STRATEGIES FOR CULTURAL MAINTENANCE:

ABORIGINAL CULTURAL EDUCATION PROGRAMS AND CENTRES IN CANADA

By

CLAUDIA ELISABETH J. HAAGEN

B.A., Dalhousie University, Nova Scotia, 1975
B.Ed., Dalhousie University, Nova Scotia, 1976

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Department of \textit{Anthropology}

The University of British Columbia  
Vancouver, Canada

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Abstract

This thesis examines the cultural education programs that have been developed over the past two decades by Canada's First Peoples. These programs are designed to strengthen and maintain indigenous cultures by promoting cultural identity and by developing cultural curriculum materials for a broad range of education programs. This thesis gives particular emphasis to cultural education centres and their unique integration of a characteristic set of programs which have been designed to systematically collect, preserve and communicate indigenous cultural knowledge. Despite the effects of more than a century of colonization, and against all expectation, Native cultures have persisted. Native people are now actively communicating a renewed confidence in their own cultures, their values and their ways of doing things. Community-based self-government and the maintenance of a land base are ideologically inseparable from the retention of culture and language, and Native people today view these as integral to their survival and self-determination as distinct peoples within the fabric of the majority society. Cultural education programs and centres perform a significant communication function in the agenda of self-determination by both ensuring and affirming the continuing viability of Native cultures.

This thesis explores the ideology of cultural survival and examines its current expression as a program of action directed at the damaging effects of cultural disruption. The background to the emergence of cultural goals is discussed, with reference to their central place in the socio-economic development strategies and education policies developed by Native organizations in the 1970's. A variety of cultural education programs are described with a specific focus on two cultural education centres in British Columbia. Cultural education programs, as they are defined and carried out by various Native agencies, are presented as significant innovations in the definition and management, overall, of cultural heritage. The organizational integration of these programs also represents a significant innovation in the area of community development. In this context, museological themes are explored. Native concepts of culture are contrasted to non-Native concepts of heritage, with particular attention given to some of the problems in the way non-Native museums have traditionally represented Native cultures.
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This work is dedicated
to the Shuswap and to the Sto:lo people
We would ask that you keep our deeper purposes in mind, particularly when examining our programs. Certainly we are proud of the work we are doing in reviving our language, in developing Indian curricula materials for the schools, in recording Indian history, in promoting traditional Indian craft skills and so on. But in reality, that which fills our heart with joy is to see our people healing. We are dedicated to the possibilities of our Coqualeetza centre and we know we have found the right path.

[The Coqualeetza Philosophy. 1974]
1. Introduction

In the past fifteen years Native cultural education programs and cultural centres in Canada have increased rapidly despite diminished federal government support. These programs have been initiated by Native communities and they reflect the determination of aboriginal people to strengthen their cultures in the wake of drastic changes imposed by the events of the last century. The extent to which many cultural centres have been able to integrate a wide variety of programs and relate them to local community development strategies can be considered unique in the developing world.

The introduction to this thesis considers the ideology of cultural survival as a diagnostic device applied to a problematic social reality, and as a program of social action founded on cultural autonomy. "Culture" has essentially been mobilized to provide the foundation for some innovative community development programs. In this setting, cultural education programs play a primary research and communication role.

Within this broad framework, a number of museological themes are identified in the second and third chapters because the self-conscious activity of preserving knowledge and other cultural materials, for indigenous and dominant cultures alike, is mediated through cultural institutions in general and museums in particular. Though cultural education centres are not museums writ large, they share certain goals and employ a number of museographic techniques. Additionally, cultural education centres have been influenced both positively and negatively by non-Native museums holding indigenous cultural material. Cultural education centres, however, have also extended the traditional function of the museum and have made significant innovations in defining and preserving cultural heritage.

The ideas that Native people use when they talk about the value of their culture and the means by which they intend to protect it, reveal concepts of culture and heritage that differ sharply from non-Native concepts. These distinctions are considered in the second chapter as an explanation for the marked contrast between the heritage activities of both. Related to this is the distinct equation that the dominant society makes between "traditional" and "authentic" culture when appraising Native cultural expression. Like concepts of heritage, these notions refer primarily to the material expression of culture. The differences in concepts of culture and heritage have implications for the kinds of Native cultural programs non-Native agencies tend to fund. They also have serious legal ramifications in the courtroom where Native land claims, based on cultural continuity through time and in a territory, are discredited on the basis of physical evidence for "changes" in culture and by the reluctance to give credence to other less tangible aspects of

1 I use the most frequently used term "Native" throughout this thesis to refer to the First Peoples of Canada, the Indians, Inuit and Metis, who constitute the present indigenous populations.
Native cultures. Some of the implications of the differing concepts of culture are discussed with particular reference to the funding of Native heritage in British Columbia and to the primary source of funding for cultural education centres, the federal Cultural/Educational Centres Program administered by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. Some of the inherent problems that are perpetuated by the latter will be related to the fundamentally different concepts of culture noted here.

The third chapter reviews the way these concepts are reflected in the museum setting of the dominant culture and in the cultural initiatives of aboriginal communities: how they differ, where they intersect, and the images each propose about the other. The implications for museums holding Native cultural material are explored in this chapter, and the changing relationships between museums and Native groups are considered with reference to a significant shift in authority over the right to communicate images about Native cultures.

The fourth chapter describes some of the historical background that prompted the consolidation of Native political organizations in the 1970's. Specific cultural goals were articulated for the first time as part of a social and economic development strategy. This chapter traces the "issue of culture" into its expression as "cultural education." The dynamic equation between culture, self-esteem and health is discussed here as a central element in various development strategies and education policies. Native cultural knowledge, particularly specialized knowledge concerning health and healing, has been incorporated into a number of social development programs. Similarly, the National Indian Brotherhood policy on education (1972) has identified the importance of infusing cultural knowledge into education systems in order to promote pride and self-esteem in Native students. This policy essentially provides the rationale for cultural education programs and underscores their potentially vital role in Native education.

In the fifth chapter, the programs that constitute the work of cultural education centres are detailed. Their task is twofold: to provide cultural materials that present accurate and complete information about indigenous cultures from a Native perspective, and to conduct specific cultural inventories according to local priorities. While cultural education centres are not the only agency concerned with the transmission of culture, they are the only mechanism designed to consolidate and organize, as far as possible, an identified reserve of cultural knowledge, especially that which is considered to be in jeopardy due to an aging population of elders. Many of the programs outlined are also conducted outside of cultural centres by bands, schools and individuals, although the extent of the programs and their longevity varies considerably from place to place. Most Native communities now have at least one such project underway, or have included a proposal for cultural projects in their long-range development plans for the community. The final chapter considers more closely two cultural education centres in British Columbia: the Coqualeetza Education Training Centre in Sardis, and the Secwepemc Cultural Education Society in Kamloops.
The majority of the data presented in this thesis is concerned with the various cultural education programs and with the centres that provide them. These programs are considered as an outcome of a body of ideas concerning the importance of strengthening Native cultures in order to achieve cultural autonomy and socio-economic stability within the setting of the dominant society. This thesis represents the first major overview of cultural education programs and centres and as such it includes a great deal of descriptive information presented in survey form. Beyond providing an historical background and an examination of the ideology that characterizes Native cultural initiatives, a critical analysis of cultural education programs or centres has not been attempted. The data has been drawn primarily from Native sources and much of it supports in principle the programs and the centres.

A primary objective of this thesis is to familiarize the non-Native museum community with Native cultural initiatives and to propose that these initiatives constitute significant museological innovations in their scope, in the extent of their organizational integration, and in their relationship to community life and community development. With this audience in mind, this thesis explores some of the questions that arise as Native groups claim the right to represent themselves in and out of the museums that have long exercised authority over the representation of indigenous cultures. In time, cultural centres must also consider similar questions as collective cultural knowledge is transformed through the mechanisms that have been employed to select, preserve and communicate this information in new ways.

My museum bias will be evident: I cannot help but find impressive the scope of these cultural initiatives, let alone the task of moving cultural knowledge from living memory into contemporary consciousness and modern archival memory systems. I have long argued the merits of extending our own concept of heritage, particularly as it is expressed by museums, to include non-material domains of knowledge in museum data collecting activities (1983, 1984). Though my intellectual stance is undoubtedly influenced by my affinity for the work of cultural education centres, I take serious note of the precarious role social scientists assume when they attempt to mediate, and even advocate, between "we" and "they." Clifford Geertz reminds us that the moral context within which the "ethnographical act" takes place has changed profoundly: "the entrance of once colonized or castaway people...onto the stage of global economy, international high politics, and world culture has made the claim of the anthropologist to be a tribune for the unheard, a representer of the unseen, a kenner of the misconstrued, increasingly difficult to sustain" (1988: 133). I have attempted as far as possible, and with the result of some rather lengthy passages and texts, to include a number of representations but the act of selection and the particular framework I have constructed is ultimately my own.
Research scope and methods, places and people

This research began with a proposal to the National Museums Training Assistance Program [MAP], which was approved in 1986. Support by MAP was given on the basis of my work in the museum community over a number of years. This support also reflected a growing interest in Native cultural initiatives as well as a widespread concern about meeting the new demands made on non-Native museums holding collections of Native cultural material.

The method and the presentation of this research attempt to be responsive to a fieldwork situation where research by outside agencies is no longer freely admitted by Native organizations. It was made clear early in my work that this research, like all outside research, was acceptable as long as it reflected the research goals of the bands in question and as long as the research proceeded through appropriate channels and made the results accessible. Following the approval of the research proposal by MAP, and its subsequent examination by the Ethical Review Committee at the University of British Columbia, I sought the formal permission of cultural agencies and/or band councils.

I was fortunate in being given ready access to institutional documents such as planning strategies, funding proposals and numerous other documents available in the libraries and archives of the centres. I was not, as a rule, seeking privileged information, though circulation of planning documents can be restricted. Similarly, the people with whom I spoke are public figures: the directors and staff of the various cultural and political organizations. Much of the data presented here has been gleaned from these documents and supported by interviews. I also spent many hours viewing video tape footage at Coqualeetza, much of it shot by the Coqualeetza video crew. The video library at this centre provides an extensive and invaluable documentation of contemporary Sto:lo culture. My methods can be summarized as follows: interviews based on a broad framework of questions which were refined as I became more familiar with the topic. These questions dealt largely with the structure and the rationale of the programs and they served to provide me with an overview. In less formal settings, I took notes whenever possible and relied on a tape recorder only in following visits.

The scope of this thesis is unavoidably broad. There has been little formal investigation of the contemporary cultural education initiatives of Native people and an overview is warranted. Preliminary research allowed me to identify a number of places and programs in British Columbia and Quebec that I considered to be significant and representative, but there are gaps due to finite resources and geography. I attempt to fill these gaps throughout with extensive use of secondary sources, but omissions have been unavoidable. The most significant gap in British Columbia is the Nisga'a Bilingual and Bicultural program, based at New Aiyansh near Prince Rupert. I regret this omission because

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2 The University of British Columbia Behavioral Sciences Screening Committee for Research and Other Studies Involving Human Subjects.
the programs developed early on by the Nisga’a are exemplary. Also, I did not visit the U’Mista Cultural Centre at Alert Bay, off Vancouver Island. This was due in part to my decision to contact cultural organizations after the initial approval of my proposal, which resulted in certain time constraints and, in this case, raised questions of protocol. Similarly, time did not permit a visit to the Yakima Cultural Centre in Washington State. This centre is regarded as an outstanding facility that successfully combines and houses a range of museum programs and community services. I have also not included many references to the multitude of Native communications programs: radio, community television, and the printed media. However, while these are outside of the scope of this thesis, they play a vital role in the communication of cultural identity and the transmission of cultural knowledge. Communications programs have a more visible profile than cultural education programs and they are in many ways linked through their shared task of producing and communicating cultural information.

I decided to concentrate my formal research on the interior of British Columbia rather than the more traditional area of study, the West Coast. This region has been largely overlooked by the two major non-Native museums in British Columbia. The traditional concentration on West Coast cultures is in part due to their geographic proximity and in part to the scarcity of the material culture from the interior regions. Too, a predominant interest in material culture (and an unfamiliarity with non-material culture), gives museums a natural affinity for the impressive Northwest Coast aesthetic traditions that are, by nature, oriented to dramatic visual display and thus lend themselves so well to museum presentation.

While the majority of this research concentrated on the Coqualeetza Education Training Centre and the Secwepemc Cultural Education Society, I also visited a number of other organizations and attended as many cultural gatherings as possible. I spent some time in Lytton, in the upper reaches of the Fraser Valley, where issues of cultural survival have been lobbied as part of the opposition to the large-scale logging and road development proposals in this region. In the Interior, I spent several days at the En’owkin Centre in Penticton. The Cariboo Indian Education and Training Centre, near Williams Lake, was unfortunately closed at the time due to funding problems and staff reorganization, but I was able to meet with a representative of the Cariboo Tribal council and thus gained some understanding of past programs and present plans to re-open the centre. In northern British Columbia, I met with the Education Coordinator for the Stuart-Trembleur Band, north of Fort St. James. This band operated a small cultural centre that was eventually closed due to the withdrawal of DIAND support. On the way to Terrace, I visited the 'Ksan Museum in Hazelton and spoke with the coordinator for the artist training program there. Later in 1986, I travelled up the coast by ferry to spend time at the Heiltsuk Cultural Education Centre in Waglisla.

The second portion of this research required travel to Ottawa and Quebec in order to provide background and comparative material. This included research at the Department of
Indian and Northern Affairs and at the Canadian Museums Association in Ottawa. In Quebec, I spent some time with René Rivard, an experienced museum consultant presently working on proposals for several Native organizations, including the Cree Regional Authority, the Inuit (Avataq Cultural Institute) and the Attikamek-Montagnais. We visited two Native museums—at Pointe Bleue and at Odanak—and the non-Native ecomuseum at Haute Beauce. Rivard has long been involved in the development of ecomuseums and has brought many of the ideas about community process and "new" museology to bear on the proposals that he has made to Native organizations throughout North America. While in Quebec, I also met with Michel Noël, coordinator of Amerindian Affairs for the Ministry of Cultural Affairs. There is a remarkable difference between the way that Quebec and British Columbia view aboriginal cultures, a point which is noted here but not elaborated in this thesis. This difference is reflected most obviously in the support given to cultural initiatives, but also in the ministry structure. Quebec, for example, has a Ministry of Culture which includes a department that deals specifically with Native cultural initiatives. Quebec has also established a permanent parliamentary forum for aboriginal groups thus allowing direct presentation and debate. A number of references are made throughout this thesis to Native programs in Quebec, particularly to those of the Inuit and the Cree of Northern Quebec.

A good part of this work was also carried out somewhat spontaneously once permission had been granted by the various agencies. In the course of my travels in British Columbia, I was able to explore programs that I originally judged to be outside the research scope and attend events as they occurred or by invitation. For example, it was my privilege to attend, in the early hours of dawn, the blessing of the First Salmon on their annual run up the Fraser River. I also extended my trip to include a visit to Northern Native Broadcasting in Terrace, where I was rewarded with very lively discussions. And, late in the summer of 1986, I found myself staffing the outdoor kitchen instead of participating as an observer at the Stein Cultural Festival. Throughout my tour of British Columbia, I spent a number of days of drum and dance at pow wows and cultural gatherings. These experiences gave me an understanding of the strengthening process at work in the contemporary expression of Native cultures. More than any formal research, they propelled me into the unknown and unfamiliar and they ultimately directed my approach.

Much of the information gathered on the basis of these visits and/or available documents from the centres has been supplemented by extracts from Native newspapers and other publications in order to provide a more complete, albeit composite, picture. In many instances, available documents provided only cursory references to significant program components and thus needed to be elaborated through a variety of sources. For example, the almost universal Elders Program that is often indicated as a significant part of the activities of many cultural education centres is rarely described in detail. I dealt with this important topic by referring extensively to the proceedings of the Inuit Elders Conferences of Northern Quebec. These records have been integrated with various documents from other centres and
with the numerous statements about the role of elders today with respect to the goals of
cultural autonomy and community development. The quotes that I have chosen to include
are those that I consider to be representative of informal comments made to me by various
individuals throughout the course of my work. Although there is a certain danger in
constructing such a composite, I think that there are enough universal elements in the
program configurations across the country that the composite presented is more
informative than case studies alone.

It was not until the final writing of this thesis that I read with great interest Richard
Handler's ideas about the nationalist ideology of the Québécois (1988). He notes that where
traditional anthropological projects have focused on small scale units of preliterate
societies, we are now attempting to make sense of complex social arenas that force us to
abandon "totalizing" approaches and that present us instead with "a sea of data which
demands new theoretical concepts in order to partition it." Handler comments on his
method of gathering data as a process of "wandering among a disparate assortment of texts,"
and the organization of his final written account as a "heterogeneous assortment of
narrative techniques, texts, and textualized experiences" (27). The limitation of this
approach is ultimately in the extent to which generalizations are made, and the rough edges
of contrast and contradiction are minimized. This approach also sacrifices the intense
personal contact over time that the traditional field work situation provides. However, the
attraction of attempting to partition this "sea of data" is in the extent to which it challenges
us to map overall patterns and multi-layered ideologies.

Overview: The ideology of cultural survival

The affirmation of Native culture is viewed by the majority of Native people in
Canada as essential to their survival as distinct peoples. The implications of this position
are far-reaching: the idea of cultural education, or cultural re-education, indicates first, a
particular understanding of what Native culture is as distinct from the dominant culture and
second, that the essential features of this culture can be activated and communicated to
provide the foundation for self-determination. Furthermore, there is the conviction that, if
these essential features can be effectively activated, then a collective healing will take place.
This ideological position has had a profound influence on social and economic planning
strategies and has resulted in systematic and characteristic programs designed to collect,
preserve and communicate cultural knowledge.

Self-definition of individuals and of the collective we think of as ethnic or cultural
groups, is to a large extent founded on ideas about difference and, in this case, on a perception
of fundamental differences between the values and styles of the dominant culture and those
of the aboriginal minority cultures. At the same time, cultural self-definition is founded on
ideas about the culturally unique and meaningful. The perception of a fundamental
difference between Native and non-Native cultures is frequently expressed in ideas about the
relationship between man and the land and between the individual and the community.
Concepts concerning "the land" refer to subsistence requirements and controlled resource development but they also refer to an abiding spiritual relationship with the land that extends far back in time and well into the future. This relationship allows particularly for the animate and sacred qualities of the land. Native people also claim a different understanding about what constitutes knowledge and how knowledge is transmitted. They regard the past differently in relation to the present and thus identify very different markers of cultural continuity. The importance of community cohesion is given particular emphasis and the tradition of cooperation and sharing is identified in contrast to competition. Similarly, decision-making processes refer to ideas about meaningful consensus.

Trends in Native education stress the integration of non-Native technical and professional competence with a thorough grounding in cultural understandings. These understandings include the domain of knowledge that can only be transmitted through the revealed wisdom of the elders. Similarly, teaching styles must both reflect this tradition of transmission and take into account the different learning styles of Native children: "We learn differently and we teach differently." For example, an approach often advocated focuses on the individual and is based on student observation. The standard approach, oriented to instructing large groups through lengthy verbal direction, is considered culturally inappropriate to the learning styles of Native students. Differences such as these, combined with the apparent absence of meaningful cultural education, are seen to contribute significantly to the present failure of Native children in the schools of the dominant society.

Similarly, the present strategies for achieving self-determination distinctly identify and promote the adoption of appropriate, culturally-based approaches in domains where control is sought—over land and resources, health care, child welfare, social rehabilitation and education: "Indian people must then have the necessary resources and the control over those resources, to seek ways of strengthening Indian cultures and of generating culturally-based strategies for development in all areas of Indian life." Consequently, there is a renewed emphasis on specific values and on particular ways of doing things:

If we are to make the right decisions for the future we must have a firm basis from which to work. I believe that developing cultural unity can only be accomplished by supporting those aspects of life we believe are uniquely Indian (Nathan Matthew, Shuswap).

The Union of B.C. Indian Chiefs states: "...we have learned how the European mind operates and we realize that all its systems are insufficient in the fulfillment of our purpose

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3 From an address by Ida Wasacase, director of the Saskatchewan Indian Federated College; cited in National Indian Brotherhood 1980 (Practical Applications, Indian Control of Indian Education): 32.
4 National Committee of Indian Cultural Education Centres 1982: 1.
and values" (1984: i). And the National Indian Brotherhood noted that non-Native approaches to development would be inappropriate in a number of Native development arenas:

That in a development strategy, it is very important that the errors made by other groups in society not be made by Native people. Whatever development strategy is decided upon it must be in tune with Native values. Large-scale systems and corporations would alienate many Native people. Purely economic rationale must be replaced by individual self-respect and freedom (1977: 16).

This widespread acknowledgement of cultural "appropriateness" reflects a fundamental orientation in the present self-government initiatives. All together, these ideas about culture—about basic differences and cultural distinctiveness—have promoted a powerful mobilization of identity and, above all, they indicate cultural confidence. The expression of these ideas appears to occur at all levels of Native society and reflects both a political ideology and an elementary and fundamental state of mind of the people.\footnote{Union of B.C. Indian Chiefs, 1984: \textit{The Indian Nations Inquiry into the Reasoning Behind Worldwide Philosophies: Laws: And International Experience on the Rights of Man.} Unpublished manuscript on file at the Union of B.C. Indian Chiefs. Vancouver. (cf. Mohs 1987: 152.)}

As with any examination of ideology, and particularly one that is so central to a controversial political arena, there is always the question of its rhetorical nature and the degree to which the ideas promoted are inseparable from the program of political action designed to advance a minority position. It will become evident from the data this thesis draws upon that there is an inevitable rhetorical component to the program of cultural education, one that is without question inseparable from the political thrust to substantiate aboriginal rights and underscore the bid for self-determination. I intend, however, to direct the consideration of this ideology away from the inter-ethnic context and to look more closely at the collective understandings about the place and value of aboriginal cultures and the way these understandings are internally directed to the work of community development. Given that Native people appear to have a fundamentally different concept of "culture" than the dominant society, the links between ideas about cultural survival and community development ask to be explored in their own right. Again, this concept refers to a continuity between the past and the present; it emphasizes the use of cultural materials (specialized knowledge, sites, artifacts) over their preservation for abstract appreciation; and, most important, it links culture to well-being and health rather than to specific cultural productions for entertainment and edification. These collective ideas about culture and their relationship to ideas of survival are most evident in the cultural initiatives

\footnote{Leon Dion (1961: 90-93), in his examination of nationalism in Quebec, discusses the relationship between the ideologically self-conscious stance of nationalist leaders and the collective sentiment of a threatened minority, where the leadership elite transforms and formalizes the "elementary drive for the survival of the collectivity as an original entity" (cf. Handler 1988: 24).}
described in this thesis, and they must be considered more as indicators of innovations in community development strategies and less as indicators of inter-ethnic competition.

Clifford Geertz (1974), at the outset of his consideration of ideology as a cultural system, asks whether ideology can remain an analytic concept given the extent to which it has itself become "thoroughly ideologized" (p. 194) and "thoroughly evaluative" (p. 196). He notes that what once meant "but a collection of political proposals" has now become "integrated assertions...constituting a politico-social program, often with the implication of factitious propagandizing," thus charging any examination of ideology with certain difficulties. In reporting the ideological stance that supports the program of cultural affirmation, I am guided by Geertz who notes that "whatever else ideologies may be...they are, most distinctively, maps of problematic social reality and matrices for the creation of collective conscience" (Ibid, p. 220).

I bring these thoughts to bear here for several reasons. First, there is a long standing wariness on the part of the majority society that hears the bid for cultural, political, and economic autonomy with mixed and often negative feelings. Second, much of the anthropological literature that has considered cultural persistence to date has focused on the political aspects of persistence and the way traditional cultural traits are mobilized in the arena of competitive inter-ethnic relations. And third, much of the literature pertaining to community development refers to imported development strategies that, because of their inherent progress-oriented ideologies, are not equipped to take account of indigenous knowledge, let alone collective ideas concerning the strengthening of existing cultures as a development tool in its own right.

The wariness on the part of the dominant Canadian public is due to a complex array of factors, many of which have been presented in J. R. Ponting's (1987) Profiles of Public Opinion on Canadian Natives and Native Issues. Ponting identifies two factors in particular that inhibit widespread support of Native aspirations: the overall low level of familiarity of Canadians with aboriginal issues and their opposition to the concept of special status (though not necessarily self-government). Added to this general unfamiliarity with Native culture, past and present, are the competing environmental and economic interests. Consequently, there is a readiness to suspect and even undermine the bid for Native cultural continuity and autonomy in as much as it signals this competition and gives it a moral force. This has become particularly evident, for example, in British Columbia where Native land claims are undermined by discrediting the kind of evidence of cultural continuity upon which many claims rely. Native people argue that evidence of long tenure in a place rests as much in enduring cultural practices and spiritual associations with that place as it does on physical evidence of occupation and use over time; they challenge the notion that absolute cultural change can be proved or disproved on the basis of technological change and they argue strongly for continuity based on many other aspects of culture.

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8 Geertz 1974: 194, cites the Webster dictionary definition.
The tendency to suspect the bid for cultural continuity and contemporary autonomy is also reflected to some degree in the formal examination of ethnic identity. As anthropologists have turned their attention from the study of pre-literate societies to a consideration of the modernization process, particular attention has been given to inter-ethnic relationships.\(^9\) The phenomenon of cultural persistence in the face of the intense assimilative pressures of the post-colonial political process has posed new questions for the study of culture. It has essentially re-set the framework for looking at the nature of cultural cohesion and continuity, and it has challenged earlier ideas about acculturative processes. A number of scholars have looked at the way that ethnicity (or cultural differences that are perceived as salient) has been mobilized as a primary and symbolic medium for political action (Barth 1969; Cohen 1974; Despres 1975; Tanner 1983).\(^10\) In this context, the attribution of saliency to distinct cultural traditions is seen as a primarily political act. Traditions that have come to be selectively identified in this process become themselves a kind of political currency and signify a particular kind of competition in a plural society with diverse political interests and an unequal distribution of resources. The discourse of ethnicity attends to the ambiguities around these earmarked traditions and the way they are assembled in the political arena, by an astute leadership, to argue for special consideration based on cultural continuity.

The attribution of primarily political motives to this mobilization of identity, and the focus on inter-ethnic competition and minority opposition strategies, minimizes the constructive and re-constructive impulses that constitute the same ideology. The explanations that indigenous minorities themselves propose as a rationale for cultural autonomy, with respect to their internal diagnosis of their condition, are mooted to a large extent by this analysis. It has been argued, for example by Larsen (1983), that Micmac “nationalism and cultural renaissance” works to transform cultural elements into political weapons. The primary audience for this “cultural offensive” is seen to be non-Native:

...the counter-definitions and counter-symbols developed by the Micmac do not seem to be relegated to the private sphere. Rather, they are directed toward the encompassing society. Their purpose is to generate consequences for relations between Indians and whites, not to exist simply as an abstract world view, divorced from practical politics...the main thrust of their ideological offensive is geared towards redefining Indian/white relations (p. 43).

This kind of interpretation gives little substance to the ideology of cultural survival (which the Micmac share with other aboriginal groups) as other than a weapon pointed

\(^9\) Ronald Cohen (1978: 379) notes that ethnicity quite suddenly became a “ubiquitous presence.” He also points out that ethnicity, or the emphasis on cultural difference, has no existence outside of inter-ethnic relations.

\(^10\) Frederik Barth (1969) first set the terms of reference for examining political movements based on ethnicity. He proposed the idea of the ethnic boundary as a largely subjective organizational device based on diacritical features of identity and basic value orientations which can become “objects of transaction” in the maintenance of boundaries.
outward. It does not credit the extent to which the "ideological offensive" is also directed inward. Overlooked is the compelling internal diagnosis that equates the retention of culture with viability: "Culture is the basis for identity. Without it one is lost." Manuel and Posluns (1974: 70) caution that:

It is very much a mistake to identify the cultural and political renaissance that is going on among Indian societies today with a new Indian resistance. The fact of the matter is that there was never a time when Indian people were not resisting the four destructive forces besetting us: the state through the Indian agent; the church through the priests; the church and state through the schools; the state and industry through the traders.

Today's renaissance can be seen in the resurgence of our languages, in the growth of political institutions both old and new, in the revival of Indian religion in urban Indian centres as well as on the reserves, in the growing number of young people seeking out the wisdom of the grandfathers and finding ways to apply it in their own lives, however different their lives may appear from the old ways. These are the real signs of the renaissance....

This is not to say that the mobilization of a people on the basis of their cultural distinctiveness is without political motive or political consequence. These motives are in fact quite explicit and directly linked to the agenda of self-determination. ("When an Indian breathes, it's politics." And, while the impulse to strengthen cultural foundations has certainly arisen out of the minority/majority power relationship, and a significant thrust of the messages are addressed to that political arena, there are other compelling motives that are not concerned with mobilizing differences to consolidate political positions in the inter-ethnic arena. I will argue that the main thrust of this "ideological offensive" is internally directed: it is a powerful development strategy, as defined by the National Indian Brotherhood and echoed more specifically, and with particular local applications, in many band development strategies. Moreover, this strategy is founded on some rather introspective activities, not the least of which is the examination of present and past culture—the conscious identification of those aspects of indigenous culture that are in jeopardy and those aspects that require preservation and communication.

Cultural Education Programs and Centres

...the most compelling statement of the relevance of the Centres to the cultural policy of Indian governments is the extra-ordinary level of support that the Program has received from the 279 communities it serves and the requests for the participation received from a further 100-150 communities. Nor is the support merely symbolic. No other federal program generates the added value this Program attracts. No other federal program is subsidised out of the funds of Indian bands and out of the pockets of individual Indians to the same extent (O'Connell 1980: 71).

The concept of cultural education comes from the imperative for cultural survival. Cultural education centres represent the vanguard of the initiatives to affirm and strengthen

11 National Committee of Indian Cultural Education Centres 1982: 1.
indigenous cultures and they epitomize the philosophy that equates culture with survival, pride, and well-being. For all that is public about them, they are a consequence of a collective introspection that is oriented to charting solutions for perceived social and economic problems. Although cultural education centres are supported in principle by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development [DIAND] Cultural/Educational Centres Program, the concept of an educational and cultural centre originated with a Native group and the program was a direct response to the pressure exerted by Native organizations to gain support for the development of Native cultures.13

Cultural education programs are an outcome of political events in the early 1970's that culminated in a widespread Native rebuttal of the current federal assimilation policy. The initial rebuttal, the "Red Paper," demanded that Native people retain their legal status, thus ensuring the recognition of their "special history, rights and circumstances" (Indian Association of Alberta 1970: 4). The concept of culture expressed by the dominant society was challenged for the first time and a Native concept of culture was clarified. The federal policy attempted to remove the controversial constitutional "bases of discrimination"—the separate status historically accorded to aboriginal people—and at the same time it emphasized the importance of the place of Indian culture in Canadian life. Native leaders in Alberta challenged this apparent contradiction by pointing out that the only way to maintain their culture was to retain the legal status of Indian: "to preserve our culture it is necessary to preserve our status, lands and traditions" (p.5). The issue of culture was brought to the forefront, and a complex equation was formulated between the retention and strengthening of culture and its potential role in economic and social development.

The Red Paper introduced the proposal for an "Indian Education Centre" as part of the goal to replace the "conventional education system" with "new concepts:" "for there is real hope of solving many of our most serious education problems with such a program" (p. 42). At this time, cultural differences were identified as being dominant forces in the levels of poor achievement (p. 82) and strong recommendations were made to "strengthen the Indian cultural base" (p. 85). This was reiterated by the National Indian Brotherhood in 1972 in the first major Native policy paper on education, Indian Control of Indian Education, wherein "radical" changes were emphasized for improving the quality of education for Native people ( p. 3): "we want education to provide the setting in which our children can develop fundamental attitudes and values which have an honoured place in Indian tradition and culture" (p. 2). Cultural centres were identified for their potentially "vital" role in the formation of these values:

The purpose of a Cultural Education Centre is to provide for the personal development necessary for social and economic achievement in today's society. This personal development is achieved when an individual knows himself fully: his personal identity, dignity and potential. The Cultural Education Centre will promote this through studies of Indian history, culture, language and values.

13 First outlined in 1970 as part of the Red Paper by Harold Cardinal, then president of the Indian Association of Alberta.
Considering the vital role that these Centres could play in cultural, social and economic development, it is imperative that all decisions concerning their evolution...be the sole perogative of Indian people (p.16).

To strengthen Indian constitutional and cultural identity was also set out as the primary goal in the 1977 socio-economic development strategy developed by the National Indian Brotherhood after an extensive national study of regional goals and directives. The "cultural goal" clearly states that security of cultural identity is a pre-requisite to improving the socio-economic situation and that this goal involves self-determination in political, cultural and administrative areas. (See Appendix 5: Strategy for the Socio-Economic Development of Indian People: The Cultural Goal.) And, in 1979, Del Riley, the president of the National Indian Brotherhood, concluded that "the Centres have also become critical units in the comprehensive strategy of Indian governments to achieve economic, social and political self-reliance."14 Later evaluations noted that the Centres' programs "have had a great deal of impact on the Indian/Inuit communities they serve " (Evalucan 1978: 7) and that they "enjoy a level of support from Indians unparalleled by any other government program" (O'Connell 1980: 10). Clearly, a number of strategic development documents emphasize the promotion of Native cultural values and knowledge through particular education programs. Cultural education programs and centres were intended from the outset to play an important role in the concerted move to self-determination that began gathering political momentum early in the 1970's.

While it can be argued that there are no historic precedents for such an activity or institution,15 it can also be argued that this new institution has been internally and intuitively developed. It is uniquely Native in style and it is a direct response to the sense of culture in crisis. The cultural education centre is founded on ideas of co-operation, it is directly accountable to the community, and its activities are often overseen by a council of elders. As an institution, it has no particular non-Native counterpart, nor is it a museum writ large. Although cultural centres vary greatly in size and diversity, they have a predictable range of activities and they rarely restrict these activities to those most commonly associated with museums. Despite a kind of chronic confusion on the part of

14 O'Connell 1980: iii. Riley notes that the "strategy" of Indian governments was set out in three major policy statements including the Red Paper (Indian Association of Alberta 1970), Indian Control of Indian Education (National Indian Brotherhood 1972), and A Strategy for the Socio-Economic Development of Indian Peoples (National Indian Brotherhood 1976/77).

15 Doxtator (1985: 25) notes that the North Carolina Cherokees had amassed a museum collection by 1828. Richard Hill, a key figure in the emergence of Native American museums, points out that the idea of a community cultural centre is not a new to Indian communities because many nations traditionally had central meeting places, cultural events and community education (incomplete reference from an article entitled "The impact of a museum on the Native Community" published by Hill ca. 1982. Hill is presently an editor for Daybreak magazine and instructs in Native Studies at the State University of New York at Buffalo).
DIAND over the proper purpose of such a centre, cultural education centres continue to be defined by community interests, sometimes at the risk of compromising their funding prospects.

The goal of these centres, broadly stated, is to bring together through a systematic process of cultural inventory, the extant knowledge and directives of the elders with the body of previously recorded history and material culture in order to preserve and perpetuate the culture and language. All cultural education centres appear to share this goal, with greater or lesser emphasis on language. The product of these centres, the composite and updated record of culture, language and history, serves to form the basis of education programs in band and government schools, and in community programs. It also serves to provide an important resource for the Native communications media.

The primary rationale for this inventory approach is to produce a more complete and corrected cultural and historical record from a Native perspective. This takes its form primarily as curriculum material developed for schools. It is widely acknowledged that recorded history, particularly textbook history, has without exception been written by non-Native historians and educators and this record has for many years formed the basis of Native education in a non-Native milieu.

The non-Indian system which is a competitive society has caused what I call "Three F's": fear, because we can't compete and be as good as somebody else; frustration, because we do not know how to deal with that system, and as a result we are failures. Yes, we are. We have failed ninety-five percent in that system. We must look at alternatives."16

The failure of Native children in this milieu has in part been attributed to way that Native culture has been minimized in the history of this country. It has also been attributed to some fundamental cultural differences in learning styles, to the lack of appropriate Native role models, and to the physical and psychological distance between the school and the community. Additionally, the perception that Native children were operating from a culturally "deprived" position,17 according to the educators of the dominant society, is considered to be a decisive factor in the poor self-esteem associated with failure.

For all of these reasons, regaining control over education has meant significant involvement in determining the substance of education (curriculum), and the structure of learning environments (schools operated according to provincial curriculum guidelines by local band authorities). As an outcome of this concerted movement, the number of band

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16 Mohs 1987: 152.
17 This notion was prominent in the discourse of educators through the 1960's and 1970's; curriculum development for this period emphasized "enrichment" for children of deprived backgrounds (eg. poor, ethnic, Native).
operated schools increases annually, community-based adult upgrading and training programs are appearing in more communities as part of the long-term development strategies, and specialized university programs to coordinate and promote training opportunities have been initiated in a number of regions. Native cultural curriculum figures prominently in these programs and its use in public schools is now well established.

It is very important to note that "control over education" has meant, for practical purposes, the ability and the authority to augment and upgrade learning materials rather than to replace them or substitute a different system of education. The goal, generally speaking, is to produce a bilingual and bicultural child and thus to provide the "best of both worlds." (See also Appendix 6: Language and culture curriculum goals in British Columbia Schools, which reflect the overall goals of "Indian Control over Indian Education" as they appear in the school curriculum.) At the same time it is also important to note that much care has been taken to follow the provincial guidelines for education curriculum, and that the augmenting and upgrading has been restricted to social studies units. A major move has been to provide a language curriculum as an alternative to other second language instruction. (See also Appendix 8: Major concepts in three British Columbia Indian Curriculum Programs for an outline of Native curriculum as it parallels the provincial curriculum guidelines.)

As I have already noted, it is not the purpose of this thesis to evaluate the success or viability of cultural education programs and centres. It will be clear that many of the views presented are supportive of cultural education centres and programs. This is partly because contradictory views did not emerge from the data or from the evaluations that have been done by external agencies, and partly because the implementation of cultural education curriculum in the schools was not examined. This is not to say that contradictory views do not exist, or that indifference to their activities does not occur, but rather to emphasize that their overall goals are widely shared and can be directly linked to the issue of culture as it is seen by Native leaders. A meaningful evaluation of the wider goals of cultural education is in any case somewhat premature given the ambitious and long-term nature of many of the goals, such as providing Native children with an effective understanding of their culture and thereby promoting greater success and involvement of Native children in their education. If

18 The 1987 speaking notes for Bruce Rawson (to the Commonwealth High Commissioners), indicated that one quarter of Indian students are attending schools managed by bands themselves; in Manitoba, 450 Native people now hold teaching certificates. The Annual Report for Indian and Northern Affairs, 1985-1986, indicated an increase in the total number of Indian students in high school, and an increase of 24% of Indian post-secondary students given tuition.

19 There is a trend towards integrating cultural knowledge into all aspects of the curriculum, as the first task of completing social studies and language units is realized.

20 Linda Jules, coordinator of the museum program for the Secwepemc Cultural Education Society, noted that cultural centres can sometimes be viewed with skepticism by Native people who are not involved with the centres.
centres were to be solely evaluated on the basis of their products (for example, the documentation of cultural knowledge through collections of oral histories, the production of curriculum materials, the establishment of communication programs and community education programs), their output appears to be significant. Because cultural centres are ultimately community institutions, they are, like any new cultural organization in any community, subject to political cross-purposes, precarious funding, insufficient manpower, inexperience with planning, and trial and error undertakings that can create gaps between intended and actual achievements. There is, however, enough evidence by now of their longevity as well as an increased demand for their services, not to mention a widespread plea to establish new centres, that sets aside the question of their viability. These centres have, over a fifteen year period, developed and attracted a concentration of expertise and experience and they have established significant reference points for identifying and addressing cultural concerns.

There are questions that can be asked of cultural centres in due time. Native people have maintained that they have a different relationship to their past and that they do not separate the past from the present as profoundly as does the dominant society. Yet, they are now engaged in a similar enterprise of selective preservation that, by its very nature, makes the past a distinct and separate place. The very process of collecting cultural knowledge and writing history is one of codification and separation, of reducing a larger reservoir of knowledge to certain essential elements and communicating these elements new ways. This new system of communication cannot help but shape the reception of this knowledge because of the very nature of its transmission—media images, written histories and museum exhibits of material culture—when knowledgeable elders no longer live and when the practise of some things is past. Indeed, as a system it is designed to shape the collective understanding. Although cultural education centres are not museums, they have begun the unavoidable process of “museumifying” aspects of culture. While this act of highlighting aspects of cultural identity will in great measure bring the kind of benefits envisioned, such as the promotion of pride, confidence and the continuity of knowledge essential to self-determination, it also brings new challenges to ideas about cultural continuity and it structures a new kind of brokership and authority over cultural transmission.

These are questions that will begin to emerge with the passing of the first task of recovery, that is, recovery not only of knowledge but authority over that knowledge. The artist, Edgar Heap of Birds, reflects:

The most distressing problem facing Native peoples throughout the world is the lack of opportunity that exists for Natives to comment on their own condition. Too often, we must listen to members of the dominant culture explain what we are. 21

Explaining who we are is a complex and intellectually compelling undertaking and though it may be greatly illuminated by members of our own group explaining to us who we...

are and must probably (and perhaps necessarily) begin there, but it does not end there. This is part of a much larger debate that has to do with who can best carry out and interpret the study of one's own society, the insider who has "member knowledge" or the outsider who, as an objective observer, might see patterns otherwise obscured by member knowledge.22

In the meantime, Native people propose to transform Canadian history by adding "insider" knowledge. The dominant society has always had the authority to write its own history and is now being called to task over significant gaps and inaccuracies. The implication of this shifting authority in the construction of history is, ultimately, the production of a different history. The Native view of history, as it emerges in these new representations, will not only influence our understanding of our past, but it will challenge the very foundations of anthropology and museums. It will especially challenge our belief in the principle of scientific freedom and our right as scientists, anthropologists, and museum professionals, to represent other cultures (Ames and Haagen 1987).

**Mainstream art and the performing arts**

I have not included a consideration of mainstream art or of the performing arts in the main body of my discussion. I present here a brief consideration, primarily with reference to the constituent themes and the way in which they reflect the ideology of cultural survival. Native performance constitutes an integral part of the cultural initiatives of Native people. But, unlike the majority of other cultural initiatives, Native performing arts are located in the mainstream of the dominant society and thus serve, in a more self-consciously way, both audiences. Hence, the theme of cultural survival has the double intention of heightening a sense of identity within the Native milieu and promoting new images about contemporary Native people for non-Native viewers. George Clutesi observed that:

> The Indian in my estimation is a born entertainer, in his own way. And because we have clung to that belief, we have clung to that idea of ability, we have survived this first impact of the European society... And I believe this with all my heart that we can really tell the outside world what we believe in, what our forefathers taught us.... You must serve is my philosophy, my Indian philosophy.23

Many performers believe strongly that their role as artists, dancers, film-makers and musicians is central to conveying new images and providing new models, often using traditional material. These productions frequently develop themes that refer to survival and

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22 Aguilar (1981: 15-26) provides a clear summary of this debate, and Merton (1978: 9-47) explores some of the epistemological implications of the insider doctrine that, he argues, results in the balkanization of knowledge. For example, he challenges the idea (especially prevalent in the 1970's with the emergence of black scholarship) that the body of black history, ethology, sociology, etc., can only be advanced by black scholars, or that only women can properly inquire into, and convey adequate understandings about, the condition of women.

alternative interpretations of historical events. The intention is to offer visions of strength and images of continuity. Musicians speak of writing their own songs, often in their own language for a Native audience, to reflect both current conditions and events of the past in order to convey a sense of history and identity:

If children know us, understand us and like us, they won't have the usual attitude towards us later on... Yes, of course my songs are concerned with issues. My songs tell of our history (Alanis O'Bomsawin).

A lot has changed in the North over the past 30 or 40 years.... No one was writing songs to record all these changes and the history of the Inuit. That's why I learned the guitar and started to compose songs myself.... I hope that in 10, 20, or 30 years from now, my songs will help young people understand how the Inuit lived before the white man came, before houses, motorbikes and snowmobiles, before they themselves change.... I had thought of singing in English, but I prefer to compose songs for the North and to stay in the North (Charlie Adams).

...it's one way to let people know it exists [Montagnais culture], to protect our culture and the way we think (Philippe McKenzie).

Similarly, many theatre performances attempt to grapple with contemporary issues using cultural devices such as mythological references and legends to convey their themes. Some of these are expository, such as No'xya (Our Footprints), produced by Headlines Theatre, which presented an historical sequence of Gitksan Wet'suwet'en self-government activities and themes and provided a Native interpretation of some landmark events in Canadian history, including the formation of Indian policy. Spirit Song, a Vancouver-based company, produces a wide variety of performances, including expository pieces and traditional legends. Reflecting on their purpose, the actors say that their goals are to “generate awareness and understanding of Indian people and their lifestyles” and in so doing, see themselves as “assuming the role of the dying breed of the old Indian storyteller.” Other analogies are made by artists who suggest that the role of the Native performer can be likened to a modern day “cultural warrior,” or a “hunter of the city.”

Recent innovations in Native theatre integrate the traditional content of oral and visual performance (stories, songs, legends and dance), with contemporary issues (such as

leadership, land tenure, substance abuse, and suicide) into dramatic presentations. Self-reflective pieces have appeared, such as the prize-winning Rez Sisters, produced by Tomson Highway. Set on a reserve in Manitoulin Island (Ontario), it portrays seven women who set out to change their lives and make their fortunes in Toronto at the world’s largest bingo. According to the program notes, this play provides a window to the aboriginal world, framing both its faults and pleasures. The playwright spoke of returning the Trickster, an important psychological device in traditional oral performance, “back to where he belongs: firmly entrenched in the collective consciousness of the North American Indian people...On a spiritual level the Trickster was driven almost to extinction...and it’s our responsibility as artists to bring him back to life” (Tomson Highway).

Film follows much the same themes as theatre and is additionally used to document contemporary and traditional activities. Film maker Len George states:

One of the biggest things holding native people back is the oppression of their identity through negative stereotypes. If I can do anything with my life to change this, I will.

Others use film to document reserves of cultural knowledge for a wider audience, in much the same way cultural centres now video-tape traditional skills for educational purposes and to re-connect the elders with the younger generation. Montagnais film maker, André Vollant, says: "I want to immortalize the traditions of the Elders, build a bridge between generations, teach the young people their origins and have them re-discover their identity." Film with the theme of cultural survival is also being used to galvanize social programs. An example of this is the unusual and powerful self-portrayal of the Alkali Lake Band (B.C.) in their production, The Honour of All, where band members re-enact their successful struggle to combat alcohol in their community, and where they recount their cultural and economic innovations in the time following.

It is important to note that this ideology of cultural survival is not stationary in any sense. It reflects a particular historical process that, having achieved certain ends, will likely move in different directions. Cultural performance may well herald some of these changes and different themes will inevitably present themselves. There is already a movement away from the constraints of “traditional Native art,” where up to now artistic expression has been in the custody of discrete cultural groups, the commercial art market, and so forth.

31 Secwepemc News 1986 (July/August): 8, recounts the activities of the Chevak theatre company in Alaska, where the theatre program is integrated into the life of the community, and where elders work closely with students and parents participate in community improvisation sessions.
35 Rencontre 1985 6 (4): 10. Vollant has documented the use of medicinal plants interwoven with the theme of survival during hunting season.
and art historians. Some artists are beginning to assert the right to individual expression rather than choose to reflect a collective identity through established artistic traditions and themes. An exhibit entitled Beyond History, mounted in May 1989 at the Vancouver Art Gallery in cooperation with the Woodland Indian Cultural Centre, represents perhaps the first such formal challenge to both Native and non-Native audiences. The essays in the accompanying catalogue emphasize the emergence of the personal (and personally political) aesthetic vision. A consequent polarization of artists is identified, occurring between those who have chosen to elaborate traditional styles and those who are following a more personal vision (Hill 1989: 13; Duffek 1989: 27). This exhibit was set in an area of the country where Native art has flourished and has achieved significant commercial and artistic status on the basis of its continuity with traditional styles. Some of the opposition voiced from this quarter protests that the work of these new artists reflects an artistic assimilation, thereby threatening its established cultural integrity (Duffek 1989: 27): “Northwest Coast art continues as an expression of a collective identity beyond the personal; that is, as a representation of one’s ancestral culture through oneself.” Perhaps Native artists working in the mainstream of contemporary art are the first to challenge notions about the primary purpose of art and to question the ethnographic contextualization of that art. While I am looking particularly at the aspect of cultural communication that emphasizes a collective and distinct cultural identity as a means for achieving specific development goals, it is also important to note this theme of individual expression because, among other things, it indicates a move to desegregate Native cultural productions from those of the mainstream.

The relationship of museums to cultural continuity

Just as Indians attached spiritual significance to the treaties and agreements that were concluded between our governments, we also place a sacred trust in the idea that museums are intended to help our culture survive, and even grow (Rick Hill 1988: 32).

Museums are important actors in this story because they represent an intersection between some of the Native goals of cultural preservation and the related goals of the dominant society. Museums represent the primary mechanism for collecting, preserving, and interpreting the cultural history of the dominant society; they have also undertaken, for various historical and intellectual reasons, to interpret other cultures including the indigenous Native cultures. Native people have served as a resource for museums throughout these years, grist not only for speculation about other cultures, but for speculation about the primacy of the dominant culture. Richard Hill, Mohawk artist and curator, notes that “we hardly ever think of Indians as a significant constituency of museums, we see Indians as suppliers of artifacts, crafts, paintings and an occasional dance or two” (1988: 32).

How museums have dealt with the Native constituency, and how they might do this in the future (rather than whether or not it is appropriate for them to do this at all) is a central consideration in this thesis. How Native people have used aspects of the museum—the incorporation of museographic techniques into community development strategies and the
use of the Native museum to replace traditional museum stereotypes with contemporary images of living Native cultures—represents a significant element in their current cultural initiatives. The museum is itself a recurring symbol in prevailing ideas about cultural survival. It is at once a negative symbol with positive potential and practical applications. Because museums have both facilitated the survival of aspects of Native cultures and have at the same time implied their extinction, the relationship of the museum to its Native constituency is a complex one. However, it is also changing as Native cultural organizations claim the right to interpret themselves and the right to cultural autonomy.

Museums holding information and material collections relating to Native cultures have come under a great deal of critical attention in the past few years. Much of this has to do with the complex and contentious issues of ownership and authority over these collections. Although these issues that will not be universally resolved, clear precedents and a number of preliminary guidelines are emerging.\(^{36}\) The pattern indicated is that claims and requests can only be considered on an individual basis; human remains and ceremonial and sacred objects carry added weight to any request for use and/or repatriation. There is a growing acknowledgement that relations between Native people and museums must be restructured in order to allow productive discussions and beneficial working relationships (Hill 1977; Ames, Harrison, and Nicks 1988: 49).

The way that museums have characteristically portrayed Native cultures in the past has provided an important point of departure, both positive and negative, for the present reclamation activities. In preserving certain kinds of cultural knowledge (ethnographic information, visual records and material culture), museums have provided a significant resource for Native cultural initiatives. Throughout, museums have promoted some tenacious stereotypes of Indians and later, as Native cultures persisted, museums have maintained the stereotype of extinct cultures fixed in an ethnographic time just prior to, and just after, the arrival of European settlers. Stereotypes, however, have been exchanged: what a museum is, what it does, and how it is seen to represent Native people is also stereotyped by its Native constituency.

\(^{36}\) Some examples: 1974 [U.S.]: Erie County [New York] Historical Society formed a six member Iroquois advisory committee “to negotiate the return of sacred objects, plan exhibits and education programs that present a positive, accurate image of Native Americans....” (Hill 1977: 44). 1985 [U.S.]: the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, in consultation with a number of agencies, drafted the *Guidelines for the Consideration of Traditional Cultural Values* (Shea 1985: 8; Echo-Hawk 1986: 453). Although these appear to have been well-received by Native and non-Native agencies, they have not yet passed as legislation despite numerous submissions. 1987 [Canada]: The Ad Hoc Committee on *Museums and Native Collections* submitted a draft proposal for wider consideration: *Proposed Museum Policies for Ethnological Collections and the Peoples they Represent* (Ames, Harrison, and Nicks 1988: 47). 1988 [U.S.]: The Council of the American Association of Museums adopted a *Policy on Repatriation of Native American Ceremonial Objects and Human Remains*.
Often cast as the villain of the piece, by insiders as well as by outsiders, museums are actually part of a larger story that has to do with the way the past is perceived and characteristically represented. This in turn has to do with the history of anthropology, and of Western thought, and the way "other" cultures are understood. This intellectual tradition, combined with the effects of European contact on indigenous cultures, influenced the way that ethnological collections were first established and the way that ideas about the threatened cultures were acted out. This setting gave rise to a particular set of ideas regarding authenticity and tradition as the combined interests of anthropologists, museum collectors and traders approached what they believed to be dying cultures.

Non-native ideas about the past, and about the use of the past, are cast into relief by many of the notions Native people have about their own past, and the use of this past in the present. The differences in these ideas provide some of the defining features of cultural centres. Although cultural centres are not museums, they often contain a museum or refer to a museum function as part of their long range plan. A number of traditional museum activities as well as a number traditional ethnographic techniques are employed by those working for cultural centres as they become journalist/anthropologists and collectors in their own communities. The purpose of these emerging Native museums is to re-define some of the popular and negative ideas about Native culture for Native and non-Native audiences alike (Doxtator 1985, 1988), to respond actively to the way Native cultures have been portrayed in non-Native museum exhibits (Jules 1988a), and to re-define the stereotype of a museum held by Native people themselves (American Indian Museums Association 1979: 33).

There is a strong argument to be made for the conceptual placement of Native cultural centres with non-Native museums, despite the argument that they should not be mistaken for each other and that there are some essential differences that constitute the defining features of each. Needless to say, this has important implications for funding support. It also has implications for the desegregation of cultural activities and the recognition of a common interest. The goals of cultural education programs and centres are an amplification of the fundamental goals of museums: the preservation and interpretation of the cultural heritage (of a locality, region or nation). They share with museums the activity of collection, cultural interpretation, and education, but they are not yet recognized as museological.

37 There is an emerging criticism of the continued placement of Native cultural productions into an anthropological context, for example the traditional museum/gallery context (Faris 1988). Some Native artists are moving away from what they regard as the constraints of traditional expression of tribal ideology into a more individual and personally political expression (Hill 1989). Doxtator (1988) notes that the academy still has difficulty accepting Indian art, history, literature, music, and technology without first prefacing these productions in an anthropological way: Indian art, Indian music, and so on. There is also the question of whether, freed from this "ethnological fate," these productions undergo a kind of equivalent transformation into "fine art" (Ames 1987).
initiatives by the non-Native museum community unless cultural centres emphasize their
museum function. In this case, specific and recognized museum activities are eligible for
support, such as the building of display cases, the upgrading of environment controls for
collections storage, and so on. The innovations that cultural education programs bring to
the overall heritage industry need to be recognized in the scheme of things. It is, after all, an
enterprise made up of all manner of activities that make use of the past. In the meantime,
Native professionals in the cultural field have ahead of them the difficult task of taking
their place in the established national museum community. If oversights in the recent
discussion paper *Challenges and Choices* 38 are any indication, it will be some time before an
awareness of issues facing museums with regard to Native interests surfaces into planning
strategies:

This chapter [Issues facing Museums] does not reflect the relative importance of
Native museums and Native material in museums. Clearly, the issues involved in
this area are extremely important to Indian and Inuit people as well as museum
professionals, and no attempt has been made to address them in this discussion
paper (Jules 1988a).

Up to now there has been little common ground between museums and Native people,
and both sides are only beginning to determine where that ground is to be. Pressure from
Native groups, and from those museum professionals who work with the Native
constituency, are ensuring that museums are changing the way they think about and present
indigenous cultures. Relationships between anthropologists and Native people are also
changing and museum anthropologists may well find themselves uncomfortably at the
forefront of these changes. The pace of change has been accelerated by the coalescence of
Native cultural development goals that indicates, among other things, a discerning Native
audience that no longer admits anthropologists freely. Some of the tensions between the
goals of university-based anthropology and local research interests are being resolved
through locally-negotiated research strategies based on collaboration (Cruikshank 1987).

At the same time, non-Native cultural agencies are beginning to give greater emphasis to
working partnerships as their knowledge about Native needs and organizations increases
through direct requests for their services and resources, and as they are increasingly
required to meet challenges from Native groups. An example of the latter—an outcome of
pressures brought to bear on a recent major exhibit of Native material culture presented by
the Glenbow Museum—was an unprecedented national conference, *Preserving our Heritage*,

38 A paper recently released by the federal Department of Communications (May 1988) as
part of the process to arrive at a comprehensive museum policy.
that involved museums and Native people in November of 1988. Approximately one hundred and fifty people representing numerous interest groups attended and a strong consensus for ongoing discussion emerged.

At the same time, it must be remembered that museums are continually facing challenges that will effect how they present Us, as well as the Other. Intellectually, the state of thinking about museums is in flux, prompted by economic conditions that demand more self-sufficiency of museums (especially from those distant from the centre of the country), and by shifting styles of presentation, if comparisons between the West Edmonton Mall, the Superbowl, and the new Museum of Civilization are any indication (Gray 1988; Ames 1988a; MacDonald 1988).

Government support for all cultural initiatives is at best variable, and this is especially so for Native initiatives which are as yet little understood, or superficially understood with reference to non-Native notions about culture. Native cultural programs are funded separately from non-Native programs and they have as yet the aura of insecurity that comes with temporary and short-term funding. The provincial level of support is more variable yet, and in some cases almost non-existent. While Quebec has had, for a number of years, a strong support program for Native heritage, with few restrictions on what constitutes a heritage initiative, British Columbia is only now beginning to look at Native heritage needs. Up until now, the primary source for short-term heritage funding, the B.C. Heritage Trust, has supported relatively few Native heritage initiatives, and none that go outside standard non-Native definitions of heritage. (See Appendix 4: British Columbia Heritage Trust: Native Heritage projects funded, 1981-1987.) Although heritage support has been under review for the past few years in British Columbia, it appears to be hampered by culture-bound notions of what constitutes heritage and heritage organizations. In 1987 the British Columbia provincial government launched a task force (Project Pride) and hearings were held in communities throughout the province (Jules 1988a). These hearings resulted in

39 The conference was held in Ottawa at Carleton University. It was prompted by the Assembly of First Nations [AFN] during a press conference held by the Canadian Museum of Civilization to publicize The Spirit Sings. The AFN called for a meeting that would provide an agenda for discussing some of the more controversial issues raised by the mounting of this exhibit, and to look at other issues of concern to Native people with regard to museums in general. The issues are defined in a special issue of Muse (Canadian Museums Association), entitled Museums and the First Nations: the repossession of cultural heritage, the unhealthy colonial relationship between First Nations and Museums, and the politics surrounding the acceptance of contemporary Native art in terms of esthetic judgements rather than ethnographic values (1988 6(3): 2). See also: Ames 1990 (in press); Blundell and Grant (1989) for a summary article concerning the issues raised at the conference; the report of Townsend-Gault 1989; and the report of Thunder 1989 which includes a summary of the recommendations.

40 See also Mohs (1987: 145) and Simonsen (1984: 2, cf. Mohs 1987). Simonsen notes that as recently as 1984 less than four percent of all funds allotted by the B.C. Heritage Trust went to Native projects of any kind.
recommendations calling for more Native involvement and consultation and increased support of Native heritage programs. However, it appears that the Native Heritage Centre Advisory Committee which was formed on the basis of this task force, is still operating on the idea of a single and central facility despite the fact that this proposal that was rejected by Native leaders when it first surfaced in 1987 in the "Speech from the Throne."

To further clarify my own involvement in these issues, I should note that my interest is rooted in a long membership in the museum community. In dealing particularly with the management of information about cultural/history collections, I came to some unsettling conclusions about the way we deal with our own heritage, let alone that of others. We remain dogged in our efforts to inspire our audiences through more aesthetic and technologically breathtaking presentations of material collections, and resist any attempt to extend the museum information system to include other less-tangible domains of culture. Like many in my profession, I have followed closely any innovations in the way we think about museums, particularly the development of ecomuseums. And like many, I have participated in the long standing debate concerning the future role of museums and have often asked whether, in changing form and emphasis, the museum can take its enterprise in truly new directions.

One of the most promising directions in the way we have come to think about the museum enterprise is in the context of community development. Here, new demands are made on accepted ideas about what a museum is meant to do. The most notable innovation, "new museology," has attempted to merge museum methods with concepts of community development. For example, it has been suggested that museums have a potentially important role to play for their ability to present "developed images" (Boulding 1966: 64), and "appropriate technologies" (International Council of Museums 1982: 6) to developing countries. Development, in this context, refers to importing museums, personnel, and technology into local communities. In this setting, museums can provide alternative educational institutions. They are seen as a means for salvaging traditional knowledge and at the same time they are in a position to promote Western technologies in the interest of alleviating rural poverty. Closer to home, museum programs concerned with community development are situated in areas considered at risk as a consequence of depressed socio-economic circumstances. Here they represent a working partnership between the itinerant museum professional and key members of the communities. This new kind of museum, called an "ecomuseum" in its initial form, is also being increasingly promoted to developing countries and it has been adopted, in a few cases, by North American Native communities in a modified form.

While these innovations are refreshing they seem to have failed, at least initially, to take into account some of the already well-developed and clearly museological innovations proposed indirectly by Native communities in their cultural programs. This is undoubtedly changing as museum consultants brought in by Native communities find that they are having to stretch and alter the museum model they advocate in order to incorporate the
range of activities that Native communities would often like supported under one cultural organization, be it a museum or a cultural centre.

The question of whether museums can successfully serve externally initiated development programs needs more consideration. The way that indigenous populations in Canada have adapted museographic techniques into a much larger development scheme suggests that an evaluation of some of the basic premises with which museums presently approach the development situation is in order. At this time, development is seen to be served in some measure if local populations have been encouraged to consider their collective past and their future viability through museographic devices intended to activate a collective sense of identity. While these considerations are also significant in the cultural education programs of aboriginal groups in Canada, some important ingredients are missing. These have largely to do with scope (what constitutes culture/heritage), and with who the key actors are (museums or the community). Clearly museums have a role to play, given their specialized evolution for the task of preserving cultural materials, but there are distinct limitations to museum schemes initiated by outside authorities. If museums are to be instituted in community development activities at home and abroad, it is important that the cultural reclamation activities of Native communities in Canada are taken into consideration, with particular attention to their scope and their definition of heritage.

Innovations and criticism not withstanding, it is clear that the museum is a viable cultural institution and that, for Native and non-Native people alike, it is not seriously in question however seriously we continue to pose questions about its role and purpose in a changing world. The question that has been asked is whether museums are necessary for the right reasons (Ames 1986: 72). There are more museums now than ever before, and museum attendance figures reveal, if anything, their increasing popularity. With museum trends towards a more grand scale, there is the growing sense from inside the profession that irreversible compromises are made, creating even more tension between the goals of education/research and those of entertainment/tourism. In this context, museums of anthropology will be additionally be compelled to demonstrate their utility to their Native constituency on the basis of the very things (research programs, training opportunities) that are jeopardized by the sheer weight of emphasis on popularizing. Much has been said about the declining popularity and credibility of museum anthropologists in the eyes of their traditional subjects (Lurie 1976; Preston 1983; Tremblay 1983; Ames 1986), but the benefits in responding to the expressed requirements of Native cultural reclamation activities include an affirmation of the scholarly role of the museum, and a re-focusing rather than an eradication of the traditional interests of museum anthropologists. There is every indication that attentiveness to the goals of the Native constituency (access to collections

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and intellectual resources, collaborative research arrangements, shared exhibit curation, training programs and so on) will also, ultimately, serve the scholarly goals of the museum.
2. **Background themes: culture, heritage, and different views about the past**

The old man I talked to, told me the place had been known to help many people. He told me the use of the place was tied to the beliefs and medicine way of our people. He said, "Tom, it's important that the place be protected. But the fact that it was a medicine place which once meant something to our people, isn't enough. It's like an old basket on a museum shelf. You can't preserve our culture that way. It's using them things that's important. In using it, you understand it. It's the same with that place. What the people are really trying to preserve is our ways. If you are interested in preserving that place then you got to understand that. It's our ways that need to be preserved, then that place can be protected because then it has a purpose to be protected. You got to learn about them things and pass it on to others."

...I saw that it was like that with all the ways of our people. Like our language. We couldn't preserve it by having a linguist come and record it to be put away so it wouldn't be lost. We could only preserve it by using it. It was the same with our values and our rights. We couldn't protect our rights on paper if we didn't practice our rights. I realized then that it was simple.... that the practice of things separated us from other peoples. I realized then that's what culture is.¹

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... I wander among fragments of gods  
Tarnished coins, embalmed gestures chronologically arranged 
Looking for the exit sign.  
But in spite of the diagrams at every corner labelled in red 
You are here 
The labyrinth holds me, turning me around the cafeteria and washrooms 
A spiral through the marble Greece and Rome, the bronzed horses of China 
Then past the carved masks, wood and fur, to where five plaster Indians in a glass case 
squat near a dusty fire 
And further confronting me with a skeleton child 
Preserved in the desert air, curled beside a clay pot with a few beads 
I say I am far enough 
Stop here please 
No more.  
But the perverse museum, corridor by corridor, repeats its memories  
And I am dragged to the mind's dead end 
The roar of the boneyard  
And I am lost among the mastodons and beyond  
A fossil shell.  
Then samples of rocks and minerals  
Even the thundering tusks dwindle to pinpoints in the stellar fluorescent lighted wastes of geology.

MARGARET ATWOOD: A night in the Royal Ontario Museum ²

¹ From the novel SLASH. Armstrong 1985: 210, 211.
The Cultural/Educational Centres Program and The Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.

The purpose of a Cultural Education Centre is to provide for the personal development necessary for social and economic achievement in today's society. This personal development is achieved when an individual knows himself fully: his personal identity, dignity and potential. The Cultural Education Centre will promote this through studies of Indian history, culture, language and values.

By learning ways to apply traditional beliefs, values and skills to survival in modern society, and by learning modern skills and behaviours needed to participate in the benefits of economic and social development, the Indian will gain self-confidence and independence. The Cultural Education Centre will be designed to meet these needs and to make up for deficiencies in other educational programs.... These Centres must be Indian controlled and operated, in view of the fact that they are established for Indian purposes and use (National Indian Brotherhood 1972: 16, 17).

The Centres have...become critical units in the comprehensive strategy of Indian governments to achieve economic, social and political self-reliance. That strategy is based on three major Indian policy statements published in the 1970's.... Each of these statements emphasizes the central and crucial role of culture....Our Indian Cultural/Educational Centres could be, and in some cases already are, powerhouses sparking a revival of our communities, giving direction to our socio-economic strategies and building bridges of understanding between ourselves and Canadians (Riley 1979: iii-iv).

The importance of cultural education can no longer be underestimated or considered supplementary "frill" program. Culture is the very spirit of Indian people and cannot be ignored as the central focus for all Indian development programs. Cultural Education Centres play a crucial role in providing programs that not only enrich Indian life in communities but also act as a prevention agent against the lowering of self-esteem, the lack of pride or the absence of dignity [National Committee of Indian Cultural Educational Centres 1982: 18].

What exactly is a cultural education centre? Specifically, it is the outcome of a Native proposal for an "Indian Education Centre" which was adopted in principle in 1971 by the Federal Government at the Cabinet level. It represents, in many ways, the final chapter to the long history of cultural cross-purposes which began with the first attempts to assimilate Native people into "mainstream" society in the 1800's. By using the same device designated for the eradication of Native cultures—re-education—the cultural education centre is a contemporary mechanism that has been designed to ensure the strengthening of Native cultures and indigenous languages.

Some see this new centre as a temporary replacement of traditional forms of cultural transmission, a surrogate bridge between the elders and the youth. Some also see it as a framework that has been built across the unprecedented break in cultural transmission. This break is most evident in the present generation of parents and political leaders who have come through the system of residential schooling. Most would agree that the cultural

3 Riley refers to Citizens Plus, more commonly known as the "Red Paper" (Indian Association of Alberta 1970), Indian Control of Indian Education (National Indian Brotherhood 1972), and A Strategy for the Socio-economic Development of Indian Peoples, vols. I and II (National Indian Brotherhood 1976-77).
education centre represents a concentration of expertise and cultural resources, and that it serves as a repository for specialized knowledge. Moreover, it brings forward the questions that this generation ask of their parents and their elders: what they need to know in order to establish the claim to their homelands and to their rights as First Peoples, and what they want to know about their culture. While it is important to note that many efforts to maintain and transmit Native cultures also take place outside of cultural centres in formal and informal ways, the cultural education centre is a unique organizational device for communicating designated cultural knowledge in more widely available ways.

At this time, the cultural education centre is more a complex of programs rather than a place with characteristic facilities. A number of centres, including Secwepemc and Coqualeetza, in fact occupy old government residential schools. There is no little irony here because, until the 1960's, these schools represented the primary means for eradicating Native cultures as a consequence of Canada's active assimilation policy. Cultural education societies have been "encouraged and sometimes required" to use obsolete federal buildings such as former residential schools by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development [DIAND] support program (O'Connell 1980: 51). No capital funding is provided for building costs thus leaving cultural education societies with the high cost of maintaining these old buildings. DIAND specifically supports cultural programs with a nominal provision for administrative costs.

The 1970 proposal by the Indian Association of Alberta provided a detailed description of the programs envisioned under one roof. It was included in the "Red Paper" of June 1970, but in March 1970 the proposal had already circulated through a number of different departments in the federal government. Harold Cardinal, the president of this association, outlined an educational and cultural centre where Indian families could come to learn of their culture, history and language, in order to enable them to go back to serve their own communities.

The idea of the Centre was started by Indian people; it will be run by Indian people for Indian people.

The Centre will serve as an educational complex where single people and family units will be able to attend and live in residence in order to learn about the history, culture and language of the different Indian tribes in Alberta.

Great importance will be given to individual and group learning. But using modern tools the Indian people will re-discover their identity, develop pride and awareness of what the Indian was, is today, and what may hold for the future.

...the main emphasis will be on cultural learning that will go on in the Council Chamber, in the Band Rooms, in the Language Rooms, where the Indian students will develop a deep awareness of what it means to be Indian, and how this awareness will help him in living in this society dominated by non-Indians (Indian Association of Alberta 1970:85-86)


The proposal by the Indian Association of Alberta was followed by three subsequent proposals for similar centres in British Columbia, Saskatchewan and New Brunswick. Because these requests fell outside the scope of existing programs, Cabinet authority was sought to form a sub-committee to investigate the whole concept of Native cultural education centres.\(^6\) The support of Cabinet followed the withdrawal of the beleaguered White Paper,\(^7\) a policy proposal that intended to remove the special legal status of Native people: "they will be equal under the law but they risk losing certain of their traditions, certain aspects of a culture, and perhaps even lose certain of their basic rights...."\(^8\) Some saw this as termination in the guise of creating a constitutional equality for Native people (Weaver 1981: 6). The resounding indictment of this document by Native people throughout the country, supported by the press and other sectors of the public, forced a reconsideration of Indian policy and the support of Native cultural initiatives. These events prompted the formation of many Native political organizations and with them, a concerted clarification of cultural goals. Weaver notes that the White Paper in fact became the "single most powerful catalyst of the Indian nationalist movement, launching it into a...reaffirmation of a unique cultural heritage and identity" (1981: 171).

A sub-committee, the Interdepartmental Committee on Indian and Eskimo Policy, was given the task of examining the original proposal for an Indian Education Centre and, after a year of work, the Committee reported its findings to Cabinet (Evalucan 1978: 19). The resulting program, the Cultural/Educational Centres Program, was initially given a very high level of government support\(^{ibid}\) p.18, and only later was it passed down through the ranks of the DIAND. The plan was to support these centres on a five-year renewable basis:

> You are all aware, I am sure, that the first phase of the Cultural/Educational Centres Program has been announced. This program is in direct response to your expressed needs for a learning environment that will help the Indian people to develop a better understanding and appreciation of their current as well as historical role in Canadian society (Jean Chretien, 1972).\(^9\)

The guiding principles outlined by the sub-committee provided the basis on which Cabinet established the Cultural/Educational Centres Program (Evalucan 1978:20):

1. They indicated that the aim of the Native Cultural/Educational Centres was to make the process of education meaningful and relevant to the Indian himself and, by doing so, to stimulate a new sense of self-awareness and self-reliance among Indian peoples. They argued on the premise that an Indian who has a firm base in his own culture—and who has been given the opportunity to

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7 The White Paper on Indian Policy (Government of Canada 1969) was developed by an interdepartmental task force committee and presented in June 1969.


acquire a solid understanding of the traditions and values of that culture— is much more willing to participate in a larger society, with pride and dignity than one who has been educated only in the mainstream of the majority culture.

2. The Centres were to encourage involvement of the total family in the education process.

3. The Centres were to involve Native people in the decision making process, and to gain support from Native people at the community level. Proposals for the Centres were to be accompanied by verified support from relevant Band Councils as well as from Indian and Metis Associations.

4. The Centres would be developed, directed and managed by Native people with specialized technological assistance brought in by them as required.

5. Centres could vary widely in complexity and according to the Cultural Educational needs of the groups originating the Centre proposals.

Significantly, the principles outlined by this committee were broad and in keeping with the intention of the Indian Education Centre. The original proposal stressed a strong tie to the community, emphasized local development, and allowed for varying levels of complexity. Ironically, in the wake of the White Paper, the Cultural/Educational Centres Program was seen as the touchstone of a new Indian policy. It also reflected the first move to recognize “Indian control of Indian Education” which did not appear as a policy document until the following year. However, by 1979 it was apparent that the original funding allocation had been significantly reduced\(^\text{10}\) despite the considerable success of the Program and an increased demand for its services. (See also Appendix 14: DIAND Cultural/Educational Centres, funds allocated for the fiscal year 1986-1987.)

We are aware of the extraordinary support that the Program receives from the 279 communities it serves and of the some 100 to 150 requests received from other communities who wish to participate.... Research has concluded that the Cultural Education Centre is unique in the Western world as an institution or means to foster relevant learning.\(^\text{11}\)

It also become apparent that the aims of the Program and the activities of the centres did not match very well. At present, the programs of the cultural centres are variously defined according to local priorities. Overall they include research and archival functions, program development (language, curriculum, and various community programs), communication programs (newspapers and other publications, audio visual media), and often museum programs (exhibits, collections, and conservation). The goals of the centres invariably place the preservation and documentation of culture and history foremost. This is followed by an emphasis on education, self-development and communication. The

\(^{10}\) O'Connell (1979: 2) notes that the per capita allocation is approximately 71% lower in 1979 than it was in 1971, and that the allocations are also 34% lower in absolute terms.

\(^{11}\) From A Discussion Paper on Indian Control of Indian Cultural Education Centres Program 1981:3.
following goals\textsuperscript{12} from various centres exemplify the basic principles of cultural education programs:

\textbullet{} Preserve, record, perpetuate and enhance Shuswap language, history and culture; assist in the collection and display of Shuswap artifacts and archival material; develop a curriculum that will promote Shuswap history, culture and language...\textit{(Secwepemc Cultural Education Society)}.

\textbullet{} To promote and provide education, recreation, and cultural programs, facilities and equipment for the use and benefit of the Indian people of the Fraser Valley and Fraser Canyon; to set up education courses on Indian culture, Band management, leadership and job skills; to promote social, economic growth of the Indians of B.C.; to strengthen communications between the people of our communities \textit{(Coqualeetza Education Training Centre)}.

\textbullet{} To collect, preserve and exhibit Native artifacts of cultural, artistic and historic value to the Kwagu'\l people; to promote and foster carving, dancing, ceremonials and other cultural and artistic activities engaged by the Kwagu'\l people; to collect, record and make available information and records relating to the language and history of the Kwagu'\l people for the use of the Kwagu'\l people...\textit{(U'mista Cultural Society)}.

\textbullet{} To assemble and maintain a permanent and comprehensive record of Heiltsuk history, accomplishments, and knowledge, and to provide other resource materials that will serve as a basis for further research and analysis, the production of educational materials and programs, self-determination, and revitalization and further evolution of Heiltsuk cultural traditions...\textit{(Heiltsuk Cultural Education Centre)}\textsuperscript{13}.

\textbullet{} One of the main goals of the Crees is the preservation and promotion of Cree history, knowledge and skills.... To further these ends, projects and activities which revive and develop the traditional and contemporary cultural skills of the Crees must be supported; research into Cree heritage and culture should be conducted; training programs in traditional skills should be developed; programs should be established to increase the Cree knowledge and use of their language; and methods should be developed to increase Cree access to accurate information about their history, knowledge and skills \textit{(Cree Regional Authority)}\textsuperscript{14}.

\textbullet{} Goals for the Cultural Education Centre should be categorized into one specific area: Culture: This means people who come to the Centre should be able to develop cultural understanding of the Cree people whose culture is being exposed through the written materials and the artifacts of the museum section \textit{(Saddle Lake Cultural Education Centre)}.

\textbullet{} To revitalize, maintain, perpetuate and promote North American Indian culture, by Indian people, for Indian people and others in world society...\textit{(North American Indian Travelling College)}.

These goals are provided by DIAND (1977:1-2):

1. To revive and develop traditional and contemporary cultural skills of Indian and Inuit people.

\textsuperscript{12} The goals are given verbatim from the brochures describing these centres. I have included them in the order they are listed and indicate [with "..." ] where more goals are given but not included here.

\textsuperscript{13} 1985-86 Program and budget submission.

\textsuperscript{14} Cree Regional Authority, 1983: 14.
2. To conduct and/or facilitate research in Indian/Inuit heritage and culture.
3. To increase Indian/Inuit peoples' knowledge and use of their traditional languages.
4. To develop Indian/Inuit resources.
5. To develop and test culturally-oriented educational curricula, methods and materials for use by established and other programs.
6. To promote cross-cultural awareness in mainstream educational programs and institutions.
7. To develop, and increase access to, new and more accurate information about Indian/Inuit heritage.
8. To improve the opportunities for the public to become more knowledgeable about and sensitive to the historical and current role of Indian/Inuit people in Canada.

It is clear, in retrospect, that the various federal agencies that worked to establish the Cultural/Educational Centres Program did not envision the comprehensive approach the centres would develop. The DIAND guidelines do support revival of skills, research in heritage and culture, and development of curriculum materials with a cultural orientation. The goals established by the centres, however, have significantly extended these guidelines. Consequently, an uneasy relationship has developed between the centres and the Department. The inability of Native organizations to substantially effect the direction and the administration of the Cultural/Educational Centres Program has created a great deal of frustration and a sense of unfulfilled promises pervades the relationship:

The announcement of the Federal Government's Native Cultural/Education Centres Program in 1971 was welcomed by Indians as a positive gesture that promised much. It suggested a new respect for Indian Nations and a willingness to allow the possibility of genuine Indian control of a project which touched the most intimate of Indian concerns. But the promise has not been fulfilled. Under the administration of the Department of Indian Affairs and the passive neglect of the Government, the original concept of the program has been progressively weakened, its priority diminished.... (Del Riley, National Indian Brotherhood, 1980).\footnote{15 Cited in O'Connell 1980: ii.}

An external evaluation of the Cultural/Educational Centres Program in 1978 suggests that, despite the apparently clear intention of the original goals of the Cultural/Educational Centres Program, an early confusion about the concept of cultural education has persisted (Evalucan 1978: 23). According to this evaluation, the confusion on the part of the various federal authorities who shared responsibility for the Program is reflected in the lack of clarity in the original mandate. It was also later observed that DIAND gave more emphasis to education than culture (Committee of Indian Cultural Education Centres 1982: 3). More significant, much of this confusion and sense of cross-purposes is seen to be a consequence of the fundamentally different notions of culture and education held by DIAND and by the Indian communities (O'Connell 1979: 29).
The particular combination of education and culture that these centres emphasize does not match the categorical distinctions between the cultural activities of the dominant culture: "The problem of governments, or anybody, in understanding what is a cultural centre...a cultural education centre, [is] because in the outside world the culture is spread out into museums, art galleries, libraries." Additionally, culture is not sufficiently understood for its particular role in development and education. DIAND has also been criticized for a general lack of philosophy regarding education, especially at the developmental stages where Indian organizations are concentrating their efforts:

The Cultural/Educational Centres are, in many instances, the only bodies who are examining the actual learning needs of bands. They are, on their own merit, designing curriculum material, and developing language programs. The Department on the whole is not influential in the form of providing a service or impact in the area of programming but rather is concerned to the greatest extent with strictly administering (Evalucan 1978: 55).

The objective of the original joint agreement concerning the Cultural/Educational Centres Program was to improve the quality of Indian education and to increase Indian control of Indian education (O'Connell 1979: 11). DIAND has been criticized for emphasizing the educational aspects of this program over the cultural, and thus preventing the Centres from expanding their activities into other areas of culture-based development. DIAND is seen to place culture as an adjunct to education, as merely supplementary, where Native communities give it primary importance (National Committee, Indian Cultural Educational Centres 1982: 3). The Cultural/Educational Centres Program was in fact moved from its original position within the Secretary of State (where it appeared to be given greater priority), into the Education branch of the DIAND and thereby into the regular program structure where it had to compete with all the other programs. Despite the original broad statement of DIAND goals that included research in culture and language, there appears to be a preferential support given to Native cultural initiatives that stress the commercialized arts and crafts.

The 1980 annual report of the National Steering Committee criticizes the Department on the basis of a positivistic definition of culture that emphasizes the material aspects of culture to the exclusion of other aspects (O'Connell 1980: 29). A "pan-Indian"

16 From a taped interview with Rita Jack, program director, Secwepemc Cultural Education Society, March 1987.
17 The 1980 annual report of the National Steering Committee of the Cultural/Education Centres Program notes that the National Indian Arts and Crafts Corporation (set up and controlled by DIAND), effectively competes with the Cultural/Educational Centres Program in the annual DIAND budgeting process (O'Connell 1980: 31).
18 This is the first public report of the National Steering Committee, the Native organization set up to advise DIAND. Funds were made available through the Saskatchewan Indian Cultural College. Dr. Victor O'Connell, of the Kanata Institute for Development and Cultural Pluralism, was commissioned to prepare the report and it circulated as a first draft in 1980. I refer to the first draft here.
(and anthropological) definition is proposed in this document, one that refers to culture as a
way of life and a system of meaning. This definition indicates that culture is something that
stretches into the past and the future, and that it is expressed in language, arts, rituals,
survival skills, family and technology (Ibid p.32). These differences are not elaborated
beyond a distinction between the holistic notions of the one and the positivistic notions of
the other. Yet this difference in an understanding about what constitutes culture, and
consequently what constitutes appropriate cultural activities, indicates a fundamental
mis-alignment between those that set the criteria for cultural education programs and the
communities that define their goals on the basis of a much wider and essentially more
complex concept of "cultural skills," "cultural research," "the development of resources,"
"cross-cultural awareness," and "accurate information." It is not the purpose of this
research to make what might appear to be rather obvious suggestions, but rather to explore
some of the differences further. Native concepts of culture are readily visible in the way that
the various cultural programs are outlined and in the way these programs are integrated into
the larger scheme of things.

Culture and heritage

Culture has to do with our food, our housing, our clothing, and our methods of
travel. It has to do with our view of the world, its creation, and the interaction of
the plant life, animal and bird life, and human life. It has to do with the ways we
organize our society with the Government and regulation of our society. It has to
do with the games we play, the songs we sing, the dances we dance, and the art we
create, but most important of all, it has to do with our language, our philosophy,
our relationship with the creator, our attitudes, our beliefs, and our values.
Societies borrow ideas and technology from other societies. They do not allow
these things to change their basic beliefs and values (Chief John Snow, Stoney
Indian Tribe, Morley, Alberta, 1980).19

Our culture is vibrant and alive, and needs to live. Our culture cannot be limited
to collections of artifacts in museums, and neither can our Stein heritage and
culture and spirituality be confined to certain archaeological sites. This is what
the Wilderness Committee meant when they referred to "heritage and cultural
values" in the Stein, rather than heritage and cultural sites. To my people the
entire Stein watershed is sacred (Chief Ruby Dunstan, Lytton Indian Band,
British Columbia, 1986).20

Yes, well mine [definition of culture] is very simple: culture is a shared lifestyle.
It could be a bad example, like in the early 60's and 70's, the violence and
drinking, and all of that, or it could be now, where we share a lot of different
goals and ideas. But I see the definition of Indian, the definition of culture...is
changing. And to me it's easy. It's a shared lifestyle in which some things change
and some things don't change; some things die a natural death. But, if you take
that definition, then you're able to grow with it and change. If you say, well
Indians are this, well then you have to wear buckskin or otherwise you're not

19 From address cited in National Indian Brotherhood 1980 (Practical Applications, Indian
Control of Indian Education): 35.
Indian, where in fact maybe Indians change (Robert Matthew, Chu Chua/North Thompson Band, British Columbia, 1987)\textsuperscript{21}

How different are Native ideas about culture from non-Native ideas? And how are these differences reflected in the respective cultural activities? Probably the most significant difference is that for the majority society popular notions of culture are linked to entertainment and edification, and particularly to ideas about a national coming-of-age by way of "progress." For the indigenous minority, culture is linked to well-being and health, to the daily practise of things and to a past that is continuous into the present.\textsuperscript{22} Important for both is the link between culture and political and economic autonomy. For the dominant society, this has become apparent over the years in the way that Canadian culture has been guarded against the looming shadow of American culture. But access to health and well-being for the latter is not necessarily equated with access to culture; rather, it is a given. For the indigenous minority, this access has had to be re-structured, specifically through programs that are designed to strengthen indigenous cultures in order to re-establish the sense of collective well-being and, equally, to legitimize the right to a homeland. This notion of well-being with reference to culture is expressed in numerous ways and constitutes a fundamental principle in Native development strategies.

The holistic notion of culture that Native people universally indicate when they talk about their culture is not generally what the dominant society means by culture. When referring to culture, native people talk about values, beliefs and practises, and non-Native people talk about discrete cultural productions and cultural industries. This has a certain legacy in the differences, historically, between tribal societies and industrial societies. The latter reflect their highly differentiated structure (a complex division of labour and modes of production) in a tendency to view the world in differential terms and in productions that are distinct from one another and equally distinct from past modes of production.

The Western, or "modern post industrial"\textsuperscript{23} society, generally deals with culture as a commodity or a production, as something that can be separated from daily life, cultivated in its own right and appreciated at a distance. It is also generally understood as something visible, or accessible in a sensory or concrete way. And at another level, culture is also thought to be something to which people ought to have equal access but in fact, access to culture thus perceived is linked to means, education, and status. These attributes signify, above all, a performer-audience relationship, or a product-consumer relationship where cultural "experiences" are part of the marketplace. For example, MacCannell (1976), in his critical analysis of tourism, notes that access to culture is structured through cultural

\textsuperscript{21} From a taped interview with Robert Matthew, research coordinator for the Secwepemc Cultural Education Society, March 1987.
\textsuperscript{22} Not discussed here is the anthropological definition of culture (as a complex whole which includes knowledge, beliefs and customs), but it is worth noting that Native definitions of culture closely approximate the definition used by anthropology.
\textsuperscript{23} MacCannell 1976: 7-8.
experiences—models of life, aspects of life, displayed through the medium of film, stage, radio and so on—that come about through the composite of audience, medium, and content, which MacCannell has identified as a cultural production (p.24). He also notes that this kind of separation of culture from daily life is not a desirable outcome and, in fact, constitutes a crisis: "Leisure and culture continue to exist at a slight remove from the world of work and everyday life. They are concentrated in vacations, amusements, games, play, and religious observances. This ritual removal of culture from workaday activities has produced the central crisis of industrial society" (MacCannell 1976: 35). MacCannell also notes that all tourist attractions are cultural experiences (p.23) and he observes that these experiences represent a replacement for the real experience and a search for the authentic, the "real" thing.

Culture "and the arts" (and increasingly "recreation") are invariably linked in public thinking and in government policy. There is a complex assumption that the small "c" culture of shared identity (knowledge, beliefs, and values) is made manifest in cultural productions. Where Native people seem to have an almost universal understanding of what they mean by culture, the definitions of non-Native people are inconclusive and numerous. Defining culture—that is, what actually constitutes Canadian culture—is regarded as problematic. This became apparent in the 1982 (first) Federal Cultural Policy Review process:

Culture is, or can be, an elusive concept. In everyday speech, the word "culture" is normally used in a number of different and overlapping ways. And there are literally hundreds of formal definitions of culture. Some people define the term very broadly to include virtually all areas of human activity and ways of life. Some define it only slightly more narrowly as the communication of human experience in symbolic terms. Others limit the use of the term strictly to a relatively small field of classical and traditional art forms. Still others make distinctions between types of culture. It is in this context that such terms arise as "high culture," "folk culture," "mass culture" and "popular culture." But even here, what looks at first to be simple and obvious distinctions become more complicated on closer inspection.24

Although the committee did not want to limit itself to a rigid definition of Canadian culture, it did proceed to set out careful distinctions as to what constituted a cultural matter. Although these distinctions were created, or reconstructed for the purpose of the review, they also reflect the practical distinctions that have long been used. The broad areas that were differentiated from each other included the performing arts, the visual arts, literature (oral and written), heritage resources (museums, galleries, collections, historic parks, sites and monuments), knowledge and information resources (libraries, archives), and cultural industries (crafts, film, sound recording, book and periodical publishing, the press, broadcasting and communications).25 This composite of cultural productions so defined provided the reviewers with a framework for looking at Canadian culture and for

25 Ibid. p. 5, 6.
determining the direction of the cultural institutions indicated above. The equation between cultural agencies and culture itself is also particularly strong. Canadian cultural agencies are seen not only to transmit Canadian culture, but to create and to hold this culture in trust.

In contrast, Native thoughts about culture reveal an active emphasis on culture as an accessible unifying force, as a common set of values that link all aspects of life into a whole.

I think what people are really stressing are values, values which I think are maybe not in the past....And maybe they're not really dead, or maybe they're there or maybe they just have to be educated or tuned up somehow, I don't know. I don't see it as...maybe you rediscover something of the past and from that you have a new feeling toward yourself. I don't know? Is that reviving the past or not? (Robert Matthew, 1987).

The sacred circle and the medicine wheel are central symbols that pervade aboriginal cultural expression. These symbols from the past are also again evident in numerous and self-consciously expressed ways, such as social development models and even architectural styles. When Native people talk about their own culture, they often refer to a holistic complex that does not separate the parts from the whole:

According to the traditional Indian way of life, the part cannot be delineated from the whole. Whereas in the non-Indian Community you can study a culture, study a people and say: this is their religion, this is their social life, this is their politics. Once you take things out of context in an Indian situation, the rest crumbles and does not remain whole.

I am referring to a holistic education. Indian philosophy of education is sometimes described in theory as a complete circle. The circle encompassing all life, or the wholeness of life.

In contrast we are holistic. We learn to share, to cooperate, to trust and respect each other.

There are two things to consider here for their bearing on the ideas about culture held by the dominant society. First, the cultural productions of the dominant society indicate a separation of culture from daily life. And second, they indicate a largely passive relationship between the production and the individual. Culture, for the dominant society, is usually experienced by way of an external production/agency: a work of art, a museum exhibit, a monument, and so on. Equally, culture can be experienced through the building or site that contains the production, in the process of being admitted and guided through the viewing of a production. This kind of experience involves an act of separation and observation rather than one of doing and using, and when members of the dominant society

26 From a taped interview with Robert Matthew, research coordinator for the Secwepemc Cultural Education Society, March 1987.
29 From an address by Ida Wasacase, Director, Saskatchewan Indian Federated College. Ibid p.32.
speak of culture it is in these terms. This is not to say that the cultural experience is thereby diminished, but the experience is of a different order than the immediate experience of participating and creating. MacCannell observes that cultural productions are nonetheless powerful agents in defining the beliefs and values of a population, and in providing a basis for modern community, despite the size and degree of fragmentation of that community (1976: 29).

In contrast, Native people speak of their culture in the direct and active terms of using, knowing, and participating. Culture indicates, first and foremost, knowledge and skills that must be transmitted, practises that must be observed and maintained. To have culture, to realize an identity, is to be able to make use of it: "In using it you understand it" (Armstrong 1985: 210). People speak of going back to their own "culture," not in the sense of going back in time, but in the sense of returning to an active practise of distinct activities associated with that culture.

To teach them [the younger ones] about the history of the Indian people in their Native tongue, we must, as a united group, try to retain and to practice our own culture which will take us a long, long way (Helen Fineday, Sweetgrass Reserve). 30

I began to realize how difficult life was and it was going to become harder.... At this time, I decided to take part in the Indian rituals and ceremonies. I decided this was the way to deal with the hardships the elders were discussing (Joe Paskimin, Sweetgrass Reserve). 31

I never knew how to be an Indian. When I was going to school I didn't know anything about Indian culture. How culture came into the community was that two young ladies went to Alberta and they saw Indian dancing for the first time and they thought, well, we want to learn that, so they formed a group, they called it the Alkali Dance Group. They needed some singers so they asked me if I could sing. I didn't know how to sing, so I went to the elders and I started asking them to teach me some songs. They told me to make a drum. Slowly I started learning. I went to the elders with my drum, they taught me the songs of the Shuswap people. And they started helping us; they started telling us about the sweat lodge and fasting.... (Freddy Johnson, Alkali Lake). 32

Similarly, the idea of protecting and preserving culture is very much tied up with using culture. For example, the act of recording a language alone is not considered an act of preservation; only the act of speaking the language ensures its survival and thus its preservation. Similarly, the act of preserving sites associated with traditional subsistence and those having spiritual significance (Mohs 1987), is qualified by the importance of their use today:

It's important that the place be protected. But the fact that it was a medicine place which once meant something to our people isn't enough.... It's our ways that need

31 Ibid.
32 From The Honour of All. A documentary film produced by the Alkali Lake Band in 1986.
to be preserved, then that place can be protected because then it has a purpose to be protected.33

You all say you want to preserve your Inukness. That is the heart of the matter. Preservation of useful Inuit skills is what this is all about. For these reasons, Avataq has proposed to mobilize Inuit experts to start doing something to pass on this knowledge to the ones who need it. This is a major challenge to turn good intentions into helpful action (Isacie Padlayat 1981 (Avataq 1983 (1981): 28)).

Native culture is seen to be about who one is and what one does: being Indian means acting in Indian ways. This does not preclude the kinds of heritage activities that preserve sites or reconstruct buildings, but it does indicate a different idea about use. Altogether, the ideas about the holistic and the continuous nature of culture, linked with ideas about the active use of cultural knowledge and things that are to be preserved, indicate a substantially different concept, not only of culture, but of heritage. Native people do not make a ready distinction between culture and heritage as does the majority society. For the one culture is continuous and accessible through acknowledgement and practise; for the other, heritage is distinctly separate and past, and access to this past is structured primarily through heritage agencies and cultural productions.

Heritage

The White man takes a look at heritage. They say “you don’t have any heritage.”...

...Your heritage is back east somewhere, back over in Europe. And when they talk about heritage in Canada, they talk about these old run down little homestead farms. On the prairie, that’s their heritage. You know, that’s the way they base it. Another way of looking at heritage is the way of life for an Indian (Nathan Spinks, retired chief, Nl’akapxm Nation, 1984).

Our Native world view takes a slightly broader approach to heritage. For Native people, the entire culture is the heritage. Cultural elements such as language, spiritualism, social structure, beliefs and values, family ties and our continuing development as contemporary Native Canadians must be linked closely to the interpretation of historical events and the collection of museum artifacts. This is why Indian and Inuit museums are often found within larger cultural centres such as the Secwepemc Cultural Education Society. Work carried out by the SCES staff in language, curriculum development, research and archives programs are showcased in the museum (Jules 1988: 2).

Within British Columbia, archaeological research in the past several decades has focused on the research of habitation sites, most notably including shell-middens on the Coast and pithouse sites in the Interior.... 'Mythological/ceremonial sites' as they are defined by the British Columbia Heritage Conservation Branch...or, as I prefer to call them, ‘spiritual sites', to a large extent have been ignored....

Several explanations may be offered as to why spiritual sites have received so little attention in North America in general and British Columbia specifically. ...native spirituality and spiritual sites have been overlooked undoubtedly because they lack tangibility when compared with other areas of research (Mohs 1987: 3).

33 Armstrong, from the novel Slash 1985: 210
34 Quoted in Mohs 1984: 1.
The Canadian Museum Association submission to the Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee (1981:1), stresses that custodial agencies such as museums are critical to the survival of Canadian culture. They are considered to be the primary agency in the "care for the present and past collected heritage of Canada." The Canadian Museum Association also makes the point that the distinction between heritage and the contemporary visual and applied arts, as indicated in the final report of the Review Committee, is artificial (1983: 1), and that heritage is clearly an important component of culture (1981: 9). Heritage, however, has always been regarded as a separate enterprise from contemporary cultural activities and there is no indication that this is likely to change given the way cultural industries have developed in Canada and elsewhere in the Western world. If anything, the distinctions are becoming more refined to reflect, among other things, the nuances of funding and the competition for support, given the constant cycle of shifting government priorities and popular tastes. The heritage enterprise\(^{35}\) is nonetheless a secure enterprise, because a nation without visible and monumental heritage simply does not have any culture.

It is significant to note that when Native people refer to their culture, non-Native people often make an immediate association with "heritage" (craft productions, performance, ceremonies—things that are objectifiable and that have a relation to the past). Heritage, for the dominant society, refers only to the productions of the past. Native people, when they refer to heritage, do so in the broadest sense of a culture that has been transmitted over time and that constitutes a concrete reality in the present: "An unchanging principle is that ...we live in the middle of our history" (Union of B.C. Indian Chiefs 1979: 4). The past serves a different purpose for each. The Western world preserves its past in order to acknowledge the distance travelled forward. Native people see the past as a source of knowledge and refer to the past to get things right in the present: "I ought to emphasize that to the Indian an active strong link with his past is extremely important. For this reason, our older people are a vital part of society" (Ahenakew 1974: 7).

If culture is seen to be experienced at one step removed from daily life, then those cultural productions that signify the past for the dominant society are one step further removed and categorically identified as heritage. More important, heritage refers specifically to material manifestations of the past. When a Native group approached the British Columbia Heritage Trust Foundation with what they thought was a heritage proposal, they came up against a fundamental barrier between that which is considered heritage and that which is not. (See also Appendix 4: \textit{British Columbia Heritage Trust:}

\(^{35}\) See also Mohs 1987, for a discussion of "heritage resources." Mohs argues that Heritage resource management incorporates a broader definition of "ethnic significance" that reflects the concepts of significance and "heritage values" held by Native groups, particularly to include sites considered to have spiritual significance. Mohs has worked for a number of years as a consulting archaeologist to the Sto:lo, and this collaboration has resulted in a significant contribution to notions of heritage resource management in an archaeological context.
Native Heritage projects funded, 1981-1987.) The project proposed by this group typifies Native “heritage” initiatives: to record traditional music in order to preserve it and to broadcast it in order to make it accessible to contemporary musicians:

We approached the B.C. Heritage Fund thinking that because a large emphasis of the recording is on traditional music, it would fall under heritage conservation. Their policy was that heritage resources are the physical products of the province’s human history, thus basically stating that a hundred year old building was heritage, but ten thousand years of oral tradition was not.36

It is clear that in British Columbia the organizations that Native people envision for their program of cultural strengthening and preservation are not yet understood by the dominant cultural agencies or, rather, that their activities are understood in the terms of existing heritage programs and institutions. A revealing example of this surfaced in the 1987 Speech from the Throne and, despite subsequent clarification from Native leaders, confusion has persisted in the attempts to address Native “heritage needs.” At the time, the premier of the province proposed a “Native Indian Heritage Centre,” presumably in a central urban location: “My government will seek private sector support to establish a Native Indian Heritage Centre to reflect and preserve the language and culture of our first citizens.”37 Apart from the misconception that there is a single language and culture to be represented—in a province that encompasses the most diverse and numerous of Canadian indigenous cultures—it does not reflect any awareness of already existing Native-initiated programs that are attempting to do this very thing. British Columbia has in fact only recently begun to take steps to understand and define Native “heritage needs,” but the outcome is still uncertain two years hence. In this case, Native leaders were quick to point out that Native interests would not be served through a central standard heritage facility:

B.C. Indian leaders rejected the province’s call...for a native heritage centre, arguing that it’s more important to maintain culture in each community than to put it on a museum shelf for tourists’ benefit. “A heritage centre wouldn’t make Indian people happy,” George Watts, chairman of the B.C. Tribal Forum said, “language and culture must survive in the homeland, not in a museum in Victoria.”38

It was also pointed out at the time that the province could double its tourist revenue by “encouraging a strong and realistic native culture throughout B.C.”39 Nonetheless, a Native Heritage Centre Advisory Committee was formed by the provincial government and it remained steadfast in its commitment to a central facility. In January 1989, during the fourth meeting of this committee, the chairman announced that the government was looking for a clear definition of the type of Cultural Centre required and that the question of a single Centre or a number of regional centres was still under debate. The Committee, in

38 Vancouver Sun Tuesday March 10, 1987: B6: “Native leaders spurn heritage centre idea.”
39 Ibid.
fact, voted to recommend a model which would have one main centre with satellite or regional centres.\footnote{40 Reported by Maurice Nahanee in \textit{Kahtou}, February 6, 1989: 11.} Also debated at this meeting was the question of culture, according to the report of a Native journalist:

The word culture caused much debate since in common usage the word could mean an appreciation of the art, music, theatre and so on. On the other hand many First People view the word in a holistic sense which includes every aspect of life. The point is that which ever view is finally accepted will determine the nature and scope of the Cultural Centre.\footnote{41 \textit{Ibid.}}

There are numerous theories as to why modern postindustrial society separates the past from the present. This phenomenon is still relatively recent in the history of the Western world. Much of it has to do with the changing modes of production that have created a disposable income and the means to travel widely, and with it a concept of leisure as distinct from work. At an ideological level, ideas about the past reinforce the sense of progress most evident in a superior technology and consequent advances in material well-being. Such distinctions are central to modernity itself. MacCannell notes that the "unifying consciousness" of modern society can find common ground in the search for the authentic which must, by definition, reside in the past because progress is by nature unstable and lacking in authenticity (1976: 3). The past has been described as a place we like to visit, a "foreign country with the healthiest tourist trade of all" (Lowenthal 1985: 4). Our relationship with the past is complex: there is both an affinity for the past, evident in the impulse to conserve it, and a rejection of the past evident in the impulse to dig it under and replace it with the new. In between there is, however, the healthy throb of the heritage industry.

Heritage forms a large part of the national cultural experience and it is widely valued. Categorically distinct from contemporary cultural activities, heritage has to do with "having a culture" (Handler 1988). The more gracious the symbols of culture, the heritage landmarks, the more obvious is the arrival at the threshold of a mature culture (Ames 1986: 72). Although the Canadian museum community has been agonizing for some years over various means to both attract and educate its audience, it appears that "more people visit museums and galleries each year than attend hockey games in Canada, and the number of heritage institutions has mushroomed in the last fifty years from 150 in 1938 to nearly 2,000 today" (Gray 1988: 12). There is a tremendous national affinity for the heritage ideology, most obvious in a wealth of preservation and reconstruction initiatives. The larger the undertaking, the better and the more significant it is. Historically, heritage initiatives represented the first cultural programs of the Canadian government (Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee 1980: 7; Galt 1987: 131). These early initiatives were part of a conscious nation-building process and they reflected a search for a national identity in a country full of recent immigrants with ties overseas. The search for a national identity has been a
continuous theme in Canadian history. A Canadian journalist, reviewing the rise of heritage sites and historic monuments, says of the largest of these, the Louisburg reconstruction:42

Thus began a curious chapter in the preservation of our material history. Some fifty buildings have been built on the ruins. As far as anyone knows, they are nearly identical to those constructed by the French 240 years ago. Today Louisburg stands as a symbol of our national puzzlement over what history is truly Canadian and how to possess it (Galt 1987: 132).

The new national Museum of Civilization now also houses similar grand monuments, including a number of full-scale reconstructions of period settings, six Northwest Coast Native houses, “a town square in New France, a turn-of-the-century railway station, a British Columbian fish cannery....” (Gray 1988: 14). The largest proportion of grant dollars given out by the B.C. Heritage Trust on an annual basis goes to “heritage area revitalization” and “building restoration” and the largest proportion of funds it allots to Native cultural activities is given to the restoration of religious buildings.43

This instinct to preserve is as much a reflex to prevent separation from the past as it is a recognition of a profound separation. As a consequence of this uneasy relationship, there is an active trade in guided journeys to the past. MacCannell names this phenomenon the final victory of “modernity” over other sociocultural arrangements, where the artifacts of the “nonmodern” world are artificially preserved and reconstructed: “Their distribution as modern playthings are evident in the various social movements towards naturalism...cults of folk music and medicine, adornment, behaviour, peasant dress, Early American decor, efforts, in short, to museumize the pre-modern....these displaced forms, embedded in modern society, are the spoils of the victory of the modern over the non-modern world” (1976: 8). Lowenthal calls this “creeping heritage:” “Once confined to a handful of museums and antique shops, the trappings of history now festoon the whole country” (1985: xv).

The evidence of heritage is central to “having a culture.” Richard Handler, looking at the development of cultural policy in Quebec, notes that early legislation sought to identify discrete items of culture (monuments, objects of art), in order to set them apart as sacred spaces. Handler notes that these spaces spread contagiously as an ever increasing number of social domains were considered capable of “generating” heritage (1988: 152). Heritage then, for the dominant society, is a visible symbol, something to be admired for the quality of the achievements indicated. It is not associated with contemporary use in the practical and daily sense. Museums, whose primary role it is to preserve (which necessarily prevents further use), do so through elaborate conservation technologies: “We have developed techniques of preservation that would have dumbfounded our forefathers...we moderns have

42 Louisburg represents a careful and costly monumental reconstruction that rebuilt, to minute detail, a French fortress established in Cape Breton (Nova Scotia), and destroyed by the British in 1760. Galt points out that this reconstruction cost more than any other historic site in Canada, with a budget that has been extended over 20 years.
so devoted the resources of our science to taxidermy that there is now virtually nothing that
is not considerably more lively after death than it was before.”44 The use of the object thus
preserved becomes something other—an object of study, an object that initiates both a
reflection about its past use as well as a consideration of the reasons it is no longer used.
This is not without purpose, only the purpose is quite different from present Native ideas
about the primary purpose of preservation. Both underscore ability and achievement but, for
the one, confidence in these achievements is a given and, for the other, confidence is being
re-established.

However, as cultural education centres act to preserve Native cultures, a different
relationship with the past will come about. This is not to say that these activities will
necessarily echo the heritage activities of the dominant society, although some undoubtedly
will and funding restrictions certainly encourage this. Perhaps as long as the preservation
of such things as “heritage” sites entails their continued use in contemporary economic and
spiritual activities, Native views of their past will be maintained. But, as soon as a cultural
agency makes an audience of its community—and charges this audience with the imperative
to appreciate its own productions—the process of separating the past from the present has
begun and the distinction between heritage and culture is rooted. How this will be managed
in the coming years remains to be seen. Certainly, this process is part of the necessary
equipment for promoting pride. A counter argument might be that, because the primary goal
of cultural education centres is to maintain culture rather than to archive it, and because
their activities are consciously diverse in order to achieve this, the process of
“museumification” and “creeping heritage” is less likely to occur in such predictable ways.
It will be in using the knowledge that is being collected that a different heritage process
will be established: the re-introduction of native languages, the revival of skills for practical
purposes, the establishment of tenure on the land to support viable economies and
autonomous subsistence, and the re-alignment of the young with their own communities.

The equation between traditional and authentic and its bearing on ideas about cultural
continuity

What we define as culture is based on what the anthropologists and the
historians tell us is culture. And we take something like James Teit’s
anthropology and begin to redefine everything in terms of what he said. Now the
problem with that, that would would be alright if we had a contemporary study
done—what was it then and what is it now—and that’s one of the things we
haven’t dealt with: what is it now. We’re still trying to make it into, as close as we
can, into what it was then, and we’re not dealing with what is now. And that’s one
of the things that we’ve been trying to do ...well, through our museum, by having
contemporary communities presented, but also in our curriculum approach: that
it’s not enough to portray what the culture was then, because every day we hear
about people, children especially...[for example] I got a call from a school last
week about this woman who was saying “I don’t understand why this little
Indian boy didn’t enjoy our Indian day, he just hated it, he went home upset and

Cited in Lowenthal 1985: xv.
his mother came to the school and said she wanted to know what we did because he was so mad and said "I don't want to be Indian". Of course, it's clear to me if you're presenting traditional culture as Indian then the kid can't identify with it. It's causing great problems inside of himself about being Indian, because no doubt the other kids are making Indian jokes, based on their own perceptions from television. Every time we get a school group through here and I ask them "what do you think Indian is?" and they give me all the stereotypes.

...a lot of the parents come out with these groups, almost every group has had parents with them, and I think for a lot them, the questions I have from them shows me that they don't have any knowledge, they have some perception of what Indian is, but they can't connect with what they think is out there.

...again I think if there was a contemporary anthropological study done, that that would validate what the culture is now, it's almost like a mirroring process where we define our culture by what the professions say it is. Like if an anthropologist released a major paper and said...this is Shuswap culture now...people would start to look at it and accept it as being their culture as it is now instead of still going back to the anthropology (Rita Jack 1987).

Cree culture is not just reflected in its past and by its traditions but is an active part of everyday life (Cree Regional Authority 1983: 1).

We are not creating a new culture, but are building on what we have left and we're doing a pretty good job (Gloria Cranmer Webster 1985).

Our life-style now is divided in two: the need to preserve culture, and at the same time, trying to make the best of the life-style now (Charlie Watt 1981 (Avataq 1983 (1981): 68)).

Arguments to the contrary by anthropologists, ethnologists, museum boards and directors, educational institutions notwithstanding, the undeniable fact is that we are a contemporary civilization and culture with a functioning body of chiefs recognized by the government of the United States and the State of New York.

...he said [anthropologist, William Fenton]: "[the council fire] burns today in the mind of traditionalists for whom the Grand Council has symbolic value which they project on the media. Some of its critics among the Seneca say the smoke now arises from Tadaho burning old tires on the reservation junkyard" (Haudenosaunee Grand Council of Chiefs 1986: 2, 3).

There is a tendency for us to depreciate native culture. Many white northerners have argued that the native way of life is dying, that what we observe today is a pathetic and diminishing remnant of what existed in the past. The argument arises as much from our attitudes toward native people as from any process of reasoning. We find it hard to believe that anyone would wish to live as native

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46 Response by Webster, U'Mista Cultural Centre, Alert Bay (in Anthropology Today 1985, 1 (6): 27), to an article in an earlier issue written by Lois Day (1985 1 (4): 17), where Day wrote: "What is visibly taking place here is more than the re-emergence of an almost lost culture; it is the creation of a new culture. There is some revival, but more transformation, the creation of new meanings and new 'traditions' ."

47 Denunciation of William Fenton by the Council in a Communique on cultural property. Fenton made this remark during the Williamsburg Conference on the "Imperial Iroquois," Spring 1985. The Haudenosaunee Council denounce the unprofessional nature of Fenton's remarks and cite them as an example of the way anthropologists make judgements, in this case about the traditional, that are used for political ends.
people do in their homes and villages. We show indifference, even contempt, for the native peoples' defence of their way of life. We tend to idealize those aspects of native culture that we can most easily understand, or that we can appropriate to wear or to place on a shelf in our own homes. We simply do not see native culture as defensible. Many of us do not even see it as a culture at all, but only as a problem to be solved (Thomas Berger 1977: 93).

An important part of the concept of heritage has to do with the concept of tradition and with the concept of authenticity. These ideas, especially in the way they are equated, have significant implications for the way Native culture/heritage is judged, by others and by Native people themselves. Of particular interest here is how the dominant society views Native “traditions,” and the problems these judgements can cause for Native people in some non-Native domains such as the marketplace, the museum, and the courtroom. Because the concept of heritage for the dominant culture is largely tied up with material manifestations of the past, and cultural experiences refer to the visible expression of creative activity, much emphasis has been given to material expression of culture.

Non-Native ideas about Native “traditional” culture are rooted in ideas that make an equation between "old" and authentic. These ideas are in turn rooted in the complex dislocation-reconstruction process that characterizes the “modern.” Here, traditional attachments have been broken through the separation of the present from the past, and have been reconstructed through the placement of productions of the past within the present (MacCannell 1976: 13). In all of this, these productions must be seen to be authentic: "the rhetoric of tourism is full of manifestations of the importance of the authenticity of the relationship between tourists and what they see: this is the typical Native house; this is the actual pen...." (Ibid : 14).

Given this complex process, the images of traditional Native material culture are readily equated with ideas about what constitutes “real” Native culture, as opposed to changed or assimilated culture. That is, authentic culture is equated with those cultural forms evident at the time of contact, the “beginning” of Canadian history. The weight of evidence for authenticity rests ultimately in the extent to which the material productions have changed as a result of contact with European cultures. Often, this change was interpreted as a deterioration and even a loss of indigenous culture itself, especially as it incorporated (and was “contaminated” by) material elements of the dominant culture.

In the microcosm of the art market, authenticity has consequences for monetary valuation and aesthetic judgement. Native art is continually appraised, by non-Native and Native people alike, in terms of its authenticity, much of which rests on the extent to which traditional artistic style is used. This issue has been explored by Duffek (1983) who surveyed museum visitors and buyers of contemporary Northwest Coast Indian art.48 She found that criteria for the authentic rested in the quality of the work (handmade not mass-produced),

48 Karen Duffek (1983) also describes the data from these surveys in her Master's thesis: The Contemporary Northwest Coast Indian Art Market. Vancouver: University of British Columbia.
the ethnicity of the artist (the degree of Indian-ness; Indian art must be produced by Indians), adherence to tradition (convention, recognizable forms and formal principles) and whether the work has been produced for commercial sale (making it less meaningful). These criteria tend to conform to a non-Native definition of Indianess: "It is the successful presentation of this Indian-ness to the viewer that determines the authenticity of the art" (1983:109).

Ironically, Canadian culture has incorporated Indian and Inuit culture as its own. That is, items of spectacular material culture are prominent images historically as well as in contemporary Canadian identity. Additionally, Native people are part of the historical pedigree of the nation and provide it with both a time depth and ancestors:

Europeans in North America, perhaps feeling the lack of an ancient history and a distinctive New World culture of their own, have been inclined to appropriate Indian history—"our native heritage" and "our native peoples" as they say in polite circles (Ames 1987: 18).

Notions of authenticity are tenacious and Canadians are understandably reluctant to relinquish ancestors to whom desirable material and moral characteristics have long been assigned. It has been noted (Berkhofer 1979; Ames 1987) that Indians, and indigenous peoples in general, have served as image markers for North Americans and Europeans alike. They have long provided counter images of the "good society" to offset a certain ambivalence about the values and beliefs of the progress-oriented North American and European societies. Lacking "certain or all aspects of white civilization could be viewed as bad or good depending upon the observer's feelings about his own society and the use to which he wanted to put the image" (Berkhofer 1979: 27-28). The consequent images are therefore complex, mixing the romantic and the noble with the simple and the savage, and containing the impulse to preserve and idealize with the impulse to improve and assimilate. Dominguez (1986: 549) notes that the distinction between traditional and modern conveys contradictory messages, "as if "traditional" societies were being congratulated and simultaneously demoted because they have what "modern" societies see themselves as lacking."

Herein lies a central problem for the whole matter of cultural survival. If Native and non-Native people are both operating with notions of "authentic" Native culture in an unequal power relationship, there is bound to be acrimony. The former are having to identify and locate the essential elements of their cultures in a modern milieu and the latter are often in a position to judge whether these elements are authentic. For Native people there has been the chronic sense of having been defined outside themselves, particularly with reference to what is traditional and therefore authentic:

One of the most severe problems the Native person is faced with today is that he is defined outside himself. That is, other cultures and other people have defined

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49 Canadians have long used Native images as part of their national identity at home and overseas. For example a Kwakiutl mask from Alert Bay prominently illustrates the cover of a brochure circulated by the Canadian High Commission in Australia for "overseas visitors to Canada."

who he is and what he is supposed to be as well as what he was supposed to have been.... And within most of these existing categorizations of Indianess is a disturbing confusion between the past and the present, or between heritage and culture. ...perhaps one of the underlying reasons why there is such confusion between heritage and culture is the failure to distinguish between traditional values and existing ones (LaRoque 1975: 8, 11).

To a great extent museums have been complicit in defining and promoting ideas about authenticity. Much of this is related to the equation made between Native material productions and Native culture. While this has, without question, benefitted and promoted the revival of Native art, it has also added to the complexity in the relationship of Native cultural initiatives and non-Native museums holding Native collections. Michael Ames, director of the Museum of Anthropology in Vancouver, provides a thoughtful discussion of this aspect of the museum role as it influences Native art and craft industries. He observes that museum anthropologists have reconstructed the meaning of, in this case, Northwest Coast Indian arts and crafts through the codification of design elements and the elevation of functional and ceremonial artifacts to “art” objects. In so doing, and as major patrons over the last 20 years, museums have promoted and legitimated Indian art and artists. This has created a new non-Native market for modern Indian art and has promoted a craft tradition that has fed back into Native communities. Both the Museum of Anthropology in Vancouver and the Royal British Columbia Museum in Victoria have been particularly active in this promotion. Because the focus has been primarily on Northwest Coast art in both cases, a strong popular association is made between this style of art and “Indian” in British Columbia.

Tony Hunt is a Kwakiutl artist who worked as a carver at the Royal British Columbia Museum for a number of years. He gave his views regarding the museum role in promoting contemporary Indian artists in an interview on a national radio program:

... the museum was becoming more and more involved in what that particular period or that particular anthropologist personally defined as “this is a work of art.” In other words, if you were not in his best favour you were not considered to be one of the best artists, and I think that’s wrong. I think it’s wrong that an anthropologist or a curator of any museum can personally go about selecting artists to be represented in a particular show.... I don’t personally think they should be involved in that. ["at all?"] At all. They took it upon themselves and thought that they should be involved, because obviously it was a very high profile type of thing, and PR for the Provincial Museum—or any museum I suppose to be involved—was good for them.

What’s happened today is that—I’m not sure, I’ve lost count—but I used to have an almost exact count of how many artists there were on the Northwest Coast. But I suppose there are probably five or six hundred producers now, and I think it’ll take ten or fifteen years for some of those producers to realize that they’re not artists for life and never intended to be. And I think the bottom has fallen out of prints—the print market is zero right now.... I think that was detrimental to the artist, who was maybe in a learning process and all of a sudden was put on a high

pillar by museum people that personally favoured the artist—which I think was wrong for them.52

The characteristic emphasis of museums on the material and artistic aspects of culture, and the consequent artistic judgements that are conveyed through the very act of preservation and display, has resulted in a situation where museums have created artificial but nonetheless powerful standards of "true" culture and authenticity.

There is an interesting parallel to be made here, where the majority Canadian society has long exhibited a chronic uncertainty about the value of its own culture, and what constitutes "true" Canadian culture. This was quite evident in the lengthy inquiry into Canadian cultural productions (Applebaum 1982). The metaphors for describing the Canadian culture have moved from the great melting pot to the cultural mosaic. But the common theme, for generations that still readily trace their roots to Europe, is that "true" culture must, by definition, be created elsewhere and by others. John Gray, Canadian playwright, has humorously summarized the impact of this notion on popular perceptions of Canadian culture. In his keynote speech to the Association of Cultural Executives at the 1986 conference entitled "The Cultural Imperative: Creating New Management for the Arts," Gray observed:

Even though I had not read a single Canadian book, or seen a Canadian play, even though my history studies had consisted of a brief survey at the age of twelve, I had somehow managed to acquire the idea that the history and culture of the country where I was born are dull, boring, and of no consequence. And do you know, part of me believes that, even to this day. It's positively Pavlovian.

...Canada has long held the opinion that there is something missing in our chromosomal makeup when it comes to culture. This is our colonial heritage at work. We export natural resources and we import culture; that is our lot in life....By 1974, I was nearly twenty-eight, and had still not seen a professionally-produced Canadian play. And I was just as convinced as ever that there was no point, because Canadian culture was dull (1986:134, 135).

A revealing example of how this notion is still expressed from time to time in our major cultural institutions came with the 1988 opening of the new, long-awaited, and costly National Gallery in Ottawa. The Gallery presumably had a choice between opening with a show of Degas and a show of truly Canadian art, The Spirit Sings. It chose the former and The Spirit Sings was relegated to the old art gallery building which is now condemned. There was obviously little question that Degas constituted "true" art.

Similarly, it is easier to talk about the culture of others (Native cultures, ethnic cultures) with the same unwavering sense about what constitutes "true" culture. Museums are especially prone to these judgements given their particular style of presentation and the necessity of selecting both beautiful and representative objects. The dominant culture was quick to "museumify" the indigenous cultures before they showed too much evidence of contamination from contact with the European immigrant cultures. This notion of culture change characterized the ethnography of the time as much as it was prompted by a sense of

52 Canadian Broadcasting Corporation 1982: 15, 16.
urgency over the apparent disappearance of indigenous cultures. The material legacy of this period has provided the primary reference points for ideas about authentic Native traditions. These ideas were entrenched by the rapid visible change for the worse in the conditions of indigenous societies. The assumption, shared by Native and non-Native people alike, was that thus changed, Native cultures were no longer whole or even viable. In the museum, images of dying cultures were merged with images of cultures fixed in time and these images were appropriated by the society at large.

Richard Hill, a prominent figure in the emergence of Native American museums, observes that museums have entrenched the idea of dead cultures by elevating "untouched" indigenous cultures and setting them in the past tense. Museums thus defined "traditional" cultures and thereby created an inevitable yardstick for measuring the contemporary against the traditional—a measure that finds the present lacking and somehow diminished:

American museums suffer from a cultural shock in trying to define Native Americans by ethno-centric evaluation. Museums also have a bad habit of measuring today's Native Americans by such definitions, determining that our cultural artistic, social and religious needs are less valid than "historic" Indians.

To recapitulate, judgements about the authentic (in the present) first refer to the past, and second, they generally refer to material manifestations of culture. Non-Native views of indigenous cultures tend to be drawn from historical representations, especially those of museums, and strongly associated with "things." Hugh Brody, an anthropologist involved in the Living Arctic exhibit that opened in London at the British Museum (1988), writes eloquently about the kinds of difficulties faced by northern Native people attempting to protect their culture, and particularly their traditional subsistence practises, from the impact of the anti-fur lobby in Europe:

How can a people use dog teams as well as snowmobiles? How can they live in both snow houses and prefabricated bungalows? How can they depend upon both the harpoon and the rifle? ...How can they exist, at one and the same time, in the past and the present?

It is all too easy for us to express incredulity, and even indignation, over these inconsistencies. Discussion and opinion about aboriginal peoples takes much of their shape from our preconception of the traditional, and a sense of that proper and unquestionable evolution of human societies is from simplicity to complexity, from primitive happiness and poverty to modern alienation and riches. Traditional life loses its force, its very being, if violated by the modern. We feel great disappointment when we discover that those whom we expect to be traditionalists turn out to drive pick-up trucks. At the same time we hear people talking about special rights. They seem not to be content with ordinary Canadian administration and schools; they want royalties from mineral extraction; they want assured income for hunters.... Why can't they make up their minds to be either traditional or modern? (1987: 173).

54 This exhibit was produced in collaboration with the British Museum and Indigenous Survival International.
The *Living Arctic* exhibit was assembled in an attempt to address the anti-fur lobby in Europe where it has the strongest economic repercussions. The objective of the exhibit was to demonstrate the viability of the contemporary hunting economy and to show how this economy is based on traditional understandings about the land. It also attempted to demonstrate a cultural continuity while showing evident changes in the material culture by juxtaposing modern and traditional things: clothing, housing, tools, and so on. For example, a reconstructed igloo was placed next to a modern home complete with television, computer, and cereal boxes. This apparently provoked more than one sigh from the viewers who evidently mourned the passing of a culture.\(^{55}\)

Brody suggests that by imposing such an irrational distinction between the traditional and the modern, the dominant society forces a moral choice upon aboriginal peoples and consigns them to either the traditional or the modern. At the same time the dominant society does not use this distinction in the same way for itself:

...we do not criticize one another for failing to choose between the old and the new. We do not impale ourselves or our society on the horns of the traditional versus modern dilemma...perhaps we look to tribal peoples for a model of another, better form of existence (1987: 177).

A similar example of the way the dominant society judges the absence of "traditional" material elements in the contemporary Native milieu emerged in the James Bay hearings. A legal argument, established on the evidence of material change—such as the use of motorboats, store-bought clothing, commercially processed food—attempted to undermine the Cree claims to cultural continuity entirely, thus dismissing their claim to the territory in an apparently logical fashion. The leading lawyer for the Crown, Jacques LeBel, pointed out that the James Bay Cree led a life much as any other Canadian (Richardson 1975: 34). A stream of witnesses were produced give evidence of material change and culture loss:

Dr. de Bellefeuille testified how in his hospital the Indian patients ate white man's food and liked it, and how in Fort George the young people loved to listen to music on their portable radios, how they jammed into the hall to watch western films three or four times a week and how they dressed in the same way as we, in clothes bought from the Hudson's Bay store or the Eaton's catalogue. They ate not more than 20 percent country food, he estimated (p. 244).

...the number of trappers was diminishing, while the number of Indians in work was increasing... The Indians were using a wide range of services such as health, education and housing, provided by the government.... Because of all of these activities there had been "considerable modifications" in the way of life of

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\(^{55}\) Personal communication with Julie Cruikshank, who reviewed the exhibit for the Canadian museum journal *Muse* 6 (3): 74-77, 1988. I heard this remark frequently when travelling throughout British Columbia, staying in Non-native bed and breakfast accommodation. My son has also reported to me with confidence that he did not think there were too many "real" Eskimo left, as he described what he had learned in his grade six social studies program, *The Netsilik* (Man: A Course of Study. Education Development Center 1970). He reported that "Eskimos didn't do things that way anymore," and that they lived in houses now, which he thought was "too bad."
Indians who now had many Skidoos, and houses with electricity, refrigerators, radios, beds, furniture, dishes and even telephones.

Mr. Justice Turgeon for the Appeal Court had no difficulty in accepting any of this... "A considerable number of Indians occupy interesting jobs and do not give themselves over to hunting and fishing except as recreation.... For means of transportation on lakes and rivers they use canoes with outboard motors, and no longer paddle.... In summary, the Indians and Inuit have abandoned the way of life of their ancestors and have adopted that of the whites. These facts are the reality, and I apologize for displeasing those who take pleasure in speaking of the question...with emotion and romanticism" (p. 313).

The irony in these hearings, as Richardson so aptly pointed out, was that the challenge to the Cree plea for cultural protection came from the francophone minority who had long engaged in their own battle to protect their cultural interests within the dominant culture. Similarly, Brody points out that defeating an argument for cultural continuity with evidence of material change serves the purposes of an expanding, internal imperialism and provides a powerful argument against the recognition of rights based on traditional claims and habits (1987: 181).

These ubiquitous standards of authentic culture tend also to spill over into Native perceptions of their own culture. They give rise to a misleading dichotomy between a "traditional" time and the present time, and they exacerbate the notion of "loss of culture" which is a recurring theme that weighs heavily on ideas about cultural survival:

Many of your are talking about losing your culture. I will tell you something about that. It is not the culture that is lost. It is you. Our culture that belongs to us is handed down to us in the sacred medicine ways of our people.56

I always have this thing about presenting the beads and moccasins routine because it perpetuates the stereotypes....I was at a conference and I made a speech about how [we shouldn't present beads and moccasins] because it perpetuated the stereotypes, and [someone from Alert Bay]...said, "we have a band school and we do Indian dancing and beads and moccasins...I didn't realize that we were perpetuating stereotypes, that for us is our culture." ...I had never before thought about the difference between presenting culture to Indians and culture to non-Indians.....as long as we perpetuate the skills we're perpetuating culture, we're not perpetuating stereotypes, but if we present only those skills as culture to the non-Indians then you're perpetuating a stereotype because not all Indians do those things. The point is whether or not you generalize (Rita Jack, 1987).57

Ideas about the role of tradition in the present vary a great deal, regionally as well as within the age structure of communities. Elders believe, and are encouraged to believe, that part of their role is to ensure that traditions, although disrupted, can be re-established. At the same time Elders often voice the idea that with the breaking of traditions, culture is lost or in the process of being lost: "Our young people no longer have the ways that were our ways."58 These ideas are being worked out by the succeeding generation rather than by the

elders, although certainly with their assistance. There is undoubtedly a process of selection that consciously takes past and present into account. However, clear distinctions are made between traditional technologies and traditional culture and Native people are explicit about what they mean by practising culture in the present:

When someone says, "I want to practise my own culture," it doesn't mean going back to freezing in igloos and hunting with bows and arrow. It means regaining the control we had over our lives before (Nellie Cournoyea, Inuit).  

To some extent this focus on what is and what is not Native culture, what constitutes tradition and heritage, is an inevitable outcome of a relationship of unequal power, a nesting of one culture within another. The minority position of indigenous and colonized peoples demands a conscious articulation of the constituents of their cultures as self-determination comes about. In this process, culture—as a system of ideas about identity—is applied to all levels of experience. This is not to say that all colonized peoples respond in the same way, or believe that the strengthening of their traditional cultures provides the key to self-determination. Variations in response have to do with the political climate of the dominant culture, the extent to which it is more or less actively repressive, and the extent to which indigenous cultures have truly been eroded through poverty and unrecoverable interruptions in the transmission of specialized knowledge. Ultimately it depends on the confidence aboriginal people place in their own cultural system as a means to self-determination. This, needless to say, is a complex proposition that must also take into account the inherent ingenuity and ability of indigenous groups to deal effectively with the dominant system. While it can be said that the ideology of cultural survival is almost universally present in the cultural initiatives of indigenous groups worldwide, the match between political climate and aboriginal cultural style accounts for tremendous variation.

59 Quoted in Earl 1986: 25.
3. Museums and cultural centres

It is clear that a new kind of museum is needed, one that can respond more effectively and more creatively to contemporary problems and opportunities, not only in developing nations...but also in the so-called developing world of the west.... The traditional museum, with its elaborate and expensive exhibit constructions resembling little more than purified or genteel versions of Disneyland, is still very much in vogue.... Though ostensibly designed to serve the public, these large museums, it seems to me, are a more accurate reflection of the interests and aspirations of the museum profession. Yet it is difficult to think outside of this standard or mainstream model or to break from it without discarding the word “museum” itself, and perhaps that is what is required. The problem with museums is that they are called museums, and thus they automatically predetermine their mandate (Ames 1986: x-xi).

There are so many signs of discontent with this age-old institution! So many challenges to the role it must fill in present-day society! So many accusations of elitist bias! Despite the best intentions of those who design, manage or protect them, museums seem unable to gather all the support they deserve and refute all this criticism, warranted or not (Rivard 1984: 1).

In the introduction, I make a distinction between cultural centres and museums and argue, at the same time, for linking them conceptually in the larger picture. They both work to preserve a cultural heritage, each in their own way and for some different purposes. At the same time, they are inextricably linked, both historically and in the time to come. Museums of the dominant society, and the new centres that are representing indigenous cultures, are presently exchanging and reconstructing images, each of the other and thus necessarily each of themselves. They share a complex relationship.

Museums have influenced how Native people are seen and how they see themselves. In having done so over a long period of time, museums have effected, in both negative and positive ways, the contemporary development of cultural education programs and centres. By indicating the demise of indigenous cultures, museums have influenced contemporary Native ideas about cultural survival and, more particularly, the goal of cultural education programs to undo the stereotypes that have evolved over time. At the same time, museums provide an effective vehicle for communicating new images. They provide the most useful standards for collecting and safeguarding cultural materials and they can, and in some cases do, provide professional training and other resources. Museums also provide some of the cultural information that Native research and cultural inventory programs now require. From the perspective of the non-Native museum, the questions and demands that Native people put to museums have important implications for the kind of history these museums will be obliged to present. Similarly, the way that cultural education centres go about strengthening and representing indigenous cultures will have important implications for how museums might approach the whole context of community development, at home and abroad.

I do not want to indicate that museums are more central to Native cultural initiatives than they really are, nor do I want to indicate an overall Native pre-occupation with the
negative aspects of museum presentation. Nor will I add to the confusion between what is “museum” and what is “cultural education centre.” While it is important to note that Native cultural initiatives may come to resemble museum organizations in order to be more comprehensible to non-Native funding agencies, this is not yet the case. In the following discussion, some of the themes that mark the intersection between museums, ecomuseums, and Native cultural programs will be explored, and the actual role of the museum in the program of cultural education centres will be explained. I will also examine more closely the connection between the use of non-Native museums in development programs, and explore some of the questions raised by this relationship.

A common goal, a different proposal

If cultural education centres and museums share the common goals of preserving, interpreting and communicating cultural heritage/history, knowledge, and skills, where then do the differences lie? And why are Native groups in Canada not using the established museum model to accomplish their goals? It is important to note that, while Native groups are very critical of certain aspects of non-Native museums, they are nonetheless incorporating museum programs in their cultural initiatives. The use of exhibits is already well-established and it is not uncommon to find a traditional museum facility in the long-range development plan of cultural education centres. Sometimes, the traditional facilities associated with museums (environmentally controlled collections storage and exhibit areas) are re-defined and expanded in order to serve both museum and cultural centre activities. In most cases, the museum is considered to be part of a complex and in very few cases is the museum given the full weight of the composite of cultural education programs:

I find it's ok the way it is [the museum], because you have language people...speaking the language and next door it's the [museum] and then the audio-visual behind and you have all these different things; it's only a part of a larger goal to learn about the values, to preserve the values, to teach and live the

1 A comparison between the cultural renewal initiatives of Canadian and American Native groups is beyond the scope of this work. However, a note is appropriate here to indicate 1) the cultural renewal initiatives appear to share many of the same goals and program configurations; 2) the museum emphasis appears to be stronger for Native American organizations, reflecting perhaps an emphasis on reclaiming some of the material culture collections held in American museums. The museum also appears to have been more influential in providing a model for cultural activities. This may have come about for any number of reasons, not the least of which is that respective support for cultural programs reflects a different set of historical events; and 3) the way that the museum appears to have been used indicates, in any case, an expansion of its traditional function and a modification of its traditional facilities.

2 Doxtator, tracing the development of Iroquoian museums in both Canada and the U.S., notes that “despite certain individual differences among Iroquoian museums in the United States and Canada, a common characteristic is that the museum is but one part of a larger complex—not the essential component” (1985: 20).
values. That's kind of the underlying goal of all the programs, which is different than a regular museum (Robert Matthew, 1987).³

It is also not uncommon to find museum programs being developed after cultural programs are well under way. The observation of one writer, describing the emergence of tribal museums in the United States, notes:

Some tribes feel a museum is an important institution; others regard it as the frosting on an economic cake that hasn't been baked yet. Many originally saw a museum as a money-making enterprise, generating income through craft sales, admission fees.... (Hanson 1980: 45).

This notion of "icing-on-the-cake" indicates one of the primary differences between museums and cultural education centres. Cultural education centres are interested in preserving and communicating cultural information for the specific purpose of promoting pride and confidence. This activity is part of the foundation for implementing effective and realistic socio-economic development. The museum, in this context, is given the role of "showcasing" some of the material achievements, and in some cases, showcasing the work of the centres themselves (Jules 1988: 2). In this sense, the Native museum is little different from the non-Native museum, however different its context. However, in many ways, the Native museum has a simpler role to play because it shares the burden of transmitting and maintaining cultural understandings with the cultural centre as a whole. In contrast, the non-Native museum has added numerous layers of complexity to an already complex historical tradition. This legacy combined, of all things, the standards of scholarship, instituted by the Smithsonian, with the standards of showmanship, introduced by Phineas T. Barnum's "American Museum" (Ames 1986: 13). The development of museums in North America has left a long history of debate in its wake concerning the "proper role of the museum." Although the debate has been heavily weighted in favour of scholarship and education, the fact that "the proper role of the museum" has commanded so much interest and has so often been defined, indicates in itself a certain complexity of purpose and expectation.

The museum, for the dominant society, represents the most significant and influential cultural production for connecting the past to the present and it has set the standard for the ways in which people are accustomed to looking at their past. It provides a metaphorical cultural mirror that reflects back to the observer a set of characteristic landmarks, images and arrangements, and extends a seductive invitation to participate in an actual and symbolic past. Sociologically speaking, the museum is a central mechanism for transmitting and authenticating the imagery and normative beliefs of the dominant society (Shils 1972). This is done directly, by promoting the dominant values and indirectly, by ignoring or rejecting alternate values (Ames 1986: 9): "A work of art that never gets hung in major art galleries is art that is likely to be forgotten. Images and records that are relegated to the closed storerooms of a museum are relegated to obscurity."

³ From a taped interview with Robert Matthew, research coordinator for the Secwepemc Cultural Education Society, March 1987.
Museums illuminate the past in very characteristic ways, specifically by casting the achievements of the past into relief by their situation in the present. A significant component of the normative beliefs of the majority society has to do with individual ingenuity and achievement, of technological prowess and environmental conquest. Museums translate these beliefs into compelling images, and ideas about culture thus become inextricably linked to the material products of culture. This may be because man is no longer intimately connected to the making or the using of the very things that museums now elevate as objects of reflection on the past. The museum permits a symbolic reconnection with a distant past without demanding the active involvement that accompanies a viable connection to the present.

Because the primary medium for commanding the attention of the viewer is the exhibit, often encased in glass and almost always roped off, the experience is actually and symbolically inhibited and distanced. At the same time, a subject encased in such a way is contained and tamed, and thus made "understandable" to the observer. The passive relationship between the museum production and the museum audience—the guiding and structuring of human experience—precludes the kind of participation that is demanded for individual and community development. By controlling human experience, the museum also precludes the kind of transformation necessary for social change. This does not diminish its role in any way, or its standing in the dominant society. We continue to expect a great deal of museums, if the discourse of the profession is any indication. But there is a gap between what we hope museums might do, and what they are in reality equipped to do, especially in the domain of development.

For urban society, museums are more popular than ever, despite internal rumblings that signify, among other things, a museum profession coming of age. They have worked hard at securing their popularity, though some might wish otherwise as they watch the traditional research interests overshadowed by exhibit development. Museums now reflect the increasing economic and social emphasis on tourism which is a primary mode for experiencing culture and one that also fuels and reflects the economic imperative: "Museums throughout Canada are making...efforts to broaden their popular appeal. The modern museum director today is more likely to be a well-tailored salesman...than a bumbling scholar" (Gray 1988:14). The director of the new Canadian Museum of Civilization pointed out in an interview:

We're shifting from museums as educational facilities to museums as tourism facilities.... I was happy with the educational model but we rode it to death. We couldn't show economic spin-off; we became beached whales. Tourism is a wonderful alternative.4

Can museums serve at once a public in apparent need of entertainment on an increasingly larger scale and still take an active role in education and research? If the museum model now being promoted imitates the entertainment industry (Ames 1988a), what

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4 Interview with George MacDonald in Saturday Night (Gray 1988: 14).
does the future hold? I raise these question here because I think it is informative to look at some of the criticism of museums provided by the Native constituency and then to consider the way in which the museum has been used in a different framework—combined with other activities and developed by its own constituency. In some ways, the Native museum in its setting in the cultural education program provides a foil for the enlarged complexities and expectations we have of the non-Native museums. The way that Native people have used the museum in their scheme of cultural development also suggests a role that the museum might play in initiating social change and transforming human experience.

The “problem with museums...”

"You know," he said to me, "you haven't done a damn thing for Indians. We don't feel at home in your museums—any of them—because they don't tell us our story."\(^5\)

As we live through our daily lives as Indians, eventually we become accustomed to the fact the non-native people can see right through us.... We mean simply that the majority of the non-native view us as invisible peoples who really should not exist outside museums (Stein Wilderness Advisory Committee 1987: 3).

There is a lot of misrepresentation in our communities about what a museum or cultural center is... many people said that our uniqueness lies in our use of the collections... that the collections were accessible to the local people not off somewhere in a major institution (Hill 1979: 3).\(^6\)

Archaeologists have taken Inuit traditional artifacts and material for museums in the south, without Inuits' permission. There will be a lot of problems with the patriation of artifacts and material. Our children don't have anything traditional to perceive and learn about (Avataq Cultural Institute 1983 (1981): 54).

There are a number of criticisms directed at non-Native museums holding Native material and seeking to represent Native cultures. Some Native people question whether the museum is in any way an appropriate or a useful model for the kinds of cultural activities they envision, although many have incorporated the museum into the broader program of cultural inventory and communication. The criticism can be distilled into two related points. The overall criticism has largely to do with the way that native cultures have been portrayed up to now. And, by holding Native material culture collections, Museums continue to exercise primary authority over the interpretation of Native cultures. At the same time museums preclude physical access to these collections for many Native people because of their urban location remote from many Native communities.

\(^5\) Recorded in Ames 1986: 43; remarks of an Indian artist, made to the writer (the director of the museums) after a pole raising at the Museum of Anthropology in Vancouver.

\(^6\) Richard Hill, addressing the American Indian Museums Association [AIMA] Conference (Denver, 1979), refers to a survey of Native American Museums conducted by AIMA (1978).
The director of the Museum of Anthropology in Vancouver has noted "that the problem with museums is that they are called museums, and thus they automatically predetermine their mandate" (Ames 1985: xi). Sometimes, while the museum function might be recognized in Native cultural initiatives, there is an avoidance of the term "museum." When Charlie Patton, director of the Mohawk Kanien'kehaka Raotiti Cultural Centre in Quebec, was asked what the addition to the centre would be called, he responded: "Maybe it could be called a Historical Interpretation Centre, ... a facility which will talk about the history of the Kahnawake." When asked by the interviewer, "why not museum?" he replied:

The Mohawks didn't like this word. We are sensitive to the feelings of the people of Kahnawake, things they have expressed to us in the past year or so, that a museum is where things are put, that are past, that are gone, that's were the dinosaurs are— that's where dead things lie, why should we have a museum, we are not dead (Jacobs 1981: 8).

There is, at least in the American context, a certain amount of agreement that one of the problem with museums might indeed be in the name. Clearly, if museums have stereotyped Indians, they have also been stereotyped. In the United States, where museums appear to be used to do the work of cultural centres, some Native American museum professionals note that it is worth working to dispel some of these stereotypes:

Everyone felt that the stereotype of museums was something that could be altered through education of the Indian people. These stereotypes first have to be dispelled and then confidence in the museums and their collections will be forthcoming. It was confirmed that often organizations use the term 'cultural center' in an attempt to avoid the stereotype. But, cultural centers can still have collections and use and care for these collections.

I think we must work to dispel the stereotypes that have been reinforced by museums in the past. There is more to Indian culture than bows and arrows, pelts, tomahawks and spears...(Risser 1979: 33).8

At the root of some of these views about museums, even where museum activities are emphasized, are some common themes and concerns. I include here a summary of the concerns that have been expressed with regularity in the printed sources and in the course of speaking with Native people about their own activities.

1. Museums continue to perpetuate the idea of a moribund culture and a dead people (as do universities and school textbooks).

2. Native culture has up to now been presented solely from a non-native point of view. There is little native involvement in non-native cultural organizations that deal with interpreting native culture. Native people are not incorporated to

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7 As I have already noted briefly, the characteristic program that has been developed by Canadian cultural education centres appears to be both less consolidated and less explicit in the United States, despite great similarities in the ideology of cultural survival and the emphasis on constructive programs to effect cultural strengthening.

8 Remarks made at the First Annual Conference of the American Indian Museums Association.
any significant extent as resource people in academic departments or museums that deal with native culture.

3. Museums emphasize, almost exclusively, an historical material culture to the exclusion of other aspects of culture (values, oral traditions, language, skills and so on).

4. Museum exhibits often lack animation that could provide a sense of a living people, for example the added dimension of modern images, cultural context and sound, that could be provided by photographs, voices, music and contemporary audio-visual productions.

5. The museum audience is primarily non-native.

6. Most native people, and especially children in the course of their education, do not have access (let alone continuous access) to urban institutions holding collections from their locality. They are thereby essentially cut off from their material heritage.

7. Native history, as collected and presented by non-native historians and anthropologists, is incomplete, and often inaccurate. To correct this, existing recorded information requires the verification and completion by elders and native researchers.

8. Museums have successfully provided a safe and reliable holding facility for native material heritage, but a better arrangement for access or repatriation of collections must be achieved once native groups are able to provide facilities considered appropriate by museum professionals.

The issue of cultural property and the repatriation of Native material culture has not been included in the following discussion of this criticism for several reasons. First, a good deal of attention has already been given to this complex issue by both constituencies. Public interest has also been achieved in some measure and a number of policies have been drafted. Special consideration and increasing sensitivity has also been achieved to some extent, especially where sacred and ceremonial regalia are concerned, where collections have been demonstrated to have been acquired by illegal processes, and where human remains have been collected from burial sites. There is undoubtedly room for improvement but the groundwork has been established. There is also every indication that the imperative to retrieve regional and local collections of material culture varies considerably from community to community as does the emphasis on material culture itself. This has a great deal to do with whether museums figure in the cultural initiatives and priorities of the community, or whether they are indeed “icing on the cake.” Museums also vary a good deal in the way they approach this issue. It is important not to confuse the issue of locating and retrieving material culture collections with the more primary concern over the manner in which Native cultures have been portrayed by non-Native museums.

Without diminishing the importance of the issue of cultural property, it has assumed a disproportionate stature in public attention and has diverted interest from what is actually a larger issue of cultural autonomy. Repatriation activities are one part of the process of achieving cultural autonomy, of regaining authority over the representation of Native cultures. Such activities should not be mistaken for the wider concerns of cultural
strengthening. Despite the prominence this whole matter has been given in the eyes of the Native and non-Native public, "repatriation" does not assume the same kind of prominence in the activities and program statements of cultural education centres. This is not as much an indication of relative importance, but rather a question of relative priority and the particular process by which centres are constructing the inventory of cultural knowledge and materials. It is the purpose of this thesis to direct attention to the other goals: the re-establishment of authority over the portrayal of indigenous cultures and the undertaking of comprehensive inventories of cultural knowledge, of which collections of cultural material resident outside Native communities constitutes one part.

The criticism of museums reveals that the problem with museums rests primarily in their monopoly of authority over the interpretation of Native cultures: "When we "museumify" other cultures and our own past, we exercise a conceptual control over them" (Ames 1986: 10). Museums have, with authority, conveyed the impression of moribund cultures by fixing them at a certain point in history and by thus defining what constitutes traditional culture and what, by default, constitutes assimilated culture (and therefore not museum-worthy). An important criticism of all museums, Native and non-Native, is the way that museums displace the appreciation for viable contemporary belief systems and other unique socio-cultural arrangements by their focus on the material aspects of culture, and past ones at that. This encourages a substitution of one for the other, of material for culture. The tenacious equation between material culture and the larger substance of culture has entrenched ideas about past cultures and has thus obscured living cultures.

The move to re-establish authority over the representation of indigenous cultures is central to cultural education programs and to the strategies for social development. Museums are left to consider a number of questions about the way they have portrayed Native cultures and the way they will do so in the future. How do museums transcend the traditional portrayal of Native cultures fixed in an "ethnographic present?" How can museums communicate cultural continuity, when their emphasis has been culture change and cultural degradation? How can the representation of Native cultures be enlivened and updated if the primary framework is that of material culture which refers to "traditional" materials available at a particular point in history and distinguished between "pre-contact" and "post-contact" cultures? What of the cultures that, lacking museum-worthy material productions, have not been represented at all? The most important question now is: how is the representation of contemporary cultures to be conducted and in what kind of framework will it occur?

**Ethnographic authority**

With expanded communication and intercultural influence, people interpret others, and themselves, in a bewildering diversity of idioms....This ambiguous, multi-vocal world makes it increasingly hard to conceive of human diversity as inscribed in bounded, independent cultures.....Studies suggest that while ethnographic writing cannot entirely escape reductionist use of dichotomies and essences, it can at least struggle self-consciously to avoid portraying abstract,
a-historical “others.” It is more than ever crucial for people to form complex concrete images of one another, as well as of the relationships of knowledge and power that connect them. But no sovereign scientific method or ethical stance can guarantee the truth of such images. They are constituted—the critique of colonial modes of representation has shown at least this much—in specific historical relations of dominance and dialogue (Clifford 1983: 119).

There are significant parallels between the way that the museum has exhibited “traditional societies” and the way that anthropology has portrayed other cultures. The history of ethnographic exhibits in museums is in fact inextricable from the intellectual history of the discipline, and the museum has served as “the institutional homeland” of anthropology (Lurie 1981: 184). Both attempt to present the culture of “others” and do so by selecting discrete phenomena (objects, social phenomena) and giving them a new, intellectually constructed context. This is simply part of translating the unknown into the knowable. The resulting production—the exhibit, the ethnography—consequently gives the illusion of understanding because explanation has taken place. Not only has explanation taken place, but a transfer of authority has also taken place: from the object/social phenomena (and thereby from its originators) to a self-appointed spokesman. The museum in turn embodies and communicates this authority in the way it represents indigenous cultures, exotic cultures, and the majority society itself.

When events and people are fixed in a static visual representation that conforms to certain ideas about them, the fluid and uncertain substance of events and human actions is suppressed. Museums thus provide a powerful and authoritative medium for constructing a sense of safety about the unknown:

[they] place history, nature and traditional societies under glass in artificially constructed dioramas and tableaux, thus sanitizing, insulating, plasticizing and preserving them as attractions and simple lesson aids; by virtue of their location, they are implicitly compared with and subordinated to contemporary and established values and definitions of social reality” (Ames 1986: 9-10).

When museums portray traditional societies, they do so with the authority of “ethnographic fact,” by virtue of objects that convey the immediacy of certain customs as they have been recorded by an objective observer at a particular point in time. This “original” context reconstructed in museums has entrenched many of the images of Native (and other) cultures into popular understandings. Particularly, the image of Native people situated in a distant historical time, separate from the present and surrounded by traditional “things,” has pervaded the associations that the dominant society makes with Native culture. And because contemporary Native people do not readily reconfirm these associations they are seen to have “lost” their authentic/past cultures.

James Clifford explores the notion of ethnographic authority in his analysis of ethnographic writing; he identifies the components of authority that make up the final presentation, reflecting the basic assumptions of anthropology itself (Clifford 1983: 124): “In

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the 1920’s, the new fieldworker-theorist brought to completion a powerful new scientific and literary genre, the ethnography, a synthetic-cultural description based on participant-observation.” Ethnography, which had up until the turn of the century been a distinct activity, was incorporated into the theoretical framework of anthropology and was legitimated by ideas about rational (scientific) objectivity that could be achieved through participant-observation. Clifford argues that this incorporation of ethnography into the theoretical framework of anthropology resulted in the impulse to see existing theoretical ideas about culture (how it functioned and how it changed), in the data and in the field. He argues that the very act of writing, of producing an ethnographic text, gives it a fixed authority. Admittedly, this is partly a function of translation, of transforming the “unruly experience” of transient images, events, and discourse into a written account.

By the same process (fieldwork, participant observation, the collection of material culture) the data of ethnography—Native cultures—became the foundation for museum exhibits. The ubiquitous portrayal of indigenous cultures in the displays of Canadian history and anthropology museums demonstrates this ethnographic authority translated not into text but image. Added to this is the particular history behind the establishment and presentation of ethnographic collections in museums in the early part of this century. A good deal of critical reflection about this legacy has emerged in the last few years (Ames 1983; Cole 1985; Stocking 1986; Dominguez 1986; Parezo 1987). The style of exhibit chosen to portray Native cultures reflects, in addition to the ethnographic conventions of the day, the particular notion that prompted their establishment in the first place. Anthropologists (and museums) were convinced, with reason, that the indigenous cultures in North America were rapidly being either devastated or assimilated as a consequence of European settlement. The scramble for artifacts, the criteria by which they were chosen, and their eventual placement in museums, also reflects the many other motives and interests that were soon layered over the interests of particular anthropologists. Not the least of these were the interests of commercial traders who quickly realized the market value of “authentic” productions, and those of philanthropists who encouraged the revival of traditional crafts as an outcome of their own concepts about deterioration of these crafts through mass production, and those producing the artifacts who themselves were quick to see the possibilities of this market.

The composite assemblage of material culture, collected on the basis of ideas about representativeness and about authentic/traditional cultures, has provided the legacy for the way in which museums portrayed aboriginal cultures. Native cultures have been portrayed by way of canoes suspended from the ceilings of exhibit halls, arrangements of baskets, tools, and exotic ceremonial regalia in glass cases, and in “realistic” dioramas featuring people clustered in reconstructed dwellings with ethnographically associated artifacts ordered around them. This style of display is in the process of changing, at least for larger museums, as support for exhibit refurbishing has become available. Unfortunately, this often takes the form of a meticulous correction of ethnographic detail and a consolidation of
ethno-historical data, rather than an incorporation of contemporary cultural expression and the involvement of regional Native organizations. In many cases Native cultures are still portrayed in time capsules that have been enlarged and animated with light, sound, and the invitation to walk into a longhouse, look into a kiva, participate in a moment of time in the past.

It has been pointed out that this kind of exhibit provides insights not only into its subject, aboriginal culture, but into the culture of the dominant society which ultimately frames the subject:

...a statement made not only about native cultures but also about ourselves. In other words, the exhibit through which we present the artifacts of another culture is itself an artifact of our culture. It both is and is about the contact of white and native cultures (Halpin 1978: 41).

It has also been noted that the museum, while celebrating the achievements of the past, is actually superimposing an additional message, that predominance of our technology: "...when this museumification process involves high technology—elaborate dioramas, life-sized reproductions of actual settings, and complex audio-visual aids—we are demonstrating and exhibiting the superiority of our technology."10

This relatively recent, reflexive tendency to look at the way museums have constructed and ordered certain realities, and particularly at the way the museum mediates the understanding of "others," has provided much of the intellectual groundwork for changing the way that indigenous cultures will be portrayed by the museums of the dominant society. The material culture framework presents its own problems and possibilities in this regard. The possibilities rest in the open-ended nature of the material culture framework thus allowing for a variety of contemporary cultural productions. But it remains essentially problematic because the elevation of objects superimposes a disproportionate importance to the material aspects of culture. It obscures the sense of a living and a present people (other than as artists) at a time when Native people are attempting to counter the static images of themselves and to provide images of whole and continuing cultures, relatively free of judgements about their authenticity in relationship to past forms of material productions.

The use of the medium of an exhibit, while aesthetically compelling, has inherent limitations that may well frustrate attempts to present living and changing peoples. And museums exhibits are especially synonymous with the past. Native people using this medium to convey aspects of their culture to their own communities will also come up against these questions. In the end, this may mean producing a different kind of exhibit, or

10 Halpin 1978, incorporated in Ames 1986: 10. Halpin also points out that Franz Boas, at the turn of the century when public exhibits were beginning to be developed, made a similar observation: "...the danger is ever-present that the admiring public will not see the idea that is being conveyed by the exhibit, but will forget to look at it in its admiration of the technical skill exhibited in the installation...it is only too likely that the visitor will ask "How are they suspended?" [seagulls]." Boas 1907: 923.
relying primarily on other aspects of the cultural programming to offset the static effect of an exhibit:

We start with the museum, and we have this grand scheme of doing a museum and suddenly it resembles all the museums that we don't like. Well, why do things all have to be all behind glass? Why do they all have to be old...why does it have to be a certain segment, where does [the] contemporary [fit]. So suddenly we said, it doesn't have to be old, why not put [in] some contemporary stuff. Why even call it a museum? The historical pictures now are giving way to modern fishing pictures....like the Provincial Museum has the stages of making an Indian bark basket. And I don't think that's right to have it behind glass like that...well, first of all, it's not dead and shouldn't be behind glass...the glass separates you in time.

The other thing is that, if you ever make a basket, well just looking at it [you say] this is nothing. So we went out last year [to get] bark and making baskets, traditionally a woman's job, but a bunch of us guys went out [with an elder]...she said something about, can't you feel it, you're out looking at the trees, or listen to this or can you feel that, you know the feeling of taking the bark off a good tree and its just crackling an barking as coming off, and she said, doesn't it sound like the trees just sort of talking to you, sort of giving you this bark. She had all these...old stories about her mother and grandmother getting bark and all the different things, and you get home and you actually start making the basket, it took me a couple of weeks...how can that be reflected in...cases.

It's a way of doing things, it's not just the end product, and sometimes it's hard to capture. But, again, see that's the difference, we're willing to learn, whether it's new skills or old skills, is the actual people working, the staff. How often would the tour guide in the Kamloops museum go out and try to learn some old craft of their culture? (Robert Matthew, 1987).11

Confusions between material and culture

It is not so much the museum preoccupation with material culture that is in question, but the underlying assumption that in presenting the material manifestations of culture, culture is also represented. This assumption has been the basis of museum exhibits of objects and it reflects, as much as anything, the traditional self-appointed role of the museum to inform and educate. To represent cultures, museums provide context in keeping with the notion that the object, taken from its cultural context loses its "meaning" entirely (that is, the associated ethnographic facts). More recently, museums have also adopted the strategy of "letting the object speak for itself," more in the tradition of exhibits of fine art and also perhaps reflecting the growing criticism that "context" is an imposed and artificial intervention that echoes anthropological orthodoxy (Faris 1988: 778). While this latter approach intends to free the viewer (and the subject) from didactic interpretive strategies, it expresses an even stronger curatorial act of faith in the evocative power of the object to communicate the essence of culture. It also very much expresses curatorial tastes and esoteric selection processes that elevate objects—sometimes mundane, sometimes spectacular—for reasons not immediately apparent. The fact that vast collections of objects exist has perhaps created the false sense of security among the keepers of these collections

11 From a taped interview with Robert Matthew, research coordinator for the Secwepemc Cultural Education Society, March 1987.
that these objects represent a secure link to their original cultures. When museum collections of Native material culture were first established there was the distinct sense that these objects would be the only remaining evidence of cultures that were apparently dying. This notion, elaborated with the growth of a museum profession and the rationalization of the interest in material culture, has produced an influential reification of the “object is culture.”

Richard Hill, a Native American museum spokesman who has often spoken for and against museums, notes that: “Just as the possession of the written treaty does not insure that the articles of the treaty will be honoured, the acquisition of Native American objects does not assume the continuity or retention of culture.” Hill also notes that this separation between the scholarly and the daily cultural life of Native people is a consequence of “alien definitions of “preservation” and “culture” by the museum profession.”

The equation between object and culture, combined with the particular way in which museums usually exhibit objects (with or without context) has also prompted the criticism that museums are part of a process which has resulted in the secularization of objects that once had sacred and ceremonial uses. In so doing, Hill points out that museums actually defeat “the spiritual/cultural function of the very objects that it [the museum] attempts to preserve” (1988: 32).

As Native museums develop, these equations cannot help but change as contemporary material is incorporated. Because the collecting activities are extensive and not limited to material culture, and because the motivation to represent contemporary community life is strong, the possibilities for a livelier and more contemporary presentation are good. However, Native museums also make this equation between material and culture. The Mohawk, for example, despite their views about naming their activities “museum,” have a strong museum program, including “the best totally intact Mohawk collections.” Unlike many other cultural centres in the rest of Canada, the Kanien’kehaka Raotiti Cultural Centre has a strong emphasis on museum exhibitions. They have mounted several exhibits that present both Mohawk history and contemporary issues. These include, for example, an exhibit entitled “My Grandmother’s Trunk, Kahnawake and the Entertainment Industry” (1980), which featured the material culture of the Mohawk along with photographs around the theme of Mohawk involvement in the Wild West shows; an exhibit entitled “This is Mohawk Land” which featured charts and maps of the Kahnawake Mohawk territory: “In it you could see the extent of our lands and the highlight was a scale model three dimensional diorama of the village of Kahnawake as it looked in the early 1700’s” (Ibid ); and, an exhibit animating traditional stories told in the Mohawk language. The Centre also produced an extensive series of exhibits for the Man and His World (First Peoples Pavilion) in 1980 and 1981, around the theme of man’s relationship with nature (which included medicinal plants and emphasized other adaptations to the environment).

12 See note 15, on page 14.
There are differences though, not so much in the objectives of the Native museum itself or the extent to which it emphasizes material culture, but in the setting in which it operates and the objects that it incorporates. While many Native museums do, of course, work to preserve the material productions associated with their cultures, the balance of the equation between material and culture is different. This has a lot to do with the emphasis on other aspects of culture, and with the immediacy of other sources of information about cultural knowledge. The object itself accounts for very little in the domain of cultural knowledge. Objects are still used, especially ceremonial and sacred objects, and it may be that many of these special objects will never find their way into museum exhibits. While they are also symbolic of identity and technological competence, as well as markers of tenure on the land, they are not given the total weight of representing traditional cultures. Objects as yet do not "speak for the culture" because other speakers are given preference. And, knowledge about the construction and use of objects, and about the activities they represent, is still resident in the elders.

To return to "the problem with museums." A significant part of the problem rests in the extent to which we also believe institutions such as museums might be employed for other purposes. As a socio-cultural arrangement for communicating the normative beliefs of the dominant society the museum is most effective, and it does this in both a reassuring and authoritative way. Whether museums can better convey continuing and viable Native cultures in the future is another question. Up to now, the dominant society has not had a vested interest in demonstrating the viability of indigenous cultures. On the contrary. This has changed to some extent with the pressure from Native groups to have their autonomy recognized. In fact, the bid for cultural autonomy has gained increasing support in recent years and museums will soon reflect this. But how effectively museums will be able to communicate the lively and often challenging interests of the Native constituency remains to be seen. As agencies of the dominant culture, museums will always be constrained by the concerns of the dominant society. And as institutions with a particular style of representation, it is doubtful that museums will be able to portray viable and contemporary indigenous cultures unless they equally employ other forms of expression and other voices. The conundrum for museums is that material culture and concrete physical landmarks are

13 This is probably more true for those Native cultures that have not been as extensively "museumified" or featured in non-Native museums—those cultures, for example, that have not been represented in terms of their outstanding material productions. This equation may well have more import for those that have long been valued and exhibited on the basis of their material and artistic traditions, such as those of the Northwest Coast.

14 Steiner (1981: 13) refers to the refusal of the New York State Museum to return Wampum belts to the Onondaga Nation because of their refusal to build a museum to display them: "The Onondaga would not build a museum to exhibit them. The people wished to use these belts, which recorded the tribe's history, in their worship."
their stock and trade, and no matter whether they are placed in a present or a past frame, they are for all intents and purposes inanimate and convey a full stop, a past point in time.

As far as indigenous cultures have been presented in this frame, the museum has failed in two very important ways. First, it has failed to demonstrate cultural continuity through to the present. Again, this is inherent to presentations of material culture that bring attention to technological change and to changes in creative expression, and that these changes are then equated with absolute changes in culture. Second, the museum has failed in many cases to involve Native people in the preparation of exhibits. The assumption has been that Native viewers will automatically find meaning in these presentations because "their culture, " is represented and Native involvement has thereby been served.

The question of presenting the "Native point of view" is in many ways answered by the systematic initiatives of Native people to fill out and correct the standard histories by adding not only their perspective but an additional wealth of cultural knowledge. This will serve both the Native and the non-Native milieu. It has been pointed out that it is, in any case, impossible for a non-Native museum to present a Native point of view, unless it is as a host to a Native exhibit. As the director of the Museum of Anthropology in Vancouver points out:

I do not believe the Museum of Anthropology should attempt to present the "native point of view," which it could never do properly anyway, whether by reconstructed contextualist exhibits or by other means. It is more important for a museum to concentrate on what it does best, which is to present its own point of view as a professional institution (Ames 1983: 100).

The most important question, that of authority over the viewpoints and thereby over the cultures that are presented, will be resolved to a great extent through Native cultural representations. It is up to museums, however, to demonstrate greater sensitivity in handling Native material culture and to place greater emphasis on both collaborative arrangements and training programs.

Directions and collaborations

There is no uniform view as to whether non-Native museums should be handling Native cultural material in the first place. For example, I have rarely heard the sentiment expressed that non-Native museums should no longer collect or exhibit Native material (though I may well have expected to hear this). This is probably a reflection of the political realities that characterize the intermediary domain between Native and non-Native interests: the non-Native museum represents a powerful device for communicating images of contemporary Native cultures to the majority society. If it agrees to do so with sensitivity and through collaboration, the benefits to the Native constituency are obvious. Despite the
political ripples around *The Spirit Sings*\(^{15}\) (and without diminishing the complexity of the issues and vested interests that surfaced around this exhibit), it was evident that some Native people did work to support it and, importantly, that "more Native people attended *The Spirit Sings* than any exhibition that Glenbow ever mounted" (Harrison 1988: 8):

As Strator Crowfoot, the current chief of the Blackfoot, said upon leaving the exhibition, what Glenbow has done was important. He said that large numbers of people visiting the exhibition could only benefit the position of Native people. One of the reasons that he came to the exhibition, he said, was to be able to advise his people who were asking whether or not they should come to see *The Spirit Sings* (Ibid, p.9).

Some obvious directions are indicated in the criticism of museums. Museums have long made use of Native cultures, and a turning point is evident in the coalescence of this criticism and in the cultural initiatives of Native organizations. First, museums can better inform themselves about and perhaps incorporate some of the cultural initiatives undertaken by Native organizations, because these initiatives will have direct bearing on future representations of Native culture. Museums need to be aware of the shift in authority over knowledge about Native cultures because Native people are well equipped to represent themselves and are now doing so through many communications media. They are increasingly exercising control over research concerning Native matters and they are directly challenging non-Native agencies over the "appropriation" of Native culture without Native involvement:

Clearly, when we talk about appropriation there is two things that we need to keep in mind. One, is that there is legal grounds in relation to copyright law in ownership of intellectual property. There are laws which govern that...that can be enacted in terms of justice seeking. When it can be proven that native people as a group have the right to an intellectual property like a story or a philosophical symbol....When a native group can say ‘we originated that idea’...No one has the right to take and use them at will because we are the owners and originators of that (Jeannette Armstrong, En’owkin Centre, 1989).\(^{16}\)

Second, museums can provide an alternative to the single voice of the ethnographer or the museum exhibit. This can be in the way of a "multi-vocal" production (Clifford 1986: 146) which depends on a collaborative production of knowledge. In this way the "monophonic authority" of the anthropologist/curator is diffused and prospects for a multiple authorship are open (although this, as James Clifford points out, challenges a deeply held Western commitment to single authorship and individual "expertness"). This is actually the way in which cultural knowledge is being retrieved by the cultural education centres. Much care is consciously being taken to represent that which is collective

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15 Probably one of the most spectacular exhibits of its kind in recent years, it featured Native collections from public and private collections in Europe, North America and the U.S.S.R. The collection was amassed and mounted by the Glenbow Museum as part of the cultural festival held in association with the 1988 Winter Olympics in Calgary, Alberta.

knowledge, to designate expertness only to the elders, and to talk in terms of "we" (rather than "I" or "they").

The *Living Arctic* exhibit was an example of a large scale collaborative production involving the anthropologist, the museum, and the Native constituency. It provided voices and images from a number of people and it visually combined the ethnographic past with the present time. While there are a number of examples of collaboration between Canadian museums and Native groups, there is much room for improvement. The Museum of Anthropology in Vancouver continues to develop exhibits and programs that reflect the working relationship between the museum and Native groups in the area. The museum has presented several exhibitions in the past few years that have relied extensively on Native involvement, or were curated solely or in partnership with Native guest curators, such as *Robes of Power, Hands of Our Ancestors,* and *Cowichan Knitting.* The first, *Robes of Power,* was an exhibition of Northwest Coast Indian "button blankets," curated by Gitksan artist and writer Doreen Jensen and designed by the museum. It was the first such exhibition at the museum curated solely by a Native person (Ames 1989: 7). The latter two exhibits were curated by both Native and museum personnel.

Obviously, the most productive direction for museums are to be found in collaborative arrangements for all areas of common interest:

> We want to work with the...general society. That's the open statement, but it's not unconditional. We want to have some type of say. We think that we could do things jointly...why not share artifacts, why not...store the artifacts and make molds for us...or why not make a travelling exhibit that goes to all Indian reserves, or develop video tapes or slide tapes on them. There's a number of ways you could share the wealth of the history (Robert Matthew, 1987).

New collaborative arrangements mean including Native professionals in the collecting, planning and exhibiting stages of work concerning Native cultures. They mean actively conducting surveys of museum training needs and providing, wherever possible, the kind of assistance and training required. And they mean coming up with research and access policies that are acceptable to both parties. (See also Appendix 15: *American Association of

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17 Ames (1988: 16) includes a number of examples of this kind of collaboration, including the ongoing Native cultural performances and the Blackfoot Elders project at the Glenbow Museum (advising staff on the proper storage of sacred bundles); long term loans to Native museums and the ceremonial feeding of sacred bundles at the Provincial Museum of Alberta; consultation and joint research ventures between the Royal Ontario Museum staff and Native groups; and a wide range of services provided by the Canadian Museum of Civilization, including repatriation to Canada of Native artifacts, long term loans, major art commissions, extensive consultation with Native groups concerning the design of exhibitions and events, and the recruitment of Native people to planning teams.

18 Curated by Elizabeth Johnson in collaboration with the Musqueam Weavers.

19 Curated by Marg Meikle with the assistance of the Cowichan band.

20 From a taped interview with Robert Matthew, research coordinator for the Secwepemc Cultural Education Society, March 1987.
Somewhat to my surprise—because many anthropology students are now reluctant to venture into a field situation and are turning their attention to other concerns—a number of Native people I spoke with indicated that they were not against university anthropology or university-based anthropologists as such. But they did voice certain objections. The primary objection was always that the results of research are still not universally made available or are written for a limited academic audience. Native organizations now deal with this by insisting as a condition of the research that research material and results are made available. Often now, Native research interests are identified in the community setting and appropriate researchers, both Native and non-Native, are hired at the discretion of local authorities. In this way, unsolicited research is becoming less common or accommodated only if the topic appears to be of interest and the normal conditions for acknowledgement and access are met.

...when they come up, if we don’t like them...or if they get a little wishy washy about where the stuff is going or [how it is] being interpreted, or they won’t [release] their rough notes, or we’re not being acknowledged in their books, or they don’t come up on more than one visit, so it’s just not a one shot deal—well, there’s just no way (Robert Matthew, 1987).

“Outside” researchers have gained a dubious reputation because of their transient profile—here today and gone tomorrow (back to the university)—which has cast doubts on the depth of their work and on the extent to which community research goals are served. This in turn, has also cast doubt on the university enterprise. Native history and anthropology is still seen to be taught without reference to the growing intellectual resources of local Native communities. Native cultures are often still presented solely in the traditional ethnographic framework without reference to contemporary culture. It is also clear that research that does not proceed through existing community authorities, or coincide with topics that have been designated by the community as significant, would not even be considered: “We have one page in the contract, for people, if they are going to use any of our elders documents, maps or tapes...that’s what it says in the very beginning, it has to serve the Declaration and if it doesn’t, it doesn’t even pass” (Robert Matthew, 1987).

This is not to say that anthropologists must work “for” Native organizations, but their interests will obviously have to reflect the growing research domain defined by Native authorities. Cruikshank notes that the research model now being negotiated in some northern communities in Canada is “one based on collaboration between participants rather than research “by” the anthropologist “on” the community” (1987: 6). A research arrangement between the Shuswap Nation and Simon Fraser University (1988) is an

21 From a taped interview with Robert Matthew, research coordinator for the Secwepemc Cultural Education Society, March 1987.

22 Ibid.
example of a team approach that has been initiated by the Secwepemc Cultural Education Society. Affiliation was sought with Simon Fraser by the Society in order to carry out a number of research projects in the area of health, social organization and microdemography. Clearly, a co-operative enterprise is indicated for museums and for university-based anthropology. To add the Native "point of view" to written and visual history and to recognize the shift in authority over the representation of contemporary cultures, indicates a process of incorporation rather than the replacement of one by the other; it indicates a composite discourse rather than the location of expert authorities in the intellectual academy of the dominant culture.

The role of Native museums in promoting cultural autonomy

The Crees feel that the development of a museum will allow them to begin to protect, interpret and disseminate information regarding those elements of their cultural heritage which would remain otherwise scattered and subject to destruction or continued removal from the Cree territories. It would allow them to begin to assert their will to systematically change the colonialist situation whereby the finest examples of Cree material culture, almost all photographic materials, and important information regarding Cree history/prehistory is held in the hands of outsiders, for their study and intellectual stimulation, yet is not available to the Crees themselves. Rather than being forced into the situation of having to rely on outsiders for an interpretation of their own traditions, the Cree wish to develop the resources to interpret and present their own history and culture, both to other Crees and to outsiders (Cree Regional Authority 1983).

Our museum program teaches young Indians that no one is in a better position to talk about Indians than themselves. They must no longer be defined by others; they will define themselves, it is about time we started (Charles Dalley 1979).

It would be better if Inuit maintain their own museum exhibiting their own traditional materials. Even though such artifacts were in our everyday use, we are caught in amazement and awe, whenever we get a chance to see them (Mina Napartuk).

The result will be a museum which consists of much more than show cases of beautiful objects. Rather, with the necessary background information the vitality, dynamism and relevance of the Cree way of life could be clearly conveyed (Cree Regional Authority 1983).

Criticism notwithstanding, the concept of a museum fits readily into the cultural education program, little changed in appearance and form. The museum is oriented to public

23 Reported in Kahtou, June 1988, 6(11):11: "Culture and Academia interlaced."
24 Cree Regional Authority Submission, p. 7, National Museums, Museum Assistance application, describing project.
25 Speaker from the Institution of American Indian Arts, Santa Fe. In Risser 1979: 12.
27 From the 1983 Submission. Pages not numbered. Part of Appendix 2, Cree Museum Documentation Centre, from project descriptions for the Cultural Education Centre extracted from the James Bay Cree Cultural Education Centre Budget Submission to Indian and Northern Affairs Canada 1983-84.
presentation and attracts both a Native and non-Native audience. The use of the museum also reflects certain economic considerations based on the development of tourism, and public relations considerations that have to do with promoting positive images. A formative element in the development of the Native museum has been the negative portrayal of Native peoples by non-Native museums and other agencies: "the interest in museums among native Indian groups is a direct response to the way they have been portrayed in non-Indian museum exhibits" (Jules 1988). A primary focus of cultural education programs is to construct a fuller history, from a Native perspective—to provide new images of Native people constructed on the basis of their own understandings, and to tell their story from their own point of view. The initiation of a museum also allows a basis from which to negotiate access to collections of information and material still resident in urban non-Native museums.

There is a widespread interest on the part of the Inuit, Cree, and the Attikamek-Montagnais in Quebec to develop museum facilities and programs in conjunction with their existing cultural programs. For example, a number of groups in Quebec are incorporating museum facilities as a basis for cultural centres, often making use of museum consultants. Avataq,28 for instance, was developed this way once the initial mandate and program direction were determined in the community forum of elders. The design is based on the traditional visual elements of the igloo, incorporating museum facilities as well as facilities to serve a range of other cultural services and programs. Avataq has also incorporated some of the ecomuseum principles in view of the vast region involved and the consequent necessity of maintaining an administrative centre as well as cultural programs in a number of communities.

From the start, the Inuit favoured the incorporation of a traditional museum facility, whether situated at Avataq or in the outlying communities. The role of this museum appears to be, specifically, the care and display of traditional material culture. The following are some of the Quebec Inuit elders' observations about the kind of museum they hoped to see established through Avataq and possibly through local satellite museums. (See also Appendix 3: Inuit concerns regarding the preservation of Inuit culture and the question of cultural property.)

As long as there is a building available, a museum can be established; the building doesn't have to be nice looking at first. I've been responsible for it since and I've never accepted any money for doing that. I only wish the museum and cultural centre would be formed. It's possible to form a museum and cultural centre as long as the use of a building is provided by the municipal council. Whenever I ask for articles for the museum, people gladly bring them to me for free. When the government notices the eagerness of the people, that's when they will want to help. I wish all the communities could get a museum. A museum can be a big help to children. A museum has educational value for children. Knowing that the government would approve proposals for funds for projects such as the making of traditional clothing, the women would gladly sew garments for display... (Avataq Cultural Institute 1983 (Tamusi Qumak 1981: 16)).

28 The Avataq Cultural Institute is located in Inukjuak, Northern Quebec.
It would be better if Inuit maintain their own museum exhibiting their own traditional materials. Even though such artifacts were in our everyday use, we are caught in amazement and awe, whenever we get a chance to see them (Avataq Cultural Institute 1983 (Mina Naparutuk 1983:20)).

We don’t have anything concrete to teach our children about our culture. What will they remember if we don’t show them anything? There is an old church now being used as a museum, but it seems it’s mostly for church activities. We need a museum of our own, but we don’t have one. (Avataq Cultural Institute 1983 (Alicie Aragutak 1983: 20)).

A small museum can be slowly formed, and I’m sure its contents would increase gradually. Young people don’t have the knowledge about Inuit artifacts, so it’s urgent to form these museums (Avataq Cultural Institute 1983 (Sarah Baron 1983: 38)).

In British Columbia, where there is less support for cultural initiatives and none for building facilities, Native museums are emerging slowly and with less than ideal facilities. Two exceptions are the U’mista Cultural Centre at Alert Bay, and the Kwakiutl Museum at Cape Mudge. Both were funded in part by the National Museums Corporation in order to house the returning Potlatch collection, repatriated by the Kwakiutl after 10 years of negotiation. Otherwise, museum developments in British Columbia vary and are only in their initial stages with limited facilities. The Secwepemc Cultural Education Society is actively developing their museum, where Coqualeetza has been emphasizing the collection of cultural information for the purposes of curriculum development; there are as yet no plans for (or interest in) a museum facility. The Heiltsuk Cultural Education Centre does not have a museum per se, but does have several small exhibits and is working to establish the whereabouts of Heiltsuk/Bella Bella material culture.

Ultimately, the present role of the Native museum in the larger complex of cultural programs may change. Native cultural goals are as yet little understood; funding structures reflect this and Native cultural activities may well be channelled into museum-like programs and facilities:

...we’re kind of...in the middle. We’re trying to enhance the identity of the people through certain strategies...at the base of it all is the funding, what funding is available. On the other side, we have to build it up so that non-Indians can identify with what we’re doing....one of the major problems in having cultural centres [is that] nobody can identify with it. The provincial government won’t make money available for culture centres because they don’t even know what it is and Indians aren’t their responsibility anyway. They might make money available for a museum, they might make money for all these other things, curriculum, but they won’t make money available for cultural centre because they don’t even know what it is.

29 There is a distinction to be made between cultural/heritage initiatives in contrast to cultural/education initiatives. The B.C. government has supported short term curriculum development projects, but the support of other cultural initiatives (cultural inventory) is negligible.

30 Coqualeetza does have a teaching collection of objects that is used for demonstration to local school children in the longhouse (on the Coqualeetza property).
I think that our best chance is through the museum. I think that if we can set up an operation that becomes a valid place for non-Indians to come to...without saying that we're going to conform to anybody's standards or values about what the culture should present and how it should be presented, is that we'll end up with a museum-type presentation....Money is always a factor. When funding is gone it's gone [and] we'll have to look to something to maintain our operations. And now because...the province and the federal government will fund museums, that's where our best opportunity for operating funds comes from. We've even looked now at having a...museum operation and having the cultural programming coming out of that....Those centres that don't have museums, they're in danger already (Rita Jack, 1987).31

Museums and community development

While the Native museum can and does showcase objects that inspire pride and signify identity it does not appear to be designed, in itself, to mobilize identity in ways that Native communities see as critical to social development. Nor do they expect a museum alone to fill this function. There is a tendency though, in the museum profession, to regard the museum as an instrument for development, particularly as it can be applied in Third World countries, but also in the economically and socially depressed areas of Europe and North America. If the international forum for discussion about museum activities in the developing world32 is any indication, the thinking is to situate museums in under-developed communities in order to provide people with a particular way of looking at their past, presumably to promote pride and thereby confidence. As well, the museum is seen as a way of promoting technologies that would transform these rural economies.

A study, entitled Museums: an investment for development, prepared by the International Council of Museums (ICOM 1982), points out: "that museums, beyond their cultural value, can play an active role in development, are non-formal educational institutions, are propagators of appropriate technologies, and are useful in helping the population to understand the complexities of the development process."33 This study also noted that funding of museum programs by international or multinational agencies was almost non-existent, apparently because of long-held stereotypes about museums and because development is equated with economic productivity:

Some of them...plainly stated that since their establishment they have never financed museum projects. Others were more detailed in their replies and, although they had not yet envisaged direct financing of museum, they provided data on the support to activities related to the preparation and presentation of the cultural heritage... The investment in cultural heritage as a tourist facility seems, on the other hand, to have been more frequently considered by funding

32 I refer specifically to the various seminars organized by ICOM (International Council of Museums), and UNESCO (United Nations Educational Services Overseas), and the publication Museum, produced by the former.
33 This study looked at funding for museum projects by international or multinational organizations that were in some way connected to development.
agencies.... However, in the mind of some decision-makers, both at the political and high management levels, museums are and will continue to be considered for some time as static cultural institutions, bearing no relationship to the dynamic social process (1982: 5-6).

Part of the problem with the museum venture into the domain of development is that there are too many players, not the least of which are the community members. Although this study points out that there have been “too many failures in implementing and optimizing development projects exclusively conceived in economic terms” (Ibid p.7), not enough attention is given to whether the museum is an appropriate model in the first place, or whether it fits with the conception of development proposed by the population at risk. Rather than assuming that the standard museum has multiple uses, it would be more appropriate to ask what kind of museum does a developing country need? (Ames 1985: xi). Too many assumptions are made about the potential use of a museum without an understanding of its culture-bound nature, and without an understanding of the necessary ingredients of development. The most important question to ask is whether development can in fact be imposed from the outside and work?

**Ecomuseums**

The ecomuseum is an instrument conceived, fashioned and operated jointly by a public authority and local population. The public authority’s involvement is through experts, facilities and resources it provides; the local population’s involvement depends on its aspirations, knowledge and individual approach. It is a mirror in which the local population views itself to discover its own image, in which it seeks an explanation of the territory to which it is attached and of the populations that have preceded it.... It is a mirror that the local population holds up to its visitors so that it may be better understood and so that its industry, customs and identity may command respect.... (Georges Henri Rivière 1980).

On the one hand there was a century of thinking on museums, which was brought to a conclusion and summed up by Georges Henri Rivière and which found an immediate response from the public because of its central concern with ecology and regional ethnology. On the other hand, given the desire for involvement and self-management, there was the need for a new kind of museum. The coming together of the two movements led to the development of a museographical system which...organizes a museum of space, a field laboratory (with a workshop, documentation centre and, where appropriate, a shop), and outposts or communities associated with local routes and pathways. This is all managed by three committees—users, administrators and scientific advisors—which allows everyone to be involved in a ‘centre of mutual instruction’ with the principal aim of developing the community (Hubert 1985: 187).

Having provided a summary of Native views on museums, I would like to fill out the discussion of “the problem with museums” with a look at a central misconception of those that advocate museums for development—not because this advocacy is misplaced, but because it lacks some essential ingredients and it is ultimately limited by the “museum” perspective. It is important that museum initiatives in the development arena look closely at indigenous development programs that propose similar principles. These include employing museographic techniques to secure cultural knowledge in order to achieve both cultural autonomy and self-determination. Abstract proposals to locate development
programs from the Western world into an indigenous milieu must also consider the underlying ideology of cultural survival as a recent phenomenon, demonstrated by many indigenous populations worldwide in the post-colonial context. This means, clearly, that internal forces are at work to mobilize development strategies based on cultural considerations.

The idea of the museum as a tool for development is best represented in the ecomuseum model. There is still some confusion not only about what an ecomuseum is but whether or not it is appropriate to look at Native cultural centres as Native versions of ecomuseums. Or whether ecomuseums are in fact cultural centres. On both counts, this is not the case. Ecomuseum models have been explored in Quebec and are being promoted to Native communities by museum consultants employed by these communities. As a concept, it holds certain attractions and possibilities for some of the more remote regions because it allows for the representation of a large territory. But, like the use of the standard museum in the cultural centre program, it is likely that where ecomuseums are grafted onto the overall complex of programs envisioned something quite different will grow. The following examination of some of the principles of ecomuseums is not intended to underrate the collaborations that are evolving in Quebec at the behest of Native organizations.

René Rivard, instrumental in promoting the concept of the ecomuseum in Canada, particularly in Quebec, asks: "can there be a museolization of our culture without museums?" By this he asks: whether the collective memory of a people can be activated and guided without the institutional trappings of standard museums (monolithic buildings, expert curatorship and centralized collections). Ecomuseums are an attempt at "museolization" without museums. Cultural education centres incorporate museographic devices but they cannot yet be said to have "museologized" their activities. Both emphasize community development and active participation in a program of cultural strengthening, but the terms of reference for the latter are comprehensive, intuitive and, most important, self-imposed, where the terms of the former ultimately reside in museum-thinking and are essentially imported.

The ecomuseum, the vanguard of "new museology," is first of all seen as an alternative to the central institutional model of the urban museum with specialist curators and centralized collections. The term "eco" refers to a defined region and its community. The idea is to treat the entire heritage of the region as a subject for study, preservation and

35 A relatively recent development in museology (the self-reflective study of museums by those in and of the museum community). The intent is to retain museum principles ("collection, conservation, scientific research, restitution and dissemination, creativity") and provide a museum model for community-based development. The emphasis is on "active" museology. The basic principles are set out in the "Declaration of Quebec: Basic Principles for a New Museology," in Museum (UNESCO) 148: 201.
interpretation, using traditional museum principles (conservation, research and exhibit), and community members as the primary researchers: "the territory replaces the traditional building; the collective heritage is the collection; the population is the public" (Stevenson 1982: 5). It is at once a system that has evolved out of museum practises and at the same time a reaction to the institutionalized and specialized nature of the large urban museum that is seen to cater to the upper economic echelons of society. The ecomuseum is seen, in contrast, as a tool for community development in economically depressed and culturally threatened regions. A major innovation in the thinking behind this movement is the move away from amassing and centralizing material collections. And ideally, the adoption of an ecomuseum in a region is to come out of a collective community desire to take charge of itself rather than out of the external imposition of a scheme to direct community development.

There is a common theme shared by communities that have adopted this program and Native cultural initiatives, and that is cultural survival and the use of an organizational/institutional scheme to ensure this survival. Both the ecomuseum and Native cultural education centres are organized to ensure a continued community viability and to protect a threatened heritage. The ecomuseum identifies and defines the cultural features that the community designates as unique, both in the landscape and the social culture. They both give particular emphasis to the process of personal and community empowerment through the affirmation of identity. The ecomuseum seeks to create and establish community solidarity through participation in a common program of self-identification and visual presentation. Like a cultural centre, the ecomuseum requires some local specialist(s) to coordinate activities and, like a cultural centre, it extends the traditional collection focus from the material object to include recording and collecting oral history. The ecomuseum may well be a reflection of an industrial society that still retains a collective memory of its past, but has nonetheless come to the point of separating its past from its present. It does not, as far as I can tell, emphasize continuity through the revival and use of unique cultural features or values, though there is an emphasis on the revival of traditional crafts. The cultural features that are selected are primarily material manifestations of the past (sites and objects). However, instead of being amassed into museum storage as museum collections, objects that have been (collectively) identified as being culturally significant are meant to remain in the keeping of the community members. The intention is to assign custodianship for the collective heritage to the population, thus sharing the responsibility for its conservation and the production of a collective record.

In Haute Beauce, the first ecomuseum in Quebec, people express themselves through the medium of exhibits thus portraying themselves, as it were, to themselves and very much in the cultural style of the dominant society, through the medium of a cultural production. Similarly, the territory is marked by gateways and signposts to express the relationship of

36 Cited in Querrien 1985: 198, from Marcel Evrard and Mathilde Scalbert, Écomusées—patrimoine et société contemporaine, 2.3.2 (Unpublished manuscript prepared for Max Querrien's report).
the community to the territory. In Quebec and in France, where the ecomuseum originated, the hope was for an "authentic reappropriation of a heritage by a people" (Hubert 1985: 187); this new form of museum "should not at any price be party to the treatment of culture as a commodity" (Varine 1976: 143).

Critics of the ecomuseum suggest that, while a cultural solidarity may well be achieved through the mobilization ("museolization") of a chosen identity, the very act of choosing and exhibiting results in a skewed picture that may preclude critical self-reflection: "When there is no detachment or spirit of criticism, the "mirror museum" shows the society in question not as it is but as it wishes to see itself, with all the exaggerations implicit in such an attitude" (Hubert 1985: 189). This is an important principle that all cultural institutions, however new and whatever their purpose, should attempt to keep within their vision—the spirit of criticism—because it allows for innovation and mediates the vested interests that can harden the initially fluid activities of community development into an institutional framework.

Because the ecomuseum was developed out of the museum model and depends on a "museolization" process it appears to have a natural tendency to institutionalize itself. Georges Henri Rivière, the founder of the movement, observed: "Ecomuseums are coming on like a house on fire! But the appalling thing is that on the one hand progress is made and on the other there are two or three characters who are jumping on the bandwagon and making quite a system out of it." One might well ask whether the "museolization," and consequent institutionalization of cultural understandings is desirable but at the same time, given that modern society deals with its past in characteristic ways, it would seem that "whether or whether not museum" is mooted by the very nature of the postindustrial perspective on the past. The process of consciously selecting cultural features as a collective community process is nonetheless a powerful means to mobilize identity and thereby to formulate a basis for community development. Although the ecomuseum of the economic and social minorities and the institutionalized museum of the majority society, share the common process of "museologizing" cultures, the very nature of community involvement makes them quite different. However, it is not entirely clear how development actually occurs once an ecomuseum is in place—how the new collective knowledge is then translated into social programs and economic activities.

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37 Georges Henri Rivière adapted the Scandinavian open-air museums into the French context with the establishment of the French Regional Nature Parks in 1967 (Hubert 1985: 186). The first ecomuseum opened four years later at Le Creusot Montceau-les-Mines in central France, at a distance from the cultural and intellectual centres of the country, with a majority of the communities (16 districts) represented by farmers, miners and factory workers.

The ecomuseum is essentially an act of faith that development, through activating a
collective consciousness, will come about. The Native cultural education centre is, on the
other hand, consciously designed to fit into a larger plan for development and is physically
and symbolically incorporated into the social and political life of many communities. While
cultural education centres employ the medium of exhibits, they do not rely on the exhibit as
a primary means of communication. They more often ensure that active communication
programs are in place first such as newspapers, community television, radio and various
education programs that include curriculum development, adult upgrading programs,
language instruction, and so on. Little is left to chance here, and the cultural component is a
principle component of all of these programs.

Cultural centres, then, are neither museums writ large, or ecomuseums translated
into the Native milieu. All share the activities of preserving, collecting and presenting
culture history but cultural centres are invariably viewed as more than museums, having
both a broader scope and a wider range of activities. They are not centralized urban
institutions but are necessarily located in the communities they serve. While there is often
some centralization involved, where a number of bands in a region are often served by a
single centre (which brings its own problems), cultural centres are essentially local
community organizations with a high level of accountability to other community
authorities. It would be a mistake to assume that the museum, in its present form, can serve
as a cultural centre, indicated by the way it has been used by Native communities in Canada.
And, although “new museology” proposes the museum as a cultural centre, appropriate for
the development of marginal populations in economically depressed regions and in the
Third World, there is a strong argument to be made for the fact that museums, by definition,
are not suited to this task.
4. Defining the development task: the role of culture in education

The issue of culture in 1969: "the time is now to decide"

Black Elk, an 'Oglala Sioux visionary saw five generations of Indian people. He was of the fourth generation and stated that the fifth generation would return to culture. We are the fifth generation; we are to complete the circle, this sacred hoop of life that has been broken. We must research the traditional values, customs and methodologies of our people and utilize those which have meaning in the 21st century (Verna Kirkness 1985: 13).

We believe that the issue of culture is at the heart of the struggle for self-determination of native people. Indeed, much of the misunderstanding and intransigence of government and Canadian society ... is the fact that we do not take seriously (even if we say we do) the traditional cultural viewpoint as it is expressed today. When we speak of Indian culture we are accused of trying to turn the clock back to an outmoded past of moccasins and igloos; of taking a position based on unreality and naivete.¹

Assimilation is rejected because it does not work. It is psychologically and socially unsound. To obtain the necessary self-confidence, inner strength, and determination to become a full-member of Canadian society requires that a person believe in his cultural heritage and not deny it (National Indian Brotherhood 1977).

In 1969, Pierre Trudeau's argument for assimilation summarized more than a century of thinking about the "Indian problem," with widespread repercussions and probably for the last time in Canadian history. He spoke of crossroads and challenged Native people that it was now time for them to decide whether they were to be Indians apart or Canadian citizens:

So this year we came up with a proposal. It's a policy paper on the Indian problem. It proposes a set of solutions.... We can go on treating the Indians as having special status. We can go on adding bricks of discrimination around the ghetto in which they live and at the same time perhaps helping them preserve certain cultural traits and certain ancestral rights. Or we can say, "You're at a crossroads—the time is now to decide whether Indians will be a race apart in Canada or whether they will be Canadians of full status." And this is a difficult choice...on the one hand, they realize that if they come into the society as total citizens they will be equal under the law but they risk losing certain of their traditions, certain aspects of a culture, and perhaps even some of their basic rights....²

The Native response was that it was possible to be both Canadian and Indian. However, in order to be effective and able citizens, Native cultures would not only have to be protected but also guaranteed as a basic right. This notion sets out the guiding principle of cultural education programs which emphasize "the best of both worlds." As a consequence of

¹ Jackson, et. al. 1982: 4.
the White Paper, the issue of culture was clarified and made central to the goal of self-determination:

The only way to maintain our culture is for us to remain as Indians. To preserve our culture it is necessary to preserve our status, rights, lands and traditions. Our treaties are the bases of our rights (Indian Association of Alberta 1970: 5).

Self-determination and self-sufficiency are seen to depend, ultimately, on this issue and the extent to which it can be reconciled in the political and economic arena of the dominant culture. For Native people culture is linked to a significant measure of political autonomy as well as an economic/resource base. Jean Chretien, the federal minister for Indian Affairs in 1972, publicly recognized the right of culture and echoed the equation between culture and well-being:

Children...must have another right, one which is more fundamental [than rights to fulfillment of material needs]: the right of access to a cultural heritage, the right to a sense of identity based on that heritage.... In my view, mental health and a sound cultural inheritance are inseparable (Jean Chretien, Minister, DIAND, 1972).

In Quebec, the provincial government is proceeding, carefully, to recognize the issue of culture as a fundamental right; negotiated settlements now include mechanisms to establish cultural needs and to ensure cultural development:

The government recognizes that the Attikamek and Montagnais Indians have in principle the right to self-determination insofar as their cultural identity is directly concerned. The government specifically recognizes the right of the Attikamek and Montagnais to their own philosophy as regards educational institutions and the organization of their children's education, and also as regards social services.... The government recognizes the right of the Attikamek and the Montagnais to choose their own development, particularly taking into account their traditions and their own values (René Lévesque 1980).

However, in the twenty years that have passed since this issue of culture surfaced into the public arena, it appears that the majority society does not readily understand what is meant by the "right" to culture. Consequently there is little understanding of conceptual links made between culture and self-sufficiency, economic viability, and well-being. Even though, in principle, the right to culture was recognized by the federal government after 1969 (and resulted in a program to support cultural education centres), Canadians as a whole appear to be resistant to the notion of special cultural protection for any minority. Often there is little differentiation made between ethnic and indigenous minorities. An extensive study of public opinion (Ponting 1987) indicated that a 25% of Canadians, did not know what the term "aboriginal" meant and that Canadians as a whole tend to have low levels of

knowledge about Native concerns and issues. The survey also showed that 67% of the population felt that all Canadians should be treated alike by the federal government (pp. 44, 45 Module 1), and that Canadians react very differently to the notion of “special status” (negatively) than they do to the notion of “self-government” (more positively): “Canadians tend to be supportive of special hunting rights for Natives, but they tend to be resistant to the notion that Indians, as first Canadians, should have special cultural protection that other groups do not have” (p.ii, Module 2).

Native views on citizenship, particularly since 1969, indicate that cultural protection is the only way that real equality can be achieved. That is, an economic and political equality that ensures “security from want and full access to the widest range of options available in Canadian society,” as well as the achievement of “purposeful lives through real access to education, political equality and social amenities” (National Indian Brotherhood 1977: 5). This is a complex proposition for a society that does not, as a whole, feel either cultural threat or material want. The issue of culture then, central to the Native proposition for self-determination, does not readily find common conceptual ground.

The “Cultural Goal”

The ideological foundation for cultural survival and cultural education was articulated and formalized in the Cultural Goal defined by the National Indian Brotherhood in the 1977 Strategy for the Socio-economic Development of Indian People. (See also Appendix 5: Strategy for the Socio-Economic Development of Indian People: The Cultural Goal.) The Cultural Goal is the first goal that was proposed in conjunction with several national goals:

1. To retain and strengthen Indian constitutional and cultural identity to achieve full Indian contribution to Canadian society;
2. To achieve security from want and full access to the widest range of options available in Canadian society;
3. To achieve purposeful lives through real access to education, political equality and social amenities; and
4. To maintain possession of and contact with the land to the fullest degree possible (1977: 4).

The Provincial/Territorial reports have totally re-confirmed the goals and they have built upon and moved beyond the bare outlines of the first statement of the strategy. They have, above all else, made exceedingly clear the importance and the primacy of the Band and community in retention of culture, in thinking and

5 Interestingly, the question of cultural threat emerged in the context of the Free Trade discussions between Canada and the United States; the advocates of Free Trade emphasized that the economic relationship proposed would have no impact on Canadian culture—culture and economies were proposed as separate and independent activities. For Native people, culture and economics are necessarily intertwined.

6 Note in the original: “land is used here in the sense of land, water and all living things on, over and under them” (1977: 5).
planning for the future, and in all activities related to building that Indian future within the Canadian mosaic (1977: 12).

The work for the Report was begun in 1975. It pulled together a summary of regional reports submitted from across the country and indicated that the Cultural Goal was emphasized in all submissions: that Indian people have always seen themselves as an independent people (not a subject people), and their goal is to achieve a recognition of this status and with it the communal land base that guarantees the continuation of their culture. “This goal involves self-determination in the political area, the cultural area, and the administrative area:"

Indigenous people throughout the world who form minority groups are now in agreement that a prerequisite to any improvement in their socio-economic situation is for each person to have knowledge and pride in the culture of his community and to be able to relate to the larger society from a position of psychological strength. In short, each person must be secure in his cultural identity.

The cultural goal rejects the assimilation of the Indian people into the larger society, perceived by the Indian people as an implicit non-Indian goal underlying most of their relationships with the non-Indian world....

The cultural goal implies a plea/demand by the Indian people to the non-Indians to accept the validity of their cultures so that the future interaction will result in creative cultural evolution rather than the destruction of the minority culture....

This document also signifies the combined acknowledgement by the Federal government and Indian leaders that 1) the “development” efforts of the past two decades on the part of the government had not been effective, and that 2) to be most effective, initiatives must come directly from Indian people themselves.

The principal equation between culture, self-esteem and health

Much of the thinking about the importance of culture—the importance of knowing about and practising culture—has been condensed into the idea that knowledge and pride in culture provides a strong identity and that a strong identity is central to full participation in both Native and non-Native society. This idea about culture is also very much linked to the establishment and maintenance of individual and group self-esteem and, importantly, to ideas about well-being, healing and the maintenance of health. The analogy between cultural programs and preventative measures (against social problems) is explicit:

7 A work force was struck in Victoria, British Columbia, to “conduct research and analytical tasks necessary to the identification of a long-term socio-economic development strategy for Indians.” It was an outcome of a Joint Cabinet/National Indian Brotherhood Committee established to promote joint consideration of socio-economic advancement of Indian people; an agreement to carry out this work was signed between the Minister of the DIAND and the National Indian Brotherhood, February 9, 1976 (National Indian Brotherhood, 1977: i).

Cultural Education Centres play a crucial role in providing programs that not only enhance and enrich Indian life in communities but also act as a prevention agent against the lowering of self-esteem, the lack of pride or the absence of dignity. It is far better to prevent the development of problems than to later have to pour millions into programs that merely attempt to treat the symptoms of the disease (National Committee of Indian Cultural Educational Centres 1982: 18).

The connection between access to health and access to culture is seen to be of fundamental importance. Native people have diagnosed aspects of their present social condition as a grieving response to a void created by the rapid impoverishment following European settlement. With their consequent dependency came the loss of individual and collective determination. Without belabouring the point, it is important to note that this is neither a precipitant diagnosis or the passive cry of the victim, but an internal appraisal that appears to be intuitive and retrospective, characterized by the observation that cultural strengthening activities seem to "work." Because they work, they are being mobilized and systematically incorporated into development strategies. This diagnosis underlies a strategy for action. It is directed inward as part of a development thrust, rather than outward as a moral wedge in the inter-ethnic arena. The activation of cultural practises and the consolidation of cultural knowledge are seen to be critical to the initiation of the healing process.

Healing

What we are talking about is the grief over a significant loss—the loss of our languages, our culture. What we have is a people who are grieving, who are in a state of unresolved grief. We are acting out that grief through the violence and the alcoholism... But we are healing (Bea Shawanda, national trainer for the National Native Association of Treatment Directors).

Their health 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 just join in general...social and political institutions, and forget their own. Their health has declined with the decline of salmon stocks, with the influx of welfare cheques. Their health has declined with the disappearance of communities where within living memory they were content and self-reliant (Dr. Gary Goldthorpe).

...[the] basic problem is depression and anxiety caused by what's happened to them culturally.... Indians consider that Americans do not have culture. They fear that if they are forced into American culture they are forced into non-culture.... It is necessary to resurrect Indian history, language, songs, folklore and dances to erase anxiety and its self-destructive symptoms (Dr. Herbert Fowler).


10 cf. Speck 1987: 259, from the report of Dr. Gary Goldthorpe, Commissioner for the 1980 Inquiry into Indian Health and Health Care in Alert Bay, B.C.

... native communities are emerging from a long period of grief and fast becoming sober, productive and healthy communities. “All over the country you’ve got a lot of things happening that you just didn’t see over 10 years ago. And this is happening throughout Canada, in every province” (Wayne Christian, director of Round Lake Treatment Centre).12

It was my interest in heritage that pulled me out of being an alcoholic. I raised 11 kids and in due time became a drinker, and so I was weak from drinking, and I felt so useless, and I felt I could no longer go out into the mountains to pick huckleberries, and I could remember then my grandmother’s words to me: I am me...and I learned more about my heritage, my legends, handicrafts and traditional dance and songs. And that’s what helped me (Anita Cheer, Colville Confederated Tribes, Washington State).13

When all the drinking was going on, the language was going, the culture was going, and all the unity was gone (Andy Chelsea, Alkali Lake, past chief).14

Ideas about the loss of culture (and cultural continuity) are central to the goals of cultural education programs. These notions are reflected in premise that a “strong sense of identity is basic to the effective functioning of all persons.”15 The activation of cultural practises is seen as a key that gives access to well-being and provides an effective antidote to suicide, depression and despair. The Coqualeetza philosophy (1974) states:

We believe that programs which can do some or all of these things [contribute to the individual feeling good as a person and as an Indian, to strengthening bonds, gaining new skills, learning the Sto:lo language, traditions and values] will lead to the goals of healing our people, of giving them strength and courage and pride.

This idea is also increasingly reflected in the growing number of social rehabilitation programs based in, and developed by, local communities. Two workshops recently held in Vancouver (1988) specifically address this notion of working through grief in order to heal from the effects dislocation. The first workshop hosted a gathering of Native health care workers in order to look at some of the approaches to the treatment of various addictions: “Much of the alcoholism and violence among Canada’s Indian communities is symptomatic of a state of prolonged and unresolved grief” (Bea Shawanda, national trainer for the National Native Association of Treatment Directors).16 The consensus was that healing could be promoted through the post-treatment use of traditional healing methods “such as the sweat lodge and various ceremonial therapies.”17 The Vancouver Indian Centre hosted a grieving workshop in order to discuss the effects of Indian residential schools and the role they played in breaking the traditional transmission of culture and with it identity and self-esteem:

13 From the 1983 film production, I Am Me (Funded in part by the National Endowment for the Arts).
14 From the film The Honour of All.
15 Coqualeetza philosophy, 1974.
17 Ibid.
...a lot of the grief stems from the troubles native people went through while attending residential schools.... As a result of this educational experience, many people lost their traditional languages, values, beliefs and customs. Their way of life was stripped away especially the cultural foundations which gave them personal meaning and pride. The next generation were not systematically taught cultural values resulting in an erosion of traditional ways...people began losing their sense of personal meaning...without the sense of personal meaning and purpose they feel alienated, depressed and lost...." (Roslyn Ing 1988).

In the autumn of 1986, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation featured two Native men, Herb Navigon, an Ojibway, and Vern Harper, a Cree, both living in Toronto. The host invited them to talk about their views on the resurgence of traditional practises. I have included a large part of the interview here because it reflects the way that culture and well-being have been linked conceptually, formalized in the “Cultural Goal,” and translated into cultural education programs:

Peter Gzowski [CBC host on Morningside, 25 November 1986]: A few months ago, Herb Navigon, an Ojibway Indian then living in Peterborough, sent me a remarkable manuscript. It was an account of how the spiritual wisdom of his elders had helped him to beat his alcoholism. He said he’s not alone, that other Canadian Natives are finding power and comfort in ancient beliefs. Joining me in our Toronto studio this morning are Mr. Navigon and Vern Harper, who’s a Cree Indian and an urban shaman.... Herb...going back to the beginning of your story as you told the world in that manuscript... you said you had a hole you had to fill....

Herb Navigon: Well basically I just lost confidence in myself as a human being, and alcohol gave me a false sense of belonging, a false sense of power. And I used alcohol to fill that hole....

Peter Gzowski: When you decided you had to stop you went to the elders. Tell me what the elders told you.

Herb Navigon: Well first of all I went to Alberta and I met some gentlemen elders there.... [they] helped me to see things in the old way, the traditional ways in terms of healing alcoholism by using nature, nature as a main focus of healing. And, I guess if you look at nature in terms of healing, and how dependent we are on nature, then I got to understand my place in the Indian world. I guess that’s the best way of describing it, in the Ojibway world.

Peter Gzowski: Tell me a bit about, if you would, about the periods of fasting you went through.

Herb Navigon: Basically, fasting is an exercise to clean out all the negative feelings you have in you.... I was very angry. Fasting helped me to look at the anger and to do something about it. To turn the negative into a positive energy. I guess that’s the simplest way of describing it.

Peter Gzowski: I turn now to Vern Harper. You’re an urban shaman. Tell me what that is.

Vern Harper: It’s kind of an old new thing within the cities, because we never needed shamans within the city. It’s a seer of the old ways, and I’m a person who sees and looks at the old ways and tries to live it in this modern world. But, the key is understanding the relationship to my ancestors so I have an understanding of what went on, what’s happening now and what’s going to go on.

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19 I include here selections transcribed from the interview in their original sequence but edited somewhat for brevity where indicated.
There are many of us who are Indian people really see we need the tools of our ancestors to kind of blend in our two cultures, like the dominant culture that now we have to deal with but a lot of us, like Herb has mentioned, and myself, a lot of us have felt an emptiness, a hole when we didn't know the tools of our ancestors, we didn't know our own culture and we really believe that to go somewhere, to go ahead, you have to look back, you have to know where our ancestors have been, where we've been so we can move forward. And as a shaman within the city, wherever our people are, our healers, our people are there... within our culture we take care of each other so if someone's sick they have some ways to deal with it. One of the things as a shaman is if I'm going to heal other people, I have to have peace and balance within myself. And the only way I have ever found it is to really look in my culture and try to live it and be a part of it and be connected to it. We believe everything is related, everything is connected.

*Peter Gzowskit:* I want to ask you a bit about some of those beliefs, but ... why don't you tell me how widespread this matter of people turning from alcohol back to this kind of, to the old ways, finding an answer, beating alcoholism.

*Vern Harper:* Oh, I really believe very strongly in our culture; within our culture we have all the tools in there to beat it and that's exactly what's happening. I would say that hundreds and thousands of Indians who were trapped into the world of alcoholism who are slaves to it, and are now becoming free Indian spiritual beings because of their culture, by using their culture, looking at their culture, understanding it. Indian people I've known... trying all these different things, and it didn't work for them, some it did, but the majority it didn't. But when they started really looking at their own culture and started to use tools within the culture like the sweatlodge, the fasting, just the belief in themselves as being Indians and beliefs relating to the land.... what's happening is Indian people who are really getting into their culture, really learning and participating in it, not just talking about it but living it, actually living it, that gap is filled and they never go back to alcoholism, they never go back to prison, they never go back to the skid rows....

*Peter Gzowskit:* This is part of a, I don't want to say phenomenon, but it's part of something that's happening on the reserves and elsewhere is that Indian people across this country and everywhere are turning back and finding strength, not only the kind that you're talking about this morning, but finding the strength in the old ways.

**Local knowledge**

There is a compelling trend to indicate that solutions to present conditions are to be found internally— that all the tools necessary to move forward are there to be identified and put to use:

What we are talking about does not concern the white people. You people [AVATAQ] are experts in cultural matters. You all say you want to preserve your Inuksuk. That is the heart of the matter (Isacie Padlayat, Inuit elder, 1981).²⁰

The change in attitude in ten years has been mind boggling, without Indian affairs. I think that's the biggest change I've seen in Indian people here compared to anywhere else in Canada... the sense of "anything is possible now" ... because there's absolutely no Indian Affairs.... when Indian Affairs was here, all the bands had curriculum enrichment money that was supposed to help enrich the public school system, and all Indian Affairs ever did was sign over the money right to the schools.... now the bands can start their own curriculum project, even as small as they are, or they can chip in and give it to us, as the society. And therefore demand results.

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I think you're probably seeing the Indians here closer to their culture than any time in their past. The two major influences of government and the church, which are heavy ideology of the non-Indian ways of living are at arms length now. So, once you have them out of the way, well what do we actually do, like what do we do without them? And I think we're doing a lot. I think that a lot of the ideas and energy originate with Indian people. So, in fact, it's sort of like this culture of survival, this culture is all this potential that's been suppressed all these years. We've taken the lid off it and it's able to express itself....I think it's always been there. When I was around the last time, over ten years ago [with Indian Affairs], there was such a feeling of helplessness, that we wanted to do so much, that we knew we could do...but everybody says: "no you can't do anything, and if we leave then the guts of the Indian people will fall out," that's what one guy said from Indian Affairs: "you guys'll be crying to have us back, 'cause you guys don't know a thing, you're useless and stupid, that's all there is to it." And we're saying: "well we have all these ideas and...there's no way to express them as long as Indian Affairs is here." (Robert Matthew, 1987).

One of the most active proponents of the concept of incorporating traditional means to solve social problems, and to activate the healing process, has been the Four Worlds Development Project. This program has gained wide acceptance by Native communities as a way to combat the extreme responses to poverty and the position of marginality in the dominant society:

The Four Worlds Development Project considers native traditions to be the primary key to unlocking the force that will move the native people on the path of their own development.... A strategy has emerged for implementing the vision of healing and development, through the elders' suggestions, by following traditional native values of kindness, forgiveness, understanding, sharing and encouraging (Cotton 1987:10).

I've seen it work, people go to a traditional way of life and they have become sober (Sam Bald Eagle Augustine, Big Cove Reserve, N.B.).

There's a lot of things to Four Worlds. One of the things, they have a unique educational perspective....And part of this...is that alcohol...doesn't play a role in this, it wasn't part of the Indian culture. [so it's an Indian model?] It's a model that has been totally "Indianized" (Robert Matthew, Shuswap, 1987).

Other social programs are increasingly incorporating what they see as cultural values, styles and practises, and using traditional knowledge about health and healing now being consolidated. Native elders and healers are also being brought to the forefront to

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21 From a taped interview with Robert Matthew, research coordinator for the Secwepemc Cultural Education Society, March 1987.
22 This program is based in the Faculty of Education, at the University of Lethbridge, Alberta, and is co-ordinated by Phil Lane. It began in 1982, after a conference of Native elders, spiritual leaders and educators from across the country. They resolved, at this time, to eliminate alcohol and drug abuse by the year 2,000 and sought funding from the National Native Alcohol and Drug Abuse Program, Health and Welfare Canada. Kahtou 1985 3(3): 11.
practise and to teach their healing skills. For example, in the late 1960’s, in Kenora (Ontario), a local club was formed with a particular interest in learning about “traditional cultural approaches to alcohol control.” The group approached the district hospital to discuss setting up a Native healers program. It was funded by the Ministry of Health and a healer was employed to work with the Native community. This program was later expanded and reorganized and a coordinator was brought in to actively reintroduce traditional healing practices to the community in conjunction with conventional medicine. The program successfully called in Native healers from other parts of the country to contribute their knowledge. This kind of knowledge had always been passed orally and it was felt that some of it had been lost over time with the passing of the older generation.

Programs in British Columbia include the Round Lake Treatment Centre, in Armstrong, which opened in 1977, the Nechako treatment program in Prince George, and others that are about to open in Hazelton, Nanaimo and Alert Bay. In 1988, at the University of British Columbia, the new First Nations House of Learning hosted a Forum on Health Careers as one of its first activities. One keynote speaker talked about “legitimizing traditional knowledge of healing methods, because a lot of what we know of modern medicine has derived from knowledge obtained from Indian people:"

People practising these things in the communities usually have oral tradition and don’t write things down, and they can get lost. We have to document this knowledge, and get others to acknowledge it. It’s a source of pride, and something we can integrate into the training of Indian doctors and other health practitioners so it has some meaning to them (Ethel Gardener 1988).

Similarly, the Yukon Medical Services has employed a story-teller as a mental health coordinator who uses legends in the counselling process “to help people understand their problems of today:"

Borrowing stories from books on Indian mythology and memorizing legends told to her by the elders of the Yukon Indian communities, Profeit-Leblanc tells of characters such as Crow, Loon and Owl who have specific personalities and interrelationships. With the passing of time stories go unchanged, but the meanings gain greater significance as people pass through various stages in their lives. Each story has an underlying moral or several of them “but people use the stories differently to meet their own needs, helping them find their own solution to problems,” she explains. The elders who normally tell these traditional stories have granted Profeit-Leblanc use of the legends. Having survived many hardships the elders can view current problems with the distance and wisdom of age. They tell valuable stories with themes related to “coping” and “lifeskills” and “quality of life”... “We are trying to strengthen ties

27 Planning for this Institute was initiated in 1984 and it opened in 1986. Its function is to coordinate existing University programs and to develop appropriate courses to meet the professional training needs identified by Indian communities in British Columbia. It is one of the first comprehensive attempts to bridge University offerings with community needs.
between the elders and youth—to help rebuild communication broken by alcohol and drug abuse, suicide and violence. The elders feel a greater sense of belonging to the community by contributing their guidance to the youth. I use a holistic approach...I try to help people gain a sense of wholeness and spiritual power.... We must have the educational tools and understanding to point out the choices available to native people—they must know the repercussions of their actions and then make their own decisions. A return to traditional cultural approaches can assist this” (Louise Profeit-Leblanc).

The anthropological literature acknowledges that populations undergoing social change experience a sense of loss, at an individual and collective level, which is expressed in ways similar to bereavement. (Fried 1963; Marris 1974; Parkes 1970, 1971, 1972 and Appell 1975, 1977, 1980). These writers note that the transition out of the grieving state is accomplished when the past meanings and purposes of that life shared with the deceased (in the case of individual loss) are linked to the present. This process is also in evidence in a “population at risk,” a society that has experienced disorienting social change. George Appell (1980) argues that a collective healing process can be activated in the same way, by access to meanings and purposes that were relevant in the past:

Thus, when a population, as a result of social change, undergoes major changes in its social space, its socioeconomic structure, or its assumptions about the world, it must work through the same grieving process.... As with individual grief, so with social bereavement, normal growth and the completion of the developmental cycle of bereavement require that the past be conceived of as a meaningful and an important experience on which to build the future.... Thus it is important that a population have access to its past, to its traditions, to its culture in order to move into the future (p. 14).

Appell also asks how the innate healing process in any population at risk can be facilitated and managed, and suggests that planning for social change should also include “ethnographic research, the development of museums, the creation of archives that contain oral literature, song, dance and art of the population at risk, and the study of its social history and oral tradition” (ibid.). Should this kind integration of the past not come about, the population is likely to undergo what Appell names the social separation syndrome (1980), a complex of maladaptive responses to social change that result in behavioural and health impairments.

It is apparent that Native people have, individually and collectively, diagnosed their own condition in similar ways and have proposed similar solutions. Appell suggests that this process might be externally implemented as a way of assisting indigenous people (in the Third World) to deal with the effects of development: “The problem facing any social scientist is how to facilitate the innate healing process in any population at risk” (1980: 14). He proposes that anthropologists could influence the often destructive development programs initiated by external agencies (such as the Peace Corps) by providing development planners with more adequate social models that take into account the costs of development (1975: 31). These costs, the “pernicious effects,” include ecological degradation and with it

30 I refer primarily to Appell’s work here (1980).
the degradation of "culture-specific" knowledge of the ecosystem. Here, a development act has been defined as an act that undermines the cultural knowledge and the cultural confidence of an indigenous population:

A development act is any act by an individual who is not a member of a local society that devalues or displaces the perception by the members of that society of their relationship with their natural and social world. By this definition we can include in the act of development planning the local school teacher, the local doctor as well as the economic, agricultural, and education experts who work in the major centres of the developing country.... In addition to destroying local knowledge, such acts serve to undermine the self-esteem held by members of the society, and this may produce pernicious stresses within that society (Ibid p. 33).

Significantly, Appell notes that this destruction of local knowledge is not only to the detriment of indigenous populations but also to the detriment of the global society. Today, the depletion of the reservoir of specialized indigenous knowledge and associated skills in dealing with the biosphere, such as indigenous agricultural, chemotherapeutic and nutritional knowledge, could have devastating global consequences. Appell raises the chilling spectre of a modern store of knowledge, and a modern approach to the biosphere, that is missing critical information for long-term survival. This may well have been anticipated (but not realized) in the alliance between environmental activists and Native land/resource claimants that emerged in the 1980's: the fear that the effects of industrial development will result in an irreversible loss of the collective heritage and effect the long term survival on, and of, the Earth. Appell asks: "Can we be certain that the methods of adaptation discovered and invented over thousands of years of experimentation will be rediscovered, reinvented at some future point when they may have crucial importance for man's adaptation to the biosphere?" (1975: 38).

The potential consequences of this loss of knowledge have certainly been anticipated by Native leaders, elders and educators in different ways and at different levels. This sense of losing and having lost a body of cultural knowledge exerts a tremendous force in determining the direction and the substance of education for Native children today. Much of the transmission of this knowledge is seen to have been strategically interrupted by the residential schooling system which not only sought to replace one form of knowledge with another, but imposed a fierce restriction on the spoken language (considered the primary vehicle for transmitting culture). It also effectively separated an entire generation from its

31 Ames (1985: 3) notes that the 1980's saw an emerging alliance between Indian land claimants and environmental activists who together are attempting to preserve traditional lands against intrusion by governments and industry. My own observations, in 1986, at the Stein Cultural Festival (a contentious area proposed for industrial development and involving the conflicting interests of logging and local bands), suggested to me that while there is certainly an intersection of interests between environmentalists and Indians, the respective understandings about the land are quite different. Non-Native activists do not, as a rule, acknowledge the dynamic relationship between local populations, the land, and indigenous knowledge about the land, as a significant factor in preserving the collective environmental and cultural heritage.
home community. The cultural education curriculum is essentially designed to reverse this displacement of local knowledge by consolidating and infusing this knowledge, by emphasizing it and designating it as an object of pride and distinction. (See also Appendix 8: Major concepts in three British Columbia Indian Curriculum Projects.)

Appell (1975) notes that, with the dislocation of indigenous knowledge of the ecosystem of the Third World, a new kind of poverty is imposed that most affects the children. They are seen to lose the psychological stabilizing effect of a coherent cultural tradition, the benefits of traditional child rearing practises, and the knowledge that they would have received from their own teachers. This knowledge is replaced by knowledge imported from a distant Western education curriculum that constitutes, by its nature, an inferior knowledge because it does not refer to local conditions. Appell gives examples of school teachers in Borneo promoting standard calisthenics rather than encouraging existing athletic skills adapted to survival, and of displacing generations of accumulated agricultural knowledge by supplanting traditional crops with imported crops:

...this supervisor of agricultural training [was asked] to identify certain grains cultivated by the local people. But he was unable to. However, because of his high status as head of the agricultural school and teacher, his vastly inferior agricultural knowledge will be transmitted to the local school children to replace that which arose from thousands of years of accumulated agricultural experience in their own ecosystem. In this manner will people become disarticulated from their ecosystem to the detriment of themselves and mankind as a whole (1975: 34).

When the Alkali Lake Band (B.C.) began to re-establish control over their community, one of the first things they did was to get rid of the teachers. This was as much a symbolic act of confidence as it was a practical act of taking control again over the education of their children:

I found that...our first experience was to get rid of all teachers that the Department of Indian Affairs hired. We found that a lot of the teachers that were hired by the department were from foreign countries. And a lot of them could hardly speak English. I remember when we first started hiring our own teachers, the Department of Indian Affairs gave us a list of teachers that belonged to the Public Service Alliance. It was a rule then that we had to interview all those teachers before we could hire some of our own. But we didn't hire any of those teachers. The kids here really enjoy school now. They would spend all day in the school if they had a chance....(Fred Johnson, Alkali Lake).

Initiatives such as these also reflect the understanding that it is the process itself—the re-instituting of local authority and consolidating cultural knowledge—that has its own intrinsic value for a self-imposed development process in as much as it represents a symbolic break with dependency and galvanizes action:

We are not responsible for ourselves. We need an education co-ordinator for education. We need a social worker for social assistance. We need police for protection. A new society moved in and took our responsibility away. We now sit

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32 Transcribed from The Honour of All (Part 2). Produced by the Alkali Lake Indian Band, The Chief Dan George Memorial Foundation and the Four Worlds Development Project.
in a vacuum. We have to turn back to traditional forms and culture and find out how we existed as a community and what our social structure was like.\textsuperscript{33}

The Coqualeetza statement of philosophy emphasizes this notion of process, even over the content of their programs:

It can be misleading, too, to attempt to evaluate our programs by looking only at their surface titles. It should surprise no one that often the most significant growth towards our highest goals happens not because of the content but because of the process that occurs (1974: 3 [emphasis in the original]).

The National Indian Brotherhood notes that formal attempts at development initiated by the government have met with little success: "While there has been a major "development" effort by government over the past ten to twenty years, it has been proved less than effective, as evidenced by Canadian norms in the areas of education, health, justice and economic well-being" (1977: 3). The question remains, however, whether development (and museum) programs, no matter how well they might match indigenous ecosystems and world views, can successfully be initiated from the outside. It may be that a population must first engage in the process of diagnosis, individually and collectively, and attempt to find where the "heart of the matter" is, and only from there can development strategies be identified.

**Cultural education and Indian Control of Indian Education**

I feel the obligation of defining to you what I as an Indian expect from education. For me, education is not confined to the activities of a formal institution. It is a unified, integrated set of processes that an individual experiences in his environment...that the influences come from the total environment, and the influences also work together in cooperation. It is not merely schools and universities that have the responsibility for giving education, and it is not just teachers and professors who have to exercise the educational function. All parts of the environment make their unique contribution.... The Indian educational experience is a total environmental experience. It is a co-ordinated effort in the development of character, objective knowledge and spiritual sensitivity (Ahenakew 1974: 6).

I have been educated only in the white man's way, and I know English fluently. But I simply cannot be rightly proud of this knowledge I have gained, knowing I am far from complete in the ways of my origins, in the true Inuit ways. A lot of my generation is painfully aware of not being fulfilled in knowing Inuit culture (Zebedee Nungak, Inuit, 1981).\textsuperscript{34}

I am fully educated, with my knowledge of the traditions, culture, history and songs that belong to my Indian way and language (Peter Webster, Ahousat, 1983).\textsuperscript{35}


\textsuperscript{34} Avataq 1983 (1981): 32.

\textsuperscript{35} Recorded in Haegert 1983: 116.
When the kids were still going to residential schools—that's when family separation did its damage to our culture and language (John Thomas, Nitinaht, 1983).36

The goal is to have success in education. If they can re-enter and be successful, then great, that means that both systems can work together. If they can't integrate at the grade 8 level, or do better than the other people, then obviously somebody's failing (Robert Matthew, Shuswap, 1987).37

Cultural education means, simply, the addition of cultural information and the incorporation of culturally distinct learning and teaching styles into the formal process of education. It indicates the process of consolidating cultural knowledge and it implies that, without cultural knowledge, education is incomplete. Cultural education signifies the re-establishment of the transmission of cultural knowledge, after a perceived interruption, where the elders are essential to bridging the gap. Cultural education means, symbolically and practically, a renewal of control and it recognizes that the responsibility of cultural education is to create a bi-cultural citizen:

Indian philosophy of education is in many ways more valid and universal than the one which prevails in education circles today. Instead of a one-sided view of history, we want our children to learn a Canadian history which attaches honour to the customs, values, accomplishments and contributions of this country's original inhabitants and first citizen's, the Indians of Canada (Kirkness 1985: 5).

The conceptual placement of culture with education was the outcome of two things: the emergence of the issue of culture in the Native responses to the White Paper in 1969, and the acknowledged lack of success of Native children in non-Native schools. Indian control of Indian education, as a concept and as a landmark document, followed soon after the White Paper. Activities in Alberta, which formed the vanguard of the Indian response (articulated in the Red Paper of 1971), included the take-over of the Blue Quills Residential school in the summer of 1970, after lengthy negotiations and a month long sit-in (Bashford and Heinzerling 1987: 126). This takeover reflected the general political ferment of the late 1960's as well as the turning point in Indian education and the consolidation of Native organizations.

In 1972 the National Indian Brotherhood prepared a lengthy policy statement on education which was approved by the General Assembly of the National Indian Brotherhood and presented to the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. In 1973 this policy was approved in principle and was given official recognition by the Department and the federal government. This document emphasized three things: the fundamental right to education, the right to incorporate cultural content and values into the substance of education, and the right to jurisdiction over the content and administration of that education. The National Indian Brotherhood indicated that the federal government retained a legal responsibility to continue to provide a free education but that direct authority over

36 Ibid p. 80.
schooling was a matter of local responsibility. It called for adequate Indian representation on the school boards that were in charge of the education of Indian students, given that over 60% of Indian students were then attending provincial/territorial schools. Most important, this document pushed the matter of curriculum to the forefront.

A curriculum...is a precise instrument which can and should be shaped to exact specifications for a particular purpose. It can be changed and it can be improved. Using curriculum as a means to achieve their educational goals, Indian parents want to develop a program which will maintain balance and relevancy between academic/skill subjects and Indian cultural subjects. Textbooks are needed which emphasize the importance of the Indian's role in Canadian history. Material for reading classes must be developed: material which is relevant to the experience of the Indian child living in isolated or northern areas (National Indian Brotherhood 1972: 9, 10).

In 1988 the B.C. First Nations Congress also adopted a five year education plan. Similarly, the two principles set out were that education was to be the first priority and that a bi-cultural system was desirable:

...the First Nations support and promote the development of a bi-lingual and bi-cultural education system which allows for First Nations learners to fully participate in their culture and in the culture of the non-Indian people; (Each First Nation would decide which aspects of their culture could be shared in the classroom.)

Although cultural education is directed largely to the curriculum of public and band-operated schools, it is also an important element in community-based training and adult upgrading programs, and in university-based professional training programs. Cultural information also constitutes a central component of Native media. This notion of “cultural” education is expressed in terms of making existing curricula “culturally relevant”—not with the intention of replacing existing programs but with the intention of augmenting and infusing these programs with cultural knowledge and values, as well as filling out the historical and intellectual record for all children. The metaphor of infusion is a significant one, and echoes the equation between culture and well-being. This metaphor is also reflected in the concept of culture-as-antidote and culture-as-preventative measure for poor self-esteem and consequent failure, not only in the school system but in a larger sense as well.

The broader goal, in order to ensure the quality of education for Indian children, has been to gain control over the administration of education as much as over the content of education. This move has proceeded at a rapid pace in the decade since the acceptance of the National Indian Brotherhood policy in 1973. In 1975, under the terms of the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement, the Cree and the Inuit gained full control over education in their territory in a way still unparalleled in the rest of the country. This was due in part to their remote location, the more supportive political climate of Quebec, as well as the terms of

38 Recorded in Kahtou, May 1, 1989 7 (8):3.
the agreement itself. By 1980, there were three Native/Inuit schoolboards, 450 bands out of 575 bands were administering all or parts of their programs and by 1986 there were 229 band-operated on-reserve schools. In Ontario, in 1980, Indian bands managed 46% of all Indian education programs and by 1986 they managed 81%. In 1984, the Canadian Education Association reported a sharp improvement in academic achievement rates and the number of Indian students staying in the school system, especially for those attending band operated schools (1984: 82). The Association refers to a study conducted by Art More, at the University of British Columbia (1983) which found that programs put together by Native groups had greater success than those devised by non-Natives. This is very much in keeping with the proposal that development initiated internally, individually and collectively, has an inherent chance for success. By the same token these education initiatives represent development models in their own right, formulated in situ, on the basis of local expertise.

It is not the purpose of this summary to paint a glossy picture, but rather to indicate trends. Native people still see themselves as being a long way from achieving the education goals that they have collectively set for themselves, or achieving the kind of control that they require in order to bring these about. New federal funding plans for educating Native students at the post-secondary level indicate, among other things, a marked increase in the costs that Native students will have to cover, and this trend especially indicates the frail basis on which Native control over education ultimately rests.

Determining needs and “Quality of Education” studies

The Cultural/Educational Centres are, in many instances, the only bodies who are examining the actual learning needs of bands. They are, on their own merit, designing curriculum material, and developing language programs (Evalucan 1978: 55).

The Ahousat Indian Education Project was initiated by the Band Council as a result of the general dissatisfaction among Ahousat Band members with the process which had taken place thus far in developing the plans for a new school. As thinking about the new facility had progressed, it became clear that it was necessary in the life of the community to seek a review of the educational needs, both general and specific, of the Ahousat band membership (Canon 1980: 5).

Soon after its formulation, the proposal for Indian control of Indian education was incorporated into community development strategies which, by the early 1980’s, were quite common. Increasingly, local studies have been initiated to assess the educational and social and cultural needs of the community. These studies represent an important initial planning

39 There are agreements in process in the Northwest Territories and in the Yukon which may well represent improvements over the terms of the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement.
40 The Nisga’a of British Columbia and the Cree and Inuit (Kativik) of Northern Quebec (Jordan 1986: 270).
41 Reported by the Canadian Education Association, 1984: 7.
42 DIAND, Annual Report, 1985-1986: 20. It is interesting to note that these categories and statistics were absent in earlier reports (eg. 1983-1984).
task that is now frequently invoked and often carried out by cultural education centres. First and foremost, these planning strategies signify evidence of local control in operation:

The needs assessment study will identify the educational, cultural and developmental needs of the Shuswap people as well as provide the Secwepemc Cultural Education Society with demographic data on the population they serve. An identification of cultural, educational and developmental needs and a compilation of demographic data will assist the Secwepemc Cultural Education Society in planning and designing programs within its mandate for the Shuswap communities it represents, particularly in curriculum and cultural education type programs.

The Society may become involved in the field of education and may provide adult training in management, leadership and community development, skills that will aid in the transfer of programs to the bands.

To move into and be effective...the Society requires a comprehensive picture of the Shuswap population including....[demographic data, health, education, employment, economic factors, housing, socio-cultural factors, social and personal disorganization].... This data will be compiled, analyzed and will form the basis of all future program planning and design for the Secwepemc Cultural Education Society as it strives to fulfill its mandate for the cultural educational development of its band members (Secwepemc Cultural Education Society 1984).

Related to these “needs assessment” studies are a large number of locally initiated “Quality of Education Studies.” These are carried out in order to establish the educational performance of Native students and to clarify the perceptions and expectations of the parents and community with regard to the education of their children. There is a recognition by the dominant society, reflected in government studies and education statistics, that parity for Native students is desirable but there is little evidence to suggest that a concerted program of action has been taken unless it has been initiated as a consequence of pressure from Native groups.

The avowed policy of the government is to develop parity in education for the Native Indian .... This report indicates that not only is parity not happening but it is not being properly addressed (Canon 1980: 12).

In British Columbia, several studies have been undertaken, including the Okanagan Nicola Quality of Education Study (More 1984), the Ahousat Education Study (Canon 1980), and the Native Indian Language Education in the Victoria-Saanich Region (Hébert 1984). Such studies characteristically identify the educational goals of the community and, with reference to these goals, existing programs are examined in order to determine the extent to which they match. Achievement levels are also examined, teacher/student perceptions and attitudes are sampled and the quality and availability of specialized instruction is assessed. The question of cultural differences is often identified with reference to evidence for distinct learning and teaching styles. The bands usually bring in an outside evaluator to do the study, but band members are generally involved in the process. The directions for Indian Education have emerged to a large extent from the stated concerns of parents, students and

teachers which have been documented by way of such studies. Art More (1984: 43), evaluator for the Okanagan Nicola study, notes that “serious, even bitter, concerns about the “failure of the school system” were expressed by a significant number of Indian people throughout the Study area:"

The concern was based on two problems: 1) that Indian students are not graduating, or if they graduate they are not prepared for the world of work; and 2) that the schools are ignoring the heritage of the Indian students or even preventing healthy development of Indian cultures today. These concerns were raised often enough, and with sufficient force that they cannot be ignored as a vocal minority

More (1984: 85) also notes that there are two ways of including Indian culture in the curriculum—either as a separate course, or as part of each area of study and as part of the overall teaching style

First, specific units or even courses can be developed for inclusion in various courses and grades. Second, Indian culture can be “infused” into the curriculum by including it into the content or instructional techniques wherever appropriate.

Extensive “educational needs” studies are also being done to assess the learning needs of the adult populations in order to determine training priorities and, often, to initiate basic adult upgrading programs (high school completion and preparation for further training), to bridge educational gaps and to allow people to move into technical and professional training programs. Ultimately, the results of these studies have provided the practical foundation for Native curriculum development.

The goals of cultural curriculum and its use in schools

Our first priority in making curriculum is to our young ones by giving them their place in Indian history. Through our elders, our forefathers will speak in our curriculum. Our elders will help give growth and development to the whole person in mind, body, and spirit. This can only be done by Indian people (Union of B.C. Indian Chiefs 1979: 7).

The involvement of Indian people in the education of their members has resulted in greater school retention and attendance of students, meaningful curriculum development, [and] development of early childhood and adult education programs.... We cannot continue to use or emulate the existing provincial system of education. To bring about radical change in Indian education, we must first disestablish many of our existing practises based on theories of the society that has dominated us for centuries. Then we must look within ourselves, within our communities, our nations, to determine what form our education must take We must engage all our people within this process (Kirkness 1985: 9, 11).

Curriculum goals—those goals that set out the rationale for cultural content in education—begin with the goal of improving the self-image of the Native child and thereby building self-esteem. Their primary rationale is that culturally relevant materials—those that stress the local Native culture, its values, its world view and its contribution to the fabric of Canadian history and contemporary society—will build this self-esteem by providing children with images and understandings that reflect back a positive identity, rather than the negative or non-existent identity that standard portrayals have provided. By
making education meaningful in this way, it is hoped that the high drop-out and failure rate of Native students can be turned around, and there is now a body of evidence to support this prediction. Cultural goals in curriculum include the notion of providing a "complete" education and, conversely, that education is incomplete unless it incorporates cultural knowledge and skills and, wherever possible, the local language as well. Culture is in fact often taught through language programs. Finally, cultural goals indicate the importance of correcting the historical and intellectual record for all students. (See also Appendix 6: Language and culture curriculum goals in British Columbia Schools for a selection of curriculum goals expressing the range of concerns, and Appendix 8: Major concepts in three British Columbia Indian Curriculum Programs.)

The Report of the National Committee of Indian Cultural Education Centres (1982: 8) explores the role of culture and cultural curriculum in context of the development matrix. The Report indicates that the values transmitted through the public education system have had tragic consequences on Indian youth. One of the more damaging messages transmitted by the dominant education system stems from the concept of the "culturally deprived" child:

The tendency in the past has been to look at the student himself and develop reasons for his failure. Current philosophies tag Indian children as products of "culturally deprived" backgrounds. The damaging cultural concept blamed Indian cultures for the lack of success or achievement in schools, when in fact, "the system" itself could not accommodate the needs of Indian children (Ibid).

Archibald (1984: 102), documenting the rationale for the Sto:lo curriculum development program, notes that "cultural differences were later viewed as attributing to problems experienced by Indian children. Culturally deprived students were helped through the creation of remedial or readiness programs...." The Report of the National Committee of Indian Cultural Education Centres notes that this disposition has contributed to the overall poor performance of Native children in the schools of the dominant culture, sometimes with shattering results. The Committee cites drop-out rates five times the national average, violent deaths at three times the national average, suicide in the ages of 15-24 years at more than six times the national average, and juvenile delinquency at almost three times the national rate. The analysis of contributing factors indicates racism on the part of non-Native students and teachers and the absence of any acknowledgement of the existence of, let alone the contemporary importance of, Native cultures in the school system:

With about a 10 or a 15% success rate there, we feel that we can't do any worse. So, without an alternative, a lot of bands break away and over the years build an alternative...it's really hard to say, yes we have a master plan or an educational system that is unique and different than the province because some of it's sort of a 'find and discover' implement as you go (Robert Matthew, 1987).

Curriculum has been employed as a primary means of combatting these trends. In summary, the criteria upon which Native curriculum has been developed indicate that it must be culturally relevant and more representative; that it must provide accurate and

44 Interview with Robert Matthew, March 1987.
complete information to fill out the historical and intellectual record; that it must seek to undo tenacious stereotypes; and, that it must stress family and community values. These criteria are more fully described in the following rationale for the curriculum programs of Coqualeetza Education Training Centre and the Secwepemc Cultural Education Society:

**Sto:lo Sitel Curriculum**

The idea for the Sto:lo Sitel Curriculum arose when the Coqualeetza Elders' group was formed in October, 1974. During their regular weekly meetings at Coqualeetza our Elders' began recalling their stories. This reminded them of the need to pass on their knowledge to the younger generation so that it would not be forgotten. A Curriculum Committee was formed shortly after to carry out the Elders' wishes.

This is not the only reason for the Sto:lo Curriculum. The drop-out rate among native students in the public schools is still very high. Native people have been oppressed. As a result, many suffer from a low self-image and lack of identity. Our way of life has been misrepresented in books and in native studies units in the schools. The Sto:lo Sitel Curriculum Project, according to the wishes of the Elders, works toward the solution of these problems. It is unique because Indian people are involved in the research; thus our history is not only being accurately documented, but is presented from the Sto:lo point of view, rather than being interpreted by others (Sto:lo Sitel Curriculum Committee 1977: viii).

**Shuswap Curriculum**

We need to develop a curriculum project on Shuswap history, culture and language. We need to re-write history to eliminate the prejudice in these school books....(Shuswap Nation Report 1983).

All the murals on the wall are Shuswap, the music is Shuswap, they entertain other groups as a class, they will go out and get Indian foods during the year, identify plants that are useful, take part in just about all our gatherings, anything that we have going they let the class have time off to do, as well the language. Social Studies is just about wholly Shuswap history. Music, some of the music and dance; some of the students are very accomplished already at singing and dancing. Those are the usual areas. Again, the elders come in quite often (Robert Matthew, 1987).

The consequence of bringing the issue of culture to wider public attention and mobilizing Indian control of Indian education has been a substantial improvement in the support for curriculum development. With it has come a growing acceptance of the necessity for this kind of work, despite the inevitable initial skepticism on all sides:

One of the most difficult things that we had to overcome was to convince the School District people that Indian people could write curriculum....The school setting does have a culture. You have to strive for the values that are apparent within that school culture or it rejects you or you reject it.

While the provincial government in British Columbia has given minimal support for the heritage/cultural initiatives of Native groups, the Ministry of Education has supported

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45 Ibid.
46 Jeff Smith, Okanagan Indian Curriculum Project. (Minutes of the Joint Meeting of the Shuswap Language Committee and the Shuswap Cultural Working Committee, at Alkali Lake, February 11, 1983, p.4).
curriculum development projects and has implemented support structures for the introduction of Native curriculum in the provincial schools. (See also Appendix 7: British Columbia Ministry of Education: Native Education Policy.) This support appears to be rooted in ideas about "parity," and in the recognition that Native students have not achieved this parity, as indicated by the high drop out rate:

Parity as a goal means that through regular and special needs education programs Indian children will in time reach this potential and that their culture, history and contemporary life will be adequately reflected in the over-all curriculum of the public school. The ministry is committed to the development and implementation of programs in Indian education when such programs are consistent with the goals of the B.C. Core Curriculum and the aspirations of the Indian people to achieve parity and to maintain their cultural integrity (B.C. Ministry of Education 1979: (section 15): 83).

The Ministry policy also indicates support for the increased participation of Native people in public education, including the recruitment of Native teachers, and "adequate" consultation between school districts and Native education authorities. As well, the Ministry provides support in principle for the development of language materials and language programs in schools: "The Ministry supports the development and implementation of bilingual-bicultural programs, thereby allowing a student to become proficient in two languages and two cultures" (Ibid).

There is, however, an uneven use of the existing Native studies curriculum available in the provincial schools. While teachers are encouraged to use local curriculum materials, they are not obliged to: "Each School District within the Okanagan have bought thousands and thousands of copies of our curriculum and yet we don't know to what extent it is being used."

Like that school board at 100 mile, they aren't going to fund any of our curriculum, and...one of the board members told me: "this is the last voice. I guess everything stops down there...if we don't fund this, right?" I said: "of course it doesn't stop, don't be foolish!" I said: "everything is all systems go, we're just giving you a chance to share in our success...there's all sorts of ways of supporting it, one is politically, policy-wise, financially, morally, volunteer-wise, the other is being receptive."

We can work, and we want to work [together], but we can't understand the reluctance. We put to the school a joint venture curriculum: we'll do all the work, we'll do everything, you just supply a bit of printing money and Pro D [Professional Development] to get it introduced to the school, we'll even do all that. All we want is philosophical support, we'll do everything for you. They turned us down totally, seven school districts.... Zero invitations to be part of the school system professional development. It just goes on and on. It's not as if we don't try on our side, we make all kinds of effort to work with people, and by and large, our attitude is you can't ever get mad at them, you can't ever say, "well I give up." An elder once said, well if it takes ten minutes to educate someone, well it takes ten minutes, but if it takes ten years then it takes ten years. You can't educate somebody or get to know them if they're mad at you...you can't alienate

47 Smith responding to the question about the extent to which the materials produced were being used (Minutes of the Joint Meeting of the Shuswap Language Committee and the Shuswap Cultural Working Committee, at Alkali Lake, February 11, 1983, p.5).
the very people you want to get along with...we just bite our tongues and say, "we'll go again next year." But it won't stop our own development. It's just that we would like to share some of this (Robert Matthew, 1987).

Additionally, where cultural curriculum is used, it is often in the context of "Native Studies" which, like art or cooking, is relegated to something that is outside of the standard and compulsory curriculum. Ethel Gardner (1986), in her analysis of the Seabird Island Community School (Fraser Valley, British Columbia), identifies a dichotomy between the goals of education that are culturally related and the goals of education that are related to academic subjects. This also reflects the dichotomy in the majority education system where a similar distinction is made between electives (superfluous) and academic subjects (central). Gardener notes that, while this dichotomy does in fact reflect the kind of education that Native parents want for their children (cultural content and basic skills), there is also a danger in separating the two. Gardner observes that this is not necessarily the case at Seabird Island School, which is band-operated, but it is more apparent in the mainstream schooling:

There is a danger...that the Native language, history and culture might be taught as separate courses and not be considered legitimate knowledge, or adequate preparation for total living or for living in a multicultural society if the dichotomy remains. Dichotomizing cultural and academic skills is omitting the fact that acquiring academic skills is part of the culture. In the process of making schooling relevant to the philosophy and needs of Indian people, Band schools have incorporated Indian content into the curriculum, a curriculum often based on the provincial curriculum guidelines which are designed to serve the dominant society's interests. Rather than incorporating Indian content into schooling, Indian Bands should consider the concept of incorporating schooling into their culture (p.41).

Native educators and parents are aware of this dilemma and maintain that cultural content is not "just arts and crafts." Some believe that this artificial distinction may reflect a developmental stage in the incorporation of cultural content into the regular curriculum and suggest that the ultimate goal is to completely integrate cultural content with the standard academic subject matter wherever possible.

I like to give my opinion on Inuttitut education. Those who give sewing instruction are often called mirsunguartisjjit (those who give play-acting sewing classes), instead of being called mirsutisjjit (those who give sewing classes). Nobody ever bothers to check on how those teachers are doing. Reports of students in those classes are never given to parents. I would like a better arrangement made in order to improve this. I also want action taken to make those classes more than activities to satisfy a few parents. In other words, I want those classes to become serious programs essential as part of the children's

49 This goal of complete integration has been operationalized, for example, at the Alert Bay School in British Columbia, where culture is not taught as a separate course anymore. More (1985: 129) notes: "The teachers are expected to integrate Nimpkish culture into their lessons and curriculum....This integrated approach is working quite satisfactorily, making Indian knowledge an accepted part of the curriculum."
education. Those culture teachers don't even attend teachers meetings. Those teachers are important…(Paulusie Padlayat, Inuit elder, 1983).  

It will eventually become possible to teach real Inuit culture and traditional skills, after accomplishing specific stages of programs (Caroline Palliser, Inuit teacher, 1983).

Although there has been some success of Blood Indians within the present system of education, a majority number fail ever to complete their high-school education. One solution which will change the over-all picture a great deal will be to inject into the various school curricula more meaningful material. This material should not be categorized as 'special' as this will cause it to be classified as inferior.

I don't think only native children should take this course, the non native kids should also take it. What we learn is very important, we also learn about survival; today everyone should know about natural Indian foods and medicines. This course is not just arts and crafts. Some of the kids go home and teach their parents who then get interested (Shirley Smith, Stride Community School, Vancouver 1984).

There are, then, three levels at which Native students are exposed to their culture through formal schooling: through a Native Studies or a Native language program as a distinct subject in the provincial/federal school system; through a similar course in a band-operated school; or, through a curriculum where cultural content and the standard curriculum have been conceptually integrated. The operation of a school by a band does not automatically ensure that a cultural program is incorporated, although it does ensure a large measure of local control and involvement. Curriculum programs have been developed for the most part on a local and regional basis (eg. the Stó:lo Sitel Curriculum, the Shuswap Language and Culture Series and Curriculum Project, the Okanagan Indian Curriculum), and much of the responsibility for producing and incorporating culture will continue to rest with the individual communities (and the nuances of funding patterns).

The ideal school program appears to be an integrated program, which depends on a concerted integration of cultural knowledge and curriculum materials with the standard academic curriculum. This requires, however, that curriculum material already exists and that the school is operated by Native authorities. Examples of this approach are demonstrated in the curriculum of schools such as the Alert Bay School in British Columbia (More 1985: 129), and the Plains Indian Survival School in Alberta. Here, cultural knowledge is incorporated as much as possible into standard subjects. For example, the study of natural medicines and environmental issues are included in the science program. Again, the move is clearly toward band-operated schools, not only in order to ensure the implementation of cultural curriculum but to provide a community setting that would

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51 *Ibid* p. 82.
52 From the Ninastako Cultural Centre Calendar, 1984.
54 This school opened in Calgary in 1979 for urban high-school students.
enhance the cultural aspects of the curriculum, prompt community involvement, and allow
Native families to stay in the community instead of moving to urban areas in search of
quality education for their children.

The issue of language

The learning of language is the most significant intellectual achievement of a
person's lifetime, not only because it is individual and creative, but because
language is the conveyor of culture (Margaret Klesner 1981: 16).

I was one of the last to go through that Baptist mission school in Whitehorse
before it was closed down. There was fear there. They punished us for speaking
our language. Now we're trying to bring it back... During our annual general
assembly we translated everything to the elders and to the public. It was tedious
but people realized the importance. When you've been brought up to be ashamed
of your own language, it helps to see it given respect that way (Chief Hammond
Dick, Ross River, Yukon).55

We work to protect the Inuit language not because we have a great knowledge of
the language, but because we feel that we need to protect it. We need all the help we
can get from people who have the knowledge. That's working together. One
wished Inuitativ were taught more to school children. Young boys and girls speak
English to each other these days. One day, these children will be parents. If they
barely speak Inuitativ, their children will not learn it. That's why it is important
that efforts should be made so that our language doesn't die (Tamusi Qumak,
Inuit, 1982).56

Because of the residential school experience, you have a gap of about twenty five
years, so I would say anybody under 40 would have hard time with the language
(to about 15). Mainly because it wasn't offered in the schools, and the parents
were still too close to the residential school experience, and it was too painful to
talk Indian. So in fact none of us have learned it. But since 1970 we haven't had
the church (well, 1968), so we have a lot of distance now from the bad feelings
from the church. And...after a hundred years of everybody saying "get rid of your
culture, get rid of your culture" everybody says now, "where's your culture? why
don't you speak your language" (Robert Matthew, 1987).57

The issue of language cannot be overstated. Nor can it be adequately treated in the
scope of this thesis. Language is seen as both a conveyor of culture and an insignia of cultural
distinctiveness. The prevailing idea is that if the language can be kept alive then the culture
is thereby safeguarded. However, the documenting and teaching of Native languages is an
immense task, especially where language has been effectively eroded through the
intervention of residential schooling and later, with the predominant use of English in the
public school system. The gap between the remaining speakers and the population now
speaking English is wide and appears to be increasing. It would thus appear to be an
impossible task when so few Native people still speak their language and those few are for
the most part elders. Yet, there is a concerted effort to revive languages, despite the odds that
English-speaking Native children will not achieve fluency in the course of their schooling.

55 Quoted in Wright 1988: 45.
57 Interview with Robert Matthew, March 1987.
The reasons for this are complex and they are linked to the understanding that language itself contains a special kind of knowledge that cannot be found anywhere else, and that access to culture ultimately comes through exposure to the language. And there are emotional reasons that have to do with regaining something essential that was forcibly repressed in those who attended residential schools. But, whatever the reasons, or the likelihood of success, many goals reflect a hope for a bilingual/bicultural outcome.

The Nisga'a, of northern coastal British Columbia, provide an exemplary model for this achievement through a concerted program. They have in their favour cultural, geographic and historic variables that make bilingualism and biculturalism possible: geographic isolation, a legacy of leadership, and a cultural strength that coalesced early in the course of their land claims. Additionally, they were the first Indian group in Canada to gain complete control over their educational system (McKay and McKay 1987: 68). As early as the 1950's, Nisga'a teachers in the Nass schools agitated for the alleviation of the poor educational conditions. In the 1960's, when Nisga'a children were faced with urban education and living away from home through a boarding program, the growing awareness of the negative effects of this trend, followed by organized negotiations with DIAND, resulted in the construction of a high school in the territory. Another long period followed before the Nisga'a were able, in 1974, to convince the B.C. Ministry of Education to accept their brief which outlined their ideas about education. In 1975 the Nisga'a language was taught in the local schools, and by 1978 the bilingual/bicultural program was underway:

The Bilingual/Bicultural Program has evolved and grown as is befitting its importance to the Nisga'a way of life. The insistence on a bilingual-bicultural curriculum for students who had to be re-educated upon their return to the Nass Valley was the major selling point when all of this started. The most convincing argument for our people was that language and culture are inseparable and that as long as the Nisga'a retain that, we will always be able to integrate our culture and the Western culture if we have our language as our base (Alvin McKay and Bert McKay 1987: 78).

By the 1980's, the attention given everywhere to renewing Native languages was evident in the proliferation of language programs throughout the country, in the substantial increase in trained Native language teachers, and in the number of language conferences that are held with regularity at the provincial and national levels. (See also Appendix 6: Language and culture curriculum goals in British Columbia Schools, for language curriculum goals, and Appendix 9: Cultural Education Programs in British Columbia Schools, for references to language programs in British Columbia schools.)

It has been noted (Paré 1986: 11) that the language renewal strategies share certain similarities: organizations that are responsible for preserving language and culture, the teaching of language at school, especially in the early years, and the production of teaching

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58 A Bilingual-Bicultural Curriculum for the Children of the Nass Valley. Presented in January 1974 and given an agreement in principle; the creation of a separate school district followed the same year (McKay and McKay 1987: 73).
materials. Several studies have been undertaken in Quebec to investigate the state of aboriginal languages in the province. The criteria for judging the jeopardy of a language have to do with the number of speakers still alive, the average age of the speaker, and whether the language is either taught in school and/or actively promoted through the communications media (Paré 1986). For example, the Inuit of Northern Quebec consider Inuktut as the mother tongue and it is taught almost exclusively to children in the early years of their schooling; English or French are chosen later as second languages. Similarly, most nations belonging to the Algonquian family have preserved their language through cultural education centres, language instruction, teaching materials and the Tewegan Communications Corporation, established in 1982. The same is largely true for the Cree, the Attikamek and the Montagnais. However, the Abenaki language “is on the way to extinction” because the number of speakers are few and the language is not taught in the school. At the same time, the Huron language has long ago been replaced by French (Paré 1986), but plans are being made to re-introduce it through the regular school program.

Support for the retention of Native languages and for the development of language materials is quite good in Canada. These programs, like all “peripheral” education and cultural programs, are subject to funding cuts, which leaves program development in a rather precarious position. Cultural education centres have been, for the most part, the primary producers of language materials and also for consolidating the support of the community, the elders and the remaining speakers. Community radio and television also account for an important element in the transmission of Native languages. In many northern regions cultural programs, stories and songs are broadcast in Native languages through this medium.

In the twenty years since the cross-roads were metaphorically imposed on Native people, and a choice given was a choice taken, the issue of culture has been both ideologically consolidated and translated into practical strategies for the strengthening and maintenance of Native cultures. This mobilization of Native cultures and the concerted demand for self-determination was not anticipated in 1969 when Canadian Indian Policy was being reconsidered. Those who were hoping to dispose of the troublesome special status of Native people found themselves confronted with the position that only in retaining cultural differences could “full status as Canadians” be achieved; that fundamental equality could only come about through self-determination.

What is important to note about the cultural strengthening initiatives of Native communities is that they are internally motivated, they have appeared at a certain point in the post-colonial period, and they form a critical variable in Native strategies for self-determination. The issue of culture is linked to fundamental ideas about health and well-being, and the inherent value of cultural knowledge and traditional practises to individual and collective healing. These ideas have been used to evaluate the failure of Native children in the schools of the dominant society, and they provide the foundation for the strategies that Native organizations have employed to control the content and the
administration of Native education. At the same time, ideas about access to cultural knowledge have been translated into concrete programs that have been specifically designed to rectify and to prevent an individual and collective diminishment through the effects of negative stereotypes and the absence of positive cultural images. This chapter has set out the essential elements of a diagnostic process, an undertaking which has resulted in, among other things, the mandate and the program for cultural education centres.
From the elders, Coqualeetza gathers all it can learn about the complex and balanced way of life that our elders learned from their elders, and then the centre passes it on to the new generation. Our program philosophy is shaped by the knowledge that the number of approaches are required since the matter confronting us is complex. We try to achieve our objectives by offering instructional programs, by developing a native studies curriculum and by conducting historical research. All of these programs are supported by a comprehensive learning centre (Frank Malloway, Coqualeetza, 1978).¹

In order to meet the demand for cultural education programs in the school and in the community and in order to give substance to ideas about cultural survival, a weighty mandate was given to a new institution. Though the cultural education centre is for all intents and purposes a new institution, it appears to have adopted an age-old role of custodianship over, and transmission of, cultural knowledge. Moreover, its purpose is to stem the loss of knowledge through the death of elders, through the encroachment of non-Native development interests in traditional territories, and through the education of young people in a system that does not include knowledge about Native cultures. The cultural education centre provides a bridge that was presumably not needed before this century, between the traditional custodians of cultural knowledge and the following generations. While it is obviously not the only means of transmitting special cultural knowledge, the cultural education centre is a unique organizational approach to consolidate this knowledge and transform it into a permanent visual and written record.

This new centre represents a systematic response to several decades of social dislocation and the consequent disruption and devaluation of indigenous understandings and skills. It signifies an acknowledgement of a turning point and indicates confidence in the possibility of cultural recovery and thereby absolute recovery. The cultural education centre is founded on the idea of the continued viability of indigenous cultures based on unique and residual knowledge and skills. Unlike the urban museums of the dominant society that by their very nature contain, set apart, and specialize knowledge, the cultural education centre indicates that special knowledge is resident in the community and that it is the purpose of the centre to collect, consolidate and communicate it in new ways in order to ensure both its viability and its practise.

Cultural education centres exercise a special relationship with the community through their communication programs and through their role as intermediaries between the original custodians of cultural knowledge, the elders, and those that now require particular kinds of information for specific needs: “It is our philosophy that Coqualeetza

¹ From the video Coqualeetza Story. Produced by Gary Carlson, 1978, with Frank Malloway as narrator. Video No.5, Coqualeetza Resource Centre.
must provide programs for our people which are not otherwise available to them." The primary task of these centres is to identify, reconstruct and distill this composite of knowledge in the form of school-based curriculum which will provide practical skills, conceptual understandings and detailed, positive images in order to promote pride and self-esteem. Cultural centres also serve the specialized information needs of the leadership, the planners and the lawyers, by documenting and substantiating the collective claims to the respective territories on the basis of traditional subsistence activities, regional economies, and spiritual use. Their primary role, then, is to ensure that local knowledge—the indigenous system of knowledge that has direct bearing on the ecosystem of a region and the accumulated practical knowledge of generations who have lived in that region—is not lost for all time. Added to this is the major part these centres play in providing a new basis for Canadian history in general, by contributing a more accurate representation of Native cultures and thereby challenging the standard version.

It is important to note that while these centres are largely concerned with the development of programs and the production of information, they also play a significant role to inter-connect community life. By focusing on oral history programs and elders' programs, and often structuring community programs in ways that bring the elders and the young into closer contact, cultural education centres play a role that is not immediately evident in their mandate or in the reports to the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. The activities of cultural education centres are still narrowly defined by the latter, in terms of their products and their output, which indicates that the relationship of these centres to community life is not clearly understood.

The Elders have provided momentum and support for many other Coqualeetza activities as well. Through their participation and enthusiasm for the ideals of these projects, a new meaning has come into their lives, and as a result they have brought our communities closer together than they have been for many years (Coqualeetza Philosophy, 1974).

Important to understanding the role of these centres in community life is a concept of "added value" introduced by the National Steering Committee of the Cultural/Education Centres Program (O'Connell 1980:10). Added value indicates an unprecedented Native support for a DIAND program in ways that are not readily quantifiable: the out-of-pocket support of individuals and bands, including voluntary time, transportation, and materials.

This support represents an "added value" which cannot always be translated into monetary terms. It consists of donations of supplies and artefacts, supplemental funds from bands diverted from other programs or supplied directly from band funds, cash donations from individuals, fund-raising schemes, free or lower-cost labour, equipment, transportation, buildings and the absorption by bands or other Indian organizations of the cost of overheads. Estimates of the added value relative to the core budget of individual Centres range from 50 - 500%.

No other federal program generates the added value this Program attracts (Ibid p. 71).

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2 1974: Coqualeetza Philosophy.
Additionally, the relationship between cultural education centres and the community is one that is as much concerned with "process" as it is with service. The Coqualeetza statement of philosophy (1974) clearly emphasizes this notion of process over product. The process of community development, like a number of other goals shared by cultural education centres, is also hard to evaluate through standard evaluation procedures:

It can be misleading, too, to attempt to evaluate our programs by looking only at their surface titles. It should surprise no one that often the most significant growth toward our highest goals happens not because of the content of the program but because of the process that occurs.

It is this process of growth that we at Coqualeetza are most concerned about. And while we recognize that it is difficult to evaluate growth in terms that satisfy people who prefer cost benefit analysis, we are convinced that what is happening here like growth itself cannot be really improved upon, it can only be encouraged or discouraged.

The descriptions of cultural programs included in this chapter are intended to provide, as far as possible, a comprehensive overview. While many centres include a wide range of the programs described here (either at present or in the long-term plan), this outline is nonetheless a composite. Examples are drawn, wherever possible from the Coqualeetza Education Training Centre and from the Secwepemc Cultural Education Society. Also included are numerous references to other programs, with particular reference to those of the James Bay Cree (Cree Regional Authority) and the Inuit of Northern Quebec.

The programs, whether they are carried out by a cultural education centre or by other agencies, tend to follow a certain pattern, beginning with cultural inventories and the collection of existing knowledge, followed by the development of educational materials, communication programs (media documentation of contemporary events), publication programs and exhibit/museum programs. Cultural programs such as these are also initiated by bands, tribal councils, special interest groups and regional alliances (for example, the Twin Tracking Alliance of the Sto:lo Nation Tribal Council, Nl'akapmx Nation Tribal Council, North Thompson and Deadman Creek Indian Bands). Research programs that are less inventory-oriented and more topic-oriented also constitute a part of the program of communications/media organizations. Such organizations use materials produced by cultural centres as well as producing their own material by conducting interviews with elders for broadcasting purposes and by recording music and stories, often in the local language.

The collection of extant knowledge and materials includes the collection of information extant outside of the local area (documents and photographs in archives, museums and libraries), and material culture inventories (their location, with photographs and catalogue records). Work in the community includes oral history projects, extensive place name and site inventories, family names and genealogical information, knowledge about health and healing practises, religious practises, and traditional food preparation. These inventories also include extensive land use and occupation surveys from as many sources as possible (for example, hunting, trapping, resource management and survival
skills; they include inventory-oriented programs to reconstruct aspects of the material culture in order to document traditional occupations, materials, crafts and skills (tools, clothing, shelter); as well, music, stories, legends and information about other traditional activities, including games and dances, is collected. The most comprehensive of these programs is usually the oral history program, which attempts to include many of these topics in a less formal way and, at the same time, to document the life histories of the speakers. Oral history programs are also central to the process of verifying and completing existing ethnographic and historical information, and they provide the basis for language reconstruction and teaching.

Once these inventories have been transformed into actual programs of instruction, they often form an important part of the curriculum of band-operated schools, Native studies and Native language instruction in the provincial school system, as well as survival schools/programs, special cultural colleges (for example, the Hobbema Cultural College in northern Alberta and the Saskatchewan Indian Cultural College), Native Indian Teacher Education Programs (for example, NITEP, at the University of British Columbia), and other special training programs that now demand cultural components. Obviously, while the scope is comprehensive, priorities are established early in the planning stages of any cultural centre or band program. These priorities refer primarily to local needs and band development plans, the availability of funding, the relative availability of information, and the relative importance of material culture collections. Very often, they also reflect external pressures, largely economic/environmental threat, that may override an ideal ranking of research priorities.

Accurate representation and point of view

One of the primary goals for consolidating cultural knowledge is to provide Native children with an historical reflection of themselves, with a history in a context where essentially no history has been admitted: the school environment of the dominant society. This requires “correcting and completing” the existing record for both Native and non-Native children in order to give what is considered to be a more accurate and equally valid picture. In a practical sense, this has meant re-constructing from various sources the “pre-history” in order to fill in the time frame before European settlement. This means, necessarily, providing a different perspective on European settlement, with particular emphasis on the destructive effects of this settlement. Particular emphasis is also given to the contribution of Native individuals and cultures to the development of the larger society:

I find there is about a 60 year gap in Indian history from the turn of the century to about 1960, that there's nothing on Indian people. So, a lot of young Indian people say well, who are we, what have we accomplished, where did we come, what were the major influences on our people and because they don't know, maybe they're a little unsure of who they are as Shuswap people, so what I'd like to do is fill that gap—what were the major influences on Indians, the second World War, the Depression, mechanization in the 30's, epidemics, the work force, railway, roads coming through, things like this, so that in fact we fit a definition
that Indians are contemporary by showing how we arrived at this particular spot in time

There's lots of room for change and adaptation. That, by and large, if you take a mapping unit from grades two to eleven, where you can teach mapping skills, while you're teaching the concept of north and south...or east and west...ideas like this, well then why not use Indian maps. You're still going to teach the same concept, rather than a fictitious map or one drawn of New York. So, the actual curriculum can be adapted quite a bit. The other part is that once Indians are on a reserve they no longer have to follow the B.C. Schools Act, so it's quite easy to find a place for more field trips, to actually get out and learn about nature first hand rather than the lab, or bring in elders or parents, more audio visual, there's lots of ways you can adapt once you're on reserve. So, I can easily see more of these being brought in (Robert Matthew, 1987).³

This is not as radical as it might sound; it is radical in as much as it proposes a different history and an alternate viewpoint, but conservative in the extent to which it closely follows the provincial curriculum guidelines for the historical sequence. The curriculum concepts nest ideas about family, community and the larger physical and social environment; they propose different ways in which people meet their basic needs, which are in turn reflected in distinctive cultures and in the relationship of these cultures to available resources, particular geographic domains, and to the larger historical setting. (See also Appendix 8: Major concepts in three British Columbia Indian Curriculum Programs.)

The radical aspect of this undertaking has largely to do with reconstructing images and thereby directly, and more often indirectly, challenging stereotypes. It is important to note that the basic assumption, apparent in the language of the curriculum materials, is that this can be done implicitly by providing detail and by filling out the historical record. This implicit and rather optimistic approach is in keeping with a renewed cultural confidence: if people know more, they will understand and appreciate the value of Native cultures. This is probably a safe assumption as it concerns the primary audience, the Native child, where the rich and detailed cultural references cannot help but produce a measure of appreciation and pride and a sense of historical presence.

When I went to school in Fort McPherson I can remember being taught that the Indians were savages. We were violent, cruel and uncivilized. I remember reading history books that glorified the white man who slaughtered whole nations of Indian people. No one called white men savages, they were heroes who explored new horizons or conquered new frontiers (Richard Nerysoo 1977).⁴

The writing of history is a highly political undertaking for all that it seeks to accurately convey a collective past of events and the common understandings of those events. History, recorded history, is ultimately a composite construction that is constantly reconstructed through the new interpretations of successive generations of historians, in the light of new understandings and shifting vested interests. Because historical accounts are by their nature consensual (Lowenthal 1985: 214), and thereby anchored in the collective

³ From a taped interview with Robert Matthew, research coordinator for the Secwepemc Cultural Education Society, March 1987.
⁴ Quoted in Brody 1987: 5.
memory, their reliability is less a matter of debate than is their point of view. History is always "less than the past" (Ibid) because it is filtered through the cultural biases of its interpreters and the vested interests of society. It is a highly selective process, and what is left out can often reveal as much about the society as that which is selected as significant.

When Native people speak of correcting the historical record and adding their point of view, they refer to adding the presence of the "first person" and augmenting the standard account of Canadian history by replacing the stereotypes with more detailed information.

In the past a lot of our material has been in the third person. A lot of our displays talk about "the Shuswap" did this or "the Shuswap" did that, when in fact it is us, and we, and I, that have done it. So, a lot of the material we're going to try and change to reflect this first person. To take ownership of all these experiences and this history. And one of the ways we're going to try and do that is make everything bilingual; the signs for all the material hopefully will have an English name and in large bold print an Indian name. All our productions will have a major Indian name; our books will have an Indian name with a sub-title English name. I think this is only right in that if we're trying to preserve the history that the English name sometimes doesn't do justice to the particular book that we're doing. Where we say something like "the legend," well, a legend is a legend, whereas if we say it in Indian [septeculaj, it means more, it means learning right and wrong, it means experience, it means Coyote—it's a wider meaning than just "legend." A legend doesn't really refer to anybody, whereas our word refers directly to Coyote (Robert Matthew, 1987).

The standard history that Native children have been taught begins with the arrival of Europeans; the time before is "pre-history," and the time after is primarily the history of an expanding colonial power with a predominant emphasis on the events that led to nationhood. Although recent historiography is certainly more reflexive, the standard textbook histories largely reveal the attitudes of colonizers to a subject people. For the most part, negative stereotypes of indigenous peoples (where they are mentioned at all), became entrenched early and are tenacious to this day.

With the growing sensitivity about human rights, there has been a concerted move to address the problem of stereotypes of minority constituencies in public school materials. Numerous studies and public opinion surveys have been undertaken. Cook (1984) investigated, for example, a corpus of research into images of Indians held by non-Indians, including the prevalence of negative stereotypes in textbooks. The findings of two studies discussed by Cook substantiate the urgency felt by Native communities regarding the quality and content of the education of their children. These studies clearly indicate what "correcting" the images and propositions of standard histories might mean, and they validate the equation made between cultural education and self-esteem.

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5 An approximation from the sound.

6 Interview with Robert Matthew, March 1987.
In 1971, the Ontario Institute for the study of Education (McDairmid and Pratt)\textsuperscript{7} conducted an examination of over 200 textbooks in order to look at the incidence of prejudice against minority groups as it was reflected in social studies texts (authorized for use in Ontario schools): "findings indicated that Indians, in company with Blacks, had the least favourable image" (Cook 1984: 45). Indians were portrayed as primitive, aggressive and hostile; contemporary portrayals showed none in professional occupations; 85\% of the illustrations showed Indians adorned with feathers; "pre-colonial" Indian culture was considered to be handled poorly; 78\% had no reference to contemporary Indian cultures, and the remaining 22\% were rated as poor. The Manitoba Indian Brotherhood (1974) undertook a similar textbook evaluation in 1973, reported by Cook (1984: 47):

Their general finding was that "the main failure of textbooks under review is their tendency to treat the Native as an impediment to be removed so that the goals of European 'progress' can be realized...," and once that is dealt with, textbooks ignore the later history of Native peoples.

Cook notes that studies have indicated that books written after 1970 give a more positive portrayal, but "the proportion in which this image is positive rose from a low of 5 per cent in the 1931-1940 period to a high of 28 per cent in the 1970-1980 period. Even if we assume a desirable balance of 50/50, there appears to be considerable room for improvement" (\textit{Ibid} p.48). Overall, the research reviewed suggests that textbooks were more likely to present a burnished image of the Aztec and Inca cultures because of their geographic distance and their spectacular material culture. Similarly, the image of the Inuit held by non-Native Canadians also represents a "major difference" when contrasted with the image of the Indian. Due to historical processes and geographical situation, there has been a tendency to portray the Inuit with more positive stereotypes, as a hospitable and ingenious people, in contrast to the negative stereotype of the hostile Indian. Brody (1987: 19), makes a similar observation and suggests that this difference in portrayal has largely to do with competition over territory, where the Indians were viewed as impediments to settlement and the Inuit were not:

The Eskimo makes his and her appearance with a smile. Imposed on a stereotypical background of impossible terrain and intolerable weather is an eternally happy, optimistic little figure.... By comparison, the stereotype of the Indian was shaped by the history of westward settlement in the United States and southern Canada...the 'Indian' is cunning, warlike and stands in our way.

Correcting the historical record and dispelling the pernicious stereotypes has meant, among other things, evaluating the ethnographic and historical record in order to make sure that these original records are accurate, wherever it is possible to verify this. Sometimes these documents provide the only remaining record, and sometimes they overlap with living memory, in which case memory and collective knowledge are reconciled (or not) with

\textsuperscript{7} cf. Cook 1984: 45. This study was felt to be one of the most important prototypes for developing a systematic objective methodology for looking at this topic.
written accounts. More often, correcting this record means completing it as much as possible with added detail and additional accounts:

**Coqualeetza:**

In libraries and in book stores, we can find many books about Indians all over North America, but very few of these tell of much of our Sto:lo past. For this reason we have decided to write our own history. The Sto:lo History Project has three full-time staff members whose research material includes documents, maps, bibliographies, personal diaries, and interviews. A vast amount of factual data, both written and pictorial have been gathered for our Sto:lo past (Frank Malloway, Coqualeetza, 1978).^8^

...we've collected many kinds [of materials]. We've done a lot of taped interviews with elders of the Sto:lo Nation. That's one of the other groups that the history project relates to and that is the Coqualeetza Elders. I mention this first because in many works by historians an Indian history in B.C. the knowledge and the insight and the wisdom of Indian people has often been ignored. They've taken it just from documents. But what we're hoping to in the Sto:lo History Project is to combine the two sources of information: documentary with oral evidence given by the elders. In later programs [video interview series] I will show how evidence given by the elders has led directly to finding documents that we didn't know existed (Reuben Ware, Coqualeetza, 1979).^9^

**Inuit Elders Conference:**

This generation possibly could obtain information from the records of anthropologists. We feel elders must give us information in our research, since the anthropological records may not be complete enough (Zebedee Nungak, Inuit 1981).^10^

The cultural materials that have been developed for various school curriculum reveal, if anything, an act of faith that by emphasizing the Native contribution to the growth of the nation, pride will necessarily surface:

We helped start this country although we've been edged out of the mainstream....we have a rightful share in it. So, what you have...this realization of pride in the past. You know, the power is new, this power of [knowing] we were valuable people in those days and we should be looked upon that way (Robert Matthew, 1987).^11^

Both the Okanagan Indian Curriculum Project and the Sto:lo Sitel Curriculum project emphasize, in their "major understandings," the complexity and integrity of the Indian family and community, the strategies for adapting to contemporary economic pressures, the relationship between man and nature, and related spiritual understandings. These materials provide a different view of the contact situation and emphasize the Indian role and the consequent changes that occurred in Indian communities. Older children are asked to understand the complexity and diversity of modern Indian political organizations

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^8^ From the video *Coqualeetza Story* (Video No.5, Coqualeetza Resource Centre).


and Indian government and the way that these organizations fit into the larger scheme of Canadian society. (See also Appendix 8: *Major concepts in three British Columbia Indian Curriculum Programs*.)

It is important to note that this process of gathering and consolidating information necessitates a careful process of historical research that intentionally relies on as many sources of information as are available in order to provide these full and detailed accounts. Much like the history of the dominant society, it reveals the biases and vested interests of its authors, but because it is also reactive in the sense that it necessarily comes after and as an addition to the established historical text, the conceptual framework has already been set to a great extent through exiting curriculum guidelines. While this framework has its own limitations it does serve to bestow an external validation and thus allows Native history to ease into the curriculum as an acceptable addition to the standard history.

**Access to external sources information and knowledge**

A significant impediment to the task of consolidating cultural knowledge has to do with access to information and knowledge. Access is required at a number of levels; the most primary of level of access is that of simply gaining access to documents for copying or perusal. Access also has to do with issues of repatriation, and with the lack of physical access due to geographic isolation and the location of collections and archival information in southern urban institutions. Even where museums and archives have liberal access policies, regular access is precluded simply by distant and often remote locations: “One of our main goals was to build an archives that was accessible, here in the valley” (Reuben Ware 1978). The Inuit, who believe much of their material culture to be in southern museum collections, say: “We don’t have anything concrete to teach our children about our culture. What will they remember if we don’t show them anything?” And the Cree note that the logistics of access have made existing information about their culture virtually inaccessible:

For the most part those books and articles about our way of life continue to be inaccessible to us being located in archives and libraries outside the Cree territory...teachers working in the schools must rely on institutions outside Cree territory to provide them with the books they require for their students about Cree culture. The process of acquiring information is not only time-consuming and frustrating but it also discourages spontaneous research by students into their past and their traditions. That is, the presence of readily available information to the students could serve to inspire Cree to question the nature of the work which has been written about them, and to develop research orientations which they themselves find relevant (Cree Regional Authority 1983: 15).

Some of the original information still extant in the field notes of the ethnographers that worked in the early part of this century can also present a problem of access if such information does not appear in the published sources:

12 From the video *The Sto:lo History Project* (Video No.1, Coqualeetza Resource Centre).
Columbia University had a research project on the Coast Salish Indians spread over a number of summers in the 1930's to the 1940's [work done by] Marlon Smith [with] a few articles later published, but extensive material was left in the field notes, which I believe are presently held by the Royal Anthropological Institute in London, and it's very difficult for us in terms of the amount of funds we have to travel, so we are trying to secure permission from them to get copies. [This includes] information on traditional dances...names, kinship patterns, intermarriage patterns...a major collection....(Reuben Ware 1979).14

There are additional concerns, voiced by researchers everywhere, about restrictions on primary and government documents:

Mostly in archives and libraries, there is open access, no restrictions. Where you start to run into problems of restrictions, when materials are still held by governmental departments themselves. Some of the stories are frightening, others amusing, regarding restrictions, especially of the provincial government [B.C.], the attitudes they have towards the Indian people trying to learn about their history. We've run into some pretty big problems (Reuben Ware 1979).15

Access, and restriction to access, varies greatly and it tends to be dealt with on an individual basis. The policy of custodial agencies varies a good deal as well. Much of it is only now in the process of being formalized, but it appears that the most promising path is that of negotiated access, loan arrangements, and collaboration. Questions regarding repatriation of material culture were discussed briefly in Chapter 3, and a sequence of comments from Inuit elders in Quebec have been included in Appendix 3: Inuit concerns regarding the preservation of Inuit culture and the question of cultural property.16 In the course of several conferences the Inuit have expressed their concerns about the loss of material culture from their territory, their hopes for negotiated retrieval, and the role of Avataq in this matter:

Apparently everyone agrees that articles and material of Inuit identity should be brought back. Inuit surrendered those articles to white people even though they did not do it solemnly. Although we probably will not get everything back, I wish to appoint AVATAQ to make attempts to retrieve most (Mathew Putulik 1981).17

Some formal policy regarding repatriation has been established, for example by the American Museums Association (Appendix 15: American Association of Museums, Policy Regarding the Repatriation of Native American Ceremonial Objects and Human Remains). This policy recognizes the special responsibilities of institutions holding Native American collections and recommends that museums should make these collections readily accessible to the Native American community. It suggests that “the resolution of requests for repatriation is best accomplished on a case-by-case basis” (American Association of Museums 1988). Canadian museums are also moving towards a formal articulation of their policies. This gradual movement has been somewhat accelerated by the joint conference

14 From the video The Sto:lo History Project (Video No.1, Coqualeetza Resource Centre).
15 Ibid.
16 These are not intended to be in any way representative, although some common themes do occur.
between the Assembly of First Nations and the Canadian Museum Association, prompted by
the former in the wake of the opening of *The Spirit Sings*. This occurred in November 1988,
coincident with the publication of a draft proposal (Ames, Harrison, and Nicks 1988) that
independently covered some of the same views that emerged throughout the conference (*Proposed Museum Policies for Ethnological Collections and the Peoples they Represent*).\(^{18}\)
The proposal reflected the dual concern of dealing responsibly with both the Native and the
non-Native population in as much as questions of use and safety of the collections in
questions are to be ensured. As an important part of the decision making processes,
emphasis was given to consultation with the representatives of those populations who have
legitimate interests in the collections.

Native cultural institutions such as the Secwepemc Cultural Education Society and
Coqualeetza Education Training Centre, with their growing archives, are also developing
research and access policies that will channel research proposals through local authorities
and set out the expectations of, and restrictions for, research. These measures are intended to
also ensure that the results of outside research make it back to the community. (See also
Appendix 13: *Towards a Policy on Sto:lo Heritage*.)

**Setting out the task of cultural inventories and collecting activities**

The consolidation of cultural information often begins with a research task that
necessarily depends on access to outside sources of information and, equally, the ability to
bring back to the community as much information and material as is possible, depending on
the resources of the community and the cooperation of outside institutions. From this
initial work comes the larger and long-term task of identifying and documenting the
cultural knowledge still extant in the community itself: knowledge about the land and
related spiritual understandings, about skills associated with hunting, trapping and fishing,
about the preparation of food, the construction of clothing, about the use of songs and
dances, the telling of stories and legends, knowledge about traditional family and
community relationships and ceremonials, and so on. Each community determines
different priorities, though providing teaching materials to the schools is often among the
first. Other determining factors that supercede the usual process of establishing research
priorities have to do with impending industrial encroachments, such as the threatened
fishing and spiritual sites of the Sto:lo with the proposed twin-tracking of the railway along
the banks of the Fraser River, and with negotiation of land claims, such as the on-going
Gitksan-Wet'suwet'en representations in court: "Our present research had to concentrate on
documenting Nisga'a title—in effect putting the oral tradition on paper."\(^{19}\)

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18 Submission of the Ad Hoc Committee on *Museums and Native Collections in Muse*
19 Reported in *Kahtou* 1984: 2 (7): 4, referring to the *Ayuuk'hl Nisga'a Report* (8 volumes).
Cultural inventory, then, often begins with locating information and cultural material that exists outside of the community, re-locating these as far as possible within the region, and then approaching the community itself.

The role of elders

Elders have been brought to the forefront in an increasingly wide range of cultural and political activities, both as actual advisors and as symbols of authority and continuity. The presence of elders indicates that cultures have endured and survived. The formal recognition of their traditional status indicates that the break in the transmission of cultural knowledge can be rectified. In deferring to elders, Native leaders indicate their deference to the community and affirm their commitment to ensuring cultural survival; in recognizing the elders, the present elected leaders symbolically emphasize, in the inter-ethnic domain, the existence of another authority, older and outside that of the dominant society. Similarly, in referring to elders, educators acknowledge a domain of knowledge that exists apart from standard knowledge and, by deferring to elders, parents affirm ideas about community. The perceived role of elders is central to the ideology of cultural survival, and many of the ideas about cultural survival are elaborated in the understandings about the role of the elders:

**Shuswap/Secwepemc Cultural Education Society**

We must listen to our elders to prevent a watered down white system (Irvine Johnson, Alkali Lake, 1983).  

**Union of B.C. Indian Chiefs**

Never before in the history of our people did our parents or families ever give up the responsibility for the learning of the young. This is an unchanging principle that we have always believed in but have in the past few decades been led in the direction to believe that our responsibility is second to formal schooling.... without the teaching of their elders they [the children] cannot continue the history, traditions, customs and language of the people. The only way they will learn these things is from their elders. Indian ways are basic to being an Indian. An unchanging principle is that the young are taught by their elders, the only people who can make sure of the survival of our people and survival in today's world (Union of B.C. Indian Chiefs 1979: 3).

**Saskatchewan Indian Cultural College**

The elders must be looked upon as a national treasure of Indian people; a human foundation and reservoir of what remains of their culture. It is only through carefully listening to the elders, and abiding by their wisdoms, that the continuance of a living Indian presence in Canada will be possible.  

No matter what the length of their talks, or the methods they used to express themselves, as a group, these elders have many things in common. They are, for a start, a very moral people. Nearly every speaker, whether man or woman, spoke

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20 From the *Shuswap Nation Report*, submitted 12 April, 1983, to the Standing Committee on Indian Affairs and Northern Development. (n.p.: section 3).

21 From the brochure *Publications of the Saskatchewan Indian Cultural College* (Regina, Federation of Saskatchewan Indians), n.d., p. 10.
in the same way about the rightness and wrongness of things in living one's everyday life. Rightness includes behaving in such a way as to realize that the Creator plays a large part in everyone's life. It includes a real respect and love for children and their upbringing. Rightness also dictates that human beings should not condemn other people for their behavior without trying to understand them and their own ways of living.22

Northern Quebec Inuit Elders/Avataq

We have just recently realized that we must turn to the elders for their guidance, for improvement (Avataq 1981: 67).

We have caught your attention just in the nick of time. You elder Inuit are disappearing fast, but it seems a little time is left for you to give your guidance to us, thanks to this meeting (Zebedee Nungak; Avataq 1983 (1981): 32).

We here are spoken of asinutuqait—elders. For those of us who have had the benefit of exposure to the true Inuit elders and their wisdom, our responsibility toward younger people is very clear (Mathewsie Sakiagak; Avataq 1983 (1981): 10).

Therefore be it hereby resolved that: The Annual Inuit Elders Conference serve as an advice and guidance council, whose recommendations should be used for direction after each Inuit Elders Conference. That whenever these organizations want to adopt and effect policies concerning Inuit life and culture, their proposal should be reviewed by the elders to determine whether they should be carried out or blocked (Avataq 1981: 88).

Cree Regional Authority

In an effort to protect the Cree heritage, a large ongoing project must be developed to investigate and record the extensive repository of knowledge held by our elders. Because so little systematic work has been done in this regard, all areas of their knowledge will have to be tapped, from medicine, music and dance to all their knowledge of weather, biology and technology. To keep the customs, stories, traditions and ceremonies from being interpreted as 'complete superstition' or 'peculiar native customs' it is important that the morals which they express, the values they teach and the intricacies of their use be documented at the same time (1983: 15).

The elders are looked to for guidelines in a number of domains, including appropriate behaviour and moral guidance. They assume a central role in defining and identifying significant cultural knowledge and in determining the priorities for recording this knowledge. As the acknowledged custodians of special cultural knowledge, elders also often serve as witnesses in the present legal claims to tenure on the land and the use of its resources:

The elders of the Nisga'a tribes provided the history. They have been traditionally the custodians of their culture, but it is not only the history that is provided by the elders. With their help, maps have been made to show the territories owned by the chiefs of clans. Land within their territories can only be used with the express permission of the chiefs involved.23

In many situations, elders are being asked to fill the roles of counsellor, healer, teacher, and spiritual leader. While many of these functions are similar to their roles

22 From the introduction to Kataayuk: Saskatchewan Indian Elders. Produced by the Smith Atimoyoo Culture Centre Department, Saskatchewan Indian Cultural College, 1976. n.d.
traditionally, this new context has defined new roles that reflect a particular set of contemporary needs—the mediation of the effects of cultural displacement. The way that people talk about the role of elders, and the way the elders have been worked into the programs and activities of cultural education centres, is also very much an indication that new kinds of access to the elders themselves has needed to be structured. So, in some sense, their present role is a composite of a number of functions that also operate in concert with the cultural education centre and other social programs. For example, elders have been brought in as key figures in a growing number of 'rediscovery' or survival programs that are designed to provide a wilderness setting with cultural instruction for adolescents. Programs such as these are designed specifically to bring together youth and elders in a teaching situation.

Native elders are often brought together formally through Elders' Conferences in order to initiate and direct, in some measure, the cultural initiatives of their communities. Here, they are asked to express their own ideas about what constitutes local cultural knowledge, and to identify those aspects they would like to see transmitted to the young. The perceived role of elders, and the way in which they have been employed to carry out the tasks given them, does not vary greatly and themes of survival and self-sufficiency recur. However, the emphasis that elders give to different domains of knowledge varies according to regional and cultural variation. For example, the Inuit elders of Northern Quebec, brought together by the Avataq Cultural Institute for the first time in 1981, were particularly concerned about conveying knowledge that had to do with traditional hunting skills in order to avoid dangers that have not changed with time—keeping food safe, using traditional medical treatments in the event of accidents remote from help, and making traditional clothing in the event of oil/heating shortages. The latter concern also reflects the elders' certainty that ready-made clothing is not suitable in extreme cold: "clothes made by white people aren't warm, even if they're made of down."24

_Northern Quebec Inuit Elders_

I think the Elders Conference has to become a yearly event. Our young people no longer know about Inuit traditions partly because we don't expose them enough to these matters. As a result, they are less knowledgeable about long-known skills and it is no longer possible to have peace of mind when they are out on the land hunting (Tumasi Kudluk; Avataq 1983 (1981): 6).

Although young people are more knowledgeable in others aspects of life nowadays, most run into a solid wall when it comes to working outside (hunting). Most are now completely unprepared to deal with the element of weather. It is not always predictable (Charlie Saunders; Avataq 1983 (1981): 6).

According to the Inuit elders and their leadership, the population deemed to be "at risk" in terms of the continuity of cultural transmission are those between the ages of 18 and 35. These Inuit are seen as not having had access to the accumulated knowledge of previous generations, and the knowledge they have acquired through formal schooling is not

considered appropriate to the demands of the Inuit environment. The present generation of Inuit school children are not considered to be at risk to the same extent because they are being taught the Inuit culture at school.

We have grown in experience without ever seeing a map. Our individual knowledge was built up by practice, a lot of which involved observance and respect for weather patterns. Using maps [never] once entered my mind. Instead my knowledge of land was the result of absorbing into permanent recognition the different features of the land. This practice is now lost because adults no longer teach these methods to their children. I am not sure about whether the Inuit who teach in the school system are doing what is effective and useful. I guess they are only teaching writing theory. I, myself, would teach skills by exposure to practical experience, by actually being there and doing things (Markosie Keatalinak; Avataq 1983 (1981): 28).

At our meetings at Avataq, we have wanted to concentrate on the ones outside the school system. The children inside are being taught Inuit culture. I happen to be in the group of people aged 18-35 that need this kind of instruction. It has been stated long enough by different groups that these young people no longer know these skills. A very small percentage are learning through the traditional practice of following their fathers or older people. That advantage has largely withered away with the gathering of Inuit into organized settlements, and preoccupation of a lot of experienced hunters with working at jobs. In this way most are no longer doing the teaching by experience practiced in the past. Whatever will be done has to be organized, too (Zebedee Nungak; Avataq 1983 (1981): 28).

The James Bay Cree also hold regular meetings of a Council of Elders "in recognition of the vital need to include elders in all aspects of the cultural development of the area" (Cree Regional Authority 1983: n.p.). The intended purpose of this council is, in part, to re-establish communication between the political leadership and the elders of the community particularly so that elders can advise on issues that have a precedent in traditional custom and law: "because of the diminished role of the elders in the family and community and because of their extensive knowledge of cultural heritage this link with the leadership and their contribution to cultural development is especially important" (Ibid).

**Elders programs in schools and cultural centres**

Increasingly, elders have become more directly involved in school programs across the country, particularly those that feature cultural studies, crafts and story telling. The cultural education centre very often acts as an intermediary, making arrangements and preparing the elders for the classroom situation.

**The Coqualeetza Elders' program**

Coqualeetza has a strong Elders' program that was organized when the cultural centre started in 1974. This program recognized that, although traditionally elders were responsible for teaching the young on an individual basis, this was no longer possible in the same way. It was felt that Coqualeetza could provide a new way of ensuring this connection. For the local communities this initiative also represented a move to draw the elders back into a more active and more cohesive community life. Like many elders programs, the Coqualeetza program indicates a collective recognition of the social isolation that has been
imposed on the elders, and the community in general, through the cultural dislocation of at least two generations.

At Coqualeetza, the elders meet once a week when the staff hosts a luncheon at the centre. During this time, staff members present the elders with a progress report and ask specific questions concerning work in progress. Coqualeetza staff also meet individually with various elders to record language, oral histories and site-specific information.

We started by inviting the Elders from our 24 Bands to Coqualeetza every Wednesday. They alone speak the [Halq’eméylem] language with any fluency, and rarely had the opportunity to socialize with the exception of funerals.

From their meetings, a warmth and cohesiveness developed which permitted the next “level” of program development to occur; namely, the sharing of needs and ideas. This led to the idea of a language project which has developed into an extensive program at Coqualeetza. Additional ideas have developed into a comprehensive history project and an extensive curriculum program which will reach all children in the local Public schools.

The Elders have provided momentum and support for many other Coqualeetza activities as well. Through their participation and enthusiasm for the ideals of these projects, a new meaning has come into their lives, and as a result they have brought our communities closer together than they have been for many, many years (Coqualeetza Philosophy statement, 1974: 2-3).

Wednesday is Elders’ Day. Each week the elders come to Coqualeetza to visit with one another. This gives them a chance to speak Halq’eméylem and eat a meal together. Much of the elders’ visiting time is given to helping the staff develop our cultural programs. At these meetings the elders work with the linguist on Halq’eméylem language. The curriculum staff asks for advice and for the verification of information that is to be used in classroom lessons. (Frank Malloway 1978).

Coqualeetza at one time coordinated a program to bring elders into the local schools while funds were available. This required careful arrangements, including the preparation of the elders ahead of time, and it was consequently very successful. Joanne Archibald, instrumental in developing the Sto:lo Curriculum Project, writes about the integration of Sto:lo elders into the local school program:

Many of the resource people were Elders, taught in the traditional manner or schooled in the residential system. By provincial school standards they were not “qualified,” but by Sto:lo standards they were the wisest teachers. However, the public classroom was organized and taught in a very different manner than they were accustomed to. The project staff explained the classroom situation to the Elders. They told them what they were studying and gave examples of the questions students would ask. They accompanied the Elders and made sure program arrangements were confirmed with the classroom teachers. Often teachers were flexible with time allotments and very cooperative. When these conditions existed, the programs were usually successful. The success of the cultural activities increased the demand and quantity for them.... Many Elders participated as resource teachers because they enjoyed the children and they felt needed and valued. They would not accept honoraria for this work (Archibald 1984: 89).

25 From the video Coqualeetza Story (Video No.5, Coqualeetza Resource Centre).
The Muskwachees Cultural College Elders Program

The following extract (Baker and Newman 1975: 7-8) provides a description of the role of the Hobbema (Cree) elders in the Muskwachees Cultural College Program in Alberta. This description is included here for its similarities to both Coqualeetza and other programs underway in other parts of the country, and for its description of the characteristic process that incorporates elders into the production of cultural teaching materials. The reserves indicated are part of the Treaty 6 area at Hobbema, about sixty miles south of Edmonton: Samson, Ermineskin, Louis Bull and Montana:

Since Muskwachees Cultural College began to function as a separate entity in January, 1975, great emphasis has been placed on actively involving the elders of Hobbema in all areas of Muskwachees Cultural College operation. Four elders, one from each of the four reserves, are permanent members of the Muskwachees Cultural College board. A separate group of elders, again one from each reserve, constitutes a Cultural Review Committee which must authenticate and approve cultural materials prepared by staff and students before they are finalized for classroom use. One elder is a permanent Muskwachees Cultural College staff member and performs a variety of functions, including translating materials from English to Cree, advising students and staff on cultural matters, teaching Cree syllabics, etc.

In addition, Muskwachees Cultural College has, since its inception, been involved in attempting to preserve the history of the reserve and the wisdom of the elders still living through both video and audio recordings. To date approximately 58 separate 30-60 minute video recordings have been completed with individual elders from the four reserves. These recordings appear to fulfill a variety of needs but are intended to be mainly for archival, educational and social counselling purposes. Most are recorded in Cree and many have both a Cree and English version (in many cases, students from the College have translated the original Cree version to English for the dual sound track). Requests for these recordings from teachers have increased.

During the past two years, elders have also had direct contact with the Muskwachees Cultural College post secondary students. Elders from four reserves have been invited to meet with students and discuss the history and culture of the Hobbema people. Since most elders speak only Cree, students were not only able to gain a Cree historical perspective but also a greater understanding of the Cree language.

At the same time the Muskwachees Cultural College was active in assisting the elders in a number of ways. Several elders workshops have provided a chance for Hobbema elders and students to meet with elders from other reserves and discuss language, culture, heritage and religion. Other workshops, again sponsored by the College, were open to the entire community and were developed to promote a sharing of cultural values and traditions with other Indian peoples. In addition, the Muskwachees Cultural College made available funds and space for the elders of the reserve to hold various ceremonies, thereby assisting in cultural maintenance and, in some cases, revival.

Elders have also played an important role in Muskwachees Cultural College visits to various conferences and workshops such as the Native American Bilingual Education Conference and the various seminars on the standardization of the Cree Orthography.
The role of elders in curriculum development and in teaching language and culture in British Columbia Schools; a selection of comments extracted from Art More's survey of Indian Education Projects in B.C. Schools (1985) that refer specifically to the role of elders in school programs in British Columbia:

- Band elders have been involved as sources of history and have guidance and counselling roles (Tsartlip Indian Day School, p. 68).
- The team obtains historical information from the elders of the village (Stuart Trembleur Band, p. 33).
- Contacts with elders have been made with hope of recording legends and stories (Tsunamm Curriculum Infusion Project, p. 101).
- Information was verified by the Education committee and the elders of the village, and is now complete (Hartley Bay Curriculum Development, p. 164).
- Books have been prepared by a linguist under the guidance of the elders (Kwakwala Language Program, p. 128).
- Extensive use of tapes of elders telling Gitksan stories (Gitksan Studies, p. 155).
- Elders visit to tell stories and teach craft (Carrier Language Program, p. 35).
- Cultural aspects to be taught by the elders (Shuswap Language and Culture Program, Seklep School, p. 96).
- Elders assist in native language and stories (Ucluelet Band, Kindergarten and pre-school, p. 149).
- Working with about 8 elders and a coordinator learning survival skills, traditional skills and cultural traditions (Stoney Creek Alternate School, p. 31).
- The program provides access to Elders and others for contact and counselling (Vancouver Spirit Rising School, p. 79).
- Native culture and its importance in today's society is instilled in the curriculum of the... elementary school.... Everyday, a half hour of Indian studies is taught by three native elders who were taught by their tribal elders.... "I want to keep our culture alive before it dies... many old people have died already. We are the young ones, the old people are watching us and they are proud" (12 year old, at Ha-Ho-Payuk School).  

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New archives of cultural knowledge

Elders appear to support the activities of cultural education centres on a fairly wide basis. This indicates that they recognize the appropriateness of gathering and transmitting the collective knowledge in the manner set out by these centres:

The elders by and large...have turned a lot of the political aspects of education over to the younger generation; not too many of them sit on the committees...but...they voice more of the older values which we want to use too, which is "hard work." How do you put that back into education? How do you get dedication and things like will power which are more traditional types of [values]; hospitality, how do you teach people to be hospitable like the old people. They can see that there's a general need for a rounded education. They may not put it into [terms] of curriculum or methodologies, but the younger generations have (Robert Matthew, 1987).27

The kind of support that the elders provide also indicates their acknowledgment that children now have different expectations for learning and that learning situations themselves have changed. Similarly, they often acknowledge that oral transmissions are no longer safe for all time, and that special knowledge is vulnerable to dislocation through circumstance and change: "If oral instruction is given, it will be lost to the pupil in time, therefore, this work must be done by recording in writing and on tape."28 At Coqualeetza there is a recognition that elders can no longer, realistically, teach the youth the way they once did except in specifically structured ways:

It was recognized from the start that only our elders could help us achieve these objectives by teaching the people their culture. Today the Sto:lo culture lives fully only in the persons of a few dozen people who can remember what it was like when they were children. These are our elders. There are not enough of them to instruct the young Sto:lo individually, as was the old custom and the time is too short for them to pass on all the knowledge that they have, so Coqualeetza helps them in this task. (Frank Malloway 1978).29

Similarly, the elders assisting in the research program at the Secwepemc Cultural Education Centre recognize this need to record knowledge, while expressing at the same time the mixed feelings that must come with the contemporary devices for doing so:

...they could understand the need of recording it...most of the material, but some of the elders would suggest, well, why don't you just come and live with us and be around us and you'll learn...one elder said, well, how come you need a tape recorder, why don't you just listen really carefully? Which is true, because that's how people have learned before. You can be lazy and don't have to listen because you can tape everything (Robert Matthew, 1987).30

For these reasons, and from the general sense of responsibility that elders feel in this matter, there is a receptiveness to the appearance of Native video crews and tape recorders. This is not without reservation, for there is always knowledge that is considered restricted

27 From a taped interview with Robert Matthew, research coordinator for the Secwepemc Cultural Education Society, March 1987.
29 From the video Coqualeetza Story (Video No.5, Coqualeetza Resource Centre).
for various reasons. An account from the Smith Atimoyoo Culture Centre (Saskatchewan Indian Cultural College) recounts the approach of a video crew as part of the process of putting together a book on Cree elders:

Their approach was to travel to a reserve, locate the oldest people first and pay them a visit. After their purpose was explained, and tobacco or tea was presented as a gesture of respect, [the researchers] prepared their hosts to be tape recorded and their images to be made. The interviews that were granted by the old people were as unstructured and undirected by the crew as possible. They were asked simply to speak in their own words (usually Cree) about whatever matters concerned them, bearing in mind that their replies would be written down and made available to young native people and to other interested readers, both Indian and non-Indian....

After two months of working in the Treaty Six area, the crew had met over one hundred elders and accumulated at least thirty hours of taped interviews. Then came the huge task of translation, editing, and re-translation for the syllabics version of the speakers words....

It is important to point out here, especially with reference to the museological significance of the work of cultural education centres, that the accumulation of these oral history records over the past 10 years or more represents a significant and sizeable collection of knowledge. The consequent growth of community archives has yet to be reckoned with in the annals of the nation. Similarly, the establishment of these archives may well, in time, reverse the research relationship that now exists where Native researchers travel great distances to pull together the scattered records pertaining to their communities. In fact, a recent collaborative arrangement between the Shuswap Nation and Simon Fraser University suggests that this is already underway, and equally welcomed by both agencies: "The invitation to conduct fieldwork with the cooperation of the people, and to have access to their archives and data collections is a unique opportunity which provides mutual benefits" (M. Stearns 1988). Both the Secwepemc Cultural Education Society and Coqualeetza Education Training Centre have already established extensive archives through the consolidation of extant secondary historical material. These archives also have a large amount of oral history material and contemporary video records: "In conjunction with the Shuswap Museum and Research Program, a Shuswap Archives has now been established to house the massive research that has been compiled by previous research projects and for current incoming data."

Consolidating and communicating the domains of cultural knowledge

The consolidation of cultural knowledge poses, first, the task of reconciling the various sources of information, in their various locations, with that knowledge existing in the community itself:

31 From the forward to Kataayuk: Saskatchewan Indian Elders, 1976.
32 Reported in Kahtou, June 1988, 6 (11): 11. Stearns is an anthropologist at Simon Fraser University.
...we've done a lot of taped interviews with elders of the Sto:lo Nation; that's one of the other groups that the history project relates to and that is the Coqualeetza Elders. I mention this first because in many works by historians on Indian History in B.C. the knowledge and the insight and the wisdom of the Indian people has often been ignored; they've taken it just from the documents; but what we're hoping to do in the Sto:lo history project is to combine those two sources of information: documentary with the oral evidence given by the elders (Reuben Ware 1979).34

This is followed by the lengthy process of transcription and verification before it can be reproduced and structured into discrete areas of knowledge—as curriculum material, publications, documentaries and community teaching programs. Verification means two things; it means weighing the ethnographic records against what people remember collectively. This also means evaluating the original source to which the ethnographer or government agent referred and, when memory does not serve, it means evaluating discrete pieces of information with respect to other sources of information.

**Coqualeetza Education Training Centre**

In order to corroborate the written documentation, to give a human and personal dimension to the materials we produce, to fill in the gaps in the written record, and to intimately involve the Stalo people in the project, an extensive series of interview will be conducted with Stalo elders.35

The curriculum [Sto:lo Sitel Native Studies Multi-Media Curriculum] contains factual background information and teaching suggestions for the teacher. Little has been previously written about the Upper Sto:lo people; therefore it is difficult to obtain materials and information on this subject.... The local Indian people, especially the Elders', were consulted for verification of materials and for proper use of these materials. Since the local culture is being studied, it is important to present the Indian peoples' point of view of the history and the changes that have occurred in our way of living. Some of our biases may be reflected in this presentation, however, since the history is presented from our viewpoint, we feel this is inevitable (Coqualeetza Education Training Centre 1977:1).

**Secwepemc Cultural Education Society**

The Shuswap have moved progressively into a comprehensive study of their culture. The area of research will be concentrated on documenting our history, culture and language.36

[goals] 1. collecting and recording the memoirs of our Elders; 2. researching documents, records, books and notes on the use and management, in the pre-colonial eras, of land and resources; 3. initiating and promoting projects directed towards the collection and preservation of contemporary documents resulting in and reflecting modern Shuswap developments.37

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34 From the video *The Sto:lo History Project* (Video No.1, Coqualeetza Resource Centre).
The following themes and research orientations have been identified from a composite of descriptions of various research programs undertaken by cultural education centres. Also identified are the various programs that make use of this cultural knowledge, as well as other programs that make up the domain of cultural initiatives. The research themes are not listed or discussed in order of importance because that varies, but the list is inclusive of most of the categories of research programs that cultural education centres and museums are undertaking. (See also Appendix 13: Shuswap Curriculum Project, Research Guidelines for the guidelines to researchers dealing with Shuswap communities, including an outline of questions.)

The data has been organized into 9 major categories beginning with inventories, followed by surveys, and then followed by research that relies primarily on consolidating the extant knowledge in the community—collective memory and language. There is, of course, a good deal of overlap between surveys that seek to consolidate all the sources of information relating to the social history and environmental knowledge about the community, and between the oral history research program. However, the projects themselves tend to fall into this kind of pattern. This is often for logistical reasons, such as the way that funding and labour tend to be assigned on the basis of on-going and long-term work, as well as and finite topic-oriented research.

1. Inventories
   - **Material culture**: the inventory and location of secular and sacred artifacts; information about, and photographs of, artifacts; preliminary access arrangements; formal requests for copies, loans, and/or return.
   - **Archaeological site identification/excavation**: the inventory of archaeological sites associated with pre-contact occupation; with traditional hunting and fishing sites and with spiritual practises. Some of this work is done as part of an intensive documentation to support land claims, and/or to preserve sites from industrial encroachment.
   - **Extant documents**: the inventory of archival documents, including published and unpublished documents such as field notes; the collection and/or copying of photographs.

2. History research programs and Environmental surveys
   - **History projects/specific topics and/or large commissions**: the topics vary in scope and include family and community histories, the histories of reserves, residential schools, etc.; examples include the comprehensive scope of the Sto:lo History Project and the Cree History Commission, as well as the more short-term, topic-oriented projects that document traditional seasonal activities, traditional games, general information about material culture, spiritual practises, traditional clothing and related skills (e.g., hide preparation), and so on.
   - **Land use and occupation**: includes the collection of information relating to (and including stories and philosophies about) specific occupations and skills associated with traditional subsistence patterns; the information sought includes methods, practises and tools associated with hunting, fishing, trapping, survival skills, and practises and beliefs concerning traditional resource management strategies, e.g., animal populations, seasonal and life cycles, rights
of access to areas and resources, record of changes in natural environment and
game occurrence, special ceremonials and traditional spiritual associations
with the creatures of the area. As much as possible, records are made of these
features with their original terms and concepts in the local dialect.

3a. Extant Knowledge

The systematic community-based documentation of the local history and
specialized cultural knowledge; the topics are usually determined in a
community forum, often with the direction of the elders.

° Oral history: these programs vary in scope, but are usually comprehensive
(though inclusive of specific topics); they provide the primary method for
collecting memory-based knowledge and life-histories from the elders, political
and spiritual leaders and those having/practising specialized skills; these
histories are collected on video and on audio tapes for later transcription; video
programs, once edited for sense and continuity, are often made available through
lending services of the resources centres (eg. Coqualeetza Education Training
Centre, Secwepemc Cultural Education Society ).

° Language: the systematic recording of language from the original speakers; a
variation of the oral history program because it involves extensive taping of
elders wherever possible; language programs include dictionary development
(and often employ a linguist); a primary goal is the production of language
materials for use in the class.

° Place names and consolidating knowledge about the territory: include
extensive inventories of places known to have been used traditionally, or within
living memory, for subsistence activities and traditional and contemporary
occupations (hunting, fishing, trapping, gathering of materials for food,
clothing, medicines). These inventories also include known sites of
archaeological interest and, in the case of the Sto:lo, spiritual sites. Information
gathered includes mapping and naming places, with terms (in the local dialect)
for natural features (which often indicate use), and extensive community and
reserve history.

° Family names and genealogy: includes the documentation of family histories,
often to produce a composite community history. In the case of the Inuit,
extensive research is also being done to discover the original family names in a
move to correct/re-adopt these names in place of present names which were
attributed at the time of early European interests in the territory.

3b. Extant Knowledge: Special skills

° Health and healing: indicates a widespread program to collect all information
about medicinal plants in a region and their use in healing practises; these
inventories often include botanical surveys as well.

° Subsistence and survival: includes the collection of information about the
special knowledge associated with hunting, trapping, and fishing, including the
practical skills, the survival skills, and the environmental and spiritual
understandings.

° Traditional food: includes the collection of information on traditional food
gathering, preparation and preservation practises.

° Material culture and reconstruction projects: includes the collection of
information (often recorded by video) on the construction of specialized objects
(canoes, baskets, fishing gear, etc.); a common area of interest is in the
reconstruction of traditional clothing. Many of these projects have commercial
components as well, or become the focus of a community activity. Examples
include major building projects such as the building of a longhouse, or the 'Glwa canoe expedition from Bella Bella to Vancouver for 'Expo 87, which involved months of careful reconstruction of canoes and paddles.

* Art and performance: these less frequent inventories include the collection of information on art forms, techniques and artists; more often, the focus is on the collection of songs and music, dances, stories and legends

4. Education program development: Curriculum projects

* The cultural education program in band and provincial schools: includes the integrated curriculum where cultural knowledge is incorporated into all aspects of schooling; elders' programs, where elders are incorporated into particular programs of instruction, or come to tell stories; bilingual-bicultural programs and special language instruction classes (anywhere from 15-30 minutes a day to once or twice a week). "Native studies" indicates an optional social studies program that augments the provincial elementary curriculum, particularly the Grade Four social studies curriculum where it is standard to include a "unit" on "Native Peoples." "Native art" is often a separate subject area, either an elective or in lieu of the standard history subject offerings in high schools; it involves the study and reproduction of characteristic techniques and styles of an area, and crafts such as tanning, sewing, basket making, beadwork, drum making, as well as the study of crafts; medicine and botany includes identification of local species of plants and their uses in indigenous medical practises; environmental awareness, sometimes in conjunction with occupational and survival skills training, indicates a band-operated school program that takes students into the wilderness to teach wilderness awareness, survival skills and skills associated with hunting and trapping; salmonid enhancement, is a specialized program, originating on the West Coast, that teaches students the various stages of marine aquaculture with a view to developing skilled labour and a long-term commercial enterprise; food preparation includes the harvesting, preparation and preservation of traditional foods; recreation/performance includes the teaching of dances and songs, theatre and photography. (See also Appendix 9: Cultural Education Programs in British Columbia Schools for programs listed in the Art More's survey of Indian education programs in the province, 1985.)

5. Communication Programs:

* documentation of contemporary events is done through newspapers, audio visual records (of council meetings, cultural gatherings, etc.), the production of programs for broadcasting on local community radio and television, and the production of films (general information, history, documentaries on specific issues); communications media is also used to document the cultural history and the specialized knowledge extant in the community.

* publications program: includes the publication of curriculum material and the results of research (texts, illustrations and language material), such as local histories, stories and legends.

* exhibit/museum program: includes permanent and temporary exhibits, travelling exhibits (for band offices, schools and cultural events), as well as loans for outside exhibits.
6. Community Programs

These include special programs based in the community and outside the formal school setting, such as the elders' programs/conferences, and school tours, often hosted by the cultural education centre; the school tours conducted by the Secwepemc Cultural Education Society can include a visit to the museum and a slide or film presentation; those conducted by Coqualeetza Education Training Centre can include a visit to the long house where stories are told, and demonstrations are given using cultural objects; other community programs include training/special instruction, such as extra-curricular language classes, skills and craft programs; travelling speaker/performance programs (eg. the North American Indian Cultural College); outreach library/media services (eg. Woodland Indian Cultural Education Centre); cultural awareness events; cultural gatherings; and special events (eg. 'Glwa expedition); workshops/conferences to do with cultural matters (eg. education, language); training programs, run by cultural education centres (eg. media training, interviewing); survival/wilderness programs (such as Stein Rediscovery); spiritual retreats (eg. special cultural camps such as Owl Rock, Penticton); and a variety of other social services that have cultural components, often involving the elders as healers and counsellors and incorporating ideas that have to do with cultural knowledge building self-esteem.

7. Site Development Projects

These include primarily the restoration of churches in British Columbia. (See also Appendix 4: British Columbia Heritage Trust: Native Heritage projects funded, 1981-1987.)

8. Commercial Enterprises

These enterprises include the development of storefront outlets associated with cultural education complexes, such as publishing and art/craft outlets, that promote the products of research and other cultural productions considered viable for tourism and other commercial ventures.

9. Cultural Exchanges

These involve international exchanges between indigenous organizations and sometimes individuals.

In the following section, these research programs are described at greater length and largely by example. Many will be described by way of selected extracts from original program descriptions, annual general meeting reports, and funding proposals. The primary focus is on the first three categories: the inventories (of material culture, archaeological and heritage sites, and extant documents), the history research programs and environmental surveys, and the various programs that seek to identify and consolidate the general and special knowledge extant in the community itself. Also included as appendices are references to the various heritage projects supported from 1982-1987 by the B.C. Heritage Trust (Appendix 4: British Columbia Heritage Trust: Native Heritage projects funded, 1981-1987), a sample of the heritage projects supported by the Quebec Ministry of Culture (Appendix 11: Cultural Policy in Quebec and Native Heritage Development Projects), an outline of the cultural education programs in B.C. schools extracted from More's 1985 survey (Appendix 6: Language and culture curriculum goals in British Columbia Schools), and a
large extract from the Cree Regional Authority's submission on Cree culture to the Government of Québec (Appendix 10: *The Cree Regional Authority: position on culture and proposed cultural programs*).

The fourth category, the *Education program development and curriculum projects*, has been discussed in Chapter Four (the place of culture in education, education needs analysis, and the goals of cultural curriculum), and in Appendix 5: *Curriculum goals, language and culture*. Examples of cultural curriculum in British Columbia have been presented in Appendix 9: *Cultural Education Programs in British Columbia Schools*, and an outline of three B.C. Indian curriculum programs, covering grade one to grade seven, are set out in Appendix 8: *Major concepts in three British Columbia Indian Curriculum Programs*.

The fifth category, *Communication Programs*, will not be discussed in this chapter beyond the outline (above) and specific references to the use of video, radio, television and newspapers in carrying out the research and in communicating special cultural knowledge. Reference to specific media programs will be made in the following chapter with respect to the programs at Coqualeetza and the Secwepemc Cultural Education Society, but an additional discussion of this important component of the cultural education centre, and of Native political and cultural communication organizations in general, is beyond the scope of this work. The development of Native communications organizations has its own history, and while cultural centres often incorporate some of these functions, the program considerations are of a different nature despite their similar purposes and objectives.

Similarly, beyond the outline of *Community programs* already provided, little further will be said, with the exception of the “Rediscovery” or survival/wilderness programs which are included in the discussion of special knowledge about subsistence and survival. Many of the community programs are self-explanatory and have been noted in other sections (for example, the role of elders, the occurrence of craft programs); other activities, such as the annual cultural gatherings now frequently held, are again outside the scope of this work. Yet, it is here at these gatherings that the effects of a widespread cultural renaissance, and the re-establishment of cultural confidence are most evident. Many of these gatherings, particularly in smaller communities, have to do with the private aspect of the cultural life of the community where people meet, exchange news, participate in the drum and dance, honour the war veterans, eat, gamble, and listen to stories. Each year additional indicators of cultural strengthening appear, progress in language recovery is noted, and in the background are the achievements of the cultural centres.
1. Inventories and surveys

Material culture

The inventory of extant material culture is closely related to the development of museum programs and collections. The Secwepemc Cultural Education Society, from the beginning, set out certain goals with a view to the eventual development of their museum:

According to Article IV of the *Shuswap Declaration* which reads: "Facilitating the collection and display of contemporary and historic Shuswap artifacts and archival materials" the Secwepemc Cultural Education Society has now established a Shuswap Museum and Archives. [objectives:] to identify and wherever possible recover such artifacts as can be proven come from Shuswap territories to be displayed in the Shuswap Museum and Archives; to procure gifts or loans of artifacts or archival material for display purposes in the Shuswap Museum and Archives; to research, collect, catalogue and accession any archival material about or relating to the Shuswap people; to disseminate archaeological and archival materials through the use of displays, lectures and publications; to collect, display and promote contemporary Shuswap art; to support and promote archaeological research in the Shuswap territories (1985).38

Expansion of the museum collection should proceed. Negotiations for the return of Shuswap artifacts held at the Provincial museum and Simon Fraser University have been initiated and follow-ups must be made. As well, the museum should commission crafts people to make, for display purposes, items which are difficult to acquire as original artifacts (1985).

Archaeological site identification and excavation

The Alliance Heritage Study

Yes we are concerned about our archaeological sites. They establish our ancestral occupancy of the area. From the point of view of land claims, they are important, especially those that are in areas that are not on reserve (Wayne Bob, Sto:lo Nation).39

The Alliance Heritage Study, undertaken in 1984, began as a survey and was elaborated into a more comprehensive program to incorporate collective knowledge and memory. It extends the usual university or government heritage-based archaeological site survey to include sites of spiritual significance on the basis of extensive local information. This study was initiated by an alliance of bands in the region and it characterizes the way that collective knowledge can be consolidated and mobilized, particularly in the event of a perceived threat to both cultural continuity and to long-standing environmental and occupational relationships with the territory.

These are sites of native spiritual significance; those landmarks towards which native Indians have strong spiritual ties based on traditional beliefs and/or ceremonial usages (Mohs 1987: 1).

Among the Sto:lo, spiritual sites are physical landmarks and they comprise an important part of the 'native landscape.' They are an intimate aspect of Sto:lo heritage and are spoken of in legend, myth, and oral tradition. Few have

39 Quoted in Mohs 1984: 44.
archaeological manifestations. This does not mean that they cannot be recognized, or that archaeologists should not be aware of their existence (Ibid p. 4).

In this case, the proposal by the CNR to lay an extra set of tracks (Twin Tracking) from Valemont to Vancouver, along the original tracks that follow the banks of the Fraser River, posed considerable threat not only to the salmon run but to burial sites, and other sites considered to be of spiritual significance. The Alliance Heritage study was in part also a response to an earlier study conducted by consultants on behalf of the CNR which, despite guidelines set by the Resource Management Division of the B.C. Heritage Conservation that recognize the principle of active consultation, did not appear to incorporate local knowledge to any significant extent: "No we were not contacted. Maybe they don't want to know about our heritage sites" (Denise Douglas, Sto:lo (Cheam)).40

Despite the reluctance of people to publicly identify certain domains of knowledge and the locations of sacred places, the impetus to safeguard this territory for a number of reasons offset this reticence to a great extent. Careful steps were taken to ensure both the privacy of the information and the exact locations of the sites:

You know, I'm a proud man and these places are sacred to me. I was taught all of this by 4 elder chiefs. If I tell you about these places and they are recorded, then people will go there and destroy what is there. So, I'm reluctant to tell you.

Enough damage has been done.

How much time you got left? (Albert Phillips, Sto:lo, 1984).41

The elders know of these places but it's not just a matter of talking with them. But this would be very time consuming because it's not always that easy to get the elders to go on expeditions like this. Things have changed so much with the new highway, the new settlements and developments. So these places are harder to pinpoint now.

It's a shame there wasn't more time to do the in-depth research that's required. There's no question that more work is needed (Edna Lewis, Sto:lo, 1984).42

This work was initially undertaken by Gordon Mohs, an archaeologist working for the Sto:lo Tribal Council, and took the form of a "heritage resource impact assessment" (Mohs 1984: 7, 8):

The Alliance Heritage Study was initiated June 18, 1984. Activities in the first two weeks...involved: meeting with Alliance representatives, drawing up a general work plan, acquiring essential documentation and maps, establishing contacts and conducting historical research at Coqualeetza Resource Centre in Sardis, B.C.

The following weeks...were spent conducting field research. Activities included discussions with Band leaders and informants, field survey, documentation of heritage site localities and documentation of informant attitudes and perceptions.

40 Ibid p. 6.
41 Ibid p. 4.
42 Ibid p. 9.
The proposed tracking presents a number of potentially damaging effects to both the fishing economy and the cultural heritage of the Sto:lo Nation, the Nl'akapxm Nation (North Thompson), and the North Thompson and Deadman Creek Indian Bands. With the building, fishing rocks and pools will be destroyed through the dumping of fill and an inevitable destruction of fishing sites and burial grounds will occur: "I don't know what they're going to do with all of our cemeteries, right here in Lytton...if you disturb the ground on the bottom, the whole cemetery's gonna come down...right by the CN tracks, both of them" (Nathan Spinks, Nl'akapxm). The jeopardized sites also include pithouse depressions, traditional encampments, rock shelters, ancestral fishing stations and traditional villages, existing access trails, surface scatter of lithic remains from fishing activities, and burial grounds. The research considered archaeological evidence (remains and physical altering of the landscape), ethnographic records (James Teit), and living memory.

This kind of site research, then, exemplifies a rapid consolidation of collective knowledge about a territory in order to substantiate, in the event of external pressure, a particular claim based on traditional habitation and contemporary use.

**Cree archaeology**

The James Bay Cree approach, following the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement, demonstrates both a long-term research proposition and identifies specific areas of interest, formulated under different circumstances (after a claim was established). This research includes the documentation of land and resource use, using archaeological site survey techniques as a "non-traditional" way of dealing with the past:

In recent years Crees have become increasingly interested in non-traditional ways of exploring their past. Along with tape recording of Cree oral history and collection of other historical documents, archaeology is now seen as a technique which could serve to inform Crees about their ancient history and provide concrete evidence of the way of life of their ancestors....In the long term, Crees wish to develop their own archaeological program which would allow them to research questions which are of particular interest to them and to participate in a much more positive way in the archaeological documentation of their past....

We are proposing an archaeological project of limited scale focusing on a clearly defined problem concerning the continuity in the Cree use of particular resources....

The goal of this project is to conduct an archaeological survey of limited areas of the James Bay coast in the vicinity of Rupert House and at the second rapids area of the Rupert River. In both cases the work will be concerned with finding archaeological evidence of ancient Cree settlement and use of resources that now, and traditionally, have figured importantly in the economy of Crees living in the area. In the case of the James Bay coastal area, we are interested in documenting archaeologically the use of sites traditionally associated with goose hunting. The second rapids, on the other hand, has long been a focus of late summer fishing activities. In this case, we would attempt to show that these activities have significant time depth.

In both cases, the work will rely on the knowledge of Crees who have used these locations over the decades to pin-point sites most likely to have been used in

43 *Ibid* p. 22.
ancient times and to proved information useful for the interpretation of the sites (Cree Regional Authority 1983).44

A great deal of archaeological site survey work is now being undertaken throughout the country, much of it initiated by Native organizations. Although non-Native archaeologists are often brought in, or collaborative arrangements are negotiated to include outside interests, Native organizations more often require that the training of local members of the community is built into any research program employing outside expertise.

**Extant documents**

The purpose of the documentation centre is to establish a complete collection of the historical, cultural and socially oriented materials written about the Crees. Such a collection will be built up over the years. In the meantime funding has been obtained from the Cultural Education Centre in Chisasibi to compile bibliographies of the relevant materials, devise an appropriate method of cataloguing and start the initial collection (Cree Regional Authority 1983: n.p.).

Examining and collecting extant documents located outside of the community is both costly and very time consuming; it can require a great deal of travel and its success ultimately depends on the cooperation of the holding institutions.

**extant documents, Sto:lo material**

The Sto:lo History Project was initiated in 197545 to provide the basis for the curriculum development program and a number of publications. It encompassed a vast survey of primary documentary material, including the published reports of anthropologists and archaeologists; the unpublished field notes of Wilson Duff at the Royal British Columbia Museum; various files from the Department of Lands, the Water Resources Board and the Attorney General’s office; the Hudson’s Bay archives in Winnipeg; numerous maps, surveys and plans relating to the reserve boundaries; and an extensive local newspaper survey for stories on the activities of the Sto:lo (the kind of work they were engaged in; the political activities). It represents almost 10 years of research, several stages of management, and has resulted in an extensive local archives.

The primary objective of the first year is to locate, collect, and catalogue all documentary materials on the Stalo tribe. These materials will be organized into a Stalo Archives so that this basic information will be accessible to us and available for other band projects (1977).46

The Sto:lo History project has three full-time staff members whose research material includes documents, maps, bibliographies, personal diaries, and

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44 From the 1983 submission (n.p., in section Cree Archaeology, Rupert House), *The James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement and Cree Culture. A submission to the Government of Québec in Review of the James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement*.

45 It absorbed an earlier project that started in 1972 as the Skulkane Heritage Project.

46 Coqualeetza Education Training Centre 1977: 5. *A Funding Proposal for a Comprehensive Social and Political History of the Upper Stalo Indians of British Columbia, 1800-1960.* (Reuben Ware/Stalo History Committee.)
interviews. A vast amount of factual data, both written and pictorial have been gathered for our Sto:lo past (Frank Malloway 1978).47

**extant documents, Shuswap material**

The research program at the Secwepemc Cultural Education Society started late in 1983 and began with defining specific areas of research that would relate to the curriculum development plan:

A researcher and assistant researcher were hired...and their main duty in relation to curriculum development was to provide a data base for the development of language and cultural curriculum. They were also able to identify sources of available primary and secondary materials and where possible, obtained such materials (1984).48

[Phase 1: Research and Planning: Curriculum Development]: to gather all existing material on Shuswap culture from universities, archives, government, museums, religious archives, and individual band projects.49

While the Research department has no funding and no permanent staff, we have been able to get some work done in the area.

...we were able to employ five individuals who visited the Shuswap communities and compiled an inventory of all historic, cultural and linguistic data that the bands had collected over the years (1984).50

[Goals] 2. Gather all existing material on Shuswap history, culture and language from universities, archives, government, museum and religious archives, private collections and Band projects. [list of work completed:] collected bibliographies and materials from the Hudson’s Bay Archives, Manitoba Association of Native Languages, Man and Nature Museum, Barriere Historical Society, Coqualeetza Cultural Centre and the University of British Columbia; collected names, addresses, bibliographies from major universities; have acquired copies of graduate papers on Alkali Lake, Father LeJeune and Plateau Songs; borrowed and copied first 4 of 16 Hudson Bay Company journals; visited 17 archives around B.C. and Alberta to collect Shuswap historical information (1986).51

**photographs**

...a number of photographs depicting culture and history have been collected, filed and put into display packages which are available to all Shuswap bands on a loan basis. To date the Society has collected well over 500 black and white photographs. Many of them are copies of private photo collections (1986).52

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47 From the video Coqualeetza Story (Video No.5, Coqualeetza Resource Centre).
50 Secwepemc Cultural Education Society *First Annual General Meeting*, Kamloops, B.C. August 20, 1984: (n. n.: section: Research report).
documents

For the research, the written documents were the first effort...although very little was written, a lot of documents...where we possibly could have been included have been gathered, and this was accomplished by just writing to over two hundred and fifty institutions in North America asking for bibliographies, scouring their bibliographies to find something [related to] Shuswap, then ordering any copies of these particular documents. You're looking at universities, church archives, government archives, private archives, government organizations, other Indian organizations....

...there are lot of things that I'd like to order that, again, is all money. A Master degree program paper would cost, hard cover, in the States...34 dollars, so I know were there's a number that I want, but I need the 34 dollars; and if there's 10 or 20...you're looking at seven or eight hundred dollars...just for Masters papers...that may or may not be any good.' So the documents is one area, documents, books; the second area is maps. Maps for traditional land use we'll create ourselves from the elders but also a lot of the early maps may have culturally relevant material. George Dawson's maps of the 1800's have a lot of Indian names before they even gave them White names, so when we go back to try to jog elders' memories, sometimes we can use George Dawson's maps [for] Indian place names...we'd like to try and collect all his maps. Other maps which people may have created with culturally relevant material is the various railways and roads coming through; they might have marked pictographs, grave sites, historic villages. The late 1800's, where maybe our elders don't remember...by using those maps we can go back and see what's left of them....So, there's actually quite a few different types of maps, reserve boundary maps, all the different kinds of maps that could possibly pertain to us that we would want to get a copy and have on file.

...I have lot's of them tracked down, but like the outside boundaries of the reserves, you get a photocopy of a map, 16 X 20, which is about 20 dollars...17 reserves have about a hundred smaller reserves so you'd be looking at five to ten thousand dollars just to get reserve boundary maps....we don't have that yet, but I know where they are and I have the map atlas in Ottawa, so I can order them whenever I need them.... (Robert Matthew, 1987).

2. Social history research and land use surveys

The Sto:lo History Project

The Sto:lo History Project has, over a relatively long period, gathered extensive secondary records in order to document as widely as possible the post-contact period in Sto:lo history. Particular themes have been identified, partly to fit the conceptual framework of the curriculum guidelines, and partly to elaborate a number of particular themes that have to do with the use of economic resources and occupational patterns:

The goals of the Stalo History Project are to explore our Stalo past, to fully research it, to understand it, and to produce informative and educational materials about it....three themes—the struggles, the families, and the land and

54 The change from Stalo to Sto:lo reflects refinements in the linguistic work to produce a written version of the Halq'éméylem language.
river—give our research its overview and its dimension. This is the framework for the Stalo History Project.  

The time frame defined for this project is the history from the early part of the 19th century because of the number of available ethnographic accounts of "traditional" Sto:lo culture:

We will use some of the information that the anthropologists gathered from our Elders, but our project is much broader in scope. Our project will produce a full-scale history of our people. Although there are historical works on specific aspects of the history, culture, social conditions of British Columbia Indians, there has as yet been no comprehensive historical analysis of a single tribal group or Indian Band.

**Secwepemc Cultural Education Society land use research**

Land use and resource surveys that include cultural data, economic and subsistence data, as well as ecological data, are beginning to pull together a significant body of knowledge. Much of this knowledge is local knowledge—the practises and understandings of the hunters. It also represents an intersection between the scientific domains of environmental knowledge, which do not usually refer to the cultural and spiritual understandings of the land and its creatures, and the knowledge of those intimate with particular territories, and the practical aspects of seasonal fluctuations and life cycles.

The Secwepemc Cultural Education Society has a broad research program oriented primarily to curriculum development. The land and resource research, for example, refers specifically to developing the major understanding for the grade seven social studies units. This research serves other information needs as well, such as the protection of the fisheries resource. Specific place name/fishing site research also forms a part of this larger area of research about land and resource use in the Shuswap territory.

**Outline for the development of the topic “Traditional resource use/subsistence cycle:“**

- types of resources obtained (with Shuswap names) through hunting, fishing, gathering
- locations of key resource-use areas (root-gathering fields, fish weir sites, deer surrounds)
- time of year when resources were obtained (a resource-use ‘calendar’)
- size of groups obtaining resources
- technology of resource-use (eg. descriptions of tools used, how fish weirs were built)
- preparation of resources (eg. drying fish, pounding berries)
- division of labour (male and female activities)

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56 *Ibid* p. 3. The writer notes that Wilson Duff also noted the lack of historical analysis of "post-contact" times (in *The Indian History of British Columbia* 1964).

ownership of resources, resource areas, and technology
use of special items for medicine and curing
items used for utilitarian purposes (eg. containers, clothing)
ceremonies or rituals carried out when first fish taken, or first roots gathered
exchange or trade of particular resources from one group to another (eg. salmon traded, Indian hemp traded (plant used for making rope))
conflict over resource use: ban on use of fish weirs in 1890's; application of Fish & Wildlife regulations
changes in resources (example: moose are late comers to southern B.C.)

Outline for the development of the topic “Traditional ceremonial component of resource use”

animals are good to eat and good to think” in the Shuswap philosophy of the natural environment:

First Salmon Rites
- treatment of certain parts of special animals and fish
- origin stories (about the first fish, first animals...)
- use of animals as central figures in tales (especially coyote)
- guardian spirit quest (obtaining power from the natural world)
- where people are seen to fit into the natural world (some stories stress a time when people and animals were closer to each other)
- pictographs (graphic portrayals of relationships to the natural world)

Montagnais Wildlife Resources Research

The Montagnais (Quebec) have been working since 1982 (through 1985) on an extensive research program to “bring the data concerning Montagnais development and exploitation of wildlife resources up to date.” Montagnais researchers were trained to carry out data collection and compile detailed photographic records:

Research is being carried out on three fronts. The first is socioeconomic in nature and is concerned with the contribution of wildlife resources to the overall economy. The second looks at exploitation by the aboriginal people from the perspective of biology, while the last dimension is cultural and examines the Montagnais’ particular practises and beliefs relative to the wildlife around them.

In order to collect data, each researcher provided the hunters in his community with a notebook in which they would record their catch: the species of mammal, migratory birds or fish taken, the number taken and the location. The notebook, which contained the essential data, was supplemented with a questionnaire used to check on and complete the data compiled. In addition, the researchers collected slides, interviews and miscellaneous information such as the location of each group’s main camp and satellite camps, trap lines, the location of major resources, all of which was noted on topographic maps.

Data are also being collected concerning aboriginal beliefs relative to each species of animal. For about fifty species, linguistic and ethno-ecological information is being gathered. Topics covered by the research include nomenclature, types of calls, tracks, a description of the trail and habitat, reproduction pattern, diet, techniques used in hunting, what the animal is used for, and the place of each species in the Montagnais world view.

58 Clement 1984: 16. The project was Funded by the Conseil attikamek-montagnais and the Donner Foundation of Canada, and supported by the Centre d’études nordiques de l’Université Laval.
59 Selected sections, Ibid.
The Traditional Land Use Inventory, Alaska

A further example of this wide net of research, and the uses it can ultimately serve, is that of a commission initiated by the Inupiaq in Alaska in 1975, to document significant sites. This information was extensively used in the community planning strategies, where areas identified as important were specially zoned as Conservation Districts. This resulted in a requirement for "special use" permits for industrial development in order to prevent any damage to the resource areas that were identified through the documentation of Inupiaq subsistence patterns.

With its inception in 1975, the commission funded the collection of information dealing with traditional and current land use and seasonal occupancy. The Traditional Land Use Inventory (TLUI) noted houses, camps, ice cellars... graves, sites of large trading centers, and nearly every site that was significant in some way to the people. The TLUI began as a simple listing of sites and their significance but was soon given far greater substance by a wealth of oral interview transcripts laboriously gathered across the length and breadth of the North Slope. With over 1,000 sites already identified the TLUI continues to grow.60

3a. Extant knowledge: casting a wide net

This category of research is the special domain of cultural education centres. It requires a particular relationship with the community that allows for the investigation and collecting activities of the centre. Additionally, it requires a special training of investigators who must combine the usual research methods of oral history with a cultural knowledge that sets the parameters for how to go about gathering information—what kind of information, from whom and where. This broad research strategy employs many techniques and media for capturing and transcribing this knowledge: integrated information management systems that would leave archivists and museum registrars in awe, audio and video recording techniques for interviewing elders, recording cultural gatherings, political meetings, conferences, demonstrations of crafts and subsistence activities, journalism and media skills for interviewing for the local newspapers, community radio and television programs, as well as linguistic skills for transcribing the spoken language into text.

The focus for this research is the community itself and the topics are various. The data collected is often unwieldy, general, as well as fluid, despite the specific nature of some of the research questions. There is no precedent for this kind of scope and integration in the heritage activities of the majority society, though the composite of topics and heritage organizations might produce a similar scope, if not an integrated approach. This scope is rarely evident in the heritage activities of smaller non-Native communities, or in the ecomuseum initiatives of rural populations considered "at risk" on the basis of social and economic fragmentation, high unemployment and the exodus of the young.

Oral History Programs

Oral history programs usually constitute the largest research program for cultural education centres, often incorporating many of the topics outlined as well as language research. These collections of oral history provide a basis for comparing and verifying other sources of information, and the composite of these recollections give substance to the historical research programs that rely on documentary sources. The following references to cultural research programs are ordered to begin with the oral history programs, followed by two other characteristic community-based cultural inventories: place names/site inventories, and family names/genealogical research. These descriptions are in turn followed by the more circumscribed topics that consider specialized knowledge.

Secwepemc Cultural Education Society oral history research

The oral history program at the Secwepemc Cultural Education Society constitutes a primary part of the larger research program that includes the development of the language, the gathering of extant documents and the implementation of an archival system. The objective (1986) of the oral history program is to "develop and implement a plan for conducting primary research with Shuswap Elders and other individuals knowledgeable in Shuswap language, history and culture: an oral history method has been designed which includes interview questions, record keeping, storage and retrieval, supplies and equipment." Included here are extracts from the Shuswap Cultural Working Conference, held on several occasions in 1983 when the working basis for language, curriculum, and other cultural projects was established. The comments expressed during these meetings demonstrate some characteristic concerns regarding the recording of Shuswap elders, particularly with respect to their reluctance in some situations to give out information that might be restricted or misused by outsiders.

There is a lot of work that has to be done and it takes a lot of time with the elders. You just can't start taping them. We had people from Alkali taping them and it took the better part of a summer. The person that was working took the elders out on good days like this and just asked them some questions. One of the other ways is to get the elders together so that they can share all of their experiences (Arthur Dick, Alkali Lake, p.2).

I was one of the people that went around and taped the elders. I didn't go to them right away and ask them to speak in the tape recorder. I went to talk to them for about 2-3 days, letting them know that I respected their stories and beliefs. They wanted to know what I wanted from them and why I wanted it. We wanted to tape them for our generations coming up so that they would understand (Celina Johnson, Alkali Language teacher, p.3)

Some of the elders are definite that they don't want their stuff re-taped. A couple of elders now are saying that we shouldn't be so trusting with some of the

61 See also Appendix 12: Research Guidelines for the Shuswap Curriculum Project.
information about certain medicines. People just want to make a book and sell it. We should have meetings with them to discuss these things. What items we can share. A lot of information is passed on orally.

A lot of the information is going to be used for land claims. There's so much that the elders haven't given to us. It took them a long time to even support our language program. To give us songs or to sing to us (Phyllis Chelsea, Alkali Lake, p.4).

I have some taped material from some of our elders. I haven't really done anything with them except to use them in our class. Before I even got into taping them, I asked them about it first. We had a two-day oral history workshop in the summer of '81, people from the B.C. Museum. You have to have it clear in your mind why you are taping the elders and you have to gain their trust too. Some of them said that they didn't mind if I used the tapes in the classroom (Elizabeth Pete, Canim Lake, Teacher, p.4).

We should use tape recorders to record our elders. Jan mentioned yesterday that we should start fund raising for video material to film our elders. I asked some of the elders if they would mind and they said as long as we don't show them the tape recorder. They really enjoy people coming to visit them. We should encourage the students to visit the elders (Bernice Saunders, Soda Creek, p.6).

By 1984, a significant collection of oral history tapes had been amassed by the centre and a systematic scheme for cataloguing and storing them was being developed.

Contact has now been established with seventeen Shuswap Bands and lists of Elders and knowledgeable resource people have been compiled. Interview schedules for concepts and topics were prepared for recording relevant information and to accompany the taped interviews.64

As well these five field researchers interviewed a number of elders on each of the reserves. We have about 130 tapes65 added to our collection as a result of the inventory and research. These tapes have yet to be transcribed. One of the individuals on the Language Inventory and Review project, collected historical, and cultural data for us as well, mostly in the form of audio cassette tapes.... All the tapes have been categorized, labelled and listed and will be featured in the Resource Library. We also have in our tape collection the complete set of The Songs of B.C. collected by James Teit, 1912-21, complete with field notes. There are 12 tapes in this collection totalling approximately 200 songs.66

The following extracts are from the curriculum development proposal (1983-4)67 of the Secwepemc Cultural Education Society, which indicates that the most important sources of cultural knowledge are to be found in the living memories of individuals. A high value is given to the personal nature of these accounts, that is, “what it means to be Shuswap,” revealed in the composite of daily events and life experiences. These guidelines are followed by a description of the oral history program by, Robert Matthew, research coordinator for the centre and the originator of the guidelines.

64 Secwepemc Cultural Education Society Annual Report. 1985: 15.
65 205 in 1986 and over 300 by 1987, with an additional 200 due to be submitted by the various bands.
For our purposes the most important [sources of information on Shuswap culture] are:

1. **Recollections** by individuals about past events. Much of this information has been passed down in stories, and the person interviewed may or may not have been directly involved. It is through recall that we will try to develop a sense of traditional Shuswap culture and history.

2. **Life histories.** The life experiences of individuals can perhaps best convey what it means, and has meant, to be Shuswap. What Shuswap culture and society really is, then, is a composite of all the different experiences of many people. Here we would like to know where a person has lived, gone to school, worked, married, and so on. With this, also prepare a genealogy.

3. **Participant observation.** A sense of Shuswap culture today can best be achieved by keeping track of daily events which involve Shuswap people; births, deaths, marriages, ceremonies, rodeos, band meetings — and all other events. By participating, one of course becomes more aware of what is going on, but even keeping track of events over an extended period of time will give a sense of what being Shuswap means today in terms of activities.

*Description of the development of the oral history program*

The oral history stems from a desire that was brought about into the Declaration in 1982, that so much of the knowledge that we want to publish and record is still in the elders' minds, and the only way to get that is to actually just talk to them...the first part is go out and collect the memoirs of the elders.

At first the memoirs were quite a meandering type of interview...there were no set questions to start with and then there were set questions...[then] they were followed too closely and they were more extreme than the other. So, when I arrived two years ago, we had thirty tapes of the elders....I immediately thought, are there other people doing similar work and can I piggy-back their research methods.

...I contacted Alan Specht (Sound and Moving Images) at the Provincial Archives and visited his facilities, looked at his collections, the organization, and listened to his tapes in Victoria...he wrote a book called *Voices*, which I thought was quite good and could be adapted to our program. We invited him up to teach us some of the basics of the equipment, the preliminary interview, recording...shelving, that part of it. So the actual technical side, I learned a lot from the Provincial Museum.

The actual [questions]...what to ask the elders...I visited a number of Indian organizations that were busy producing Indian curriculum, and they found that the first thing you have to do is develop a “scope and sequence” about what you want to teach, then from the scope and sequence you have the concepts that you want to teach and from that you have your basic raw data or information. This information is what we wanted to gather from the elders. So, to refine or focus our research in the oral history, we set about creating a scope and sequence for some of our work. And the scope and sequence will fit a social studies [curriculum] from grades two to eleven. We thought what do we want to learn from them so that we can publish it or somehow share it with our own people and with the general public later.

From that we developed a list of open-ended questions...hopefully the answers will feed into various publications. For example, grade two is “the community,” so if we want to learn about Indian communities to teach it in grade two then we have to ask the elders about communities. Or, if we want to talk about the family, which is grade one, then we would ask elders who their family was, how big their family was, what were the roles within the family, so that we have a general idea.

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of why we are gathering the material...we recognized the need to record the memoirs but we also recognized the need to focus it so that it also useable when we want to further develop the information.

_Were there some questions that they responded to much more strongly than others? did you get the sense that you were getting direction from them about what they thought was important...or did they just respond to what you asked?_

The scope and sequence of questions were not done in isolation. We in fact visited a number of elders and asked them very open-ended questions. We would ask them...what kind of important jobs would Indians have held in the 1920's and 30's and then they may say, well, we were into logging or railway building, or whatever, so they would sort of give us a general framework from which we could refine the questions.

_Were they reluctant to talk to you about some topics, or were they pretty open about most things?_

They were pretty open about most things but because some of the material that we thought...we weren't in a position to handle yet, we avoided. So, we've avoided a lot of the spiritual matters, partly because quite a few of the people are not really in the frame of mind to really accept or believe and respect them yet because they may be quite different than the ones we have ourselves as young people....The other [part] is, there's this business that...community beliefs shouldn't be recorded, that you actually live them, or learn them, by being around talking to people, therefore, why should you have to record them...in some ways...people say, well, you'll end up selling it if it's recorded, or copying it, and it won't be the same as coming from an individual.

_Did they understand your need as the younger generation?_

They could understand the need of recording it...most of the material, but some of the elders would suggest, well, why don't you just come and live with us and be around us and you'll learn...one elder said, well, how come you need a tape recorder, why don't you just listen really carefully? Which is true, because that's how people have learned before. You can be lazy and don't have to listen because you can tape everything.

Again, a lot of the spiritual areas we stay totally clear of. The other is, medicinal things, because a lot of the medicines are tied up in religion, or belief system, that you would hate to have people that aren't really fully versed in the culture try to interpret or use the medicines.

This is a fourth project, of just doing profiles of the elders...prompting them a little bit about who their family is, what are the most important things that they've done, jobs they've held, family, school, work, sort of a general history of each individual. Every month we put this in the paper, but there's also ones we don't put in the paper, we save. And hopefully within a year, we'll put out a publication based on Shuswap elders. So that's a meandering type of general history.

**Coqualeetza oral history research**

The Coqualeetza Education Training Centre has also carried out extensive oral history research over the years in the course of the Sto:lo History Project:

...we've done twenty six taped interviews on the history of the hops industry in the Fraser Valley. Up until the fifties hops was a major agricultural industry in the valley and as many as from three to six thousand Indian people would come every late August and early September to harvest these crops. We've done a lot of interviews on the condition and life at these camps. We've also done interviews
on the biographies and personal work histories of the Sto:lo chiefs and leaders
over the past one hundred years (Reuben Ware 1979).69

More recently, oral history research has concentrated on developing the
Halq’eméylem dictionaries and grammars, on documenting the heritage sites along the
Fraser River, as well as on documentary media productions.

**Cree Oral History Program**

The following extract describes the oral history work proposed by the James Bay Cree
of Northern Quebec. Their initial focus was particularly on the extant stories and legends in
order to publish them for use in schools. The Cree emphasize the importance of this kind of
work in sensitizing the wider public to their historic contributions, and in pointing out to
the Cree community the inherent value of their own history. They stress the urgency of
documenting their history because the only record to date has been written by non-Cree.
Cree history still exists in the form of the *Tipachiman* stories told by the elders, but the
history is considered to be in danger of disappearing. At the same time, the Cree note that in
the process of recording their own history, members of the community would be able to
develop the specialized skills involved in making this kind of record. The outcome would be
a visual and audio archives accessible to each community.70

[Proposal] Research of Cree oral history is both necessary and urgent. The
necessity lies in the fact that there exist histories of James Bay which have been
compiled almost entirely from written records left by outsiders, guests in the
Cree territory from 1668 onwards. What is missing in these histories is the Cree
perspective, their perception of events and the kind of details worth
remembering and passing on to succeeding generations. Although not recorded,
Cree history is extant, very much so in the form of the *tipachiman* stories which
have been told by the elders for generations. The urgency in recording Cree
history is that now in these changed times these numerous stories may disappear
along with the older generation. The sense of urgency also applies to developing a
more balanced historical perspective so that the historical materials used in the
schools and available in the communities reflect the Cree view of their history.
The same is true for the historical accounts used in southern schools.

**Phase 1** of this project was completed during the 1981-82 year and it involved
taping approximately 160 hours of Cree stories and legends from Chisasibi and
Wemindji. Phase II involved transcribing and translating these tapes into
English and this was done during the 1982-83 year. A selection should be made
as to which stories and legends should be published for later use in the schools.
Phase III of this project, then, would involve getting the chosen stories and
legends illustrated and typed ready for publication. Once it was published, it
would also serve to sensitize the public to the historical role of the Crees since
history was written from a non-Native point of view and, in most cases, is very
biased.

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69 From the video *The Sto:lo History Project* (Video No.1, Coqualeetza Resource Centre).
70 From the submission by the Cree Regional Authority, 1983: *The James Bay and Northern
Québec Agreement and Cree Culture. A submission to the Government of Québec in Review
of the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement*. (pages not numbered; references are in
the section: Recording Legends and History (and) Proposal for an Oral History Program.
Another benefit of such a research programme would be the development in the community of special skills and techniques for: interviewing, recording, transcribing, translating, analyzing and writing up the tipachtman stories. Also of enormous benefit to the communities would be the recognition that their tipachtman stories are in fact history, in the same sense that others use the term, and worthy of extensive research and analysis. Such a programme would also, of course, enable the Cree to tell their version of historical events—just as almost every other nation has been able to do.

The approach to be followed would be a dual one— to probe for accounts of events not yet recorded and to widen the perspective of those events recorded in written documents. Several versions of each story will be sought to augment the network of details surrounding each event.

The tipachtman stories will be recorded on video tapes so a permanent visual and sound record can be made for the use of each community.

Language Programs

Another future project the Mus-gamagw may soon be plugged into is computer programming through what is known as “interactive media.” Wilson [coordinator, Mus-gamagw Tribal Council] says, “This process is achieved by use of video discs which are read by a laser light beam which is then plugged into a computer and screen that can be used as educational tools. They say the system can be adapted to Kwakwala....We'd then use this material in the communities to make sure the kids start to learn their language if they haven't already started. Even someone like me who doesn't speak Kwakwala can learn....We want Kwakwala to grow and flourish rather than be a dying language which it is now. I would like to see in the future in our tribal area, all our political discussions and work done in our native language, as it is in the Nass. I say this, knowing full well I'm not qualified to be a politician in that kind of medium. I think this is exactly what has to happen. If you want to be a Mus-gamagw tribal politician, or a chief, you've got to speak the language fluently. You've also got to be able to speak English fluently” (Bill Wilson, 1985).

You know something funny about speaking your own language. When I first came out of school, I was embarrassed to speak my language in front of white people....Now I speak Shuswap any place and any time...but it took about three or four years...to get away from the embarrassment of speaking it on the street....They just about brainwashed us out of it.  

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The prevalence and the significance of Native language programs throughout the country has been emphasized in the previous chapter. The following discussion refers specifically to some of the developmental aspects of language programs typically undertaken by cultural education centres, using as examples the programs at the Coqualeetza Education Training Centre and the Secwepemc Cultural Education Society.

71 From an interviewed by Carole Dawson, Kahtou 1985 3 (11):14, 16. This same sentiment has also been expressed by Nisga’a politicians (British Columbia) where a certain amount of success has been achieved in the promotion of a bilingual/bicultural working basis for the Nisga’a.

The Coqualeetza Language Program

Two years after the establishment of the cultural centre, the language program at Coqualeetza was formally underway in 1976. Prior to that, resources had been given to the development of the Sto:lo Curriculum Project. Frank Malloway, Coqualeetza’s director, summarizes the program in 1978:

The Coqualeetza language program is dedicated to preserving Halq’eméylem our mother tongue. Our linguist works closely with the elders who are the remaining few still fluent in Halq’eméylem. In 1976, the first Halq’eméylem Instructors’ Training Course was taught at Fraser Valley College. The instructors have gone on to teach the language at Coqualeetza and on the reserves. Our language teachers are members of the new Halq’eméylem Instructors Association. Other major steps are being taken to preserve Halq’eméylem. The first book on the grammar of upriver Halq’eméylem was completed in 1977. A 2,400 classified word list will serve as a mini-dictionary until the unabridged dictionary can be completed. Sto:lo stories, songs, conversations are also being recorded and transcribed. Halq’eméylem place names in the upper Sto:lo area are being photographed and documented. Several hundred plant samples have also been gathered and mounted with Halq’eméylem, English and Latin names. Under the direction of the language program, Coqualeetza has published a Halq’eméylem colouring book and a Sto:lo calendar. A language unit is being developed for the Sto:lo Sitel curriculum. These lessons are designed to teach fluency and serve as an introduction to Halq’eméylem.

The Secwepemc Language Program

The revival and development of the Shuswap language as a medium of communication among Shuswap people is regarded as the key to a true understanding and appreciation of Shuswap culture and of one’s self, enabling him to fare better in his community and in the non-Indian society (1984).

A comprehensive language retention program is being developed for use in schools and communities and will include development of teaching materials, a teacher training program and language instruction. The objective of a language program is to create fluency and literacy in Shuswap in the communities. The retention and use of Shuswap is regarded as fundamental in the rebuilding of strong, functional, self-sufficient communities (1986).

The Northern Shuswap have been working for a number of years to record their language. This work includes the development of the alphabet, grammar texts, a dictionary, and various teaching and reference materials. With the consolidation of Shuswap cultural initiatives in 1982, it was agreed that the northern bands should continue their work, but that the materials needed also to be adapted for use by the southern bands. The goal of the language program is “to salvage as much linguistic data as possible to aid the development of

73 From the video Coqualeetza Story (Video No.5, Coqualeetza Resource Centre).
language materials for reference and language instruction." The role of the Secwepemc Cultural Education Society is specifically to develop these materials and to train language instructors from the bands. The plan developed in 1984 began with the work of a linguist: to conduct research in the 12 Shuswap bands, to review previously developed material and to work with a volunteer committee of Shuswap language instructors. The goals is to develop an alphabet suitable for southern dialects and to produce texts on grammar, phonics and general references:

Dr. Aert Kuipers, linguist, is assisting us this summer in documenting the language. Secwepemc Cultural Education Society has hired Cindy Belknap of Spallumcheen, who trained under Dr. Kuipers and is fluent and literate in both dialects of the Shuswap language, to collect primary Shuswap text on tape for the southern bands. The Shuswap text should form the basis of all future Shuswap language development, e.g. dictionaries, semantics, grammar, teaching materials, and readers (Secwepemc Cultural Education Society 1984).

The second phase of the Shuswap language program involved the development of instructional materials, workshops to familiarize teachers, librarians and resource centre staff, as well as some pilot work to monitor the application of these materials in the schools. The third phase involved the development of a teachers’ training program for language instruction in band operated schools, and a process of evaluation and revision. The language coordinator, hired in 1986, extended the collaboration with the Linguistics Department at Simon Fraser University and acted as a liaison between the linguist and the community. The long-term plan is to enter the translate the results of the language research into a computerized language program for the purpose of developing a comprehensive Shuswap language dictionary.

**Place name research**

Place name research is widely conducted and for various reasons. It serves to fill out the cultural and historical record in ways not possible through any other kind of research, with a particular emphasis on resource use and associated technology and skills. Similarly, it is an important means for demonstrating long term use and occupation of a territory in the legal arena. Place name research is also integral to the development and documentation of Native languages because it carries specialized vocabulary and concepts. Additionally, because places are associated with so many other things, the identification of place names acts as a memory release for the elders and consequently it results in an eloquent and anecdotal body of knowledge about cultural practises particular to a locality.

77 Secwepemc Cultural Education Society *First Annual General Meeting*. Kamloops, B.C. August 20, 1984: [n. n.: section: Language report].
Some of this work is associated with archaeological site surveys; all of it is highly
detailed, involving extensive mapping, photography, and corroboration by fitting together a
series of accounts to form an overall picture. Where the oral history program gives a
composite of personal views that reveal the style of a culture, and the network of community
relationships, place name research provides a concrete way of locating a population in time
and place.

Secwepemc Cultural Education Society place name research

The Secwepemc Cultural Education Society has undertaken place name research
with particular attention to fishing sites, and much of the information constitutes a major
computer inventory. Some of this work has to do with unresolved jurisdictions over the
fisheries resources—between the Native interests and those of the Provincial Fisheries
Ministry— and represents the combined interests of the Centre and the Shuswap Nation
Tribal Council:

We have been making efforts to get a handle on these fishing issues and protect
Shuswap rights and the fish resources....
The Fishery biologist employed for Central Interior Tribal Councils area will be
completing a biological survey of the fish resource in most of the Shuswap
territory by 1986. Once this is complete, the Shuswap leadership can review what
fishery resources exist in the nation and what opportunities are available for the
Shuswap to manage and access the fishery resource.

For immediate use of benefit to Shuswap bands, SNTC [Shuswap Nation Tribal
Council] is reviewing the Fraser river from Pavilion to Gang Ranch Bridge for
unoccupied fishing sites that presently are accessible or require some work, for
example trail making, that are not used by other Shuswap bands at present. Once
located, we will issue maps, photographs etc. to those bands who presently have
no access to fishing sites along the Fraser. Through this project we hope that all
the Shuswap bands can then access the Fraser River without over-crowding a
particular area (Robert Simon, Director, Shuswap Nation Tribal Council, 1985).

Other place name work reflects both the language research and generally
consolidating knowledge about the territory:

Aside from oral history on the seasonal availability of foods in the North
Thompson River area, a detailed knowledge of Shuswap language place names
defining the migratory routes testifies to this [the continuity of seasonal travels].
These place names are not abstract spots on the map to the Chu Chua Elders; they
are locations defining migratory routes travelled annually by our Elders'
ancestors for thousands of years. They are names for Indian Trails, for land
marks along the river and in the mountains, for fishing stations, mouths of
creeks, and camping places along the way. The Shuswap language names often
reflect details of the geography of the places, or of the sensations they evoke.

79 Much of this research is in response to legislation drafted without local consultation, in
1985 (an Act to Amend the Fisheries Act), which increases the power of the Ministry over
fisheries resource management, as well as the signing of the Pacific Salmon Treaty
between the U.S. and Canada in 1985. Local concerns are reported in Secwepemc News,
May/June 1(10): 6.
When elders tell about place names, they map them out in relation to the hunting, fishing, gathering and trapping. Moreover, they are mapped out as a progression from point A to point B to C to D, etc (Marianne Boelscher 1985).

**Coqualeetza Education Training Centre place name research**

Much of the place name research done by Coqualeetza has been subsumed in the Alliance Heritage Study, but a good deal has also been done in the course of the Sto:lo History Project (to be described in the following section):

[We are also documenting the ] geography of traditional Sto:lo territory, which went from just above Yale downriver virtually all the way to the mouth of the Fraser (the Musqueam consider themselves to be Sto:lo ). We're focussing on the Upper Sto:lo which is from Matsqui up to Yale; we've gone through all the field notes of anthropologists and made lists of all the place names, made use of all the interviews Oliver Wells did with Dan [Milo] and other people, and he had a lot of place names that he collected and we've gone on a lot of field trips with the Coqualeetza Elders and have collected many, many new names that were never collected, like these were names of mountains, places in the river, rocks...we have about 500 place names right now (Reuben Ware, 1979).

**Québec Commission de toponymie**

Upon reading the indigenous names, many of which designate various aspects of the lives and activities of those who first visited the areas in question, we were able to better understand the impertinence of our pretensions of being "discoverers." The recognition of history is essential to the establishment of harmonious relations between the Native peoples and Québec society at large (Eric Gourdeau, SAGMAI, 1982).

The most comprehensive place name project to date has been that of the Québec Commission de toponymie. Initiated by a provincial government authority, and based on collaboration to a certain extent, it reflects the way that Quebec supports the cultural programs of the Indian and Inuit populations. This particular work came out of a joint meeting between academic specialists (geographers, anthropologists and linguists) and a number of Native people. Although it is not clear from the documents examined why it was initiated, and by whom, it does reflect a certain overlap in notions about collective heritage. This work has resulted in a tremendous body of research and it represents an unusual commitment and a costly program to re-name territories according to their original indigenous names. The work was supported by both the Quebec government, as part of its policy to support the cultural development initiatives of Native groups, and by the Native groups themselves:

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80 In Secwepemc Cultural Arts Magazine 1 (1): 10.
81 From the video The Sto:lo History Project (Video No.1, Coqualeetza Resource Centre).
82 Reported in Rencontre, June 1982: 3 (3): 3.
Toponym: [the names that] indicate the geographic entities [Amerindians] came in contact with during their traditional activities. They most frequently refer to legends, religious beliefs and elements of land, water or animal life, as well as historical facts or anecdotes...[they] reflect the relationship between man and his environment.  

Involved, since 1964, in compiling toponymic inventories in the Amerindian community, the Commission, which is responsible for official nomenclature in Québec, felt the need in the mid 70's to bring together the principal parties involved, with a view to establishing a methodology for the transcription of Amerindian place names (Leclerc 1984: i).

Numerous workshops were conducted in the course of gathering and verifying information, with the result that fifteen inventories have been compiled, and several thousand place names have been collected by Native communities, largely from their elders:

Six Amerindian nations comprising twenty-five villages or reserves were contacted concerning surveys, in their respective territories, of Amerindian names for physical entities such as lakes, rivers, mountains, islands as well as administrative entities such as the names of their villages, seasonal campgrounds, towns and areas adjacent or located in the neighbourhood of their particular villages. The Crees, Montagnais, Abenakis, Attikameks, Naskapis and Algonquins are still participating in the identification of place names in their territories (ibid p.1).

Cree place names

Included in the 1983 Submission by the James Bay Cree to the government of Quebec, was a proposal to carry out place name research. In this, the Cree also emphasized the need to develop a policy to protect heritage sites as part of the overall program to promote and reaffirm the Cree identity. This research was to include an identification of all the names in the James Bay territory in order to seek official recognition of the names and to ensure registration of the maps for the region. Additionally, the inventory was to establish the sites designated as culturally and historically significant, and it was to identify buildings for potential restoration:

Through the identification of the places of cultural and personal significance throughout the Québec Labrador peninsula, the long relationship of the Crees with the territory will be reaffirmed and our cultural identity promoted. Policy must hence be developed for the protection and preservation of Cree cultural heritage sites and buildings. The first step in this regard should be the identification of all the Cree place names in the James Bay territory, official recognition of the names and registration of the names on the maps of the region. The second step should consist of an inventory and the registration of those sites which are the most culturally or historically significant. The protection and preservation of the sites of great cultural significance will be promoted. Finally, the registration and, where possible, the restoration of heritage buildings will be encouraged.

85 From the Cree Regional Authority, 1983: The James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement and Cree Culture. A submission to the Government of Québec in Review of the James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement. (pages not numbered, in section Cree place names, cultural heritage sites and buildings.)
Inuit place names

The urgency of establishing the Inuit "geographical" names for their territory was emphasized throughout the Northern Quebec Inuit Elders Conference in 1981. The reasons given referred both to the decreasing population of knowledgeable elders and to the need to make their knowledge about the land available for younger hunters and prospective hunters, especially the knowledge about hazardous places. It was also generally agreed that the initial work of the Québec Commission de toponymie in Inuit territory was incomplete:

The urgency of this matter is that elders who have complete knowledge of these names are getting fewer and fewer. This will still be very useful for hunters in describing the locations of where they have been, and enable them to have more complete knowledge of the land.86

Various Inuit in most villages were asked in a survey in 1978 to record Inuittitut place names. The results of this work are now in our possession. It seems that the white people who did this work did not define enough names. They seemed to think that the thickness of paper collected on the project were impressive, but in fact it was not a proper job. We have now submitted a request that should cover the work of four villages at first. In this work, the Inuittitut names for the land and off-shore islands will be recorded.... We will travel to the communities concerned to show them the project outline, even though Avataq itself will not do the work. (This will be done by local experts) (Johnny Epoo, Avataq 1981:11).

We worked this winter in putting down geographical names on the map. But I was not yet completely satisfied because we have certain hazardous areas that should be known. We have not as yet recorded this kind of corresponding information (Nalak Nappaaluk, Avataq 1981:12).

Family names and genealogy

Inuit surnames

In 1981, when discussions concerning Inuit cultural programs in Northern Quebec were initiated, a number of areas were identified by the Inuit elders assembled for the conference. Many of their concerns were accompanied by intense personal feelings and a shared sense of responsibility. One of the more highly charged issues had to do with the re-adoption of original family names. This undertaking by the Inuit to re-adopt older names reflects, at a very individual and personal level, the re-establishment of actual and symbolic authority over a significant cultural domain.

We Inuit have no problem naming and pronouncing true Inuittitut names. We are all able to use these. But white people have trouble saying and pronouncing these and we should not be made to follow their ineptness. We should really assert the true Inuittitut in usage (Nalak Nappaaluk, Inuit, 1981).87

The move to assume traditional surnames has to do with identity at a very fundamental level. It signifies both identity and authority over that identity and it demands that these personal and cultural markers be respected externally, in the dominant milieu.

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87 Ibid.
and internally within the Inuit milieu. It also represents a move to recover older community ties and reinforces traditional community structures.

The program to research and correct family surnames is a response to name changes imposed by outside agencies when they originally came into the territory (the Hudson’s Bay Company, the R.C.M.P, and the Anglican and Roman Catholic missions). Because the original Inuit names were difficult to pronounce, they were usually recorded as English approximations. The re-adoption of traditional names, however, proposes a complex task, entirely dependant on living memory. Moreover, Inuit names will not be universally adopted, due to existing family networks and the wishes of those who do not want to change their present names.

**Resolutions with respect to Inuit Surnames:**

**Whereas:** Avataq Cultural Institute has presented its views to the Inuit elders for the need of a project to review and rectify Inuit surnames, this in order to correct misdesignated and mistakenly given surnames. Names and proper identification are paramount to respect of family structures;

**Whereas:** The knowledge and expressed commentary of the Inuit elders ascertains the need to thoroughly differentiate family names. Ancestry research would define family lineage and make complete knowledge of family ties for the benefit of all Inuit;

**Therefore be it Hereby Resolved that:** A project be launched as soon as possible to correct Inuit surnames under the overall administration and sponsorship of AVATAQ Cultural Institute.... (Avataq 1983 (1981): 82).

**Discussion about re-adopting Inuit surnames, 1981:**

All of us taking part in the discussion should recognize that most mistakes that have to be corrected today are the result of unfamiliarity with Inuit names by white people who first registered them in writing. Inuit were generally not familiar with the process either, so a lot never argued or requested corrections even when their names were written down wrongly.... We want to correct them and change the ones that need to change. This kind of work will definitely affect the governments, for example Social Insurance numbers, Health Insurance numbers and others would have to be formally changed (Zebedee Nungak; Ibid p.15).

I want to clarify something which I know by experience. When we were still living in camps when there were no white people outside the settlements, whole camps were registered under the name of whoever was the camp leader. As an example, in Inukjuak, the families going by the name of Iqaluk are very numerous. This is a result of the camp leader effect where even people whose true family name is not Iqaluk adopted that name....

We would also not be able to do much about people who do not wish to change from the presently used names. We will have to be very careful in dealing with this because we don't want to break up families into different name groups. We lay responsibility for the mess of incorrect Inuit names on the white people who served during the crucial times with the Hudson’s Bay Company, R.C.M.P, Anglican Mission and Roman Catholic Mission. We intend to solicit any money required for this project from them (Johnny Epoo; Ibid p.16-17).

Family members will also have to agree amongst themselves as to which names to adopt in order for family groups not to be broken by differences in names. It's going to be a lot of fun, but it also involves a lot of work. As for myself, perhaps by next year I would have to become Zebedee Tulugak (Zebedee Nungak; Ibid p. 15).
My family names were changed only after I was old enough to remember. I used to be Annahatak, and I would like to return to that (Johnny Peters; *Ibid* p. 14).

This is very important. I am glad it is being discussed. Some people have adopted names that are completely not theirs (Matthew Putulik; *Ibid* p. 14).

The names of our past relatives are really the definition of our identities so they should be passed onto our grandchildren (Tumasi Kudluk 1981; *Ibid* p. 16).

It should be clear that people who don’t want to change from their present names will not be forced to do so. It concerns mainly families who are using names that are not theirs and want to revert to correct ones. Some have received names practically out of nowhere (Johnny Peters; *Ibid* p. 28).

**Resolutions with respect to family research (genealogy):**

**Whereas:** The desirability of knowledge of family structure and ties is stated as being a cohesive factor for strong family awareness by Inuit elders. This should be revived to revitalize bonds in Inuit family structure;

**Whereas:** There has to be work undertaken to research family lineage, and to record this knowledge in writing and on tape while knowledgeable sources are still alive;

**Thereby be it here resolved that:** AVATAQ Cultural Institute search for funds and resources as soon as possible in order for such work to commence as quickly as possible (Avataq 1983 (1981): 89).

By 1982 the research program for the “surnames project” was complete for six municipalities: “Researchers go on field trips to ask people which name is theirs and whether they want to be called by that name” (Zebedee Nungak; Avataq 1983 (1982): 24). At this time those names that had been registered for re-adoption at the local level still had to be corrected in government documents, including social insurance and medical cards.

### 3b. Extant knowledge: identifying special knowledge

The following areas of specialized knowledge appear with regularity in the general descriptions of research programs. However, there will be little detail included in the following outline. The examples are more a reflection of the way this data base was established, rather than a conclusive indication of who is doing what, and where. It is important to emphasize nonetheless that the regularity with which references to these research projects have appeared has ultimately determined the framework within which they were organized for the purpose of this thesis. Within the overall activity of consolidating extant knowledge, the occurrence of inventory and oral history programs is almost universal. The following topics represent other specific categories of information that are considered to be important, as well as the way in which larger bodies of information have been organized into discrete entities for various purposes (curriculum units, media articles, legal files, and so on).

**Traditional medicine, health and healing**

In our discussions with older people, one of the points they made is that for them, health meant “strength,” ‘faxwe.’ Their knowledge of traditional medicines and their uses was to ensure that strength....It is difficult to talk only of traditional medication practises among our people. This is a white man’s way of looking at...
things—so that now we have dental health, mental health and all sorts of other categories....We know from our discussions with the old people that the matter of health or “strength” was the concern of all people....Children learned from the parents and grandparents the proper observances to maintain strength. They learned to identify a wide variety of plant materials and learned how to use these as effective medicines and food....When children began to be taken away from parents and placed in missionary schools, this traditional kind of learning decreased, but there was not a corresponding growth of knowledge about white man’s medicine at the same time. Indian people were discouraged from using traditional medicines. In fact, some of the old people have told us that they were told these were poisonous (Gloria Webster, Alert Bay, B.C. 1980).

...the main reason for a shift away from Indian medicine was that they had been encouraged by doctors and other professionals that this new kind of medicine was, I suppose, superior and they put their faith in that and kind of drifted away from native medicine. And too that there were so many new sicknesses when the white man came through that maybe their medicines weren’t ready for (Bob Joseph, Alert Bay, B.C. 1980).

As indicated by Joseph and Webster (above), knowledge about traditional medicine was disrupted when children were educated outside the community for the first time, and when faith in the ability of Native medicinal knowledge was challenge by new medics and by new diseases. The consolidation and recovery of knowledge about indigenous medical practises has accelerated as Native communities have begun to exercise greater control over the quality and structure of their health care; as Native healers have proven invaluable in the new composite of approaches now being brought to bear on health problems; as science has substantiated the healing properties of so many of the indigenous pharmacopoeia; and, conversely, as it has been found that modern medicine, as it practised in the health care system of the dominant society, is not equipped to deal with many Native health problems.

For practical purposes, the kind of research being employed to recover this knowledge includes documenting the botanical knowledge of the territory as well as the healing practises still extant in the community. A certain amount of this knowledge has already been mobilized, as noted earlier, through special programs to re-introduce Native healers as both therapists and counsellors. But the systematic collection and recording of this information is largely done by the cultural education centres in the course of their research program, particularly in the course of oral history work. This kind of research is also frequently undertaken as a separate community/band research program and tends to rank fairly high as a research priority. With the exception of one example from British Columbia, the references included here are from Quebec. Again, Avataq has recorded a number of comments made by Inuit elders who have given Avataq the mandate to “research and revive” traditional medical knowledge:

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88 Recorded in Culhane 1987: 238. Webster and Joseph spoke to the Goldthorpe Inquiry (into Indian Health Care in Alert Bay, B.C., held at Alert Bay on March 3, 1980). This extract is in response to Goldthorpe’s question about why Indian medicines were no longer used.
**Inuit Traditional Medicine, 1981 Resolution**

*Whereas*: Inuit culture in the past was complete in all aspects including traditional medicine and methods and practices for dealing with illness;

*whereas*: These Inuit traditional medicines can still be useful even in the present day for accident victims and for illness in remote locations without other medically trained persons available;

*whereas*: Inuit traditional medicines and medical knowledge has helped Inuit survive to this day, and this is recognized;

*therefore be it hereby resolved that*: The conference mandates Avataq Cultural Institute of Quebec to research and revive Inuit traditional methods of dealing with illness and accidents. What is gathered on this subject will be submitted to future elders conferences for verification and confirmation (Avataq 1983 (1981): 84).

A great deal of knowledge about medical practises and remedies actually emerged in the course of these conferences. The topic itself prompted a memory release that indicated, among other things, an understanding that this knowledge is still viable and essential to Inuit self-sufficiency on the land and away from modern medical facilities. Inuit elders noted the widespread dependency on the modern medical system and expressed concern that this would eventually replace indigenous knowledge: “Now that there are nurses, some people are no longer using plants for medicinal use” (Daisy Watt; *Ibid* 1983 (1982): 136).

I have collected on paper traditional medicines and techniques which I can read to you if necessary. There are several pages. Some will be just the same as you have stated, but I’m sure I have forgotten some. I think it will be easier if I just read them and then you can fill in what I have forgotten (Tamusi Qumak; *Ibid*).

Additional references to documenting traditional medical knowledge in Quebec (1981, 1982) emphasize the collecting of information about medicinal plants (*Senneterre Native Friendship Centre, Centre d'entraide autochtone de Val-d'Or, Métis and Non-Status Indian Association, Association des Métis et Indiens hors réserves du Québec*). In British Columbia, Mike MacDonald, a photographer who is also well known for his multi-media cultural productions (*The Electronic Totem*), intends to carry out a similar project with the Gitksan-Wet’suwet’en Education Society. Here the focus is to be on foods and traditional medicines in order to make information publicly available through a series of video tapes, oriented especially to people attempting to overcome dependencies on drugs and alcohol.

...we want something that is going to be useful to everyone. Hopefully the tape will have elders speaking their own language. This could be used for language programs by helping young people learn their native tongue (Mike MacDonald 1987).

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89 Funded by the Quebec Ministry of Cultural Affairs Native Heritage Development Project and listed in *Rencontre* (December 1981 and 1982 and in January 1981) as part of the annual report of projects funded.

Collecting information about healing practises and the healing properties of local plants also figures in the oral history programs of Coqualeetza and the Secwepemc Cultural Education Society as part of the designated as research questions.

**Subsistence occupations and survival skills**

There are various reasons for collecting and using the knowledge of hunters concerning subsistence, survival, and hunting skills and observances. Sometimes this information is collected as part of the land and resource use surveys documenting the long-term use and occupation of a territory. Very often, this information is used as part of the program to teach survival and subsistence knowledge in schools. And increasingly, this whole domain of knowledge and practise has been re-introduced through adult programs of instruction as the viability of hunting and trapping economies in remote areas once more gains a greater acceptance by Native people as well as by non-Natives. Tom Berger has pointed out that, for northern hunting communities, the education of the dominant society has promoted unemployment by minimizing the value of a subsistence culture that is still able to provide a measure of self-sufficiency, and by unrealistically training the youth for jobs that will not exist.91 In many areas there is a move to take the youth into the bush as part of extra-curricular survival programs, to both engage their interest in their own culture and to enhance community life in general.

**Survival skills programs in the school**

There are a number of "survival skills" programs in British Columbia schools.92 The Stoney Creek Alternate School, a band operated secondary school in Vanderhoof, developed a program where students spend half their time on academic work and half their time “learning survival skills, traditional skills, and cultural traditions....The purpose of the school is to graduate a self-sufficient native Indian person...” (More 1985: 32). This is part of the move to promote trapping, supported by the elders of the Carrier-Sekani Tribal Council, with a view to developing commercial "spin-offs" such as the manufacture of stretch boards:

> The students are taught to scrape fat off pelts and how to use stretching boards. They are also taught the basics about animal biology, physiology, reproduction, diseases and parasites by Dr. Joseph Lomas, a Vancouver Veterinarian. Celina John combines old techniques with the new to help bring students the highest prices possible from fur buyers...experienced trappers who have taken the course increased their annual return on pelts by 50 percent.93

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91 Address (Vancouver, June 6, 1986) to the Pre-conference Roundtable for the World Conference: Indigenous Peoples’ Education.

92 See also Art More’s survey of Indian Education Projects and Programs in B.C. Schools, 1983 and 1985.

The Sekani Band (Fort Ware) operates a "Sekani Awareness Program" where teachers and students accompany parents on the trapline in March when the school is closed so that students are able to learn about "traditional hunting and trapping and family socialization." A trapping program was also started as part of this school program, where students operate a trapline for four weeks, maintain a winter camp, and then prepare and sell the furs they harvest (More 1985: 22-23); the Lower Post Elementary school, again in northern British Columbia, has intermediate students working on a trapline registered to the school. This involves "setting traps, skinning animals, selling skins, and accounting" (Ibid. p. 25); the Ministry of Education has funded a program for Métis students, in the school district no.59 (in the Peace River region), to teach skills associated with trapping: "regulation and conservation, setting traps and skinning, life on a trapline, and cross country and survival skills;" and a program offered intermittently: "moose hide tanning, meat and pemican packing" (Ibid. p. 22-23).

Rediscovery and wilderness camps

"Rediscovery" is the name of a summer youth program which began on the Queen Charlotte Islands in 1978. The program aims at self-discovery through adventure, and rediscovery of our natural and cultural heritage. Highly successful and endorsed by Health and Welfare Canada as one of the country's most unique and exciting social programs, Rediscovery Charlottes is the model after which we fashion "Stein Rediscovery."94

Rediscovery programs and survival camps for youth have been given high priority in community development strategies, and the use of such programs is increasing as their success has become evident. There are three key ingredients in these wilderness programs: the contact with the elders, the emphasis on "traditional" skills and occupations, and the application of these skills toward local employment. The aspect of "rediscovery" refers, in the case of the Stein Rediscovery Program,95 to helping youth "rediscover an essential process which had been disrupted in recent times."96 This is echoed in the wilderness program proposed by the Cree Regional Authority in 1983:

Recent events had led to the very drastic decline in the amount of time being spent by the youth of this community in the pursuit of the traditional activities. The pursuits of these activities has been hindered by such things as the retention in the community of more and more parents, by an increasing amount of wage employment, and the length of the academic year. This trend has resulted in the gradual deterioration of the Cree culture.

The main objective, then of this proposal is to reduce the rate at which the Cree culture is eroding, ensure the continued practice of the traditional activities and retain the continued used of the proper Cree terminology used in the pursuit of

94 From the brochure advertising the 1987 Stein Rediscovery Program.
95 This program is based in the Stein River Valley, 160 km north of Vancouver, British Columbia, and operates out of Lytton.
96 From the brochure advertising the 1987 Stein Rediscovery Program.
such activities. And since younger people have become the victims of the present situation, they will be the target population for this particular project.97

Elders play an important role in many of these programs, both as teachers of practical skills and as spiritual leaders:

One of the features which most distinguishes Rediscovery programs from other wilderness camps is the role that native elders play in teaching traditional crafts and skills....Nowhere is the role of elders more important than preparing youth for their solo vision quest. From the vow of silence and fasting, to ritual cleansing in the river, to the final purification in the sweat lodge, elders help youth share in the sacred rituals of the vision quest.98

The objectives of the program proposed by the Cree Regional Authority (1983) stress a combination of safety, survival and employment skills; that "young people continue to learn wilderness survival skills and to be familiar with the land;" "to train future guides and recreation leaders;" and to learn not only the skills but the "languages associated with this experiences."99 The prediction by the Cree Regional Authority is that the number of people who have the skills to guide tourists is decreasing at the same time that tourism for the region is being promoted and developed. A similar emphasis on training for local employment is given in the Montagnais Nutshimiun Atesseun program ("traditional occupations") which stresses a training in "forest survival and production activities" and an emphasis on a "training for self-reliance."100

During the first year of operation, the Stein Rediscovery Program offered: "...special workshops...in a number of fields including canoeing, survival skills, food foraging (tracking edible and medicinal plants, fishing), nature lore, traditional crafts and skills (basketry, leatherwork) and nature appreciation (forest and wildlife studies)."101 The Cree Regional Authority proposed three wilderness programs, one to take place in the summer: "various types of summer activities all related to the present bush life style...water safety, canoe safety, gun safety, camp setting, hunting, net setting, bush cooking, fire prevention, principle of conservation, bush survival;" a second to take place in winter and a third to focus on sturgeon fishing in the late spring. (See also Appendix 10: The Cree Regional Authority: position on culture and proposed cultural programs.) The winter project was proposed as a pilot project:

...to teach bush survival in the winter and how to hunt and trap during the winter. There are more and more accidents each year involving people and ski-doos going through the ice because young Crees of today do not know how to
read the ice or what they should do if they find themselves in this situation when each minute counts if a person is to survive. Since they are in school all winter, the students do not know how to trap, fish and hunt or how to set up camp during the winter months, and these are all skills they will need once they have left school if they decide to follow the traditional way of life. If this project is successful, it could be incorporated into the Cree culture courses which are presently being offered in all the Cree schools. A trapline within one day's travel from the community will be chosen and the students will be taken by ski-doo to that trapline. An experienced trapper will act as their instructor and preference will be given to those students who are seriously considering this way of life and to those from one-parent families who do not otherwise get the chance to learn how to survive in the bush during the winter.102

The "Nemaska Sturgeon Fishing" project emphasizes the special nature of this kind of fishing and the fact that only a few elders remain who can teach it:

This project would involve the participation of 5 young band members, along with 2 elders, on a fishing expedition on Lake Mewgouez towards the end of May 1982, for a duration of one month.

Sturgeon fishing, more specifically "spearing and netting" involves a certain technique which only a very few individuals, mainly elders, have knowledge of, and once they are gone, there is a danger that this knowledge will be lost forever. There are very few places around Nemaska where this type of traditional activity can be done, and only once year for a short duration of time (end of May).

"Sturgeon fishing" used to be an annual event for some trappers some years back when people still relied on travelling by canoe back to the village of Nemaska after the long winter's trapping. This type of fishing was done in order to supplement enough food for the long travel ahead.103

The Montagnais Nutshtimtun Ateseeun program is organized in three parts to coincide with seasonal activities and it also relies on the instruction of experienced hunters:

Each team, generally consisting of four boys and two girls, goes to the hunters’ appointed territory to organize a permanent camp. This year, three of the four camps were set up in Labrador. For three months, the trainees are confronted with the difficulties of life in the forest: isolation, home sickness, new eating habits, difficult weather conditions and the possibility of accidents. Teaching is done orally in accordance with Montagnais tradition. While the training concerns mostly hunting, fishing and trapping techniques, the young people learn how to find their way in the forest, to make canoes and snowshoes, to prepare meals, cut firewood and share the fruit of their labours. The second part of the programme goes from January...to March...carried out in Sept-Isles...the instructors use the occasion to teach the theoretical aspects of making tools, tanning hides, etc... In the spring, the teams go back to their respective camps and continue their hunting, fishing and trapping activities.104

The role of cultural education centres in this domain is largely in the extent to which they document specific areas of this knowledge, its relationship to place, to particular practises and skills that have to do with constructing and using the associated tools. Audio-visual instructional documentaries ("how to" programs) seem to be the most common

103 Ibid (in the section entitled “Nemaska Sturgeon Fishing”).
medium for communicating this information. The programs planned by Coqualeetz include a fishing series in a set of instructional documentaries outlined: "hanging nets, setting nets, taking fish off, varieties of ways of butchering, spearing and torchlighting." Similarly, the Secwepemc Cultural Education Society has been working on fishing documentaries featuring elders that include "making a dip net with Desmond Peters" and "making a pitch fork spear with Louis Matthew."

Food preparation

Much of the information gathered on the preparation of food is also used in the school curriculum. Students, when surveyed, often express a particular interest in this topic. Although the topic does not have the same implications for individual safety and survival that hunting and trapping knowledge has, there is the strong feeling that the gathering, preparation and storage of locally available food resources must be kept in common use. The widespread interest in Native foods also reflects the commercial market for indigenous food (worldwide). The expressed purposes for preserving this knowledge vary, from reasons related to survival to personal aesthetic satisfaction:

One elder with whom I work told me that, to her, the gathering, preparation and storage of food for winter survival is one of the most important activities for preserving and practising her culture. She tends a garden [and] uses canning, drying and freezing methods. The methods have changed somewhat, but the principles and values remain intact (Linda Jules, 1989). The instructional programs planned by Coqualeetza as video documents include "food preservation—wind drying, smoking, salting, canning," and "cooking—bannock, Indian ice cream, BBQ Salmon."

For the Inuit there are again practical considerations that have to do with basic survival—preserving food to keep it safe and activating knowledge that once safeguarded against starvation: "people should know about keeping food safe;" "young people don't even know what parqutik is;" "we got through harsh times and hunger because of dried food;" nowadays, food can be preserved, dried and used, or it goes bad and is

110 Ibid p. 48 (Minnie Annahatak).
wasted...food that can last a whole summer is thrown away and wasted;"112 "people should know how to tell if igunaqs have become unsafe. Garbage bags are not safe to ferment food in...if the food was put under rocks outside, it was always safe;"113 "I ate cooked fish stomach last fall. Someone still makes it and so I had a chance to have some. Notes on the preparation of Inuit food should be made into school material. I could still eat that delicacy."114

There is also an interest in the value of indigenous foods from a scientific and nutritional point of view, especially with respect to improving the quality of health in areas where a heavy reliance on processed foods has resulted in nutritional deficiencies. The Nuxalk people (Bella Coola, British Columbia) have produced a handbook in collaboration with the UBC School of Family and Nutritional Sciences. The research began in 1980 as a result of examining the local diet and finding certain deficiencies (vitamins A, E, D, iron and calcium) which could readily be corrected by including native foods such as oolican grease, preserved fish, and plants: "the Nuxalk people felt the need not only to document native foods used now and in the past, but also to examine their nutritional value."115 The program, which eventually resulted in the production of this handbook (Nuxalk Food and Nutrition Handbook), consolidated a significant amount of information and enjoyed wide support: "the elders really pushed for the program because they were afraid an important part of their culture would be lost if the young people did not learn to harvest, gather, preserve and prepare native food."116

Material culture reconstruction and teaching associated skills

The gathering of knowledge about material culture (commonly including tools, clothing, "crafts" and artistic productions), usually involves the "how to" form of documentation (noted above). This is generally in the form of a video featuring an elder or other expert demonstrating the construction and use of a particular object or technique. The specific topics cover a wide range and reflect unique cultural and environmental conditions. Those listed by Coqualeetza include "basket weaving, cedar bark clothing, canoe making, drum making, beadwork, Salish weaving, paddle making, Indian sweater knitting."117 The use and teaching of this knowledge occurs largely through the medium of the school

112 Ibid p.36 (Isa Smiler).
113 Ibid p.36 (Joanassie Naluyuk).
114 Ibid p.50.
115 Dr. Harriet Kuhnlein, associate professor, reported in Kahtou February 1985 3 (3): 17. The handbook and program funding was produced provided by Health and Welfare, and ended in October 1986.
116 Ibid, observation of a community health nurse and band member, who also noted that the food gathering excursions proved popular with the children.
curriculum, most often in a craft program or as a component of a "Native Studies" course, and to a lesser extent through community craft demonstrations and instruction. There are also sound commercial reasons for developing these crafts and teaching regional art forms (especially carving and two dimensional productions).

**Traditional Clothing**

Like the reconstruction of knowledge about traditional food, documenting the construction of "traditional" clothing shares some of the same purposes: re-establishing the crafts associated with clothing manufacture as well as their considerable interest to emerging fashion designers now using traditional designs in a new context. Crafts associated with the preparation and construction of traditional clothing are often incorporated into the school curriculum as part of cultural craft programs that include beadwork, weaving, basketmaking, and moccasin construction.

In areas like Northern Quebec, where traditional Inuit clothing still have a practical value in extreme conditions of cold, there are considerations of survival and self-sufficiency, as well as the concern that these skills should not be lost in the event of a fuel crisis:

> It's good to know these skills. (Mary Luuku; Avataq 1983 (1982): 110).

I am aware of the need to have younger people taught how to make traditional clothes. Suppose oil for heating stops coming in. We would definitely need to wear those clothes. I wouldn't want to be left helpless to fight the cold. It has been suggested that young people be taught the traditional skills (Tamusi Qumak; Avataq 1983 (1982): 163).

Lessons on traditional clothing should be given to our children soon. I have just prepared a sealskin, using the method that removes the hair. Clothing is very important and we still use the methods our ancestors used to make clothing. We get cold in the winter when we can make warm clothing. Some people dispose of old caribou blankets that can be made into warm garments (Akinisie Novalinga; Ibid p. 109).

If we are to restore our traditional skills, I would want to be shown how to make clothing. We know we can't live entirely how our ancestors lived but it's good to know these skills. Most people tend to say Inuit won't ever live in the traditional way again. I don't know how to prepare caribou hides and when I try to prepare skins, I get so frustrated (Mary Luuku; Ibid p. 110).

Clothes made by white people aren't warm, even it they're made of down (Susie Kauki; Ibid p. 114).

It would be good if someone could tell us which garments are best in the cold. I believe one of the purposes of this conference is to give information on survival, what to do when you're stranded in the middle of nowhere when your Ski-doo has broken down (Chairman; Ibid p.126).

Traditional Inuit clothing is long-lasting. You can wear non-Inuit made clothes in layers but still you won't be warm enough. Young people should wear what their mothers suggest instead of trying to look nice (Lydia Tukai; Ibid p. 132).

**Performance: music, stories and legends**

An integral part of collecting stories and songs is their performance and their incorporation into new settings. This kind of cultural production lends itself readily to
community radio and television, and is widely used in schools. Oral performance can easily be included into the elementary cultural curriculum and into language lessons, and elders are often brought into the classroom to tell stories. Community radio and television organizations have also provided a venue for elders to sing traditional songs and tell stories, often in their own language.

Summary

The establishment of cultural education programs by the First Peoples of Canada indicates first and most importantly a confidence in the continuing viability of indigenous cultures. These programs and centres would not have emerged in the first place without particular ideas about "cultural entity" and collective knowledge. Their establishment has, in the meantime, created its own momentum and entrenched a sense of need for various programs.

At this time, in the overall global process that is following out of post-colonial modernization and accelerated industrialization, many or not all indigenous populations are struggling with ideas about survival (if not survival itself). There is every indication that indigenous cultures overall are intent on maintaining their cultural integrity and, equally, there are numerous examples where "assimilation" programs have "failed." While language, curriculum, and other cultural programs are being established on a relatively wide basis by indigenous groups in many parts of the world, the extent to which these programs are integrated into a comprehensive organizational framework and linked to community development is uncommon and quite probably unique to Canada's First Peoples.

The past few decades have seen a proliferation of development programs, usually imported project-specific initiatives superimposed on local community life. These programs commonly focus on distinct domains of skills and technology, often with little reference to the socio-economic development of the community as a whole. There is much to be learned by looking at the emerging development strategies of indigenous societies, particularly those that emphasize the development of existing strengths and the protection of indigenous knowledge. The comprehensive strategy now being carried out by a growing number of aboriginal communities in Canada, a strategy that includes an active program of cultural strengthening, is unprecedented. As a model, it appears promising and culturally sound; it is actively directed at all areas of community life and it is based on a number of unifying ideas about cultural style, special knowledge, and culturally-based employment and resource management strategies.

The extensive outline of programs has been included in this chapter in order to provide, as much as possible, a complete picture of a complex and intensive undertaking. To summarize, the domain of special cultural knowledge to which these programs refer clearly indicates what Native people mean by "culture" and "heritage" in the practical sense, and by "cultural survival" in an ideological sense. The programs outlined also provide a contrast to
the activities normally encompassed by non-Native museums, and yet they are not any different from what we think of as heritage in a larger sense. The strategy of "cultural inventory" is recognizably museographic in concept and it relies on standard museum techniques for organizing, storing and retrieving cultural information. The innovation is primarily in the scope and in the way the various subjects are integrated—with each other, with on-going community cultural activities, with communications media, and with other public education and community development programs.
6. Two Cultural Education Centres in British Columbia: The Secwepemc Cultural Education Society and the Coqualeetza Education Training Centre

Overview

Although a strong argument has been made for a fundamental uniformity to the programs of cultural education centres, there are also important differences between centres, within British Columbia and across the country. The uniformity comes with the overarching ideology of cultural survival, distilled into the central "issue of culture," and expressed in the pragmatic program of cultural education. The task of consolidating extant knowledge and special skills—producing complete local and regional histories, constructing cultural curriculum for use in the schools, and providing numerous support services for bands—has resulted, not surprisingly, in a characteristic program configuration described as a composite in the previous chapter. The differences that give each centre its unique character, apart from obvious differences in size, age, regional culture and the number of programs undertaken, have to do with the following factors:

1. The operational basis: the network of relationships and administrative structures, including the relationship of the centre to the band administration(s), to the regional tribal council, to the local school boards, as well to provincial and federal authorities.

2. The security of the facilities: of the property itself, the availability of space (including secure space, with environmental controls for storage of archival material and special artifacts), and the availability of capital funds to support the facilities (DIAND does not provide capital funds for the maintenance or construction of facilities).

3. The basis on which program priorities are assigned: to what extent the research and communications program of a centre has to respond to priorities imposed by land claims negotiations, economic and environmental threats to the local resource base, the age and special knowledge profile of the elders, as well as to the demand for research to support other areas of development that have to do with, for example, developing tourism (eg. craft industries, "heritage" activities, guiding and outfitting), developing local health authorities, establishing band-operated schools, youth programs, community radio and television programs, local adult basic education upgrading programs and, not uncommonly, coordinating the various "needs analysis" studies that bands are now undertaking as part of the development and long range planning strategies.

4. The ability to do long range planning and to undertake reasonable expansion of programs and facilities: based on the extent of the funding security, the prospects for capital funding, the various levels of community and government support, and the security of the land and the facilities to allow the long-term goals to be realized; the ability to do this is also based in the extent to which the activities of the centre are incorporated into an over all "cultural and government concept" (such as that developed by the Kamloops Indian band).

The Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development [DIAND] provides various levels of funding for seventy centres across the country according to the number of
“band council resolutions” each centre represents. These resolutions indicate the support base of the centre and ultimately determine the size and the extent of cultural education program. Thirteen of these programs operate in British Columbia; the largest and most comprehensive of these are the Secwepemc Cultural Education Society and the Coqualeetza Education Training Centre [Coqualeetza]. Both are situated beyond the urban reach of Vancouver, although near urban centres, and they each serve a large number of bands over a relatively wide area.

Despite the apparent similarities of the Secwepemc Cultural Education Society and Coqualeetza, the differences between them have largely to do with the above considerations as well as, importantly, their differences in age: Coqualeetza (1974) is ten years older than the Secwepemc Cultural Education Society (1984), and a good deal more battle-worn. Coqualeetza’s programs have had longer to develop. The curriculum and language materials are well established and, by 1986, were complete through grade six; and the Coqualeetza Media Centre is outstanding in the province, if not the country. The Secwepemc Cultural Education Society has the distinct advantage of a recent emergence. It also has, in its landmark Declaration, a powerful conceptual and organizational device that ensures the support of all the bands in the region, thus giving the Secwepemc Cultural Education Society its mandate, its financial backing and its organizational framework. The Society has developed, in a short time, a small museum facility of professional standing and has mobilized an extensive research program.

The purpose here is not, however, to produce a comparison, apart from setting out the most obvious similarities and differences, but rather to provide a complementary picture, to show how the various programs operate in concert, and to add the details of place and time and people to the general outline of cultural education programs. Because ultimately, these programs rest in the hands of individuals, band councils, and a varied constituency. Both centres occupy what was once a residential school complex, a system of education which has directly and indirectly informed the goals of these centres. A great deal has already been written about this history, and from a number of perspectives; it is only mentioned here with reference to the establishment of Coqualeetza and in contrast to the beginnings of the Secwepemc Cultural Education Society.

The Coqualeetza Education Training Centre

Coqualeetza belongs to the Upper Sto:lo people whose culture, past and present, centres on the Fraser River. Frank Malloway, the past director of Coqualeetza, notes:

A few hundred years ago Coqualeetza was the name we gave to this place on the...river. Coqualeetza means clubbing clothes or blankets. Before the immigrants came to the Upper Sto:lo area, our ancestors would come to this spot to wash their blankets and to talk to one another about what was happening in

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1 The band council resolution requirement is no longer always necessary. However, other means of indicating the support base are required depending on the situation.
those days. They learned from one another. Today we call this place Coqualeetza.  
It is still a Sto:lo place. We still come here from around the valley to meet with 
each other. Of course much is different now.  

The Sto:lo Nation encompasses twenty four bands situated along the Fraser from 
Yale to Mission (an area of about 100 miles). Coqualeetza is located in Sardis (near 
Chilliwack), in the approximate geographic centre of the majority of the Sto:lo population. 
Like those of the Secwepemc Cultural Education Society, the Coqualeetza facilities have a 
long history as a residential school. Throughout its fifteen-year history as a cultural centre, 
Coqualeetza has been operating under the shadow of a complex legacy of land transfer that 
has left a wake of uncertainty about the future of the centre. Additionally, because the 
funding for the centre is tied to particular system of band council support, according to the 
funding criteria of the DIAND support program, shifts in the political alignments of the 
twenty four bands through the evolution of the Tribal Councils over the past decade, has left 
the centre somewhat vulnerable from year to year.

The initial request to establish Coqualeetza, under the new “Cultural/Educational 
Centres Program” of 1971, was among the first requests for this kind of centre, originally 
outlined by the Indian Association of Alberta (March 1970):

   Early in March 1970, the Indian Association of Alberta, through a proposal 
addressed to to ten (10) separate departments, asked the Federal Government to 
provide financial assistance towards the establishment of an Indian Education 
Centre. This proposal, that lay outside the scope of existing policies, programmes 
and budgets, was followed by (3) subsequent proposals for similar centres in 
British Columbia, Saskatchewan and New Brunswick....

The plan to establish a new program of Indian education and training at Coqualeetza 
was rooted in a long relationship to the residential school system. It also reflected the 
developments in “Indian control of Indian education,” and it is inseparable from the 
history, complete with its paradoxes, of the Coqualeetza property itself. When people talk 
about the programs at Coqualeetza, they invariably begin with the story of the place. The 
connection of the “Coqualeetza Property” and its facilities, first to education and then to 
health care goes back to 1886 when the Skulkayn band granted fifty-eight acres to the local 
Methodist Church for the express purpose of establishing an educational centre: “By 1894, 
the Coqualeetza Industrial Institute was established. It became the second largest Indian 
residential school in Canada.”

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2 From the video Coqualeetza Story, Produced by Gary Carlson, 1978, with Frank 
Malloway as narrator. Video No.5, Coqualeetza Resource Centre.

3 About 3,000 according to 1985 statistics. 1986-1987 Coqualeetza Education and Training 
Centre. Funding Proposal [for] Economic Expansion [of the Media Production Centre, 
Print Shop and Newspaper]. p. 3.

4 Memorandum to the Cabinet, Native Cultural/Educational Centres, June 11th, 1971. p.1; 

5 From the video Coqualeetza Story Video No.5, Coqualeetza Resource Centre).
Prior to this, the Catholic mission, begun in 1841, was already well established and a centre at St. Mary's (now Mission, B.C.) was started in 1861 to teach "the Christian religion and the diverse trades of civilized folk." This was followed by the establishment of a Catholic "boarding" school for boys at St. Mary's in 1863, where they were taught, among other things, "to cultivate the soil." A school for girls was established at St. Mary's in 1868, and a combined school for both was operating by 1873. Support for these boarding schools was provided by the federal government, which was not at that time prepared to take over the responsibility for educating Native children, despite an undertaking to do so in accordance with the British North America Act. This changed by 1894, when it became apparent that relatively few children anywhere in the country actually attended these schools. An Order-in-Council in 1894 introduced legislation to compel Indian children between the ages of seven and seventeen to attend school regularly (Archibald 1984: 15).

The Coqualeetza school, with somewhat less religious emphasis due to its Methodist connection, reflected a concerted program to systematically train Indian children. It exemplified a "new industrial" approach to education that emphasized occupational training for participation in the non-Indian labour force: farming, carpentry, shoemaking, blacksmithing, cooking, homemaking, sewing and knitting (p. 16). It was a costly scheme in the end, and with little evidence of success—graduates were not hired by local non-Indian businesses nor were their particular skills economically viable on the reserves. By 1910 the Department of Indian Affairs was once more looking at the less costly alternative of the boarding school with a modified industrial program:

By 1923 these two types of schools [boarding and industrial] were indistinguishable and officially became known as Residential schools. In the Sto:lo area, the new Coqualeetza Residential School was officially opened in 1924. Its pupil capacity rose to 200, making it the second largest residential school in Canada. Manual training, agriculture, horticulture, boat building and domestic science were offered. More emphasis on vocational training over academic instruction occurred during the latter 1930's. The federal education branch was no longer preparing students to assimilate into the white communities. Their aim was to help the Indian students to make a living on their reserves. Besides farming skills, some schools taught arts and crafts mainly for economic purposes (ibid p. 21).

The original complex of buildings, including the school and the residential complex, have suffered fire to some areas, and have been rebuilt and renovated a number of times between 1891 and 1953. Ownership has been transferred in various ways from the original grant of land by the Skulkayne Band to the Methodist Church, to private individuals, to the United Church, to DIAND, to the Department of Health and Welfare, and to the Department of Public Works, and back to DIAND. Conditions at these residential schools—overcrowding and poor health, and the consequent spread of tuberculosis—resulted in the closure of the school around 1938. An important factor in this closure was the opposition of the parents,

7 Ibid, Kennedy, p. 294.
who started to withdraw their children because of these conditions, and because many felt that the education provided was inappropriate for life after school:

...they don't get a thorough education. They just get nicely started—they just get their eyes opened the same as young birds and then they are turned out to fly. They don't get enough education for a livelihood nor are they taught a trade of any kind. We have just been talking about a day school, and if it is done in the same manner it would not be up to much (Chief William Sepass, Skulkayn Band 1916).

This development was followed by the establishment of “day schools,” and after World War II Indian children were more commonly integrated into public schools. Between 1938 and 1940, the Coqualeetza complex was converted to a hospital, specifically for the treatment of tuberculosis, and it opened as the “Coqualeetza Indian Hospital” in 1941. Between this time, and when the hospital finally closed in 1968, the facilities were altered and enlarged for various reasons, though the education function was maintained to provide continuity for patients.

When the hospital closed, there was a concerted move on the part of several local chiefs to re-gain control over the property and to develop the facilities to accommodate the training and education needs of the Sto:lo bands. To this end, an Education Committee was formed in 1969, supported by ten local bands, and the first of numerous feasibility studies was concluded in 1970, with recommendations to the Department of Health and Welfare regarding the viability of the program proposed. Negotiations faltered with regularity over the next four years. The first approval for funding from the Cultural/Educational Centres Program came for the fiscal year 1973-74.

About the time of Coqualeetza hospital’s closure, local Indian chiefs were discussing plans of taking control of the Coqualeetza property, for the development of Indian Education programs. They saw the opportunity to develop their own school on their own land. The Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs got behind the Sto:lo chiefs’ cause and for the next few years numerous reports, proposals and feasibility studies were submitted to the federal government. After struggling through five years of exhausting negotiations, Coqualeetza Education Training Centre opened as a cultural centre of the Upper Sto:lo people.

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9 They sought to have the property transferred to DIAND, which would act to hold the land in trust in this case, and to lease it to the Society for a token payment of $1.00.

10 From the document “Coqualeetza...Our Predicament” 1974. Coqualeetza files.

11 Despite the fact that this transfer agreement was close to finalization by 1973, through the efforts of the Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs, and the bands had incorporated as a society to meet the DIAND funding criteria—the acquisition negotiations were overturned and the prospect of having to lease the lands at the cost of $400,000, and submit additional feasibility studies, threatened to undermine the project.

12 From the video Coqualeetza Story (Video No.5, Coqualeetza Resource Centre).
Despite the uncertainties surrounding the centre at various times, Coqualeetza has operated fully as a cultural education and training centre since it officially opened in 1974.13 Throughout this time though, Coqualeetza has not had security of knowing that long term plans will be realized or that reasonable expansion will come about in keeping with the development of both its human resources and the demand for its productions. In 1986, a funding cutback resulted in staff losses and a major shift in emphasis toward greater self-sufficiency through the development of the commercially viable aspects of its programs.

Originally, in order to meet the criteria of the DIAND Cultural/Education Centres Program, an organization or band hoping to receive funds was required to incorporate as a non-profit institution and provide evidence of community support by way of "band council resolutions" that indicated the nature and extent of sponsorship: "the Band Council specifies which project, if any, is to receive its share of this special fund and the amount awarded to that project is determined by multiplying the per capita allotment ($28.21) [in 1974] by the number of registered Indians within that Band."14 The original requirement for incorporation was rejected by a number of organizations,15 and DIAND eventually favoured the system of band sponsorship as the primary basis for determining funding support.

Coqualeetza incorporated as a society in 1972 (Coqualeetza Education Training Centre Association), under the management of a seven-member Board of Directors. Coqualeetza demonstrated the unanimous support of the bands comprising the Sto:lo Nation, as well as a number from outside the area, by way of fifty-two band council resolutions in 1974. The constitution of the Association indicated the following objectives:

a) To promote, acquire and operate a cultural education and training centre in the Fraser District;

b) To promote and provide educational, recreational and cultural facilities and equipment for the use and benefit of the Indian people primarily of the Fraser District;

c) To establish educational courses in Band management and planning, Indian cultural and vocational skills;

d) To promote the social, cultural and economic development of the Indian people of British Columbia and particularly the Indian people within the Fraser District;

e) To strengthen communication between communities.

14 From the document: "Coqualeetza...Our Predicament" 1974: 5.
15 Evalucan 1978: 52. For example, the centre originally sponsored by the Union of New Brunswick Indians was closed after two years of operation because the leadership (at an All Chief's meeting) objected to the criteria of incorporation, and required instead that funds be allotted on a per capita basis and directed toward the cultural education activities of individual bands.
Programs at Coqualeetza

The initial program at Coqualeetza was that of cultural research for curriculum development. This included the Sto:lo History Project (already discussed), the Sto:lo Sitel Curriculum Development program, and the Halq'emeylem language program. Since then, a media resources centre has been developed (for photographic, video and audio productions and the loan of video material), as well as a printing centre and a substantial archives/library. A longhouse was also built on the site and it provides, among other things, a place for hosting school groups, special community meetings, and other cultural gatherings.

In many ways, Coqualeetza has had a head start in its cultural research program with the establishment of a group of elders who began to meet formally as early as 1968 both to socialize and to begin systematic work on a cultural heritage project. Archibald, a Sto:lo member instrumental in developing of the Sto:lo Sitel Curriculum Project, notes: “their main purpose was to document the Halq'emeylem Indian language, traditions and stories.”16 This group eventually formed the Coqualeetza Elders’ Group. A certain amount of secondary historical research had also been undertaken by a local group, and was absorbed into the Sto:lo History Project.

The Sto:lo Sitel Curriculum: developmental aspects

The Sto:lo Sitel Curriculum began in 1974 with a special interest in promoting pride and with the sense that this was to constitute, for the first time in the recent history of Indian education, a preventative program:

The experience of the Indian educators led them to associate Indian students' school problems with lack of strong self-identity and insufficient knowledge about cultural differences. They also felt that Indian education programs previously operated on a crisis, or problem oriented nature. For example, after students got into trouble or displayed problems, they were given support services. It was recommended that this project become a preventative program by developing Indian students' pride in their cultural heritage..... (Archibald 1984: 7).

Initial funding to accelerate the program development was provided through DIAND (1975), followed by a three year grant from the First Citizen’s Advisory Committee (1976-1978) and then by a Curriculum Enrichment grant in 1977, again from DIAND.17 The purpose of the project was to provide a sequence of social studies units for use in the elementary school, and the support structure included Indian educators and parents. A specific objective of the “sequence and the major understandings” of the curriculum units was “to provide students with the opportunity to do a running comparison of traditional and

16 Archibald describes the process in her Master’s Thesis in Education (Simon Fraser University) 1984: 66.
contemporary Upper Sto:lo culture, focussing on culture change, social organization, technology, child rearing, language and world view” (Archibald, p. 75).

Archibald (p.77) notes that much of the research had to be done anew as the information existing on the Upper Sto:lo was subsumed under the Coast Salish ethnographic literature. This process was carried out with the assistance of the elders:

The prime source of knowledge was contained in the Elders' memories. They said that many of their teachings had been put to “sleep” for so long that it would take a while to recall. For years they had not assumed a leadership role and had felt that their knowledge was not useful to the younger generations. Those who had contributed information to early anthropologists were suspicious of anyone wanting to write books based on their knowledge because they had previously co-operated and never heard anything more about the work completed.

As the units neared preliminary completion, evaluations, field-testing and extensive workshops were undertaken in order to determine the effectiveness of the materials and the ease with which they could be fitted into the standard sequence of the school curriculum. As well, a level of teacher preparedness had to be developed in order to promote (and ensure) the use of the materials in the schools. By 1976, draft units for grade four had been prepared and were tested, limited production was carried out, and in 1979 the Sto:lo Sitel curriculum units were published and implemented:

Teachers were interested, administration was willing to co-operate with Sto:lo Sitel staff, and a liaison worker was appointed by the school district....Publishers were approached. They were interested in producing these materials mainly because they were designing new curricula for submission to the Ministry of Education (p. 83, 86).

The difficulty with implementing any locally produced curriculum materials in the provincial schools is that their use is not mandatory. Curriculum materials must ultimately rely on their inherent attractiveness to the individual teachers and the extent to which they appear to fit into the standard curriculum. Thus, there is no guarantee that locally developed Native studies materials will be used and the onus is on cultural education centres to lay careful groundwork to ensure the acceptance of cultural curriculum in the schools. This requires securing the cooperation of local school boards prior to the production of the materials and developing effective communication devices to promote the material, such as “in-service” workshops and teacher training, “in situ” demonstrations, school visits to the cultural centres, exhibits in local malls, and so on.

The Sto:lo support system was instrumental in maintaining communication and offering help to teachers using the units. At first most of the emphasis was on providing special in-school programs. They were meant to enhance and reinforce the content and concepts taught in the units. Sto:lo resource teachers shared their skills and knowledge by telling stories, demonstrating their crafts, leading outdoor activities, and participating in special cultural days. An important value of these programs was that students were exposed to “real” Indian people. They could realize that Indian people lived in the modern world, like them but maintained some unique cultural traits....Many of the resource people were Elders, taught in the traditional manner or schooled in the residential system (Archibald p.89-90).
Archibald notes that these support programs were especially vulnerable because of the short-term nature of the funding. In 1982 there was a fundamental shift in the orientation of the support services, which were considered critical to successful implementation. Prior to this, implementation activities focused on developing the awareness of the students but it soon became evident that developing the "cultural awareness" of the teachers was the more critical variable:

The rationale was that teachers would be reminded of the Sto:lo Sitel units' existence and information gleaned from workshops would help them teach the units. Another purpose was to initiate interaction between teachers and Sto:lo people (p.90).

Coqualeetza has also worked to gain the support of the local teachers by encouraging school field trips to the centre and providing a tour of the grounds and facilities. The Longhouse is the highlight of these trips, and demonstrations of games (Slahal; Fur Game) and weaving are given, the collection of artifacts is shown, and sometimes fried bread is made:

The children were encouraged to explore replicas of artifacts important to the Indian way of life and were shown a slide presentation of the Sto:lo people, past and present ["Upper Sto:lo—Past and Present"]....But the highlight of our trip was when we all gathered in the longhouse beside a warm campfire...we all joined in the Slahal game (Ann Edgcombe, grade four student).18

Language

The language program at Coqualeetza came about after curriculum development was well underway. In 1986 lessons had been completed for Nursery, Kindergarten and Grade one. Materials were tested in the classroom (Skwah Preschool) where classes are held once a week for half an hour at a time. At the outset of the program, language classes were also given to the Sto:lo Tribal Council staff at their request, three times a week for half an hour.

Media Production Centre

The media production centre at Coqualeetza, established in 1975, is a now a full-fledged operation producing a high quality of video documentary material as well as sponsoring media training programs in conjunction with the Fraser Valley College and the local cable station. It began by producing support materials for the Sto:lo Sitel work (photographs and slide sets), and has expanded its operation to meet a significant increase in the demand for its video productions:

...requests from the bands could not all be accommodated. The need for media production is measurable, therefore we have applied to funding to train 3 additional employees....Plans for the media production centre are to produce 1/2 hour programs, on a variety of topics relevant to the Sto:lo Nation, to air on the local cable 10 station. These 1/2 hour programs will also be available for loan rental to allow Sto:lo people to view them on their home video machines. The

media production centre has the future potential to becoming the production facility of B.C.\textsuperscript{19}

During 1985 and 1986, much of the filming concentrated on the issues surrounding the proposed CN twin tracking along the Fraser River that threatens the salmon run as well as numerous fishing sites and other heritage sites along the banks of the river. In the course of developing the media program, many other contemporary events have also been recorded, such as various political meetings and cultural gatherings. The staff, for much of this period consisted of one person, and in 1986 three additional people were added as trainees when the possibilities of this medium became evident and as expertise developed. During the summer of 1986, many of the Native events at \textit{Expo 86} were filmed and, as a consequence of these and related activities over the past few years, Coqualeetza has acquired a sizeable video collection that it now also operates as a lending library:

Service areas that we offer, though sometimes limited are...video-taping events, meetings, etc...audio taping...dubbing.../P.A setups...3/4" video editing...taping narrations...audio mix-downs for simple multi-track recordings for slid/sound, etc...ordering software and hardware...advise on choosing equipment...video and audio lending library...equipment loans...film lending. We will try hard to meet your requests but please give us warning. For minor productions work 2-6 week's notice is ample.\textsuperscript{20}

The importance of this aspect of the Coqualeetza program cannot be overstated and the impact of this medium for communication has been well understood:

Requests have come from internal departments as well as outside B.C. Indian Bands. Realization by Indian people to the increased move to video technology in the communication technology is definite....The video era has reached a greater variety of people than any other medium, where utilization of this method of communication has drastically increased.\textsuperscript{21}

The library/archives has become a major and vital source of research materials for the Sto:lo leaders in land claims, political issues such as fishing rights, C.N.R. Twin Tracking issue, family tree tracing reflecting the Bill C-31 issue to reinstate non-status Indians and research data base for native college students.\textsuperscript{22}

Coqualeetza also operates a printing centre for printing the cultural materials as well as a newspaper put out by the centre: \textquote{We also print other Indian newsletters, notices, reports and small publications that are ordered from the various departments of Coqualeetza and supporting bands.} Funding pressure is prompting the transformation of this program into a viable commercial operation to operate in conjunction with a local printer. For a number of years, the centre has produced a monthly newspaper, the \textit{Sto:lo Nation News}, supported on the basis of subscriptions and advertising. Here too, increasing self-sufficiency is sought. An evaluation of the paper in 1986 indicated its viability on the basis of its

\textsuperscript{19} \textit{Ibid} 1986 11 (103): 3.
\textsuperscript{20} Notice from the media producer \textit{Sto:lo Nation News} 1986 11 (103): 4.
\textsuperscript{22} \textit{Ibid} p.7.
\textsuperscript{23} From the video \textit{Coqualeetza Story} (Video No.5, Coqualeetza Resource Centre).
readership and the consequent potential for advertising support. The paper features band profiles; regular reports from the staff directing the programs at the centre in the form of monthly progress reports and notes about the services provided; local news; regional and national news of political interest; reports on cultural events and other cultural information. The holdings of the archives are featured on a monthly basis as well, describing particular collections of documents and new additions.

**Funding for cultural education centres**

Before continuing to talk about the Secwepemc Cultural Education Society, it is worth giving some attention to the whole issue of funding, especially as it affects both Coqualeetza and the Secwepemc Cultural Education Society. Although both are in quite different positions at the moment, funding support is viewed in much the same way. Funding necessarily affects the morale of those working for cultural education centres, and the basis on which it is given has resulted in a universal uncertainty about the future of individual cultural education centres. This is not, however, intended as an evaluation of the funding agency itself, or the way in which funding is structured. Rather, it is an indication of some of the concerns felt, especially as they relate to the sense of future in the enterprise:

...the problem of governments, or anybody, in understanding what is a cultural centre—what is a cultural education centre—is because in the outside world the culture is spread out into museums, art galleries, libraries. Everything that we’ve got here is under separate roofs.

...it’s an artificial kind of organization...in that, it’s based on the funds; as long as the funds are there we can maintain it as it is; well, we can continue to maintain it as it is probably even after the funds are gone, but still we would then have to go to all these different sources.

...reaffirmation in an organized way really comes about because the funds are there, and we end up becoming like an octopus where your tentacles are going all over trying to bring in the money and you end up doing things that originally you didn’t even plan to get into because the money’s there.24

With the legacy of uncertainty surrounding the programs at Coqualeetza and the significant decrease in funding over the years, the move is to develop programs that would allow greater financial self-sufficiency, although the feasibility of this has not been widely established. The primary source of core program funding comes from the DIAND Cultural/Educational Centres Program, although most centres and most bands operate by lobbying for funds for programs from various sources, including the Canada Employment Centre, Secretary of State (federal), First Citizens’ Fund (provincial), the Ministry of Education (provincial), and so on. Coqualeetza is now competing for funds with some of the agencies that once supported it. That is, it is drawing from a finite fund that operates on the basis of a modified per capita support system and, if a band opts to use these funds locally, then support for the regional centre is altered accordingly. All centres face this; if a region (defined by the number of bands that constitute a political entity) is wide enough to justify

the coexistence of two centres, they would find themselves in direct competition. The strength of the cultural education centre is in its cumulative community support base. The per capita funds any individual band can actually realize, in comparison to the cumulative band funds represented by a centre—which can then lobby for additional support—provides the centre with a potential that can obviously exceed that of individual initiatives. Yet, under these circumstances, and the reality of the "single pot," the centre can also either pose a threat to the cultural initiatives of individual bands, or the bands themselves can undermine their centre if they choose (or need) to use the funds according to the more locally defined cultural/education priorities. The kind of program developed by a regional centre—the concentration of skilled people, the development of local expertise in things such as curriculum development and media work—cannot be easily be done by individual bands.

Coqualeetza, with its early start and its wide support based on fifty two band council resolutions, was able to develop the range of programs described as well as to provide an equally wide range of services to the local schools and bands. Because its curriculum work was among the first developed, Coqualeetza also found itself providing significant support for the development of Indian education curriculum in the province in general.

As bands began to diversify their own activities in culture and education, and to undertake very specific local research activities, and as the political structure of the Sto:lo Nation evolved, Coqualeetza has found itself in competition with some of its original constituents. It is important to note that the funding structure, in this case, is counter to the pattern of growth and development, especially where self-sufficiency was not part of the original plan. Cultural centres in general, and especially those serving a wide region, actually represent a far broader constituency than is evident from a count of band membership, although this is not reflected in the funding considerations, or in the funding structures of the dominant society for that matter. Cultural education centres also participate widely in the regional, provincial and national development of Indian education—by way of workshops and seminars, training programs and by way of the products themselves, the teaching materials and other publications. Support provided on the basis of a per capita count is an artifact of the DIAND system of assigning funds: "they told us at one time that we would not be funded on a per capita basis; they said we would be funded based on need;" "Centres end up competing against each other, if one gets cut back another gains. It's a "dog fight"!"

25 The test case for this was in New Brunswick, where the New Brunswick Heritage Centre was "decentralized" to the bands after their refusal to incorporate: "An All Chiefs Meeting in New Brunswick was called and a formula designed by which each Band in New Brunswick was guaranteed a set amount as a base ($3,000) for local (i.e. individual band) cultural/educational activities." Evalucan 1978: 40. Note: this amount was still a baseline in 1986.

26 From a taped interview with Coqualeetza's director, Frank Malloway, July 1986.

For Coqualeetza, the move to create a self-sufficient operation has already begun. This cannot help but produce a shift in emphasis overall. If Coqualeetza is successful in achieving economic viability, a result will be greater autonomy and the ability to realize some of the long-range goals (such as the further development of the media resources). In the mean time, this kind of an undertaking demands concentrated attention on developing and pursuing proposals to other granting agencies at a time when the centre is crippled by a reduction in staff, and when research and production commitments demand more "man-hours" than are available. A number of proposals have been developed with a view to their commercial viability. Among these are plans to upgrade the gift shop to incorporate a retail/sales outlet for curriculum development materials, as well as other material such as video tapes, language tapes, a Halq'eméylem dictionary, photographs and the other publications that have been produced by Coqualeetza over the years. There are possibilities for providing media resources training which would result in funding from the Canada Employment Centre; and there are plans to open a seafood restaurant on the site, featuring:

...two Native style outdoor barbecue pits, a garden with paths...and an outside theatrical stage for Native performers....Inside the restaurant there will be one open pit barbecue, a 35-45 seat holding bar, and a 100 seat banquet room.²⁸

The understandable anxiety about the future of cultural education centres will ultimately influence the way the programs are run, especially the extent to which a centre can attract and keep the growing number of skilled and professional Native personnel it employs. For example, the education and experience levels of the majority of staff at the Secwepemc Cultural Education Society far exceed their present salary which bears little relationship to the salartes they were able to realize in the education profession outside of the centre. The challenge of developing new programs in new areas, and the sense of dedication that many trained Native people now bring back to their communities, provides much of the fuel on which these centres run. If and when these centres are required to prove their economic viability by selling their services in the marketplace— and even as they begin to move toward some measure of self-sufficiency— the kinds of programs cultural education centres are able to operate may change entirely, and the relationship with their constituency will most certainly change in some measure.

The Secwepemc Cultural Education Society

The Secwepemc Cultural Education Society belongs to the Shuswap [Secwepemc] Nation which includes seventeen bands spread over a large region in the Interior of British Columbia. The centre is situated in the old facilities of the residential school on the Kamloops Indian Reserve. It serves, primarily, the southern reaches of the Shuswap Nation although the products are available and applicable to both regions. Of these seventeen bands, the eleven bands from the southern Shuswap actively support the Secwepemc Cultural Education Society; the five bands bands from the northern Shuswap support the Cariboo

Indian Education Training Centre further north in Williams Lake; and the remaining two support and participate in some of the Secwepemc Cultural Education Society projects.\textsuperscript{29} Despite this geographic alignment, all seventeen bands now participate in the Shuswap Cultural Working Committee and all the bands are now party to the Declaration that originally provided the mandate for the cultural education program carried out by the centre.

Prior to the establishment of this Society in 1983, local cultural programs were undertaken by individual bands. A certain amount of political independence had been established with the closing of the DIAND offices in Kamloops in 1975, with the result of a greater degree of control over local affairs. This has meant, apart from the fact that the bands are no longer directly supervised by the DIAND agents, that the funds are transferred directly to local administrations and dispersed according to the directions defined by the band councils. The Secwepemc Cultural Education Society was born out of a concerted political process in the early 1980's that was directed specifically towards self-sufficiency and self-government. The first of a number of nation building strategies that were initiated at this time was a gathering of chiefs and a formal agreement of common purpose:

I'll give a brief summary of how we ended up here today. A year ago on April 17 [1982], there was a meeting held in Kamloops....Out of that meeting we saw a real need to figure out some mechanism where all Shuswap Bands could eventually work together to preserve, record, perpetuate and enhance the Shuswap language, history and culture; to establish some sort of committee to help carry out that involvement of the bands. From the direction of that meeting, we commenced to organize and invite a Shuswap meeting which was held here on June 20, 1982, where the Chiefs had adopted in principle this following Declaration "to work in unity on Language, History and Culture, which basically outlines 7 items.... (Manny Jules 1983).\textsuperscript{30}

In August of 1982 the seventeen Shuswap chiefs met to sign the \textit{Shuswap Declaration}. (See Appendix 2: \textit{The Shuswap Declaration}.) The Declaration not only provided the political foundation for the Secwepemc Cultural Education Society, but it set out specific goals and thereby gave the Society its mandate: "To work in unity on Shuswap Language, History and Culture."

The...Shuswap Bands representing the Shuswap Nation declare to work in unity to: Preserve and Record—Perpetuate and Enhance our Shuswap Language, History and Culture by:

1. Collecting and recording the memoirs of the Elders;
2. Recording and documenting the Shuswap Language to the fullest extent possible;
3. Research documents, records, books and notes on the use and management, in the pre-colonial eras, of land and resources;

\textsuperscript{29} From Secwepemc Cultural Education Society \textit{Third Annual General Meeting}. Kamloops, B.C. September, 1986: 1.

\textsuperscript{30} Minutes of the Joint Meeting of the Shuswap Cultural Working Committee, at Williams Lake, April 19, 1983, p. 14.
4. Facilitating the collection and displaying of contemporary and historic Shuswap artifacts and archival materials;

5. Initiating and promoting projects directed towards the collection and preservation of contemporary documents resulting in and reflecting modern Shuswap developments;

6. Developing a curriculum project that imparts to, primarily, Shuswap students practical technological knowledge, Shuswap history, culture and language;

7. Establishing a working committee, answerable to the Bands represented here, to initiate and carry out the mandate outlined above and to secure appropriate funding.

An immediate outcome of this event was the establishment of the Shuswap Cultural Working Committee which represented the first step in mobilizing the support structures for the above goals. Also, with the interests and activities of the various bands, it was important to establish a working relationship and to set out the role of the Cultural Working Committee *vis a vis* the various Band education committees and home-school coordinators.

The Shuswap Nation Tribal Council was also formed in 1982 and it met with the Standing Committee on Indian Affairs and Northern Development in early 1983 in order to establish "a new interim financial relationship between the Canadian Government and Indian Governments of the Shuswap Nation."31 Out of this, the Shuswap Nation Task Force was established in June 1983 to determine more exactly what this system would be. It set about to address a number of constitutional issues and to establish the working relationship between the constituent bands and the Nation: "The Task Force is an important vehicle for the Bands to unite. The Declaration on Language, Culture, and History lays the foundation for all these nation building activities."32 The initiation of this political process, and the establishment of the Shuswap Nation Tribal Council, resulted in the articulation of the cultural goals of the Nation and essentially provided the mandate for the cultural education program:

The bands' formation of the Shuswap Nation Tribal Council in 1982 solidified the direction they wished to proceed in. Self sufficiency, resources to the band and the closure of the Department of Indian Affairs remained as objectives. To this list was added the development of the Shuswap as a sovereign nation and a new financial agreement between the Shuswap and the Federal Government with the assumption of responsibilities such as fisheries resource and protection of environment, Shuswap traditional territories, Shuswap language, history and culture, Shuswap administrative organizations, whether they be bands, Tribal Councils or Committees, to be directed by the Shuswap leadership with the authorization of the Shuswap people (Robert Simon, 1985).33

33 Tribal Director of the Shuswap Nation Tribal Council in 1985; in *Secwepemc Cultural Arts Magazine* 1 (1): 15.
One of the areas that this Task Force addressed was education. Curriculum was identified as a way of combating the high dropout rate and cultural development was considered as an important part of the education program:

The need was voiced to control the education of the children. The emphasis was on the development and control of the curriculum as well as educating the students "at our own speed." A conflict between Shuswap values and white schools was affecting the education of the children. Many students were achieving below their ability and in later years this led to a high drop-out rate.34

Our students in school, what about their needs? A lot of money is going into new technology and computers. We need to go ahead with these, to learn these skills. We get $2000 for curriculum development but nothing for cultural development. There's a lot of things we can do in our cultural area—fishing, hunting, native foods, dancing, drumming. To learn our Shuswap language is important.35

What type of control would we have over it? My boy is going into a French immersion class. He should be learning Shuswap. He is learning a second foreign language before his own language.36

The original cultural education program was based on a curriculum development concept that integrated a number of components, including research and publication, and that specified certain goals and objectives.37 These were then adapted for a wider program which included the development of a museum. In 1982 a number of experienced people were pulled together to initiate the planning of an enterprise that would involve the whole nation. The Secwepemc Cultural Education Society had the advantage, in its planning phase, of a good deal of beneficial hindsight. Much of the planning was astutely guided by the experience of those who had been involved in other similar enterprises, and all agreed over the importance of consolidating a visible support base. Too, the time was right: "it was like a seed."38 Out of this planning phase, a proposal was formulated and the support of the various school boards was achieved. The Society was incorporated in 1983, and work was formally started soon after.

The first task was to secure funding for the various aspects of the program and the organization. Although core funding was obtained from the Cultural/Educational Centres Program, primarily to "establish and maintain a Resource Centre," other sources of outside

35 Ibid.
36 Ibid. Submission from Adams Lake/Little Shuswap Band, March 8 1984.
37 Developed by Rita Jack who was brought in to advise the planning group on the basis of her experience with the Okanagan curriculum development process.
funds\textsuperscript{39} were also secured in order to provide support staff and additional program funding (primarily from the Canada Employment and Immigration Centre, the Secretary of State, the Ministry of Labour, and the Ministry of Education). On the basis of the first year, a three year program was forecast and four permanent staff had been hired (a Programs’ Coordinator, a Curriculum Coordinator, an Audio Visual Technician/Communications Worker, and a Secretary/Bookkeeper):

In this time we have established an Administration, basic office, employee and financial policies and procedures and have either purchased or are renting all required basic office equipment. We have also developed a Three Year Operations Plan which serves as the basis of our programming.

...in the language an inventory of existing materials has been conducted, with plans for the development of language teaching aids this fall. As well, primary linguistic research is being carried out this summer.

...Field research conducted in the communities has brought in 130 tapes of historical and cultural information as well as a collection of Shuswap songs and stories.

The Curriculum project has received funds from at least two sources and is currently developing units for Kindergarten, 1, 2, 4, and 5. We are awaiting the release of funds from the Ministry of Education and Secretary of State pending certain agreements with the School Districts involved.\textsuperscript{40}

Much of the funding for research comes from the various short-term Canada Employment programs:

Through two summer student programs we hired 5 summer students...to assist in [Administration, Curriculum, Clerical and Research]. Through the Canada Employment and Immigration Commission Project from Employment Development Branch Program, we hired 6 field researchers who worked or will work a total of 92 work weeks and two in Linguistic Research who worked a total of 320 hours.\textsuperscript{41}

This kind of fragmented funding arrangement determines to a certain extent the way the research is both defined and carried out. Rita Jack, who coordinated the programs from the outset, pointed out that the proposals had to be very specific and could often not be submitted for continuation the following year. While this does not alter the overall “wide net” strategy for research, it does affect the course of the work from year to year and it requires that research goals become articulated in a way that will match the goals of the funding agency.

\textsuperscript{39} That is, in addition to funds provided by the bands; Kamloops Indian Band, for example, contributed their curriculum enrichment funds to the centre rather than carrying out a previous plan to develop curriculum for their band school (Minutes of the Joint Meeting of the Shuswap Language Committee and the Shuswap Cultural Working Committee, at Alkali Lake, February 11, 1983, p.1).

\textsuperscript{40} Secwepemc Cultural Education Society First Annual General Meeting. Kamloops, B.C. August 20, 1984: (n. p.: President’s Report to the Board Members).

\textsuperscript{41} Ibid.
...everything can generally be fitted under those goals, under the five programs that we have identified, but still it's a matter of taking little bits and pieces. Something like recording memoirs of elders—it starts out as a general statement in the goals—becomes three small projects and because people won't fund the same projects, you have to make your objectives different for each project to fit the overall goal. The whole thing of breaking down programs—in the first year we laid out all our programs with our operating plan and said "this is what we want to do." Then we found out, for instance with Canada Employment Centre, because they won't fund the same thing over again, we said to them in the first application that we wanted to research Native culture, history and language. Well, the next year, whenever the next application went in, we said "we wanted to do the same thing," and they said "you can't do the same thing over again." So, we said "OK, we want to do an inventory of languages," so you end up breaking it down, and it gets broken down further and further with every project you submit. So that now we're down to—after about the tenth Canada Employment Centre project—we're now doing research specifically...last year we did it on fishing, and this year we're doing it on hunting. So you end up becoming more and more specific. If money's still there and we're still here and we need to submit another budget after the four areas are done—like hunting, fishing, berrypicking and root digging, which are the food resource areas—then we'll probably get really specific...like research on the wild potato plant. It's actually based on the objectives of the funding agencies, you know, what...they want.

...we listed each of our programs separately so we could go for grants, but even now we're limited...in that funding agencies will write back and say [they] don't fund programs, [they] fund operations...now we don't send in the whole program...we just send in a proposal for that program as an operation. So you end up doing things just to meet some of these conditions...again, we're in a dilemma...where we've established a culture centre and there's no concept there to support it (Rita Jack, March 1987).

Because so much of the information comes through the oral history program and the transcripts of elders talking about various things, the specific focus required by funding agencies is sometimes at odds with the way that research programs are preferentially structured, that is, according to the way that elders actually recall things as well as the hope to gather as much information as possible while people are still living, in a way that is compatible with certain guidelines:

So...we were going to try to conduct ourselves in a way that would be according to the original old Indian values. One of those is respecting our elders, in their time, their patience...those types of considerations.....there were quite a few different things...even before you started there was a preliminary visit, three or four days at a time, maybe even a week, where we wouldn't even talk research. We would generally talk about what we were doing, and were they in fact interested...to get involved (Robert Matthew, March 1987).

...that was one of the biggest problems of the fishing research project; well, it wasn't a problem it was just that in terms of the needs for our research to do a report on fishing...we had to go through audio tapes and glean all the stuff that was in there about fishing because there was so much other stuff in there (Rita Jack, March 1987).

The programs that the Secwepemc Cultural Education Society undertook at the outset included an inventory of existing language materials and the development of a proposal to produce teaching aids to accompany an existing teacher's guide already in use in the schools; the planning and initiation of a curriculum program for use in both band-operated and
provincial schools; the development of a Resource Centre to accommodate a full library and reference services, and audio visual unit and a monthly newspaper; and the establishment of a research program.

Aspects of the Shuswap Language program have already been discussed in the previous chapter. Over time, the hopes for providing a comprehensive language curriculum and language research program have been modified to reflect the funds available and a shift in emphasis to the production of materials and teaching aids. The present language program has also shifted its original emphasis on training teachers/curriculum developers to learn the language in order for them to produce professional curriculum material, to training those who are already fluent and literate in the Shuswap language and teaching them to produce curriculum:

I think we had this major idea originally of developing a whole curriculum, you know, with immersion in language, but realistically we’ve spent a long time trying to train people to become curriculum developers, trying to train them to read and write the language. So we went the other way. We got somebody who can read and write the language and who has taught but who isn’t a trained teacher and who isn’t a trained curriculum developer. And I know those things are far apart, but it was harder to get a teacher or a curriculum writer and then to teach them to read and write (Rita Jack, March 1987).

In 1984, the development of the Shuswap Curriculum included laying a great deal of groundwork with the local school districts. This proved to be very effective when the time came to introduce the materials into the schools; additionally, it assisted in boosting the profile of the Secwepemc Museum which has hosted numerous visits from school groups since it opened. Various sources of funds were also secured, including the Secretary of State, the Ministry of Education, and band funds as well as funding from a local school district: “in an unprecedented move, School District Number 30 [Ashcroft] contributed the amount of $1,690.00--$1.00 per student towards the project.”42 A complete plan for all the grades was put together (see also Appendix 8: Major concepts in three British Columbia Indian Curriculum Programs):

A curriculum plan complete with goals, objectives and major concepts for the Elementary grades and an outline of major concepts for the Secondary grades have been completed. A model for teaching units has been outlined which would include: a teaching manual; a resource manual complete with graphic and pictorial materials; and where possible an audio-visual production. Meetings have been held with School District Trustees, Superintendents and staff and teachers to obtain their support for such a project. School Districts and Teachers’ Committees have responded favourably and have agreed to participate in a joint working committee that will monitor and advise on all phases of the curriculum development.43

By 1986 the grade two and grade four texts had been developed, as well as some secondary language and Indian Studies curriculum, and by 1988 these texts had been published. The text for grade two uses a “fictitious narrative” approach and features three

43 Ibid.
The grade four text focuses on the traditional aspects of Shuswap life and the additional materials include seven booklets “on concepts of traditional Shuswap culture,” and a set of twenty-two legends and stories that are supplemented by audio-tapes.

The research program has already been discussed to some extent in the previous chapter with reference to the oral history program and the inventory of extant documents. The goals of the research program are broad, in keeping with the Declaration:

1. Collecting and recording the memoirs of the Elders;
2. Researching documents, records, books and notes on the use and management, in the pre-colonial eras, of land and resources;
3. Initiating and promoting projects directed towards the collection and preservation of contemporary documents resulting in and reflecting modern Shuswap developments.

In 1986, the annual research report included the following summary for the achievements of the research program:

1. Provide a base for the development of language and education curriculum materials:
   ° collected samples of language curriculum from other provincial language institutions; 30 sets of cultural photographs have been created for loan to Shuswap Bands; copied Shuswap language texts and tapes. The research cataloguing program has been developed and the summer student completed the entering of the archival collection onto the computer; a draft manual for traditional land use research has been developed that includes oral history methods, mapping, record keeping and supplies; worked...to develop 15 essays on Shuswap history for high school classes; gathered samples of cultural/historical curriculum from Nanatmo, Tacoma and Coqualeetza.

2. Gather all existing material on Shuswap history, culture and language from universities, archives, government, museum and religious archives, private collections and Band projects:
   ° collected bibliographies and materials from the Hudsons Bay archives, Manitoba Association of Native Languages, Man and Nature Museum, Barriere Historical Society, Coqualeetza Culture Centre and University of British Columbia; worked with Fishing Research Project to coordinate field research project; collected names, addresses, bibliographies from major universities; acquired copies of graduate papers on Alkali Lake, Father LeJeune and Plateau Songs; borrowed and copied first four of 16 Hudson Bay Company Journals; visited 17 archives around B.C. and Alberta to collect Shuswap historical information.

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3. Develop and implement a plan for conducting primary research with Shuswap Elders and other individuals knowledgeable in Shuswap language, history and culture:
   ° An oral history methodology has been designed which includes interview questions; record keeping; storage, and retrieval and supplies and equipment; coordinated with field research project, 20 research workshops; coordinated transcribing taped interviews with Elders; consulted with other researchers.

4. Identify and classify all historical/cultural materials presently at hand:
   ° designed an archival management system and policy; catalogued and copied 205 audio tapes; worked with the photographs to accession 1100 historical photographs; established a reference library with research materials that are bound and on shelf or available files; worked with Resource Centre to maintain photo files and to identify further cultural or historical photographs for collection.

5. Archival Storage:
   ° applied for and received [money] to buy equipment and supplies for the museum/archives; near completion of a MacIntosh Plus data base program...for fishing research information; worked with Challenge '86 students to enter the resource holding on the Macintosh Plus computer.

6. Liaison, with Bands and other agencies:
   ° visited all bands at least once; responded to requests for information from Band-operated Schools; 9 speaking engagements in the public schools, Sorrento Centre and Provincial Parks Branch (Shuswap People, Past and Present).

A particularly important aspect of any cultural education centre is the extent of its service to its constituent bands. Cultural centres do this in a number of ways: by providing the products of research; by coordinating and often providing facilities for annual cultural gatherings and other meetings; by developing archival and library collections for use and loan; by documenting and communicating contemporary events through their newspaper and their video productions; by providing printing services, and so on. The Secwepemc Cultural Education Society does all of these through an active Resource Centre Program that includes the library and archives, print media and audio-visual services:

The Resource Centre will make available primary and secondary data on issues and events and developments as related to the Shuswap people. A communications/productions services unit will be responsible for establishing and maintaining contact with the Bands through a newsletter; provision of such services as rotation libraries to Bands; assisting Bands in their own community libraries; assisting Bands in setting up workshops, seminars and other short-term training programs; production of audio, video and print materials for the Bands, the Tribal Council and the Society's programs as requested.46

The Society also publishes a monthly newspaper, The Secwepemc News, which has a wide circulation. Additionally, in 1986 plans were underway to further develop the publishing aspects of the centre. The audio-visual production unit is relatively small in comparison to Coqualeetza, but numerous contemporary events have been filmed and

several videos featuring the construction of traditional material were in progress at the time.

Finally, an important component of the program configuration is the Secwepemc Museum. The museum features a permanent collection of archaeological material, some ethnographic material and a large collection of historical and contemporary photographs. It has been developed from the beginning with a professional approach, particularly with respect to managing the collections, maintaining professional affiliations with the museum community, and ensuring the training of the staff. Though it has not always had a permanent co-ordinator, continuity with respect to its coordination and development has been achieved. An important part of the museum program has been the development of travelling exhibits which have been very well received by the bands and in the schools, and which have resulted in an increasing demand:

Two important topics were found to be lacking in the present display in Kamloops. The first was a sample of the rich legendry of the Shuswap People and the second was a detailed analysis of the stone tool types found in archaeological material....

The Shuswap Legends display consists of five free-standing panels. The first panel presents an introduction to the "Mythological Age" and some of the forces involved in Shuswap legendry. Each of four additional panels presents a selected story from memories of the Shuswap elders. Black-and-white sketches complemented by full-colour illustrations by our resident artist help to tell the story.

The archaeology display presents an overview of the most comprehensive archaeological theory developed for the region in recent years. The display consists of three panels, each representing a distinct phase of the Shuswap culture.... In its primary objective of promoting cultural awareness in the schools, it has been most successful.47

The museum presently occupies a small facility but expansion is intended. Presently, the permanent exhibit occupies one room and an additional room is given over for hosting school groups and showing slides (The Shuswap, Past and Present): "future plans for the Secwepemc Museum involve a move to larger facilities in an adjacent building and the development, in conjunction with the Kamloops Indian Band, of an outdoor interpretation centre and archaeological site" (Jules 1988b: 6). The museum has attempted to provide a sense of continuity between the older forms of Shuswap material culture and the present community life of the bands, largely through the use of photographs of contemporary band activities as well as a slide production that attempts to connect the past and the present. Ideas about change and adaptation are developed, and the contributions of Shuswap people with respect to the regional economy and military service are emphasized (Ibid.).

Summary

It may well be stretching the point to conclude that the two centres described in this chapter are representative of cultural education centres in Canada, in any absolute sense, given the many variables that account for variation between centres. Yet, these centres do have a "typical" program structure, and certainly share similar goals with the other centres in the country. The objective of this thesis is to provide both an overview of cultural education programs in general, and to fill in details as they elaborate a basic ideology of cultural survival, strengthening and maintenance. The overview presented here of these two centres is somewhat cursory primarily because it was appropriate to look first at the range of programs before looking at the particular setting in which they occur. Certain aspects of each centre have been intentionally emphasized in order to provide a complementary account. Each have their strengths and vulnerabilities but both reflect, in their goals and in their achievements, the larger undertaking in all its complexity. Both centres indicate a growing emphasis on their productions (curriculum, media, publications, and in the case of the Secwepemc Cultural Education Society, its proposed heritage activities) as part of a move towards self-sufficiency as well as a response to a demand for services at a visible level. There is the growing sense that in their very diversity is the possibility for their survival, in times of uncertain funding. This is counter-balanced by the sense that the cultural needs of the constituencies, as they were first defined, are now being shaped by funding structures which reflect concepts of heritage and culture that are more characteristic of the cultural categories and distinct organizations of the dominant society. Consequently, the programs that these centres have determined as critical to the realization of cultural education goals may well be obliged to undergo a transformation in order for these centres to survive in some capacity.
7. Summary and Conclusions

...how do you measure culture? how do you measure where it's at, how much it's being passed...it's a door to door thing almost. There's so much that's inherent in being an Indian, in living on a reserve...we all have knowledge as Indian people, that we don't acknowledge (Rita Jack, 1987).¹

A people denied the right to govern themselves are also denied the power to define and explain their own problems and, most importantly, to resolve them as they see fit (Culhane 1987: 194).

I think that we believe they don't want to be Indians. That they would rather be white men, and that simply isn't true....We just keep waiting for Indian identity to disappear and Indian culture to vanish and it doesn't. Nor will it. And that, I think, is our principal misconception....We just don't understand how deeply rooted their culture is and how firmly they believe in their own identity as Indians, Inuit and Métis (Thomas Berger 1986).²

Above all, it is important to emphasize two things: the overall achievements of the program of cultural education and at the same time the tentative place of Native cultural initiatives within the majority milieu. That is, much rests on the extent to which support for many of the constituent programs is tied up with the interests of the majority society. As long as funds are administered by non-Native agencies, much depends on the successful negotiation of the "cultural goal" in the inter-ethnic context and the accommodation of a different concept of culture and heritage.

The minority status of Native cultures in the dominant society invokes a particular way of thinking about cultural identity. The necessity of cultural maintenance to individual and collective well-being becomes an overt consideration when culture and identity appear threatened. In this arena, demonstrating a viable connection to the past is fundamental to empowerment in the present. The inability of non-Native funding agencies to fully acknowledge Native cultural priorities is due to a complex set of reasons that begin with the minority-majority relationship; that reside in very different ways, for each, that culture is performed and heritage is demonstrated; and that are related to a vested interest in maintaining the unequal weight given to material manifestations of culture over those non-material aspects of Native culture that are used to demonstrate their cultural continuity.

The fact that the various federal agencies responsible for the Cultural/Educational Centres did not anticipate the comprehensive approach of these centres was made clear in later evaluations of the funding program (Evalucan 1978; O'Connell 1979). This can be related to a number of factors, but particularly reflects the fundamentally different concepts of culture and of heritage, especially when defined by a cultural agency of the dominant

¹ From a taped interview with Rita Jack, program coordinator for the Secwepemc Cultural Education Society, March 1987.
² In MacLean's (Special Report), July 14, 1986: 26.
society. For Native people, these concepts are rooted in a strong sense of continuity between the past and the present, in ideas about cultural holism, and in ideas about the use of cultural products—knowledge, places, and objects. Hence, their programs reflect the importance of consolidating and integrating indigenous knowledge in order to prevent further cultural dislocation. In contrast, the cultural activities of the majority society are distinct from each other and predicated upon a separation between the past and present. It is on this distinction that the heritage industry is based. Such a distinction has seen the preservation of heritage objects in place of knowledge, and an elevation of these objects as symbols of heritage in place of their continued use. For a society secure in its sense of self and of its progress through history, knowledge about the past is not linked to cultural continuity. Rather it emphasizes the discontinuity and celebrates the move away from the technological and ideological constraints of the past.

It should again be noted that the equation between material manifestations of culture and culture itself is fundamental for the majority society. In this context, indigenous cultures have largely been understood in material terms, and changes in material culture are readily equated with absolute changes in culture. Museums have traditionally portrayed Native cultures in this way, through cultural artifacts and material change. Similarly, heritage, for the dominant society, is also restricted to physical manifestations of culture: sites, buildings, objects. If these are preserved, then cultural preservation is seen to be served. In contrast, the most extensive “heritage” undertaking of Native communities is the consolidation of the non-material aspects of culture: the particular knowledge of language, place, values, skills, and so on.

At present, in British Columbia, there is relatively little assistance for Native cultural initiatives, especially for those that attempt the large-scale consolidation of knowledge and skills. In an appeal to the Board of Directors of the B.C. Heritage Trust (1984), the former provincial archaeologist, Bjorn Simonsen, noted the importance of protecting “vanishing traditions” over “threatened archaeological sites.” The Trust responded by reiterating the importance of supporting “visible” heritage in the interest of satisfying a public that is oriented to visual display.

Although much of this heritage is buried in archaeological sites, an even more vital part of these vanishing traditions, namely language and other oral traditions, are being lost forever on an almost daily basis as Indian elders pass away. There is an urgent need to not only protect and study threatened archaeological sites in British Columbia, but to also insure that oral traditions are given high priority with the heritage preservation movement (Simonsen 1984: 2).

The British Columbia Heritage Trust, which relies on the goodwill of its supporters for its financing, must maintain a visible public profile. In essence its constituents are members of heritage societies which...are mostly interested in
objects which can be seen, touched, or continued in use, or which reinforce public interest in "Heritage."³

As well as reflecting the limitations of the B.C. Heritage Trust categories for heritage-worthy initiatives, this may also reflect the competing interests over land and resources that are now being negotiated through the courts. If Native concepts of heritage are recognized and continuous cultural practises are accepted, then a significant part of their claim to cultural continuity could be established. If, on the other hand, "oral history" or collective knowledge about an area is not placed on equal terms with "written" or "real" history, then the majority interests in relation to land claims are served. In this way, the defense of the Province in the Gitksan Wet'suwet'en case in British Columbia specifically denied the existence of any Native spiritual, linguistic, cultural or political presence in the areas claimed by the latter.

Clearly, in order for the different concepts of culture and heritage to be accommodated by the majority society, political agendas that depend on these distinctions may well have to be successfully challenged. The cultural education initiatives, when considered as a whole and charted throughout the country over a period of almost twenty years, provide considerable evidence of the importance given to the non-material aspects of Native cultures. Cultural education programs have produced a vast body of data to substantiate, as well as to ensure, cultural viability and continuity based on such evidence.

This thesis has identified a system of ideas about cultural survival that have determined the program of cultural education. These ideas indicate, first and foremost, a will on the part of the Canada's First Peoples to survive as distinct cultures within the setting of the dominant culture. This ideology, and the program to re-establish cultural confidence, is expressed as part of the strategy to achieve self-determination. As a system of understanding, it equates culture and well-being and perceives culture as an entity that can be mobilized to ensure cultural viability, self-sufficiency and self-determination. Much of the thinking about the importance of indigenous culture has been compressed into the idea that knowledge and pride in culture provides a strong identity and that a strong identity is central to full participation in both Native and non-Native society. These ideas are fundamental to the program of cultural education.

A limitation to describing such an ideological composite for a subject that is as broad as the program to strengthen indigenous cultures, is that it proposes a uniformity which in reality does not exist. Or it exists at an abstract level: in the goals, the beliefs, and the operating principles, rather than at the fundamental day-to-day level at which organizations actually work. By choosing to focus on an over-arching ideology, this thesis perhaps unavoidably obscures the contradictions and the divisions, the gap between what people propose to do and what they are in reality able to do. Having said all that, I will nonetheless emphasize the viability of this ideology in as much as it can be traced to a clear

program of action in the cultural domain that meets, in very important ways, the goals of self-determination.

The cultural education centre represents, first, a systematic response to a critical period of dislocation in the normal transmission of culture from one generation to the next. This occurred through the overall effects of European settlement and through specific assimilation strategies that employed the educational system to actively suppressed Native cultures and languages. Its appearance at this point in time is more than a reflection of available funding through a DIAND program. It signifies a renewed confidence as much as it addresses the building of that confidence. Cultural education strategies also indicate that solutions are to be found internally, by identifying and developing areas of cultural strength.

The goal of these centres, again, is to bring together through a systematic process of cultural inventory, the extant knowledge and directives of the elders with the body of previously recorded history and material culture, in order to preserve and perpetuate the culture and language. The intended outcome of these goals is to produce a more complete and corrected cultural and historical record from a Native perspective in order to counteract the drastic consequences of poor self-esteem and to promote pride and success in education. Additionally, these goals indicate a fundamental shift in authority over the education of Native children at one level and, at a wider level, a shift in authority over the construction of Native history and the communication of contemporary images. The achievements of these centres are difficult to evaluate. Yet, the extent of the knowledge that has been documented, and the cultural materials that have been produced and made accessible, is significant even where centres have only been functioning for a short while.

A consideration of museums has been included in this discussion of Native cultural education programs for three important reasons: the first is that the primary mechanism by which cultural information is being captured and stored, if not transmitted, is by way of a number of museographic devices. The second is that museums have influenced both the way that Native people have come to see themselves, as much as museums have influenced the way Native people are now reconstructing images of themselves in order to undo, among other things, museum-defined stereotypes. And finally, there are implications for museums in the Native cultural education programs, and there are important ways that museums can assist. The information needs for the cultural education programs are immense, and museums can play an significant role in providing supportive and collaborative arrangements that will augment the performance of both agencies. In order to ensure a credible relationship with its Native constituency in the future, it is necessary for museums to be attentive to the cultural goals of Native people, particularly those of promoting pride in a living culture and achieving cultural autonomy. This means that the long-established and troublesome dichotomy between the idea of a "contemporary" culture and a "traditional" or "authentic" culture needs to be examined for what it is, especially in the light of the legal advantage that can be invented around such a false distinction, as has been evident in a number of land claims hearings. Ultimately, this distinction must be set aside in favour an
understanding that can support cultural change without undermining ideas about essential cultural continuity.

At the same time, as Native people begin to incorporate formal museum facilities and exhibits as a means by which culture is to be preserved, they will need to be attentive to the implications of transforming their living traditions into objects of study and curiosity. They will need to be aware of the way in which the domains of special knowledge can be isolated and separated by communications media such as curriculum productions, publications and audio-visual records. What will happen when living traditions are "museumified," when oral traditions become written? What happens when the unselfconscious practise of a tradition becomes a conscious performance? A possible outcome is that the cultural productions of Native people will come to resemble those of the majority society: "We start with the museum, and we have this grand scheme of doing a museum and suddenly it resembles all the museums that we don't like." A possibility is that Native museums will either demand more of their museums and find ways of combining their history and their contemporary cultures, or they will demand less of their museums and allow the numerous other cultural activities to share this task as they do now. Indeed, the diverse set of programs, the lively connection to the community, the continued practise of a lifestyle and values, all work to counter-balance the acts of preservation that indicate discontinuity as much as a continuity.

This brings me again to the observation that the link between active cultural maintenance programs and the goals of community development is critical and must be kept in mind when looking at the cultural initiatives of Native communities. Not only is the practise of culture linked to the establishment and maintenance of self-esteem and health in its full meaning, but it allows for internal problem solving. It implies the adoption of a cultural style and brings specialized knowledge and spiritual leadership to bear on a problematic social reality.

This approach has implications for the larger development undertaking and merits further consideration. Community development ultimately depends on the extent to which a collective diagnosis has come about and, equally, the extent to which the strategies to ensure development are internally motivated and defined. It is important that proposals to locate the development programs of the Western world into the indigenous milieu also consider the underlying will for cultural survival voiced by many indigenous populations throughout the world. Western models of development must take into account the spectrum of cultural initiatives that indigenous groups have brought to bear on their own development. This applies to museum initiatives in the development arena as well. Simply locating a museum in an area where a population is deemed to be at risk, and setting about identifying cultural knowledge and presenting it through the medium of a museum, will not ensure its survival. It

4 From a taped interview with Robert Matthew, research coordinator for the Secwepemc Cultural Education Society, March 1987.
must be remembered that the Native cultural education centre is designed to fit into a larger plan for community development; it is physically and symbolically incorporated into the social and political life of many communities. Additionally, the cultural education centre is engaged in a particular process: it represents, in itself, a strengthening and it establishes a strong cultural presence in the community; it constitutes a new authority in the education of Native children. And, only then, is it a product, an actual "container" of special knowledge and skills, a producer of information.

The cultural education centre is in many ways an embodiment of Native concepts of culture. This can be seen in the "completeness" of its program configuration, in the way in which these programs are integrated, and in the special relationship to the community that these centres nurture. That this has been little understood by the organizational counterparts in the majority society, where cultural activities are categorically separate, is understandable. However, the fact remains that the relationship is an unequal one and, at present, the ability for Native cultural organizations to realize many of their cultural goals rests in the extent to which cultural education programs are externally supported through the funding structures of the majority society: "Self-determination...even when it appears real, rests on a fragile base when communities remain dependent on funding from the dominant group, whether preparing documentation for legal battles, appointing consultants for curriculum development, or hiring teachers." Clearly, if Native administrators are convinced that their cultural initiatives will eventually have to approximate those non-Native activities that are readily supported, something important will get lost in the process.

What the future of the cultural education centre is to be, is uncertain. It clearly performs an important function, but whether it will be able to maintain the integrity of the program configuration is largely dependant on the extent to which the heritage categories of the majority society will accommodate these activities over time, and at the community level. It is likely, however, that cultural education initiatives will continue to surface in concert with the needs defined by the constituent communities, and they will change as these needs change and as the kind of development envisioned comes about.

Culture is going on on the reserves. I laugh now, with the staff, when people want to work late. Now, it's taken me a long time, three or four years now...I had this work ethic...I never left at 4:30, I never left at five, sometimes we'd stay later, sometimes 'til seven o'clock we would stay here and work. And I always thought anyone who didn't do that wasn't dedicated. That they didn't have the right work ethic in their head. So, somewhere in the past year I've come to the point of where I leave here at 4:30, I don't stay any later then 4:30; if I do, it's an emergency...the culture isn't going to die overnight (Rita Jack, 1987).

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5 Dierdre Jordan (University of Adelaide), 1986: 279
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Appendices

Note: The following appendices are intended to fill out aspects of the cultural education programs in ways that could not have been accomplished in the body of the discussion. In many cases, they represent an amalgamation of, for example, goals, concerns, or programs that have been extracted and summarized. Reasons are given for the use of particular material at the start of most appendices. A note is also made to identify material that has either been directly transcribed from its original source or summarized.
Appendix 1: The Coqualeetza Philosophy, 1974 *

It is the belief of the Coqualeetza Board of Directors that we, as Indian people, must inevitably recognize and accept our Canadian citizenry and take the initiative in finding our own role within Canadian society.

In no way do we wish this statement to be interpreted to mean that we intend to relinquish our Indian identity. On the contrary, we believe that a strong sense of identity is basic to the effective functioning of all persons.

Indeed, the major priority of Coqualeetza Education Training Centre is to assist Indian people in the Stalo area to develop a positive, secure concept of themselves as persons, Indians, Canadians, and world citizens.

A second major objective is to increase understanding and to extend the common ground between Indians and non-Indians.

By providing a place, the personnel, the programs, and back-up services at Coqualeetza, we believe our Centre can make a significant contribution in bridging the gap between Indians and other Canadians.

Our program philosophy is shaped by the knowledge that a number of approaches is required since the matter confronting us is a complex one. Regardless, the key lies in the participation of our people and the support and understanding of our neighbours.

It is through involvement, and only through involvement that growth can take place. Involvement that centres on decision-making, planning, working with others. Involvement that leads to the kind of growth which contributes to a feeling of success, accomplishment—feelings which foster further involvement, greater growth and eventual self-sufficiency. Our programs are structured to promote these experiences.

Central to our task, then, has been a search for way of bringing our people together again so that involvement can begin—for it is the people who must express the needs and priorities for which a program can then be developed by them to meet their needs.

Unfortunately, non-Indians rarely understand the complexities underlying this statement. Non-Indians continue to believe that all you have to do is call a meeting, explain the situation and take a vote. Non-Indians who work in bureaucracies rarely take into account the time that is required for Indian participants to come to a meaningful consensus. Non-Indians fail to realize that their highly organized, high pressure decision-making processes are the antithesis of both Indian social organization and Indian decision-making processes. Indian people refuse to be stampeded in making decisions, particularly when the deeper structures of those decisions are unmeaningful or unclear to them. And further, Indian people have never felt compelled to co-operate with decisions made by others; each individual has traditionally been encouraged to make is or her own decisions.

Because these concepts are so completely at variance with the mode of operation of the wider Canadian society, persons who are charged with responsibility of funding and/or overseeing programs such as Cultural Education have difficulty perceiving the wisdom of the approaches Indian groups may take when attempting to operationalize these programs.

We are deeply committed to our program philosophy and are gratified by results which have exceeded even our own expectations.

* From the files at the Coqualeetza Education Training Centre. Italics used here are underlined in the original.
Briefly expressed, our approach has been:

1. To remain a part of, and not separate from, the Indian community.
2. To bring our people together through a wide variety of means.
3. To create an atmosphere where awareness develops and communication occurs.
4. To use program staff as facilitators who can help the group express needs, then work out a program plan with the group to meet those needs.
5. To provide back-up staff and facilities to operationalize programs; to assure that supportive conditions are available and operating; to provide for on-going communication, evaluation, and reinforcement of our overall objectives.
6. To centre the responsibilities of on-going planning, decision making and continuous evaluation within the group itself.

Our Elders Program epitomizes this meaningful approach and the heartening results that can occur if the participants are allowed the time to find their own path.

We started by inviting the Elders from our 24 Bands to Coqualeetza every Wednesday. They alone speak the Halkomelem language with any fluency, and rarely had the opportunity to socialize with the exception of funerals.

From their meetings, a warmth and cohesiveness developed which permitted the next "level" of program development to occur: namely, the sharing of needs and ideas. This led to the idea of a language project which has developed into an extensive program at Coqualeetza. Additional ideas have developed into a comprehensive history project and an extensive curriculum development project which will reach all children in the local Public schools.

The Elders have provided momentum and support for many other Coqualeetza activities as well. Through their participation and enthusiasm for the ideals of these projects, a new meaning has come into their lives, and as a result they have brought our communities closer together than they have been for many years.

We cannot overemphasize the importance of allowing our programs to develop in this natural way. Others may feel that this is not the fastest or most efficient way—but we know it is the only way.

It can be misleading, too, to attempt to evaluate our programs by looking only at their surface titles. It should surprise no one that often the most significant growth toward our highest goals happens not because of the content of the program but because of the process that occurs.

It is this process of growth that we at Coqualeetza are most concerned about. And while we recognize that it is difficult to evaluate growth in terms that satisfy people who prefer cost benefit analysis, we are convinced that what is happening here like growth itself cannot be really improved upon, it can only be encouraged or discouraged.

It is our philosophy that Coqualeetza must provide programs for our people which are not otherwise available to them. We have encouraged, wherever possible, programs which will:

1. Contribute to the individual feeling good about himself/herself as a person.
2. Contribute to an Indian person feeling good about himself/herself as an Indian.
3. Contribute to the creation and/or strengthening of bonds between individuals and groups through programs involving active participation.

4. Contribute to the gaining of new skills and abilities.

5. Contribute to the retrieval and/or retention of Stalo language, traditions and values.

6. Contribute to the awareness of Indian and non-Indian people of worth and potential of the Coqualeetza Centre as a vehicle for helping Indian people to find their role in contemporary society.

We believe that programs which can do some or all of these things will lead to the goals of healing our people, of giving them strength and courage and pride.

We believe that our priorities are the right ones for us.

We would ask that you keep our deeper purpose in mind, particularly when examining our programs. Certainly we are proud of the work we are doing in reviving our language, in developing Indian curricula for the schools, in recording Indian history, in promoting traditional Indian craft skills and so on. But in reality, the thing which fills our hearts with joy is to see our people healing. We are dedicated to the possibilities of our Coqualeetza Centre and we know we have found the right path.
Appendix 3: Inuit concerns regarding the preservation of Inuit culture and the question of cultural property

Selections from the proceedings of the NORTHERN QUEBEC INUIT ELDERS CONFERENCE, 1981-1983,1 Edited by Zebedee Nungak. Translated into English by Sarah Naluktuk. Published by Avataq Cultural Institute, Inuljuak, Québec. 1983

1981: held at Kangirusk (Payne Bay), Québec, 21 - 25 April.
1982: held at Povungnituk, Québec, 28 September - 5 October.
1983: held at Kangirsujuaq, Québec, 30 August - 6 September.

"This general conference is most useful to make prominent the need to retain the tangible aspects of Inuit traditions and to develop them. It also serves to define how Inuit culture should be respected by Inuit and non-Inuit alike" (1981: 81).

Loss of cultural property and patriation of Inuit traditional artifacts

Resolutions, 1981 2

Whereas: Articles of Inuit cultural identity such as legends, stories, pictures and illustrations have been surrendered to the custody of non-Inuit. There is an abundance of such cases which need to be acted upon;

Whereas: The use for which this wealth of traditional artifacts and material could be utilized is not definitely visible, because Inuit cultural identity has been much eroded;

Whereas: The distinct uniqueness of Inuit culture should always be preserved and recognized amongst the numerous different races of the world;

Whereas: Inuit occupy one of the harshest natural environments of the world. It is a wonder how survival has been accomplished with minimum means.

Therefore be it resolved that: The Inuit Elders Conference mandate Avataq Cultural Institute of Quebec to commence proceedings to patriate articles and materials of Inuit cultural identity. Avataq board will be responsible for overall direction of these activities.

Comments

Archaeologists have taken Inuit traditional artifacts and material for museums in south, without Inuit's permission. There will be a lot of problems with the patriation of artifacts and material. Our children don't have anything traditional to perceive and learn about (1981: 54).

Samwillie Alayco Patriation of Inuit artifacts must be done (1981: 54).

Louisa Kullak I'm for retrieval of Inuit artifacts. It would be a lot of help to culture teachers (1981: 55).

Johnny Epoo: It was not our intention to give away our traditional articles and material to Qallunaat (1981: 56).

Markosie Keatainak: I have worked with archaeologists and I saw how much they took. Ground was dug up, artifacts taken and shipped south (1981: 54).

1 All references included here are direct quotes from the original published proceedings, but they are featured out of their original order and have been arranged according to topics I have identified as headings herein.
2 p. 85.
Josie AullaluK: All kinds of artifacts were found in sites where Thule people resided. All those articles were shipped south (1981: 55).

Matiusie Kullulak: A few years back, archaeologists hid what they took so that even their Inuit helpers did not see them (1981: 55).

Mina Napartuk: I’m even thinking about how Avataq could propose support or financial aid from the archaeologists who took the stuff (1981: 55).

Joanassie Naluiyuk: It’s not a bad idea if an elder assists those who are going to make attempts to retrieve Inuit artifacts. People of Wakeham could also go and negotiate with the people who took the sculptured face (1981: 55).

Mathew Putulik: Apparently everyone agrees that articles and material of Inuit identity should be brought back. Inuit surrendered those articles to white people even though they did not do it solemnly. Although we probably will not get everything back, I wish to appoint Avataq to make attempts to retrieve most (1981: 55).

Johnny Epoo [president, Avataq]: We will try to meet all the requirements you had requested. Of course we will try to do the most urgent ones first. The removal and shipment of that sculpture off a cliff from Wakeham without people’s permission was revealed to us. Charlie Arngaq received a letter saying that that sculpture was on an island, therefore did not belong to the Inuit of Quebec. Furthermore, the sculpture was to remain in the museum for awhile and no one had claimed ownership of it (1981: 56).

Johnny Peters: I knew the time when qallunaat were first beginning to arrive, and I know what has been happening. Bernard has taken countless Inuit items. He’s running Laval University. I had often wanted to meet with him (1983: 137).

Tumasi Kudluk: Bernard has returned to his country. I built a qayaq, including an ipuligaq, for him... I have also made other items, such as a fish hook and suputautik. I have made him rich with artifacts (1983: 137).

Simeonie Baron: I knew about Bernard when he was making Siasi Baron tell stories and produce articles for him. He should be searched and questioned about the things he has done. He didn’t even pay Inuit for serving him. He simply gained from them... (1983: 138).

Zebedee Nungak: It’s not possible to repatriate artifacts, however, the museum would be able to borrow them (1983: 140).


**Museums and Inuit collections**

Tumasi Kudluk: Many artifacts have been taken for museums. Just as many have been made to be shipped south for museums. Many legends and stories were taken as well... People of Wakeham Bay want to have a sculptured face made of rock returned. It was carved by their ancestors on a cliff wall of an island nearby the community, and was taken without the people’s permission (1981: 54).

Mingo Alaku: People of Wakeham will not allow archaeologists and others who do similar work to do anything in Wakeham until the sculptured face is returned to them. They have already refused such people’s schemes to do any such work in Wakeham (1981: 55).
Inuit concerns regarding the preservation of Inuit culture and the question of cultural property

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Josepje Padlayat: The Inuit's traditional materials and artifacts are pleasantly displayed for people to look at. People pay to look at them while the original owners weren't paid for them. It may not be possible to get all of them back (1981: 54).

Johnny Peters: There is an Inun archaeologist under Makivik employment who is qualified to do this job. Inuit museum pieces in qallunaat museums were taken from our land. We were not paid for them but people in the south pay to see them (1981: 55).

Inuit Museums

Mina Napartuk: It would be better if Inuit maintain their own museum exhibiting their own traditional materials. Even though such artifacts were in our everyday use, we are caught in amazement and awe, whenever we get a chance to see them (1981: 54).

Tamusi Qumak: ...I want you to know that Ivujivik owns more artifacts than we do. They had planned to send their artifact to P.O.V. but they have changed their minds because they felt their artifacts should be displayed for their children. Their children need to learn about them (1982: 168).

Tamusi Qumak: As long as there is a building available, a museum can be established; the building doesn't have to be nice looking at first. I've been responsible for it since and I've never accepted any money for doing that. I only wish the museum and cultural centre would be formed. It's possible to form a museum and cultural centre as long as the use of a building is provided by the municipal council. Whenever I ask for articles for the museum, people gladly bring them to me for free. When the government notices the eagerness of the people, that's when they will want to help. I wish all the communities could get a museum. A museum can be a big help to children. A museum has educational value for children. Knowing that the government would approve proposals for funds for projects such as the making of traditional clothing, the women would gladly sew garments for display... (1983:16).

Alicie Aragutak: ... We don't have anything concrete to teach our children about our culture. What will they remember if we don't show them anything? There is an old church now being used as a museum, but it seems it's mostly for church activities. We need a museum of our own, but we don't have one.... Some young people are very interested in what elders have to say, so I don't think the elders' efforts will be in vain (1983: 20).

Mary Tukktapik: I attended the conference in Povungnituk last year. I really liked the museum they have there and envied them. When we returned home, I suggested on the radio that we form our own museum, but there was no response... (1983: 22).

Matiusie Kullulak: ... I even considered offering my small storehouse for a museum. I will expect my old way of life to survive and its values to be preserved (1983: 24).

Zebedee Nungak: ... In conferences such as this, we gather your decisions and plans. After listening to what is being said, it is evident that even a short program on traditional skills instruction could be very successful. When a program starts, you would decide what subjects to teach... I hadn't thought about having materials for display. In the past, we learned much by observation, so the children and young people would also learn if traditional tools and implements are displayed for them to see. Broadcasting by FM radio is also an ideal way of presenting talk shows (1983: 25).

Nalak Nappaaluk: From what I understand about number 4 [item on agenda], it would be quite an improvement for cultural development in our communities if we could
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each form a small museum, which shouldn't be too hard. Once we have traditional items, we could display them in a building, which doesn't have to be very big. (1983: 33).

Rhoda Angma: I went on FM right after coming back from the last conference and I read the notes I had taken. If there had been even a small room available, I would have formed a small museum. I definitely want to have a museum formed. It wouldn't have to be much at first, but it would gradually become suitable, as articles were collected (1983: 34).

Tamusi Qumak: If even a house is available, it's quite easy to form a museum. Even one person can make his own museum (1983: 34).

Mary Stuvaraapik: ...It's true that it's no big deal to form a small museum as long as there is room for the articles. Our museum is considered an asset by both whites and Inuit. Inuit clothing has been displayed there for some time now (1983: 38).

Sarah Baron: ..A small museum can be slowly formed, and I'm sure its contents would increase gradually. Young people don't have the knowledge about Inuit artifacts, so it's urgent to form these museums (1983: 38).

Concerns about archaeology

Resolution, 1983

Whereas: Archaeological work in the North has been the exclusive domain of southern archaeologists, with Inuit participating only as guides and site assistants;

Whereas: Archaeological findings have become the exclusive property of governments, universities and southern institutions;

Whereas: Certain archaeological artifacts, priceless in regard to Inuit culture, have been taken without permission or consultation with the Inuit; and whereas many articles have been taken without compensation and some by outright theft;

Whereas: The elders have a desire to preserve whatever remains of archaeological sites and property for the benefit of Inuit descendants and the North

Thereby be it hereby resolved that: The Third Annual Inuit Elders Conference assign Avataq Cultural Institute the following mandate:

1. To represent Inuit interests in all matters related to archaeological work;
2. To consult with Inuit communities in the formulation of policy on archaeology whenever archaeological work needs to be done near a particular community;
3. To initiate training of Inuit in the field of archaeology in order to complement expertise possessed by elders, and to assist in the identification and use of fund;
4. To initiate a working relationship with southern archaeologists, governments and others with the objective of attaining a policy which will ensure the maximum benefits of this field to [be] kept to the North and the Inuit Heritage.

3 1983: 245.
Inuit concerns regarding the preservation of Inuit culture and the question of cultural property

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Comments

Mingo Alaku: The people of Kangirsujuaq are keeping archaeologists from sites around the community. I would like some solution for this situation (1983:140).

Matiusie Kullulak: We did not try to stop archaeologists in the past. I worked with archaeologists for two summers. After two summers, they planned to train Inuit to do archaeology in the future. Afterwards, the community council made it a requirement for them to get the council's permission to excavate. We gave them permission since their work wouldn't damage anything anyway (1983:140).

Samwillie Annahatak: It's been only a few years since the agreement, and the archaeologists must get permission from the community council. We have refused to grant them permission a few times now. Archaeology cannot be done by Inuit, so it doesn't seem quite right for non-Inuit to do research about Inuit (1983:141).

Nalak Nappaalu: I can tell you a little about the archaeologists Mingo was talking about and their meeting with the community council. Inuit artifacts were simply taken from our community. There are many different Inuit artifacts. The archaeologists stated that there could be training in archaeology for Inuit and that the trainees wouldn't have to go south to get it. They archaeologists made a request to have two copies of each artifact molded in plaster, which I agree with (1983:141).

Isa Qupiquialuk: I don't see why archaeologists should have the authority to take artifacts. Perhaps they feel they should take them to determine their age. There is an old site near Povungnituk ... We are all interested in such things, so what do we do? (1983:141).

Maggie Tukkiapik: I prefer to have Avataq in charge of archaeology, and to make agreements with qallunaat when necessary and retain their authority for giving permission. When archaeologists consult Avataq about their wish to visit communities, Avataq can have discussions with the community agents. I think it would be best if the residents of the community give approval or their opinions to Avataq (1983:142).

Turu Saviajuk: ... I'd prefer to have Inuit do the research, if possible, while archaeologists do the dating. I think the collection would grow rapidly once it's started... (1983:142).

Zebedee Nungak: As we are the ones who should be concerned about our land, it's up to us to decide what archaeological work may be done on it. Usually the same archaeologists do the research, and the purpose of this discussion is to decide how archaeology should be applied in the North (1983:144).

Johnny Epoq: Up to now, we still don't know how archaeology should be treated, although we will eventually decide what to do about it. We, too, feel that it wouldn't be a good idea to hire a qallunaaq. Inuit students could be trained to provide the museum with contents and to care for them. Interested people have begun to inquire about these positions (1983:150).

Alicie Naslu: Archaeologists have been in Salluit as well. A recommendation should be made to have archaeologists help Avataq. There archaeologists had six Inuit assistants or guides which worked out well. If the people are doing archaeology are all Inuit, they'll probably make mistakes... (1983:150).

Zebedee Nungak: Qallunaat don't know much about these archaeological sites, but have qallunaat knowledge. What we're interested in is how Inuit and qallunaat can work together on this. Next time we have a meeting with qallunaat we can present...
Inuit concerns regarding the preservation of Inuit culture and the question of cultural property

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our suggestions. There is still no set plan, but we should soon have one and we are hoping Inuit will soon be trained (1983:152).

Mathewie Sakiagak: We're going to be taking over the work qallunaat have done, especially before the agreement. Qallunaat usually conduct their work in our communities without consulting us, of which I disapprove. I'd feel better if qallunaat are employed to work for Inuit (1983:154).

Paulusie Padlayet: I'd like to move on to another subject and resolve this as follows — qallunaat who want to do archaeological work should consult the Avataq Cultural Institute and then Avataq should make an agreement with the residents of the community where the archaeological work is to be done. Residents of the community should keep whatever items are found and qallunaat may get information about such items through their magazines. Qallunaat should determine the date of the items (1983:154).

Skeletal material

Charlie Saunders: Even graves have been salvaged with skeletons removed for shipment south. I myself have witnessed two skeletons taken away by sailors (1981: 54).

Feelings about involvement of Non-Inuit in Inuit cultural work

Mitiarjuk Nappaaluk: I was startled to hear about a qallunaat working and an Inuk working on Inuititut. Qallunaat have always robbed us of our belongings and we always learned about this too late. With that in mind, I am requesting that Avataq be responsible for cultural matters, although I know they won't solve these problems instantly. Knowing that qallunaat have robbed us, I have been more careful to be wary. Most non-Inuit are envious and interested in the work that must be done in the Inuit culture. It is for that reason I wish to have the Avataq group control the efforts in this area and protect our culture and inform us whenever there is a danger of being robbed. I wish to have more attempts made to have a cultural centre erected so that we can have a facility to prevent theft. Together with people from other communities, I want to protect our culture. Nowadays it's easier to serve our people. ... Perhaps the qallunaat are interested in getting at Inuit belongings to make more money (1983:129).

Daisy Watt: I have known for some time now that Tamusi is compiling a dictionary. The reason for my disagreement was because of money. Mitiarjuk stated that Inuit have been robbed in the past. We were robbed this summer as well. This person even wants to teach Inuititut at a university overseas. He also wants to produce materials for Inuit to use. The book he is making would be in English, Inuititut and French. That's how much we're being used by non-Inuit to make money while we are unaware. From now on, we should try to work together in order to be more help to Avataq (1983:132).

Caroline Palliser: I'd like to explain further about qallunaat robbing us of our work on our culture and language, as Mitiarjuk said. There is usually no clarification or definition of projects among various people, so often two or more of the same projects are being done at the same time. It's depressing to hear that qallunaat are doing exactly the same work we plan to do. A qallunaat requested us to improve on the work she had done in compiling anatomical names. This person listed four hundred words, which exceeds the list of seventy that our teachers collected. It seems like she's ahead of us, and that makes me feel resentful (1983:136).
Tamusi Qumak: Many people are interested in working on Inuit culture now. You should first be in contact with your fellow Inuit. If you want to make any progress, you shouldn't concentrate on politics so much. Don't feel so compelled to be in contact with qallunaat; you can approach them after achieving your goal. Try to show more compassion to your own people (1983:136).

Daisy Watt: Archaeologists and anthropologists frequently come to Kuujjuaq. Most qallunaat often come to me for assistance rather than the Inuit association. There is a man who came to Kuujjuaq often to make tapes. He even travelled to Greenland. He could speak Inuttitut. I wonder if there could be an inquiry made about him (1983:150).

Daisy Watt: People like archaeologists and anthropologists usually send me articles they have produced out of gratitude. I was thinking that Avataq could have a look at them if they wish to (1983:152).

The following information has been extracted and summarized from the Annual Reports of the B.C. Heritage Trust, for the years 1982-1987. The B.C. Heritage Trust is the funding arm of the provincial Heritage Conservation Branch. It funds all heritage-related activities for the province and, unlike Quebec, there are no additional provisions made to fund Native heritage initiatives outside of this agency. The purpose of this appendix is to set out the categories according to which heritage funding is assigned—categories that also suggest a particular concept of heritage that is not set up to accommodate the cultural (or heritage) objectives of Native initiatives. Most of the other categories that have been funded deal primarily with the material heritage and archaeological work, which constitutes only a small part of what might be defined as “heritage needs.”

It is not clear, however, to what extent Native organizations have attempted to gain support from the B.C. Heritage Trust other than for the restoration of religious buildings, nor is it clear to what extent Native students have applied for the scholarship fund.

The following summary indicates 1) money given to any project dealing with Native subject matter; 2) a distinction between money given to non-Native agencies for work dealing with Native subject matter, and 3) the categories of projects funded from 1982-1987. It does not summarize all the monies given out for heritage project in B.C. As recently as 1984, however, less than 4% of all funds allotted by the B.C. Heritage Trust went to Native projects of any kind.

Publication Assistance Program

1982-83 Summary of grants given to non-Native individuals and agencies for work dealing with Native culture: four projects: including a film on the world heritage site on Anthony Island, a guide to totem poles of Prince Rupert, an annotated bibliography of B.C. Indian myths and legends, and a collection of scholarly essays on pre-historic Indian art in B.C [$46,200].

1983-84 Summary of grants given to non-Native individuals and agencies for work dealing with Native culture: two projects including a book on Coast Salish Culture (Sliammon Reserve) and a book on the uses of Cedar and associated technology [$9,000].

From Mountain to Mountain. Maureen Cassidy, Ans’pa Yaxw School Board, Hazelton. A history of the Gitksan Village of Ans’pa Yaxw. A history of the people of Kispiox from pre-contact times to the present [$1,000].


1984-85 Summary of grants given to non-Native individuals and agencies for work dealing with Native culture: four projects: including a compilation of academic papers relating to the Tsimshian, a film on the petroglyphs of coastal B.C., a commemoration of the faith of the Squamish people, by the Order of Oblate Mary Immaculate, and a grant to the Archaeological Society of B.C. for the publication of The Midden [$13,800].

Raven Steals the Light. Bill Reid. Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre. “This book includes reproductions of Bill Reid’s drawings in addition to recounting the Haida

1 Simonsen, 1984:2-3 (cf. Mohs)
myths they illustrate. An important addition to our understanding of the culture of the Haida people." [$4,000].

1985-86 Summary of grants given to non-Native individuals and agencies for work dealing with Native culture; two projects including a book on Bill Reid and a catalogue on Cowichan knitting [$9,800].

A Town Called Chase. En’owkin Centre, Penticton. A historical perspective on the development and growth of Chase, B.C [$2,500].

1986-87 Summary of grants given to non-Native individuals and agencies for work dealing with Native culture; one project, a book describing Northwest Coast weaving techniques [$5,000].


Planning and Inventory

1982-83 Haida Forest Utilization Study. The Council of the Haida Nation. The project surveyed the areas on the Queen Charlotte Islands and attempted to determine evidence of forest utilization by the aboriginal people [$2,500].

1983-84 Non-Native agencies:

North Island Heritage Inventory, North Island Heritage Society, Port McNeill [$25,000].

1984-85 Ohiaht Ethno-Archaeological Survey. Ohiaht Band Council, Bamfield. A detailed survey of archaeological sites in the Bamfield area of Barkley Sound, including a public program for residents and visitors to the area [$20,000].

Spallumcheen Heritage Inventory. Spallumcheen Indian Band, Enderby. To complete a heritage inventory in the Spallumcheen area [$13,000].

Kunghit Haida Cultural History Project. Skidegate Band. Development of a cultural history sequence for the Southern Queen Charlotte Islands, providing training opportunity in archaeological survey and excavation techniques for members of the Haida community [$50,000].

Stein Valley Heritage Inventory. Stein Heritage Committee, Lillooet. An inventory of heritage resources in the Stein River Valley of southwest British Columbia, with an emphasis on archaeological sites [$6,000].

1985-86 Kitsumkalum Valley Heritage Survey. Kitsumkalum Band Council, Terrace. To compile a comprehensive inventory of heritage sites in the Kitsumkalum River drainage basin [$18,000].

Kunghit Haida Cultural History, Skidegate Band Council, Skidegate. To develop a culture history sequence for the Southern Queen Charlotte Islands through the integration of archaeological and archival research [$25,000].

Non-Native agencies:

Features ’85—Bella Bella Project, Simon Fraser University [$9,480].

1986-87 no projects listed

Scholarship Program, non-Native students

1982-83 for advanced work in physical anthropology for examining human skeletal remains from Namu, B.C.
1982-83 for graduate work in archaeology and ethnohistory of southeastern British Columbia.

1984-85 for graduate work to look at the development of reefnetting in the Straits Salish.

1985-86 for graduate work in archaeology, the interassemblage variability in stone tools.

1986-87 for work in archaeology, resource utilization and lithic assemblage in the North Okanagan Valley.

**Building Restoration Program**  no projects listed

**Heritage Area Revitalization Program**  no projects listed

**Religious Buildings Restoration**

1982-83 *Sugar Cane Church, Williams Lake Indian Band.* In July 1895, the Sugar Cane Church was dedicated to the Immaculate Conception. The Trust grant assisted with the cost of a new roof and exterior restoration, including windows and doors [$6,525].

*Church of St. Frances Xavier, Fort George Indian Band, Shelley.* The church, built in 1913-14, is located on the Ft. George Reserve. After restoration, the church will be used once again for worship [$15,000].

1983-84 *St. John the Baptist Church, Stone Indian Band, Hanceville.* The Band undertook the restoration of this church which was built in 1904 and still serves as the central place of worship for the community [$8,700].

*Red Bluff Church, Red Bluff Indian Band, Quesnel.* The Red Bluff Indian Band plans to restore this abandoned church, built by local residents in 1906. Upon completion it is to be used for religious services as well as a community meeting place [$8,980].

*St. Eugene Church, St. Mary’s Indian Band, Cranbrook.* St. Mary’s Indian Band intends to continue restoration of this magnificent structure, built in 1895-97, to be used for services and other community functions [$40,000].

*Holy Cross Church, Skookumchuck Indian Band, Mission.* This grant assisted with the exterior restoration of this unique church constructed in 1905 as part of the Oblate Fathers mission [$20,000].

1984-85 *St. Joseph’s Church, Kamloops Indian Band.* Restoration of this church exterior, including foundations, bell tower, windows, doors and painting [$25,000].

1985-86 *Holy Trinity Church, Pavilion Indian Band, Cache Creek.* To assist in the exterior restoration of Holy Trinity Church, built in 1890 [$3,636].

*Sacred Heart Church, Sliammon Indian Band, Powell River.* To assist with the restoration of the church and install a fire alarm system [$20,000].

1986-87 *St. Peter & Paul Church, Little Shuswap Indian Band, Squilax (Chase).* Restoration of the exterior of this church, including bell tower [$16,000].

*Sacred Heart Church, Penticton Indian Band, Penticton.* To undertake the exterior restoration of this church [$5,878].

*Kuper Island Parish Church, Penelakut Indian Band, Chemainus.* To financially assist the restoration of the exterior of the Parish Church [$4,974].
Historical Archaeology Program

1982-83 Site Survey of Middle North Thompson River Valley, North Thompson Indian Band. The survey of the mid-North Thompson River involved systematic examination to locate and record all archaeological sites [$15,000].

Kitselas Canyon Archaeological Project. Kitselas Village Council. This grant assisted in a joint project of the Kitselas Indian Band and the National Museum of Man. The work included a survey of the cultural resources of the Kitselas Canyon area, and the excavation of a prehistoric village site in the canyon [$6,000].

Non-Native agency: Archaeological Society of B.C. St. Mungo Archaeological Site Interpretive Display, and site interpretation. Provision of on-site interpretive centre at the St. Mungo shell midden site, thought to be one of the oldest sites in the lower mainland. The grant provides both centre and on-site interpretation from May through September [$90,000].

1983-84 Kitselas Canyon Archaeological Project. Kitselas Village Council. This grant assisted with the excavation of the Ketselas Canyon site, which provided evidence of social and economic organization of the village component [$5,000].

1984-85 Kootenay Indian Cultural Heritage. Kootenay Indian Area Cranbrook Council. To gather and evaluate information and develop programs to conserve and interpret the heritage resources of the Kootenay Indians [$7,750].

Non-Native agencies:
- Pender Canal Site Interpretation, Simon Fraser University [$9,924].
- Hat Creek Archaeological Inventory, University of British Columbia [$4,672].
- Archaeology of Straits Salish Reefnetting, University of Victoria [$7,500].
- Inventory of Rock Art Sites, District of Kitimat [$15,000].
- Northwest Coast Native Architecture, University of British Columbia [$19,000].

1985-86 no projects listed

1986-87 funds listed as fully committed to the Land-Base Fur Trade Project, Simon Fraser University.

Commemorative Monuments no projects listed

Student Employment Program

1982-83 no projects listed.

1983-84 Nimpkish Excavation Project. U'Mista Cultural Centre, Alert Bay. To conduct test excavations of heritage sites at the mouth of the Nimpkish River and carry out a heritage site inventory of traditional Nimpkish lands [$8,314].

Collaborative projects:
- Eagle Lake Ethno-Archaeology Project, University of British Columbia and Nemiah Band. To conduct ethnoarchaeological research with the Nemiah Indian Band as part of an archaeological project investigating the arrival of Athabaskan people in the Chilcotin area [$3,104].

Non-Native agencies:
- Outdoor Heritage Interpretation Centre, Lytton Heritage Society [$8,979].
1984-85 Moricetown Canyon Site Inventory, Moricetown Indian Band. To complete an inventory of the Moricetown Canyon Heritage Sites [$4,656].

Non-Native agencies:
Archaeological Inventory of Milliken and Esilao Sites, University of British Columbia [$4,656].
Gulf Islands Fishing Sites Inventory, University of Victoria [$4,656].
Inventory of Northwest Coast Indian Sites, Simon Fraser University [$9,312].
Northwest Coast Native Architecture, University of British Columbia [$4,656].

1985-86 Sugar Cane Heritage Buildings Research, Williams Lake Indian Band, Williams Lake. To survey and inventory all heritage buildings on Indian Reserve 1 [$4,326].

Threatened Legacy: Heiltsuk Preservation. Heiltsuk Cultural Education Centre, Waglisla. To inventory and document threatened heritage property; to develop a strategy and funds for the preservation of heritage resources extant in the community [$4,326].

Collaborative projects:
Fountain Band Resource Utilization Survey. Simon Fraser University Archaeology Department. Survey of traditional resource utilization sites with elders of the Fountain Band [$4,659].

Conferences no programs listed

Additional Activities
1982-83 Non-Native agencies:
Queen Charlotte Islands Museum, Skidegate: grant to assist in purchase of 3 Native artifacts [$2,000].
Museum of Northern British Columbia, Prince Rupert: grant to assist in purchase of 1 Native artifact [$1,000].
Cranbrook Archaeological Seminar Proposal [prehistory of the east Kootenays]., East Kootenay Community College [$3,520].

1983-84 Transportation of Totem Pole. Nuyumbalees Society/Kwakiutl Museum, Quathiaski Cove. The Kwakiutl Museum arranged to have a totem pole, carved by Johnny Clakwatsi in c.1908, returned from the Calgary Zoo [$2,000].

1984-85 Non-Native agencies:
Changing Tides Exhibit, University of British Columbia [$7,205].
Willingdon Beach [Archaeological]. Study and Interpretation, District of Powell River [$13,210].
Archaeological Analysis [Hat Creek inventory], University of British Columbia [$5,957].

1985-86 no projects listed.
1986-87 no projects listed.

Capital Projects no projects listed.
Appendix 5: Strategy For The Socio-Economic Development of Indian People: The Cultural Goal

The Cultural Goal

To retain and strengthen Indian constitutional and cultural identity so as to promote full Indian contribution to Canadian society, culturally, socially and economically.

Commentary

The central meaning of this goal is that the Indian people have always seen themselves as an independent people. They have never conceded to the assumption that they are individually subject people. They cherish their special constitutional status and their communal land base on the reserve and they wish to restore their power over the administration of that land base and their own affairs. They see community-based self-government as fundamental to any improvement in their situation.

The special constitutional status of Indians guarantees the maintenance of the communal land base. The communal land base is a guarantee of the continuation of their culture. The maintenance of their culture is basic to their very being as purposeful people.

The cultural goal implies mechanisms under Indian control which would coordinate the management of all resources from different levels of government and the private sector which are needed for a balanced development of Indian communities. Indian leaders see the effective development of on-reserve communities as being the central issue for socio-economic development of the Indian people of Canada. In short, this goal involves self-determination in the political area, the cultural area, and the administrative area.

Indigenous people throughout the world who form minority groups are now in agreement that a prerequisite to any improvement in their socio-economic situation is for each person to have knowledge and pride in the culture of his community and to be able to relate to the larger society from a position of psychological strength. In short, each person must be secure in his cultural identity.

The cultural goal rejects the assimilation of the Indian people into the larger society, perceived by the Indian people as an implicit non-Indian goal underlying most of their relationships with the non-Indian world.

Assimilation is rejected because it does not work. It is psychologically and socially unsound. To obtain the necessary self-confidence, inner strength, and determination to become a full member of Canadian society requires that a person believes in his cultural heritage and does not deny it.

Tribal cultures are still alive, although they are considerably modified since first contact, and the Indian religion is undergoing a great resurgence. The language and traditions are also very much alive.

The cultural goal implies a plea/demand by the Indian people to the non-Indians to accept the validity of their cultures so that future interaction will result in creative cultural evolution rather than in the destruction of the minority culture. This would do much to assist the now widely fragmented and disparate groups to regain strength by providing a single focus of motivation. The adoption of this goal will lay the basis for a range of choice to all Indian people-choice ranging from living a traditional life style in a small isolated Indian community close to nature to adopting an entirely urban Canadian life style.

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1 From the Background Report No.1, for the Strategy for Socio-Economic Development, National Indian Brotherhood; quoted directly as cited in O'Connell 1980: 70.
Appendix 6: Language and culture curriculum goals in British Columbia Schools

The following represents a collection of goals which are organized here according to the kinds of concerns expressed. The primary source for this information is from the summaries provided by the various agencies and schools for Art More’s 1983 and 1985 Indian Education Projects and Programs in B.C. Schools. (Vancouver: University of British Columbia), but a number of other sources have also been included from the brochures or calendars put out by various organizations. The goals have been quoted here verbatim, but have been removed from their original context where several goals are usually listed. I have attempted to keep a kind of universal order of priority, but the generalization of this order is my own. Note that sometimes the goals listed with reference to a particular school district are non-Native goals and are broad, intending to “promote an appreciation” of Native cultures among non-Native students.

To do with identity and pride

self-image and self-esteem

° All people must possess...a positive identity as an individual as well as a positive feeling about one’s cultural group (Saskatchewan Indian Cultural College, program outline 1974:15).
° To provide students of Indian ancestry with an opportunity to develop a more positive self-image by experiencing learning process[es] using culturally-based materials (Okanagan Indian Curriculum Development Project, More 1985: 110).
° To improve the self-image and raise awareness in students of their cultural identity (Tahltan Language program, More 1985: 35).
° To develop self-esteem, respect for the natural environment, to develop an environment that constantly looks to the future (Spallumcheen Band operated Shihya Elementary School, More 1985: 92).
° To develop a positive self-concept, skills for completion of school, life skills, and to develop an awareness and understanding of the cultural differences that exist within our society (Ske-ho-del-eh Program, More 1985: 29).
° To instill pride in being native Canadian (Nawhican Alternate School, More 1983: 10).
° The building of positive self-concepts through the use of culturally relevant materials (Sto:lo programs, School District 32, More 1985: 56).
° [To develop] a positive identity as an individual as well as a positive feeling about one’s cultural group (Saskatchewan Indian Cultural College, Program outline, 1974:15).
° The school philosophy will be centered on the desire to affirm Amerindian culture (Betsiamites (Quebec), Rencontre, 1985 7: 2).
° To help students of the indigenous culture develop a positive self-concept based on a knowledge of their own culture and the recognition by the school district that this culture comprises a significant factor in the social fabric of this area (School District No. 52, Prince Rupert, Grade Four Social Studies, Native Studies Unit: The Coastal Tsimshians and Their Neighbours. Outline).

promoting pride and respect

° To re-establish and re-affirm students’ pride in their cultural heritage (Port Simpson Food Curriculum, Curriculum goals. Outline).
° To ensure that the students develop strong and proud Indian identities (Seabird Island Community School, More 1985: 72).
° To promote and encourage Indian pride, Indian culture and Indian points of view through the development of various educational programs (Tseshkaht Band/Ha-ho Payuk Independent School, More 1985: 140).

° To provide a local Indian unit or work in the regular Social Studies so that a feeling of pride can develop in the district and within individuals. This then will promote both a better understanding of the native culture and an identity for native children at the school (District 16, Keremos and Cawston, More 1985: 97).

° Children will learn to feel secure, to respect and preserve the culture in the community, and will gain an awareness of themselves, and understand and develop an appreciation of the Bella Coola heritage (Acwsalcta school, Bella Coola Band, More 1985: 38).

° To provide a comprehensive education to the students of Mount Currie which will reaffirm their Native heritage in the context of today's society (Lil'wat Language program, More 1985: 109).

° To enhance the understanding of and respect for Native Indian culture and tradition (Mainstay program (urban), More 1985: 60).

° Attempts to foster pride and knowledge in the rich cultural heritage—a positive self concept through the emphasis on Indian culture (Kumtuks Alternate Program, Vancouver, More 1985: 78).

improving the perception of culture

° To improve perceptions of all students about the nature of Indian people and the continuing of their history in the valley (Okanagan Indian Curriculum Development Project, More 1985: 109)

° Lack of opportunity for young people to learn about their distinctive cultural background (planned Sliammon Curriculum Project, More 1985: 64).

° Student acquisition of knowledge about Indian society past and present; improvement of all students' perceptions about Indian people and the history of the Sto:lo nation (Sto:lo programs, School District 32, More 1985: 56).

° The formation of positive conclusions about traditional native culture (Sto:lo programs, School District 32, More 1985: 56).

creating awareness of values

° To provide an opportunity for students to deal with value questions by confronting personal biases, pre-conceptions and values in light of those value systems held by another culture which had existed on the landscape before the arrival of non-Indian cultures (Okanagan Indian Curriculum Development Project, More 1985: 109).

° To promote respect and understanding for the environment, and to help children retain their Indian identity with the use of values and education, and by expressing traditional values to the creator in songs and dances (Acwsalcta school, Bella Coola Band, More 1985: 38).

promoting concepts of self-sufficiency

° All people must possess... a feeling of power and control over one's life and destiny (Saskatchewan Indian Cultural College, program outline (ca.1974): 15).

° To graduate a self-sufficient native Indian person, who knows who he is and what he can do and feels good about it (Stony Creek Alternate School, More 1985: 31).
Language and culture curriculum goals in British Columbia Schools

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- To promote comprehensive educational and training programs consistent with the long range goals of self-determination and economic independence among Indian people (Tseshaht Band/Ha-ho Payuk Independent School, More 1985: 140).

**To do with the drop-out/failure rate in school**
- To alleviate the high drop out rate of native Indian students by providing a highly individualized Indianized program (Cowichan Language program, Alternate School II, More 1985: 52).
- To ensure more students complete highschool (Seabird Island Community School, More 1985: 72).
- Although there has been some success of Blood Indians within the present system of education, a majority number fail ever to complete their high school education. One solution which will change the over-all picture by a great deal will be to inject into the various school curricula more meaningful material. This material should not be categorized as 'special' as this will tend to cause it to be classified as inferior (Ninastako Cultural Centre, Calendar, 1984).

**Cultural relevance**
- To develop culturally relevant reading materials (Language arts, Curriculum development project, DIAND, school district 55, Burns Lake, More 1985: 12).
- [To provide] the use of a meaningful medium, and academic tutoring (District 39, Elementary school cultural enrichment program, More 1985: 81).
- To increase the relevancy of the school curriculum to the Indian child's realities, and to provide a basis for a more extensive cross cultural appreciation (Native/ Kwakiutl Studies, District 27 schools, More 1985: 132).
- To make the provincial curriculum more relevant to the local students. (Port Simpson Food Curriculum, Curriculum goals. Outline).
- To help students of the indigenous culture identify more positively with the prescribed curriculum (School District No. 52, Prince Rupert, Grade Four Social Studies, Native Studies Unit: The Coastal Tsimshians and Their Neighbours. Outline).

**too much like provincial curriculum**
- At the moment our education system is far too much like the provincial system. We don't have the necessary funds to adapt it to our culture (River Desert Education Authority (Quebec) Rencontre 1986 8 (2): 12).

**Cultural continuity**
- To retain the culture, government and language of Bella Coola (Acwsalcta school, Bella Coola Band, More 1985: 38).
- To give the Shuswap student a sense of continuity in place (Shuswap Studies, District 27, More 1985: 120).

**To correct the historical and intellectual record**
- To ensure that culture and history are taught (Seabird Island Community School, More 1985: 72).
○ Re-introduction of native cultural components (Gitanyow Band operated Elementary school, More 1985: 156).

○ To use the example of the native Indian community to trace the development of a culture in response to the fundamental human needs and experience (Squamish Curriculum Project, More 1985: 60-61).

○ To understand and define factors that have shaped and continue to shape the native Indian identity in their own community according to its historical and contemporary experiences (Squamish Curriculum Project, More 1985: 60-61).

○ To allow students to acquire a body of knowledge about the functioning of the [Okanagan] Indian—both past and present (Okanagan Indian Curriculum Development Project, More 1985: 109).

○ To document the culture of the Thompson people of the Lytton area in three major time frames, designed to infuse locally developed curriculum into the school system at defined intervals (Tsunamm Curriculum Infusion Project, More 1985: 101).

○ Another method to improve the success rate of Blood Indian students in school is to give fairer treatment to the Indian in history books and other areas where he is mentioned. (Ninastako Cultural Centre, Calendar, 1984).

○ We plan that within two years every school in Saskatchewan will have access to accurate and well prepared materials on Indian culture (Saskatchewan Indian Cultural College, Program outline, 1974: 15).

○ To reconstruct their present knowledge and perceptions of Indian people in general through investigations of Okanagan Indian humanity (Okanagan Indian Curriculum Development Project, More 1985: 109).

To do with uniqueness

○ To identify and explain similarities and differences between the cultural heritage of their native Indian community and other communities (Squamish Curriculum Project, More 1985: 60-61).

○ To identify, with the help of local people, the social values and cultural features most important to the preservation of [Carrier] ways [Language arts, Curriculum development project, DIAND, school district 55, Burns Lake, More 1985: 12].

Community values

○ Concern for diminishing role of the family in community life (planned Sliammon Curriculum Project, More 1985: 64).

○ To encourage more community involvement in the School and in the educational process (Port Simpson Food Curriculum, Outline).

○ To create a dialogue between the elders and the young people (Port Simpson Food Curriculum, Outline).

Bi-culturalism

○ To adhere to the principles of Indian education but also to ensure that children master the survival skills of the mainstream (Acwsalcta school, Bella Coola Band, More 1985: 38).

○ To provide the best of both worlds (Heiltsuk Language program, More 1985: 137).

○ To develop the skills and understanding to draw best from both the Indian and non-Indian worlds (Spallumcheen Band operated Sthiya Elementary School, More 1985: 92).
To provide students with a knowledge of their language and culture in addition to a thorough education in the core subject areas of Language Arts and Mathematics (Kwakwala Language and culture program, More 1985: 136).

To cope with the difficulties associated with cultural duality (Nawhican Alternate School, More 1983: 10).

To attain knowledge and skills to live in an Indian and non-Indian society, and to teach the children to live in harmony with their environment (Seabird Island Community School, More 1985: 72).

[To] prepare students for both worlds--out there and here at Mount Currie: more emphasis on programmes for here and less academic...emphasize full programme of agriculture...prepare children in terms of values and attitudes: a workshop [with elders as teachers] on discipline, respect, values that were once taught [with] emphasis on upbringing (Mount Currie School, workshop outline: Directions).

citizenship

All people must possess...a feeling of connectedness with the larger Canadian society that enables the child to see how he and his cultural group are an integral part of the Canadian entity (Saskatchewan Indian Cultural College, program outline (ca.1974): 15).

Enrichment and infusion

Cultural and academic enrichment (Shuswap Language and culture program, Kamloops Band, Seklep School, More 1985: 96).

To provide cultural enrichment ; to raise self-esteem and sense of self-worth; to sensitize teachers to cultural differences (District 39, Elementary school cultural enrichment program, More 1985: 81).

To advance and improve the level of educational achievement of the Indian people (Tseshaht Band/Ha-ho Payuk Independent School, More 1985: 140).

To document the culture of the Thompson people ... designed to infuse locally developed curriculum into the school system at defined intervals (Tsunamm Curriculum Infusion Project, More 1985: 101).

To provide a local learning environment; this program adheres to the provincial curriculum, but uses cultural infusion, thereby adapting the curriculum to the students cultural identity (Canim Lake Elementary, cultural infusion, More 1985: 91).

Parent/community involvement

To effect parent involvement with development of project (District 39, Elementary school cultural enrichment program, More 1985: 81).

Indian style, Indian role models

To have the classroom reflect the Indian culture in appearance and organization; to promote, in a happy and meaningful way, the academic, emotional, social and physical growth of students (Tseshaht Band/Ha-ho Payuk Independent School, More 1985: 140).

A third method or solution will be to produce more Blood Indian teachers to encourage young Blood Indians students toward greater school achievement (Ninastako Cultural Centre, Calendar, 1984).
Cross-cultural communication
° To offer all Grade 4 students in the district an appreciation and understanding of the culture of the local indigenous peoples. To enhance cross-cultural communication and respect based on knowledge and understanding (School District No. 52, Prince Rupert, Grade Four Social Studies, Native Studies Unit: The Coastal Tsimshians and Their Neighbours. Outline).
° An important value of these programs [special in-school programs] was that students were exposed to "real" Indian people. They could realize that Indian people lived in the modern world, like them, but maintained some unique cultural traits (Archibald 1984: 88).

Language programs

**General goals**
° To promote the teaching of the Nisga’a language and culture as an integral part of the basic education program of the district (Nisga’a Bilingual and Bicultural Program, More 1985: 158).
° The goals of the language program are: language familiarity, improvement of self-concept, and preservation of culture (Salish Language Instruction, Lillooet, More 1985: 98).
° Indian language programs need to be expanded and given more emphasis throughout the school. Indian language should be broadened to include cultural skills and cultural values as well as crafts of the culture such as basketry (Mount Currie School: A direction for the school. n.d.).

**Language essential to culture**
° Knowledge of a language is essential to the preservation and continuation of culture (Bella Coola Elementary, Nuxalk Language Program, More 1985: 39).

**Language as a medium for culture**
° To expose the children to their culture, the language being the base from which this cultural sense can grow (Penelakut Band language program, More 1985: 57).
° A primary source of cultural study [is] through the medium of anecdotal and conversational topics (Kwakwala/Ligwala Language Program, More 1985: 132).
° At the elementary level, the language is pivotal to all other subjects (Lil’wat Language program, More 1985: 109).
° Many concepts in values and history can best be expressed in the Indian language (Tsartlip Indian Day School, More 1985: 68).

**Language and identity, pride and self-esteem**
° To maintain a sense of place and to develop greater self-confidence in the Carrier children in the school system (Ulkatcho Band/ Anahim Lake School, More 1985: 9).
° To foster formation of positive self-image and identity in students (Bella Coola Elementary, Nuxalk Language Program, More 1985: 39).

**Language and Indian ways of thinking**
° To develop greater understanding of uniquely native ways of comprehending reality (Bella Coola Elementary, Nuxalk Language Program, More 1985: 39).
To aid in the development of thinking processes congruent with the maintenance of cultural identity (Bella Coola Elementary, Nuxalk Language Program, More 1985: 39).

Native language as a modern language and a second language

It is hoped to develop the language curriculum to the level that French now has, that of a modern language worthy of study and appreciation. (Carrier Language Program, More 1985: 35).

To replace the present French program (Okanagan Language program, More 1985: 118).
Appendix 7: British Columbia Ministry of Education: Native Education policy


Policy Statement on Indian Education, October 1979 2

Preamble

For a number of years the Ministry of Education and school districts, in consultation with native Indians, have been applying themselves to meet the special learning and cultural needs of the native Indian child in the public schools. The scope of activities in this regard has been growing.

Areas of particular concern have emerged during this period which include the under-achievement and "dropping out" of native Indian students and the implications of this fact for the school's programs; special program emphasis; the place of curriculum about native Indian people in the over-all B.C. curriculum; as well as the place of native Indian para-professional workers in the schools.

The Ministry believes it is an appropriate time to issue a policy statement reaffirming its commitment to achieving parity for native Indian children in the public schools and clarifying areas of initiative and emphasis in the provincial Indian Education program.

It should be stressed that this is a working policy statement. In view of rapid and significant developments, it is expected that policy will evolve and statements will change from time to time. Advice on policy is always welcome. [section 15.82]

The Policy

The Public Schools Act provides a mandate to the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology to deliver educational services through provincial public school districts to all school-age children which includes all native Indian children (Section 158:1). For public school purposes, native Indian means all children of Indian ancestry—status, non-status and Métis—and all native Indian children have equal and universal access to the public schools of the province irrespective of tuition support for some Indian children by the Federal government.

1. The Ministry recognizes that native Indian children have not achieved to their full potential within the public schools and therefore considers the goal of parity for native Indian children to be a priority concern. Parity as a goal means that through regular and special-needs education programs Indian children will in time reach this potential and that their culture, history and contemporary life will be adequately reflected in the over-all curriculum of the public schools.

2. The Ministry is committed to the development and implementation of programs in Indian education when such programs are consistent with the goals of the B.C. Core Curriculum and the aspirations of the Indian people to achieve parity and to maintain their cultural integrity.

3. The Ministry encourages the participation of native Indian people in public education, including their membership on school boards, as administrators and teachers, as paraprofessional workers and as parents and students. The Ministry especially encourages the involvement of the native Indian community in the creation of locally-developed Native Indian courses and materials about their own people for the benefit of all children.

1 The sections included here are direct transcriptions.
2 Schools Department Circular No. 102/79.10.24. Section 15 page 82-82.
4. The Ministry believes that adequate consultation should take place between school districts and native Indian status and non-status education groups regarding programs for native Indian people.

5. The Ministry encourages the recruitment of increased numbers of native Indian teachers. Also, through in-service activities, the Ministry will also endeavor, in co-operation with school districts, to increase the competence of teachers in inter-cultural settings.

6. The Ministry supports the active recruitment of native Indian language and culture specialists, teacher-aides and home-school liaison workers to work in school districts, and also supports the continuous upgrading of these positions through training programs to a recognized status whenever possible.

7. The Ministry supports the preservation of native languages through the use of public schools to teach 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.

8. The Ministry recognizes that “dropping out” is a serious problem among native Indian students and supports the provision of preventative programs aimed at keeping the native student in the mainstream. It also supports alternative programs which prepare the native student for re-entry into the mainstream school program or provide pre-employment and pre-vocational training so that the school leaver is given preparation for the work-place. It is understood that the Indian community or other Indian setting may be the appropriate location for alternative programs.

9. The Ministry and school districts will endeavour to provide assistance through consulting services and instructional materials to a bands or group of bands who exercise the option available to them to establish separate community-controlled schools outside the framework of the Public Schools Act. The Ministry will assist native Indian students moving from an independent school to a public school or vice versa. However, the Ministry will not provide financial assistant to status Indian attending such schools.

10. The Ministry recognizes that aspects of Indian education go beyond its exclusive jurisdiction and will endeavour to work and co-operate with other provincial and federal agencies to met the needs of the native Indian community. [section 15.83,84]

Section 502: Indian Education

502.1 Definition

The Indian Education Branch of the Ministry of Education assists school districts, in consultation with the native community, to meet the special needs of Indian children in the public schools. To achieve this objective special approvals may be generated by school districts which are aimed at academic skill building, and, in the process, should reflect the cultural, linguistic and social background of Indian children as integral to that success.

502.2 Identification

For public school purposes, native Indian means all children of Indian ancestry—status, non-status and Metis.
502.3 Programs

Programs will be considered in the following areas

a) Native language program development and implementation:
   In terms of teaching native languages in order to revive, maintain and to teach literacy in them. Bilingual literacy programs at the primary level are appropriate where the language of dominance of a significant group of native students in a school or district is a native language.

   Where the language of dominance is a native language or where the English dialect spoken by Indian children is significantly different from the requirements of school English, support for E.S.L. programs is available through Section 501 of the Special Approvals.

b) Native Indian curriculum development and implementation:
   To increase the relevancy of the school curriculum to the Indian child's realities, to introduce Indian history and culture (including those of the contemporary period) as well as Indian arts and crafts and skills programs into the curriculum. Encouragement should be given to the Indian community to participate fully in these activities, serve as language and culture specialists and resource people and help develop and authenticate the content of curriculum through joint school districts—Indian community curriculum development committees....

Section 502.8: Consultation

a) Districts should systematically consult with the Indian community on the education program for Indian children through band education committees, other Indian education organizations or a representative advisory group.

b) The Provincial Director and Co-ordinator of Indian Education ... are available to consult with the school districts, in conjunction with Indian organizations, in the development and evaluation of these programs.

Provincial Director of Indian Education

The provincial program for students of native Indian ancestry meets their special learning needs through a diversity of programs affecting curriculum and instruction. Consultation with the native Indian community is a major feature of this program.

Specific Objectives/Services

a) To increase the educational success of native Indian children in the public schools through the assessment, development and evaluation of appropriate programs.

b) To consult with school districts, in conjunction with the native Indian community, on their Indian Education program. This service is carried out primarily through field visits.

c) To provide relevant provincial and regional in-service activities

d) To ensure that native Indian curriculum is adequately represented in core and elective programs through curriculum development and adaptation.

e) To improve the interface between the schools and the native Indian communities through the development of appropriate participatory structures.

3 Section 5: 10.
## Appendix 8: Major concepts in three British Columbia Indian Curriculum Programs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Ministry of Education Guidelines</th>
<th>Sto:lo Sitel Curriculum</th>
<th>Okanagan Indian Curriculum</th>
<th>The Shuswap Curriculum Project</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Upper Sto:lo families</td>
<td>Learning about the Okanagan Indian family: I have a name</td>
<td>The Shuswap Family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Families are social units</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1. Families may differ.</td>
<td>1. Upper Sto:lo families have some things in common and some things that differ.</td>
<td>1. The Okanagan Indian family is a close social unit.</td>
<td>Shuswap family is a social unit that is a network of relationships (including extended family—grandparents, aunts, uncles, and cousins). Shuswap family had unique customs traditionally in terms of size, membership, food, protection, child-raising, recreation, and some aspects of these traditions remain to this day.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. The family serves many functions</td>
<td>2. The Upper Sto:lo family serves many functions.</td>
<td>2. Within each family roles are clearly defined.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. The family is a network of relationships</td>
<td>3. The Upper Sto:lo family is a network of relationships.</td>
<td>3. Traditionally all members of the family have important roles to play.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. Families change</td>
<td>4. Upper Sto:lo families change.</td>
<td>4. The Okanagan family is subject to pressures from outside and family roles change due to economic disturbances, death, marriage, etc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Communities are social units</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1. The Community provides many different services.</td>
<td>1. The Community of many Upper Sto:lo people is the reserve. The reserve provides many services.</td>
<td>1. The Okanagan Indian community is a close social unit.</td>
<td>Shuswap communities are social units that are composed of Shuswap families and are generally located in a specific geographic area. The communities may vary in size and composition but generally have the same features and offer services that are equivalent to non-Indian communities. Some Shuswap communities are urban but others may be rural. There are traditional aspects of community that have been carried through to the contemporary communities: i.e. location of community, feast, ceremonies, food gathering and leadership.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. The Community is a network of relationships.</td>
<td>2. The Indian community is a network of relationships.</td>
<td>2. The Okanagan Indian community has distinctive characteristics.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. Communities change.</td>
<td>3. Indian communities have changes.</td>
<td>3. The Okanagan community is a cooperative venture.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4. The structure of the Okanagan communities has changed and continues to evolve.</td>
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</table>

### Note:
The Ministry guidelines are indicated here as they were outlined in the Sto:lo Sitel Curriculum Project (1977). The Okanagan Indian Curriculum Project (The Okanagan Indian Learning Institute/En’owkin Centre), and the Sto:lo Sitel Curriculum Project are the two most prominent and widely used Native curriculum programs in the province. Both have complete materials for grades 1 to 7, and are working to complete the materials for the highschool curriculum. Although materials have also been developed for Kindergarten, references are not included here.
Appendix 8: Major concepts in three British Columbia Indian Curriculum Programs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Communities are social units which interact with their environment</th>
<th>Upper Sto:lo communities</th>
<th>Learning about the Okanagan Indian family: I have a name</th>
<th>The Shuswap Family</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Communities interact with their physical environment.</td>
<td>1. Indian communities interact with their physical environment.</td>
<td>1. The Okanagan communities were complex social units that were changed and shaped by their environment.</td>
<td>Traditional Shuswap Indian Bands inter-married, traded and held cultural gatherings. The traditional territory of the Shuswap people had to be very large to accommodate resource use. All of these practises have carried over into contemporary communities except perhaps trade, and new ones have been added, i.e. tribal councils and other social and political groups.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Communities interact with other communities.</td>
<td>2. Indian communities interact with other communities, both Indian and non-Indian.</td>
<td>2. Central to understanding the interaction with the environment is understanding the spiritual ramifications, i.e. Mother earth, etc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. The provision of goods and services forms a network of relationships between communities.</td>
<td>3. Provision of goods and services forms a network of relationships between Indian communities and non-Indian communities.</td>
<td>3. The Okanagan Indian community cooperates and associates with other communities—both Indian and non-Indian.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. The structure and organization of the communities has changed over time.</td>
<td>4. The structure and organization of the communities has changed over time.</td>
<td>4. The structure and organization of the communities has changed over time.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>People in early Indian societies developed a variety of ways to meet their needs</th>
<th>Upper Sto:lo families</th>
<th>Learning about the Okanagan Indian family: I have a name</th>
<th>The Shuswap Family</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. The society’s social and physical environment:</td>
<td>1. The Upper Sto:lo social and physical environment:</td>
<td>1. The early Okanagan developed a variety of distinctive ways to meet needs in their environment.</td>
<td>Everything that the Shuswap Indian people need to live came from the land. The lifestyle of the Shuswap people revolved around the seasons and the maintained an ecological balance with the natural world. The lifestyles of the traditional Shuswap people was based on the respect for the land and everything on it. The Shuswap people assisted the explorers, fur traders, and settlers in their early contact. The influence of the Europeans caused a change in the traditional status and characteristics of the Shuswap people.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a) it's location</td>
<td>a) it's location</td>
<td>2. Prior to contact, the Okanagan were very self-sufficient.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) it's significant physical features</td>
<td>b) it's significant physical features</td>
<td>3. The early Okanagan was directed in all that he did by a deep and abiding spiritual respect for all things created.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) water bodies</td>
<td>c) water bodies</td>
<td>4. The Okanagan culture has contributed to the development of Canada as a nation.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) flora and fauna</td>
<td>d) flora and fauna</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. The ways the society used physical environment to meet the needs of its members:</td>
<td>2. The ways the Upper Sto:lo used physical environment to meet the needs of its members:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a) tools and technology</td>
<td>a) tools and technology</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) food</td>
<td>b) food</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Appendix 8: Major concepts in three British Columbia Indian Curriculum Programs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Major Concepts</th>
<th>Sto:lo Sitel</th>
<th>Learning about the Interaction between the Okanagan Indian and the Early Settler: Winds of Change.</th>
<th>Early Canada and the Shuswap Nation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **I** The discovery of natural resources | The fur trade contributed to:  
A. The exploration and settlement of Canada through fur trade  
a) life and work of the fur trade  
b) interaction with the physical environment  
c) rivalry with other traders  
d) interaction with native people  
B. Examine the development of further settlements in British Columbia through:  
a) origins  
b) the people  
c) the life  
d) the physical environment  
e) economy and technology  
f) social organizations  
Interaction between Canada's environments, social and physical and immigrants, has resulted in changes to both. Examine one or more immigrant group through:  
a) their native lifestyle and reasons for emigrating  
b) their settlement in Canada  
c) their relationship with other Canadians  
Examine the entry of the provinces into the Dominion of Canada between 1867 and 1949 to introduce the structure of Canadian government including:  
a) three levels of government  
b) symbols which the governments have adopted to represent themselves  
c) the shapes and locations of the provinces, territories and nation, including capital cities  
d) some of the elected officials who direct the affairs of political units in Canada, i.e. Prime Ministers, Premiers and local mayors. | 1. The discovery of natural resources contributed to Indian—non-Indian trade conflict.  
a) the Sto:lo people as fur traders  
b) Sto:lo interaction with the physical environment  
c) Sto:lo people as middle men  
B. Examine the changes in Sto:lo settlements through:  
a) origins  
b) the people  
c) the life  
d) the physical environment  
e) economy and technology  
f) social organizations  
Interaction between Sto:lo environments, social and physical and immigrants, has resulted in changes. Examine changes resulting from:  
a) the gold rush  
b) the arrival of immigrants  
c) the establishment of reserves  
Government of the Sto:lo people.  
a) Interaction between the Sto:lo people and the federal government. | The arrival of the European had an impact on the social, economic and physical environment of the Shuswap people.  
The policies of the colonial government imposed a change on the lifestyle of the Shuswap people that is still in place. The influence of the early settlement of Europeans in the Shuswap Nation:  
- miners  
- fur traders  
- ranchers/settlers |
| **II** | | 2. Early non-Indian settlement would not have been possible without the friendly help of the Okanagan.  
3. Problems between Indian—non-Indian developed when the non-Indian trade and technology began to intrude on the Okanagan way of life. | |
| **III** | 4. The development of Canada has often taken place without regard for the consequences of development on the Indian way of life. | | |
## Appendix 8: Major concepts in three British Columbia Indian Curriculum Programs

### Similar and different ways in which people meet their basic needs creates a distinctive way of life or culture

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interaction of people and the places they live, their physical environment</th>
<th>Sto:lo Sitel Curriculum</th>
<th>Learning about the Indian concept of Sacredness of land: Our World is sacred</th>
<th>A Sovereign Nation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. How people interact with their physical environment in order to satisfy their needs depends on:</td>
<td>1. How Upper Sto:lo people interact with their physical environment in order to satisfy their needs depends on:</td>
<td>1. The North American Indian Nation is a complex and diverse social and political unit.</td>
<td>Regional clusters of Native cultures are based on geographies and land base. The ways in which the Shuswap people met their needs created a distinctive lifestyle. The traditional Shuswap people had well-developed viable economic and political institutions. The land base of the Shuswap people was integral to their lifestyles. The policies of the colonial government led to changes in the economy and political institutions of the Shuswap people.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a) the resources available</td>
<td>a) the resources available</td>
<td>2. The Indian people must meet certain common basic needs that helped shape their culture.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) the people's cultural values, beliefs, history, technology and organizations.</td>
<td>b) the people's cultural values, beliefs, history, technology and organizations.</td>
<td>3. They meet their needs in similar and different ways.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. A people’s activities and cultural patterns are related to their geographic location and to the particular time in which they live.</td>
<td>2. An Upper Sto:lo people’s activities and cultural patterns have been influenced by their geographic location from pre-contact to contemporary time periods.</td>
<td>4. The ways they meet their needs creates a distinctive way of life or culture.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5. The North American Indian is composed of peoples of varying cultures.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6. The Indian understanding of the interrelatedness with the environment was guided by a deep and abiding reverence for the land.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Sto:lo Sitel Curriculum

1. The ways in which the Upper Sto:lo people use the physical environment to meet the needs of their members:
   a) tools and technology
2. The formal and informal means that the Upper Sto:lo people use to teach members to meet their needs
   a) art and play
   b) literature and music

### Kou-Skelowh: We are the people

1. How Upper Sto:lo people interact with their physical environment in order to satisfy their needs depends on:
   a) the resources available
   b) the people’s cultural values, beliefs, history, technology and organizations.
2. A Upper Sto:lo people’s activities and cultural patterns have been influenced by their geographic location from pre-contact to contemporary time periods.
The following programs are listed in Indian Education Projects and Programs in B.C. Schools (Art More, 1983, 1985 revised). The cultural programs have been extracted and organized on the basis set out in this thesis: curriculum development/cultural infusion, language programs, native studies, art/craft, environmental awareness and traditional occupational training. The original document is an extensive one, organized on the basis of cultural/linguistic groups in B.C (and then alphabetically by community). This document includes all programs (and Ministry of Education positions) dealing with Indian education in band-operated schools, in provincial schools, and in the 55 school districts of the province. The descriptions are based on 1981, 1983, and 1985 surveys and information given by the Director of Indian Education, Ministry of Education, and others. A few programs were inadvertently omitted in the surveys, or were omitted for insufficient information.

These programs are funded primarily through the Ministry of Education, Indian Education Branch, either through positions allotted to school districts, or directly to curriculum development. In a number of cases, the programs are jointly funded, out of band funds and/or support staff (e.g., Education Committees, development staff). In this way, the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs has also funded some programs, and in a few cases, funds have been given out of the B.C. Teachers Association Curriculum Development Grants.

The information included here is a selection of the descriptions in the original document, extracted for their reference to cultural components. The descriptions are for the most part in their original form, with some paraphrasing for the sake of brevity. At the risk of redundancy, I have tried to avoid omitting any reference in order to give a complete picture of the scope and the range of programs. I have dealt with goals in Appendix 4.

Curriculum Development, Language

Carrier, Language Arts Curriculum Development
Athapaskan/Carrier/Burns Lake/District 55
Project funded by DIAND, beginning 1982; second stage, 1984; both stages employed a linguist. Cultural Objectives: to identify, with the help of local people, the social values and cultural features most important to the preservation of Carrier ways; to develop culturally relevant reading materials. Primary level: native history, culture, arts and crafts are emphasized; development of curriculum for instruction in English as the second language; 1 teacher/linguist (1985: 11; 1983: 05,06).

Saanich Curriculum Development, Language
Coast Salish/Tsartlip Indian Day School/Saanich/Saanich Indian School Board
Language program forms the nucleus of the culture curriculum. Many concepts in values and history can best be expressed in the Indian language. The program was begun in 1976. Students receive 15-35 minute lessons daily to learn the oral language. Band elders have been involved as sources of history and have guidance and counselling roles (1985: 67-68; 1983: 91,92).

Thompson Language and Curriculum development
Interior Salish/Nicola Valley Indian Administration/Merritt
The NVIA has begun to develop materials and to teach the Thompson Language. 1983: Development of a cultural education centre, funded through the band from DIAND Cultural Education Centres Program: concentrating on the collection of traditional information, organizing and transcribing it and, in other ways, preparing it for later use as the raw material for curriculum development (1985: 103-106; 1983: 147, 148).
Curriculum Development, Culture and history

T'atz'en Curriculum Development
Athapaskan/Carrier/Stuart-Trembleur Band/Tache School, and Portage Village School/Tache
Extensive research in progress by a team of researchers, since September 1976. The team obtains historical information from the elders of the village and has access to the Catholic school files. At the school, each child is encouraged to trace his or her tribal ancestry. The traditional songs, stories and dances of the clan are then learned. The historical information is then integrated into all areas of school curriculum. Legends have been recorded on video and cassettes are at the Culture Centre (now closed, 1986, due to lack of funding); (1985: 32-33; 1983: 33, 34).

Saanich Curriculum Development, Native Studies
Coast Salish/Tsartlip Indian Day School/Saanich/Saanich Indian School Board
School Board began in 1969, the first Indian Board in B.C. In the 1970's, an extensive curriculum development program was undertaken in Indian history and culture, for the Tsartlip Day School and the other school in Saanich; program now reorganized due to cuts, and curriculum developers moved to the provincial school. Indian history and culture is incorporated into regular social studies curriculum, as are special classes on Indian Communication (1985: 67-68; 1983: 91, 92).

Saanich People Curriculum Development Project
Coast Salish/Saanichton/District 63

Squamish Curriculum Project
Coast Salish/Squamish; Burrard/North Vancouver/District 44
Objectives: to use the example of the native Indian community to trace the development of a culture in response to the fundamental human needs and experience; to understand and define factors that have shaped and continue to shape the native Indian identity in their own community according to its historical and contemporary experiences; to identify and explain similarities and differences between the cultural heritage of their native Indian community and other communities. Development underway in January 1981, under a program coordinator and curriculum developer hired by the Squamish band. In-school cultural instruction: in various aspects of local culture, history and contemporary experience as part of the regular course offerings. Local crafts people and artists are involved, sponsored through cultural grants held by Squamish Band (1985: 60-61; 1983: 85).

Sliammon Curriculum Project, planned
Coast Salish/Sliammon/Sliammon Family Centre/Desolation Sound Tribal Council
Objectives: a number of programs initiated by the band to enhance social and cultural development of Sliammon people; emerged out of concern for diminishing role of the family in community life, and lack of opportunity for young people to learn about their distinctive cultural background. One of the programs is a curriculum development centre to maintain local language, art, dance and other cultural traditions (1985: 64).
Okanagan Indian Curriculum Development Project
Interior Salish/Okanagan/Okanagan Tribal Council/Penticton/Districts 15, 16, 21, 22, 23
Objectives: to allow students to acquire a body of knowledge about the functioning of the Okanagan Indian - both past and present; to improve perceptions of all students about the nature of Indian people and the continuing of their history in the valley; to reconstruct their present knowledge and perceptions of Indian people in general through investigations of Okanagan Indian humanity; to provide an opportunity for students to deal with value questions by confronting personal biases, pre-conceptions and values in light of those value systems held by another culture which had existed on the landscape before the arrival of non-Indian cultures; to provide students of Indian ancestry with an opportunity to develop a more positive self-image by experiencing learning process using culturally-based materials.

The program is administered by The Okanagan Tribal Council, through the Okanagan Learning Institute. Three phases of the program, beginning in 1979, phase I: research of primary ethnographical and archival data, including the collection of taped interview, photographs, books and primary historical reports from universities, government departments, and Oblate archives; phase II: analysis and cataloguing of research, and development of curriculum materials for Kindergarten to grade 6; phase III: pilot work began in seven school, with evaluations and revisions, and writing of units for grade 7-11 continued. 1985: Materials for Kindergarten to grade 6 now duplicated and distributed administered by tribal council and a joint committee of the Okanagan Indian Curriculum Project and representatives of participating school districts; funded by the Ministry and DIAND (1985: 109-110; 1983: 152).

Tsunamm Curriculum Infusion Project
Interior Salish/Thompson/Lytton/Lytton Band education committee
Objective: to document the culture of the Thompson people of the Lytton area in three major time frames, designed to infuse locally developed curriculum into the school system at defined intervals. Curriculum development project in process for easy integration into provincial guidelines for elementary social studies: a written guideline and picture sets using photos from the provincial museum; a unit for teaching legends, and a well-documented outdoor education program. Initial contacts with elders have been made with hope of recording legends and stories; extensive library of Indian-content materials (1985: 101; 1983: 138).

Hartley Bay Curriculum Development
Tsimshian/Hartley Bay/Hartley Bay Band/District 52
HARTLEY BAY CLANS: Since 1984, the entire staff of the school in Hartley Bay has been working on a book about the clans of Hartley Bay and has developed an integrated curriculum at the primary, intermediate and secondary levels. Information was verified by the Education committee and the elders of the village, and is now complete. It is part of a major curriculum project which will cover Hartley Bay families, the community of Hartley Bay and its interaction with other communities and different levels of government (1985: 164).

Kitkatla Curriculum Development
Tsimshian/Lach Klan School/Kitkatla/District 52
A group of teachers began working on a curriculum project in 1983, which covers two-thirds of the Grade 3 Social Studies Program: Kitkatla - A Study of Our Village. It compares the life in Kitkatla in the past and the present and examines the interaction of
Kitkatla with other communities. Information was verified by the Education Committee (1985: 164).

**Port Simpson Curriculum Development**

Tsimshian/Kax Kw'alaams Community School (band operated)/Port Simpson Band

A group of teachers have been working on a major curriculum project covering grade 2 Social Studies and Science: The Community and Port Simpson, and Time and Change in Port Simpson, both full year programs. Time and Change explores concepts of time in the context of an overall cyclical model. Natural seasonal cycles are blended with life patterns (1985: 164-165).

**Port Simpson Curriculum Development**

Tsimshian/Port Simpson/District 52

Members of the Port Simpson Curriculum Committee and the Native Education Coordinator produced two books: Port Simpson Foods, and Port Simpson Travel and Trade. Both books were verified by an Elders Group in Port Simpson (1985: 163-164).

**Tsimshian Curriculum Development**

Tsimshian/Prince Rupert/District 52

Grade 4 Social Studies Unit: The Tsimshians and Their Neighbours, now being implemented district-wide. Local artists were commissioned to make artifact replicas such as halibut hooks, oolichan grease dishes, bentwood boxes and longhouse models (kept in the district resource centre). A native artist/carver gave presentations to all grade four classes, and the Museum of Northern B.C. has developed a museum program for Grade four (1985: 163).

**Curriculum Project**

Interior Salish/Keremos and Cawston/District 16

The goal of the project is to provide a local Indian unit or work in the regular Social Studies so that a feeling of pride can develop in the district and within individuals. This then will promote both a better understanding of the native culture and an identity for native children at the school. A unit of work at the primary and intermediate level, of a two week duration, has been developed and incorporated into the Social Studies program. Materials used refer to the Okanagan Curriculum development (1985:97).

**Northwest Coast Indian Culture, Curriculum Development**

Coast Salish/Sechelt/Sechelt Elementary School/District 46

Indian education program at Sechelt elementary employs a native teacher who is, among other things, responsible for curriculum development: a Northwest Coast Indian Culture Program has been developed for grade 4 (used in Sechelt Elementary only); on-going research and development on Sechelt Indian Culture; and Northwest Coast Indian Art, development of new designs for use in the highschool and elementary school (1985: 73-74).

**Nimpkish Curriculum Project**

Kwakiutl/Nimpkish Band/Alert Bay School /Alert Bay/District 85

The project has been underway since 1979. A complete compilation is being made of the information and materials relative to the cultural heritage: language, traditional dancing and song, food preparation, art techniques, legends, history and values. These activities are being translated into a curriculum guide. Local legends are continually being collected and some have been written down and illustrated by students or artists working in the school. An extensive collection of photos and books have been assembled from the provincial museum. The collection is used for studying history, family trees, masks and
totems. Slides and videotapes have been made of bark collecting and weaving, food collecting and preservation, and dance potlatches (1985: 128-129; 1983: 184-188).

**Bilingual and Bicultural Programs**

**Nisga’a Bilingual and Bicultural Program: Nisga’a Language Program**

Tsimshian/Nisga’a/New Atiyansh/District 92

The objective is to promote the teaching of the Nisga’a language and culture as an integral part of the basic education program of the district. The two components of the Bi and Bi program are the Nisga’a Language program and the Cultural infusion program. The preparation of the Nisga’a language section has been given the higher priority, and the first draft of the courses from Kindergarten to grade 12 are virtually complete (1985). The cultural infusion section has concentrated on the collection of primary material related to the Nisga’a culture, especially traditional culture; the production of classroom materials, particularly picture sets to use in social studies.

Program staff includes a Nisga’a language specialist, curriculum development specialist, a Nisga’a language worker (a fluent speaker and familiar with linguistic techniques), and a materials development worker (who prepares some of the curriculum materials and carries out sorting and organizing of Nisga’a cultural information); 1982-3: appointment of Curriculum Implementor (whose function is to increase the use of culturally relevant materials in the classrooms); 7 Nisga’a language assistants, Nisga’a language teacher on a Letter of Permission to teach the Nisga’a language classes (1985: 158-159; 1983: 222-224).

**Language Instruction Programs**

**Nawhican Alternate School**

Athapaskan/Dawson Creek/District 59


**Carrier Language Program**

Athapaskan/Carrier/Moose Mountain School, Fort Fraser School, Fraser Lake Elementary School, Souchea Elementary School, David Hoy Elementary, Fort St. James Elementary/Vanderhoof/District 56 (Native Indian Education Program).

Program employs 4 teachers, 189 students enrolled (1985). Instruction, from 15-30 minutes per week. Accent is on communication, with some written work. Elders visit to tell stories and teach craft. It is hoped to develop the language curriculum to the level that French now has, that of a modern language worthy of study and appreciation (1985: 35-36; 1983: 38).

Athapaskan/Carrier/Stuart-Trembleur Band/Tache School and Portage Village School (Band operated)/ Tache and Portage

Program in operation since 1974; materials developed by Carrier Linguistic Committee; 79 students, 2 teachers; the majority of children are bilingual. Objective: to have students speak fluently, and read and write: 30 minutes per day (1985: 32-33; 1983: 33, 34).

Athapaskan/Carrier/Takla/Takla Landing Federal School (band operated) /Takla Landing

100 students, to grade 9; language program based on materials developed by Carrier Linguistic Committee (1985: 33-34; 1983: 36).

Athapaskan/Carrier/Ulkatcho Band/Anahim Lake School/Anahim Lake/District 27

Comprehensive language program, 20 minutes per day; for 70 native children and 14 non-native children. Objectives: familiarity, or fluency where possible; to maintain a
sense of place and to develop greater self-confidence in the Carrier children in the school system. (developed, Ft. St. James, adapted by Ulkatcho Band) [1985: 9; 1983: 3].

Cree Language Program
Athapaskan/Métis/Kelly Lake School, Junior secondary/Kelly Lake, Peace River South/District 59
Cree, compulsory to Grade 4, local curriculum development (1985: 24-25; 1983: 21, 22).

Slave Language Instruction
Athapaskan/Slave/Fort Nelson Indian Band (band operated pre-school/kindergarten program), Fort Nelson
[1983: 14].
Athapaskan/Slave/Tahltan, Tlingit, Kaska/Fort Nelson/District 81

Bella Coola (Nuxalk) Language
Bella Coola/Bella Coola Elementary School/Bella Coola band/District 49
Primary students, 15-30 m/day; intermediate, 30 m/day. Objectives: to foster formation of positive self-image and identity in students; to develop greater understanding of uniquely native ways of comprehending reality; and to aid in the development of thinking processes congruent with the maintenance of cultural identity (1983). The program is based on the assumption that knowledge of a language is essential to the preservation and continuation of culture (1985: 39; 1983: 46).

Bella Coola Language
Bella Coola/Acusalcta Elementary and High School/Bella Coola Band (band operated)
Language is taught from nursery to highschool. The school's philosophy is to retain the culture, government and language of Bella Coola, to promote respect and understanding for the environment, and to help children retain their Indian identity with the use of values and education, and by expressing traditional values to the creator in songs and dances. The children will learn to feel secure, to respect and preserve the culture in the community, and will gain an awareness of themselves, and understand and develop an appreciation of the Bella Coola heritage. The school philosophy is to adhere to the principles of Indian education but also to ensure that children master the survival skills of the mainstream (1985: 38-39; 1983: 43,44).

Oowekyala Language Program
Bella Coola/Oowekeeno/Rivers Inlet/District 49
Operates under the Oowekyala Cultural History Project; began in 1979, elementary instruction and adult classes. It employs both a language teacher and a curriculum researcher. Cultural components incorporated into language instruction (1985: 40; 1983: 47).

Chilcotin Language Program
Chilcotin/Puntze Mountain Elementary; Williams Lake Junior Secondary; Nemiah Valley Rural Secondary; Columnneetz Secondary School/Williams Lake area/District 27
There are five Chilcotin speaking communities, and children come to the program with varying levels of fluency, thus the program is offered either akin to the English language program, or as a second language program, depending on the fluency of the children on entry. Oral program makes use of manual: Teaching Yukon Indian Languages.
Chilcotin Studies 9, 10, 11, offered at the secondary level (100 hours of instruction, given as an elective, and year 11 recognized by UBC as second language): language instruction and emphasis on increasing understanding of pre-contact life-style as well as giving sense of continuity and place. At the grade 11 level: objective, to develop a full appreciation of the oral histories and traditions of the Chilcotin people and to explore aspects of cultural change (1985: 42-44; 1983: 51).

**Chilcotin Language Program**

Chilcotin/Stone Band/Stone Indian (Federal Day School (to grade 8)/ Hanceville

The language project was funded by the band, and began in 1979. Curriculum refers to: Teaching Yukon Indian Languages. Primary children attend from 15-30 minutes a day with emphasis on sound and meaning; emphasis for intermediate children, on reading and speaking, with translation by grade 8; provincial curriculum followed quite closely, but also implement instruction from community members; in some areas language program equivalent to English, in terms of language development skills (1985: 41; 1983: 50-51).

**Nuu-chah-nulth and Kwakwala Language Program**

Coast Salish/District program/Victoria Region/District 61

Program first introduced at SJ Willis Secondary: Kwakwala and Nuu-chah-nulth, then transferred to Blanshard and George Jay elementary, where it began to experience difficulty. Objective: to find a foundation that encourages students to learn more about Indian culture and society. Northwest Coast Indian art was traditionally taught by a 'master artist' through an apprenticeship system. The Indian Art program is similar. The basic two dimensional art style is introduced to students in the elementary schools. By high school, they are employing three dimensional techniques (1985: 84-85).

**Halq'emeylem Language Program**

Coast Salish/Desolation Sound Tribal Council/Powell River

Indian culture teacher, hired by the Council, is responsible for teaching pre-school and kindergarten children 15 minutes per day. Education coordinator is developing an after school language and culture program (1985: 63-65; 1983: 86-87).

**Penelakut Language Program**

Coast Salish/Penelakut Band School /Kuper Island (Duncan)/ Band operated Nursery-Kindergarten program

The children are taught basic sounds and words as well as history and legends. The objective of the program is to expose the children to their culture, the language being the base from which this cultural sense can grow. Considerable emphasis is place on acquiring a solid vocabulary base (1985: 57; 1983: 77).

**Halq'emeylem Language Program**

Coast Salish/Seabird Island Reserve/Seabird Island Community School, elementary, band operated/Agassiz

**Cowichan Language program**  
Coast Salish/Alternate School II/Duncan/District 65  
Daily language classes. This program attempts to alleviate the high drop out rate of native Indian students by providing a highly individualized Indianized program. Carving program suspended due to lack of funds (1985: 52; 1983: 68-69).

**Cowichan Language and Culture program**  
Coast Salish/Cowichan/Cowichan Band/Koksilah Elementary School/Duncan/District 65  
Conversational classes, 5 times per week. Native Language and Crafts: culture content integrated in regular program: legend month, listening and recording from elders and presentation back to the elders; non-native teacher, permission to teach and perform dance; active dance group, weekly craft lessons, 3-6 (weaving, beadwork, basketmaking) (1985: 52-53; 1983: 71).

**Shuswap Language program**  
Interior Salish/Canim Lake/Canim Lake Band, band operated school  
Concerns about drop out rate prompted development of alternate program, funded by Ministry, beginning 1978, with the purpose of promoting re-entry (1985: 91).

**Salish Language Instruction**  
Interior Salish/Lillooet Secondary School/Lillooet/District 29  
Optional enrollment, up to 75 minutes of instruction a week (grade 7), or 90 minutes a week (grade 8-11). The goals of the language program are: language familiarity, improvement of self-concept, and preservation of culture (1985: 98).

**Okanagan Language program**  
The Westbank Indian Band and the secondary school are developing a secondary language program in the Okanagan Language, that will involve 5 years of language study and will be provincially authorized to replace the present French program (1985: 118; 1983: 166).

**Lil'wat Language Program**  
Interior Salish/Lil'wat/Mount Currie, Mount Currie Band/Ts'zil - Mount Currie Community School, band operated  
Lil'wat language is required of all students from Kindergarten to Grade 12. At the elementary level, the language is pivotal to all other subjects, and is taught at achievement levels. In the secondary school, a modular program is used. The goal of the program is to provide a comprehensive education to the students of Mount Currie which will reaffirm their Native heritage in the context of today's society (1985: 109).

The site will feature a sweat house, a circular salmon barbecue pit.... In keeping with tradition, not all learning is done indoors. Classes will be checking incubation cages and observing artificial fertilization of salmon eggs in streams, checking on cloning activities in hydrophonics in the greenhouse, learning basketweaving or hide tanning, beading, and buckskin work at an elder's home. They'll make snowshoes they'll use when attending trapping classes and physical education will include rodeo school (Kahtou 1985 4 (10): 10).

**Shuswap Studies**  
Interior Salish/Shuswap/Williams Lake/District 27  
Objectives: development of Shuswap conversational and translation skill; to give the Shuswap student a sense of continuity in place, as this is the first experience as an ethnic
minority in the school system for many of the students. This program offers 100 hours of instruction, grade 9-11, as an elective course, with primary emphasis on language. The program also includes an ethnographic study of the Shuswap community at the time of contact (1985: 120; 1983: 167).

**Shuswap Language Program**
Interior Salish/Shuswap/Williams Lake/District 27

Virtually all Shuswap children come to school not speaking the language; the program akin to any second language program, with emphasis on first developing familiarity, then fluency (Shuswap Language Committee based at Sugar Cane Band) (1985: 118-119; 1983: 167).

**Shuswap Language and Culture**

Interior Salish/Shuswap/Kamloops Band/Seklep School/Kamloops (Joint: Kamloops Band & District 24).

Objectives: cultural and academic enrichment. Program adheres to the provincial curriculum. Cultural aspects to be taught by the elders (1985: 96-97; 1983: 137).

**Thompson Language**
Interior Salish/Thompson/Lytton/Lytton/District 30


**Kootenay Language Program**
Kootenay/Lower Kootenay Band/Yakan Nu?ki School, band operated/Creston

The language classes are taught by the teacher aide, assisted by the classroom teacher. All students attend one hour daily. The language has been developed in text form using the international alphabet, and some readers, a large dictionary and teacher-made materials are used in teaching (1985; 125; 1983: 179).

**Ligwala Language Program**
Kwakiutl/Campbell River/Cape Mudge Band

Native Education Advisory Committee monitors the progress of, and revisions to, the Ligwala Language program, which is implemented in 3 elementary schools (1985: 133; 1983: 63,64).

**Kwakwala/Ligwala Language Program**
Kwakiutl/Campbell River/District 72

Language program taught at three schools; a primary source of cultural study through the medium of anecdotal and conversational topics (1985: 132-133; 1983: 63,64).

**Haisla Language**
Kwakiutl/Haisla/Mt. Elizabeth Secondary School/Kitimat/District 80

Haisla Language 8/9: Objectives: to give the students the basic understanding of the linguistic alphabet that has been specifically developed to accommodate the transcription of the Haisla Language. This will enable the students to read and write fluently in the Haisla Language. Also, this course will give the students a basic background in Haisla phonetics, teaching students how to make the proper sounds, compose proper sentences and carry on a conversation. The course consists of five units: Introduction to the linguistic alphabet; simple structure and basic language patterns; basic plant identification and traditional usage; basic story structure and basic conversational Haisla (1985: 134-135; 1983: 189).
Cultural Education Programs in British Columbia schools

Appendix 9

Heiltsuk Language Program
Kwakiutl/Heiltsuk/Bella Bella/Bella Bella Community School, band operated/Waglisla

Heiltsuk Language program, 15 min/day, all classes; optional at secondary school. Two language instructors and a language aid; enrollment of over 300: 23 teachers and other positions filled by community members. The schools philosophy is to "provide the best of both worlds", and makes provision for the Provincial Core Curriculum (1985: 137-138; 1983: 194).

Heiltsuk and Tsimshian language and culture
Kwakiutl/Heiltsuk, Tsimshian/Kitasoo Band/Kitasoo Community School, band operated/Klemtu

School enrolls students from Kindergarten to grade 12. It is administered under a Management Committee, and has strong ties will all aspects of the community and many school projects are carried out jointly between school and community (such as a Salmonid Enhancement project). The goal of the school is to educate its own trades and professional people as much as possible in the community in the hope that they will return to the community to live (1985: 135; 1983: 192).

Kwakwala Language Program
Kwakiutl/Nimpkish/Nimpkish Band/Alert Bay School (District 85); T'lisagilakw (band operated) School/Alert Bay

The language is taught from Kindergarten through grade 12; primary children have 15 minutes a day, intermediate have 25 minutes. An oral program with picture cards and games. Books have been prepared by a linguist under the guidance of the elders, and provided to the school through the U'mista Culture Society (1985: 128-129; 1983: 184-188).

Sm'algy ax Language Program
Tsimshian/Hartley Bay, Kitkatla and Port Simpson Village schools, Metlakatla/Prince Rupert/District 52

The program provides native language as a second language, 100 min/week, from nursery through grade 10 (grade 7 in Port Simpson, grade 8, Kitkatla, with plans to extend to grade 10). It has been realized by all concerned that the goal of the school program can be only familiarity with the language; the long term goal of fluency and restoring the language as a means of everyday communication in the four villages can only be realized with total community commitment and use of the language at all levels. Sound system, vocabulary, basic grammatical structure: each of these units is structured around a particular cultural topic such as kinship terms and the family, methods of food gathering and processing, etc. The program is coordinated by a linguist hired by the district to develop curriculum, and by UVIC (Native Indian Language Diploma program) (1985: 164-165; 1983: 231).

Gitksan (West) Language Program
Tsimshian/Gitanyow Elementary School (band operated)/ Kitwancool


Gitksan Language Program
Tsimshian/Kispiox Elementary School (band operated)/ Kispiox Band/Kispiox

The language program attempts to increase the oral fluency of the students. One of the long term goals is to develop and establish Kispiox language and culture programs as part of the school curriculum. The provincial curriculum is followed although this has not proven to be a totally successful venture. The staff is working on a model of continuous progress which it hopes to introduce in the near future (1985: 154; 1983: 216).
Gilksan Studies

Tsimsian/Kitsegukla Federal School, band operated/Kitsegukla Band/Hazelton

Language program, primary to grade 7, using locally developed materials and extensive use of tapes of elders telling Gitksan stories. The purpose is to bring the native culture into the school system through direct contact with parents and the community. A cultural enrichment program, including language, art, and drama; teaching of a native art program (1985:155-156; 1983: 219).

Language and Culture Instruction

Tahltan Language Program

Athapaskan/Tahltan/Tahltan Band Council/Tahltan Elementary Junior Secondary School/Telegraph Creek/District 87

Program is run using techniques taught at the Yukon Native Language School. The language is not the first language for any of the students (72 out of a total 79 are Tahltan). A major effort is being made to improve the self-image and raise awareness in students of their cultural identity (1985: 35; 1983: 38).

Carrier Language and Culture Instruction

Athapaskan/Carrier/David Hoy Elementary School Programs/Fort St. James/District 56

Language instruction, with materials developed by the Carrier Linguistic committee; Cultural program includes native songs, dance and handicrafts (1985: 20; 1983: 16).

Mainstay Program, language and cultural instruction

Coast Salish/North Vancouver/District 44

Three language instructors teach structure and pronunciation of Squamish language, and tell legends in Squamish and English. Objective: to meet the academic, social and cultural needs of Native Indian students attending North Vancouver public schools (1985: 60-61).

Shuswap Language and Culture Program

Interior Salish/Shuswap/Spallumcheen Band/Shihya Elementary School, band operated/Enderby

Shuswap language taught twice a week. Objectives: to develop self-esteem, respect for the natural environment, to develop an environment that constantly looks to the future, to develop the skills and understanding to draw best from both the Indian and non-Indian worlds. The school implements a band developed curriculum that parallels the provincial curriculum, but in a context relevant to the children and their traditional heritage. Some instruction is based on the traditional way of life with emphasis on active participation, fishing, berry picking (1985: 92-93; 1983: 130).

Kwakwaala Language and culture program

Kwaklul/Tsulquate Band/Tsulquate Community School, band operated/Port Hardy

Kwakwaala taught for half hour each day to all students. The school's main objectives are to provide students with a knowledge of their language and culture in addition to a thorough education in the core subject areas of Language Arts and Mathematics. The main measure of the schools success is determined by the demonstration of success in the public high school (1985: 136; 1983: 193).

Nuu-chah-nulth Language and Culture

Nuu-Chah-Nulth/Ucluelet Band/band operated Kindergarten, pre-school

The goals of the project are to provide an on-reserve pre-school/kindergarten facility, to
run 5 half-days a week. Program to start September 1985. There is to be encouragement of parent and grandparent involvement, and elders assist in native language and stories. Unique aspects of the project are are cultural involvement and linguistic preparation (1985: 149).

Native history and culture/Native studies

Northern and Native Studies Program

Athapaskan/Slave/Tahltan, Tlingit, Kaska/Fort Nelson/District 81
Offers culturally and environmentally relevant life skills training, Arts and Crafts. The most intensive Northern and Native Studies Program is offered at Lower Post (5 resource people available (1985: 17; 1983: 013).

Native studies

Athapaskan/Ske-ho-del-eh Program/Quesnel/District 28
SKE-HO-DEL-EH, an alternate education program for youth experiencing difficulty in regular classroom. The course of study emphasizes native Indian Culture and Heritage. Objectives: to develop a positive self-concept, skills for completion of school, life skills, and to develop an awareness and understanding of the cultural differences that exist within our society (1985: 29; 1983: 28).

Athapaskan/Smithers Secondary School/Smithers/District 54

Athapaskan/Smithers/District 54, secondary
Native Studies no longer exists due to restraint, but original material available and can be integrated into regular curriculum as optional projects (1985: 30; 1983: 29).

Athapaskan/Nawhican Alternate School/Dawson Creek/District 59
Cultural objectives: to instill pride in being native Canadian, to cope with the difficulties associated with cultural duality (1983: 10).

Athapaskan/Stony Creek Band/Stony Creek Alternate School, Secondary, band operated/ Vanderhoof
Band operates this school with a strong native culture component. 12 students, half of time spent on academic work and half time spent working with about 8 elders and a coordinator learning survival skills, traditional skills and cultural traditions. The purpose of the is school is to graduate a self-sufficient native Indian person, who knows who he is and what he can do and feels good about it (1985: 31; 1983: 32).

Athapaskan/Slave/Fort Nelson Band, Pre-school and Kindergarten, and District 81 schools
Band Education committee, curriculum development. Objectives, Cultural demonstration: to provide a positive role model, to promote greater awareness of Native Art and Craftsmanship, so that students will develop pride in making articles of clothing. Provincial school district, emphasis has been on program/materials development, 1977-80. Employment of Cultural Demonstrators in Fort Nelson schools; crafts taught in most schools (beadwork and moccasin making) specifically slippers, in the traditional Fort Nelson method, and moosehide tanning (1985: 19; 1983:13).

Coast Salish/Chatelech Secondary/Sechelt/District 46
Objective: to foster growth of knowledge and understanding of native culture and to ease the transition from elementary to secondary school. Secondary program, began 1985, to
Grade 8 and 9 native and non-native students; based on a “school within a school” concept, where out of 8 classes, 4 are specially designed courses with native concerns: English, Socials, Art and Native Culture (1985: 73).

Sto:lo Sitel Curriculum
Coast Salish/Kent Elementary /Agassiz/District 76
Materials related to Indian culture are used in all grades as the teachers see the need. Sto:lo materials are available and used extensively at the Grade Four level (1985: 46-47; 1983: 58).

Native Studies
Coast Salish/SJ Willis Secondary; Esquimalt Senior Secondary; Shoreline Junior Secondary/Victoria Region/District 61
Two native studies programs, one with specific focus on Northwest Coast Kwakiutl and Nootka, the second on the Songhees and Esquimalt of the Coast Salishan. Includes early migration theories, archaeology, overview, then specific aspects of traditional life, social and economic organization, rites of passage, ceremonial events; the effect of contact, the question of Indian lands, the Indian Act, the Potlatch Law, and other current issues (1985: 85).

Coast Salish/Vancouver Spirit Rising School/Vancouver/District 39
Objectives: to encourage and develop a sense of confidence in students and their identity as Indian people. The program focuses on the culture, history, traditions and life-style of Indian people, weaving culture into a program which aims to develop academic skills. The program provides access to Elders and others, for contact and counselling. It also examine the values, traditions, history and contemporary events of non-Indian people in Canada; explores the local non-Indian community as it relates to Indian people (1985: 79-80; 1983: 108).

Cultural Enrichment Program, elementary
Coast Salish/Elementary schools: Seymour, Britannia, Macdonald, Queen Alexandra, Nightingale/Vancouver/District 39
Objectives: to provide cultural enrichment, the use of a meaningful medium, and academic tutoring; to raise self-esteem and sense of self-worth; to sensitize teachers to cultural differences; to effect parent involvement with development of project. The program is used in five local elementary schools; presentation of culturally relevant materials: general history of native peoples, native heros, native art, dance and folklore; funded by the Ministry, Secretary of State and sponsored by the Vancouver Native Indian Youth Advisory Committee (1985: 81-82; 1983: 111).

Saanich Native Studies Program
Coast Salish/Stelly’s school/Saanich/District 63
Began 1977 as a joint program with the Saanich Indian School Board. The program is based on the model that involves community resource people, teachers and a native curriculum coordinator. Grade 9: Saanich pre-contact environment (including transcription of language); Saanich territory and living things; oral traditions. Grade 10: The Way We Were (pre and post contact); transcription of the language and Saanich seasonal cycle. Grade 11: The Struggle for Control (post contact/contemporary): archaeological evidence of the precontact era; native viewpoints of contact with European explorers and traders; the Indian Act and native values; aboriginal rights; and contemporary issues related to Band government.[1985: 68-69; 1983: 92,93].
Native Studies, and spiritual retreat
Coast Salish/Stride Avenue Community School, elem/Burnaby/District 41
Native studies curriculum program is offered, coordinated by native teacher at school; children are urban Indians alienated from their cultural backgrounds. Native Indian resource people are involved; field trips to a number of native centres, and one year, 1982, children spent a week at Owl Rock Spiritual Camp, Penticton (1985: 48; 1983: 60).

Mainstay Program, Cultural awareness
Coast Salish/North Vancouver/District 44
Objective (grade 4): to enhance the understanding of and respect for Native Indian culture and tradition. A Squamish longhouse (40' X 60') completed (on the banks of the Cheakamus River at the North Vancouver Outdoor School in Paradise Valley (cooperative venture, Squamish Indian Band and School District educators). Experiential curriculum now being prepared to provide overnight stay by Grade 4 students (1985: 60-61).

Native Studies
Coast Salish/Kumtuks Alternate Program, Templeton Secondary School/Vancouver/District 39
The alternative program was established to combat the high drop out rate of native students. It focuses on Native Studies and attempts to foster pride and knowledge in the rich cultural heritage - a positive self concept through the emphasis on Indian culture. Native Studies: historical, geographic, anthropological studies of Indians of British Columbia and other parts of Canada (with emphasis on groups represented in program); extensive use is made of Indian resource people. Indian art program: beading, carving, traditional art forms, design, leatherwork (1985: 78-79; 1983: 106).

Native Environmental Studies Program
Coast Salish/Sechelt/Sechelt Elementary School/Sechelt/District 46
Program geared to both native and non-native students: history, culture, crafts and environmental awareness; Native Indian craft processes related to natural environment, concepts of self-sufficiency and cooperation emphasized. The program cost was shared between the Sechelt Band and Ministry (for capital expenditures) (This does not seem to have been carried into 1985) (1983: 98).

Language and Culture program
Coast Salish/Sliammon Band/James Thomson Elementary/Powell River/District 47
Native Indian Cultural Club operates for two six-week sessions. It is run by the Sliammon Band, with a regular teacher in attendance. It includes language, craft and dance components (1985: 67).

Sto:lo Elementary Curriculum and Sto:lo Project Indian Cultural Education Class (SPICE).
Coast Salish/Sto:lo/Hope Senior Secondary/District 32, all schools
Objectives: student acquisition of knowledge about Indian society past and present; improvement of all students' perceptions about Indian people and the history of the Sto:lo nation; the formation of positive conclusions about traditional native culture; the building of positive self-concepts through the use of culturally relevant materials.

The elementary program uses the Sto:lo Curriculum program, and includes native art, craft, and food preparation, and instruction from local native resource people. The secondary program is intended to be preventative, addressing intercultural tensions. At the secondary level (Hope Senior Secondary), The Sto:lo Project, Indian Cultural Education Class (SPICE), is now in its second year - an elective; class meets three times a week, 17 students, grade 9-12. This program includes the production of a newsletter, visits
Cultural Education Programs in British Columbia schools

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to elders, who share history and culture, and resource people who come in to the school (chiefs, actors, education professionals). The SPICE program is also involved in student exchange with Alberta, and in a drug and alcohol awareness program. An exclusively native format is used (native authors, speakers and materials), addressing topics such as spirituality, morals, values, as well as stereotyping and prejudice (1985: 56; 1983: 75-77).

**Sto:lo Sitel Curriculum**

Coast Salish/Sto:lo /Seabird Island Reserve/Seabird Island Community School (band operated), elementary/Agassiz

Objectives: to attain knowledge and skills to live in an Indian and non-Indian society, and to teach the children to live in harmony with their environment; to ensure that the students develop strong and proud Indian identities; to ensure that culture and history are taught; and to ensure more students complete high school. Band operated school since 1979: the school makes extensive use of the Sto:lo Sitel Curriculum and community resources (1985: 72-73; 1983: 96).

**Queen Charlotte Island Readers**

Haida

Queen Charlotte Islands Reading Series, developed by the University of British Columbia Western Education Development Group, Vancouver. A series of 12 readers, presenting the culture of the Haida, as supplements to the standard reading series available in most schools (1985:167).

**Haida Studies, elementary**

Haida/Massett, QCI/District 50

Local Haida history is incorporated with the Social Studies program; local Haida resource people assist with instruction regarding unique art forms and cultural heritage. At the primary level, use of: photographic materials, 1880—present, legends, mapping and drawing, drama and discussions. Grade 4: *Sea and Cedar*. Grade 7: *Those Born at Koona*, including slide presentations, regional geography, language and art (1985: 87; 1983: 122).

**Lil'wat Cultural Curriculum**

Interior Salish/Lil'wat/Mount Currie /Ts'zil - Mount Currie Community School, band operated/Mount Currie

Lil'wat culture is the focus of the schools' Social Studies curriculum. A Cultural Curriculum Centre employs a curriculum developer, a researcher, and an artist, and courses are offered in basket and drum making, beadwork, herbal medicine, Indian issues, etc (1985: 109).

**Shuswap Language and Culture program**

Interior Salish/Shuswap/Alkali Lake Band /Sxoxomic School, band operated/Alkali Lake


**Shuswap Cultural infusion**

Interior Salish/Shuswap/Canim Lake Band/Canim Lake Elementary Alternate School, band operated/Canim Lake, 100 mile House

Objective of the school: to provide a local learning environment for the children of Canim Lake Band. Band operated school on the reserve. It adheres to the provincial curriculum, but uses cultural infusion, thereby adapting the curriculum to the students cultural identity (1985: 91-92; 1983: 128).
Cultural Education Programs in British Columbia schools

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Indian Studies

Interior Salish/Thompson/Lytton Band/Kumsheen Secondary School/Lytton/District 30

Major topic covered: food, food gathering, fishing, tanning, dip net production, beading and carving, Indian rights, Indian anthropology, history, dancing, craft material collection, other crafts, traditional games, the Indian Act, Native Land claims. Band input and local resource persons directly influence program and evaluation (1985: 102; 1983: 144).

Kootenay Cultural Program

Kootenay/Lower Kootenay Band/Yakan Nu?ki School band operated/Creston

Objectives of school: to meet the educational needs of the Kootenay people and to teach the Kootenay children their culture and language. Much of the instruction is based on provincial curriculum. However, students also participate in field trips and camp outs, they learn to fish, hunt large and small game, study local terrain, plants and berries, and learn to do coiled cedar baskets. In Social Studies: local Kootenay culture and non-local of the Kootenay is taught (southeastern B.C, Montana, Idaho). Interest-based, Indian oriented social studies and reading materials such as the Indian Act, Social Housing, and The Forgotten Kutenai are implemented (1985: 125; 1983: 179).

Nimpkish Cultural Program

Kwakiutl/Nimpkish Band/Alert Bay School/Alert Bay/District 85

Indian culture is no longer taught as a separate course. Teachers are expected to integrate Nimpkish culture into their lessons. Dance is taught to the elementary students twice a week as part of the P.E. program, or senior students may study dance as an elective, 3 times a week. Traditional songs that accompany dances are also learned. Students learn how to smoke salmon and oolichans as part of the Home Economics program. Field trips are made by the students to old village sites, and include oolichan oil making, fishing on a fishing boat; trips made to conferences dealing with aboriginal rights (1985: 128-129; 1983: 184-188).

Native Studies

Kwakiutl/Campbell River/District 72

Objectives: to introduce Indian culture (including the contemporary period) into the mainstream of the curriculum, to increase the relevancy of the school curriculum to the Indian child’s realities, and to provide a basis for a more extensive cross cultural appreciation. A local committee (teachers, museum personnel, and Native Studies Advisory Committee), working since 1979 on a major educational package, The Indian Fishery. Extensive cooperation with Indian organizations, universities and museums is ongoing in the development of creative and accurate units of studies. An ethnobotany unit is being developed as a supplement to Biology 12. Classroom teachers are encouraged to make extensive use of native resource people, and components of native culture are being introduced into the entire curriculum spectrum (1985: 132-133; 1983: 63,64).

Heiltsuk Social Studies Program

Kwakiutl/Heiltsuk/Bella Bella Band/Bella Bella Community School, band operated/Waglisla

Several programs are adapted to meet the special learning needs/abilities of students, incorporating Heiltsuk culture. Cultural input developed by Cultural centre staff. Heiltsuk Social Studies Project: developing materials primarily for elementary social studies (1985: 138; 1983: 194).
Cultural Enrichment program
Nuu-chah-nulth/Tseshahi Band/ Ha-ho Payuk Independent School, band operated/ Port Alberni

The three main goals of the school are: to advance and improve the level of educational achievement of the Indian people; to promote comprehensive educational and training programs consistent with the long range goals of self-determination and economic independence among Indian people; to promote and encourage Indian pride, Indian culture and Indian points of view through the development of various educational programs. It is also a goal to have the classroom reflect the Indian culture in appearance and organization. The program of instruction from pre-school through Grade 6 blends the Ministry of Education Core Curriculum with a specially designed Cultural Curriculum. Pre-school: cultural class, 45 min per week, for language, dance and legends; grade 1-6 have 4 twenty-minute cultural classes per week; curriculum development in process, emphasis on crafts, history, songs and dance, local legends and language. An independent day school on the Tseshahi Reserve, operated by a local society (pre-school to grade 6); curriculum developer hired to develop teacher's handbook and language teaching aids, administered by Ha-ho-payuk Society; 115 students, 6 teachers and 3 native studies teachers (including language and dance instructors); alternate class for high school students for dropouts; linguist hired to teach grammatical structure to 5 native language teachers; also a coordinator of Indian Education hired by District 70 to work on including and enhancing Indian oriented curriculum. "It is... the philosophy of the school to promote, in a happy and meaningful way, the academic, emotional, social and physical growth of students...." (1985: 140-141; 1983: 199).

Gitksan Studies II
Tsimsian/Kitwanga (Terrace)/District 88

A language and cultural enrichment program focusing on the local Gitksan dialect and cultural practices. The materials used are designed for the Kitwanga area and reflect the distinct dialect and common cultural heritage of the Kitwanga, Kitwancool and Kitsegukla people. Cultural aspects investigated: hunting, trapping, relationship between student, school and Indian community, and Northwest Coast Indian art; program operates in Grades 1-7, on optional basis, open to all students with parental consent (1985: 157; 1983: 221).

Native culture
Tsimsian/ Gitanyow Band/ Gitanyow Elementary School, band operated/ Kitwancool

Program: re-introduction of native cultural components: weekly art lessons, 1-2 hours per week. The Education Committee is working with the Health and Home Care person to develop material to teach health, food preparation and preservation. They are also working to re-organize the cultural awareness program that took the students into the outdoors to learn traditional food and materials preparation. Band operated elementary school, governed by a four-member Education committee: band hired part time local language instructor (West Gitksan dialect), part time native art instructor, full-time aid, to work with the five teachers and the 60 children in nursery to grade 6 (1985: 156-157; 1983: 220).

Native Studies Curriculum Development projects
Tsimsian/ North Coast Tribal Council/ Prince Rupert/ District 52

District 52 schools: Two major goals: to incorporate Native Studies units at all grade levels and to facilitate native Indian teacher training. Native Studies Curriculum Development Projects are in place at the three village schools and a locally-developed Grade 4 program is taught district-wide. In 1980, a Native Art course was introduced at
Booth Memorial Junior Secondary, grade 9/10 elective, with learning objectives directed to cultures of Haida, Tsimshian, Nisga’a. Tsimshian culture is integrated into the school at Hartley Bay (Northwest Coast Art, cedar bark weaving, Tsimshian customs) through a once-weekly culture block. At Lax Kw’alaams School, Port Simpson, Native Art units are being taught in grades 8,9,10, and a home economics teacher has developed units on smoking salmon and Native Crafts. Prince Rupert Secondary, Northwest Coast Design for Textile Arts and Crafts 11, Native Indian Foods and Nutrition 12; Law 11, individual projects relating to Law and native people. Of the 4,000 students, 1,300 are Indian; development of a number of programs. There is a district Indian Education Advisory Committee which meets monthly and acts in consultation with the school board. coordinator of Native Studies Curriculum Development, working with Indian Education Advisory Committee, developing major Native Studies unit for grade 4 socials (1985: 162-164; 1983: 229).

Native Studies 12
Tsimshian/Git’Ksan-Wet’suweten Tribal Council/Hazelton Secondary School/Hazelton/District 88
This is a locally developed course put together jointly by the school’s Social Studies staff and Git’Ksan-Wet’suweten Tribal Council (1985: 152-3).

Early childhood education and cultural programming

Early Childhood Education
Interior Salish/Williams Lake/Cariboo College
Program administered by the Cariboo Indian College in conjunction with the Cariboo Indian Education Training Centre — to work with native children using native culture, arts and crafts (1985: 123).

Medicine, healing

Nutrition and Medicine
Athapaskan/Slave/Tahltan, Tlingit, Kaska/School District/District 81
In progress, development of a Native Nutrition and Medicine Curriculum for elementary schools of Fort Nelson district (1985: 17).

Environmental training, survival skills and traditional and contemporary occupations

Sekani Awareness Program
Athapaskan/Sekani Band/Fort Ware /Prince George
teachers and students accompany parents on the trapline in March when school is closed, and students learn traditional hunting and trapping and family socialization. These experiences are then integrated into the curriculum. Trapping program began in 1984, where students operate a trapline for 4 weeks, prepare and sell furs and operate a winter camp on the trapline (1985: 22-23; 1983: 19).

Trapping
Athapaskan/Lower Post Elementary /Lower Post/District 87
Ten intermediate students work on trapline registered to school (setting traps, skinning animals, selling skins, accounting). Other cultural programs minimal: beading and quilling, moccasin making and moosehide tanning are offered occasionally by local resource people and northern and native content is introduced into the regular curriculum, where appropriate (1985: 25; 1983: 23).
**Trapping**

Athapaskan/Métis/Kelly Lake School, Junior secondary/Kelly Lake, Peace River South, Dawson Creek/District 59

Funded by Ministry; Program covers: regulation and conservation, setting traps and skinning, life on a trapline and cross country and survival skills. Also offered intermittently: moose hide tanning, meat and pemican packing; programs are sequential, some are compulsory, and some portions have pre-requisites. The program provides Métis students an opportunity to experience traditional lifestyles and gain knowledge of their cultural heritage (1985: 24-25; 1983: 21, 22).

**Trapping ethics and practices**

Athapaskan/Slave/School District Indian Education programs offered/Fort Nelson/District 81

In progress, development of a series of units in Social Studies curriculum, featuring Trapping ethics and practices (1985: 17).

**Cultural Skills and Revival Project**

Coast Salish/Tsartlip Indian Day School/Saanich Indian School Board

Objective: to acquaint Indian students with various traditional skills. Begun 1978, Ministry funded: basketry, loom weaving, salmon fishing, canoe building, big house construction, utility carving, traditional food preservation and preparation. This is no longer funded by the ministry, so projects are now curtailed to those the school itself can finance (1985: 67-68;1983: 91,92).

**Kootenay Environmental Camp**

Kootenay/Windermere/Columbia Lake Band

An authentic camp, used as part of the grade four Social Studies Curriculum: shows the traditional landscape, Kootenay shelters, with community resource people teaching about the lifestyle (1985: 126).

**Resources Technology**

Nuu-chah-nulth/Ahousat Band/Resources Technology Alternate School; Ahousat Day School (band operated/Port Alberni

A job skill training school directed toward the development of local resources, where academic skills are directed to those needed to implement resource development. Program: forestry (silviculture), fisheries, navigation, basic carpentry, net mending and handling, first aid, marine technology, community services, and cabinet making. The Salmonid Enhancement Program is a joint project between the Ahousat Day School and the Alternate school, located in the band office, emphasizing stream enhancement, access development, incubation, biology instruction and related scientific concepts, as well as microcomputer applications (1985: 140-141; 1983: 199).

**Art/Craft programs**

Athapaskan/Slave/School District Indian Education programs offered/Fort Nelson/District 81

In progress, development of an Arts and Crafts program at the Elementary school level that features the skills of the Fort Nelson native population (1985: 17).

Bella Coola/Bella Coola Band/Acwsalcta Elementary and High School, band operated/Bella Coola

Native teachers and volunteers teach blanketmaking to the girls and silver and woodworking to the boys (1985: 38-39; 1983: 43,44).
Mainstay Program, Art instruction

Coast Salish/North Vancouver/District 44

One art instructor provides carving, drawing, and design introduction in Northwest Coast Indian Art (1985: 60-61).

Northwest Coast Indian Art Program

Coast Salish/District program /Victoria Region/District 61

Objective: to find a foundation that encourages students to learn more about Indian culture and society. Northwest Coast Indian art was traditionally taught by a 'master artist' through an apprenticeship system. The Indian Art program is similar. The basic two dimensional art style is introduced to students in the elementary schools. By high school, they are employing three dimensional techniques (1985: 82-86).

Norgate project, Squamish Art Program

Coast Salish/Capilano/Capilano; Squamish bands/Norgate School/North Vancouver;Squamish/District 44

Education Coordinator for the Band responsible for language program development and culture program development. Objective: to improve community relations between Indian and non-Indian population through cultural program in school, and special community events outside of school; emphasizes print making, beading for primary, carving, printmaking and beading for intermediate levels. In 1982, pole raising was incorporated as standard "special event" (1985: 59-60/1983: 80,81).

Native Art Program

Coast Salish/Squamish/Squamish Band

The band-funded art program is taught by a local native artist with four years training at the Emily Carr School of Art. He travels to each school once a week to give one hour lessons (1985: 75).

Indian Design 9-12

Kwakiutl/Haisla/Mt. Elizabeth Secondary School/Kitimat /District 80

To enhance student understanding and affinity with Canadian native Indian culture and history, as well as B.C. and Kwakiutl culture, art forms and language. Four years of art and design: to learn to identify Haida, Kwakluth and Nisga'a designs, to draw and paint a variety of designs, with increasing complexity following years. Emphasis is on developing a personal style that reflects the imagery of the Haisla people, in a variety of media: paint, lino, wood, clay and silkscreen (1985: 134-135; 1983: 189).

Indian Art Instruction

Tsimshian/John Field Elementary School/Hazelton/District 88

Program of Gitksan art aims to gain acceptance as a permanent curriculum addition for Indian and non-Indian students and to develop in non-Indian students an acceptance of an aspect of the local Indian culture. Instruction has been given to small groups of students on an optional basis in 2-3 dimensional design, drawing, painting, and carving. Gitksan names, legends and history are introduced through art instruction; began 1977; over past 3 years an itinerant art instructor, based in Hazelton, has travelled to all elementary and secondary schools in Hazelton and Kitwanga communities; the demand in both communities was such that an instructor was requested for each community, but with funding cutbacks, now only John Field Elementary School is served (1985: 153; 1983: 214).
Craft Program

Coast Salish/Sooke Band/District 62

Indian Crafts program, 6 elementary schools, taught by Indian aides: 3 native women teach beading, knitting, painting traditional designs, woodburning. Indian Education coordinator teaches some of the legends of T'Sou-ke and West Coast bands. Coordinator contributes to the development and collection of materials relating to native cultures (eg. legends of T'Sou-ke and West Coast Bands) (1985: 74-75; 1983: 100).

Leather and Native Crafts

Interior Salish/Williams Lake Junior High School/Williams Lake/District 27

Course offered for grades 8-10 (1985: 123).

Craft and Culture instruction

Athapaskan/Halfway River School, elementary/Halfway River/District 60

One afternoon a week a community member comes to the school to teach crafts, or initiate a culture project (eg. making own moccasins from locally tanned hides) (1985: 23-24; 1983: 20).

Coast Salish/Cowichan Band/Koksilah Elementary School/Duncan/District 65

Weekly craft lessons are taught from grade 1-6. In grade 3, the students learn to collect and prepare rushes and do many types of flat weaving. In grade 4, 5, the students learn to do beadwork, from simple rings to chokers and leather-backed bracelets. The school program also includes emphasis on legends for one month, where elders tell stories and reading and writing skills focus on legends. Dance instruction is worked into P.E. program, with performance at local festivals (1985: 52-53; 1983: 71).

Music, Dance, Theatre and recreation

Native Dance Classes

Athapaskan/Carrier/Takla Band/Takla Landing Federal School (to grade 9), band operated/Takla Landing


Dance

Bella Coola/Bella Coola Band/Acwsalcta Elementary and High School, band operated/Bella Coola

Native teachers and volunteers are teaching Indian songs, the Welcome dance and the Headress dance (1985: 38-39; 1983: 43,44).

Cultural Recreation Program

Interior Salish/Mt. Bourcherie Secondary School/Westbank (Okanagan)/District 23

A cultural recreation program (funded by the Westbank Band) will be introduced (1985), whereby native students will be involved in learning life time sports, as well as undertaking various cultural activities (1985: 117; 1983: 166).
Cree position on culture

The general view today is that native culture is in the process of assimilation and disappearance. In Canada, Cree culture is one of the last to be enveloped by North American institutions and values. Nonetheless, Crees maintain a vital culture, rich in its relationship with the land and the animal world and unique because of its strong emphasis on sharing and cooperation in social interactions. Cree culture is hence not just reflected in its past and by its traditions but is an active part of everyday life. At the moment, however, Cree ways face the greatest challenge ever.

To most Crees, Cree culture is synonymous with living off the land. For it is through the experience of bush living that the wide range of knowledge, skills and beliefs which underlie Cree ways and social relations are acquired. Rapid social and environmental changes initiated by massive hydro development now severely threaten Cree access to land... The loss of such a significant amount of land poses a threat to the Cree way of life and hence to Cree culture....

When all these changes are considered collectively—more time spent in the communities and at school, loss of traplines, increased population, greater contact with non-native society—it is not difficult to conclude that Cree culture is under immense pressure.

Cultural resources

In view of the great importance that Crees attach to Cree ways, steps should be taken to reverse the loss of Cree heritage. It is urgent that plans be formulated to ensure the protection, development and promotion of Cree ways. For it is only through a sound knowledge of their heritage and history that Crees will be able to understand the pressures on them. And it is only with such knowledge that they will be able to accept the challenges which confront them as Crees. Additionally, the fact that cultural resources are essentially non-renewable increases the urgency for the protection and preservation of Cree Ways. Once cultural resources have been allowed to degenerate the knowledge they could have provided is lost. How things were and what they meant will then be left to speculation.

The interest of the Crees in asserting control over the development of Cree ways is in keeping with their search for self-determination. Given that the protection and enhancement of Cree culture is both vital and desirable for the Crees as well as for Québec the purpose of this submission is, in the context of the present review of the Agreement, to open the door to discussions about the future development of Cree cultural affairs (p. 1-3).
Cultural development initiatives in Quebec: The Cree Regional Authority

Appendix 10

Responsibility for the protection of culture

The major objective of the Agreement was to compensate the Cree for relinquishing aboriginal title to the land in order to make way for the James Bay Hydroelectric Project. Due to [the] time restriction...the subject of Cree culture was never given the attention and analysis it deserved.

At the time the Agreement was negotiated it was thought that the Cree School Board could assume responsibility for the protection and development of Cree culture. In consequence, the Agreement contains few comprehensive initiatives for cultural protection and development. Reference to Cree culture is usually peripheral or oblique. At present, there is neither the co-ordination of nor the funding for a comprehensive program for cultural development. In hindsight it can be seen that the responsibility for cultural development is too broad to be thrust upon the Cree school board. Therefore, in order to fulfill the spirit and intent of the Agreement there is an urgent need to do more. For example, the subjects of communications, archaeology, libraries and museums should be addressed. At the same time, provisions should be made to support whatever cultural institutions and programs may be deemed important in the future (pp. 3-5).

Amendment to the Agreement

The Crees place a very high premium on both cultural affairs and the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement and would like to see the opening of a dialogue with the Government of Quebec towards strengthening the Agreement’s provisions covering cultural affairs. At a minimum, there should be a formal amendment to the Agreement establishing the pre-eminence of Cree culture as distinct among the many other concerns of the Agreement....[to: i) consider Cree culture on a priority level with other sections of the Agreement; ii) consider extension of the initiatives in the Agreement concerned with the protection and enhancement of Cree culture; iii) consider the present text as an evolving text for future meetings; iv) consider the proposed 5-year plan provided by the Ministry of Cultural Affairs... the Cree of James Bay should not be disqualified from existing and future provincial government programs as a result of an agreement to amend the James Bay Agreement; v) provide assurance of further discussions concerning Cree culture.

Response to Quebec’s position of support for cultural development

In the past the Government of Quebec, primarily through the ministère des Affaires culturelles, has been reasonably responsive to Cree culture and the Crees would like to ensure that this Ministry has the capability to meet rapidly expanding Cree cultural needs in the coming years. There is every reason to believe that, given the highly supportive nature of the Government of Quebec concerning native heritage such an expectation will be fully realized.

Development of a Cree Museum

Submission to the Museum Assistance Programmes, National Museums of Canada, 1982

...to seek the services of a museum consultant to prepare major capital development study of a museum for the Cree Indians of James Bay, Quebec.

The proposed study has as its purpose to provide Crees with a clear and comprehensive vision of the kind of museum development best suited to their needs and to give them a plan of action for realizing this development....the study will attempt to translate the Crees’ desires to take responsibility for the development and control over their cultural heritage resources in a concrete image of a Cree museum...the Cree situation presents certain unique
problems and constraints that will condition the relative feasibility... the necessity of
serving a clientele located in eight communities dispersed over an area the size of France.
Creative solutions will be required for these problems.

This proposal must be understood in the context of the accelerated rate of social and cultural
change related to the James Bay hydroelectric development. In recent years, Crees have
increasingly turned their attention to recording and preserving major elements of their
traditional culture and history. The number of projects directed toward recording the
knowledge of community Elders reflects the recognition by young and old alike that
traditional means of learning and transmitting this knowledge must now be supplemented
with new means. Such things as old photographs, maps, documents and elements of
material culture are coming increasingly to be valued as tools for enriching understanding
of the past and as symbols of a past in which the Crees feel a great deal of pride. Likewise, the
tapes, notes, drawings, maps, etc., that have resulted from various cultural heritage projects
are seen as an invaluable source of information regarding Cree culture and Cree history.

...The Crees feel that the development of a museum will allow them to begin to protect,
interpret and disseminate information regarding those elements of their cultural heritage
which would otherwise remain scattered and subject to destruction or continued removal
from the Cree territories.... It would allow them to begin to assert their will to systematically
change the colonialist situation whereby the finest examples of Cree material culture,
almost all photographic materials, and important information regarding Cree
history/prehistory is held in the hands of outsiders, for their study and intellectual
stimulation, yet is not available to the Crees themselves. Rather than being forced into the
situation of having to rely on outsiders for an interpretation of their own traditions, the
Cree wish to develop the resources to interpret and present their own history and culture,
both to other Crees and to outsiders.

1983: Klein and Sears Research and Planning Ltd. report submitted July 1983:
recommends central museum in one community and a local museum presence in
the remaining seven.

1985: René Rivard, Muséart, report submitted April 1985: concept of local museum
presence/ecomuseum developed further

1986: Lord Cultural Resources Planning & Management Inc., interim report
submitted August 1986

Cultural programs, Cree Regional Authority, 1983 - 1984

Cultural affairs office of the Cree Regional Authority

Includes the The Cree Museum Capital Development Study, phase 1 and 2.

Office for Region 10 was established in 1983-84 as part of the decentralization of the
ministère des Affaires culturelles and the regionalization of its budget).

The Cree Museum Project
museological study

The first phase of the Museological study, phase 1, was funded jointly by the National
Museums of Canada and the ministère des Affaires culturelles (conducted by Klein and Sears
Research and Planning, Ltd.). Its objective was to establish the need and potential for a Cree
museum, define its purpose as well as set out a physical, organizational and financial concept.

The second phase (in process at time of publication) consists of detailed planning of the physical structure of the museum, of the museum's capital and operating budgets and its staffing considerations. Phase III will see the initiation of construction.

**museum training**

One trainee in museum administration and management [under the auspices of the Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature], to be completed August 1984

**museum photo collection**

Funded by the Native Heritage Program of the ministère des Affaires culturelles: a photo collection of the Nemaska, Waswanipi, Eastmain and Wemindji, to constitute the core of an archives of old Cree photos and material for future exhibits (inventories of Cree photos have been done at a number of institutions, and collections have been ordered).

**documentation centre**

The purpose of the documentation centre is to establish a complete collection of the historical, cultural and socially oriented materials written about the Crees. Such a collection will be built up over the years. In the meantime funding has been obtained from the Cultural Education Centre in Chisasibi to compile bibliographies of the relevant materials, devise and appropriate method of cataloguing and start the initial collection.

**local museum fieldwork**

Includes the collection of old photos and accompanying reference material from the people in Eastmain (to add to the photo archives), and the taping of tabajimon and atiyookan stories for the tape library which will be part of the museum's documentation centre and photo archives.

**acquisitions**

In response to the need of the Cree-Ations shop to sell their collection of old Cree artifacts the Museum project obtained funds from the ministère des Affaires culturelles to purchase the threatened collection. The remaining funds will be used to investigate and, if possible, recover an old birch bark canoe which is in the bush near Waswanipi.

**Archaeology**

An archaeologist is retained to provide technical support for the Cree Museum Capital Development Study, assess the archaeological impact statements, participate in the Archaeological committee for Concerted Action and conduct a survey of the archaeological sites in the Rupert House area.

**Other projects planned**

Cree Cultural Conference; Cree Language Video Project; inventory of Cree ethnographic materials in southern museums; and, a visit to the museum system in Greenland.
Cultural Education Centre, Chisasibi, project descriptions

The James Bay Cree Cultural Education Centre functions under the administration Cree Regional Authority but acquires its budget from the Department of Indian Affairs. The primary concern of the Centre has been to provide funding for programs dedicated to the preservation of Cree heritage and culture.

Elders' Conference

As in previous years, the Cree Elders' Conference has been chosen as the number one activity of the James Bay Cree Cultural Education Centre. The Elders are beginning to feel that what they have to contribute is important and they are anxious to assume part of their role as leaders of the Crees although they are aware that times have changed and it is up to the young educated Crees to assume most of the responsibilities of today. They do, however, feel that the young Crees still have much to learn from them.

Summer wilderness project, Chisasibi

Recent events had led to a very drastic decline in the amount of time being spent by the youth of this community in the pursuit of the traditional activities. The pursuits of these activities has been hindered by such things as the retention in the community of more and more parents by an increasing amount of wage employment and the length of the academic school year. This trend has resulted in the gradual deterioration of the Cree culture. The main objective, then of this proposal is to reduce the rate of which the Cree culture is eroding, ensure the continued practice of the traditional activities and retain the continued used of the proper Cree terminology used in the pursuit of such activities. And since younger people have become the victims of the present situation, they will be the target population for this particular project.

The project will contain various types of summer activities all related to the present bush life style. The list of activities are as follows: water safety, canoe safety, gun safety, camp setting, hunting, net setting, bush cooking, fire prevention, principle of conservation, bush survival.

Summer wilderness project, Rupert House

There are two objectives to this project:

1) To ensure that young people continue to learn wilderness survival skills and to be familiar with the land

2) To train future guides and recreation leaders

Many young people are no longer given the opportunity to travel to the bush and learn the skills and languages associated with this experience. As a result, the Crees are exposed to the very real danger of being alienated from the land that they knew so intimately, only one generation before. As time passes, there are fewer and fewer young people who know these skills and would be able to carry them on for their own children. Because of this, the number of persons who will have the skills to guide tourists is also decreasing. As tourism in the region is developed, there will be an increasing demand upon a decreasing number of people possessing the requisite skills.

2 Descriptions of the Cultural Education Centre projects are included as Appendix II of the Cree Regional Authority submission on Cree culture, 1983: 25.
Winter Wilderness project, Chisasibi

This is intended to be a pilot project. During the school year, twenty days are used as pedagogical days when the students do not attend classes. This project would take place during those 20 days during the school year.... The purpose of this project is to teach bush survival in the winter and how to hunt and trap during the winter. There are more and more accidents each year involving people and ski-doos going through the ice because young Crees of today do not know how to read the ice or what they should do if they find themselves in this situation when each minute counts if a person is to survive. Since they are in school all winter, the students do not know how to trap, fish and hunt or how to set up camp during the winter months, and these are all skills they will need once they have left school if they decide to follow the traditional way of life. If this project is successful, it could be incorporated into the Cree culture courses which are presently being offered in all the Cree schools. A trapline within one day's travel from the community will be chosen and the students will be taken by ski-doo to that trapline. An experienced trapper will act as their instructor and preference will be given to those students who are seriously considering this way of life and to those from one-parent families who do not otherwise get the chance to learn how to survive in the bush during the winter.

Nemaska Sturgeon Fishing

This project would involve the participation of 5 young band members, along with 2 elders, on a fishing expedition on Lake Mewgouez towards the end of May 1982, for a duration of one month.

Sturgeon fishing, more specifically "spearing and netting" involves a certain technique which only a very few individuals, mainly elders, have knowledge of, and once they are gone, there is a danger that this knowledge will be lost forever. There are very few places around Nemaska where this type of traditional activity can be done, and only once year for a short duration of time (end of May).

"Sturgeon fishing" used to be an annual event for some trappers some years back when people still relied on travelling by canoe back to the village of Nemaska after the long winter's trapping. This type of fishing was done in order to supplement enough food for the long travel ahead.

Now, because of some well-known changes this type of activity is rarely practised. I suppose everybody is so used to living in the "fast lane" and it is no longer that important to retain some of the old traditional ways, which some consider frivolous, anyway.... There is also a growing trend among the young people not to listen to their elders. One of the ways of overcoming this situation is to bring the young people and the elders to an isolated environment together where the elder is the teacher.

Cree archaeology, Rupert House

In recent years Crees have become increasingly interested in non-traditional ways of exploring their past. Along with tape recording of Cree oral history and collection of other historical documents, archaeology is now seen as a technique which could serve to inform Crees about their ancient history and provide concrete evidence of the way of life of their ancestors....In the long term, Crees wish to develop their own archaeological program which would allow them to research questions which are of particular interest to them and to participate in a much more positive way in the archaeological documentation of their past.... We are proposing an archaeological project of limited scale focusing on a clearly defined problem concerning the continuity in the Cree use of particular resources....
The goal of this project is to conduct an archaeological survey of limited areas of the James Bay coast in the vicinity of Rupert House and at the second rapids area of the Rupert River. In both cases the work will be concerned with finding archaeological evidence of ancient Cree settlement and use of resources that now, and traditionally, have figured importantly in the economy of Crees living in the area. In the case of the James Bay coastal area, we are interested in documenting archaeologically the use of sites traditionally associated with goose hunting. The second rapids, on the other hand, has long been a focus of late summer fishing activities. In this case, we would attempt to show that these activities have significant time depth.

In both cases, the work will rely on the knowledge of Crees who have used these locations over the decades to pin-point sites most likely to have been used in ancient times and to proved information useful for the interpretation of the sites.

**Cree Museum Documentation Centre**

The purpose of the Cree Museum Documentation Centre is to acquire, catalogue and make available Cree books and articles which have been written about Cree culture and traditions. This is important because while the Cree Regional Authority has become a documentation centre its collection concentrates primarily on the administrative and technical papers of the Cree Regional Authority and the Grand Council. For the most part those books and articles about our way of life continue to be inaccessible to us being located in archives and libraries outside the Cree territory.

There are a number of reasons why we are proposing the development of a documentation centre based on cultural materials. The first has to do with the nature of the Cree museum. According to the work conducted in the communities by the Museum Project we have found that the people would like a means of conveying to their children the skills, knowledge, stories and values which shaped their lives in the past and which continue to give meaning in the bush today. Acknowledging this, the task of the museum curator is then to use examples from Cree material culture, either archaeological, photographic, or ethnographic, to illustrate particular aspects of Cree life. In order to do this however, the curator must have ready access to as much information about Crees over as long a period of time as possible.

The result will be a museum which consists of much more than show cases of beautiful objects. Rather, with the necessary background information the vitality, dynamism and relevance of the Cree way of life could be clearly conveyed. In short, because it is information which makes the cultural materials speak, the documents are as important to successful museum exhibits and programs as the archaeological, photographic and ethnographic collections.

Secondly, such a documentation centre would be an asset in the development of cultural education programs. As it is now, teachers working in the schools must rely on institutions outside Cree territory to provide them with the books they require for their students about Cree culture. The process of acquiring the information is not only time-consuming and frustrating but it also discourages spontaneous research by the students into their past and their traditions. That is, the presence of readily available information to the students could serve to inspire Crees to question the nature of the work which has been written about them, and to develop research orientations which they themselves find relevant.
Cross-cultural awareness for youth, 1983-84

...eight students will be chosen to go on this trip, one from each Cree community....trip planned to the Maritimes...a tour of native villages and educational facilities in the Maritime provinces...[for] one week.

Eastmain Local Newspaper

[to include drawings, stories, reports, special announcements and messages, interviews, legends, inland news, local news, church announcements, jokes and cartoons, sales and ads, lost and found sections].

Objectives:
1. To have information from the different groups within the community
2. To give opportunity for the people of Eastmain to express themselves openly
3. People will be more aware of what is happening in the community.
4. Students will be able to have more reading material available that interests them.

Recording Legends and History

Phase 1 of this project was completed during the 1981-82 year and it involved taping approximately 160 hours of Cree stories and legends from Chisasibi and Wemindji. Phase II involved transcribing and translating these tapes into English and this was done during the 1982-83 year. A selection should be made as to which stories and legends should be published for later use in the schools. Phase III of this project, then, would involve getting the chosen stories and legends illustrated and typed ready for publication....Once it was published, it would also serve to sensitize the public to the historical role of the Crees since history was written from a non-Native point of view and, in most cases, is very biased.

Proposal for an Oral History Program

Research of Cree oral history is both necessary and urgent. The necessity lies in the fact that there exist histories of James Bay which have been compiled almost entirely from written records left by outsiders, guests in the Cree territory from 1668 onwards. What is missing in these histories is the Cree perspective, their perception of events and the kind of details worth remembering and passing on to succeeding generations. Although not recorded, Cree history is extant, very much so in the form of the tipachtman stories which have been told by the elders for generations. The urgency in recording Cree history is that now in these changed times these numerous stories may disappear along with the older generation. The sense of urgency also applies to developing a more balanced historical perspective so that the historical materials used in the schools and available in the communities reflect the Cree view of their history. The same is true for the historical accounts used in southern schools.

...Another benefit of such a research programme would be the development in the community of special skills and techniques for: interviewing, recording, transcribing, translating, analyzing and writing up the tipachtman stories. Also of enormous benefit to the communities would be the recognition that their tipachtman stories are in fact history, in the same sense that others use the term, and worthy of extensive research and analysis. Such a programme would also, of course, enable the Cree to tell their version of historical events—just as almost every other nation has been able to do.

...The approach to be followed would be a dual one—to probe for accounts of events not yet recorded and to widen the perspective of those events recorded in written documents. Several
versions of each story will be sought to augment the network of details surrounding each event. The *tipachiman* stories will be recorded on video tapes so a permanent visual and sound record can be made for the use of each community.

**Five Year Plan, Cultural development**

**Cree Language Commission**

Crees express a great concern about the preservation and development of the Cree language. Because of this we would like to establish a Cree Language Commission which will have the mandate to preserve and develop the Cree language. Composed of elders expert in the Cree language and Crees with training in linguistics and translation, the Commission will devote attention to the development of Cree words in areas (such as medicine, law, and technology, etc.) where there is no direct Cree equivalent, to the syllabic writing system and to groups working in the Cree language (i.e. translators, teachers, etc.).

**Comprehensive Cree Dictionary**

**Council of Elders**

In recognition of the vital need to include the elders in all aspects of the cultural development of the area, regular meetings of the Council of Elders should be sponsored and organized...the council will identify and give direction to all culturally oriented programs and projects as well as help articulate cultural development policy...it will provide a means of communication between the elders in general and the Cree political leadership such that the former can advise the leadership, particularly on issues which have a precedent in traditional custom and law.... Because of the diminished role of the elders in the family and community and because of their extensive knowledge of the cultural heritage this link with the leadership and their contribution to cultural development is especially important.

**Cultural exchange trips**

**Cultural conference**

...the Conference will provide a mechanism through which the culturally oriented institutions will attempt to address the interests of the Cree viz-a-viz cultural affairs. Initially it will be incumbent upon the Conference to establish a general cultural policy for the Crees as well as to specify the role of each of the institutions which are currently involved in culturally oriented activities....and will allow a forum for the exchange of ideas about Cree culture between young and old.

**Cultural Education Projects**

One of the main goals of the Crees is the preservation and promotion of Cree history, knowledge and skills. The emotional commitment of Crees to the land in concert with the fact that they spend most of their time in the north means that all Crees should be equipped with a thorough knowledge of skills and attitudes necessary for survival in the bush. Because traditional techniques for living off the land do not constitute the sum total of Cree ways, care must also be taken to convey the values and attitudes, laws and customs which are fostered by living off the land. To further these ends, projects and activities which revive and develop the traditional and contemporary cultural skills of the Crees must be supported; research into Cree heritage and culture should be conducted; training programs in traditional skills should be developed; programs should be established to increase the Cree
knowledge and use of their language; and methods should be developed to increase Cree access to accurate information about their history, knowledge and skills.

**Protection of Cree heritage**

**Customs, traditions, stories and ceremonies**

In an effort to protect the Cree heritage, a large ongoing project must be developed to investigate and record the extensive repository of knowledge held by our elders. Because so little systematic work has been done in this regard, all areas of their knowledge will have to be tapped, from medicine, music and dance to their knowledge of weather, biology and technology. To keep the customs, stories, traditions and ceremonies from being interpreted as 'complete superstition' or 'peculiar native customs' it is important that the morals which they express, the values they teach and the intricacies of their use be documented at the same time. A strong cultural heritage does not come from repeating traditional stories and ceremonies alone; the goals and values and philosophy behind the cultural heritage must be reinforced also.

**Cultural Heritage sites and buildings**

Through the identification of the places of cultural and personal significance throughout the Quebec Labrador peninsula, the long relationship of the Crees with the territory will be reaffirmed and our cultural identity promoted. Policy must hence be developed for the protection and preservation of Cree cultural heritage sites and buildings. The first step in this regard should be the identification of all the Cree place names in the James Bay territory, official recognition of the names and registration of the names on the maps of the region. The second step should consist of an inventory and the registration of those sites which are the most culturally or historically significant. The protection and preservation of the sites of great cultural significance will be promoted. Finally, the registration and, where possible, the restoration of heritage buildings will be encouraged.

**Cree History Commission**

Historians have largely relegated Indians to secondary roles and ignored their ideas. Despite this, Indian history in general and Cree history in particular have as much merit as any other history. In order to counteract possible myths and misconceptions about the past, Crees should be able to consult their own historical record, a record which has been written from within the context of our ideas and on the basis of our own traditions....

To provide a view which is missing from the record, attention will be place on Cree social history, and on the heroes, events, ideas and social relations which Crees consider important. Various subjects will be explored, for instance the movement of Crees through time over the Quebec Labrador peninsula will be traced as will the Crees' interpretation of the significance of this movement....Data to compile the history will be obtained from extensive interviews with the people and from collection of oral histories. For the purposes of comparison this information will be matched against information which is available in the historical record.

**Development of Cree artists, writers, musicians and craftsmen**

As a living and developing culture, attention should be devoted to the encouragement of Cree artists, musicians, writers and craftsmen.
Appendix 11: Cultural Policy in Quebec and Native Heritage Development Projects

Policy of the Quebec Government concerning native heritage

1) The government is aware that it must avoid any attempt to decide unilaterally the future of the native people. It is primarily the responsibility of these communities to determine their own development.

2) The native peoples of Québec must not be left to the own resources on the pretext of respecting their autonomy, because that would mean allowing certain adverse economic and cultural forces to influence their destiny, unimpeded. As citizens of Québec, the native peoples must be able to count on the support of the State of Québec.

3) Since they can survive and prosper only on the basis of their deeply rooted characteristics, the native cultures are responsible for devising the institutions and strategies which will suit their development. The government intends to apply itself to encouraging this return to their sources and even to promoting financial aid for such initiative.

Position on culture

Message from René Lévesque, his last message as Prime Minister, September 1985:

The last decade, and a little more, was marked in Québec by a real improvement in the relationship between the aboriginal peoples and the rest of Québec society. Not that this relationship was bad up to then, but because its nature has changed. During that period of time Québec society became gradually aware that its relationship with the aboriginal peoples had to be based on the unique title— inherited from their ancestors—as first occupants of the country; that they could not be considered as an other cultural minority, in this country which has remained theirs although history made it so that they share its utilization with others; and that, by way of implication, the relationship with them must be built, as much as possible, on the foundation of fundamental equality, an equality that fully respects the dignity of the other.

We owe this relatively new perception first of all to the militant spirit of the aboriginal people, to their characteristic patience and to their deep desire of living with us is the greatest possible harmony....The Québec departments gradually institutionalized their contacts with the aboriginal milieux, progressively extending their services and programmes, and sometimes even inventing new ones—not enough it must be admitted—which correspond truly to the real situations lived by the aboriginal peoples...the Parliamentary Commission of November 1983 give the aboriginal nations the occasion to present and debate before the Assemblee Nationale their point of view on the rights and the forms of coexistence which they intend to build along with us. Finally, with the Resolution passed by the Assemblee Nationale last Spring, there is an institution of permanent parliamentary forum guaranteed to the aboriginal peoples of Québec.

Principles recognized

In December 1982, prior to the 1983 Constitutional talks scheduled for the First Ministers' Conference, representatives of the Inuit and Amerindian nations met with Premiere René

1 These three statements have been transcribed from an appendix to Cree Regional Authority Submission, 1983: 24.
2 Lévesque's statements are recorded in Rencontre 1985 7 (1): 4.
3 The first three principles are included here, with the response of the government of Quebec, recorded in Rencontre 1983 4 (3): 4-5. Rencontre is a monthly publication published by SAGMAI; it features descriptions of social, cultural and economic developments in Native communities.
Lévesque in order to initiate discussions concerning their rights and the Constitution. 15 principles were put forward. The first three are as follows:

1. That aboriginal peoples of Québec are Nations with the right to self-determination within the Canadian federation.
2. That aboriginal peoples have the right to their own self-identity, culture, language, customs and traditions.
3. That aboriginal peoples have the right to areas of land under their exclusive ownership and control.

To these, Québec responded: “Québec recognizes that the aboriginal peoples of Québec constitute distinct nations, entitled to their own culture, language, traditional customs as well as having the right to determine, by themselves, the development of their own identity. It also recognizes the right of aboriginal nations, within the framework of Québec’s legislation, to own and to control the lands that are attributed to them. These rights are to be exercised by them as part of the Québec community and hence could not imply rights that could affect the territorial integrity of Québec.”

**Public Opinion**

“Generally speaking, French Canadians tend to exhibit more support for the constitutional aspirations of Native leaders than do English Canadians, in part because included among English Canadians are the western provinces which, as noted, tend to be markedly less supportive” (Ponting 1987: 46).

**Education policy**

“Bill 101... allows for Amerindian languages as languages of instruction in schools; it allows school boards to determine how much will be taught in the mother tongue and how much in a second language. And the Education Act gives the Inuit, Cree, and Naskapi peoples special powers to adapt school programs to their linguistic and cultural needs. The Québec Ministry of Education supports a variety of curriculum development projects related to the teaching of native languages in provincial schools, and several languages are now accredited for high school leaving certificates. In short, there is a general understanding of, and political support for, aboriginal language rights in the province of Québec. If only this were the case in the rest of the country!” (Shkilnyk 1985: 16).

**SAGMAI**

[Summary added, from longer description in *Rencontre* 1983 4 (3): 9-10]: In Québec, in 1983, SAGMAI was formed: the Secrétariat des activités gouvernementales en milieu amérindien et inuit., under the direction of Eric Gourdeau, the general secretary (with the rank of deputy minister). This is not a department, but is part of the ministère du Conseil exécutif du Québec, which in turn is directly accountable to the Prime Minister. It functions as a liaison between government departments and aboriginal people. It encourages the extension of government support activities and carries out studies that eventuate in policy (eg. public health infrastructures; hunting and trapping policy). SAGMAI usually forms a task force of representatives from Native groups and government departments, which conducts the inquiry and draws up programmes (though program delivery, with the exception of aboriginal languages, is not as a rule part of the mandate). SAGMAI has also served to coordinate meetings between government and native groups in preparation for the constitutional conferences. Under the broad mandate of this Secrétariat, SAGMAI receives on behalf of the government, all claims put forward by Québec’s aboriginal groups.

**SAGMAI and language**

SAGMAI “...was a response to the increasing complexity of issues and problems in the area of aboriginal affairs, a situation which required a central agency for problems-solving.
conflict-resolution, and coordination. It is in the native language area, however, that SAGMAI has carved out a special policy and program delivery role. With an annual budget of $500,000, SAGMAI funds both individual projects in the production of native language literacy materials and institutional initiatives. SAGMAI contributes, for example, to the funding of elders' workshops and conferences, to the organization of an Inuit Language Commission, and to other special institution-sponsored projects; at the same time, individual awards are given to Montagnais writers and individual project support is extended for the preparation of native language dictionaries. The philosophy guiding SAGMAI's investment in the language area seems to be based not on the view that "languages must be protected because they are part of the nation's inheritance," but rather on the premise that a child's growth and development, intellectual curiosity and creativity, are naturally stifled unless his first learning experiences are undertaking the mother tongue. To paraphrase Mr. Gourdeau, "...Our support of the native languages is based, therefore, on the functional importance of language to human development, rather than on solely political or other considerations" (Shkilnyk 1985: 16).

Native Affairs Branch /The Ministry of Cultural Affairs (ministère des Affaires culturelles).

objectives

"When it began, priority was given to safeguarding native heritage, so its initial efforts were in the sectors of archaeology and ethnology and in the museum sector. The department has a two-fold objective: first of all, to make Québec's native people aware of their programs, while making all its services accessible to the Amerindians and the Inuit, and secondly to be in a position to meet their cultural needs as adequately as possible" (Rencontre 1982 3 (2): 6).

"The work...is guided by three objectives: the support and development of native-controlled and self-governing cultural institutions [like Avataq]; greater exposure for native culture vis-à-vis the broader society; and, increased dissemination of both artifacts and native language materials to Amerindian and Inuit communities" (Shkilnyk 1985: 11).

consultation

[Summary]: In the early 1980's the department and SAGMAI became increasingly involved in cultural development, in response to increasing priority given to this by aboriginal communities. In July of 1982, the Minister of Cultural Affairs, Mr. Clément Richard, met with delegates from most of the Inuit communities in Povungnituk for consultations about the development of Inuit culture. The meeting was attended by 20 Inuit (Rencontre 1982 4 (1): 19). In 1983, SAGMAI/MINISTRY OF CULTURAL AFFAIRS was invited to attend the third annual Elders Conference: "The government can give financial and legal support, but there isn't much it can do for Inuit culture. It's the Inuit who must manage their own cultural affairs. The Quebec Government serves all its people and it believes in the right of the Inuit to preserve their language and culture and decide their future. They also respect Inuit ability to run their own affairs, but the government tends to think that you, the elders, should be the basis of these affairs, for all the Inuit of Northern Québec....The Quebec Government will probably want to continue supporting elders requests, for the benefit of cultural development" (Eric Gourdeau, SAGMAI).4

budget

[summary]: The budget for the department is about $1 million per year. About $500,000 is transferred directly to native groups and the remainder is allocated to programs that attempt to support priorities defined by the aboriginal communities. They are varied, and

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4 Avataq, Northern Quebec Inuit Elders Conference Proceedings. 1983: 48-41
Quebec: policy, administration and Native Heritage Development projects

Appendix 11

include a scholarship program for native artists (begun in 1981), theatre, book publication, film, libraries, oral history and archaeology.

The Native Heritage Development Program

"The objectives of the Native Heritage Development Programme are to promote Native identification, definition, and animation of the various elements of their heritage: material culture, life history, oral traditions, traditional land use, etc. In 1983-1984, Native juries took part in selecting the projects; this is now done in the different administrative regions of Quebec themselves" (Rencontre 1983 5 (2): 18).

1981-1982  33 projects: $149,790
1982-1983  35 projects: $150,000
1983-1984  33 projects: $130,000

Projects Funded under the Native Heritage Development Program

Linguistic needs

Aqsanitt Cultural and Recreation Centre
Research carried out with Laval on the linguistic needs of people speaking one or two languages (1982: 4 (2):16).

Translation, research documents

Montagnais Council of Sept-Iles and Traduction montagnaise de Sept-Iles Inc
to translate two archaeological reports into Montagnais (1981: 3 (1):15).

Archaeological Study

Inoucdjouac
six sites, threatened by human activities, to be surveyed; three Inuit under direction of one Inuk from Inoucdjouac, assisted by a professional archaeologist; to ensure Inuit participation in research work, and to compile an inventory of archaeological sites with a view to preserving them and developing them (1979: 1 (2): 11).

Photographs

Chisasibi Band Council

Cree Regional Authority
to analyze a collection of 300 black and white and colour photographs, in view of their publication (1981: 3 (1):15).

Naskapi Council of Schefferville
to produce an album from collection of old photographs, about Naskapi ancestors, their activities, and the areas they occupied (1981: 3 (1):15).

Kanien-kehaka Otiohkwa Cultural Centre

Projects included here are those published in Rencontre between 1979-1983. This is not intended as a complete list but as an indication of the kinds of projects initiated during this period. The goals and descriptions included here are transcribed from Rencontre. The headings have been added following the outline developed in Chapter 5.
**Historical Material, inventories**

*Cree School Board*
to make an inventory of Cree historical materials and gather oral accounts (1981: 3 (1):15).

*Attikamek-Montagnais Council*
collecting documents, old photographs and legends to build up a documentation centre (1979: 1 (2):7).

**Dictionary development**

*Saputik Cultural Association, Povungnituk*
to produce an Inuititut dictionary for the Inuit of Nouveau-Québec (1981: 3 (1):15).

*Lac Simon Band Council*

*Povungnituk Cultural Association*

*Lac Simon Band Council*

**Culture, general, Interviews for Broadcasting**

*Taqramiut Nipingat Inc* [Salluit]. to interview elders on Inuit culture for broadcast over community radio stations (1981: 3 (1):15).

*Salluit Community Radio*
to carry out the APIRQURQ program, involving radio programs based on interviews with the elders (1981: 2 (2): 22).

**Biography**

*Conseil montagnais de Schefferville*

**Place Names**

*Kativik Regional School Board*
to carry out project entitled Inuititut Geographic Place Names (1981: 2 (2): 22).

**Geographical site inventory**

*Native Friendship Centre of Senneterre*
to conduct an inventory of important geographical sites (1981: 3 (1):15).

*Abitibiwinini Band Council*
to compile a list of the rapids, portages and campsites used by the Algonquins in the past (1981: 3 (1):15).

**Genealogy**

*Senneterre Native Friendship Centre*

*Avataq*

*Pointe-Gatineau Branch, Laurentian Alliance of Métis and Non-Status Indians*

**Medicinal plants**

*Senneterre Native Friendship Centre*
Quebec: policy, administration and Native Heritage Development projects

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Centre d'entraide autochtone de Val-d'Or
to produce a text on traditional medicine (1981: 3 (1):15).

Métis and Non-Status Indian Association
to carry out a project on the use of plants in the preparation of Native remedies (1981: 2 (2): 22).

Botany
Association des Métis et Indiens hors réserves du Québec

Land Use
Odanak Band Council
inventory of Abenaki heritage, and will study the use made in former times of the territory comprising Lac Champlain and the Richelieu, St. Lawrence and St. Francis rivers (1979: 1 (2): 11).

Trapping, Forest survival
Laurentian Alliance of Métis and Non-Status Indians of Northwestern Quebec
to make Amerindian residents aware of the various aspects of trapping and life in the forest, and develop a training program to teach Algonquin people (1981: 3 (1):15).

Laurentian Alliance of Métis and Non-Status Indians
plans to research hunting methods, tools and their various methods for preparing and marketing their kill (1979: 1 (2): 11).

Hunting and Trapping Lands
Montagnais Band Council
building of a scale model of reserve and describing various Montagnais hunting and trapping lands as they existed around 1920 (1979: 1 (2): 11).

Romaine, Cultural Committee
transcription of oral traditions regarding movement, and list of territories and campsites still used (1979: 1 (2): 11).

Reconstruction
Kativik School Board
to build a kayak in traditional manner; filming of operation on video to be used as a teaching material (1979: 1 (2): 11).

Historical research, general
Micmac Cultural Education Centre

Cree Indian Centre of Chibougamau
Recent history of the Chibougamau Crees (Phase II); slide show on Cree Culture (1982: 4 (2):16).

Centre Socio-Cultural Amerindian

Laurentian Alliance of Métis and Non-Status Indians, northwestern Québec

IECAM
Centre d’entraide et d’amicité autochtone de Chibougamau

to assemble information gathered during the summer into an illustrated publication on the recent history of the Chibougamau Cree (1981: 3 (1):15).

Cercle des ménagères d’Odanak

to carry out historical research with the objective of producing an audio-visual documentary on Abenaki life (1981: 3 (1):15).

Kiawa Band Council

to gather information on Algonquin traditional way of life and include in it a course for young people (1981: 3 (1):15).

Centre d’entraide autochtone de Val-d’Or

to gather personal accounts and documentation on the great Cree and Algonquin guides (1981: 3 (1):15).

Les Escoumins Band Council

to carry out historical research on the occupation and use of the land by the Montagnais of Les Escoumins (1981: 3 (1):15).

Educational and Cultural Committee of Restigouche


Native Friendship Centre, Montreal

to study the physical changes made in Oka, Restigouche and Saint-Régis reserves since 1900 (1981: 2 (2): 22).

Manituk Corporation of Ivujivik

to retrace the history of this village (1981: 2 (2): 22).

Cree School Board


Historical documents, classification of

Kanien’Kehaka Otiohkwa Cultural Centre


Games

Kativik Regional Government at Kuujuaq

research games by interviewing elders and then to produce book (1981: 3 (1):15).

Material Culture

Kanien’Kehaka Raotitohkwa Cultural Centre

to conduct research into the traditional material culture of the Kahnawake Mohawk and continue the presentation of an exhibit at the First People’s pavilion at Man and His World, Montreal (1981: 2 (2): 22).

Religious practises

Restigouche Band Council


Clothing

Québec Native Friendship Centre


Abitibiwinni Band Council


Craft

Micmac Indian Association of Gaspé

Art

Weymontachingue Band Council

Maria Band Council
to teach various traditional Micmac art techniques at the highschool level (1981: 3 (1):15).

Native Friendship Centre of Montreal

Kanien'Kehaka Raotiihohkwa Cultural Centre

Restigouche Band Council

Maria Band Council
preparation of slide show on traditional Micmac art, with a view to encouraging the Indians of that nation to make use of traditional drawings and motifs in their work (1979: 1 (2): 11).

Mistassini Cree

Music

Tewegan Communications Association

Educational and Cultural Committee of Restigouche
to record and catalogue the traditional and contemporary music of the Micmac (1981: 2 (2): 22).

Taqramiut Nipingat
collections of songs and legends to be sent to local radio stations for broadcasting (1979: 1 (2): 11).

Performance

Saputik Museum of Povunagnituk
Formation of a group of Inuit dancers and singers to make their culture known. May-August, youth project (1985: 7 (2):12).

Legends

Laurentian Alliance of Métis and Non-Status Indians, northwestern Québec

Senneterre Native Friendship Centre

Montagnais Council of Schefferville

Fort-Rupert Band Council

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Newspaper
Maria Band Council
to publish information on culture, etc in a weekly paper (1981: 3 (1):15).

Curriculum development
Kattivik Schoola Board

Exhibits
Kattivik Regional Government, Kuujjuaq
to prepare an exhibit on Knud Rassmussen, the 19th century Danish Explorer (1981: 2 (2): 22).

Restoration, Cemetery
des Montagnais du Lac St-Jean
to preserve a native spiritual and cultural site by restoring the Anglican cemetery in Pointe Bleue (1981: 3 (1):15).

Film, traditional activities
Corporation of the northern village of Inukjuak
Restigouche Band Council
Appendix 12: Towards a Policy on Sto:lo Heritage

The following document was formulated as a “resolution for consideration,” presented to the Sto:lo Tribal Council Meeting on December 3, 1986, where it was endorsed by the Council.

Resolution for consideration: Towards a Policy on Sto:lo Heritage

1. We consider our burial grounds blessed and sacred regardless of their age or locality. They shall not be disturbed by developers, archaeologists or anyone else for whatever purpose.
   Only in cases of accidental discovery will archaeologists or anyone else be allowed to handle our burials. This will only be done in full consideration with the Band involved.

2. We consider our spiritual places blessed and sacred. They shall not be disturbed by developers, archaeologists or anyone else for whatever purpose.
   We also decree proprietorship over these places whether they are on or off registered Reserve lands.

3. Archaeologists, anthropologists and other non-Indians wishing to study our people and culture must have their work approved by our Elders and political representatives prior to commencing their studies.
   a) In this regard, it will be our general policy that all materials collected by archaeologists, anthropologists, and others wishing to study our people and culture be returned to us upon completion of these studies. This is to include copies of all written materials (i.e. field notes, copies of papers, reports, etc.), audio visual materials (i.e. photographs, video footage, taped interviews, etc.), artifacts and the like.
   b) Terms of reference to conduct these studies may include additional conditions (i.e. shared copyright etc.).
   c) Indian personnel will be employed wherever and whenever possible by archaeologists and other social scientists conducting investigations (i.e. excavations, surveys and analysis).

4. We hereby declare that all artifacts recovered from our traditional campsites, ceremonial sites, villages, burial grounds and archaeological sites are the rightful property of the Sto:lo people.
   We hereby condemn any sale of these artifacts particularly those artifacts considered by our Elders to be of sacred or spiritual importance.

5. We hereby declare proprietorship over all Indian paintings (pictographs) and rock carvings (petroglyphs) and other cultural rock features (petroforms) found within our traditional tribal territories.

6. We reserve the right to make additional amendments to this resolution from time to time.
The following guidelines were developed by the Secwepemc Cultural Education Centre in 1984 as part of the Proposal for the development of a Shuswap Curriculum Project. They are notes only and prefaced: "the following notes are meant as a rough guide to material already available and to the kinds of topics and questions which can be used for interviewing."

Research notes: Shuswap Curriculum Project

The following notes are meant as a guide to carrying out research with the members of the Shuswap community. A wide range of topics is suggested; in some cases, topics will not be applicable to your situation. The topics only provide a framework, and flexibility and imagination are often more important than trying to obtain information in subject areas where data is lacking.

There are many sources of information on Shuswap culture; for our purposes the most important are:

1. **Recollections by individuals about past events.** Much of this information has been passed down in stories, and the person interviewed may or may not have been directly involved. It is through recall that we will try to develop a sense of traditional Shuswap culture and history.

2. **Life histories.** The life experiences of individuals can perhaps best convey what it means, and has meant, to be a Shuswap. What Shuswap culture and society really is, then, is a composite of all the different experiences of many people. Here we would like to know where a person has lived, gone to school, worked, married, and so on. With this, also prepare a genealogy.

3. **Participant-observation.** A sense of Shuswap culture today can best be achieved by keeping track of daily events which involve Shuswap people: births, deaths, marriages, ceremonies, rodeos, band meetings—and all other events. By participating, one of course becomes more aware of what is going on, but even keeping track of events over an extended period of time will give a sense of what being a Shuswap means today in terms of activities.

Keeping track of information is important. Individuals give up time to volunteer information, and each meeting will be more productive if it is a continuation of previous meetings. To keep track of interviews, the following steps are suggested:

1. Keep a daily journal of persons interviewed and topics discussed.
2. Fill out a form for each interview which you recorded on cassettes.
3. Maintain a filing system by topic. After a few interviews, it would be useful to be able to pull out all the information you have on fishing for example.
4. Keep a calendar of events, indicating things like marriages, special dinners for elders, band council meetings, and so on.

To carry out the research, one will need several kinds of resources:

1. **Cassette recorder.** While most recorders have built-in mikes, these pick up internal operating noises and it is better to use an external mike, which plugs into the recorder.
2. **Cassettes.** Cassettes with 60 minutes of recording time are best (30 on each side). Longer tapes (eg. 120 minutes) are thinner, and prone to break or unravel.
3. **Maps.** Maps of scale 1:125,000 are good enough, and can be obtained at a B.C. Provincial Government office, or some stores.
4. **Camera.** It is important to have a photographic record of people and places today (this is what people will be looking at 50 years from now). The best kind of camera is a 35mm SLR (Single Lens Reflex) or 35mm Rangefinder type. The first type can cost $300; the second kind from $75 up. Film should be standardized: eg., Kodak colour slide film with an ASA of 64 is good for most pictures; Kodak and Ilford make good black and white film. The idea here is to have both colour slides and black and white pictures of people, places, etc. While most people like colour photos, colours eventually fade, and using black and white gives us a record which will last for decades. Colour slides are good for educational kits, giving public talks, and for making film strips.

5. **Journal.** Keep notes in a regular fashion.

6. Some published material exists on Shuswap culture, and should be read before, after, and in-between. James Teit’s early study is perhaps most important, along with several studies carried out in Washington in the 1930’s. See the list of references for names and availability.

Most of the information will come from interviews, which will range from informal talk sessions to answers to specific questions. While carrying around a detailed questionnaire would be a problem, it is necessary to have an idea of what topics are to be discussed for each session. So think in terms of specific topics around which questions are built. One can then take a mental interview schedule or a set of notes into the interview. All interviews should be taped, if possible. This gives some sort of record in case our memories fall. The Aural History division of the B.C. Provincial Archives publishes a booklet titled “A Guide to Aural History Research” which outlines how to conduct an interview and how to maintain a file of recordings. Some copies are available from the Researcher. The booklet is informative, and reading it before interviewing will likely help.

A number of things can be done prior to starting the interviews. These are:

1. **A community map.** Draw a map of each village/settlement, locating houses (occupied, vacant), barns, fields (indicating what they’re used for—grazing, oats, etc.), roads, paths, rail lines, churches, graveyards, schools, band offices, and so on. For each house, indicate the name of the family (or families) living there; for the fields, indicate who owns them. Do a separate map for each settlement of the band.

2. **Photographic essay.** Take black and white photos of each settlement—eg., of buildings, groups of buildings, people, landscape, and so on. Try to take photos of people farming, logging, having a band meeting, attending a wedding, watching a rodeo, and so on. (I suggest black and white photos because they can be blown up to 8” x 10” for study units).

**Resource Use**

Animals, plants, and fish were (and are) important in the diet; they were also used for medicine, as characters in stories (especially coyote), and in ceremonies (such as the Winter Dance). Guardian spirit quests also indicate the importance of the natural environment and its occupants, which can lead into a discussion about Okanagan-Shuswap philosophies of the world. The following topics lead into these various aspects of the relationship between people and the natural world.

1. Map out place names. Terms for natural features (lakes, rivers, etc.) often indicate their importance in practical or religious uses. For example, a lake might be called Fish Lake in Shuswap because it was an important source of trout, or another fish. Obtain as many Shuswap terms as possible, with descriptions of the origin of the name. Use a topographical map as a guide. The basic questions are: What is the Indian term for...? Why is this lake/river/...called by that term? Are
there any stories or legends associated with this place? Who used to live there, or go there to fish, hunt, etc?

2. Obtain as much as possible about the various resources used and the places where they were obtained. Obtain Shuswap terms for all items. What kinds of fish, animals, plants did people traditionally get? (obtain Shuswap names for each item)

Where did they go to get them?

At what time of year did they go?

How were fish/animals/plants obtained (with what kinds of tools)?

(How was salmon caught, for example, by using nets, traps, or spears?)

(How did they obtain deer, for example, by using traps or snares?)

(What tools were used for digging roots, for example, by using shovels or spades?)

What would the round of activities be throughout the year?

(In other words, describe the movement of people to various resources through one whole year)

Who (which groups, families) had the right to go to these fishing, hunting, and berry/root gathering places?

(Were these places owned by particular people or villages, or could anyone go?)

What changes in the fish, animals, plants have taken place, or took place in the past?

(dams on the Columbia River affected salmon runs, likewise, rock slides in the Fraser River in 1913 decreased the number of salmon reaching Shuswap Lake)

Was all of the above going on when you were growing up?

(that is, did the interviewee go to all these places to hunt, fish, and gather?)

How were the fish/animals/plants processed (dried, smoked, cured, etc)?

3. Non-food use of resources: were certain plants, and parts of animals and fish, used for medicine? What kinds were used? What were they used for (what kinds of sickness)? How were they prepared for use?

4. Special creatures: Did some animals/fish/plants have special powers, or special relationships to humans? What were they?

5. Where there special ceremonies when the first berries were taken? When the first fish was caught (especially salmon)? When the first deer, bear, or other animal was killed? What had to be done? Who carried out the ceremony? What would happen if the ceremony was not done?

6. Certain animals have special places in songs, dances, and as guardian spirits, according to the ethnographic accounts. Do certain animals give special power to someone who might have them as guardian spirits? Are there special animal, or bird, or fish dances?

7. Some animals also have a special place in stories, especially coyote, fox, and bear. Obtain some stories which use creatures of the natural world. Others stories discuss the origin of fish, animals, and so on. Ask about Origin Tale. (Teit has several stories which account for the presence of various kinds of fish in the Thompson, Fraser, and Columbia Rivers. In these, Coyote wanders about, placing salmon, for example, in particular places. In other stories, markings on various types of fish are explained. Teit also has several stories involving a man, Old One, who created the world).

8. Philosophy of the natural environment: How did people see their relationship to other parts of the natural environment? How were these relations maintained
(perhaps through ceremonies, songs, or special rituals directed at particular sources at particular times of the year).

9. Shuswap calendar: What are the terms/names used for different parts of the year when people were fishing, hunting, living in winter villages? (There are terms for the four seasons, but ask if there are divisions of the year which are close to months).

10. Use of plants, hides, and other items for containers and clothes:
   What items were used to make containers (baskets, for example)?
   What time of year were the raw materials collected?
   Where were they obtained?
   How was the object (basket, etc) made?
   What items were used to make clothes? to make mats to cover lodges? to make paint (for pictographs or rock paintings)?

11. Most of the information above will likely be based on recollections from parents or grandparents. The interviewee likely worked on farms, ranches, orchards, stores, mines, logging camps, and other such places for most of his/her life, as well as hunting fishing, and so on. Ask the interviewee to recount his life story, and talk about the places where he/she has worked, and the importance of, say, ranching, for making a living. Some of the Chu Chua people might have worked in the coal mine at Chu Chua, Kamloops people in the hop fields or logging camps, and so on. It is through the lives of various Shuswap people that we gain an understanding of Shuswap history. A Life History should include information on where a person was born, how he/she spent his/her childhood, school days, marriage, jobs, travels, and so on. Talking about a person's life, and what he/she has seen and done, will put a lot of general cultural information into perspective.

The People and the Land

1. Names for groups and villages:
   What is the Shuswap name of the village of the interviewee?
   What are the people called who live here?
   What are the names of all the villages in the area?
   What are the people called? (for example, Inkameep people, Penticton people)
   Is there a single word for all the people in the area (eg. in the North Thompson Valley, in the Shuswap Lake Area)?
   Is there a single word for all the Indian people in the Shuswap?
   What are the names of some other Indian people (eg. those in the Thompson River area, in the USA,...)?

2. As most of the people on reserves, any information on the history of the reserves would be useful:
   Where are the reserves of this band located?
   What are the names of the reserves?
   Do you know how these reserves were established?
   How has settlement by non-Indian people affected the reserves?
   Has reserve land been taken, or lost, over the years (Why)?

Note: A Royal Commission was established in 1912 to conduct hearing on the size of Indian reserves in B.C. It came through the Okanagan-Similkameen area in 1913, and in its final report, published in 1916, recommended reducing reserves for many Okanagan bands.
These reductions are known as Cut-Offs, and each band has been affected in some way. Reserve land has also been taken for settler’s farms, railway right-of-ways, and other projects. As about cut-offs and other reductions, as well as if there are any stories about the establishment of the first reserves, some of which go back to the 1860’s. Dam construction also flooded some reserve land. Also ask why a particular reserve was located where it was—was it a farm, fishing site, village site, or what when first set up as a reserve.

3. Present day reserve communities have clusters of people living in different parts, plus a band office, school, church, and so on. Draw a map of each reserve, indicating the location of the following:
   a. residential houses, with name of each family
   b. band office
   c. church and graveyard (when was the church built)
   d. recreation areas (rodeo grounds, ball park)
   e. cultivated fields (what crops?)
   f. pasture or grazing land
   g. land leased to others (eg. summer lake cottages, leased farm land)
   h. old village sites
   i. other places of importance on the reserve (stores, for example)

4. Photo-essay of reserve: take photographs of places described above (35mm black and white for research purposes; colour slides for use in talks and presentations). When the film is processed, ask that a contact sheet be made up (instead of, or in addition to, regular prints). (A contact sheet has a small copy of each photograph on a single sheet, which is useful for filing. Also, one can choose which prints to enlarge on the basis of the contact sheet quality).
### Appendix 14: DIAND Cultural/Educational Centres Funding Allocations 1986-1987

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Centre Name</th>
<th>Funding Allocation</th>
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Appendix 15: American Association of Museums: Policy regarding the Repatriation of Native American Ceremonial Objects and Human Remains

The contribution of Native Americans to the development of American society has been profound and has continuing influence on American life and culture. Museums too have contributed significantly to the development of American society. Museums have played an important role in the preservation of the rich and diverse culture of Native Americans. Through their collections, exhibitions and programs, museums have helped to underscore the inherent value and integrity of Native American culture and Native Americans' place as America's first inhabitants. Together with the Native American community, museums are helping to assure the survival of Native American's values, ideas and traditions into the twenty-first century and beyond.

Museums with Native American collections have a special responsibility to these collections in their preservation and use. These collections are often central to the understanding of Native American culture and to the preservation of the living heritage of the Native American. To fulfill this responsibility, museums should make their Native American collections readily accessible to the Native American community; reflect Native American values and traditions in the care and interpretation of these collections; and regularly involve Native Americans in museum programs concerning these collections. As part of this responsibility, museums should also seek the collaborative resolution of requests for the repatriation of human remains and ceremonial materials in their Native American collections.

The resolution of requests for repatriation is best accomplished on a case-by-case basis. Only by a case-by-case approach can proper consideration be given to the diversity of specific native communities and the ethical, fiduciary and legal responsibilities of the individual museums.

As institutions devoted to collections of artistic, historic, and scientific objects, museums are ultimately responsible for the proper care and interpretation of their collections, including those of Native American origin. Sensitivity and respect for the meaning and value of such material must be realized within the context of the museum's mission to preserve, interpret and exhibit its collections.

In their responsibility to collections, museums should consider the changes in professional museums standards and practises through time. Many individual collectors, acting on behalf of museums, or museums acting on their own behalf, engaged in activities in the past that were aimed at assuring the preservation of elements of Native American culture and traditions that may not be considered ethical by today's standards. Museums are now faced with making difficult decisions regarding the relationship between the ethics of the past and the ethics of today.

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1 This policy was adopted by the Council of the American Association of Museum, January 15, 1988. Members of the AAM Task Force included Joseph Chamberlain (Chairman), president/director of the Adler Planetarium in Chicago; Dan Monroe, president of the Oregon Art Institute in Portland; Michael Fox, director of the Heard Museum in Phoenix; Joallyn Archambault, director of the North American Indian Program at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C.; George Abrams, chairman of the North American Indian Museums Association in Salamanca, New York; Rennard Strickland, Dean of the Lesar School of Law, Southern Illinois University at Carbondale, Patterson Williams, director of Education at the Denver Art Museums in Denver; and Ray Thompson, director of the Arizona State Museum in Tuscon.
In determining the requests for the repatriation of Native American materials, the ethics of today must prevail over the ethics of the past. Museums should act in accordance with current museum standards and practices in the acquisition, research, interpretation and deaccessioning of Native American collections.

The return of materials from museum collections to indigenous populations is both a domestic and an international issue. This policy statement, however, is not intended to apply to the international issue of repose for cultural property. The repatriation of Native American materials involves a unique set of legal issues and domestic considerations. This statement speaks only to the issue of repatriation of Native American ceremonial objects and human remains in the United States.

This policy addresses two separate and distinct types of collections: ceremonial objects and human remains.

**Ceremonial objects**

Ceremonial objects are those for which it can be demonstrated that the individual object is necessary to assure the continuation of the religious practices of a Native American group with both legal and cultural standing. Native Americans with a legitimate right to request repatriation are members of Native American groups claiming relation to the object and with legal and cultural standing.

A museum which possesses illegally acquired Native American ceremonial objects should repatriate those objects if requested to do so by Native American as previously defined. In negotiations to repatriate Native American ceremonial objects, museums should take the steps necessary to ensure that all parties address the issue of the preservation, when appropriate, of such objects.

In cases where the methods of acquisition of objects may have been technically legal at the time of acquisition but which may be considered unethical by standards either then or by standards since, museums should weigh both legal and ethical considerations when considering requests for repatriation. Museums should also weigh the value and benefit of such objects to their public mission with the interests of the requesting party. The specifics of all these considerations should be discussed with the legitimate groups.

For objects that have been legally or ethically acquired, museums should also give serious consideration to requests for repatriation. In such instances, the museum should weigh and balance the value and benefit of such objects to its public mission and purpose with the value and benefit of such objects to requesting Native American parties before making decisions. Thorough discussion between the museum and the requesting party is important to this process. In general, museums should be satisfied that the reasons for request of repatriation are more compelling than the reasons for retaining ownership of such objects. Museums should determine the legal conditions and potential liability of any deaccession for repatriation and act in accordance with the highest standards of well formulated collections policies.

(It is understood that “grave goods” may be different from ceremonial objects. However, in the examination of requests for repatriation, museums should consider this policy's treatment of ceremonial objects appropriate for repatriation requests of Native American grave goods).

**Human remains**

Museums which possess illegally acquired human remains should take steps to repatriate such remains upon request of the legitimate party concerned.

In cases where the methods of acquisition of remains may have been technically legal at the time of acquisition but which may have been unethical by standards either then or by
standards since, museums should weigh both legal and ethical considerations when considering requests for repatriation and discuss with the requesting parties the specifics of these considerations.

Museums should weigh scientific interests with principles of Native American religion and culture and specifically demonstrate the existence of more compelling scientific interests if they are to retain historically recent (post-European contact) remains for which there is a direct relationship to existing Native American tribes, individuals or families.

Upon receiving a request for the return of human remains from the pre-European contact era and for which there exists a direct antecedent to specific Native American individuals, families, or groups, museums have a responsibility to weigh equally scientific values with Native American cultural values and basic human dignity. Unless there are compelling and overriding reasons to retain human remains under these conditions, museums should work with legitimate Native American descendants to return such remains.

For remains of both the pre- and post-European contact eras that lack such direct connections to existing individuals, families or tribes, Native Americans who request repatriation must demonstrate that there exist compelling religious or cultural values that transcend well established scientific interests on the part of museums in order for repatriation to occur. Museums should consider such requests for repatriation seriously and in good faith.