981. Conversational Inference and Classroom Learning. In Ethnography and Language in Educational Settings ed. Judith Green and Cynthia Wallat, 3-24. New Jersey: Ables Publishing Corp.

HAIG-BROWN, Alan. 1981. Here We Go Again: Further Thoughts on Indian Education. Williams Lake, B.C.: Paper printed by School District No. 27.

HAIG-BROWN, Alan. 1979. Native Indian Curriculum and the School System. Williams Lake, B.C.: Paper printed by School District No. 27.

HAMMERSLEY, Martyn. 1982. The sociology of Classrooms. In The Social Sciences in Educational Studies. ed. by Anthony Hartnett, 227-242. London: Heinemann Educational Books.

HEBERT, Yvonne M. and Sharon Lindley. 1982. Evaluating and orthography. (Unpublished Paper).

HEBERT, Yvonne. 1984. The Sociopolitical Context of Canadian Indian Language Education in British Columbia. The Canadian Journal of Native Studies. IV, 1:121-137.

HYMES, D. 1974b. <u>Foundations in Sociolinguistics: An ethnographic</u>
<u>approach.</u> Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

JARVIS, Peter. 1983. <u>Adult and Continuing Education: Theory and</u>
<u>Practice.</u> Kent: Croom Helm Ltd.

JOHN, V.P. 1972. Styles of learning – styles of teaching: Reflections
on the education of Native children. In <u>Functions of language in</u>
<u>the classroom.</u> ed. Cazden, John and Hymes. New York: Teachers
College Press.

KIRKNESS, Verna J. 1985. <u>Indian Teachers: A Key to Success.</u>
(Unpublished paper), Native Lecture Series, 1984–85. University of
Saskatchewan. Faculty of Education, University of British
Columbia.

KIRKNESS, Verna J. n.d. <u>Native Languages: Confusion and</u>
<u>Uncertainty.</u> Unpublished paper. Faculty of Education, University
of British Columbia.

KIRKNESS, Verna J. 1980. <u>Native Languages: Facts and Goals. The</u>
<u>Need for Planning and The Need for Training.</u> Keynote Address.
Native Language Instructors Conference, October 1980. Winnipeg:
Native Education Branch, Manitoba Department of Education.

KIRKNESS, Verna J. 1980. <u>North American Indian Languages: Myths,</u>
<u>Facts, and Goals.</u> Unpublished paper presented to Canadian
Association of Second Language Teachers.

KIRKNESS, Verna J. 1980. <u>Teaching Indian Language.</u> University of
British Columbia: (Unpublished paper.)

KLEINFELD, Judith S. 1979. 1974. Effective Teachers of Eskimo and
Indian Students. In <u>Cultural Influences in Alaskan Native</u>
<u>Education.</u> ed. James Orvik and Ray Barnhardt, 11–38. Fairbanks,
Alaska: Center for Northern Educational Research, University of
Alaska.

KLEINFELD, Judith S. 1979. <u>Eskimo School on the Andreafsky: A Study</u>
<u>of Effective Bicultural Education.</u> New York, N.Y.: Praeger
Publishers.

LEARNING KWAK"WALA SERIES

LEAVITT, Robert M. 1979. Language and the Community: the
Passamaquoddy Bilingual Program. In <u>Papers of the Tenth</u>
<u>Algonkian Conference.</u> ed. William Cowan. 60–65. Ottawa, Ont.:
Carleton University.

LECOMPTE, Margaret D. and Judith P. Goetz. 1984. Ethnographic Data Collection in Evaluation Research. Ethnography in Educational Evaluation. ed. David M Fetterman. 37-59. Beverley Hills, California: Sage Publications.

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF THE PROVINCE OF BRITISH COLUMBIA. 1986. Bill M210. An Act to Establish an Institute of Native Indian Languages for British Columbia. Fourth Session, Thirty-third Parliament, 35 Elizabeth II. Member's Bill: Mr. Hanson.

LEVINE, Robert and Freda Cooper. 1976. The Suppression of B.C. Languages: Filling in the Gaps in the Documentary Record. Sound Heritage. Vol IV, Nos. 3 and 4. Victoria, B.C.: Aural History Provincial Archives of British Columbia: 43-75.

LUTZ, F.W. 1981. Ethnography - The Holistic Approach to Understanding Schooling. Ethnography and Language in Educational Settings. eds. Judith Green and Cynthia Wallat. 51-63. New Jersey: Abler Publishing Corp:

MACDONALD, Barry and Rob Walker. 1977. Case-study and the social philosophy of educational research. Beyond the Numbers Game: A Reader in Educational Evaluation. eds. Hamilton, MacDonald, King Jenkins, Parlett. 181-189. Berkeley, California: McCutchan Publishing Corp.

MADSEN, Eric. 1982. Decision making in a Rural Alaska Community. In Croass-Cultural Issues in Alaskan Education, Vol. II. ed. Ray Barnhardt, Fairbanks, Alaska: Centre for Cross-Cultural Studies, University of Alaska.

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION. 1984. Native Literacy and Life Skills Curriculum Guidelines: A Resource Book for Adult Basic Education. Victoria: Ministry of Education, Province of British Columbia, Canada.

MOHAN, Bernard A. 1986. Language and Content. Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co.

MORE, Arthur J. Revised 1985. Indian Education Projects and Programs in B.C. Schools. Vancouver, B.C.: Faculty of Education, University of British Columbia.

NAKONECHNEY, C. 1986. Classroom communication: A case study of Native adolescents. Unpublished master's thesis, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, B.C.

O'BRYAN, K. G. J. G. Reitz, D. M. Kuplowska. 1976. Non-Official Languages: A Study in Canadian Multiculturalism. Ottawa: Thorn Press Ltd., (Minister of Supply and Services, Canada).

PACIFIC REGION NATIVE LANGUAGE CONFERENCE REPORT, 1984.

POWELL, J.V. 1981. Aboriginal Value Continuance Among the Quileute: Cultural Adaption Among Amerindian Hunter-Fisher-Gatherers. (Unpublished paper), Vancouver, British Columbia: University of British Columbia.

POWELL, J., V. Jensen, V. Cranmer, and A. Cranmer. 1981. Learning Kwka'wala Series. U'mista Cultural Society, Alert Bay, B.C.

PRESTON, Joanne. 1986. An Ethnograph of Communication and its Implications for Teachers of Native Indian Students. M. A. Thesis, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, B.C.

RIVERS, Wilga M. 1983. Preparing college and university instructors for a lifetime of teaching: A luxury or a necessity? In GURT '83. Applied Linguistics and the preparation of second language teachers: Toward a rationale. ed. Alatis et al.,327-341. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.

ROTHE, J. Peter. 1982. Researching Native Education: An Ethnomethodological Perspective. Canadian Journal of Native Education. Vol. 9, No. 4. (Summer).

SCHAFER, Larry. 1982. Native Cultural Contexts and Formal Education. In Cross-Cultural Issues in Alaskan Education, Vol. II. ed. Ray Barnhardt, Fairbanks, Alaska: Center for Cross-Cultural Studies, University of Alaska.

SCHENSUL, Jean J., Maria Gonzalez Borrero and Roberta Garcia. 1985. Applying Ethnography in Educational Change. Anthropology and Education Quarterly. Vol. 16, 149-164.

SCOLLON, Ron and Suzanne B. K Scollon. 1981. Narrative, Literacy and Face in Interethnic Communication. Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex Publishing Corp.

SEVIGNY, Michael. 1981. Triangulated Inquiry -- A Methodology for the Analysis of Classroom Interaction. In Ethnography and Language in Educational Settings. ed. Judith Green and Cynthia Wallat, 65-86. New Jersey: Ablex Publishing Corp.

SPECK, Dara Culhane. 1987. An Error in Judgement: The Politics of Meducal Care in an Indian/White Community. Vancouver, British Columbia: Talon Books.

SPRADLEY, James P. 1979. The Ethnographic Interview. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

STAKE, Robert. The countenance of educational evaluation. Beyond the Numbers Game: A reader in Educational Evaluation. ed. Hamilton, MacDonald, King, Jenkins, Parlett, 146-155. Berkeley, California: McCutchan Publishing Corp.

STAKE, Robert. 1977. Formative and Summative evaluation. In Beyond The Numbers Game: A Reader in Educational Evaluation. ed. Hamilton, MacDonald, King, Jenkins, Parlett, 156-157. Berkeley, California: McCutchan Publishing Corp.

STAKE, Robert. 1977. Responsive Evaluation. In Beyond the Numbers Game: A Reader in Educational Evaluation. ed. Hamilton, MacDonald, King, Jenkins, Parlett, 163-169. Berkeley, California: McCutchan Publishing Corp.

STEARNS, Robert D. 1985. Beyond An Epic View of Anthropologists and Anthropology: An Alaskan Perspective. Anthropology and Education Quarterly. Vol. 15: 174-176.

STENHOUSE, Lawrence. 1977. Parallel studies. In Beyond the Numbers Game: A Reader in Educational Evaluation. ed. Hamilton et al. 113-114. Berkeley, California: McCutchan Publishing Corp.

STENHOUSE, Lawrence. 1977. Research into teaching about race relations. In Beyond the Numbers Game: A Reader in Educational Evaluation. ed. Hamilton, et al., 109-112. Berkeley, California: McCutchan Publishing Corp.

STERN, H. H. 1983. Language teacher education: An approach to the issues and a framework for discussion. In GURT '83: Applied Linguistics and the preparation of second language teachers: Toward a rationale. ed. Alatis et al., 342-361. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.

SUCCESSES IN INDIAN EDUCATION: A SHARING CONFERENCE REPORT. 1982.

TAMAS, Andy. 1982. Psychology of Culture Change and Education for Economic Development. In Cross-Cultural Issues in Alaskan Education Vol. II. ed. Ray Barnhardt, Fairbanks, Alaska: Center for Cross-Cultural Studies, University of Alaska.

TOOHEY, Kelleen and Pamela Hansen. 1985. Two Contexts for Training Teachers of Native Languages. TESL Canada Journal Vol. 2, No. 2, March: 11-27.

WALKER, Rob. 1982. The Use of Case Studies in Applied Research. In The Social Sciences in Educational Studies: A Selective Guide to the Literature. ed. Anthony Hartnett, 190-204. London: Heinemann Educational Books.

WARREN, Richard L. 1982. Schooling, Biculturalism, and Ethnic Identity. In Doing the Ethnography of Schooling: Educational Anthropology in Action. ed. G. Spindler, 382-409. New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston.

WAWA KUNAMOEST NESIKA CONFERENCE REPORT. 1979.

WILCOX, Kathleen. 1982. Ethnography as a Methodology and Its Applications to the Study of Schooling: A Review, In <u>Doing the Ethnography of Schooling: Educational Anthropology in Action</u>. ed. G. Spindler, 456-488. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

WOLCOTT, Harry. 1976. Culture Community and School. In <u>Schooling in the Cultural Context: Anthropological Studies in Education</u>. 23-43. New York: David McKay Co.

WOLCOTT, Harry F. 1984. Ethnographers sans Ethnography. The Evaluation Compromise. In <u>Ethnography in Educational Studies</u>. ed. David M. Fetterman, 177-210. Beverley Hills, California: Sage Publications, Inc.

WOLCOTT, Harry F. 1982. Mirrors, Models and Monitors: Educator Adaptations of the Ethnographic Innovations. In <u>Doing the Ethnography of Schooling: Educational Anthropology in Action</u>. ed. G. Spindler, 68-95. New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston.

<u>WRITE-ON! A Source Book for Teachers</u>. 1975. eds. Joy Wild and John Rathjen. Qualicum Beach, B.C.: Raven Society of B.C. Printing.

WYATT, June. 1977. Native Teacher Education in a Community Setting: The Mt. Currie Program. <u>Canadian Journal of Education</u>. Vol. 2, No. 3: 1-14.