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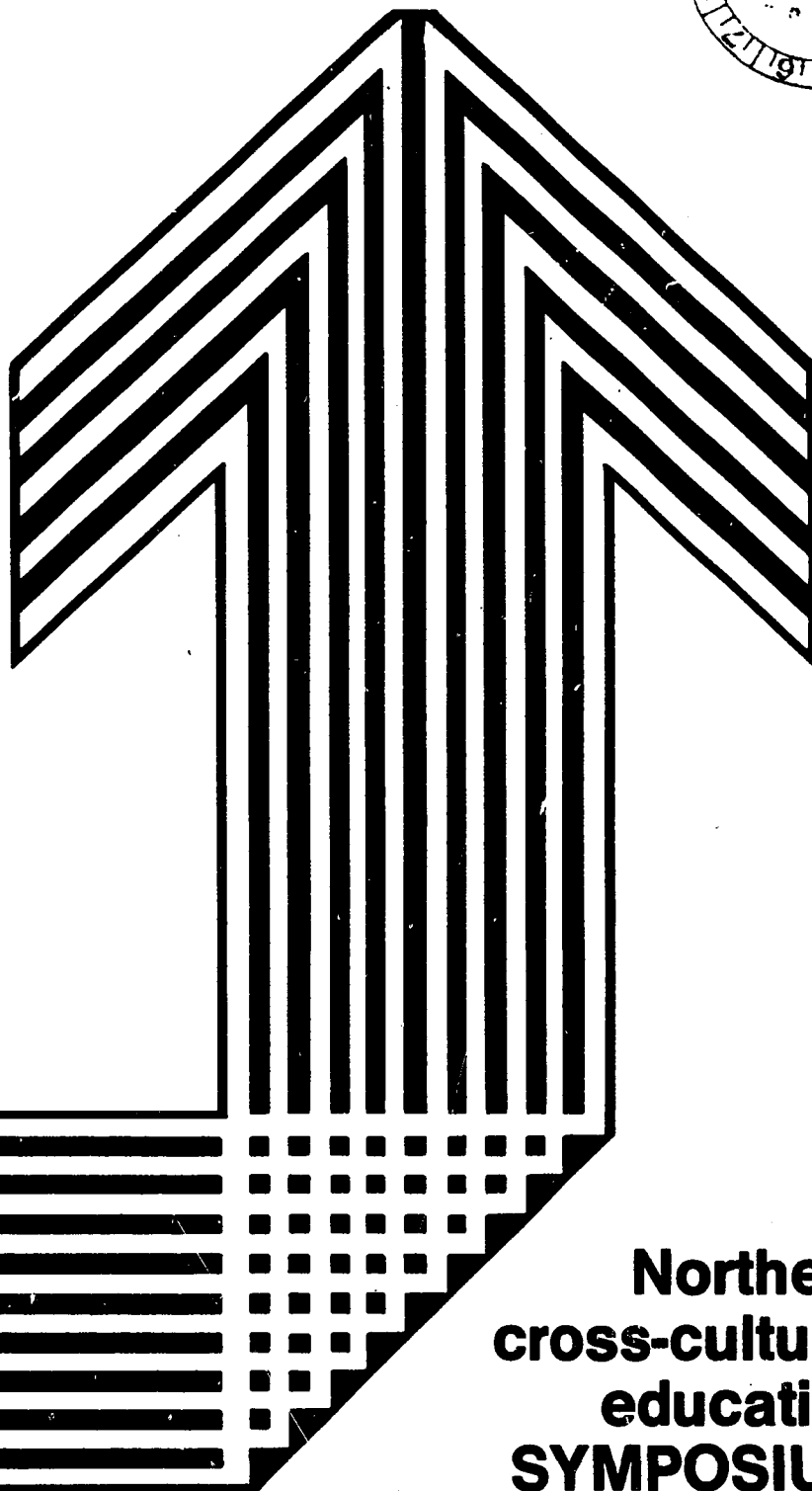
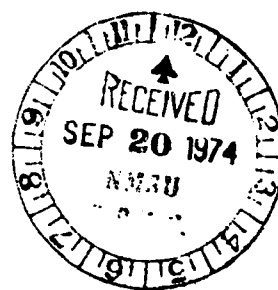
ABSTRACT

The Northern Cross-Cultural Education Symposium was held at the University of Alaska on November 7-9, 1973. It was sponsored by the Alaska Educational Program for Intercultural Communication (AEPIC) to promote cooperation and communication between Canadian and Alaskan educators. Specific objectives were to: (1) identify and solicit the participation of prominent educators; (2) present educators' works delineating both needs and solution designs; (3) determine a hierarchy of needs as identified by the participants; (4) produce a compendium of symposium papers for field-based educators; and (5) produce a paper of conceptual, solution-design for cross cultural education in the future. Formal presentations were made by 40 conference participants; 30 of these were assembled for this publication. The papers are divided into 4 major groups: special topics, university projects, government programs, and non-government programs. The appendices list participants, and briefly explain their reactions and suggestions. (KM)

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**Northern
cross-cultural
education
SYMPOSIUM**

University of Alaska Fairbanks 1974

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THE COLLECTED PAPERS OF THE
NORTHERN CROSS-CULTURAL
EDUCATION SYMPOSIUM

Papers presented at the
Northern Education Cross-Cultural Symposium
on November 7,8,9, 1973, in the Wood Center of
the University of Alaska/Fairbanks

Edited By
Franklin Berry

Alaska Educational Program for Inter-Cultural Communication
Center for Northern Educational Research
University of Alaska
Fairbanks, Alaska
May, 1974

PREFACE

The Alaska Educational Program for Intercultural Communication (AEPIC) is a federally funded (Title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Department of Health, Education and Welfare) program housed within the Center for Northern Educational Research at the University of Alaska. It is charged with assisting desegregation in Alaskan school districts by applying the expertise available through its staff.

The Center for Northern Educational Research (CNER) is an institute involved in analyzing the goals and policies of Alaska's several public education systems in cooperation with concerned local, state, and federal agencies and legislative bodies; promoting promising innovations for Alaska's schools, especially in the field of cross-cultural education; and providing a forum wherein the Native people meet with members of the educational establishment to develop effective cross-cultural programs.

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NORTHERN CROSS-CULTURAL EDUCATION SYMPOSIUM

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INTRODUCTION

The Northern, Cross-Cultural Education Symposium was held at the University of Alaska on November 7, 8 and 9, 1973. It was sponsored by the Alaska Educational Program for Intercultural Communication (AEPIC) in order to promote cooperation and communication between Canadian and Alaskan educators.

Specific objectives for the symposium are listed below and were consistent with the activities of the 3-day conference.

1. To identify and solicit the participation of prominent educators.
2. To present educators' works delineating both needs and solution designs.
3. To determine a hierarchy of needs as identified by the participants.
4. To produce a compendium of symposium papers for field-based educators.
5. To produce a paper of conceptual, solution-design for cross-cultural education in the future.

Approximately 80 participants registered for the conference. Formal presentations were made by 40 persons; and 30 papers were assembled for this publication. The interest and response generated by the participants was a statement of the future direction of Northern education.

The recurring concern of having a second annual Northern, Cross-Cultural Education Symposium was voiced during the closing days of the meeting. Although the AEPIC program does not have a budget for hosting a second Symposium, it is supportive of any effort to convene a second meeting.

All papers have been printed as submitted with a few minor editorial changes.

Special thanks go to Susan Berg who typed the manuscripts and prepared them for publication.

AN ANALYSIS OF THE NORTHERN CROSS-CULTURAL EDUCATION SYMPOSIUM

Franklin Berry

Director

Alaska Educational Program for Inter-cultural Communication

In recent years the term "inter-cultural communication" has evolved to describe the form of interaction that takes place when speakers and listeners come from different cultures. Although "inter-cultural communication" is often used synonymously with "cross-cultural communication", we believe "inter-cultural communication" to be the most suitable term because it describes all of the situations that exist when two or more communicators come from different cultures. "Inter-cultural communication", thus viewed, involves cultural differences that transcend racial or ethnic differences. Whenever the parties in a communication act bring with them different experiential backgrounds, which reflect a long-standing depository of group experience, knowledge, and values, we have "inter-cultural communication." It often involves racial or ethnic differences, or both; but, we hold that "inter-cultural communication" also exists when there are gross socio-cultural differences without accompanying racial and ethnic differences.

We have found this to be the most appropriate definition as far as our program exists at the University of Alaska.

This first year of the Alaska Educational Program for Inter-cultural Communication (AEPIC) has seen the establishment of several different types of communication conference/workshop models in which there were distinct differences within the groups of persons involved. The Northern Education Symposium could be generally classed as involving

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"inter-racial communication", which in the United States, and to some extent in Canada, implies communication between White and non-White racial groups. This type of communication is usually characterized by strain and tension resulting from the dominant-subdominant societal and interpersonal relationships historically imposed upon the non-White through the structure of Western society.

To some extent this tension was evident in the Symposium but to a much lesser degree than those workshops in which a greater discrepancy existed in the economic and/or class parameters of the participants. This writer felt that there were fewer differences of opinion expressed at this conference than had been anticipated. One may suspect that the commonality of interests and the similarity in the professional roles of the participants also exerted some influence in promoting less tension.

A point should be noted regarding any inter-cultural communication session--especially if training or a transformation of attitudes is involved: THE GROUP MUST BE COMPOSED OF PEERS. Once a person begins to use beliefs of a particular group whose members are points of reference to him, pressures are exerted upon him to reduce any belief or discrepancies he may have. Group decisions make individuals publicly responsible for opinions. However, certain prerequisites are necessary before the group can function effectively and make decisions. Solidarity must be achieved in the group. This can be accomplished by pursuing a goal set by all members. The Northern Education Symposium experienced this solidarity with greater rapport and communication between the participants. There was less fear and anxiety.

One of the over-riding reasons for this Symposium was to give those persons directly involved in Northern, cross-cultural programs the opportunity to meet, to discuss and to exchange information. It was felt

by the AEPIC staff that ultimately, time and energy could be saved if useful ideas were exchanged at this conference.

An underlying factor which was never publicly stated, but which contributes to the reasoning for the inter-cultural or inter-racial mix at all AEPIC conferences, is the idea that changes in behavior can affect change in behavior on the part of many of the participants is experienced in that they are put into a closed environment and have little choice but to interact with people of different cultural backgrounds. Ideally participants do learn in such situations.

The length of time devoted to actual sensitivity training seems to be important. Short-term training has been found to have little measurable effect upon participants in fulfilling the objectives of workshops or conferences.

The foregoing is one of the most frequently voiced criticisms of AEPIC workshops, and would be a reasonable criticism if the central purpose for the meeting was "training". However, the Northern Education Symposium was specifically not designed for training, but rather for emphasizing inter-cultural exposure through group processes.

By inviting such a wide diversity of persons--all with useful contributions to the topic of Northern, cross-cultural education--there was the expected result of participant exposure to diverse cultural , ethnic, racial and national attitudes. Through group solidarity promotion and participant involvement and through peer grouping, group pressure and momentum were fostered. As a consequence, there were a number of individuals present who were consequently "forced" to publicly support ideas and programs in Northern cross-cultural education which they had never done before.

As an example, one could publicly state or support an idea which is not believed by the individual. This creates "cognitive dissonance". According to theory, the individual will then attempt to correct

his inconsistency by adjusting either his public behavior or statement or by changing his private cognition. It is our hope, that it will be the private thoughts which will be adjusted to influence the persons' future actions concerning Northern cross-cultural education.

Quite naturally those persons who would most likely find themselves in this state would be those who did not agree with the general consensus of the Symposium--NORTHERN CROSS-CULTURAL EDUCATION IMPROVES THROUGH THE INVOLVEMENT OF THE PEOPLE IT IS MEANT TO BENEFIT.

SOME CANADIAN TERMINOLOGY

Carl Urion
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Distinctions made between categories of Native people in Canada are the result of common usage and legal status. Because those terms may not be familiar to Alaskans, the following terms are defined:

- Inuit
- Status Indians
 - a. registered Indians
 - b. treaty Indians
- Non-Status Indians
 - a. non-status by reason of never signing treaty
 - b. enfranchised Indians
 - c. Métis

Legal categories derive from the British North America (BNA) Act of 1867 (the instrument by which Canada was formed and under which the Federal government assumed certain obligations for Native people) and from the Indian Act as revised.

A source of confusion in the matter results from differential application of the provisions by geographic area (e.g. Newfoundland, not Ottawa, administers for Inuit in Labrador; extinction of aboriginal claim has never been completed in many parts of Canada.)

Inuit. The Indian Act excludes Inuit, and makes no clear

definition of them; but the Federal government acknowledges its obligations under the BNA Act.

Indians. More than half of the Native people of Canada are excluded from definition as "Indian", under the terms of the Indian Act. In common usage are two terms, "status" and "non-status" Indians.

Status Indians. They may be "treaty" (in the West) or "registered" (outside the 'numbered' treaty areas). Status derives from the male line. A status woman who marries a non-status man loses her rights and those of her children. A non-status woman takes on the rights of her husband. There are thus cases of persons with no Native ancestors who are legally Indian, and many people who have no white ancestors who are legally enfranchised, or white. This matter has recently come under the scrutiny in the Supreme Court of Canada, which decided that this provision was not in conflict with the Canadian Bill of Rights.

Non-Status Indians. Non-status Indians may be "enfranchised" (former status Indians and their descendants); descendants of persons who never signed treaty, or Métis (descendants of mixed marriages whereby status was lost).

The term Métis requires some clarification. It is commonly used to refer to any person of mixed blood, but also refers to a people

who have had, almost since European discovery, a distinct non-European but not distinctly Indian culture. During the last century many of these groups adhered to treaty, and thus are treaty Indians by law. The province of Manitoba began as a nation of Métis, mixed bloods, and "country born".

It should be made clear that non-status Indians may have exactly the same life style, language, and land claims of their Indian brothers.

ALASKAN TERMINOLOGY AND ACRONYMS

Franklin Berry and Kay Hinckley
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Fairbanks, Alaska

Native refers to the approximate 54,000 indigenous people of Alaska (Aleuts, Eskimos and Indians).

Yupik refers to the Eskimo language and culture of South-western Alaska.

Inupiaq refers to the Eskimo language and culture of North coastal Alaska, Canada and Greenland.

Land Claims refers to the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) of December 18, 1971. This was a means of settling Alaskan aboriginal or Native claims arising from the use or occupancy of lands (by the Federal government).

Regional Corporations refers to the twelve profit-making corporations established under the Land Claims Act. Each regional corporation contains relatively homogeneous Native ethnic groups within defined geographical areas, encompassing the entire State of Alaska.

Alaska Federation of Natives (AFN) is a statewide coalition of Alaska Natives established in 1966 to pursue a settlement of Alaska Natives' Land Claims.

Public education for elementary and secondary school children in Alaska is provided through three separate agencies:

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1. State Department of Education (DOE) is responsible for the education programs administered by approximately 30 local, political units. These are commonly called School Districts.
2. Alaska State Operated School System (SOS) (State Operated Schools) is a semiautonomous school district containing approximately 125 small rural schools and six on-base schools (Army, Air Force, and Navy) and is directly accountable to the Alaska State Legislature.
3. Bureau of Indian Affairs, U.S. Department of Interior (BIA) operates an approximate number of 55 schools (53 day schools and two boarding) in the state. It is completely funded with Federal monies. It has five agencies (districts) with one Area Office (Alaska) directly responsible to Washington D.C.

DOE - Department of Education (See above)

ASOS or SOS - Alaska State Operated Schools (See above)

BIA - Bureau of Indian Affairs (See above)

ABE refers to Adult Basic Education programs that are designed to help adults continue their education.

ESL refers to English as a Second Language programs.

TESL refers to Teaching English as a Second Language.

SOUTH: refers to "lower 48" states, or "outside"

SPECIAL TOPICS

SOCIOLOGICAL PROBLEMS OF ALASKA NATIVES: True or False?

Theodore L. Drahn
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University of Alaska, Fairbanks

The answer to the question posed in the title of this address depends, I suppose, to whom the question is put. I know when I have a "problem". You know when you have one. Whether or not others will join with me in agreeing that a condition I feel is their problem depends a lot on whether a group will join with me in asserting the existence of some condition, defined as offensive, harmful and otherwise undesirable - and to publicize the assertions and stimulate controversy and to create a public or political issue over the matter. (1) Social problems develop over long periods of time. They are not static; and the nature of the problem is forever shifting in focus.

Let me return again to the title of this talk. Early missionaries to Alaska agreed that the Alaska Native people had problems, at least insofar as they were not Christian. And they set out, with considerable success, to change all that. When the Social Security Act was made law in 1935, Federal overseers agreed there was an Alaska Native problem since the nature of the new law required a name and number identification of workers, and the Federal representatives saw the issue in terms of how they were to give names to persons whose language they did not care to understand. The problem, as defined and understood by the Federal people, was solved by giving new names to people - names that were

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understood to those who spoke English.

Alaska Native people have grown resentful at having been singled out, repeatedly, as persons with problems - as defined by someone else. Among the "problems" that have been attached, as labels, to Native Alaska persons - largely by others - include: illiteracy, alcoholism, low educational achievement, chronic unemployment and poverty. It is important to note that Native people recognize these conditions as well as anyone else - who after all knows more about being hungry than one who is hungry? The resentment felt by many Native persons comes about, in part, from the experience of having been told that these conditions are "Native Problems" - as such there is a tendency to put the burden for solution on the persons with the problem, and at the same time freeing all others from any responsibility.

To many Alaska Natives - and a growing number of non-Natives - we are overdue in examining the ways and means we utilize to define and describe social problems. For example, it has become increasingly clear that the social problem of "law and order" served well as a political device for those, it turns out, who don't even believe in the concept. Even so this political code word received official recognition - hence a legitimate standing. However, in the final analysis, it tells us precious little about our true standing on matters of law and order.

In very much the same way Native and non-Native alike have come to accept (or so it seems) that chronic alcoholism is primarily a "Native Problem" - and one whose solution must evolve from the identified problem group.

All who accept this notion have been tragically bamboozled (pun intended). To accept this as true requires that we ignore the fact of alcoholism as it persists in the United States . . . over 9 million alcoholics, representing all economic, social, racial, and ethnic classes. Yet our attention, in Alaska, focuses primarily on the Native alcoholic and tends to reinforce the notion that we for so long have accepted - uncritically - "Natives have a natural tendency to become drunks." And it is believed in face of evidence that does not exist.

All human behavior occurs within organizations - call them social institutions - that man has created in order to conduct the affairs of his life. Persons who are allowed to take part in social institutions in ways which are important to society and personally satisfying to themselves discover they have a stake in that society - that goes beyond self-preservation.

Willingness to "play by the rules," to contribute, is based on a person's opportunity to participate - in a meaningful way - in these institutions.

The family, schools, churches and other religious organizations, recreation, the arts, the world of work, have been the organizations in society which provide the most opportunity for young persons to play socially desirable roles. For adults we would need to extend the list to include political and economic institutions . . . these are important for children, too, but we have yet to discover (or permit ourselves to discover) that young people have a stake in politics and economics, too.

When we describe a person as "minister", "doctor", "student", "carpenter", "mother", and "skier" - we are describing roles which verify a person's opportunities, gives a clue to

personal feelings of worth and supports beneficial roles in society.

On the other hand, if we label a person as "drunk", "drop out", "juvenile delinquent", "lazy", "illegitimate", "illiterate", "slow learner" and there are many others - the result is often to deny access to acceptable and socially desirable roles. As if that were not bad enough these labels are often inappropriate and premature. Inappropriate because the negative labels do not properly describe the behavior in question, and premature when they are applied without sufficient cause. (2) The consequence of this inappropriate, negative labelling process is likely to confirm in one's mind an essential lack of self-worth.

Full and active and self-satisfying participation in human social institutions requires the development of each child's potential for the acquisition of skills necessary for biological and social competence. Class inequalities have resulted in unequal environments for the development of these capacities - the inequalities persist when distributed in relation to the family's position in the social structure and its access to resources that permit the physical, emotional, and intellectual nurturance of the child. (3) It would seem reasonably clear that structures that emphasize status, competition and class inequality are dysfunctional for learning and therefore for the development of our human potential. In Alaska, for example, inequitable distribution of educational and legal resources assures us that developmental opportunities for most of our rural children will be less than for those in cities.

The quality of being poor has been explained in a variety

of ways: For example, "Blessed are the meek" - what that means is that the poor are to accept their lot in life, hoping perhaps for a better life "hereafter". We've used God a lot to justify poverty: St. Paul said - and his remarks have been adjusted often depending on the user - " . . . we must always have the poor among us . . . " What has sometimes been whispered - seldom shouted - is that poverty is a consequence of not having been able to fully participate in society's economic institutions. Human functioning today requires far more than the ability to read and write. Human functioning requires full access to all available human institutions. And this probably means more education than high school. In Alaska efforts are being made to achieve these goals. When full access to man's Social organizations is not available the resulting problems are many; and we see them in terms of ignorance, ill health, and social disorganization.

Sociological Problems of Alaska Natives: True or False? Let's try instead: Sociological problems of all men. There is no way of studying social reality other than from the viewpoint of human ideals. (4) To place man and his needs at the center of concern is to humanize our society, to subordinate science and technology to human purpose, and to provide a guiding vision for social reconstruction.

We are luckier than persons living in most parts of the world for they are ruled by the iron hand of dictatorship. Fortunately are we that we still ascribe to ourselves principles of democracy - a political system developed with an understanding that man's social organizations sometimes stray from their original purpose - and can be changed when that happens. But democracy doesn't work as it might when not all can be participants in its processes. Sometimes (particularly in recent days) we worry that our system is

awkward, untidy and anxiety provoking. At times like these it's good to remember what has been said about dictatorships and democracies: A dictatorship is like a ship under full sail which moves along grandly until it strikes a rock and sinks. Democracy is like a raft; it never sinks but it seems you've always got your feet in the water. (5)

FOOTNOTES

1. Spector, Malcolm (McGill University) and Kitsuse, John (Northwestern University) "Social Problems: A Re-Formulation", an unpublished paper, 1973, pp. 2-8
2. The Division of Youth Services Systems, Office of Youth Development, Department of Health, Education and Welfare: "Working Paper", Lake of the Ozarks Conference, May 29- June 1, 1973, pp 2-4
3. Romanyshyn, John, Social Welfare: Charity to Justice (New York: Random House, 1971) p. 310
4. Myrdal, Gunnar, in Ibid p. 29.
5. Attributed to Fisher Ames.

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SPECIAL PROBLEMS OF READING
COMPREHENSION IN THE EDUCATION OF
ESKIMO AND INDIAN PUPILS

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(Note: This paper is based on the author's previously published article "Focusing on Students of Different Cultural Backgrounds; The Eskimo and Indian Pupils-Special Problems in Reading Comprehension" which appeared in the April, 1971 issue of Elementary English.)

This paper endeavors to delineate more clearly the special reading comprehension problems of the Alaskan Eskimo and Indian so that those of you working with other minority groups might note to what extent these problems are also your problems.

To begin with, reading comprehension is essentially a cognitive process - the ability to engage in rigorous abstract thinking. This view is supported by research which has established a high degree of correlation between reading and intelligence in the intermediate and upper grades where emphasis is placed on comprehension rather than word recognition.

Specialists outside the field of reading have helped delineate the nature of our problem. It may be that we have more anthropologists studying the Native people of Alaska, or it may be that these anthropologists feel less hesitant to report¹ their finding. In any case, a number of formal anthropological reports indicate that the Natives of Alaska, especially the Eskimo, are deficient in the ability to do abstract thinking.

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These scientific findings are supported by the retardation in grade placement of Native pupils, their high dropout rates in high school and college, and by the small number of Native adults who hold prestige positions in the occupational hierarchy.

And now, within the past year, our effort to improve the reading comprehension of Native Youth has received an additional challenge from the findings of Dr. Arthur Jensen.² In the Winter, 1969, issue of Harvard Educational Review, he provides statistical evidence to support his view that heredity is by far the major determiner of intelligence. He also reports research findings which show that a particular minority group - the Negro - scores significantly lower on intelligence tests.

In fairness to Dr. Jensen it must be pointed out that he makes no claim that the findings concerning the Negro would apply to another minority groups such as the Indian or Eskimo. It should also be pointed out that Dr. Jensen defines intelligence in the traditional narrow sense as the process of abstraction and conceptualization used in problem-solving. Nevertheless, the cognitive skills required for reading comprehension fall within this narrow definition and as teachers of reading comprehension to Eskimo and Indian pupils, we are now faced with scientific evidence from anthropologists indicating our pupils are deficient in these abilities and furthermore - according to Dr. Jensen - that such deficiencies are to a great extent genetic in nature.

Ours is not an enviable position but a solution must be found. Since many of the Native people wish to become a part of the dominant American culture, this solution must make them competent readers - readers who comprehend and look to reading

for the achievement of a fuller life. It must not be a solution which shunts them into a segregated curriculum which, although it may make less cognitive demands, will not prepare the pupil for full citizenship in our society.

I suggest the first effort must be in the direction of establishing a reasonable working hypothesis concerning the intellectual capacity of the Eskimo and Indian pupils.

I would, therefore, first hypothesize that these pupils are - depending on the degree of their acculturation - to some extent lacking the ability to do abstract thinking and that this does handicap them in their attempts to read with comprehension.

This is a reasonable hypothesis not so much in light of their poor performance in the classroom. Such poor performance might well be explained away as resulting from the self-fulfilling prophecy. Rosenthal and Jacobson's³ California study established that teacher expectation influences significantly pupil achievement in either a positive or negative direction. (For an additional report on how teacher expectation is transmitted to the student, read Robert Rosenthal's most recent article "The Pygmalion Effect Lives" appearing in the September 1973, issue of Psychology Today.)

In this regard it must be pointed out that segregation of schools has been a tradition in Alaska. Not only have there always been two systems of education in the State, but until as recently as ten years ago one encountered the phenomenon of having a separate school for Indian youngsters and another for Caucasian youngsters in a village whose total population was but slightly over 100 people.

This physical segregation, plus the fact that cultural differences make achievement in our western schools difficult,

could well lead the teacher to underestimate the pupil's capacity; and in turn such lessened expectation, it has now been proven through research, can be communicated to the pupil with the ultimate effect of lowering his output.

Thus it is to the formal studies of the anthropologist that we must turn to substantiate our hypotheses. His findings indicate that this tendency of the Alaska Native toward concrete problem solving existed before any significant acculturation took place. The anthropologist points out that in these primitive cultures intelligence was demonstrated through the people's ability to solve problems of a concrete nature relating to their immediate physical survival in a harsh environment, that these people were concerned with the "how?" rather than the "why?". Their harsh environment allowed no leisure class to arise - an essential requirement for the evolution of written language and invention. As a result, their educational system was limited to showing the young how a particular task was done. Under such circumstances a cultural pattern evolved which focused on less sophisticated aspects of thinking and made it difficult for the child of that culture to succeed in our Western educational system which emphasizes the interpretation of language symbols, especially in reading,

Fortunately, the position of the anthropologist as just stated gives support to another working hypothesis regarding the Alaska Natives's ability to engage in abstract thinking. This hypothesis would hold that any existing deficiency in ability to think abstractly is not biological in its origins and would deny Dr. Jensen's contention that intelligence is essentially a matter of heredity. The anthropologist holds that the Eskimo and Indian's

lesser ability to engage in abstraction and conceptualization in problem solving is, as was just described, a cultural matter.

My own experience supports this point of view. During my sabbatical year, I visited some 200 rural classrooms in Alaska and taught demonstration lessons in reading comprehension to approximately 3,000 Eskimo and Indian pupils ranging from beginners through grade 12.

An example will illustrate my point. In my work with older pupils, before reading a folk tale to them, I would attempt to introduce unfamiliar concepts. One of these was "shrine." I would place this typical representation or symbol for an oriental shrine on a flannel board and ask, "Does anyone have any idea of what a shrine is?".

With the Indian youngsters whose community had absorbed much of the dominant culture, including its experiences and ways of thinking, the answers given followed a consistent pattern. The visual symbol triggered a memory of something they had experienced vicariously and they gave an answer which was in some degree accurate; or if the symbol triggered no recall, there was no response. In all cases they appeared to treat the visual representation as a symbol.

This was not the case when working with the same aged Eskimo youngsters who lived in communities where the effects of acculturation had been operative to a much lesser degree.

Concrete examples of replies given by Eskimo students in three different classes indicate the nature of the difference. The replies given were "it's a chair," "it's a saddle," and "it's a gate." These answers were at first bewildering but after careful study indicated that each student, as in the case of the Indian

pupils, drew on his background to answer. In the response "chair" it was direct experience, and in the responses "saddle" and "gate" it was vicarious - something they had perhaps seen in movies or read about in books. Saddles and gates are simply not found among the coastal Eskimos.

The distinct difference between these replies and those made by the more acculturated Indian youth lies not in their recall of previous experience but rather in the Eskimo youth's concrete or literal mental set in applying that experience to a new situation. His response is direct. He saw this visual symbolization of a shrine and asked himself, "What is it used for?" He then recalled his inventory of useful mental constructs and attempted to match the old with the new. His response was thus limited by this culture's unique view of new problem situations.

Here an important point to remember is that the Eskimo and Indian are not distinguishable as a race. They differ culturally, but even here similarities exist. For example, both cultures, when viewed from the standpoint of technology and invention, are primitive.

If - as Dr. Jensen suggests - race were the major determiner of the ability to think abstractly, then the Indian youth's response - since he is racially akin to the Eskimo - should have been essentially like that of the Eskimo, even though he - the Indian - had assimilated more of the dominant white culture.

Since the acculturated Indian youth's response was more sophisticated, we can safely assume that, placed in an environment where complex abstract thinking is common, heredity will not keep the Alaska Native pupil from increasing his intelligence and thus

his reading comprehension.

Such an assumption or hypothesis is not only reasonable but also allows us to believe that a solution to our problem is possible.

The problem, then, is essentially one of moving the pupil who experiences difficulty in reading comprehension because his mental responses tend to involve concrete problem situations, to making these mental responses when confronted with the more abstract situations as encountered in reading content material, such as history, geography, etc.

This problem is a difficult one and I suggest an intermediate or transitional stage is needed. One suggestion is for the schools to place heavy emphasis on Eskimo and Indian pupils themselves reading, and having read to them, many children's stories and then to make sure they interpret these stories.

In this approach, two points must be considered. The first deals with the nature of the stories provided, and the second with the questioning technique best suited to help the pupil interpret these stories.

With regard to the nature of these stories, we should remember that comprehension of vicarious experiences presented by way of the written word is facilitated through total involvement of the reader, an involvement which brings him to identify totally with the setting, characters and events. Thus stories chosen should fulfill the criteria established for good children's literature - real characters, strong theme, plausible plot, vivid setting, and a style which brings these elements together to make interesting reading.

Also, if the story is to be read by the pupil, the

writing must not be too difficult. Since this places a limit on the stories available to the pupil, it suggests that teachers make reading of stories to the class a normal part of the reading program.

Finally, in order to bring the story experience as close as possible to the Native pupil's own experience and in order to improve his self-image by developing an appreciation of his heritage, the story should ideally deal with his physical environment, his people, and his way of life.

The University of Alaska is now, and has in the past, been active in creating reading materials which relate more closely to the Native pupil's culture. An example of such materials is the Alaska Reader Program developed by the Alaska Rural School Project and presently being used as a basal reader program in many of the rural schools of the State.

Also the Center for Northern Educational Research is supporting the Eskimo Language Workshop which produces culturally-oriented reading materials in the Eskimo language. The Center's more recently established "Alaska Educational Program for Intercultural Communication" is also becoming involved in the creation of culturally-oriented reading materials.

My own book "At the Mouth of the Luckiest River" published this year by Thomas Y. Crowell is a culturally-oriented historical novel for children based on the lives of the Upper Koyukon Indians when they first came in contact with the Russians in the 1840's.

These efforts are all directed at stimulating the Native pupil's interest in reading, facilitating his comprehension of what he reads, while at the same time striving to improve his self-image.

I am especially interested in there being developed children's literature based on the Eskimo and Indian cultures. The publication of such literature enhances the self-image of the Native pupil in basically two ways. First when he reads these stories he comes to realize that his culture is important enough to be written about. And second children of the dominant white culture reading these stories will gain a new insight and respect for the Native culture. This will only occur, of course, if the stories are well written and make an accurate and sympathetic portrayal of the culture involved. To assure this more Eskimo and Indians must be encouraged to develop the necessary literary skills which will then allow them to communicate the rich and subtle aspects of their own culture. Proof that Eskimo and Indian young people can create literature about their own people is found in the book "Miracle Hill; The Story of a Navajo Boy" written by Emerson Blackhorse Mitchell and published in 1967 by the University of Oklahoma Press. A specific vehicle for promoting such literary talent could be patterned after the Creative Writing Workshop sponsored by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and directed by T. D. Allen. The young Navajo author of "Miracle Hill" was a student in one of her workshops.

The aforementioned matter of appropriate questioning procedures is equally important. Questions and discussion aimed at improving reading comprehension were traditionally associated with the basal reader lessons. Only recently have authorities in the field of children's literature looked on their area as holding a potential for the improvement of reading comprehension.

While many of us now agree that such a potential exists, we must recognize that to so use children's literature contains an element of danger - the danger of dampening or extinguishing

interest in reading.

Thus teachers who would use questions to foster interpretation of what is read for pleasure must be sensitive to the pupils involved and their reactions. She must be constantly alert for any signs which indicate that pupils are not responding positively - and be willing to terminate the questions when this occurs.

But a sensitive teacher is not enough. To have children's literature serve as a transitional device in moving the Native pupil from the realm of concrete problem-solving to the abstract thinking connected with subject content of the school curriculum, the teacher must have a thorough knowledge of the type of questions that will best do this.

Fortunately, much work has already been done. In the past authorities such as William S. Gray, and more recently Russell Stauffer, have identified - for use in basal reader series - the essential reading comprehension or interpretation skills and have also established the types of questions which will develop these skills in elementary pupils. Over the years teachers have acquired competence in using these questions.

The pressing need now is for teachers to direct their use of questioning toward stories read for pleasure, and more important for them to learn to choose, from the whole gamut of comprehension skills as identified in the basal readers, those skills best suited to moving the Native pupil into the realm of abstract thought.

I suggest that first consideration be given to questions which aide in identifying the emotional reaction of the story characters. These are easiest to answer because we can safely

assume that in a well-written work of fiction the pupil has identified with the story character. Also the nature of the question is open-ended.

Thus the question, "How do you think Jerry felt when he couldn't find the trail back to the cabin?" invites the student to recall the emotional aspects of a particular vicarious situation. This type of imaging in turn, involves the pupil in abstract thought.

A more difficult cognitive skill is the ability to perceive the relation of cause and effect. Again the task is made easier by asking questions which rely on the reader's emotional reactions to the story characters. In this instance, the question "Why didn't Jerry want his mother to go with him to the lake?" allows the reader to reexperience the emotions of the story character and stimulates him to engage in the mental task of recalling, evaluating and selecting aspects of a particular vicarious situation in order to arrive at a logical relationship between these aspects.

Thus when the Native youngster can relate emotionally to the story situation, his imagination works to make this abstract or vicarious situation a real one; and although he is involved in complex cause and effect thinking, it becomes something which he can relate to. It is not unlike the concrete problem-solving situations which are an essential element of his culture.

The few examples just given attempt to indicate that questions aimed at stimulating an emotional response which will allow the reader to identify totally with a vicarious situation are an essential element of his culture.

Let me sum up by saying that this paper intended to identify the specific nature of the problem encountered in teaching reading comprehension to a minority group - the Eskimo and Indian pupils of Alaska and to suggest two ways of coping with the problem.

First I suggested the development of culturally-oriented reading material which would at the same time enhance the Native student's self-image by depicting his culture as being of sufficient worth to be found in print. I placed special emphasis on culturally-oriented children's literature, especially such literature when it is written by the people of the Eskimo and Indian culture.

Second, I have suggested the use of inquiry in connection with the stories read by the pupil or read to him by the teacher. Although the suggestion that children's literature can be used to improve reading comprehension of culturally-different pupils is not offered as a panacea, there is research evidence to support the use of this approach. For example, Dr. Cohen⁴ reports a study involving 258 pupils in which the experimental variable consisted of reading stories to the pupils and following this up with questions, discussion, and related activities. The results showed the experimental group as making significant gain in vocabulary and reading comprehension over the control group.

FOOTNOTES

1. Seymour Parker, consulting Anthropologist in "Alaska Native Secondary School Droupouts" - A Research report by Charles K. Ray, Joan Ryan and Seymour Parker, Published by the University of Alaska, 1962.
2. Arthur R. Jensen, "How Much Can We Boost IQ and Scholastic Achievement?" Harvard Education Review, XXXIX (Winter, 1969).
3. Roberta Rosenthal and Lenore Jacobson, Pygmalion in the Classroom, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York, 1968.
4. Dorothy Cohen, "The Effect of Literature on Vocabulary and Reading Achievement," Elementary English, XV. (February 1968).

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EVALUATION OF NORTHERN EDUCATION PROGRAMS:
A PERSPECTIVE*

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Recognizing that it may be considered a bit presumptuous of me to speak to this topic after less than six months in Alaska, I have entitled this talk a perspective. The perspective is entirely my own, but I have checked it out with those few other persons in Alaska who consider themselves professional evaluators, and their agreement with my judgement encouraged me to speak with you today. Indeed, there are so few of us that the critical atmosphere usually present within evaluation circles is lacking in Alaska. I feel it unfortunate that there is little chance that my remarks will be discussed and debated among those with similar professional interests.

What is evaluation? One of the more popularly quoted evaluation definitions was that of the Phi Delta Kappa National Study Committee on Evaluation (Stufflebeam and others, 1971, p.40):

"Educational evaluation is a process of delineating, obtaining, and providing useful information for judging decision alternatives".

While judging is central to this definition, the act of judging is not considered to be the evaluator's role by this committee. Others tend to disagree with this and the question of who has the judgmental role is usually the key to frequent disputes

*This paper was prepared for presentation at the Northern Cross Cultural Symposium, Fairbanks, Alaska, November 1973.

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over defining evaluation. Discussions of other definitions can be found in Worthen and Sanders, (1973), and Steele, (1973), but further attention to this interesting debate over theory is not considered essential to the purpose of this paper.

Regardless of how defined I will make certain assumptions about what the term evaluation connotes. First, evaluation assumes there is a rational decision-making process in that it uses information collected to make that process a more viable one. Here we are mainly considering evaluation in terms of its usefulness to the project in which it operates, rather than an additional purpose of helping to clarify the project and its effectiveness to others, which is considered secondary.

Second, evaluation assumes some stability of program funds which would allow for planning and recycling. If such time does not exist the evaluation data will be of limited use to those administering the project. This question of timing is one of the central problems of operating programs under federal funding, as past Congressional action has not taken this into account. This is one of the main reasons why evaluation has not previously proven very useful in that adequate planning time was not given, much less funded, and that programs often had to be resubmitted before data was available. This has had the unfortunate consequence of giving evaluation the appearance of an act that is done for someone else to fulfill a requirement without realizing the many benefits that could have accrued to the program itself.

One last but related comment on Federal involvement in program evaluation and its problems. Federally imposed evaluation has been a failure in general if judged in terms of providing data for local program improvement. Too often this failure is equated with the lack of likelihood that any evaluation will be useful at

the local program level. Historically, it is perhaps unfortunate that the impetus for most current evaluation efforts came from the federal government, specifically the evaluation requirements of a 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act, and still is often tied to federal funding. Though the Office of Education and Congress can be commended for requiring programs to attempt to describe their effectiveness, they have lost their potential for leadership and example settings in this area. (Further description evaluation developments and shortcomings at the federal level, related to ESEA 1965, can be found in Worthen and Sanders, 1973, and Hecht, 1973.)

Third, any evaluation must be conducted in an atmosphere which has a tolerance for program failure as well as for success. If one cannot accept the fact that some parts of a program may do better than others and some may not do well at all, then information relative to making such judgements is not useful and collecting it becomes another farcical activity. Educators on the whole, from the federal to the local level, have failed to make this point clear in educating themselves and the public to realize that innovative quasi-experimental programs are just that and they have no guarantees of being better than the current program until they are tried and proven. If evaluation is not used in this manner, it then becomes apparent that every new program will continue or be dropped, whether warranted or not. For further discussion of the need to allow quasi-experimental programs to fail as well as succeed, see an excellent discussion by Campbell, 1969.

Fourth, communication and cooperation among administrators, implementors and evaluators are essential to adequate

evaluation. Though this sounds elementary and perhaps unnecessary to mention, it is probably the biggest stumbling block to most evaluations. Those trained in evaluation procedures and experienced in such work are so accustomed to the negative reactions of those who feel threatened by their work that they often neglect to take precautions that would alleviate such tensions. Everyone involved in the program needs and deserves a thorough understanding of what the evaluation is to be and how it will be used. Though some basic researchers set up blind experiments or use deceitful conditions with subjects on a temporary basis, such tactics are not part of the repertoire of an evaluator.

All of the above assumptions are based on the fact that evaluation differentiates itself from more basic research in its usefulness to the programs in which it operates. While research strives for generalizable knowledge applicable in every situation, evaluation strives to provide useful information for the improvement of a specific program. Programs conducted in a realistic educational setting, unlike research projects, are fluid in nature and apt to incur unexpected pressures, directions, and changes along the way. Program evaluation therefore must be flexible, and need not adhere to a pre-set design or plan. Regardless of how technically good an evaluation may be considered, if it is not useful for program management, improvement, and other requirements of those responsible for the program, it is not considered a successful evaluation in that it has missed its primary purpose.

Given this brief look as to what is meant by evaluation generally, (at least to this speaker), let us relate the

above to evaluation of programs in the North. What are the problems, why do we have them and what can we do about them? First of all, I think many of you would agree that many of the programs with which we deal lack clear goal definitions. We perhaps may think we know intuitively what we seek to do and if there is more than one person involved in the program, they each may think they have an intuitive knowledge of what they intend to do, but without goal specifications there is no way of knowing whether there is any agreement among this intuition or a way to explain it to others. One might argue that anything might be better than what currently exists in our schools, but such attitudes are hardly professionally responsible.

Without defined goals and objectives a program lacks not only understanding of where it is going, but also any way of knowing if it gets there. There is a quote from Alice in Wonderland which says it so much better:

"Alice asks the Cheshire Cat, 'Would you tell me please which way I ought to go from here?'

'That depends a good deal on where you want to get to,' said the Cat.

'I don't much care where —' said Alice.

'Then it doesn't matter which way you go,' said the Cat."

Sometimes even when goals are clearly defined, the criteria by which achieving these goals would be judged are unclear. For instance, take a program whose goals are to instill a regard for Native Heritage in Native students. What criteria will one use to see if this goal has been met? What are students expected to do? Are they expected to take up Native crafts, talk

more freely with their elders, have better self-image or some other such method of judging whether the goal has been achieved?

Another thing which is seriously lacking in the North is research, not as part of programs themselves but in the background with which programs are put together. Lacking is both the published educational research that would provide answers to many of the questions that we now try to resolve by the use of new and different programs and also the willingness to consider what is available. For instance, in a Native Heritage program improving self-image is often considered a rationale or goal. However, there is some research which suggests that minority children may already have a good self-image. (Fuchs and Havighurst, 1972; Martig and DeBlassie, 1973; Powers and others, 1971; Soares and Soares, 1969). New programs should have the benefit of the application of new research findings that suggest that they are on the right track and have a good chance of being successful. In bilingual programs, for instance, there is only a smattering of research on the effects of bilingualism and bilingual training on various types of students. The whole area of cross-cultural education is one which in many ways lacks all three of the above--goals, criteria, and basic research, especially as applied to the Northern situation.

The third problem could be considered the lack of adequate evaluation methodology and techniques in general and especially those applied to the special conditions of Northern education dealing with such programs as the ones mentioned above. Evaluation is a new and developing field, and as such there is almost as much disagreement among its members as there is agreement on the how to's. There is little ready-made training material available that could be used in the absence of having full-time professional evaluation help.

The large cities can afford research and evaluation departments, and most now have them, but the type of school with which we deal can never be expected to gear up to that extent and, therefore, will require other means. The evaluation field needs to pull together to provide evaluation techniques and training that can be used in local school districts by the district themselves with little or only periodic outside help. Also there is definitely a shortage of people knowledgeable in special evaluation techniques, such as for bilingual programs and, seldom, except in international circles, is any attention paid to the problems of cross-cultural evaluation.

Another problem that confronts us in the North is that we sorely lack a communication and dissemination network. Though problems across Alaska, Canada, and our more far-flung neighbors in Greenland, Siberia, etc. have much in common and often the programs we are attempting seem very similar, currently there is no mechanism to share such information.

The fifth problem is a lack of manpower trained and available to handle the evaluation program planning and improvement techniques. There are usually people who are willing to come North for a day, look around, write a report and leave. This is hardly what is meant when we talk of useful evaluation.

What can be done? We have alluded to five "lacks" above and some of the things to be suggested are fairly self-evident. The first is the need for training of people who are on the scene, who can be part of programs and provide the necessary evaluation support. Training must include evaluation in its broadest sense, the intricacies of planning, carrying out and revising the program. Obviously, this requires both funding and commitment. The communication/dissemination network spoken

of above is another, exactly the problem to which this meeting begins to speak. The type of communication dissemination network being suggested requires a great deal of openness on part of people planning and innovating new programs, a willingness to share their experiences, including their failures as well as their successes. Even though each program is different and has its own particular circumstances certainly there is also a great deal of similarity.

There is another type of openness required--an openness to take a look at more general work done outside, though always keeping in mind the questions of applicability. In the North, we have often seen work done outside as clearly being so inapplicable as not to have any use. We might be missing much of what could be very useful. Though cultures are indeed different, dealing with a variety of youth may not necessarily be. Though language patterns are different, dealing with second languages may be another area of common problems with similar solutions. Very often what has been imposed from outside, especially in Alaska, has been inapplicable or at least has not been adapted so that it was useful. But given attempts to improve education for a variety of peoples throughout the country, we should be open to share and use as much of this information as we can.

Also we must remember the road goes the other way. Alaska as I have seen it, some what by its very isolation, sparse population, multi-culturalism and other unique characteristics, is a place which could provide a proving ground for many new types of programs, approaches, innovations, etc. which could be shared far outside its borders. So often we think in terms of taking in but seldom it seems do Alaskans think in terms of exporting

their ideas. As increasing attention is focused on the North for economic reasons, education has an opportunity to display the best of what it is doing to the rest of the education community.

We need to play upon our own resources, for evaluation and for education in general. On a per capita basis the population in Alaska has a greater diversity of background and expertise than probably any other state, a resource which is seldom considered and tapped as we perhaps have looked at education too narrowly in the past. Also, due to its newness in terms of its statehood, the coming formation of local districts in rural areas, and recent interest in providing diversity of educational programs, Alaska could be considered ahead in that it has little past experience to overcome. There are no required curriculums or other barriers which innovators in many other states have had to battle before the real work could begin. In Northern areas in general there seems to be a willingness to seek new solutions and a recognition that new solutions indeed are needed.

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ALASKA NATIVES AND ALASKA HIGHER EDUCATION, 1960-1972:
A DESCRIPTIVE STUDY

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This study describes the Alaska Native peoples (Aleuts, Eskimos, Athabascans, Tlingits, Haidas, and Tsimshians) in relationship to their exposure to the forms of American higher education existent in Alaska.

The Native peoples were shown to have been culturally and ethnically distinct from each other in the past, and remain largely so in the present. Russian and American settlers and government officials were not generally cognizant of such differences and preferred to treat the Natives as Siberian tribes or American Indians. That attitude has prevailed into the present and often results in invalid studies and procedures.

The introduction of Western cultural implements and institutions, by the Russians during 1741-1867 and the Americans after 1867, led to massive change within the Native societies. Such transformation of the indigenous cultural and social patterns accelerated when missionary and government schools were established in the Native districts between 1884 and 1917. The gold rushes, centering around the Great Klondike Rush of 1898, altered the Native life-styles further when large numbers of whites settled in Alaska. A "two-school system"--which segregated whites from Natives--was established and formalized by Alaska Territorial statute in 1917. Attempts to dismantle that system have generally succeeded only since 1960, but remnants of it still survive in 1973.

Formal education among Alaska's Natives did not take into account their cultural and ethnic differences, nor was it modified from traditional American patterns to fit the unique and special circumstances in Alaska. Neither did that education prepare the Natives for higher education.

The Alaska Statehood Act of 1958 resulted in the Native's perceiving a threat to their lands. The Alaska Federation of Natives was formed to meet that threat and to protect Native cultural identity. The resulting passage by the U.S. Congress of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971 provided the Natives with a mechanism of self-determination and an endowment for future generations in the form of land and money.

Higher education in Alaska did not provide for the special and extraordinary circumstances of the Native people until after 1960. During the decade of the 1960's special programs were established in Alaska's institutions of higher learning to help Native students enter those schools and to provide them with avenues to success once enrolled. By 1972, all such institutions within Alaska were aware of their obligations toward the Native community and were revamping their programs and curricula to meet Native needs.

Statistical, demographic data indicated that, as the Native population continued to rise in numbers and the educational base of those people widened, ever increasing numbers of Native students would be attending college during the decades of the 1970's and 1980's. Alaska higher educational institutions must continue to transform their programs and curricula in order to meet changing Native needs--particularly those created as a result of the establishment of Native corporations and governmental units in the northern Native districts of Alaska.

CURRENT ETHNOMUSICOLOGY IN ALASKA

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The systematic study of Eskimo, Indian, and Aleut musical sound and musical behavior in Alaska, though in some enlightened quarters conceded to be an important part of White efforts to (i) foster understanding between different cultural groups; and (ii) maintain the native cultural heritage and hence unique social identity, has in the past received little attention from Alaskan educators. It is only since the new nativism and biculturality have replaced the old assimilationist attitudes that Alaska's non-Western tonal systems have ceased to be regarded as primitive oddities, and have begun to gain recognition not only as essential personality components but rich and necessary aesthetic experiences. The reason for this change of heart is not that the Establishment is recruiting music lovers, but that both sad experience and ethno-psychological research around the world tend to suggest that twilight citizens without deep-seated cultural roots and on to whom a veneer of substandard White musical culture has been imposed, are cheated citizens, conscious of having been cheated. In schools the teaching of Western technological processes can, in the light of evolving life-styles and of the environments changing resources, be justified to a certain extent. But who can justify the substitution of White school music for the colorful dance-songs and festival-songs, of middle-class school art for carving and weaving, and of ..

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European mythology for native belief systems concerning the unique natural world and spirit-world of the Far North?

In recent years, scholars coming from various disciplines have begun to scratch the surface of Alaskan ethnomusicological possibilities (the work of Lorraine Koranda, and of Frederica de Laguna, spring to mind). Last week (November 1-5, 1973) I met, at the annual meetings of the Society for Ethnomusicology, scholars (such as J.J. Nattiez of the University of Montreal) who are concerning themselves with similar possibilities in the Canadian north, and an exchange of information and findings may result from such encounters. Most existing ethnomusicological studies of northern peoples, however, are lacking in one or more aspect essential to their validity. The essential aspects include not only the analysis of musical sound, but the linguistic and social correlations. In a culture where instrumental use is minimal and vocal music is maximal, a study which fails to consider the relationship of syllabic patterns to musical units is ignoring prime data; likewise a study which ignores the social and psychological implications of musical roles (i.e., the separate roles of both the musical material and the human performers of such material) within the society in question, is closing the door to full understanding.

For instance, native music in Alaska is seen to communicate world-view, particularly that concerning the sea/land polarity and its supernatural overtones. It is seen to provide acculturation with neighboring groups. At Point Hope, Herbert Kinneveauk informed the present writer that, when he visited Herschel Island on a trading boat in 1949, he heard Point Hope songs being sung. He explained that Antonio Weber (now deceased) had moved to Barrow

and taken the Point Hope songs with him, that Barrow singers had gone to dance at Inuvik, whence the songs were passed on to Herschel Island. Verification of this route came when, at the 1967 Eskimo Olympics in Fairbanks, Inuvik dancers sang certain old Point Hope songs.

Native music in Alaska provides group cohesiveness in the form of songs of the arbitrary namesake relation, and in the form of story-songs which emphasize the importance of belonging: the story of the orphan sitting alone by the ceremonial house entrance; the story of the young brothers alone in the deserted village. Many songs function to maintain group norms of behavior. For instance, bogeyman songwords tend to keep children and women safe within their houses at night. Music is related to the changing seasons of the social year. For instance, one term for November, or one of the last moons, is kiyiviluiq, "the time when the shaman gets busy with his drum." Music demonstrates the division of labor, inasmuch as the dances differ for the two sexes, and while men make drums, women make mitten-rattles. Music still possesses much ceremonial significance. For instance, at Point Hope the difference between the two extant ceremonial houses (uṇasiksikkaq and ka'ma'tuuk) is frequently verbalized as one of difference between the song-repertory, and several secret song-categories still exist at the annual kakumisaq celebration, notably qiapsuk and uiṇaruṇ. Music demonstrates aspects of the economic system. For instance, at Point Hope the four community-owned frame-drums are paid for out of Bingo receipts. Music still demonstrates spirit-world relationships.

For instance, Eskimo dancers at Point Hope rarely perform even today without covering the hands in some way, with dance-mittens, mitten-rattles, or finger-masks, as a gesture of respect to the

hunting spirits in whose honor the dances were, in the past, presented.


I have briefly mentioned the function of music in acculturating neighboring groups in the north and the northwest. I would also like to draw attention to the work of Loyens in tracing musical influence through larger configurations, as, for instance, in his *The Koyukon Feast for the Dead* (*Arctic Anthropology*, 2, 2, 1964, pp. 133-148), where he suggests the diffusion of musical behavior from the Asiatic Eskimo, across St. Lawrence and Nunivak Islands, through the Uukon Delta up the Yukon River, to Ingalik and the Lower Koyukon (p. 145), i.e. to Athabascan Indian groups. Likewise comparison of Alaskan and Canadian anthropology suggest that Alaskan musical performance, drum-handle carving, etc., is related to richer food resources and sedentary life-styles in the west. Traveling eastward one finds that musical performance becomes more individualized; this de-emphasizing of the musical group can be traced to the mobility necessitated by a relatively unproductive environment in the east, and to the difficulty in getting large numbers of people to cease hunting activities at one time and in one place.

The Ethnomusicology Program at Fairbanks is interested in music as an integral part of man's behavior, not solely as a tonal isolate, and welcomes the cooperation of linguists, anthropologists, psychologists, and others, in furthering ethnomusicological research.

APPENDIX: SIX ALASKAN NATIVE SONGS

A POINT HOPE ESKIMO SONG FOR THE JUGGLING-GAME CALLED IGLUKISAAK
"I AM MOVING LITTLE ROCKS"

Eskimo juggling-game songs have been reported for Point Barrow by Murdoch (1892:384), Nelson Island by Walcott (1971:1), and Unalakleet by Koranda (1962:14, 1965:28, 1970:77, 1972:12). The present song was collected at Point Hope in 1973, from an aged married couple, Dinah and Dave Frankson.

In the following musical transcription, the Western stave suffices provided that minus signs are placed over the G's and E's which were sung at a pitch slightly lower than that which the stave implies. Two versions of the melody and of the Eskimo text are given: the upper represents that sung by Dave Frankson (note that  means 'written one octave higher than sung'); the lower represents that sung by Dinah Frankson. The versions were not sung together, but are here shown superimposed in order to reveal differences of melodic conception, vocabulary, and pronunciation.

Dotted bar-lines are used instead of solid bar-lines because the first note of each bar is not necessarily rhythmically significant and because Eskimo metrical division is not as absolute as that in much Western music; see, for instance, bars 48-50, where

the work tagiugñilagmik, which determines the quaver rhythmic units, changes position from bar to bar. Solid bar-lines are reserved for separating complete musical sections, which, it should be noted, coincide with the verbal ideas. While Western time-signatures such as 2/4 and 3/4 have been utilized, this is for transcription purposes only and should not be taken to imply that the performers conceive the meter in these precise terms. For instance, in the 3/4 bar at bar 43, it is the number of syllables rather than the time-signature which determines the length of the bar, and in bar 44 a snatched breathing space accounts for the third beat in what would have otherwise been a 2/4 bar. Proof of this lies in the fact that the word qimniayuna on a previous occasion (bar 42) required only a 2/4 bar. In bar 40 Dave Frankson drops the final syllable gu, which was sung by Dinah Frankson. In so doing, he shortens the 2/4 bar to a 3/8; this is inexplicable in terms of Western 2/4 meter and equally inexplicable as an intentional bar of 3/8 time. It constitutes a quickening of the pace, or hurrying onward, just as is heard at climactic points of Eskimo dance-songs when the sound volume, the kinesthetic dimensions, and the tempo increase simultaneously.

Breathing spaces are created by the crowding together of two short terminal notes, as in the upper line of bar 22 and the lower line of bar 40. In many Eskimo songs (but not here) the creation of breathing spaces shortens or lengthens bars in an otherwise regular meter. Singing with drums inhibits this. The blank lines in bars 43-44 are where Dinah Frankson forgot two words. This is probably explained by their musical difficulty and by the change of meter which their many syllables engender.

Linguistic Remarks

While the norm for Eskimo music is a one-to-one relationship between syllables and musical units, the song assigns two notes to only one vowel in bars 2, 5, 16, 19, 23, 25, and 27. In every instance, there is a large downward melodic leap, suggesting that this is the determinant for melisma (the plainsong effect of stretching syllables musically). Two vowels are assigned one note in bars 7, 32, 37, 42, 44, 45, and 46; they are the combinations au, ua, ia, and iu. This does not imply that the Eskimo considers these to be single vowels, for the same combinations occur split (see, for instance, bars 1, 3, 4, 6, 16, 19, 29, 48, and 50). The relationship is therefore adjustable.

The separate pronunciation of single consonants such as 'g' produces short extra notes in bars 7 and 25, and the dropping of a final consonant is seen in bars 17, 45, 46, though this does not affect the music. A brief example of the Eskimo practice of producing glottal pulsation in song is seen at bars 24, 26, and 28, where the diaphragm and the glottis are used by the singers to 'swell' or to 'push' a vowel-sound rhythmically.

Musical Remarks

The range is a wide 9th, the length is a long 51 bars. The song comprises a number of symmetrical sections, thus: bars 1-6 comprise two almost identical 3-bar sections; bars 11-15 comprise two identical 2-bar sections; bars 15-20 comprise two almost identical 3-bar sections; bars 23-28 comprise three almost identical 2-bar sections; bars 29-36 are a variation of the previous bars 7-14; bars 37-40 are an expanded version of bars 15-17; the musical idea in bars 41-44 derives from bars 33-36; bars 45-51 comprise a melodic peak without precedent, rising to a persistent high A.

At bar 41 Dave Frankson suddenly changes the tonal center from C to D, and remains there for the rest of the song; he always renders the song in this manner, thus it in no way constitutes misplaced intonation. Rather, it tallies with his quickening of the pace at bar 40, referred to earlier. Change of tonal center and of pace together prepare the way for the melodically climactic final song-lines.

Melodic differences between the two singers are this change of tonal center, plus the fact that Dave Frankson descends to low G instead of A in bars 23 and 27, and Dinah Frankson uses D passing notes at bars 29, 30, 31, and 32, instead of leaping.

The Song-Words

With regard to the birds niglin̄-naagruum (pacific black brant, *Branta nigricans*) and tatiḵhaagruum (sandhill crane, *Grus canadensis*) mentioned at bars 25-28, the Inupiat Eskimo Dictionary (Webster and Zibell, 1970:84-86) gives the terms niglingaq and tattirgāk. Note the reference to Barrow's salty water; the saltiness is an ecological fact but the reference may reflect what appears to be a localization of loyalties at Point Hope. Regarding the reference to "lick and kiss your grandmother's honey-bucket" Murdoch wrote of a juggling-game song he heard in 1887: "some of the words are certainly indelicate to judge from the unequivocal gestures by which I saw them accompanied" (1892:384). Koranda's two informants (1962:14) insisted on being taken to a sound-proof room before agreeing to sing an example.

43 44 45

ut-qia-vimlu'yuna
BARROW PEOPLE'S

qim-mia-yu-na
DOG

nu-vuq-
PT. BARROW

mifu'

46 47 48

nu-vuq- mifu'

PT. BARROW

im-igan- sin-naq-
WATER THEY HAVE, ONLY

tut ta- qil- uq-
SALT WATER

49 50 51

nii-ag mik ta-
nii-la- mik

gi- uq nii- ag-
nii-la- mik

hail

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28 29 30

ru- na- pip-na
um WHAT IS THAT THERE

su-a- kim-na
su-a- kim-na

YOUR WINDOW

31 32 33

qit-qa- ni
MIDDLE OF

nivi- ja-ruaq
HANGING

ka- tak ka-tak
DROPPING

34 35 36

kaa- ga
ka- tak ka-tak
DROPPING

kaa- ga

37 38 39

aa- na- ruq-pit
quq- viq-ru-aq-a
a- lug- lu-qu

YOUR GRANDMOTHER HONEY-BUCKLE LICK IT

40 41 42

ku- niq- lu'
KISS IT

lugu

kit- ku- yu-naq
qim-mia- yu-naq
DOG

A POINT HOPE ESKIMO SONG FOR THE JUGGLING-GAME CALLED IGLUKISAAK

"I AM MOVING LITTLE ROCKS"

Amount of transposition (upper line, Dave Frankson): minor 3rd
 Amount of transposition (lower line, Dinah Frankson): dlm. 5th

M.M.: $\text{♩} = 76$

1. si-qi-niq qu-a- si- nu-vuk qu-a- si
 THE SUN ALSO (OVER) THE POINT ALSO (SHINES)

2. si-qi-niq qu-a- si- nu-vuk qu-a- si
 THE SUN ALSO (OVER) THE POINT ALSO (SHINES)

3. si-qi-niq qu-a- si- nu-vuk qu-a- si
 THE SUN ALSO (OVER) THE POINT ALSO (SHINES)

4. si-qi-niq qu-a- si- nu-vuk qu-a- si
 THE SUN ALSO (OVER) THE POINT ALSO (SHINES)

5. si-qi-niq qu-a- si- nu-vuk qu-a- si
 THE SUN ALSO (OVER) THE POINT ALSO (SHINES)

6. si-qi-niq qu-a- si- nu-vuk qu-a- si
 THE SUN ALSO (OVER) THE POINT ALSO (SHINES)

7. $\text{aui-lat-chi-g-raq-}$ si- gik-pin ki-ni-sig-vi-um
 MOVING I AM GOING TO (NINE ROCKS) GROUND

8. $\text{aui-lat-chi-g-raq-}$ si- gik-pin ki-ni-sig-vi-um
 MOVING I AM GOING TO (NINE ROCKS) GROUND

9. $\text{aui-lat-chi-g-raq-}$ si- gik-pin ki-ni-sig-vi-um
 MOVING I AM GOING TO (NINE ROCKS) GROUND

10. qaa-na- ni ak-tan- u- su ga-lu-gu
 ON TOP OF BROWN BLAK

11. qaa-na- ni ak-tan- u- su ga-lu-gu
 ON TOP OF BROWN BLAK

12. qaa-na- ni ak-tan- u- su ga-lu-gu
 ON TOP OF BROWN BLAK

13. na- nu- a- su- ga-lu-gu uv- va- lu-
 POLAR BEAR HERE

14. na- nu- a- su- ga-lu-gu uv- va- lu-
 POLAR BEAR HERE

15. na- nu- a- su- ga-lu-gu uv- va- lu-
 POLAR BEAR HERE

16. u kip- ka-ut- taa- lu- uv- va- lu-
 kit- Juk HERE

17. u kip- ka-ut- taa- lu- uv- va- lu-
 kit- Juk HERE

18. u kip- ka-ut- taa- lu- uv- va- lu-
 kit- Juk HERE

19. kip- ka-ut- taa- lu- kip- ka- nu- na-
 kit- Juk OVER THERE LAND

20. kip- ka-ut- taa- lu- kip- ka- nu- na-
 kit- Juk OVER THERE LAND

21. kip- ka-ut- taa- lu- kip- ka- nu- na-
 kit- Juk OVER THERE LAND

22. kip- ka- nu- na- pi-qa- a- u- ma-
 OVER THERE LAND BECKONS ME

23. kip- ka- nu- na- pi-qa- a- u- ma-
 OVER THERE LAND BECKONS ME

24. kip- ka- nu- na- pi-qa- a- u- ma-
 OVER THERE LAND BECKONS ME

25. ni-g- lin- na- ru- ta-tit- ga- ag-
 THE BRANT (GOOSE) um ha- ag-

26. ni-g- lin- na- ru- ta-tit- ga- ag-
 THE BRANT (GOOSE) um ha- ag-

27. ni-g- lin- na- ru- ta-tit- ga- ag-
 THE BRANT (GOOSE) um ha- ag-

A POINT HOPE INHERITED DANCE-SONG
OF THE SAYUUN CATEGORY
"PEOPLE FEEL WARM INSIDE (THEMSELVES)"

This song was collected at Point Hope in August, 1973, from Dinah Frankson, who inherited it from her namesake (atiga). The namesake relationship has been described by Nelson (1899:371) and by VanStone (1962:82). Song-inheritance has been described by Lantis (1946:241) and by Binnington (1973:118). The sayuun category of Inupiat dance-songs was reported by Spencer (1959:191). It is one of four major song-categories still extant at Point Hope: sayuun, songs with fixed, known dance-motions; attutipiaq, songs with improvised dance-motions; story-songs, and game-songs. A sub-category of sayuun is taliq, which refers to women's songs with fixed dance-motions performed seated.

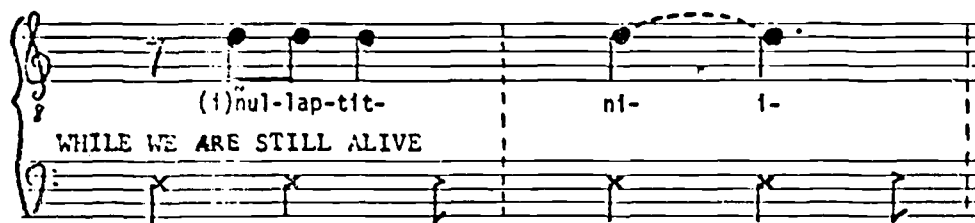
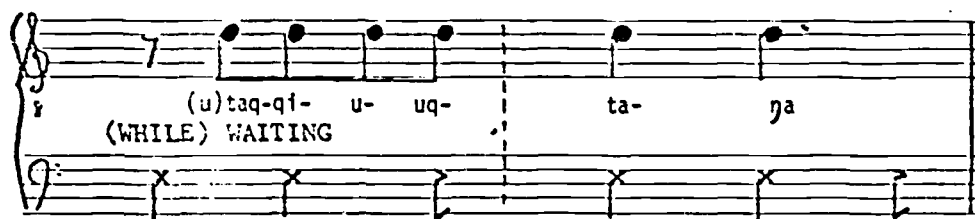
Our sayuun example consists of four six-bar sections plus a three-bar tag, each six bars corresponding to a verbal idea, with the exception of the third section, which contains only vocables. The rhythm is an interesting 5/8, consisting of two drumbeats to each bar, the first worth two units, the third worth three (the last unit of these is always a light tap on the drum-rim, and is represented here by a different symbol).

Words cross the bar-lines at bars 1, 4, 10, and 19 in a way which suggests cross-rhythms between the word-accent and the drum-accent, which is why solid bar-lines are avoided in this transcription, except at section-endings. Note that the singers' glottal and diaphragmatic pulsation (see dotted ties) often corresponds with the drum-accents; also that initial syllables are barely heard at bars 1, 23, and 25.

The range of the song is a wide major 9th (upper A to lower G), and the melodic patterns often assume a U-shape, proceeding from an initial peak to a central nadir, then to a cadential peak as at bars 5 and 6, 17 and 18.

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A POINT HOPE ESKIMO DANCE-SONG OF THE SAYUUN CATEGORY:
 "PEOPLE FEEL WARM INSIDE (THEMSELVES)"

M.M. ♩ = 208 Transposition: nil DFS2

na- a-
 INSIDE (THEMSELVES)

ma- Cha-ga- liq-
 W A R M

u- uk tau-

lu- SEE
 TRY TO

ma- rua- a-
 A BRIGHT LIGHT

a- ya- ya- a-
 a-

a- ya- ya- a-
 a-

a- ya- ya- a-
 a-

a- ya- ya- a-
 a-

a- ya- ya- a-
 a-

A POINT HOPE ESKIMO DANCE-SONG OF THE ATUUTIPIAQ CATEGORY:

"I SEE SOMETHING STRANGE"

Atuutipiaq means "a real song" and is one of four main categories of songs recognized by the Point Hope Eskimos: atuutipiaq dance-songs, sayuun dance-songs, game-songs, and songs-within-stories. While sayuun dance-songs possess fixed, known dance-motions, atuutipiaq dance-songs are free in this respect and may accompany spontaneous, improvised motions. Point Hope still possesses two distinct ceremonial 'houses', though they no longer use the traditional buildings, the ruins of six of which are known to inhabitants. These two 'houses' at special times of the year, such as at the June whaling feast and at Christmas and New Year. The extreme elaboration of Point Hope ceremony in the past has been noted by Rainey (1941:365-375) and by Spencer (1959:115-121), without giving musical details. Atuutipiaq is often called "the common dance-song form" by Point Hoppers, but while the sayuun category has been mentioned in the literature (Spencer 1959:191), atuutipiaq has apparently been unremarked upon.

The literal translation of the words to the present example appears somewhat unenlightening, but the singers stated that the intended song-topic is the happiness of the hunter on the ice when the fog is lifting and he can see distant objects. This is attested to by the proliferation of direction-words in the text: avataa, to the side, samna, down there, avanmun, way over there.

The last part of the song, bars 17-33, appears to be a recapitulation of the melody found at bar 1, and consists solely of vocables; this seemingly reverses the custom of outlining the melody first with vocables, then proceeding with the words (when the song possesses them). Some words in the first part of the song are prolonged by tagging vacables on to the end of them, as at the drum rhythm, which is one reason why our bar-lines are dotted, solid bar-lines being reserved for phrase endings. An alternative way of transcribing this juxtaposed rhythm would be to stagger the bar-lines so that those of the drum-part and the vocal-part do not coincide. In places the musical units are dictated by the number of syllables to be accommodated, as at bars 11-12. Initial syllables are dropped at bars 2,3, and 7, perhaps to fit musical rhythm.

The song is a long 33 bars, with a large vocal range of an 11th (high D to low A). It is in 2/4 time, with a soft tap of the drum-rim between each drum-beat; this soft tap is distinguished in our transcription by being written thus: \times

The octave upward leap, as at bar 3, appears to be quite common in Point Hope songs; note that this leap is omitted on the melody's repetition (compare bars 3 and 19). The song cadences on a prolonged D; in Alaskan Eskimo songs this is a very common ending when the tune is based on a GEDCAG melodic pattern.

All Point Hope dance-songs are traditionally sung in unison and accompanied by the frame-drum known as qilaun; this same term applies as far east as Greenland (Olsen 1967:56).

A POINT HOPE ESKIMO DANCE-SONG OF THE ATUUTPIAQ CATEGORY:
 "I SEE SOMETHING STRANGE"

M.M. ♩ = 132 Transposition: major 3rd up DFA4

1 unison 2 3 4
 Qu-via-euk a-tug (1) ga- (a) lliug-i- ga- -a-a-
 HAPPY (NESS) I HAVE SOMETHING STRANGE
 5 6 7 8
 avataa samna (1) nipka-ga - te-aq-ma-gu
 TO THE SIDE DOWN THERE
 9 10 11 12
 ya-ga-a i- ya a-lu- gi- ga q'-ni-gi- ga
 SOMETHING-STRANGE I SEE
 13 14 15 16
 a-ga-i- ya avanun-qa- a- ja a-ga- i
 WAY OVER THERE
 17 18 19 20
 a- ja- a a-jai ya i a-jai-a a-ya- ya

21 22 23 24
 a-ja- ya- a-ya-ya- a a-ya- al-ya- ya-
 25 26 27 28
 a-yai-ya i-ya- i-ya a-ja- ya- i
 29 30 31 32
 a-ja ya- a a-ja- ya- a i-ya- al-
 33
 ya

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A POINT HOPE ESKIMO DANCE-SONG OF THE ATUUTIPIAQ CATEGORY:

"HOW I WISH TO CATCH FIVE WHALES!"

The topic of this dance-song reflects how whaling is still an important means of subsistence for Alaskan coastal Eskimos. It also reflects the fact that a lesser number of whales is being caught than in former times, and that the whalers sometimes operate far from home. The song concludes with the statement that success in whaling will be celebrated in an appropriate manner. Not only the song-words but also the dance-motions of atuutipiaq relate strongly to hunting and fishing activities, arm-motions resembling paddling, rowing, the diving of sea mammals, etc., being common. The term for Point Hope, tikigagmunqaima, reminds us that this village is located on a narrow strip of land protruding out into the ocean, for the first part of this word means index finger.

The song is a long 29 bars, with a vocal range of an 11th (high C to low G). The rhythm is an interesting 5/8, with the main drum-beats on the 1st and 3rd units, plus a light tap of the rim on the 5th unit. The extended ending on D is common when the melody is based on the melodic pattern GEDCAG.

Certain words are prolonged with vocables, on which the usual glottal and diaphragmatic pulsation is heard: bars 5-6, 13-14, and 23-24. There is terminal syllable prolongation at bars 9-10, and 17-18, with initial syllable prolongation in bars 1-2. Unlike many other Point Hope melodies, there is little repetition of musical phrases, but this tune possesses its own logic: note how the melody at bar 3 is echoed at bar 7 by being inverted and played higher.

p. 64 blank

A POINT HOPE ESKIMO DANCE-SONG OF THE ATUUPIAQ CATEGORY;

"HOW I WISH TO CATCH FIVE WHALES!"

M.M. ♩ = 264 Transposition: nil

DEAL

1 unison 2 3 4

Qa- a- a- a- qanu- glu-u-ga-tuug is-u-ma-la- a-
HOW I WISH TO CATCH

drum

5 6 7 8

ja- a- a- a- ag- va-a-glu- ja tal-li-ma-a-
WHALES FIVE

9 10 11 12

ni- i- i- i- ik a- ai- ya u-ti- gu- mau-
I CAN RETURN SO

13 14 15 16

ja- a- a- a- a- ya- ya- a- nunam-nu- ni-im-
TO MY LAND

17 18 19 20

ja- a- a- a- a- i- ya cikig- ag-mu- u
POINT HOPE

21 22 23 24

ya-a- i- ya agru-a- 'mik a- a-ga-a ag-
LARGE AMOUNT (OF DRINK)

25 26 27 28

a-ya- ya a- ya yat-ya ai-

29

ya- ya

A POINT HOPE ESKIMO DANCE-SONG OF THE ATUUTIPIAQ CATEGORY:
"TWO MINERS FROZE"

M.M. ♩ = 78

DFAS

Transposition: minor 2nd up

1 2 3 4
5 unison
A- yal-a- i yal ya- a- i a im- mag- gu- uq
IT WAS TOLD
drum

5 6 7 8
agguqsut- gu- u- uq main- MINERS
THEY ARRIVED

9 10 11 12
agguqsu- u- ut uvuqa-qa- i-ma-an tikf-
THEY CAME THEY CAME TO THIS PLACE

13 14 15 16
gagmuqa- i- ma mal- gu- kfi- piaq qu-u-u-qui-
POINT HOPE F I F T

17 18 19 20
ti-t-ñik sip-palik 1- ya-ga- a- ga ya-
MOREORLESS

21 22 23 24
a- ga mal-gu-uk ta-uq qiu- mlv-lu-ttik
TWO FROZE

25 26
maat-na-ki- aq
WHAT A SHAME!

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A POINT HOPE ESKIMO DANCE-SONG OF THE ATUUTIPIAQ CATEGORY:

"TWO MINERS FROZE"

This dance-song opens with a term traditionally used for relating an incident from the past, immagguuq, it was told; it then goes on to tell how, of fifty miners who came to Point Hope during the gold rush, two froze to death. The song ends with a term traditionally used to close the telling of a surprising or historical incident, maatnakiaq, how about that, but here can be interpreted as: what a shame! The creation of a song with such a topic reflects Eskimo world-view of the transitory nature of past White ventures in Eskimo territory, also of the Whites' lack of Arctic survival skills. The song also illustrates the ancient Eskimo way of counting: malgukipiaq means in sequences of ten'. The song provides an example of how loan-words enter the vocabulary: mainnalguuq derives from the English word, miners.

The song is a long 26 bars, with a large vocal range (high C to low G). It is in 6/8 time with the drum beating the two main pulses in each bar, but the interpolation of a soft rim-tap halfway between these two main pulses means that, in many places where the syllables occur in groups of three (bars 5, 9, 11, 12, 16, 17), three-against-two is heard.

The singer commences with a 'warm-up' phrase in vocables, a custom which has been remarked upon by Koranda (1973:1). Vocables also occupy three bars in the center of the song, at bars 19-21. Initial syllable prolongation occurs at bar 16, and terminal syllable prolongation occurs at bars 6-7, and 9-10. The extended ending on D is common where the melody has a GEDCAG base.

There is mainly a one-to-one relationship between the syllables and the musical units, but this is flexible. For instance, both single notes and duplets are used for the musical setting of the following:

naii (a pluralizer)
 ,,,

daa (final syllable of k'inohdaa, they turn around)

k'i (first syllable of k'ineekhojyaa , they're gonna come back)

jyaa (final syllable of the above word)

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AN ATHABASCAN INDIAN PROPRIETORY SONG
 FROM ARCTIC VILLAGE, IN THE DI'HAI Gwich'in LANGUAGE
 ,,,

This proprietary song composed in 1945 by Susan Peter of Arctic Village, was collected from Katherine Peter in Fairbanks on October 16, 1973. It is in the di'h_{ai} Gwich'in branch of the Athabascan language family, of which there are ten major branches within the borders of the State of Alaska. Di'h_{ai} Gwich'in is that branch which is furthest west.

The 'making' of Athabascan songs for special reasons has been discussed by Olson (1968:85); the family ownership of Athabascan songs has been discussed by Osgood (1937:122). Katherine Peter states that the composition of this song was prompted by the prolonged absence of many males that were away on war duty; her mother-in-law had thought for three years about making such a song, in the hope that its performance would "bring the boys back". This does not imply that it is a magical song. Osgood has described how, among the Tanana (an Athabascan group), "special songs are sung to bring good luck" (1937:122).

The song is in a regular 2/4 meter and consists of two almost identical 10-bar sections. The melodic pattern is pentatonic (5-tone) and generally descends from an initial peak of G to a cadential nadir of C. An interesting melodic variant occurs in the 15th bar, where low G replaces low A.

AN ATHAPASCAN INDIAN PROPRIETORY SONG FROM ARCTIC VILLAGE,
IN THE di'hajj Gwich'in LANGUAGE

M.M. ♩-98 Transposition: minor 2nd up

zhuk choo-jil najj na-jj nail nail
THERE THEY WENT OUT (PLURALIZER)

-a-ko' k'i-noh- -a-a k'i-noh- daa
NOW THEY TURN AROUND

i - tee hi - drr dhi- il-ghwajj gwin-yaa
NOW HITLER HE WAS KILLED I HEAR IT

ak - 9'-shoo haa k'i-i-nee- koo -
NOW HAPPINESS WITH IT THEY'RE GONNA COME BACK

-jya-a k'i- -ne-e-kho - jyaa
THEY'RE GONNA COME BACK

ak - 9' shoo haa fa-ni- lee oh-t'an
NOW HAPPINESS WITH IT CLAP YOUR HANDS YOU(plural)

PREPARING TEACHERS FOR THE CROSS-CULTURAL CLASSROOM

Judith Kleinfeld
Institute for Social, Economic, and Government Research
Center for Northern Educational Research

This paper presents a rationale and a description of a course designed to prepare teachers for the cross-cultural classroom. This course differs from the traditional focus of anthropology and education courses on cultural differences. It focuses instead on fundamental learning principles and how the application of these principles in a cross-cultural classroom requires taking into account cultural differences and also other factors relevant to the background and educational history of the particular student group.

Courses designed for cross-cultural teacher preparation usually reflect the scholarly tradition of the "anthropology and education" sub-field of anthropology. Anthropology as a discipline is concerned with such subjects as cultural differences between Indian, Eskimo, and White groups, for example, differences in value orientations or differences in styles of socialization.

The lack of conspicuous success of this approach in suggesting better teaching methods has recently led to a questioning of the value of this theoretical perspective. As Ianni and Storey¹ point out in the preface to their 1973 textbook, Cultural Relevance and Educational Issues,

How the child of "Z" tribe learns and is taught is not always relevant to contemporary American educations. School children who are "culturally" different, on the other hand, are not in every case best understood as

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alien, as being so different as to be more remnants of obscure tribal histories than as American citizens, or as mysteries only an anthropologist can fathom (1).

My own research on characteristics of effective and ineffective teachers of Indian and Eskimo students suggests that the traditional focus on cultural differences in anthropology and education courses may not only fail to suggest educational solutions but also add to the problems.² The "sophisticate" teacher who emerges from these courses is often so concerned with cultural differences that he places Indian and Eskimo students in a special category where they are exempt from standards and demands made on other students. Deviant behavior among Indian and Eskimo students may be viewed as an expression of their culture which the teacher should be very hesitant to change. For example, one teacher described the case of a Native girl who stole money from the teacher's purse and took things from the desks of other students in the class. The teacher viewed this behavior as an expression of traditional cultural values of sharing and communal ownership. She felt that if she interfered with this behavior she might be destroying the child's culture.

Another problem with the traditional focus on cultural differences in preparing cross-cultural teachers is that it can so easily lead to a preoccupation with interesting cultural detail and draw attention away from fundamental principles of education.

1

F. A. Ianni and E. Storey, Cultural Relevance and Educational Issues; Readings in Anthropology and Education Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1973, x, ,i.

2

J. S. Kleinfeld, Effective Teachers of Indian and Eskimo Students, Fairbanks: Institute of Social, Economic, and Government Research, Center for Northern Educational Research, 1972.

It is important to take cultural differences into account in designing education but, I would like to suggest that cultural differences are important in the second stage. The fundamental learning principle is likely to be the same for both cultural groups; the application of this principle may be different depending on many factors--background, prior educational experiences which makes the particular group of children in the classroom unique. To use a very obvious example in bilingual education, where the need for cultural adaptation is quite clear, the fundamental learning principle may be that children generally learn better when taught in a familiar language that they understand. Applying this general principle to the specific situation, it is evident that for bilingual Eskimo children, this language is Eskimo and for monolingual white children, this language is English. To use a perhaps less obvious example in the area of classroom climate, the fundamental learning principal may be that children generally learn better when taught in a relaxed, non-threatening classroom atmosphere. For village Indian and Eskimo students, the typical atmosphere of an urban classroom, where the teacher is impersonal and the white students derisive, may be more threatening than to urban white students. Thus, in an integrated urban classroom, it is especially important for the teacher to know how to establish a friendly classroom climate.

In sum, the more productive focus in terms of cross-cultural teacher preparation may be to reverse the traditional emphasis of the anthropology and education course and ask not "What are the cultural differences and how can educational methods be adapted to them?" But rather "What are the fundamental principles important in accomplishing a particular educational goal and how should these principles be expressed in a classroom situation in view

of particular cultural differences? "

At present, I am in the process of designing a course for cross-cultural teachers which reflects this emphasis. The course begins with an analysis of representative teaching styles presented on videotapes. The students analyze the videotaped teacher's behavior in terms of such categories as non-verbal communication style, verbal communication, relevance of lessons, and unintended messages that the teacher is communicating to students.

Following these videotaped analyses, a central educational concept is presented and how this concept can be adapted to different types of cross-cultural teaching situations. The students then prepare and present to the class for analysis a mini-lesson demonstrating the concept. The concepts presented include:

1. Establishing a positive socio-emotional climate in the classroom: Use of non-verbal communication.
2. Adapting verbal communication to the learning style of different classroom groups: Vocabulary and sentence structure.
3. Designing lessons which take advantage of differing cognitive abilities: Use of visuals to increase learning among students with high perceptual abilities.
4. Constructing relevant lessons: Cultural differences and cultural commonalities.

I have experimented with these types of lessons in university courses and in-service education. Generally, students grasp the concepts on an abstract, verbal level quite well but have difficulty in constructing mini-lessons that apply the concept in teaching. Students have special difficulty with the final examination which consists of teaching a short lesson expressing several

concepts and developing a lesson plan explaining the rationale for the instructional behavior chosen. We hope to gain more experience in presenting this material and then evaluate to what extent, if any, this approach cross-cultural teaching preparation improves teacher behavior in the classroom.

NEEDS AND RESOURCES

Barbara Knachman
Barbara Doak
U.S. Public Health Service
Anchorage, Alaska

We should first state the source of the opinions about Alaskan education which are to follow. We are psychologists working for the U.S.P.H.S., Division of Indian Health. Since we have been in Alaska (8 years for one, 5 for the other) we have spent a good share of our time in classrooms. We have spent at least a week's time in each of some 40 to 50 small village schools, plus a continuing contact with the larger school systems of Nome, Dillingham, and St. Mary's. We have worked as consultants to the teachers in these schools and have collected both a considerable amount of normative data about test performance and academic achievement and a lot of personal experience. We will not burden you here with the normative data. Everyone knows Esquimos are as often dumb and as often smart as anyone else and that people educated in a foreign language lag behind for a while in academic achievement. We think what has happened to us is like what happens to most outsiders coming to Alaska - we doubt that we have taught anybody much or "helped" many people - but we have learned a lot. Alaska is a great educator, or at least it is a great former of opinions. We should like to list some observations which have impressed us by their frequency and intensity - and to talk about the inferences we draw from them.

They turn out to be mainly a list of bad things because the bad things need talking about and changing. This does not

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by any means mean that we don't see any good things. Quite to the contrary, we have seen many evidences that education in Alaska is a lot better than education in the large urban areas in the rest of the United States. Two circumstances guarantee that. (1) The numbers: in education even more than in most things small is good - big is bad. Few Alaskan Native students are subjected to the depersonalized mass production education most city kids experience today, where personal acquaintance between student and teacher is a rarity. (2) The percentage of enthusiastic, devoted teachers is exceptionally high in Alaska because in recent years a teaching job here has become a prized assignment. The bad things include the following:

- the prevalence of inferior materials
- teachers' underestimate of the language problem
- teacher turnover
- the misappliance of fashions in education
- the importance of numbers
- the consequences of social promotion

1. The schools are, while lacking some essential materials, often crammed full of junk materials: plastic toys and gadgets, commercial gimmicks, materials which by their "canned" quality deprive children of opportunities for ingenuity, which by their flimsiness are an incitement to destructiveness, and books which in their content promote the cheapest and most tasteless values of the TV culture. In ecology, sanitation, religion, nutrition, mental health, human relationships, and a raft of other areas it is becoming evident to people on the forefront of the white culture that the values which they lost a long time ago were in vital respects better than the ones which have replaced them. It is a tragic irony that the schools and the commercial world are persuading the Esquimos to give up the good old and take on the inferior new just as the whites are realizing their mistake.

It is, for example, a special affront to teach poor art to a people who have a great art, far worse than giving a mediocre literature to those who have none at all. But there are some worthwhile products of other cultures; and the Esquimos student deserves to be exposed to the best - not the worst.

2. There are large discrepancies between students English vocabularies and their teacher's estimates of them. Inexperienced teachers, and particularly ones who have not studied a foreign language themselves, tend to assume that a child who can carry on a passable social conversation can also understand what is being said in the classroom. Closer examination frequently reveals that the child has a very small supply of phrases in common use around the daily routines of school, play, store, etc. and an additional supply of nouns. Verbs, prepositions, and other more esoteric items which are crucial to making any sense out of school work may be extremely scanty. The teacher - misjudging the degree to which he is being understood - may spend his best efforts in vain and then decide that his students are dumb or just not interested in learning when in fact they may simply be bored because they don't understand the words.

3. The average length of stay of a teacher in a village school seems to be about two years - with a distribution made up of many one year people and a few who remain for decades. Both of these are bad arrangements. In one year's time a new teacher is only beginning to understand the school and community and get some mastery of techniques which work and some control over his floundering. Even a more experienced and settled teacher who moves to a new village can find himself faced with a floundering school because his arrival has resulted in total discontinuity of educational philosophy, school organization and interpersonal relationships.

A new teacher can be absorbed into a larger school relatively easily whereas a new teaching couple, especially a new principal teacher, in a two or four or even six teacher school frequently results in a total reorganization of the school (with repercussions throughout the village) which leaves the students confused and helpless. As many excellent teachers have reported, the first six months are lost as far as the students' academic learning is concerned.

For the younger children this time span is even more inadequate. Unless a child has already been well connected with learning; with habits of curiosity and the capacity to get pleasure out of discovering and mastering in his family before he starts school his chances of ever becoming self-propelling in school depends upon his having a personal connection with a teacher. It must be a connection which persists over a long enough time for him to move from learning from compulsion to learning for love (to please the teacher and get her approval) to learning for himself because it is in itself exciting. This takes more than a year when you start off with a bewildered and defensive teacher who is a stranger speaking a foreign language.

The obvious remedy to these two problems are native teachers- who speak the language of their students and who are probably more likely to stay in a community a while. It is not a good remedy, however, unless they are themselves broadly and deeply educated people- not the victims of the educational ills they are meant to cure.

4. There are a couple of issues which have to do with styles in educational philosophy where a misunderstanding or misapplication of a perhaps essentially good idea has damaged several years of a school program - and a couple of years in an important segment in the education of a child. It seems to us true that it is foolish to cling to a particular method or content or architectural style or

grouping of students, or anything else for its own sake - out of habit - when it does not produce the desired result. But change merely for the sake of change, and the application of a new style or method mindlessly, without attending to what result it is supposed to produce is equally foolish. Thus the compulsive adherence to grade placements, curriculum sequences and buildings with unnecessary walls has in some instances been replaced by an equally compulsive adherence to chaos, confusion and wallless buildings. We refer, of course, to the open-classroom movement. A one room school works fine if your total enrollment is ten or twelve, but not if it is several hundred. Flexible use of teachers, resources and space takes great ingenuity and lengthy, careful planning as well as attention to the differing needs and capacities and levels of development of different students. In some places students are shackled to bumbling confusion and incessant noise in the name of freedom.

5. We have seen a relatively untrained aide and the simplest of methods and materials making tangible progress where esoteric methods and complicated materials in the hands of specialists failed - because the aide worked with a single student, or two or three. We are convinced that low student-teacher ratio is the best special-education technique to be had, and in the long run no more expensive than other methods.

Unfortunately, however, the numbers game works the other way. Funding is tied to high enrollment, and this fact, teamed up with the idea that no one should be denied an education - no matter how worthless it is, how little he wants it or how ill equipped he is to absorb it - results in bad programs driving good ones out of existence - and good, academically rigorous programs doing themselves in by abandoning selectivity in favor of open admissions.

6. We have seen a thousand kids more or less - who were social-promoted. We have seen them a few years later, still going through the motions of class attendance without understanding much of what was going on. We have seen them starting high school pretending to understand for a while, and then pretending they didn't care and weren't interested - getting drunk, cutting classes, cutting wrists, and getting to go home - for the wrong reasons. We have seen them taking college courses still unable to write a coherent paragraph. We have seen highschool and college teachers who cling to a grading system, but make it meaningless by refusing to give any low grades, allowing students to get by without understanding the material. We have seen adults on job - still having to pretend; being humiliated because of their failures or bored because their lack of understanding robs the job of meaningfulness.

We think that this long sequence of events is the worst thing that is wrong with native education - (and we are aware it is not peculiar to Alaska but one of the many respects on which Alaska reflects the problems of the rest of the world in a miniature of exceptional clarity.) It makes the whole educational process phoney. It becomes a going through a ceremony - a routine - because it is expected - or because it has some presumed relation to earning a living - not because you want to learn something. We do not think grades or classes or certifications or degrees or similar ways of categorizing are important. Education can take place with them or without them. But they are bad when they are false. Each of these pieces of phoniness is committed by people who think they are being kind and compassionate, when in reality they are evading the primary responsibilities of education. What greater expression of contempt is there than to treat someone like a child whom you allow to win at a make-believe game? What is more cruel than to shove a person

further along, still unequipped with the skills he needs in order to do anything effective in the world or to enjoy any of its complexities. Because we don't want anyone to be mad at us we rob people of an education.

We have come, as the result of our own Alaskan education, to some beliefs that apply anywhere, not just to Alaska: that education should not be compulsory beyond the first few grades that give a child a taste - a thirst - for it; what its aim should be to teach people to think, to enable them to follow their curiosity, to acquaint them with the history of the human race so that they may see their own lives and worlds in a wider context; to enable them to do whatever they do superbly well - whether it is driving a honey bucket truck or practicing medicine.

We have seen some places in Alaska where such things are happening.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

THE STUDENT IN A BILINGUAL CLASSROOM

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ANALYSIS OF THE BILINGUAL CLASSROOM

1. THE STUDENT'S BACKGROUND AND EXPERIENCE.
2. THE STUDENT'S ATTITUDE TOWARD THE BILINGUAL CLASSROOM.
3. THE STUDENT'S ATTITUDE TOWARD THE BILINGUAL CLASSROOM AND THE STUDENT'S ATTITUDE TOWARD THE BILINGUAL CLASSROOM.

THE STUDENT'S ATTITUDE TOWARD THE BILINGUAL CLASSROOM AND THE STUDENT'S ATTITUDE TOWARD THE BILINGUAL CLASSROOM.

Some of us here have just been exposed to a language that may not sound familiar. At this very moment children in many schools in North America are being "educated" in an environment where perhaps the surroundings are unfamiliar and the language of instruction is one which the child cannot readily respond to, due to lack of understanding. We can begin to appreciate what must go through a child's mind when a language such as English is super-imposed over his mother tongue and the child finds himself trying to cope with the patterns, rhythm, grammar

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and so on that make up the English Language. Both Alaska and the Canadian North are taking a serious look at bilingual education, education in the language of the child in the primary grades, with very good reason. It seems only logical that when a child comes to school, having been exposed to six years or more of his mother tongue, that basic concepts be introduced to him in a language which he will readily relate to, and which will enable him to build a firmer education foundation. This will hopefully enable him to progress further in his education than would have been have been possible if he were educated initially in a language other than his own. In my very limited travels in Alaska I have been fortunate enough to have had the opportunity to observe a number of the bilingual schools and classrooms in operation. I find it heartwarming to see children reacting spontaneously in a classroom situation with complete understanding of what the teacher is saying to them. I find it heartwarming to look at the environment from the teacher's point of view, where there is no communication break-down. I find it equally as heartwarming to see certain concepts, which we consider primary concepts, being covered in Yupik, with the children grasping the concepts in their entirety, through the medium of their mother tongue. I shall sketch the background of the bilingual program in the primary grades of the Yupik bilingual schools. In grade one the child's language of instruction is Yupik, with a half-hour twice each day of English as a Second Language. In grade two the child continued to receive his instruction in Yupik, with two forty-five minute periods being dovoted each day to ESL. In grade three the language of instruction remains Yupik, with two one-hour sessions each day for ESL. The ESL portion of the day varies to some extent in length depending upon the local situation.

Most of the Yupik teachers involved in the Bilingual Program have had some training in basic literacy during the summer months, given by a team of linguists from the Eskimo Language Workshop at the University of Alaska in Fairbanks and by the Yupik instructor at Kuskokwim Community College, in Bethel. With the training given these people, they then enter the classroom and perform as regular teachers with a group of children. There can be no question as to the effectiveness of such a program with young children in the schools. However, we must also look at the grass-roots of daily programming and teaching in the broad sense of the word. In a learning environment, such as we have in the Yupik bilingual schools, we have the children learning basic concepts in the primary grades in their mother tongue. We have at the same time English as a Second Language program for the children, for a certain part of the day.

Firstly, I'd like to look at the Yupik instruction in the classroom. As I mentioned earlier, basic concepts are being covered with the children. To support the teachers in their programming, the Eskimo Language Workshop, a division of the Center for Northern Education, here at the University of Alaska, is continuously developing materials relevant to the curriculum of the primary grades. These materials are used to introduce, reinforce, and broaden a child's perspective of the concepts to which he is introduced. Materials preparation is an ongoing process, one which cannot stop at any point, due to the continuous need for more varied, and comprehensive information on the part of the children.

If we look at the Yupik programs we see that we have materials to complement the programming, we have teachers who

speak the language of the children, and we have the children learning in an environment which is that much more familiar to them.

The one area which requires some work yet, would be the area of training in methodology. Many of the Yupik teachers went through a schooling system which today we might term "traditional", some might call it "passé", and using what they have been conditioned to through their schooling, many of them are now using similar methods in the Yupik Language Program. This is understandable in the light of the fact that (a) for many teachers these methods are the sole methods that they are in any way familiar with and (b) some qualified teachers, qualified in the academic sense, are using methods very similar to what we have already termed "traditional forms". In my travels through the schools where bilingual programs are in operation, I have seen a great need for the Yupik teachers to be exposed to such very basic concepts as sand tables, water tables, interest centers, and a curriculum frame, in which programming can be developed, and in which programming can function.

I see the need for a sequential learning process to be reinforced with the teachers so that the steps, that lead from A to Z, however flexible they may be, can in some way be outlined for the teachers. By this I don't mean to imply that they require a "cook-book", however, some definite guidelines must be set down so that they, as teachers will feel more secure in developing the new learning environment. This security, will inevitably be imparted to the children. Among the Yupik teachers, there is a very strong sense of professionalism, a very strong sense of pride in the positions that they hold as educators in their communities. This is a feeling that has come across when imparting to them, new ideas, new concepts, methods which appear new and so on, in terms of practical application for their classrooms. Each school that

I visited was very well supplied with multi-media equipment. It was encouraging to see the effective use of video tape recorders, overhead transparencies, opaque projectors, audio cassettes, and other equipment used to enhance and develop concepts with the children.

As I mentioned earlier, the children have a certain portion of their day devoted to English as a Second Language. For a moment now, I'd like to look at the ESL program in the light of it's relevancy to the child's over-all programming during the day. The ESL teachers are usually people from the South. Some are familiar with ESL instruction while for others it's a new ballgame. It is interesting to note, that many of the needs prevalent among ESL teachers are also common to many of the Yupik teachers. The ESL teachers have a program upon which to model a portion of their ESL lessons. A great deal of work was devoted to the preparation of this program by Mrs. Bernadine Featherly, and the program has served a valuable purpose in giving new ESL teachers a foothold in programming their lessons. In all of the workshops held with the Yupik Language Teachers, the ESL teachers were included. It's vital that the ESL teachers and the Yupik language teachers work together as a team so that the hour, or whatever it may be of ESL, not be a separate entity from the rest of the child's programming. Certain facets of programming from the Yupik language part of the day can be and often should be, reflected in the ESL portion. For example, the concepts of a story may be covered in the Yupik Language with the children, and the concepts then can be carried over into the ESL Portion of the day so that the basic understanding of what happens in a given story has already been mastered. Language Structures should not

be transferred to the ESL lesson from the Yupik program, however concepts can be. The ESL teacher can then, build upon what the child already knows. This makes her role that much more effective, and that much more meaningful to the children. One aspect of our workshops which was very important for the ESL teachers was looking at one hour's ESL programming. How do you divide such a time period into meaningful segments of learning? Some teachers new at the ballgame of ESL were attempting to use one aspect of ESL, be it pattern practice, or whatever, for the entire hour. This unfortunately lead to a great deal of boredom, on the part of the children-restlessness, and frustration on the teacher's part. A part of the workshops which were held with teachers in the field was devoted to suggesting a flexible type of outline for the time which they find they have with the children of a given class for an ESL period. In many of the bilingual schools there is one ESL teacher, for each school. The classes in such schools move on a rotary basis to attend their ESL sessions. This seems to work very well as the ESL teacher has her materials, equipment and so on at close hand and she does not have to cart the ESL materials around with her to the various classrooms in the school.

Many of us have a dialectal form of English as our "standardized patterns." Often these dialectal variations are carried over into ESL situations, with interesting results. I recall one teacher, teaching a pattern practice lesson in ESL in the Northwest Territories. As his mother tongue was Danish and the pattern he was attempting to reinforce was; "This is a chair", which in his model came out as "Zis iza share" and the children in perfect unison were modeling "Zis iza share", which is interesting in the sense that the children were reinforcing English with Danish-slang

overtones. We also in one school, where the children had in three successive years an English teacher, and Australian teacher, and a Polish teacher. From the English teacher they were using such patterns as "watah" and "chah" for water and chair, from the Australian teacher they were saying "like" for lake, from the Polish teacher they were using such forms as "Vicea-Presidenta." So, we see that the models given by the teacher can have some effect on the English patterns that the children produce.

Having travelled both throughout the NWT and to a far more limited extent (so far) in Alaska, it is interesting to note that the needs of many of the teachers, both Yupik and ESL, are identical to the needs of many teachers in the NWT. I found teachers in both areas to be very responsive to practical, concrete ideas, methods, etc. which they feel can be used with the children in their classes. I am very impressed in both areas with the overall sincerity of the teachers, the general enthusiasm for the development of a better learning situation, and the direction in which education seems to be going. I feel that "we" in Alaska have a great deal to learn from "us" in the NWT. I also feel that "we" in the NWT have a great deal to learn from "us" in Alaska. It is at seminars such as this where ideas, developments, and progress can be shared, compared and contrasted.

In this very terse form, I've outlined for you the bilingual programs in Alaska. I feel that there can be no question but that we are going in the right direction. Some polishing is required on the corners in some areas, but as I said earlier, to see children's faces light up with recognition, understanding, and relation to what is being said to them, outweighs and,

if any, criticisms of a bilingual program. I hope that the Northwest Territories, the Yukon, Alaska, and the remainder of North America will in the future work closer together in the acquisition of this common goal. In closing I would like to quote a wise guide on a hunting trip. When I commented upon how much I would have to learn about life on the land, he said to me, "Ilisaniaktogut atautsikuni." "Together, we will learn." Thank you.

THE WAY - AND WHY

Raymond Obomsawin
Advisory Director of Native Education
Yukon Territorial Government

I would like to begin my remarks with a poem, it talks about the great white man. It is found on page 37 of a Manitoba school textbook called "Pages from Canada's Story."

Who Calls?

Who calls?
The Red man, poor and sick,
He calls.
Who comes?
The White man, rich and strong,
He comes.
Who watches?
To see that pity reigns,
God watches.

My friends, it is this concept, this belief, this attitude that corrodes and poisons the great base of cross-cultural educational development. Yesterday's concept of the great white father must die if Native educational development would live.

Who here is not a believer in the theory of American democracy, which is based upon the premise that self-government is better than expert government? Integral to all true development whether social, economic, mental or spiritual is the inviolable principle of self-destiny. Deny any man the right to decide and determine and you have denied him the right to achieve and live.

Until we recognize and accept unbiasedly the basic human

right of the Native people to remain uncastrated of their peculiar socio-cultural and linguistic differences, and to develop a suitable philosophy and educational method entirely of their own choosing, we are perpetuating their failure.

Yes, the vested interest of the great army of Indian-Eskimo specialists, professional scholars, overstaffed bureaucratic Indian Departments, along with all other Native do-gooders, must recognize as their goal, the very self-destruction of their involvement, to be replaced by Native independence and self-sufficiency. This of course, is a long range objective. But let's be honest in reaching that goal, as soon as possible.

Out of a deep silence has come the voice of all Indians across Canada. The National Indian Brotherhood's policy paper Indian Control of Indian Education, has received official acceptance and recognition by the Canadian government. "It is a statement of the philosophy, goals, principles and directions which must form the foundation of any school program for Indian Children." It discusses thoroughly the broad areas of responsibility, programming, teachers and educational facilities, with the all essential principle of Indian control, its central theme.

If you would like some keen insights into Native educational thought and development, I highly recommend it's perusal. You can obtain copies from the N.I.B., 130 Albert Street, Suite 1610, Ottawa K1P 5G4.

Politically, its acceptance is applicable to all Canadian provinces. The N.W.T. and the Yukon are exceptions though, as officially both commissioners are still vested with full educational authority and have to date verbally committed themselves to its support.

The key behind all success or failure in cross cultural

education lies in this statement by the famed Canadian Educator Andre Renaud, "In all societies, the objectives of the educational process are the same: to equip the next generation with the ideas, beliefs, images, feelings, attitudes, values, skills, and behavior patterns which will make the children competent members of that society economically, socially, emotionally, spiritually. . ."

We have allowed stereotype misconceptions to blind our eyes to the importance of Native cultural retention. The white way has been judged the superior diet and in continual regurgitation the Native people have neared mental, social and spiritual starvation.

Is technological proficiency the ultimate preference and only measurement of a viable society? Is the Indian lifestyle with its socio-spiritual civilization, in harmony with nature and its maker, to be adjudged inferior to our present day materialism?

Sure technology is very valuable. It's great to travel and communicate so fast. However, I fearlessly assert that the Christian-like concepts and values of Indian life as portrayed in a true perspective of history are of far greater and lasting value and can be deemed the great need of mankind today.

To quote the education brief of the Yukon Native Brotherhood as given to the Yukon Territorial government:

"The fact that your education system has been a failure with Indian students is no matter of chance for we believe that the poor, unhappy lot of the Indian child is the product of your system that has little regard for their differences, way of life, traditions, culture, needs, or interests. Indian people esteem values of equality, generosity, independence, self-reliance, non-materialism, simplicity, respect for elders, traditions, respect

for personal freedom, non-competitiveness, wisdom, and living with nature. They feel strange in a society that values competition, material success, precision, being in authority, superiority and sophistication. Thus in school, this conflict of the Indian and white man culture confounds and puzzles Indian children making them silent, withdrawn, stifled, and eventually destroying their personality and motivation for learning. . .

Unless a child learns about the forces which shape him, the true history of his people, their values, customs, language, arts, crafts, music, and dance. . . he will never really know himself and his potential and will be useless to his people and any other people."

Here we must question ourselves. Is it our purpose to create white gentlemen out of Indians? Or are we here to foster Native cultural integrity with a mastery of the basic skills essential to the students chosen endeavor.

The only right answer is found in the poetry of a recent graduate from the Institute of American Indian Arts in Santa Fe:

"We shall learn all these devices the whiteman has.
We shall handle his tools for ourselves.
We shall master his machinery and his inventions,
his skills, his medicine, his planning.
But we'll retain our beauty
And still be Indian"

I would consider the following steps essential to meet the requirements of Native education in North America today. Of course, this list can hardly be considered exhaustive, for with unlimitable possibilities before it, cross cultural education today is merely in embryo, and with its growth will arise new concepts, ideas and needs.

1. Native teacher training programs
2. Native school counselors

3. Pre-school preparation programs similar to home and headstart
4. Cultural orientation for teachers of Native children
5. Culturally and linguistically suitable curriculum materials
6. Utilization of Native resource people as teachers of traditional knowledge
7. Revitalization of Native games for recreation needs
8. Conference workshops similar to this with more specific involvement with teachers of Native children
9. Formation of Indian education committees and complete representation on existing boards
10. Branch Native literature and cultural resource centers in all Native community schools
11. Native teacher associate (aide) programs
12. Culturally oriented rehabilitation programs for high school dropouts
13. Provision of funds for hiring consultation of Native education specialists
14. Adult literacy courses including conceptual orientation to ongoing school programs
15. Formation of experimental schools incorporating total Native concepts, culture and management

Mountains aren't moved in a few days -- likewise to obliterate decades of empty promises, omisive attitudes, backed by a guarded ignorance of Indian values and desires will take the proverbial blood, sweat and tears of an undivided commitment to a new and better policy of faith in the sacred principle of Native self-destiny.

LOCAL INPUT AND LOCAL CONTROL

Elaine Ramos
Administrative Director
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University of Alaska, Fairbanks

First of all, let me ask you a few questions:

1. What should be the educational programs for persons born into a non-dominant but encroached society?
2. What are the consequences of American and Canadian educational programs containing values of two or more cultures when some of the values are in disagreement?
3. What happens to the Natives of the north, the Indian and Eskimo who have lost their inherited culture?
4. What has happened to these people and what is happening today to these people that are caught up in conflicts of cultural diffusion?

We all talk about culture. My definition of "culture" refers to patterns of behaviour that are characteristic of a people, which are traditionally transmitted to the following generations. The transition includes indigenous skills, music, art, language, basketry, fishing, hunting, trapping, sewing, cooking, storytelling, and environmental conservation.

When I talk about Natives of the north, this term refers to the Eskimos and Indians of the North American continent - U.S.A.

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and Canada.

Now let's look at some clashing values of the non-Natives and the Natives of the north.

Non-Native	Indian, Eskimo
individual excellence, "getting ahead"	cooperative group interaction
deferred rewards - "if you get an education, you will . . .	more immediate satisfaction - immediate future more impor- tant than the long term
work is innately valued - "the devil makes use of idle time"	work and enjoyment of life go hand in hand
manipulate the environment to suit your own ends	adapt to and live with your environment
education is preparation for life	education and life are inseparable

These are only a few of the cultural differences and we must focus on differences, not similarities, because through recognition of differences of culture will come understanding and finally acceptance.

Once there is understanding and acceptance, true and valid communication can come about. The communication between parents and educators will bring about the local input we talk about, and perhaps finally local control.

For the last four or five years, we have heard from the

Natives for input. In 1969 at the U.S. Senate meeting here in Fairbanks, Margaret Nick of Bethel said:

"Some people say that a man without identity, if a man doesn't know who he is, he might as well be dead. This is why it's a must that we include our history and our culture in our schools before we've lost it all. We've lost too much already."

To this, I would like to add the time is now, for tomorrow it will be too late. The languages and culture are close to death in many places throughout Canada and Alaska and the rest of the United States. This is a critical time for the Indians and Eskimos. They know their needs; local input at this time is crucial.

At the 22nd Alaska Science Conference, Educational Needs of Alaska Natives, August 18, 1971, Adam John said:

"It is long past due for Natives to become involved in making policy for their children's education. The idea of Natives emerging as professionals poses a threat. Americans in the lower 48 have always enjoyed control over the type of education their children will receive. Our direction in the future must come from us."

At this same meeting, John Shively, now Executive Director of the Alaska Federation of Natives, stated:

"The key to the success of the Headstart Program is Ruralcap's reliance on local people to carry out the program. The local people have real policy-making powers and have done a good job of running the program. Local people tend to make better decisions than outside people for one very good reason - they have a vested interest in the program and they want the program to work."

These are some of the comments made by Harry E. Carter, past Executive Director of AFN:

"Although the development of our greatest renewable resource, people, is complicated and complex and expensive, it yields the highest returns. We are not merely asking for participation in this resource development; we are demanding it."

Some of the needs he listed in education, without regard to priority are:

1. Preparation of bilingual and bi-cultural curricula related to our people.
2. Adult education - to better understand the changing world and encourage their children to become educated.
3. Provision for more extensive counseling and guidance.
4. More exposure by exchange programs to cross-cultural societies.
5. Involvement of the recipient population through information of policy-making bodies.
6. Development of para-professional bilingual teacher aides of vertical and lateral expansion.

These are six of the fifteen needs Mr. Carter gave. I would like to take number one and six in regard to bilingual education. The "local input" we ask for tells us that incorporating the teaching of their Native language is one of their highest priorities. This is reflected in the comments of Native leaders throughout the United States and Canada. This is local input.

Yet no move has been made by the independent schools in Alaska to include bilingual education. The State-Operated Schools responsible for 125 schools mostly in rural Alaska have 30 bilingual programs: 14 Inupiat, 7 Yupik, 7 Athabascan, and 2 Aleut. (5,179)

The Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), after 88 years in the educational business, has 7 bilingual programs. The BIA is responsible for approximately 5,888 pupils, one boarding high school building (500) and one boarding elementary building (200), a total of 6,200.

Now to go back to number six of Mr. Carter's list of the development of para-professional teacher aides. Very little has been done by both the State-Operated School System and the Bureau of Indian Affairs to recruit and adequately train Natives as para-professional bilingual aides. In fact, in my opinion, the programs designed by these agencies are designed to fail.

On February, 1973, a proposal was submitted to the Alaska State-Operated School System by the Aleut League, Bering Straits Native Association, Bristol Bay Native Association, Copper River Native Association, Northwest Alaska Native Association, Southwest Alaska Native Association, and the Tanana Chiefs Conference titled An Expression of Children's Needs by People in Rural Alaska with Recommendations for Positive Change.

Their first recommendation was that the educational system in rural Alaska must be built around the life styles of the people. Concern is expressed in every report about the relationship between the school and the community. Different aspects of the relationship are addressed in different reports. In the Southwest Alaska Native Association report, the need for integration of home and the school is stressed:

"There has been no home-school continuity under the educational system. The children's development should include the Native way of life as it is; the school and the child's home are learning environments and should not be considered separate systems."

The Northwest Alaska Native Association report also gives evidence of the discontinuity between home and school and the results on the child and his parents of this discontinuity:

"There is little, if any, relationship between what is experienced in school to what happens at home. The child becomes confused because parents do not always know what to tell their children to expect. Experiences that the child has are not followed up in the homes because parents do not know. The parents, teacher aides, and older children should work together to help the child anticipate and follow through with the child's experience in order to reduce the child's confusion."

The feeling of parental impotence in cooperating with the school in children's education is explained in the Copper River report:

"School, after all, was for many parents, a limited experience and while many adults feel competent and confident in almost all areas of child-raising, these same parents feel uncertain and ill-prepared to help their children benefit fully from school and its constantly new and changing procedures."

In the Bristol Bay report, the school is perceived as implicitly representing one culture and the home as constituting another culture. The resulting cultural dichotomy is deplored:

"Culture refers to the artifacts of a society, its language, its dress, its customs, and its skills. Teachers say that culture cannot be taught in schools, that it should be taught in the home. But they teach their own culture in the schools. In fact, that is all they teach."

Recurring in all the reports are recommendations for fully incorporating the school into the community. It is emphasized

that in order for the incorporation of school into the community to be realized, the schools must truly reflect two cultures - that of the white man and urban technology and that of the villager and his native way of life. The desired result identified in each report is CHILDREN WHO ARE ABLE TO COPE WITH TWO CULTURES. Every report indicated the critical importance of bi-cultural curricula and bilingual instruction.

The second recommendation made by all the reports is the need for SELF-DETERMINATION OF THE RURAL PEOPLES OF ALASKA. It is stated clearly in the Tanana Chiefs Conference report:

"Village people want to be responsible for their children, and that responsibility must be returned to them."

The request for local input and local control continues.

THE ALASKA EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM
AND ITS EFFECT ON FAMILY DISINTEGRATION

Joseph E. Senungetuk
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There are many who feel that the current times are such that we have progressed in the area of education. Many indicators are indeed showing us that in Alaska the educational systems are more than ever before bringing more and more students into the world of economics, sciences and social adjustment in a positive and successful way.

There are people today at this conference who are saying this. I do not know for myself if this is the realistic approach. In studying Alaska Native History through my own meager research, I have found that there have been times in early Alaska history which might indicate to us the possibilities of viewing in total a picture of the thirties or forties where self-determination amongst some original Alaskans was a reality. And today there are no visible Native counterparts to the larger businesses and social organizations - how can we therefore say that there has been that much improvement in the educational fields if this is so? Institutional discrimination is a very hard thing to pinpoint as we in our program have learned just a year ago. I do not see today a unified voice as was once proclaimed at Barrow. This, I believe, was the actual beginning of the Alaska Federation of Natives which today is showing signs of wear and tear from having

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to deal with essentially non-Native ways of adversary-type compromising with the government and with its own internal affairs.

I am speaking about those few Barrowites who walked into the game warden's office after one of them had been arrested for hunting Eider ducks out of season. They showed unity and purpose by each taking an Eider duck and asking for public notice in determining who was right. The game warden and his rules were made for the hunter in California and other places where the migratory birds occasioned at the right times for those particular hunters.

In the area of local control which has been mentioned by other speakers in the forms of strategies, I would like to agree with them whole heartedly about the needs and reasons for developing local input. I would also like to add that this sort of thing has been my own personal set of goals for a long time.

I am talking about the experiences I have had. Or rather, that my own family has had in all of its various stages of "histories" in each time of adjustment or even simply a reaction to outside decisions affecting our lives.

Such things as age gaps develop and then threaten to do away with a Native family's sense of well being. In our family, we have experienced all those things which you hear about as statistics showing the lack of success in acculturation from Native to non-Native. We have been through suicide attempts, alcoholic tendencies, dropping out and other unsavory types of personal experiences related to what others may feel as "those other peoples' problems."

I could say these are happening now but I think there can be mentioned at this time a factor which bears a great deal of weight

in what I believe to be one of the influences in Native affairs which needs the most attention as far as creating self-determination or local control.

That is a very nebulous item which we often overlook due to attempting to justify all that is in the form of influence and accepted practices as done through the Western civilization way. An item which I hear spoken of as a Native heritage at times. Other times, it is alluded to when speaking of local control.

At any rate, it is something which is a definite part of what I started to say is greatly affecting my family. Fortunately our family fares a great deal better than some Native families. That is to say we have survived - all of us, and some can say that my family is on the winning side. That we are slowly finding our way through the harassment which causes so many to be so confused. We can find so many things to blame.

I have always fallen back on the things which my father believes in - those things which he picked up as a young man or maybe as a child. He received little formal training in how to find comfort in the world he lives in now. I find it different from mine but I also believe there is that heritage which only he and I and my children can resolve if we can do our own translating and make use of some "local control".

So much of what I feel are priorities - if they seem different from any who may feel that I am too oriented towards anti-establishment - stem from these mixed beginnings.

There is a definite entity which is not three-dimensional nor material which arises from this understanding of the importance of one's background and therefore his identity. Natives and non-Natives alike pretty much know about the importance of this heritage

association which has a way of providing a reason to exist, work, be creative and even make mistakes occasionally. This was said by Ramon Roubideaux, the Sioux attorney for the Wounded Knee incident Indians, in a very believable way. He was the primary speaker at the Special Training Institute Statewide Workshop held at Anchorage last July.

It is something which has been passed down for thousands of years and recently has undergone a lot of deterioration throughout the history of after-contact Native America. This also has started a lot of studies and research which has a purpose if there is going to be definite end results of those hours and years spent by the experts. But I also have been in many villages in Alaska in the past couple of years and come out feeling a deep sense of remorse for the amount of unproductive so-called scholarly involvement which people in the villages have unquestioningly accepted for so long. Today there are some villages which will not stand for this type of thing to the extent of disallowing any beneficial program without first being thoroughly satisfied that nobody will be exploited materially or culturally.

Such people are beginning to protect what is theirs and I myself now feel that it is a lot to protect. Whatever it is called - heritage, culture, background, self-identity, - some of it has been passed down to me and my father would probably not want me to casually discard it for whatever comforts I can afford by allowing myself to exploit my own, his, and my forefathers' sense of belonging to this world.

Yes, there is indeed a lot to protect and sometimes I wonder if I am doing it the proper way which is acceptable to them.

Thank you.

A MODEL FOR READING AND LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT
IN A CROSS-CULTURAL ENVIRONMENT

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The SPARC* Project was designed to supplement the basic language development program in 20 Alaska State Operated Schools.

The schools with which SPARC was involved are native village schools in the bush. SPARC was federally funded under ESEA Title I.

The Project focused on diagnostic-prescriptive individualized learning from kindergarden through grade six and was based on a semi-task analysis approach to the teaching of reading. Prescriptive materials centers were established in various areas of the state. A special education specialist directed each of the Centers and served as an itinerant diagnostic-prescriptive specialist to a number of villages in the immediate surroundings. Teachers in project schools were trained by the SPARC specialists to diagnose individual differences in perceptual and/or reading language skills, then develop an individualized learning program for each identified child.

Identified students were diagnosed by means of a very strenuous testing program. Teachers, aided by area specialists, administered a battery of tests which assessed individual achievement levels. These results were recorded on individual diagnostic recording instruments for organizational purposes. Each child's level was determined and recorded on a Skills Sheet. These sheets, as well as the recording instruments, are kept in the individual cumulative folders. Criterion reference testing was an important

* Supplemental Program for Achieving Reading Capabilities

aspect of the program.

The final comprehensive evaluation of the SPARC Project points up some very positive growth in the academic skills area in reading and language development. Gains in Intelligent Quotient of 4-16 points were averaged for all grades.

Prior to SPARC there had been no unified curriculum in reading and language for the A.S.O.S.S. Alaska native children have suffered in their education because of the lack of continuity in the developmental programs. Inadequate budgets prevented teachers from ordering assessment instruments which were necessary for placement of individual students. Valuable learning time was lost as each new teacher coming into a classroom attempted to assess the level at which each child was functioning. Previous teachers left little or no documentation to clearly indicate skills competency or skills deficiencies. Numerous special problems existed which required the assistance of a specialist, but no provisions had been made to meet those needs. Individualized program planning was almost impossible due to these problems and the lack of materials and equipment in the bush schools.

It was recognized by A.S.O.S.S. that the only way to provide adequate education for all children is through individualization. The SPARC Project model was developed to focus on the individual and to include these components:

1. An inservice training program for teachers which assists them to:
 - a. evaluate
 - b. utilize specialized materials
2. A support system composed of itinerant specialists who assist teachers in evaluating and planning programs for all children.

3. Seven Prescriptive Materials Centers (P.M.C.) housed specialized materials which assisted teachers in the correction of special problems.
4. An individual diagnosis of each identified child.
5. An individual program plan for each child.
6. Recording results of achievement on skills level sheets.
7. Teaching specific skills needed for mastery of the subject at each level.
8. A comprehensive evaluation which included both individual pupil achievement and program success.

The structure of the SPARC design was broad enough that individual teaching methods and techniques were encouraged, not suppressed. A variety of materials, as selected by each school, provided the means by which individualized programs could be carried out. The only small thread of continuity that existed, so far as a total reading/language curriculum was concerned included:

1. Diagnosis and individualized program planning for each Student.
2. Teaching specific reading and language skills.
3. Utilizing a recording instrument of reading skills for ongoing evaluation and program direction.
4. A comprehensive evaluation of students and program to determine the success of both.

One goal of the Division of Planning and Evaluation is to coordinate the development of an A.S.O.S.S. reading/language curriculum. The SPARC model produced such excellent results that numbers four through eight of the above SPARC components will be incorporated into the design of a model system upon which local curriculums may be developed. The Central Office will be actively supporting local efforts by supplying expertise during development when called upon to do so. Local budgets will have to be planned to include

testing or assessment materials, ample reading materials, and adequate equipment for individualization for program success.

Numbers two and three of the SPARC model have been incorporated into Special Education. That department will maintain area specialists and Prescriptive Materials Centers in various areas in the field. At this point many of the Title I programs have incorporated most or all of the SPARC model components.

PROFESSIONAL RESOURCE PERSONS
AND
THE NEW INTERCULTURALISTS

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Across the hall from each other, two classes were offered in the Cree Language three years ago at the University of Alberta. I want to compare those classes because the comparison exemplifies certain definitions of expertise that will be useful as I argue about the place of the professional expert in local projects.

The instructor in one of the classes was a woman who has devoted many years of her life to a kind of folk analysis of her language. She is to be credited for inspiring much interest in the language and working tirelessly to promote its use. She taught her class by herself.

In the opposite room a "model" Cree class was taking place. A team of two linguists and two Native speakers of Cree had constructed a pedagogical grammar. In class sessions the linguists would explain syntactic relationships and the Native speakers would enlarge upon those relationships with examples, and assist the students in perfecting their pronunciation. The input from the Native teachers was maximum and self-initiated.

The two classes used distinctly different material. The Cree woman used a series of booklets she herself had developed.

Revised:

Many people take offence at her material: in her introduction she notes that the Navajo are known all through the land as the Chipewyans, that Cree was introduced by the Jesuits, probably a reference to orthography, that Cree is the oldest language known to man, that the Iroquois are of French and Native blood and that the Chipewyans have not developed a tradition of oratory because their language is very hard to understand (Anderson, 1970). The presentation of her formal grammar is entirely idiosyncratic, an attempt at Latinate categorizations, with a bunch of extra stuff that doesn't fit put in at the end.

The linguists' grammar looks faultless. You might argue with the hierarchy of productivity of constructs that is implicit in it, but you can see that plenty of attention has been paid to the creation of such a hierarchy. The tests include the kind of "cultural" material that appeals to purists, and there is an attempt to introduce the students to the rich semantic nuances of Cree.

As a linguist I can find no level at which to evaluate Mrs. Anderson's grammar as anything but misleading, but as an observer unfettered by disciplinary constraints I want to acknowledge a deep respect for her and her ability as a teacher.

The two classes took their coffee breaks at about the same time. By eavesdropping I could tell that the one class had a fairly good grasp of such things as inalienable possession of body parts and kin (though none of them could have told you that his uncle broke his arm). I don't have a very good idea of what Mrs. Anderson's class talked about, because they spoke Cree. It happens that I have observed two teachers in Northern Alberta, each a veteran of one of those classes. One of them now teaches

in the Cree language, and the other is still trying to fit those grammatical categories into something he can call minimal competence.

I introduce my topic with reference to this anecdotal comparison because I think it illustrates a kind of dilemma we find ourselves in as we try to find the proper place for the professional resource person in the many community-based, action-oriented curriculum development projects in which we are involved.

Three broad categories of involvement might be termed social, administrative and technical. I am not going to comment upon their social involvement because it has been my experience that in the majority of cases both parties to the projects -- the professional and the community members -- learn a great deal from each other, respect each other, and usually produce together material of which they are proud, and a kind of spirit that potentiates more cooperative efforts and expectations of continually better material. But I would like to discuss the technical level of involvement and its implications for administration of local projects.

I want to discuss that involvement using examples from three areas of expertise: linguistics, history and curriculum development. In all three areas specialists usually have significant input into our curriculum development projects.

In all the specialist areas expertise is based on particular assumptions. The contribution of these specialists is solicited because of their knowledge of those assumptions and the applications that derive from them. A linguist would be hard pressed to justify his presence on a team if he did not have a good command of formal grammatical models; a historian would be at a loss without at least a working definition of the domain of

his discipline and an answer to the question of "What is history?"; and the curriculum development specialist must in the final analysis ask whether or not the material produced is pedagogically effective.

We often assume that it is the colleagues of the specialist who evaluate his competence. There are several levels of evaluation, of course. I think I give voice to a common intuition when I say that those basic assumptions of an expert's discipline get in the way of effective projects, and that the community is the most credible evaluator of competence at that level.

For example: (1) To my knowledge there has not been a real discussion among linguists as to the differences between pedagogical and analytic grammars. We have just assumed that we derive one from the other. That assumption is probably wrong. We might do better at analysis if we constructed pedagogical grammars first. (2) The preoccupation we show with heuristics in linguistics is good for the discipline. I don't know about that when it comes to manufacturing a primer in Cree. (3) The formal models of linguistics might exclude important considerations. Our traditional categorization of levels in linguistics means in many grammars that we defer systematic discussions of semantics to last. But you might find when you talk to a man who has thought a great deal about his language that the first thing he wants to make clear is that there are four categories one might call mega-domains, that they cut across syntactic categories, and across what we have traditionally thought of as semantic domains. I don't know how a linguist is going to account for that basic insight as anything but peripheral to his analysis. (4) Finally, we have the case of the Cree teachers whose students had a clear explication of a

grammatical model, and some good ideas about linguistic universals and markedness of pronouns in Cree, but could not speak it. The expertise of the linguists was not enough - in fact, it got in the way.

There are as good examples from history. We are just embarking on a project in Alberta that shows a lot of promise. The Departments of History and Anthropology are cooperating with the Alberta Indian Education Centre to train Native historians. It promises real benefit to both communities, because it gives the academic community access to data in a different conceptual scheme, and it gives the native community training, status and a vehicle for expression. But I can already see a kind of difficulty when it comes to the definition of the purview of the domain, history. What is history to one party becomes legend or allegory or moral tale -- or worse, trivial -- at the hands of another. The historians may not understand in their definitions of accuracy, just what a series of permutations in the re-telling of an event by the same raconteur might mean.

The professional educator commits the same kind of error. A basic assumption of the curriculum developer is how children learn. Two years ago a psychologist went to a Cree reserve at the request of the school committee. His first exercise was to test yet again to determine whether or not a different learning style had been obtained amongst the Indian students. He decided that serial order recall was quite different from the white population's and looking at his testing instrument one can see why. There are several word combinations in his tests that to an English-speaking person are minimal pairs, but to a Cree-speaking person, or one who speaks the dialect of English from that reserve, are homophonous (see Das, 1972).

It is this kind of experience that makes a member of a local school committee tell me last week that the linguists ought to be kicked off the reserve. I appreciate the sentiment, but I can't share it. There is too much use to be made of the professional resource person. An example from linguistics might illustrate.

At the Stoney Reserve in Morely, Alberta, there is an active project in the Stoney language. There was a need there for an orthography that was more suitable than the syllabics, adapted from Cree, or the Roman system. It had been customary among some of the people to use the Roman letter "n" after a vowel to indicate nasalization of that vowel -- a reasonable device for French. The linguist can demonstrate that to do that for Stoney is ambiguous; some environments produce orthographic representation with four possible phonetic readings as in all meaningful Stoney speech streams (personal communication, Warren Harbeck). The technical ability of the linguist to argue against the French precedent was important. The decision by the people to accept the argument demonstrated its validity. Another Stoney reserve, requesting similar funding, is told to use the larger reserve's material. It will take the documentation of the linguist of a dialect difference -- something acknowledged on the two reserves since some lost time -- to justify increased funding for two projects.

But this value of the expert is as technician. In this day of local control and relevant curriculum that is the only role of the professional resource person.

Unfortunately, that is not the role he has assumed. There is a kind of hedging on the part of experts as to their role. Aoki describes the "devolution" in the control of education

on an Alberta reserve, and his statement as to the expert's place is that once the project is working well the expert can leave the project in the hands of the community. The three reports on education in the Canadian North published this spring are models for local control, yet the hand of the expert in administration of the program is very heavy.

In local projects, usually some members of a community express an interest in taking advantage of the current amenability of governments and foundations to participate in, for example, making a locally relevant curriculum. The response to the request usually signals the first appearance of the professional resource person who is usually given the job of translating the desires of the locality, as expressed to him, into a proposal for funding.

The project is organized. Even though the resource person may not name himself director, coordinator or facilitator, the importance accorded the professional is commensurate with his vision of his contribution, which is usually seen as crucial and significant. That almost invariably translates itself into some aspect of administration of the project.

At two levels, the expert has already become something more than a technician. It is his statement of the project that defines it, and he administers it. More often than not he or his colleagues evaluate it.

I am not going to propose a formula for the formal organization of all community-based educational projects, but I don't think we can talk about a community base or cultural base if the issue we speak to is defined by the outside expert-technician, administered by him and evaluated by him, even if

the incentive, rationale and footwork are focused in the community.

And if the expert does not do these things, who does?

I am going to refer to some intercultural work done outside the field of Native education for some answers.

As ~~the~~ director of the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) Paul Gerin-Lajoie has had to face similar problems with a variety of cultures and in spheres as complex as education. In a continuing essay titled "Thoughts on International Development" he makes the point that development (read "education") is not an export product, but a cooperative effort, and demonstrates how failure to realize that has resulted in "solutions" that in fact add to social problems. That should sound familiar to anyone involved in Indian education.

Considerably later on in his discussion he states:

If we accept that a new set of relationships is being forged between nations (read "cultures") as a result of the flow of development assistance, then it follows that the requirements for those who help manage these relationships are also changing, or need to change. It is no longer the traditional diplomat, or even the more recent model of a political scientist or economist, who dominates the international scene. [Gerin-Lajoie might as well be talking about the people I have called professional experts] . . . We need specialists in such fields as education, agriculture, forestry and so on; we need generalists who may be economists or experienced administrators. But in addition, these people must be:

-- evaluators . . . of needs . . . and capabilities to supply those needs.

- brokers who can neatly match those capabilities against those needs.
- managers who can supervise the different states of implementation.
- cooperators who know how to work in a spirit of true partnership.
- persuaders who can by knowledge and argument influence decisions made in multilateral organizations (Gerin-Lajoie, 1971).

Gerin-Lajoie names this new professional "the new internationalist." I am going to suggest that what we need and to some measure possess, is the "new interculturalist."

This new professional is essentially a translator and facilitator, an expert who brings the technical expertise to bear on the local situation in just the measure of its applicability as defined by that locality. In those projects which are truly "local" you can probably identify this new interculturalist, because he will likely be there. There is already a body of young Native people who know enough about the various disciplines that contribute to local projects that they can take on the job of administration and evaluation of the competence of experts, in light of the statements of goals made by the community. I think we should acknowledge that position and train for it.

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NORTHERN CROSS-CULTURAL EDUCATION: UNIVERSITY PROJECTS

BEING A NATIVE AND BECOMING A TEACHER
IN THE
ALASKA RURAL TEACHER TRAINING CORPS

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In the following paper I will attempt to reconstruct the conceptual evolution of a program for the training of Alaskan native teachers. I will describe the first two years of the program's development, focusing on those aspects that reflect consideration of the unique cultural environment in which the program operates. I address these issues from the perspective of an academic coordinator for the program since its inception. My formal training is in anthropology and education. To the extent that a native point of view is expressed in this paper, it is a product of my interpretation of that view as a non-native, and should be judged accordingly. "Native" is used here to refer to descendants of all the indigenous peoples of Alaska.

BACKGROUND

The program, known as the Alaska Rural Teacher Training Corps (or ARTTC), was established in 1970 as a four-year experimental program with a number of vague purposes, one of which was the training of native elementary school teachers. The original proposal specified that the training would be primarily field-centered (that is, two out of three semesters coursework per year would be delivered out to the villages), and that it would meet the usual requirements for a Bachelor of Education degree. Under a somewhat ambiguous administrative arrangement involving two universities and the State-operated school system, three staff persons

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(one representing each of the above) were hired and charged with implementing the program. Eleven training sites were established in rural native communities around the State and each was assigned a team of four to eight students and a full-time certificated team leader. Thirty freshmen-level students were recruited from the local communities and another thirty junior-level students were recruited statewide. Due to a limited number of native students with two years of college training available at the time, half of the junior-level students selected were non-native. Beginning then, a typical team had three native freshmen students, most of whom had not completed high school, and three juniors, one or two of whom were non-native, along with an experienced teacher as a team leader. The total group included a nearly balanced distribution of male and female members, an age range from 18 to 48 with a median of 26, and a mixture of five distinct native ethnic groups.

With this as the "raw material", we (the three program staff and eleven team leaders) set out to produce teachers. We began to plan for a six week orientation program that was to prepare everyone for the years ahead. As we proceeded, however, we gradually realized it was not going to be simply a matter of applying the latest teacher training techniques to this particular group of individuals, thus producing a new breed of teacher for rural Alaska. With this realization, we found it necessary to step back and ask ourselves some basic questions:

1. Why train natives to be teachers?
2. What is a "native" teacher?
3. How do you train "native" teachers?

WHY TRAIN NATIVES TO BE TEACHERS?

Our initial response to the question, "Why train native teachers?" was to point out that nearly every recent study and report on native education in the country recommended such action. In addition, there was the political pressure from the natives themselves to become a part of the action. But that didn't answer the basic question, "Why?" It soon became obvious that we were moving into relatively uncharted territory and the only landmarks we could see were a few untested assumptions, such as:

1. A native teacher will be better able to assess and respond to the needs of a native child. This assumption presumes that similarities in language and cultural background between teacher and child will improve communication and thus, foster greater mutual understanding and learning.
2. A native teacher will provide a model of success in the native community and that native persons will aspire to teaching positions. It also presumes that a native teacher will achieve status in the eyes of the native community.
3. A native teacher will serve as a community leader and help bridge the gulf between the native community and the "outside" society. An inherent danger in this assumption is that the "bridge" provided by the teacher, native or non-native, may allow for one-way traffic only - away from the native community.

Since these remained as untested assumptions due to an insufficient sampling pool of native teachers, we had to explore

another question, "Why have so few natives become teachers in the past?" On the basis of our own training and experience, we were unwilling to accept any notion of "inferior ability" on the part of the native, so the easiest answer to the question was to blame "the system." Only a few native students were coming to the universities for an education, fewer were enrolling in teacher training, fewer yet were completing a four-year degree program, and of those who did complete a teacher training program, only a small number returned to a native community to teach. But blaming the system was not getting at the real answer to the question either. So again, we had to postulate some ideas through which we could determine how best to proceed with a program that was supposed to resolve this particular problem. Our assumptions were:

1. The university campus does not provide a satisfactory learning environment for students whose cultural background is significantly different from that out of which the university system emerged. Coming to the university is a one-way street for most native students. A successful campus experience requires familiarity with and adherence to a wide range of socio-cultural patterns, many of which are not compatible with the attitudinal and behavioral skills required for survival in the village. Thus, a person who learns to survive on campus may find he is no longer satisfied with, or acceptable to, his home community. The transformation of an individual's interests and outlook during four years of college is further complicated by the unprecedented changes in life styles existent in the villages themselves, resulting in even greater potential incompatibility.

2. The teacher training curriculum is largely unsuited to the needs of students desiring to teach in rural native communities. While it could be argued that this assumption applies to teacher training in general, the problem is most acute for those who wish to teach in a physical and cultural environment that is divergent from the uni-dimensional, ethnocentric model around which most teacher training programs are designed. Contemporary teacher training curriculum places a great deal of emphasis on preparing the teacher to assess and provide for "individual differences." Students are saturated with a psychological perspective of learning and teaching derived largely from the study of individuals and small groups within Western society. While such training may be useful, and even necessary, it does not provide an adequate perspective for assessing and responding to the needs of children in rural native communities. Their individual needs can be adequately assessed only within the context of the broader social and cultural environment within which they exist.

Assuming the, that native teachers would provide a unique and desirable service to rural native communities, and that the detachment of the campus experience and the inadequacy of the teacher training curriculum were partially responsible for the limited number of such persons, we now had a rationale and some points of departure from which to proceed on our evolutionary journey.

WHAT IS A "NATIVE" TEACHER?

We did not proceed far, however, before we realized that in order to develop and operate a teacher training program we had to have some idea of what the end product would be, or at least a

direction in which we had to have some idea of what the end product would be, or at least a direction in which to move. We had an alternative to the campus setting, in that the program would be largely field-centered, but we could not develop an alternative curriculum until we had some idea of the kind of teacher we were looking for. We could have taken the traditional teacher training curriculum and delivered it to the students in the field, on the assumption that such an approach would at least succeed in placing some natives in the teaching profession. But this approach would not capitalize on the unique strengths the students might possess as natives. Worse yet, it might even destroy some of those strengths.

On the other hand, we could deviate from the traditional curriculum by defining the teachers' role in terms of "competencies" and judge the students' teaching ability on the basis of "performance criteria". In this way we would at least have some flexibility in defining the end product. But defining the competencies required for a "native" teacher proved to be an elusive endeavor, for no prototype existed. The handful of teachers of native descent in the State had all gone through a traditional teacher training program. In addition, no one prototype of a teacher, native or otherwise, could possibly satisfy the diverse cultural and educational needs of the rural native communities. We, therefore, abandoned a strict "competency-based" approach.

We knew, from the limited literature on the subject (primarily Collier), that subtle differences between native and non-native "teachers" in their relationships with native children appear to have a significant impact on the response of the children, even though the materials presented and the learning environments are otherwise similar. The differences are reflected largely in non-verbal behavior

and derive primarily from differences in prior experience and particular attitudes and values. One of our major concerns then, was to avoid destroying those characteristics inherent in the native person's attitude and behavior that might provide them with the margin of success as a teacher. Although avoiding the negative may not be as desirable as accentuating the positive, we could at least now state that the program would attempt to protect and nurture the intrinsic qualities that the students brought with them. But we were no further along in explicating those qualities.

We were also aware that the institution of "schooling" and thus, the role of "teacher" as we know it today, were once alien notions in the rural communities, introduced to the native people within this century by outsiders who only vaguely understood or anticipated the consequences of their action. While "education" was viewed primarily as an informal and life-long process prior to the arrival of schools in rural Alaska, it has since become synonymous with those activities that occur within the large, brightly-lit building on the hill, and is further restricted to six hours a day, 180 days a year. Consequently, the parents and children in the remotest community in Alaska have developed expectations regarding the role of "teacher" similar to those held in any other community where a school, a classroom full of children, and a teacher exist. If we, therefore, presumed to be capable of developing a new definition of the teacher's role to suit the unique cultural background of a particular native group or person, we would first have to convince the parents and children that the new role was designed to better meet their particular needs, and then we would have to convince the school system that it should modify its design to accommodate the changed role. We did not consider it within our ability or power

to accomplish any of the above three tasks.

Any effort to define the native teacher's role in the context of a specific cultural background was further constrained by the desire on the part of the students themselves to be prepared to teach, not only in a rural Alaskan native community, but in any school in the country where an Alaskan teaching certificate is an acceptable license to teach. They did not want a second-rate education. We resolved, therefore, that the best judges of what constitutes a native teacher would be the students we were about to train, so the most logical course of action was to obtain their assistance in the development of the program. In that way, we could help the students define their role as we went along. Maybe in the end then we would have some basis for determining whether a native could be a native and a teacher too. Consequently, what follows is as much the product of student thought and effort as it is that of the program staff.

HOW DO YOU TRAIN "NATIVE" TEACHERS?

With a few assumptions in hand to serve as guidelines, a basic framework within which to work, a vague direction in which to move, and a group of enthusiastic students to lead us, we ventured forth on our journey. Following a brief getting acquainted and settling in period out in the field sites, all the students and staff came together for an intensive six-week orientation and work session. It was during this session that the essence of the program evolved. By living and working in confined quarters over an extended period and coping with a variety of social pressures and emotional issues, the members of the group developed a bond of friendship and a commitment to common purpose that has enabled many of them to survive subsequent pressures and adjustments that might otherwise have ended in defeat.

The individuals from each field site, including the team leader, began to work together, gradually forming a closely knit working team, in which the whole became more than the sum of its parts. Team members assisted each other in their work and openly exchanged ideas and opinions to their mutual benefit. Native and non-native students viewed each other as equals and began to explore their similarities and differences. Natives from different ethnic backgrounds within the State discovered they could learn much from each other. They learned how to communicate and understand each other's views through direct experience. Once established, this interaction process carried over on their return to the field sites. The native students learned how to cope with "the system" from the non-native students, who in turn, learned how to cope with village life from the native students. The mutual support generated by the team spirit also contributed to the success of many students in coping with the campus environment during subsequent summer sessions.

Following the return of the students to the field, we discovered that one of our earlier assumptions could use a corollary: The native community does not provide a satisfactory learning environment for students whose cultural background is significantly different from that of the native community. The non-native students, who comprised one-fourth of our student population, were responsible for nearly one-half of our drop-outs during the first year. They were experiencing the same problems of adjustment of the native community that native students experience coming on campus. Most of the non-native students were sympathetic, anti-establishment types who saw the program as a way to get around the established system while they solved the problems of native education. But when they had to confront the realities of existence in a physical and cultural environment

unfamiliar to them, many found themselves unprepared, and experienced varying degrees of cultural shock. Their behavior followed a pattern in which the initial zeal and eagerness to right the wrongs of past generations gradually gave way to reality. As they became aware of the demands of day-to-day survival in the village and the immense complexity of the task they were undertaking, they began to withdraw and attack the training program for not providing them with the skills they needed to make good their intentions. With the realization that their survival was now dependent on their individual willingness to endure the psychological trauma of adjustment to a new cultural milieu, the willy-nillies began separating themselves from the confirmed liberals. Those students who survived this stage of the ordeal, gradually established close ties with their fellow team members and became strong advocates for the native community.

A major factor contributing to the circumstances described above, was the field-centered nature of the program. But while this approach created some adjustment problems for the non-native students, it provided numerous advantages for the native students, and for the program as a whole. The delivery of the training to the rural native communities permitted the native students to control the effect of the learning experience by allowing them to encounter it on their own ground and on their own terms. With the help of fellow team members, including the team leader, the students approached their coursework as a cooperative enterprise. When a student had difficulties with a particular assignment, or went into a general slump, someone was close at hand to help him out. Also, the students did not feel threatened by the instructors (who were sometimes 1500 miles away) or a large classroom environment, so they did not hesitate to provide feedback to the instructors regarding the courses they were receiving. Nearly

all of the instructors who have worked with the program have commented favorable on the quality of work and degree of interest shown by the students in the coursework.

The most significant consequence of the field-centered approach was that it permitted the native students to maintain contact with their own community. Their relationships in the community were often strengthened and several students moved into leadership positions as they developed their abilities to understand and deal with community and school problems. Although the native students were developing many skills and ideas of non-native origin, they were learning and changing within the context of the community, so that no major discontinuity was experienced. Changes within the students and within the communities were continually belnded through cohabitation, thus allowing for compatibility of interests and role as their new life styles evolved.

The same process applied to the native students' experiences in the schools. They gradually worked their way into the classrooms and assumed a variety of roles, sometimes adapting to the situation, other times adapting the situation to themselves. In this way each student was able to define and carve out his own role as a native teacher in the school and community.

CURRICULUM

So far I have focused my discussion on two particular structural elements of the training program, namely the team concept and the field-centered approach. What about the curriculum? What were the sutdents doing, and what were they supposed to be learning during their stay in the program. In the development of the training experience in the program, our concern was focused on the totality of the students' experience--not just the particular courses they would take. Thus, curriculum must be viewed in its broadest sense, as en-

compassing context, process and content. In that sense, the team concept and field-centered approach were integral parts of the curriculum.

The context was the community, within which the school was viewed as one element in the total educational experience of each child. The students spent nearly all of the first year living, working and studying out in the community. The training program attempted to capitalize on the resources available to the students through activities that brought the students in direct contact with the realities they would face as teachers.

Within this context, the students learned through an experiential process-- that is, they came to understand the world around them and their role in it through direct experience. They learned how a community operates by living in and studying their own community. They learned how a child grows by interacting with and observing real children. They learned how to teach by teaching. They learned how to learn, from each other as a team.

On top of all this, we had the curriculum content. This could be partially summarized by running down the course list on a student's transcript. But the course titles cannot adequately portray the learning experiences associated with each course, particularly those offered in the field. The field courses were drawn primarily from the social sciences, the humanities, and education, since these could be most easily adapted to, and capitalize on the field setting. So a course that appeared on the transcript as "Anthropological Field Methods" included, inherent within the course activities, a variety of concomitant learning experiences not necessarily represented in the course outline. For example:

1. The students prepared a detailed map and household directory showing all the buildings in their respective communities and listing the residents by age and level of schooling. This brought them in contact with everyone in the community through a purposeful activity, and resulted in a document that was useful to many people in the school and community, not to mention the specific field method skills the students acquired in the process. This activity placed emphasis on the participant-observer's role, with the native and non-native students sharing their observations from an "insider" and "outsider" perspective. Each activity was preceded by background reading and discussion, and followed by analysis and write-up.
2. The students prepared and conducted open-ended and structured interviews, focusing the questions on an education-related issue that was of immediate concern to themselves or to some element of the school or community. In this way they provided a useful service while gaining experience in interviewing techniques.
3. The students constructed and administered a questionnaire to a sampling of students, teachers, and parents, obtaining information regarding their attitudes on certain school-related issues. They compiled and analyzed the data, and made comparisons to determine the similarities and differences in the three sets of responses. In addition to learning about sampling, and the strengths and weaknesses of questionnaires as community regarding the issues and were able to better understand some of the problems they would face as teachers.

4. Each student selected an informant from the community and prepared a "life history", focusing attention on the educational development of the individual. This activity stimulated dialogue between the students and other members of the community, and gave the students some perspective on the processes of cultural transmission, culture change, and acculturation, all of which are highly significant processes for teachers to understand in contemporary Alaska.

5. The students at each site were provided with film, cameras, and a complete set of darkroom equipment, and trained in the use of photography as a research technique. Each team prepared a photo essay of their community, including a photographic overview, incidents of social interaction, a survey of the technology evident in the community, and a pictorial summary of their own activities as a team. These albums were then brought to the campus during the summer and shared with their fellow students from other teams. This enlarged their perspective on the diversity of cultures and environments existent within their own State.

6. Finally, all of the above information, along with a variety of additional data, were compiled and reported in the form of a community study. The information contained in these reports was of subsequent use to the students, and in several cases, accomplished useful purposes for others. For example, the household directory compiled by the students in one community was instrumental in convincing the U.S. Census Bureau that they had made a 40% error in the official 1970 census conducted the same year. In a community of 500 actual population, an error of this magnitude can result in

drastic misappropriation of critical funds and services that are allocated on a percapita basis. Such results can stimulate a great deal of motivation and interest on the part of the community as well as the students.

I do not wish to imply that all courses were as able to capitalize on the resources of the field setting as the one I have described. Indeed, numerous courses were simply re-runs of the same courses as taught on campus. To the extent, however, that the instructors were familiar with the field setting and able to adapt their course to that setting, they usually did so. The most successful courses, from the students' point of view, were those that engaged them in meaningful thought and activities. But success was not necessarily dependent on the relevance of course content to the field setting. It was usually dependent on the sensitivity and creativity of the instructor.

If one reviewed the transcripts of the students who have participated in the ARTTC program he would find that the discipline most frequently represented (not including "education") would be that of anthropology. While this may be in part, a reflection of the educational background of those of us responsible for the academic component of the program, it did not occur without purpose of reasoning. If the students were to eventually overcome the ethnocentric confines of the existing educational system, and see beyond the usual narrow definition of concepts such as "schooling" and "teaching", they would have to develop a perspective that transcends cultural boundaries and provides a wholistic and adaptive framework for assessing needs and resolving problems. For that perspective we looked to the content and method of anthropology. We employed the concept of culture in its many and varied manifestations, as

a means to help the students better assess and respond to the needs of the children they were preparing to teach. We used the methods of anthropology to guide us in the development and implementation of the program design. In a sense then, the program became an exercise in applied anthropology, not because it was involved in the training of "natives", but because anthropology provided the conceptual and methodological framework through which the program evolved.

During the summer of 1972, twenty-one students graduated from the ARTTC program. Ten of these were natives, who were now also teachers. These ten alone, nearly tripled the number of native teachers in rural Alaska at the time. One year after graduation, three of the ten native graduates and eight of the non-native graduates were still teaching in elementary school classrooms. Of the remaining seven native graduates, six were directing or working with non-school-related education programs, and one was resting.

By the end of summer, 1974, we will have graduated another twenty-four students, twenty-two of whom will be "native teachers". They will join the ranks of the approximately 900 rural teachers in the State and begin making their contribution, along with their earlier teammates, to the improvement of education for the children of rural Alaska. The significance of that contribution will not be known for several generations.

WHAT HAVE WE LEARNED?

Since the program was intended to be experimental in nature, we have taken advantage of the rare opportunity to do a lot of experimenting. The whole program has, in effect, been an experiment in the techniques of survival in a bureaucratic society. We have experimented with alternative models in teacher education. We have experimented

with different approaches to the delivery of academic coursework. We have experimented with a variety of conceptual frameworks for viewing the process of education. And we have experimented with peoples lives, to the extent that we have ventured forth with them into the unknown.

So what have we learned from it all. In effect, we have learned most of what I have presented above. While we may have had vague notions about what we wanted to do in the beginning, we had no detailed, premeditated plan or preconceived model from which to work. Since we were unable to find a suitable training model elsewhere, and we did not want to force the students into a potentially inappropriate model of our own making, we decided to use a process approach and let the program evolve. What I have described above as the program then, is what we have learned, through a process of evolution.

We also have learned that the single most important characteristic that program personnel most possess, if such an approach is to succeed, is a high tolerance for ambiguity. Many persons find it difficult to cope with uncertainty and to proceed with little more than intuition and instinct as guides. They seek structure or closure on a matter before all the dimensions have adequately evolved. Under contemporary pressures for accountability and related demands for the delineation of specific objectives and the development of flow charts in pursuit of explicit end products, it is indeed, difficult to survive on a creed that declares, "We will know where we are going when we get there." So far, we have learned enough about what we are doing and where we are going, in time to satisfy our own needs for direction and to meet the challenges of each step along the way. If we had tried to anticipate in the beginning all that we

know now, we would have been overwhelmed and given up long ago. Our perspective has been broad in space, but narrow in time.

We have learned many other things since we started our journey that have implications for what we are trying to do. Since some of these are still vague and undocumented notions, and others are fundamental questions that may not be resolvable, I will present a few of them in brief, summary form here, as points of departure for future discussion.

We have learned that it is difficult to be a native and a teacher too. Many aspects of the two positions are incompatible and the demands of the role are enormous. On the one hand, as a native he is expected to represent the communities interest in the school. On the other hand, as a teacher, he is expected to represent the school's interest in the community. Until the function and format of the school is compatible with the needs and cultural milieu of the community, compromise is inevitable for the native teacher. The adaptation is usually in the direction of the school, for it is difficult to significantly change the role of the teacher in the context of a conventional school environment. So the native teacher faces a Catch 22 - the more effective he is as a teacher, the less effective he may become as a native, and the more effective the school becomes in its overall influence on the children. Our concern then, is that placing native teachers in the schools may not significantly improve the education of native children, if the design of the institution itself does not change. But who is to change it, and in what direction?

We have also learned that our program may not really be training "teachers" after all. Six months into their first year of

teaching, we brought the first group of graduates back together at a meeting to find out how they were doing in their hard-won profession. They related a variety of concerns, particularly in reference to the day-to-day routine of teaching. They did not feel adequately prepared to cope with such teaching responsibilities as lesson planning and classroom management. The consensus of the group was that they were frustrated as teachers in the schools, because they had been prepared as "educators". They felt more like general practitioners than specialists. Consequently, most of them left the schools and took up practice in other types of educational programs. Our tendency, at this point, is to view this outcome as a success than as a failure.

Finally, we have learned that the literature in education, as well as anthropology, is often of limited use in our program. Almost all of the literature normally used to help prepare teachers for work with cultural minorities assumes that the teacher will be from outside the culture. From the native students point of view, the literature is "culturally deprived". While such issues as familiarity with the cultural background of the children, or ability to communicate effectively, are major issues in the one context, they become secondary in the other. In most of the literature, the natives usually find themselves as the objects of study. In an effort of break down some of the stereotypes embodied in the anthropological literature, we have focused our studies on groups and institutions in Western society. So now the native students are taking on the role of anthropologist and studying the primitive society of the school. We compensate for the lack of appropriate literature by generating our own.

These are only highlights of what we have done and have

learned over the past few years. We intend to continue learning, from our successes as well as failures, because we have only scratched the surface in our efforts to release the vast human potential embodied in the native people of Alaska. While mankind is taking giant leaps to the moon, man is still taking painfully small steps toward improving his condition in this remote corner of the earth.

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I wish to gratefully acknowledge the patience and forbearance of all the students and team leaders who participated in the Alaska Rural Teacher Training corps during those first two tumultuous years. Their contributions in thought and effort permeate all that is presented in this paper. And a special thanks to former university coordinators, Pat Dubbs and Doug Rider, and the program director Mick Murphy, for their personal commitment to make it all happen. Additional information regarding the operational design of the ARTTC program may be obtained by writing D.M. Murphy, Director, Alaska Rural Teacher Training Corps, Alaska State Operated Schools, 650 International Airport Rd., Anchorage, Alaska 99502.

CULTURE AND CAREER: COMMUNITY FOR EDUCATION

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Introduction

During the past eight to ten years education at Sheldon Jackson College has shifted to a theme of: culture and careers. This paper is basically descriptive in that it describes current college programs as well as some which are being considered. Hopefully the reader will find the paper not only informative but most of all provocative. The paper presents SJC's program under the following headings: 1) Culture and Native Study Programs, 2) Career Programs (specifically related to Alaska with specific value for Alaska Natives), 3) Teacher Aide Education Program, 4) Mt. Edgecumbe Employee Extension Program, 5) Dental Assistant Program, 6) Foreign Study Program, and 7) Cooperative and Consortium Programs (relationships with other Institutions -- Public Safety Academy, Alaska Methodist University, University of Alaska, Sitka Community College, Alaska Native Brotherhood, Alaska Federation of Natives, and Alaska Rural Teacher Training Corps).

Culture and Native Study Programs

In the mid-sixties it was apparent that Native Language and Culture had been ignored or minimized to the detriment of both natives and non-natives. In 1968 a grant was submitted and awarded by the Danforth Foundation to SJC to begin the teaching of Tlingit language. Mr. A.P. Johnson, a Tlingit Indian with outstanding

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culture training and experience, was hired to teach the new class and begin collecting oral traditions. A continued interest in the native languages and culture grew out of this effort and resulted in the First Tlingit Language Workshop in the Summer of 1971. The workshops have continued each year since then. A Haida Workshop was added in 1972. Mrs. Elaine Ramos, Vice-President of SJC for Institutional Development, was the one individual most responsible for promoting and directing these workshops. The primary aim of these workshops is to train native language teachers and to develop material for the teaching of the language. This rapid development over the past few years would not have been possible without the expertise, encouragement, and support of Dr. Michael Krauss from the University of Alaska, Mr. Richard Dauenhauer, from Alaska Methodist University, and Mrs. Nora Florendo. Limited funds have restricted the development of the program. Other interested individuals have been working independently in Southeast Alaska to teach the language and culture and to produce material. The annual workshop provides an opportunity for coordinating these efforts, programs and materials. At the present time, Mr. Henry Davis is teaching Tlingit Language at SJC and, with his wife, is producing material for language and culture courses. Mr. A. P. Johnson continues to teach Tlingit Culture, Tlingit Art, and Metal Art with emphasis on native designs. Immediate plans call for the reopening of a shop for additional programs in the native crafts. Future plans call for the inclusion of seminars and classes in Eskimo languages and culture to meet the needs of SJC's many Eskimo students.

The student body of Sheldon Jackson College is very diverse. All the various ethnic and geographic areas of Alaska are represented plus students from the lower 48 states and from around

the world. We believe that an emphasis on cultural study can put this diversity to use by helping students assess and value their own culture and heritage enabling them to come to a deeper sense of personal identity.

Career Programs

The college is becoming increasingly aware that career programs with specific goals or "pay-off" may be beneficial to all students and perhaps most helpful to native students. Without the motivation provided by a goal it is difficult, if not impossible to study. Lack of motivation is often due to lack of direction. The goals and value of career programs are more clearly apparent to the student. This is demonstrated by our experience with students involved in the Dental Assistant Program where the curriculum and study is directly involved in a specific goal or job. In 1968 a conference was held in which individuals from a variety of occupations within the state were invited. The participants were asked to assist the college in developing curricula which was especially relevant to Alaska. A major conclusion was that SJ was ideally situated to make a major contribution in the areas of fisheries and forestry. Subsequently, in 1968-69 these two programs were established at the College. The implications and value of these areas of study to the land claims settlement is apparent. We have discussed the further development of programs in fishery research, fish farming, and land management with various professionals and interested lay individuals.

Teacher Aide Education Program

The education curriculum at the College was developed on the recommendation of college planners and a Native Education Conference held in late 1960. Related to the need for native teachers was the specific need in Southeast Alaska for Teacher Aides, particu-

larly if they could be recruited from within the local native community.

Early in 1970 an Indian Educator, Mr. William Demmert, asked SJ to help him train teacher aides. Mr. Demmert, who recently received his Ph.D. from Harvard, was at that time superintendent of schools at Craig. He had developed a comprehensive in-service training program for his aides but was seeking ways to accomplish an in-service program which would also permit the aides to earn college credit and increase the prospect of some of them obtaining degrees. Mr. Don MacKinnon, superintendent of Hoonah Schools, was facing a similar problem. In the fall of 1970 both of these men were absent from their respective districts, but the groundwork was laid to develop the program. In February 1971 a Teacher Aide Extension Program was initiated in Craig and expanded to Hoonah, Petersburg and Kake during the next two years. In each case the courses were taught by staff from Sheldon Jackson College who flew to the communities for weekend classes. The program was supported by federal funds obtained by the local communities.

Independently the University of Alaska and Alaska Methodist University were also developing a similar program to enable students to obtain a B.A. degree primarily through a field education program. The approaches of our program and ARTTC (Alaska Rural Teacher Training Corps) are different but it would appear that the best from both approaches might be considered in future programs to develop teachers from the pool of untapped but able native individuals within the communities.

It should be noted that the emphasis on this type of education is somewhat different than the normal on-campus education program. We believe it is more effective because of the direct incorporation of theory and practice. An aide is taught math so she can

improve her own skills but she is also guided in how to teach it. We encourage the rotation of aides to various positions within the school so she can put into practice what she is learning. With the exception of the Foundations in Education course most of the courses have this double edged effect.

This program is meeting the needs of people who otherwise would be trapped by such circumstances as household responsibility and child care. Many of the individuals are older than the average college student and have a different -- and perhaps more realistic -- perspective of life. They desire an opportunity for further education but cannot travel to college or other post high school training due to family responsibilities. Even the short summer sessions are difficult for many because fishing and other summer activities keep them home.

Taking education to the people is one of the brighter hopes for future education of all kinds. People recruited for these positions have a better understanding and appreciation of the culture, dynamics and communication systems of the community. Courses we offer in the village are open to high school seniors (for college credit) and other adults in the community. The value of this program extends much deeper than the direct benefit to the aide. Native students have generally not been as well prepared for college as their non-native counterparts. This is not surprising as many, if not most, native students attend schools where non-native teachers predominate. Non-native teachers often accept teaching positions in a village for a short period of time. No matter how genuine or sincere these teachers may be, years of this kind of experience and teacher-student relationship has had a detrimental effect on the students. Now, for the first time in

Southeast Alaska, a relatively large number of natives will have an influence on classroom instruction.

During 1972-73 Sheldon Jackson wrote proposals to obtain funds to expand the Teacher Aide program to all Southeast Alaska communities. Mrs. Elaine Ramos and Mr. Ed Scholz worked diligently on the formal applications and presentations to several different departments of H.E.W.* The proposals were granted and Sheldon Jackson College is now operating a Teacher Aid Extension Program, under the direction of Dr. David K. Binau, in 14 communities with more than 100 participating. We believe this program will increase the number of educational personnel in the classrooms of Southeast Alaska with special skills and ability to communicate with Indian students. At the present time we anticipate that seven students from the original programs will graduate this Spring with A.A. degrees. (two-year program)

It is important to note that this approach to education has side benefits or satellite possibilities. Language and culture courses are being encouraged and promoted in each community through this program. A full-time culture and language specialist, one of the teacher aide staff, visits the various locations to coordinate efforts and share resource materials. Teacher aide students will also receive counseling from SJC personnel. Career exploration for the aides and other interested individuals in the community is being developed.

The program has several distinct advantages: 1) family people who cannot leave the village for study may participate, 2) educational goals are relatively short-term, 3) classroom theory is readily tried in the field -- immediate positive results improve motivation, 4) costs are lower because students live at home except for the short term summer courses.

* Health, Education and Welfare, Office of Education, Washington, D.C.

During the first two and a half years in which the program operated the cost per student per semester was between \$200-300. At the present time there are 105 students involved in the program who will receive 24 to 28 semester credits per individual at an average individual cost of slightly less than \$2,000 per year per individual. Additional material describing the program, the curriculum and listing the communities involved are included in the appendices.

Dental Assistants Training Program

During 1971-72, initial discussions were held to explore a cooperative program for Dental Assistant Trainees for natives at the Public Health Service Hospital at Mt. Edgecumbe and Sheldon Jackson College. These efforts resulted in a joint educational program. Recently the college received word that the American Dental Association has accredited the program.

Thirteen girls began the program in the fall of 1972 and ten completed the program in the spring and received certificates. This is a much better retention rate than in the past. In 1973-74 there are 13 students. Further exploration has been made to determine the possibility of extending this to a two-year program. The primary value of the present cooperation is that first the students obtain college credit for their courses; and secondly are able to take some regular college courses and have the opportunity to live in a college community and participate in all of its activities.

For information on the Mt. Edgecumbe Employee Extension Program, Foreign Study Program and Cooperative Consortium Programs, please write Charles C. Bovee, Ed.D., and David K. Binau, Ph.D., Sheldon Jackson College, Sitka, Alaska.

Instructional Approaches

Much of the preceding material describes programs. The development of new programs often carries with it new or varying instructional approaches. SJC has become increasingly aware that changes need to be made in instructional approaches in traditional as well as non-traditional educational settings. For several years the Faculty of SJC has had Faculty Workshops each spring to evaluate and discuss instructional approaches. We are convinced that instruction does need to be individualized. We struggle under some handicaps in Alaska since computer facilities might normally aid in this direction. SJC experimented for two years with a computer program hoping to develop some educational programming to include with it. The cost was too great and it had to be dropped.

A Learning Center has been developed where reading skills, individualized study, independent study, and tutorial assistance can be obtained. The Learning Center was established in 1971-72 with Title III grant for developing institutions. Title III funds provided a National Teaching Fellow and material and equipment for the reading program, plus vocabulary, math and programmed learning machines, as well as equipment which uses cassettes and filmstrips for instruction. A tape and cassette collection for listening exploration on many topics is included. A Language Master is used for individual study in the SJC Language Department. It has been especially helpful in the Tlingit Language where there is no commercially available material. One of the most beneficial aspects of the Learning Center is its informal, relaxed atmosphere. Students feel free to visit the center to read, study or discuss a problem with the staff. The staff at their own expense have provided coffee, Russian tea, hot chocolate and other snacks.

We believe that a sense of community is equally important. In fact in our May Workshops there has been as much time discussing this aspect of developing the institution as the academic aspect. We have been fortunate to be involved with the Alaska Federation of Natives in a Special Services and Upward Bound Program. This effort combined with the work of the student personnel program increases the sense of community.

In reviewing the past few years, it is apparent that Sheldon Jackson College has been attempting to clarify its focus and establish a current relevancy. The College has been willing to experiment and even fail in order to establish such relevancy. Programs such as forestry, fisheries, and business administration have sharpened the College's focus.

The factor which typifies Sheldon Jackson College's development is a desire to serve and a willingness to change in order to serve new ideas.

Unfortunately, the crux of any educational experience, the quality and quantity of the interpersonal relationships between students and faculty, students and administrator, cannot be adequately evaluated in written reports of curricular programs. Sheldon Jackson College's greatest educational asset is the personalization and individualization of the educational process by concerned, committed staff, faculty and administration.

The present theme which brings directions to the development and services of the institution is culture and career, the mechanism for bringing this about is the educational and personal community of the institution and the cooperative endeavors with other institutions.

A change in calendar has also been helpful. SJC was the first college in Alaska to initiate the January Interim, a one month academic period during which a student takes only one four hour course. Staff and students are encouraged to develop new courses and experiment with field courses and independent study. In addition students can take advantage of programs at other colleges on the 4-1-4 program or January Interim. Each year we have had numerous students do independent studies in the field. For example, one student spent time working at McLaughlin Center in Anchorage, another worked with a social welfare agency and still others worked as teacher aides in villages. A group of 10 students went to Seattle to explore socioeconomic-political areas. Others have traveled through Alaska to study its political systems and social science political areas in large communities versus small villages. Students interested in church work have studied the role of churches in several communities in Southeast Alaska by traveling to these locations on the SJC boat.

This experiment with the one month program has led us to discuss the possibility of giving the students an option as to the number of courses they would like to take at one time. For two years we have been discussing the possibility of a modular calendar and have had consultants on campus to work with us on the pros and cons and implementation of such a program.

It might be interesting to note at this point that all the programs of the college including the Teacher Aide program are accomplished by 15 full-time instructors plus 13 part-time instructors or the equivalency of 18 full-time teachers.

Conclusion

This paper has discussed primarily the academic programs.

*McLaughlin Youth Center (treatment center for juveniles)

RESOURCE MANAGEMENT TRAINING: AN APPROACH TO EDUCATION
THROUGH THE UNIVERSITY OF CANADA NORTH

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This paper will discuss two related topics: an overall approach to education which underlies the philosophy of the University of Canada North (UCN) and a specific course which illustrates this approach. The University of Canada North plans to offer a training course in resource management during the summer of 1974, but in order to understand it in context, the background of UCN must be reviewed. This paper, then, is divided into two sections: first, the background and development of UCN, and secondly, a discussion of the proposed Resource Management Training Course.

A

One of the very real problems which has faced northern Canadians, particularly Native northerners, has been the lack of post-secondary educational facilities which could prepare students to live in two societies, - the dominant urban Canadian society as well as the cultural environment of an ethnic minority. Canada's universities are located in southern cities and seldom meet the needs of students who wish to continue to live and work in the North. The need for educational programs which involve Native northerners in planning course content and course structure has become increasingly apparent in recent years, not only in Canada but in other circumpolar countries. As southern Canadian universities express interest in pushing northward, northerners have become convinced

that they should develop their own concepts and plans for education in the territories.

The idea of a university which would meet unique social, cultural and environmental needs grew out of these kinds of concerns.

In March of 1971, the University of Canada North was incorporated as a non-profit society under the Canada Corporations Act. The charter was issued to a group of forty-seven Canadians, all but one of them resident in the Territories. Despite its title, it was emphasized at that time that there was no certainty that University of Canada North would become a university in the conventional sense. Rather, it was to be a unique program of higher education designed and directed by northern residents.

Summarized, the objectives of UCN stated at that time were:

- (a) to organize a territorial university which would serve people of the Yukon and Northwest Territories and would provide a central co-ordinating base for northern research;
- (b) To advance learning and disseminate knowledge including knowledge of social and physical sciences in the north;
- (c) to establish faculties, schools, institutes, departments, chairs and courses;
- (d) to seek enabling legislation and funds to carry out these objectives.

The structure of the University is straight forward. Membership in UCN is open to any Canadian citizen over the age of eighteen. The Board of Directors includes fifteen directors from the Yukon, fifteen from the Northwest Territories and a chair-

man who is resident in southern Canada. The Yukon chairman and the NWT chairman are both vice-chairmen of the university.

As a first step in implementing its objectives, the Board organized a Concepts Conference which, it hoped, would begin clarifying roles such a University could fill in northern Canada. This conference took place in Inuvik, N.W.T. in November, 1971. Approximately one hundred people attended including academics and educators from Canada, the United States (especially Alaska), Norway and Sweden, and a cross-section of northern residents, many of Native northerners. The Conference attempted to examine and discuss three crucial areas: first, whether a University of Canada North was needed; secondly, what kind of academic approach should be taken particularly with regard to Native people; and third, what arrangements should be made for the development of a physical plant.

Some Board members went to the conference with assumptions that UCN would be a vehicle to encourage northern development. Others favored the concept of a community college located in the Territories. However, the Board of Directors emerged from the Conference with a commitment to a very different set of goals expressed by the membership of the University.

Chiefly, it was resolved that the University of Canada North establish as its first priority the self determination of the Indian and Eskimo people north of the sixtieth parallel. Northern participants indicated that UCN should develop courses in ways consistent with social and environmental needs of the area, and should involve northerners in planning these courses. It was resolved that courses should provide leadership training, training in community development and training in legislative

process. Programs should serve people of all ages and at all levels of previous education - not just students who have completed high school. Some participants urged that the physical plant not be a priority at this time.

Since that time, a number of developments have taken place. The UCN Board of Directors decided to subdivide Yukon and Northwest Territories into two divisions because the needs of the two Territories differ in many ways. The two Boards now operate as separate entities under one governing body, but make efforts to keep in close contact.

The rest of this paper focuses primarily on the activities of the Yukon Division of UCN.

Initial attempts made by the Yukon Board of Directors to secure federal funds which would help implement goals of the conference were not successful. Accordingly, more specific goals have been set. Plans are being made to establish a summer school with five specific courses in the summer of 1974. These may be followed by evening courses that fall. Initial courses will serve the needs of Native students and Yukon teachers although they may attract additional students from the Territories and from the south.

A number of sub-committees have been set up and are now functioning in the Yukon. The Education Committee, active since October 1972, has taken a major role in responding to Yukon Territorial Department of Education and has attempted to receive recognition for the University of Canada North from this Department. A recent meeting between UCN (Yukon) Board of Directors and officials of the Yukon Department of Education seemed to open the possibility of working relationship between the two groups on questions of post-secondary education.

Since June, 1973, four other committees have been active: a membership involvement committee, a finance committee and more recently a steering committee and a resource management training committee.

The courses planned for summer 1974 include four credit courses planned by the Education Committee. These will be discussed in a separate paper. The possibility of co-sponsorship with a southern university is currently being discussed in order to give these courses credibility outside the Territories.

In addition, an experimental non-credit course in Resource Management Training will be offered. All five courses were recently endorsed at a weekend action conference (in Whitehorse, October 6-7, 1973) which included both Yukon and Northwest Territories members.

B

The rest of this paper will discuss specific plans for the Resource Management Training Course - planned as a six week non-credit experimental program which will be offered in the Yukon Territory during the summer of 1974.

A statement made at the UCN Concepts Conference by an Indian woman from Fort Simpson sums up the philosophy underlying this proposed course:

Northern people must have their own institutions. The whiteman's schooling teaches nothing of the physical environment. If you think the physical sciences don't exist in the north, they do. They just come out in fancy names in the white man's world.

The course will introduce young northerners to concepts of resource management which are being used or which should be used

or which should be used by government and industry in the north. It should link modern thinking about how resources should be managed with the body of traditional knowledge shared by older Indian people who have lived and worked in bush setting.

The course has two overall purposes:

In the first place, it fits in with U.C.N.'s long term goal of establishing a dialogue between academics, professionals and Indian people. Older Indian people have generations of expertise in wilderness survival. Academics have a different kind of expertise. Local professionals and technicians understand day to day problems of resource management. Students, introduced to all three approaches will be able to think critically about the value of each. Since many students will be Native northerners, it is essential that aboriginal concepts of resource management which enabled Indian people to survive in the North for generations play a major part in the program.

Secondly, such a course will introduce young northerners to technical and professional opportunities which are increasing in the North. Recent demands for personnel in fields of forestry, game, land use, fisheries, water management, permafrost ecology etc. are filled by people from outside the territory who received their training in and for the provinces. By introducing young northerners to some of the problems and questions in resource management, the course may encourage them to take further academic or professional training so they could fill many of these positions.

The village of Ross River, two hundred and fifty miles northeast of Whitehorse by road, has been suggested as a possible base for this course. It has the advantages of being some distance from Whitehorse, in a wilderness setting, and close enough to a

major mine to permit field trips there if instructors feel this would be useful. The community hall in Ross River might be available for classroom discussion. A number of older Indian people living there could provide additional knowledge about the surrounding area. Field trips could take students to a variety of geographical settings within fifty to one hundred miles of Ross River. An old road running north through Ross River to the Northwest Territories border could provide road access to remote areas.

The six-week period after spring break-up and before hunting season gets underway is suggested as the most suitable time for Native Students and instructors. We hope to offer the course between mid-May and the end of June.

At least six full time instructors will be employed - two Indian men and women, two academics and two professionals. This team could have expertise in such areas as forestry, water management, tourism, environmental biology, geography, wildlife management, hunting and trapping, and concepts of aboriginal land use.

It is suggested that the course be developed for approximately twenty students. No academic pre-requisites would be required. If the course is to fulfill the aims we have proposed, it is essential to involve people from the villages in designing and planning the course - both potential students and potential instructors.

The program could include discussion of a number of topics: soil, permafrost, water management, erosion control and environmental protection; habits and management of fur animals, game animals, fish and birds; discussion of agriculture and livestock; discussion of history of the area and of potential of tourism and outdoor recreation; relationship of minerals, oil and gas to the natural environment, and so on.

The course will be student centred and particular emphases will depend on interests of students and instructors. Students will be encouraged to ask questions about why certain practices exist and whether they are beneficial to the northern environment and to northern residents. It should stress the interdependence of man and resources in the north. It should explore the relationship between social, cultural and institutional facts in the north and the natural world in which they take place; this might raise questions about the present direction of 'northern development'.

Development implies involving people in decisions which affect their lives. To date most development in the north is directed by government and industries based in southern Canada. Hopefully, this would encourage students to become involved in questions being asked and decisions being made daily in the Yukon.

The initial course is a pilot project. If it proves successful several programs may be recommended. A longer term accredited course which would permit some of the necessary technical and professional training for resource management might follow. This could be done in co-operation with groups and government departments interested in employing people with such training.

A secondary effect which should be considered equally important is the possible benefit of such programs for people living in northern communities. As concern about resource management increases, the demystification of scientific expertise becomes essential. Northern residents need good sound information about the effects of changes on the environment in which they live. Despite all the scientific research carried out in the North, the information usually leaves the territory and is not available to

northern residents. Hopefully this program could help University of Canada North provide a base for the distribution and discussion of this kind of information. Ultimately, this could put more knowledge about northern resources in the hands of northerners, where it belongs.

In conclusion, it is necessary to reaffirm U.C.N.'s commitment to involving aboriginal concepts and methods of teaching-- in this case about land use and wildlife management. This body of knowledge does exist. It is essential that its value be recognized and that it becomes part of the northern intellectual and practical heritage if the north is to become a better place to live.

OMBUDSMEN PROGRAM

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Program Development:

The regional boarding school experience for native youth has been criticized frequently for failing to meet the needs of the youth and the Ombudsman Program was initiated on this premise. Critics have stated that the institutions are unresponsive to the cultural needs and differences of the youth in addition to being inflexible and not responsive to people needs. The concept of the dorm as a "home away from home" was not happening. The resulting rates of both drop-out and self-destructive risk-taking behaviors were of some magnitude and concern. The Ombudsman Program was developed to influence the institutions to more adequately meet the needs of the students, socially, culturally, educationally, generally to make the whole educational experience more profitable and to provide whatever is possible in the way of counseling, relevant recreational activities, cultural awareness, and anything else that would positively affect the students in a meaningful way.

Role Development:

Two Ombudsmen, one male, one female, both young and native were to be assigned to three dormitories or sites. They were to assess the needs of the students and then to provide whatever they could in the way of assistance in helping with those needs. A budget of \$10,000 per site was available to provide the capability of substantive action.

The ombudsmen were initially conceived as being liaison

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persons between the students and the administration. The term "supportive listener" was used to describe the type of role to be played. This gradually changed as the program's concept gained focus. "Student advocate" became the role to be played. The actual job descriptions for the ombudsmen were purposefully left vague, so that they could develop the areas where they could be most effective. This vagueness about what to do and how to do it resulted in a disparity of approaches to the job by the different ombudsmen.

Program Reception:

The concept of the program held by dormitory staff was that the ombudsman should be involved in recreation programs. This was an area in which help was needed, and the \$10,000 budget for each site was seen as a welcome addition to their program. As long as the ombudsmen remained within the role of recreation assistants, the program generated little resistance.

Ombudsman's Thrust:

A role in recreation also served the initial purposes of the ombudsmen. If they were to have any impact at all, the one most important overriding necessity was gaining student rapport. Without the student rapport, the best relations with dorm staff would be for naught. However, as soon as ombudsman efforts began to revolve around student rights, due process, student government, and real student advocacy, resistance from dormitory staff grew.

The focus on student rights did not materialize until after the start of the second semester. At that time a concerted effort to politically sabotage the program was made. This effort, generated by the Director of the Dormitory and Boarding Home

Program, resulted in a freezing of funds for the Ombudsman Program, from March until April. This setback had a considerable negative influence on the credibility of the ombudsmen. Nonetheless, by that time the major impact of the year had been realized at each site.

The development at each site, although approached quite differently, followed a basic sequence. First the establishing of rapport, usually through recreation, then the initial involvement with student rights, administrative policies and due process, followed by a confrontation of some magnitude resulting in an attempt to remove the ombudsmen from the dormitory situation, with some changes made on the issues addressed.

The approaches to the ombudsman role varied at each site. At Mt. Edgecumbe, ombudsmen initially took a stance of letting the students assess their needs and problems. However, it soon became evident that the students were unable adequately to identify the problems they found, as well as the action avenues available to them. At that time the ombudsmen began a more direct approach. They identified some avenues of action that were open to students and also initiated some action on their own. Care was taken not to be way out front of the students, and general student reaction indicated that that had not happened. Several changes in administrative policy with regards to case conferences, dances in the auditorium, a student alcohol group and a recreation hall and band indicated successful interventions during the year.

In Bethel, one ombudsman immediately took a stance of suggesting possible changes or innovations especially in regard to the student council. This resulted in the establishment of a student court, legislature, and even a student police group.

Quite a few recreation activities were engaged in to build student rapport and the first semester passed very well. The second semester was fraught with trauma as a new director for the dormitory took over. The initiation of new rule; policy making decisions by the school board; suicide of the new director; death of a student; and six staff resignations were indications of the strife that existed. The effectiveness of the ombudsman intervention efforts was severely curtailed by these major traumatic occurrences, especially after an ombudsman/student confrontation with the school board failed to produce results. Both the students and the staff lost confidence in the effectiveness of the ombudsman at this time. So many events were taking place that it was difficult to focus attention on any one issue or occurrence. The fragmented reactions were obvious due to the high number of students, not drop-outs, who left school before the end of the year.

In Kodiak, the ombudsmen had difficulty getting established at all. It was here that the lack of job description and role definition was felt the most. The ombudsmen were under criticism almost from the day they arrived. Although some student rapport was developed through recreational activities, it was soon obvious that the lack of communication and hostility of the dormitory staff was severely interrupting any impact the program may have had. The turmoil that erupted brought a hearing. This and other involvements the second semester effectively undercut ombudsmen efforts. Most of the program impact the second semester revolved around minor individual counseling.

It was during the second semester, beginning with one ombudsman in Kodiak being told to leave the dormitory, that a concerted attack on the program was made. The hostility toward

the project that had fermented just below the surface had fully erupted. The Director of the Dormitory Program made an effort to terminate the Ombudsman Program. Indeed, letters were solicited by the Director of the Dormitory Program asking about problems with the Ombudsman Program, and were then used in the political sabotaging attempt. This resulted in a freezing of funds for one month, severely damaging the credibility of the ombudsmen still on site. It was not until after the Kodiak incidents and hearings that the ombudsman in Bethel was removed from the dormitory and the attempt to remove the ombudsmen in Mt. Edgecumbe was made. The removal of the Bethel ombudsman was directly related to an "issue" stand taken by students that the ombudsman supported, if not initiated. It was after the funds were frozen, the next day, that the attempt was made to remove the Mt. Edgecumbe ombudsmen.

Impact of Problems:

The program reflected many of the problems that a first year program might expect or encounter. In addition to managerial problems, the program also faced various communication difficulties within and between the Department of Health and Social Services and the Department of Education. The combined affect of these problems undercut the credibility of the ombudsmen on site and limited the effectiveness of the intervention efforts. The ombudsmen were left with a feeling of non-support from the "top" and therefore with little foundation behind their actions.

The end result of the first year project was one of confusion and hostility, with some identifiable areas of success.

This program was most surely imposed, if not shoved down the throat of the Director of Dormitories. However, it was

most likely the only way that the program could have been implemented. This was probably responsible to a large degree for the hostility it encountered from that office.

THE ADULT LITERACY LABORATORY

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In the last six years in the State of Alaska the number of Adult Basic Education classes in the villages has increased rapidly. Some of the classes are sponsored by VISTA* some by the State, and in most of them the teacher is a village person chosen by the council. Since the beginning of the program these teachers have faced many problems, the most persistent of which has been the lack of suitable materials for use in the village class.

In most Alaskan villages there are adults who want very much to learn to read and to do basic math. It is very difficult to teach a student of any age to read when the books are about things he has never seen, and perhaps never even heard of - things like restaurants and supermarkets, banks and subways, and going to work at the office or factory every morning at eight. It is also sometimes insulting to an adult to use books which he knows are meant for children. At the beginning of the program some village teachers just did the best they could with whatever books were available. Some teachers developed their own materials, but they were very limited by lack of supplies

*Volunteers In Service To America
(U.S. domestic Peace Corp program)

and facilities. Because of this tremendous need for culturally relevant adult materials the ADULT LITERACY LABORATORY (ALL) came into being.

In 1969 the Anchorage Community College submitted a proposal to the Federal Government under Title III of the Adult Education Act, Section 309(b), "Special Experimental Demonstration Projects". This proposal requested funds to develop culturally relevant materials to be used by Adult Basic Education classes in Alaskan villages. These materials were to be suitable for use by untrained teachers and were to cover English and mathematics from the first through sixth grade level. They were to be field tested in certain selected villages which would be supplied with the necessary equipment as well as the new materials. The proposal was written by several A.B.E. teachers with the help of the State Department of Education A.B.E. Program staff. After several revisions it was funded for fiscal 1972, and the project started operation in December of 1971. The project was refunded for fiscal 1973, but due to some apparent oversight the third and final year was not funded.

By the end of September 1973 when the federal funds ran out, the ALL Project was approximately half finished with its basic program as outlined in the proposal. There were 20 books printed including a series of basic readers, a series of beginning text/work books in math, several supplementary reading and math books, two teacher's

manuals and an assortment of cassette tapes, language master cards and other aids for the teacher. Much of this material had already been field tested in some of the 18 villages which acted as field testing centers, and some books had been revised and reprinted in accordance with the results of the field testing. Many more lessons and books were partially completed with several books needing only to be printed before being ready for distribution to the village test centers.

The readers deal with the village life of adults, using words and topics common in the village setting. Because of the several different Native cultures in Alaska, the setting and type of illustrations vary. The first series deals with the life of a family living along an inland river. The second series deals with the life of an old man who lives in a coastal village. In both the men hunt and trap, the women cut fish and do beadwork; villagers help unload the barge or supply boat and sometimes the men leave to work in a cannery or help fight fires. The old man, Nanalook, even attends an A.B.E. class on winter evenings. The supplementary reading books were prepared so that the adults would have something at their reading level that was interesting and/or useful in their daily life. The books already produced include such things as village stories, a series on health and nutrition, lessons on the Land Claims and lessons on municipal government in the villages. There are also two handbooks, "How to Treat Electricity" and "Building

a dogsled" which were produced in answer to special village needs.

The mathematics program is built on practical day to day problems and applications. Two of the things covered in the first books are how to count money and how to use a calendar. Other lessons deal with the problems of making out a grocery or catalog order, and of beginning dealings with a bank. The illustrations and problems deal with dogs and fish, sleds and rifles, cutting trees and playing cards. The most popular supplementary math book is "Filing Income Tax Returns".

All the books and lessons have been developed in constant consultation with the Native people. The A.B.E. teachers themselves frequently suggested topics or areas where they felt a need. For example, a book recently added is a phonetics manual which was specifically requested by a group of teachers at a workshop because they had problems teaching their students the sounds of English. A series of grammar lessons also was added to the initial program because of a similar request from the village teachers. The dogsled book was the result of the collaboration of a village A.B.E. student, living temporarily in Anchorage, who actually built the dogsled from standing tree to finished product, and a staff member who took notes and pictures and put the book together. The lessons on Land Claims and municipal government were reviewed by representatives of such organizations as the Alaska Native

Foundation and Calista Corporation before being printed and distributed for field testing.

The field testing presented some problems because of the very nature of the project. The A.B.E. village teachers have had little or no experience with educational materials. They do not have the background or expertise to do critical evaluations. But they do know what their students like and what works for them in the classroom. The response has been overwhelmingly in favor of the new materials, with the most frequent comment being, "Please send us more books, a little harder ones, right away." Communication difficulties between Anchorage and the villages, and the lack of an adequate travel budget have also hampered an effective field testing program. Personal contact and discussion between the village teachers and the central staff is a necessity, and training of the teachers in the use of the materials before they actually receive them in the village would greatly improve the field testing program.

Some of the materials produced by the ALL Project have had a much wider use and distribution than originally intended or expected. This is particularly true of the series of six booklets of lessons on the Alaska Native Claims Act. Although initially intended as supplementary reading for A.B.E. students, these books have among other things been used in training programs sponsored by regional corporations,

have formed the basis for Land Claims courses at several Community Colleges, have been used by Upward Bound students in Fairbanks and students at the Indian Action Program in Kenai, and have been reviewed and studied by Native groups with similar land claims interests in Hawaii and Canada.

At the present time the ADULT LITERACY LABORATORY is operating on a small grant from the State A.B.E. fund which will carry the project approximately to the end of November. The original objectives have not yet been met in that the materials have not been completed through the sixth grade level, and complete field testing has not yet been done. However, the need for such culturally relevant materials for adults is increasing daily, and requests for such materials from village councils and Native organizations as well as from A.B.E. teachers are becoming more frequent. If this program is not immediately refunded, much available work and experience will be lost, and many village teachers will have to go back to making their own materials or just making do.

THE ADULT BASIC EDUCATION AND COLLEGE PREP PROGRAM
AT THE ANCHORAGE COMMUNITY COLLEGE

Frances H. Rose
Adult Basic Education
Anchorage Community College

During the last few years adult programs at Anchorage Community College have been rapidly expanding to meet the ever increasing needs of the adult population in Anchorage.

These needs are both at the basic literacy level as well as at the high school level. We are also seeing a growing demand for remedial programs at the post secondary level.

The Adult Basic Education (ABE) program in Anchorage operates day and evening classes in various locations in the area. The classes are held at the Northern Lights Center, at Willow Park Housing in the downtown area and at the Anchorage Correctional Institute. We also operate a complete program of General Educational Development (GED) prep, English as a Second Language (ESL) and basic literacy at Fort Richardson and Elmendorf Air Force base.

Twenty-five percent of the students in the Anchorage Community College Adult Basic Education program are Native. The students range in age from 16 to over 65. They are mostly people who have settled in the Anchorage area and wish to upgrade their basic skills for job training or college. Many of the students are also presently in rehabilitation programs.

They come to us with a variety of abilities and through diagnostic testing we are able to determine in what areas they need help and then suit the instruction to their needs. Our social service counselor works at helping students continue in school by helping them cope with the many problems which tend to make them drop out.

For those students who wish to work toward a high school diploma, there is the choice of the State Equivalency diploma or the ACC High School diploma. Since the diplomas are achieved in different ways, the student will pick the one which best suits his needs.

Recently at the Community College the need for a college preparatory program has been evidenced both among Native students coming into Anchorage from rural Alaska and among many of the older students who are entering college after having been away from school for a number of years. Since there are no dorms in Anchorage and transportation and housing are a hardship on the student who has recently moved into the area, a period of urban orientation is necessary. Many students find college life difficult and frightening and unless they have some kind of support, they will tend to quit and go home. The students in the present college prep class are preparing to enter vocational-technical programs in the College's Career Education Division. Many of them need assistance in high school algebra, reading and science. They work on the subjects which they are weak in and prepare themselves in the skills they will need for their chosen career program. They also have the opportunity to begin to investigate their chosen program and perhaps modify their choice. Students are made aware of the counseling facilities, special services and other aids available to them.

College prep offers a student a chance for success at the post secondary level. The weaker student has an opportunity to help himself before he walks into a college class.

Enrollment at Anchorage Community College is open to all, but if we are going to have truly open enrollment, then we must help those who want to attend college but lack the skills to be successful.

A CULTURAL TRANSITION

Dr. Troy Sullivan
Professor of Education
University of Alaska

PREFACE: Introducing Teachers' Aides

One of the significant functions of the Manpower Development and Training Act has been the initiation of training programs for people who have not had effective educational opportunities in the past.

Occasionally these programs have been jointly funded with other federal agencies to their mutual benefit. In the case of Instructional Aides the original impetus undoubtedly was derived from the Alaskan section of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and was jointly funded by them and MDTA.

Since that initial program in 1966, the B.I.A. has solely funded two additional programs training Instructional Aides for the B.I.A. schools in Alaska. This has been one of the most significant contributions to the indigenous population that I have had an opportunity to work with.

It seems significant to me for the following reasons:

1. Because the leadership in Alaska has been well supplied by the B.I.A.
2. Because they have also anticipated this as the first step on a career ladder which could eventually lead to fully certified teaching positions and even graduate work
3. It has given the University of Alaska through its Anchorage Community College the opportunity to explore training of this nature to develop techniques and to

recommend future types of programs. We can foresee the day when the second and third steps on the career ladder will be implemented in the training of assistant teachers and associate teachers.

4. With this initial beginning under one agency, I feel that other schools, including state rural schools and the state district schools, will soon join in the training and implementation of a para-professional teaching staff.

5. While this program has been highly significant to education, I think it has been of even greater significance to individuals. I have personally observed, the tremendous personal advancements made by the individual participants.

It has been a real honor for the Anchorage Community College of the University of Alaska to participate in the programs that have been successfully completed, and we look forward to a continuing mutually beneficial relationship with the agencies we have worked with and to a tremendous extension of the entire program.

Eugene F. Short
Resident Director
Anchorage Community College

Instructional Aides in Alaska

Leading the way in promoting the training and placement of Eskimos and Athabaskans as Instructional Aides in Alaskan Schools, the Bureau of Indian Affairs has assumed a vital role in one of the most significant recent trends in American education.

More than eighty aides, graduates of three training sessions conducted in 1966, 1967, and 1968 by Anchorage Community College of the University of Alaska, are now employed in almost as many Alaskan native villages and towns.

The benefits - to the aides themselves, to their teachers and schools, and to their communities - are manifold, not only in relation to the present situation but for long-range plans and progress resulting from the use of such para-professional personnel in the world of work as projected for the foreseeable future.

Cultural and language differences, together with the social and economic problems peculiar to a people forced into rapid adjustment to modern living, give a special urgency to the importance of Instructional Aid training in Alaska.

From an economic point of view alone, the value of providing jobs for otherwise unemployed individuals is plainly seen. Even by underestimating the number of those who would have been drawing welfare funds, and assuming that only fifty percent would fall into that category, we find a monthly gain to the economy of approximately \$7,200: \$4,000 a month in welfare saved and estimated taxes of \$3,200 a month, based on a monthly salary figure of \$400.

It is vital that training for native aides be continued to provide at least one in each of the Bureau of Indian Affairs schools not yet included in the program, and to replace any leaving

their positions. But we must go further than that!

Why should the use of Instructional Aides be confined to the seventy day schools administered by the Bureau of Indian Affairs?

Throughout Alaska, the State operates more than two hundred elementary schools (119 rural or village schools, 17 in on-base locations, and 77 in other communities and cities). A State-administered training program to provide aides for all these would fulfill an opportunity to assist many disadvantaged individuals, with comparable benefits to them and to the economic structure, and would give valuable educational assistance in hundreds of classrooms.

Education and training given to Alaskan native aides exemplifies one workable method of bridging two cultures. Development of the program with its emphasis on professional experiences and instruction - will prove to be a starting point from which many additional projects may continue with a predictable effect on a whole population.

Immediate consideration should be given a plan to expand the program by including, in addition to the Aide training as offered previously, two additional steps for Teachers' Assistants and Teachers' Associates.

More advanced training for them would meet the expressed needs of a number of Alaskan aides. It would represent a realistic beginning for some who wish to become teachers but who could not now enroll in a continuous baccalaureate program.

Among educational institutions in the United States which have responded to a similar aide-inspired need is St. Petersburg Junior College in Florida, which offers a one-year terminal career

program for Teacher Aides. The plan is designed to assist many now employed as aides, to prepare others for future employment, and to provide special educational opportunities for parents of young children, - all purposes applicable to the Alaskan situation.

The three proposed levels of training would logically fill existing needs in Alaskan schools. The two-year course for Associates would be qualify the graduates to occupy a professional and responsible position. Assistants would be able, under supervision, to perform many specialized tasks; while the present training for aides would still continue to supply those who perform vital non-instructional function.

Since the conception of Teacher-aide training and use is relatively new in Alaska, as in other states, it has been necessary to spell out and re-evaluate the many-sided role which the aide can play in assisting the teacher to make the fullest use of his or her professional abilities. The social revolution against poverty and for truly equal rights and opportunities demands that there be no delay in implementing the educational procedures which are of prime importance in planning for the future.

A program of extended training in Alaska would have particular impact here, where the need for economic and social adjustments for native people is of tremendous magnitude.

Success of the three pilot groups of aides indicates what might be expected of more highly trained para-professional employees in the schools.

Alaskan experience in aide training parallels closely the national developments in similar programs. Strikingly similar are the duties found to be most compatible for efficient use of aides, and similar also is the wide-spread acceptance of their work.

Many well qualified Alaskan aides have expressed the desire for continuing education, with the hope of becoming teachers.

"If I can complete high school," wrote Hannah Hanson from Alakanuk, "I'm going to college and become a real teacher myself, because I have grown very fond of the little children."

From Tununak, Andrew Chikoyak wrote, "My mind is made up to become a full-time teacher in the near future. You don't know how happy I am to have taken the Instructional Aide course. It has given me a meaningful dream - a dream to share my knowledge with others. I know that a degree will take years to get, but I intend to work hard for it and earn it!"

Mrs. John Brown of Barrow is not only hoping to attend college herself, but is already making plans for higher education for her two boys (the older is two).

The Principal-Teacher at Kipnuk, Niles Hagedorn, wrote about helping his two aides, Mary Jane Anaver and Alice Mary Samson, to prepare for high school equivalency tests. "We will need to replace them if they leave us," he said, "but what better cause to lose them than to further education?"

When Doris Oksoktaruk of White Mountain had spent her first day as a training-aide in Anchorage's Airport Heights School, her supervising teacher said, "This girl is teacher material!" Later, Miss Bernice Schmidt wrote from Nome that she had talked to Isiah Oksoktaruk, Doris's father, who "explained that his daughter would like to go to college and enjoys teaching. What could you do to get Doris in college to begin education for a career?"

For these aides, and others like them further steps in training would represent incentives and opportunity to meet an actual need.

A three-step program fits naturally into the picture of needs in Alaska and gives a logical new dimension to be added to Instructional Aides courses.

All entrants into any of the three training courses would be required to have knowledge of English and of their ethnic language (if any), recommendation of the local professional teacher and/or village council and willingness to participate in the program.

In no case necessarily terminal, training for the three groups of auxiliaries would include these program levels:

1. A twelve-week course, similar to Instructional Aides classes already offered by Anchorage Community College, with no minimum entrance requirements in formal education, for Instructional Aides.
2. A more advanced twelve-week program for those who have completed twelfth grade or would be able during the course to obtain high school equivalency through General Education Development testing. Tenth grade education would be the minimum entrance requirement. On completion, trainees would be qualified as Teachers' Assistants. A higher pay scale than that allotted to aides would recognize the additional responsibilities and more skilled clerical and other work than could be required of Assistants.
3. For high school graduates, a special two-year program at Anchorage Community College leading to the Associate in Arts degree for Teachers' Associates, a further step in pay and professional activity. Courses included in the training would be fully accredited,

tailored to meet the purposes necessary for qualified and responsible positions in village schools, where they might serve as substitute teachers or in other nearly professional capacities.

A recent National Education Association research study reveals that almost one in five public school teachers in the country has the assistance of a teachers' aide. Of these, fourteen percent share the services of one or more aides with other teachers, while five percent have one or more aides of their own.

More than twice as many elementary school teachers as secondary school teachers share aides with others. The proportion of aides is about the same in small as in large school systems. Geographically, there are more aides in the West than in other regions.

The type of assistance given varies nationally, as it does in Alaska. Put simply, aides aid while teachers teach. More than seventy-seven percent of the teachers with aides report help with such clerical duties as recording grades, typing, filing and duplicating. Eighteen percent listed non-classroom assistance with lunchroom, play ground, and bus duty. Aid in instructing large and small groups, preparation and use of instructional resources, and such classroom environment help as caring for bulletin boards were named as major items by many.

How does the profession feel about teacher aides? In the same survey, an overwhelming majority of teachers indicated that they were helpful, and more than half said they were of great assistance. Teachers in small schools were the most enthusiastic about their aides.

The use of aides is never intended to be a substitute for hiring more teachers. Generally, teachers indicated that they favored smaller classes, but felt that regardless of the size of the class they could perform more effectively with the help of aides.

Who are teachers' aides? As in Alaska, in other states they vary widely in background and training. Studies show that the qualities of a successful aide differ in relation to the community and its needs as well as to the type of school program that is involved.

Changes in goals and outlook may come to the aide with experience. Many approach the job with no idea of teaching, and think only of performing routine, time-consuming tasks. They often find themselves, however, involved in more challenging activities than they had foreseen, - supervising disadvantaged poor readers, for example, or assisting with personality problems while the teacher gives more individual attention to other pupils.

Of great importance is orientation for both teacher and prospective aide, to insure an attitude of cooperation for both as well as enabling the teacher to benefit most from the specific abilities of the aide.

An interesting parallel to the reaction of some Alaskan aides is found in remarks like that made by a drop-out who got a job as teachers' aide. "I wasn't sure that I would like to teach before", she said after some experience in the classroom, "but now I'm sure I do."

Similar also to the community-related importance of Alaskan aides is the role often filled by an aide in a city center where he or she explains to parents in terms they can un-

derstand how they can help their children in achieving the goals set for them by the school.

While the use of aides in Alaska is like that specified in other areas, and while lists of aides' duties given elsewhere follows closely the functions for which they must be trained here, Alaska presents a situation requiring a broader program of preparation.

Here particularly, the enrichment of the individual, whose contact with life outside his or her village has often been limited, has been recognized as an important aspect of training.

The Alaskan aide, moreover, occupies a position of unusual importance for several reasons. He or she is bi-lingual and comes generally from a village where English is still not used as the primary language by a large portion of the community. As an important liaison figure between the cultures represented by the school and by his own people and as a salaried employee, the aide can be a dynamic example of purpose and accomplishment pointing the way for other Eskimo and Indian leaders in the future. A particular love for children serves as a special qualification of the Alaskan aide.

Three twelve-week Instructional Aide classes have been conducted by Anchorage Community College. Sixteen were graduated from the first (June 20-Sept. 9, 1966), fifty-two from the second (March 20-June 9, 1967), and twenty from the third completed on March 15, 1968.

The high level of individual development during the course of training and the continued success of the aides in their local schools are a thrilling testament to the value of the program.

With few exceptions (notably, continuing higher education for some, and for four, failure of State-transferred schools to employ the aides), practically all remain in the positions for which they were trained.

While some of the most spectacular success has been attained by aides with little formal education (as few as four years of grade school), it is interesting to note that in each successive class the educational level of applicants has been higher. High school graduates in the first group represented less than five percent, in the second one third, and in the latest class more than half.

In designing a curriculum to fit a new educational concept for Alaska, usual emphasis was placed on classroom training in subject matter and instructional methods and on the broadening of individual experience in as many areas as possible through field trips and other activities. Invaluable practical experience was provided by three weeks spent in local schools as aides to teachers.

Classroom instruction for Alaska's first aides included the following:

1. Basic education, with emphasis on communication (both oral and written) and mathematics. Subscription to a daily newspaper provides practice in reading and spelling as well as broadening of general knowledge.
2. Teaching methods and lesson planning, with individual and group presentations of lessons in such areas as reading, mathematics, science, geography, government, music, and arts and crafts.

3. Typing and use of various types of duplicating machines.
4. Practice in filling out records and forms, particularly those used in Bureau of Indian Affairs schools.
5. Use of such auxiliary materials as S.R.A. kits and reading laboratories. Such practice had value both as instruction for the individual and familiarization with new materials that might be found in home schools.
6. Showing of films on various subjects, with individual practice in use of projector.
7. Information of job opportunities and such available educational services as General Education Development testing, for the benefit of trainees as well as of interested persons at home.

Because of the position of the aide in his isolated community, classroom activities also included such special features as a two-day course given through the Civil Defense Adult Education program of the University of Alaska. Thirteen members of the third training group qualified as teachers of Personal and Family Survival courses in their communities. Two from the second group, Mrs. Helen David of Northway and Mr. Teddy Brink of Kasigluk, were mentioned as having had exceptional success in conducting the survival course in their own and other villages.

"Some of the most dedicated instructors to date in Alaska's Civil Defense Adult Education program," said Mr. Ivan Gilliam, instructor, "have been from last year's Bureau of Indian Affairs classes. We are pleased to be able to reach at least some of the villages through such fine individuals."

Judge James A Hanson of the Third Judicial District, Lt. Earl W. Hibpshman of the Anchorage Police Department, anthropologist Dr. Nancy Davis, and artists Muriel Hannah and Betty Park are among many who have given lectures and demonstrations to the classes.

For enrichment of individual experience, many field trips to points of interest in the Anchorage area, and participation in many activities, have been included in each of the sessions.

Students come from areas of wide geographical variation, and, educationally, range from some with very few years of elementary training to those with one or more years of college work. Some have lived and worked in other states, and others have never been away from their village.

Thus, it is felt that any exposure to urban living is sure to be of benefit to at least some of the trainees. Apartment life, shopping, budgeting of funds for necessities and luxuries, - these too offer experiences to be valued and shared at home.

NORTHERN CROSS-CULTURAL EDUCATION: GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS

LEARNING IN THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES

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Those of you who are reading this paper in the hope that it may be a blueprint for providing learning experiences for northern children will be somewhat disappointed. What follows is a description of the types of things we are trying to do there. I wish to stress the word "trying", since it adequately expresses the stage which we are at now. In some of our schools exciting "things" are happening. In some others there is evidence of change taking place. A few of our schools are continuing on as they have been doing for a long time. The encouraging point is that this latter category appears to be slowly decreasing in number. The role of those of us in the Curriculum Division of the Department is to do as much as we can to help bring about change within the system and to support the people who are causing changes to occur.

I'd like to discuss briefly the topic of a blueprint for northern education. Let me clearly state at the outset that I don't believe there is such a thing as a magic formula for providing educational experiences for northern children. The best one can say is that there are some basic guidelines within which we must build learning experiences.

Since the Northwest Territories is a multi-lingual, multi-cultural society, some basic guidelines do appear. Because of this pluralistic aspect of northern society, it is absolutely necessary to take advantage of the strengths which each child brings to the school and to build upon them.

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The greatest strength which the child brings with him is his culture, and in this I naturally include his language as being inseparable. Over the past few years "cultural inclusion" programs have become the "in" thing in many of our schools. These programs include some "first" language teaching, some trapping and other out-of-doors experiences, some legends and story-telling, carving, etc. Interpreting 'culture' in this way is both misleading and invalid. It becomes a collection of finite objects which, presumably, when included in a program of learning, make education "culturally inclusive" and therefore relevant. But "culture" is much more than this. It is a way of thinking, a perception of life, a range of attitudes and values, all of which have evolved over time and which are reflected in the customs and languages of people. Given the fact that the child develops his patterns of thinking in his first language prior to entering the formal school program at the age of five or six, there can be no culturally inclusive curricula until this strength of the individual is utilized.

This is of special significance in the north where a rich diversity of cultures and languages exist and where in any learning situation the elements for developing respect and understanding on all sides are there. Let me use for an example the concerns for 'man' in relationship to his environment which exist at this time. The tendency for the non-native person is to seek answers to this problem in science and technology. Pollution control measures are enacted; controlled growth, or even no growth, policies are advocated; research studies become the 'name of the game'. The paradox in all of this is that the non-native society looks seemingly everywhere for solutions except right on its own doorstep. For centuries the 'first citizens' of the North American continent have developed their own

value system regarding man in relation to nature. It is logical to suggest that the non-native cultures could learn from their Indian and Eskimo counterparts if they would but recognize that cultural understanding is a shared proposition. The opportunities for doing so exist all the time in the school and, if we really mean that one of our aims is to develop understanding and respect among cultures, the learning programs must reflect these different attitudes and values. To put this another way, the development of culturally relevant learning experiences is much more than merely adding to existing curricula. The implication is clear - culturally relevant curricula have to be written in such a way as to relate the culture and language of the child to every aspect of the learning situation. To do less than this is to be guilty of token approaches such as including some native studies which are supposed to make programs culturally relevant.

A second basic guideline is that the programs must prepare the young people for the future. If educational experiences are to have effective meaning in the lives of people, then these experiences must provide the understanding and skills that are basic to surviving in societies - local, national, global - of increasing complexity. Not only do people need to know how to cope with the present, but even more importantly, there is the necessity of being prepared to contend with the unforeseen, the improbable, the unpredictable; in a word the 'future'. In a generalized way, one can contrast the growth of 'big' government and 'big' business in the past twenty years with that of the first half of the 20th century. The question is: "How does John Q. Citizen sort out and come to understand the multiplicity of agencies that have come to influence, even to dominate, his existence?" Dramatic answers to this question can be found in almost every northern situation. From the settlement level, to the area and/or regional

context, to the territorial-wide government, to the federal scene itself, the individual person is confronted with a complex and often confusing assortment of officials, offices, policies, and programs which supposedly all have something to do with the life of the individual. To find out just who is responsible for what under these circumstances can be far from simple for any person. It can only be speculated how much more difficult it is to 'know what is going on' if you happen to come from a background where English is not your native tongue; where, culturally speaking, the asking of incessant questions in order to find 'answers' is not the way things are done; where you are quite unaware of what the trappings of status and bureaucracy mean; where you don't feel comfortable even walking through a maze of offices in search of officialdom, and so on. The point is that the learning opportunities that are provided must include the chance for the individual to gain insights into the entire realm of how the system can be made to work in the interests of people. Parallel situations and information with respect to the business world must be forthcoming as well. Life in a consumer-oriented, credit card society requires understanding and skills that cannot be left to chance. The health, mental and physical, of people depends in large measure on being able to tolerate the stresses and strains that the 'organized' society imposes.

In a similar vein 'survival' in an urbanized location poses its own peculiar problems. The change from having living space 'on the land', to apartment, row housing, and plywood boxes squeezed into settlement 'streets', constitutes a remarkable shift in the living habits of people. These factors, then, combined with the availability of alcohol, drugs, and the potential spread of communicable disease, all add up to a social atmosphere bordering on the catastrophic, if not chaotic.

The school simply cannot ignore these realities using such dubious excuses as, 'there isn't time, and besides we must get on with the quadratic equations and the results of the Punic Wars', or some such drivel. The facts of life are given 'life skills' to enable their survival in the present and the future, the other aspects of the learning program will be of academic interest only, and then only to the minority middle-class group who, for all purposes, have relative control over their existence in spite of anything the formal school program has to offer.

This causes us to examine what we are, in fact, doing in the classrooms. Is there any point in continuing to spend so much time in attempting to make young people learn addition, subtraction, multiplication and division facts when one can buy a pocket calculator for a few dollars? Should we continue to place such an emphasis on writing and reading in this day and age and still achieve such little success when there are other means of expression and ways of finding information? Why not encourage the young learner to become much more actively involved in the production and usage of types of materials other than the print medium? It is not that the basic skills in mathematics and reading are of no importance. It is simply that technology is providing increasing ways of easily retrieving information. If we make use of what technology has to offer, we can then have more time available to pursue even more exciting aspects of learning.

Basic to all the "things" we are trying to do is communication as defined in its broadest context. Communication is man revealing himself to man in many ways. Traditionally we have focused our attention of the verbal aspects of communication. This has resulted in a tendency to overlook the fact that communi-

cation is not just "words". It is a man reaching out, expressing himself - not only through language but through facial expression, gesture, body movement, music, art, and any other creative endeavour which does not require verbalization. This is especially true in a northern situation where young people may not be able to adequately express themselves in a second language situation. Moreover, research indicates the apparent spatial-relations strength of Eskimo people and strongly suggests that much greater emphasis be given to the use of nonverbal stimuli and spatial abilities as media for instruction. This can be done by using such approaches as the methodology of the Nuffield Foundation from Britain.

A third basic consideration when developing learning experiences is the question of attitudes and values. Unlike their counterparts of even a generation ago, young people of today live in a society characterized by ever-shifting patterns of attitudes and values. Not only has the growth in awareness of the multiplicity of value systems within diverse cultural entity itself, conflicting attitudes and values have evolved with respect to many aspects of society. In specific instances the emerging conflicts strike very close to the foundation upon which North American society has been developed. In helping young people to prepare themselves for living in the latter part of the 20th century, the educator will ignore these changes at his peril. Some examples to consider:

- a. 'Searching for alternatives' may be the phrase that best describes the attitudes of many young and some older people. Implicit in this attitude is a dissa-

tisfaction with the perceived sterility of the assembly line - mass production society. The notion that 'man' is born to exist as a neatly processed product in a packaged-like consumer society is seen as a hollow idea. Practical alternatives to this approach to life can include 'returning to the land' (in the fashion of Chief Rober Smallboy, formerly of the Hobbema Reserve in Alberta and now living with some of his people in the wilderness adjacent to Jasper National Park); communal living; and in extreme cases individual withdrawal from society itself. Within the northern context, similar patterns have emerged in those instances where people have become disenchanted with the ghetto-type existence that they have experienced in a number of the larger communities.

b. Closely allied to this 'people movement' has been the growth in interest in the 'old ways' with particular emphasis given to religious understanding and expression. The Saskatchewan-based Indian Ecumenical Movement is one example of this. Among Indian and Eskimo people there is a renewed awareness of the strength to be found in their traditional beliefs prior to the advent of Christianity. The age of religious replacement is ended. The quest is now in the direction of combining elements of the old with the new in the hope of adequately expressing a philosophy that has meaning for the individual.

c. On the larger continental scale the cornerstone of North American 'progress' is itself under severe re-examination, if not attack. The pursuit of annually increasing gross national products (GNP) appears to be

a shallow *raison d'être* at a time when mankind's existence is being subjected to searching analysis. Furthermore, in the not so distant past natural resource materials were regarded as being limitless in their extent. The conventional American wisdom was that 'what is good for General Motors is good for society as a whole'. Now the premises upon which the 'growth ethic' are based are being challenged as many people find the emphasis on materialism to be not only limiting in scope but self-defeating in its consequences.

d. The value of an 'education' is open to debate. Many young people no longer concur that the logical progression to follow is: elementary-junior-senior high school followed by university. Again, the question of alternatives looms large. The technical school, the junior college, the community college are beginning to bring greater personal satisfaction than the more impersonal academic atmosphere of the university. As well, options such as free schools, experiencing life first hand, or opting out from the system completely, cannot be ignored.

For those who are involved in developing learning experiences, these and other attitudinal changes imply a need for re-evaluating the role of the school and what takes place therein as this affects the lives of people. The school has to become open in its attitude toward making it possible for young people to question and analyze alternatives. Moreover, the latitude for investigation has to be sufficiently broad to insure that ways of thinking which may be quite at odds with the purely 'scientific' method are not squelched out of hand. The crux of the matter is that schools must be places where young people can 'find themselves' and come to know and appreciate

the unique, as well as the similar, human qualities that characterize the human family.

A fourth guideline by which programs for northern children should be developed must take into account the involvement of people. This must not become a token involvement. The curriculum for any school must be developed locally by the teachers, parents and young learners working together. The Department of Education cannot adequately set out programs which will answer the needs of children in each community. In this regard our two handbooks for curriculum development advocate a philosophy, suggest methodologies, set out concepts and strategies that might be useful. But it must be left to the local people to make available learning programs that are relevant to the needs and interests of the community.

Obviously the foregoing is preciously close to motherhood. However if we really mean that we want people to be involved then we have to be prepared to be not only good listeners to what is being said to us, but also we have to be willing to make it possible for people to implement their ideas. We must be prepared to do this even though from our so-called "professional" point of view, we may reject what the people are saying. We cannot have it both ways whereby we say you can have involvement but only on our terms.

This is all very fine in theory, you may say, but what kind of practical things can be done by a curriculum division to implement these ideas. The curriculum division can be the agent through which "things" can be developed by giving people the opportunity to be involved and by utilizing the expertise of people who are interested in making a contribution to the education of their children. It also means recognizing the fact that people have got something to offer regardless of their academic background.

The Dogrib Books and the Whale Cove Books produced by our Curriculum Division may illustrate how books can be produced. The Dogrib Series are a series of books based on the Dogrib people. The first series, known as the Tendi Series, portrays the life of a Dogrib boy and his family who lived near Marian Lake in the South Mackenzie one hundred years ago. The stories in this series are meant to depict the various aspects of Dogrib culture, many facets of which are now almost forgotten. The Johnny Series follows, portraying the life of a boy who lives in present day Rae. This series is meant to illustrate the dramatic change that has occurred in the cultures of the north. The Dogrib Legends are composed of six books of traditional Dogrib stories. The material for these books was collected and translated into English by Virginia Football, a Dogrib person from Rae. The material was then rewritten for children by Jim MacDiarmid of the Curriculum Division. The illustrations were, in the most part, done by Bob Abraham, a Chipewyan person. These stories have been published in a multi-media kit of cassette tapes in both English and Dogrib with accompanying filmstrips.

The Whale Cove Books, published in both English and syllabics, were written and illustrated by Nick Sikkuark of Whale Cove in the Keewatin Region. Mr. Sikkuark is an Eskimo person who has probably a Grade 3 formal education.

The Dechinta Picture Series is a set of thirty-five colour pictures depicting life 'on the land' in one area of the North. These pictures were made possible only through the combined efforts of the residents of T'edh, a small village located a few miles from Yellowknife, and Jim MacDiarmid and John Luccock of the Curriculum Division who provided the photography, layout, and design work.

PIK Magazine is a northern magazine for children. It is the result of an interest expressed by a Euro-Canadian lady living in Yellowknife.

All of these simply point out that a great number of people from a variety of walks of life, who have something worthwhile to contribute, do exist. Their interests and strengths can be made use of.

A list of materials published to date by the Curriculum Division of the Department of Education in the Northwest Territories is supplied below.

LEARNING MATERIALS

Curriculum Handbooks: Multi-cultural learning programs developed for young learners between the ages of five and fifteen. The Handbooks provide the basis for developing learning experiences in all schools for this age group of young people.

Dogrib Reading Series: A collection of twenty-three children's books and three teacher's handbooks based on the heritage of the Dogrib people.

Multi-Media Kit: Audio tapes in English and Dogrib, filmstrips and books, developed around six legends of the Dogrib people.

Tales From The Igloo: A collection of legends of the Copper Eskimo people, illustrated in colour and published for young and older people alike.

Eskimo Materials: Books depicting life in the Eastern Arctic.

Magazines: PIK and Arcturus are periodicals for children, teachers, and people interested in Northern education.

Northern Games: A portfolio of twenty illustrated traditional

games of the people in the Mackenzie Delta area.

Arctic Reading Series: A series of books originally published by the Federal Government for Eskimo children.

Whale Cove Series: A series of five books in English and syllabics.

Chipewyan History Series: A series of thirteen books and a teacher's handbook based on the Chipewyan people.

Dechinta Picture Series: A set of thirty-five full colour pictures depicting life 'on the land' in one area of the North.

Have You Ever Seen A Walrus?: An alphabet book written in English, syllabics and Eskimo orthography. The pictures are of children in Broughton Island and the text written by Miss Lily Kyak from Pond Inlet.

Learning Materials: Books, games, toys, etc., from Southern Canada and elsewhere that are recommended for use in Northern schools.

Cassette Tapes: Children can listen to the legends of Northern people in their own language or in English.

Syllabics Materials: Booklets for use in developing syllabic reading material. These were developed by community people, classroom assistants, and teachers.

Various Items: Catalogues of recommended learning materials from within and outside of Canada; guide books for teachers; teacher developed books on art and the out-of-doors; a re-printed Dictionary and Grammar of an Athapaskan language.

INDIAN EDUCATION PROGRAMS IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

Reg Kelly
Advisor on Indian Affairs
to the
Government of British Columbia

My presentation will deal with the interest of the provincial government of British Columbia in matters pertaining to Indians in that province. In order to gain some perspective, there should be some background knowledge to indicate that the provincial interest in status Indians on reserves is a fairly recent interest and will move into an area which is generally recognized as being under federal legislation since the beginning of government in Canada.

The British North America Act of 1867 is the founding constitution for Canada, and it provides that all matters pertaining to Indians and Indian lands would be under the jurisdiction of the federal government of Canada. This was to ensure that the welfare of native peoples would continue under the direct administration and protection of the Crown federal in all parts of Canada. The British North America Act provided that the various provincial governments would have jurisdiction over local services to all other citizens of Canada, including municipal services, health services, education, and all such matters which reach into households, with careful attention being paid to local interests and conditions. This meant that provincial legislation would have a definite impact on all citizens within provincial boundaries.

By contrast, the federal government administers to the needs and provides all similar services to persons living in areas reserved for Indians throughout Canada, with the main spring of administration from Ottawa, the capital of Canada.

This division of administrative interests somewhat prevented Indians from being a part of the social and economic mainstream of Canadian life. The jurisdiction of the federal government of Canada in regard to Indians is embodied in a single statute which provides administration and jurisdiction for all Indians in Canada and somewhat duplicates services being offered by the different provincial governments in the 10 provinces of Canada.

Provincial Interest in Indians of British Columbia

Because of the British North America Act mentioned above, the province of British Columbia has not felt that it could do very much for the native peoples and historically there has been the attitude of the provincial government that Indians are "Wards of the Crown", and therefore little attention has been paid to the extension of provincial services.

Voting Privileges

However, in 1949, there came a significant change in the attitude of the provincial government. In that year, the Elections Act of the province was amended to extend the right to vote to Indians living on reserves. This represented a first granting of provincial franchise to status Indians living on reserves. Since that change, all candidates for election in British Columbia have paid attention to Indians on reserves and have sought their support by making promises to improve their status as citizens. All other provinces followed the lead of British Columbia and now Indians may vote and be candidates in all provinces.

Provincial Education

Also in 1949, there was a very minor change in The Public Schools Act of British Columbia, which enabled the province of British Columbia to allow local school boards to accept funds from the federal government for the joint education of Indian children in the ordinary provincial school system. This was the first break-away from Indian children being educated in their own separate schools on Indian reserves under exclusive federal jurisdiction. Indian parents have taken advantage of this opportunity to send their children to provincial schools in British Columbia.

This same pattern was taken up by other provinces in Canada, and each provincial department of education would report approximately the same percentage of Indian children in the public school system.

Indian Enquiry Act

After the election of 1949 wherein Indians were candidates and voted for the first time in British Columbia's history, the provincial government of the day realized that they knew very little about Indians living on reserves. In order to receive advice and recommendations on these matters, the provincial government set up the "Indian Enquiry Act" which provided for the appointment of a committee of interested citizens and a staffed office to gather information on Indian problems and to present advice and recommendations for the consideration of the government, in order to formulate some progressive policies towards Indian people. This type of legislation and committee has also been established by other provinces throughout Canada and provides a sounding board for representative Indian opinion on many public concerns.

First Citizens' Fund

In 1969, the provincial government established a perpetual fund of 25 million dollars with the provision that the interest accruing therefrom would be used for the benefit of native people living within the boundaries of British Columbia. This fund was administered in the beginning by a committee of cabinet ministers, and more recently has been administered by a representative group of native people who meet regularly to assess all applications for assistance. The disbursements are outright grants and are meant to assist individuals as well as community groups to improve the pattern of living through economic development or artistic encouragement or anything which seems to be of interest to the applicants. This has provided funds which could not ordinarily be obtained under legislative votes, which are much more restrictive.

These items above represent the spasmodic interest of the provincial government since 1949, which did not represent any sustained pattern towards the inclusion of Indian people into the body politic in a wholehearted fashion.

With the election of the present government of British Columbia in 1972, one of the cabinet ministers was appointed as minister without portfolio with the specific assignment from the Premier to investigate all matters pertaining to provincial legislation and regulations which might assist in extending more provincial services to status Indians on reserves who might now be deprived of such services because of the division of powers under the British North America Act. This assignment represented the intention to find ways and means of changing the attitude of the Indian people towards the provincial government, and at the same time to change the attitude

of provincial civil service departments who had looked upon Indian people as someone whom they could not serve. This investigation began in September 1972 and is therefore in the earliest stages of the study. Information has been received from other provinces on experiments in this direction, and provided a most interesting picture of what is being done towards Indian citizenship throughout Canada. Other provincial governments had interested themselves in different degrees since 1949, and therefore had accumulated considerable valuable experience in this matter of extension of services to status Indians on reserves.

Because of the differences of jurisdiction under the Indian Act and provincial statutes, there have been many long-standing grievances on the part of Indians of British Columbia which need to be examined to determine whether any corrective action can be taken. This general attitude is the basis for the study now being conducted by the government of British Columbia and represents a broad general desire to bring about changes which will benefit native people in a much greater degree than has been done in the past.

While some of these interests and changes may not be directly related to education in the classroom situation, they do represent a broad educative force of Indian communities which lead to better citizenship.

There has been a separate paper presented on the changes being brought about directly within the British Columbia department of education with these ends in view.

Indian Languages

One of the related subjects which is being studied is the possibility of introducing legislation for the recording and teaching of the various aboriginal languages throughout British Columbia. This idea really came to our attention through legislation which was being formulated in Alaska towards identically the same end. It is recognized throughout the world that aboriginal peoples are losing the knowledge of their own particular language because, in many cases, they are a minority group who must use the language and customs of the other dominant culture in order to survive economically. I am sure that all of you have heard grandparents complaining about the fact that their grandchildren cannot speak their own language, and therefore are in danger of losing touch with their own cultural background. The knowledge of the native language is almost an essential in the preservation of any culture.

So, there is to be legislation presented which will provide funding to enable native people to teach other native people their own language at the reserve level and to include such teaching in the schools in local school districts, if such courses are desired and if sufficient interest is shown. Encouragement also will be given to the study of native languages in the curricula of higher education at the high school and university levels with the suggestion that course credits should be given for successful completion as they are now given for courses in Spanish, French, Italian etc.

School Trustees

In many districts, the numbers of Indian children in the public school system represent a significant percentage. As Indians acquire a better grasp of education by exposure to the public school system, more of the parents become interested in the

classroom progress in the school and the administration of the school districts, because they become aware that their taxes are contributing to the maintenance of the school system. There was provision for the inclusion of Indians to vote on school matters, and many Indians are now elected members of school boards in different parts of British Columbia. The representation on school boards is somewhat dependent on the sophistication and economic development of Indians who may form a significant percentage of the voting population. This condition is not yet general throughout all of British Columbia, but is spreading slowly.

School Districts

At the present time, the government of British Columbia is considering an application from the Nass Valley of North Western British Columbia which has a very high percentage of Indians. There has been a strong request from Indian groups in the Nass Valley to form a new provincial school district which would enable them to build their own public schools with the combination of federal and provincial funds and to take the responsibility of administering the educational system of that district in the usual school board fashion. That request is still under active consideration.

Native Courtworker and Counselling Association of British Columbia

It has been long recognized that native people have been at a disadvantage when appearing in the courts of law because of the lack of language comprehension in some cases, and more important, the difference in cultural values. While legal aid is gradually spreading to many of the different centres throughout British Columbia, it became more apparent that some enriched services must be offered to the native Indian people to aid in understanding legal

processes and to provide for assistance in court appearances. This idea was reinforced by the fact that the percentages of Indian persons in provincial jails and federal penitentiaries were far higher in comparison with other ethnic groups in Canada. The federal Department of Justice and the Department of the Attorney-General of British Columbia agreed to match funds for the formation of the Native Courtworker and Counselling Association of British Columbia, and a representative group was formed under a provincial charter with this specific purpose in mind. This group has begun its work in the last few months, and may have more significant changes to report by this time next year. This organization has the interest and approval of the judicial court system, police forces, and all groups who are interested in the education and advancement of native peoples. This particular program happens to focus on legal and courtroom education for the Indian population.

Municipal Affairs

There is a provision for an Indian community to be treated as a municipality by taking a referendum vote to become a recognized body under the Municipal Act. There has been much interest shown, but some Indian groups on reserves are suspicious of the provincial interest. Many of the Indian reserves now have organized themselves into small municipal-type organizations with band civil service and a business-like approach in all matters pertaining to leasing of their lands and other matters which require municipal-type decisions. There will be more interest in a formal referendum as more self-confidence is gained by looking after their own affairs at the Indian reserve level. Nevertheless, the door is open for municipal status in the provincial system without the loss of any federal jurisdiction over lands and federal funds for administration

and projects. This is looked upon as a good blend of both governments which will benefit Indian reserves who are interested in such municipal-type structure with its provincial grants and other benefits now available to other municipalities in British Columbia.

General

Other matters which are being considered generally are a federal-provincial sharing of costs regarding roads on reserves; funding of training in traditional aboriginal arts such as totem carving in wood and argillite; weaving; carving in various metals; the continued study of aboriginal arts as being transposed to modern designs; provincial taxation of leased Indian lands; mineral rights on Indian reserves which are in need of clarification; agreements for the sharing of costs of social welfare services and children's aid services

These are some of the items which are under active study by the provincial government of British Columbia, and there are many others which represent the sincere desire to offer full citizenship opportunities to status Indians on reserves who have been cut off from such feelings until recent years. Because of cultural differences between aboriginal peoples and non-Indians, there will be a long and slow process of education needed before mutual benefits can be recognized for the advantage of Indian peoples themselves. This is why I feel that these remarks do have some place in an education conference such as this.

TOWARDS A CROSS-CULTURAL PROGRAM
IN THE N.W.T.

Norm McPherson
 Director, Department of Education
 Government of Northwest Territories
 Canada

In attempting to tell you in a very brief period of time, something of the multi-cultural programs we are attempting in the N.W.T., I am afraid, like Shakespeare's Anthony in Julius Caesar "one of two bad ways you must conceit me, either a coward or a flatterer". For if I sing the praises of what our department is doing in multi-cultural education, I may well be accused of self-flattery and particularly if I fail through lack of time, to point out the flaws, weaknesses and failures of our attempts, it may well be labelled cowardice. I have no wish to sound like a young bride at her trousseau tea proudly displaying her wedding gifts--for I, like her, must be aware that the first thing to turn green in the spring will be the silverware she received at her wedding. Therefore, I present for your consideration, discussion, and questioning, some of the ideas we are putting into practice--not necessarily as the final and flawless answers to difficult problems--but as attempts to implement a philosophy of multi-cultural education in which we deeply believe.

First, then, let me outline for you--not necessarily in order of importance--the philosophical beliefs about learning, on which our programs are based.

We believe that the basis of learning is communication--in all its many forms--and that when language is the communication form employed, it MUST be the language of the learner.

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Therefore, we have set down as a policy of our educational system in the N.W.T., that in the first three years of school, a child shall be taught in his native language. We are not naive enough to think that the language of industry and commerce in Northern Canada will be anything but English, and so our schools have a duty to teach English--but, in the early years, as a second language. So we see a child in the first year of his schooling, being taught 90 per cent in Dogrib or Slavey or Chipewyan or Eskimo and 10 per cent in English; the second year perhaps 80 per cent--20 per cent of native language to English; then 50-50 and finally in year 4, the language of instruction becomes English and the native language becomes a subject for continuing study in the curriculum. What we are attempting, in short, is to develop a multi-cultural, multi-lingual system of education in our Northern classrooms. There is, of course, some reasonably strong linguistic evidence to suggest that when a child is taught initially in his own language, he masters the target language more effectively, and of course we will institute such a program only where it is the wish of the community.

Which brings me to the second precept on which our educational system is based--that of local involvement.

Article 26 of the United Nations Charter to which Canada is a signatory, says--"Parents have a prior right to choose the type of education that shall be given to their children".

You will note that article 26 does not refer to white southern Canadians or government bureaucracies, or Directors of Education, (and I happen to represent each of these categories) as the final arbiter of a child's learning experiences.

Article 26 says parents shall have the right to choose, and we in the N.W.T. Department of Education agree with this right, and we intend to put it into practice.

One of our top priorities, then, is this matter of involvement. If we are going to provide the kind of education that parents wish for their boys and girls, then we must listen to the parents. We must try to make the home and school partners in education. If we are to win the support of the home for the school, we must:

1. accept it as a home,
2. try to understand and support the home,
3. not try to change the home or undermine it, and finally,
4. we in the schools must seek a union with the home at the point of common concern--the successful progress of the child.

The only way, it seems to me, that our education system can serve the boys and girls and the communities in which they find themselves, is by getting the parents of the children involved meaningfully in the educational task that we share with one another. This suggests that we must do everything possible to establish advisory boards in our settlements and to give those boards an increasing amount of authority. Perhaps one of the first ways in which advisory boards can aid us is in suggesting the things from the Indian and Eskimo culture that they feel should be taught in the schools, by suggesting people they think would do it, and by allowing the boards the financial control of these activities whereby they are able to pay the people selected to do the work. It seems obvious to me that we must have the parents giving us advice, and giving us advice to which we pay a great deal of attention, as to the kind of things that will make education more meaningful to their children.

Perhaps they know less about the professional aspects of education than do we teachers, but we have to keep in mind that they know much more of many more things than any white person coming into a settlement can ever know, and we have to take advantage of this vast storehouse of knowledge that they have.

However, I do not think that local involvement stops with advisory boards and our listening to what the parents tell us that they want for their children. It must go much further, and we must do everything possible to get more and more Indian and Eskimo people into our schools as classroom assistants, as experts on cultural inclusion, as experts on the native way of life, and certainly we must strive to get more and more Indian and Eskimo young people into our schools as fully-qualified teachers. We are indeed aiming in that direction and we have plans to increase the number of Indian and Eskimo people teaching in Northern schools, because in the long run that is really the only way we will ever make our educational system truly relevant.

Which brings me to the third principal that we advocate--relevancy. We are not the only people in education who are convinced that if our schools are to truly serve our young people they must be relevant to the needs of these young people. Surely, "the now generation" has said very clearly that if education does not have meaning and relevancy for them in relation to their own lives, they will drop out or cop out--and they are doing it in large numbers.

We must have an education system in the North that is relevant to life in the North. We cannot hope to succeed if we import--as we have done in the past--a system of education that was designed for middle class white Anglo-Saxons. Right now that system's relevancy to life in Lethbridge in 1973 is being questioned--there's no hope for it in Fort Good Hope.

The school in a Northern settlement is doomed to failure when it is looked upon as a foreign imposition of the white man. It must be a part of the community, and the things of value and worth and meaning in the community must be so regarded in the school.

Let me quote two examples--the first an example of a non-relevant school--a Negro school in Harlem.

"The Harlem child comes to school and discovers the school is **not** about life as he knows it at all. It doesn't have pictures of the kind of people he knows, it doesn't help him develop the skills he needs for the world in which he lives, the world of school is irrelevant at best. It forces an alien linguistic and learning style on him and if he cannot make the adjustment of being one person in school and another in Harlem, it abandons him to the streets. The school is a harshly foreign institution and the Harlem child reacts pretty much like a conquered people. School becomes a waiting game, an endurance contest, and he's only free when he leaves and we chalk up another failure at the door of our school system."

And now what I think is a beautiful example of what relevancy in education is all about. It is written by a 9 year old boy from Munson, Alberta, and it was, I'm pleased to say, one of the three winning essays in the recent "Minister for A Day" contest sponsored by the Alberta Department of Education.

Here is what Jeffrey Charles Rosgen has to say about
What Education Means to Me:

"Education means having my Dad teach me about our sheep and livestock, or feeding my bottle lamb her milk or seeing a lamb come out of the ewe's body and seeing the birth bag. It is helping Dad fix parts of the tractor and being told my mistakes and then sometimes getting it right.

To learn about the early days when my Grandpa was a boy with old machines is Education. Learning to read, to write, to do arithmetic, to grow things, to make things like soup or dill pickles, to know how to drive things like tractors, combines and big heavy duty trucks, all of this is Education. Knowing the things like the alphabet, Roman Numerals, getting to read a book about different kinds of people who live around the world, getting to know about an elevator, or how a tractor is built or how a human talks or walks is Education. It is talking about how to get to the moon and how it would feel. It is a test with maybe fifty words in it.

Education is getting to know a person from China, Russia, France, or Germany. You can get an education by sticking a bobby pin in an electric box and finding out the hard way that there is electricity there.

Education is to have a Mass and to learn how to get more information about God. Education is learning to see that there are things which can teach us all around us."

What Jeffrey Rosgen says, and what our department is trying to say is that education is not for life or about life, it is life, and it is life where you live, and it grows out of your heritage and your values.

Let me tell you, on the basis of programs we have in our schools, what education means to a Slavey boy or girl in

Fort Providence: it means listening to Vital Bonnetrouge tell Slavey legends from the past; it means learning snowshoe making from Baptiste Gargan; it means learning native sewing and embroidery and leathercraft from Elizabeth Nadli. Or to a Hareskin child in Fort Franklin: it means learning to tan caribou hides, to listen to and to learn drum dances, to make snowshoes, to go on hunting trips with parents and elders, and many other things from the child's past, that we in the schools say, are arts and crafts and traditions of worth and importance.

Or to an Eskimo child in Holman Island. Education means listening in school to the great Eskimo artist Helen Kalvak give an art-oriented legend interpretation, or going to the sealing camps with the whole settlement (including teachers) for a week in the spring, or the entire grades 4,5 and 6 class travelling to Edmonton for "Operation Southbound" for 10 days and hosting 20 eager Edmonton boys and girls on the return "Operation Northbound".

Or an Eskimo boy or girl in Pond Inlet: Education means a course in fox trapping from Jobie Envarak; it means going on the spring caribou hunt with Timothy Kadlu and Kyak and the R.C.M.P. and a teacher; it means learning to carve and to make igloos and duffel mitts and parkas.

A fourth principle on which we base our system is a rejection of the "empty-vessel assumption" in education, whereby the teacher assumes that the child comes to school knowing absolutely nothing and it is the duty of the school to fill up the child with "book larnin".

It seems to me a fairly sound pedagogical principle to build on the strengths--not the weaknesses--that a child brings to school with him. And surely one of the most amazing strengths

any six year old child has, is his almost complete mastery of the very complex system of his own language and, of course, he brings into the classroom his traditions, his value-system, in short--his culture--and isn't it ridiculous for us as educators to suggest that this wealth of learning is of no value--and to start again at ground zero--and can you imagine what an Indian or an Eskimo child and his parents feel and think when in our stupid arrogance, we the representatives of the school, --a tremendously influential force in a small, isolated settlement--say in effect "Nothing that you know or feel or think or have been told by your parents or have learned from your friends is of the slightest value". We will immerse you in English which you don't know; we'll give you a superior value-system which in many ways runs counter to that of your parents; we'll teach you about life in southern Canada, and you can ignore what you see around you in Arctic Bay.

That's a great way to build a self-image for a child; that's a great system for creating pride in yourself, in your parents and in your heritage; that's a sure-fire system for anyone to acquire a positive image of himself as a person and as a learner.

I don't think it is, and neither do you--and I am pleased to say that we don't do this in our schools in Northern Canada. We try to build on the strengths that the child brings to school with him--and that provides us with a solid foundation, because it is generally recognized that a child does the most significant learning of his lifetime in the first five years. He learns his language, his feelings about himself and his family, his ways of perceiving the world, and his attitude toward learning--truly a remarkable repertoire of skills and abilities on which to build.

And now let me briefly say a word about some of our programs that attempt to implement the philosophy that I have outlined--programs that, like the bride's wedding gifts, may be questionable as to their ultimate quality or lasting value.

First I will merely note our attempts at relevancy--at developing made-in-the-N.W.T. curriculum handbooks--A Curriculum Guide for K-6 and Learning in the Middle Years--and our attempt to produce classroom materials that grow out of the experiences and knowledge of the children who use such materials.

Mr. Carnew of our Program Development Division will be speaking to you on this topic in greater depth later in the program, so I will not dwell further on it.

We have at present in our 62 schools, 101 classroom assistants, Indian, Eskimo and Metis boys and girls, all of whom have taken training programs offered under our auspices, attempting not only to bridge the gap between home and school, but attempting, with the help of teachers, to implement our language policy. Each of these young people, as of last year, is a member of the Public Service of the N.W.T. Government, and receives the same rights and privileges as any other public servant. In some of our schools thanks to the work and abilities of Eskimo-speaking white teachers, and our classroom assistants, the practice of teaching language conforms to the philosophy. In other schools little better than a beginning has been made.

It was because of the high priority our department places on instituting a native language program in the first three years of school, that we have made a dramatic change in our teacher education program.

As many of you are aware, for the past four years we have sponsored a program of training native northerners as teachers in

our schools. Some of these teachers-in-training and their instructors have in the past visited Alaska, and have enjoyed sharing experiences with your students and officials. That program, about which Miss Audrea Hargreave will speak to you, had, as one of its criteria for admission, the possession of a Grade XI diploma by the student. The program was offered in conjunction with the University of Alberta and was capable of leading to a B.Ed. degree from that institution.

This year, however, we have changed the admission criteria whereby it is now mandatory for a teacher trainee to be bilingual in English and a native language of the North. We are running the entire two-year program in the N.W.T.--presently we have 16 students (all Eskimo) at Chesterfield Inlet on the west shore of Hudson Bay, and the same number (mainly Indian and Metis) at our school in Fort Smith. Our recruits are drawn largely from our corps of classroom assistants which gives them a career pattern, and at the same time assures the training program of young people who have demonstrated that they possess a keen interest in children and teaching, and an ability to work effectively in the school and classroom.

The new teacher education program consists of two, four-month periods at the training centres, each followed by two, four-month periods of internship or on-the-job training.

As you might expect, we have been on the receiving end of a fair amount of static concerning this change of direction. Let me quote Mr. Brian Lewis, principal of our Teacher Education Program:

"Around me continually I hear the shrill shrieks about standards and excellence, and tunelessly glorious trumpeting about the profession and its quick decay.

No man cares more about standards, excellence and dignity than myself. What concerns me is that we fall into the trap of believing only our standards, our notions of excellence, and our sense of dignity are the right ones, simply because we have successfully crossed all the academic hurdles and carry all our professional tickets in our pockets.

It could be just as easily argued that teachers trained in southern institutions don't meet the standards demanded by parents in the Northwest Territories. How many of us, for example, have felt inept both in our training and experience when faced with the complexities of our northern educational system. All I am arguing here is that we have not thrown away our standards; rather we have found new ones more in keeping with our northern system. They are:

Suitability for northern teaching.

Responsiveness to community opinion.

Ability to communicate in two languages.

Specific training for northern teaching."

Although I can offer no guarantee of the success of this program, I am prepared to endorse Brian's ideas on the subject, and we as a department are prepared to "put our money where our mouth is" in developing a cadre of northern teachers for northern boys and girls.

And what of our programs of local involvement and cultural inclusion? There has been established in nearly every school in the N.W.T., an advisory committee made up of local people whose task it is to advise the local principal and staff on all matters pertaining to the education of their children. In two of our four regions, there is an annual meeting of principals and advisory committee chairmen with the Superintendent to discuss and advise on policies and procedures that affect all the schools within the region. We have turned over to the E.A.B.'s all the money allocated

for cultural inclusion activities, and the Boards have the authority and the responsibility for deciding on the activity (be it a caribou hunt, fishing expedition, kamik-making course, or whatever) deciding on who shall conduct the activity, buying the necessary materials and supplies, and paying the instructors.

At Rae-Edzo, a all-Indian school of some 300 pupils, we have turned the entire operation of the school over to the Rae-Edzo School Society, whose members are elected by the community. We, the government, enter into an agreement with the society, negotiate with them their budgetary requirements, and then allow them to hire the teachers, the custodial workers, the bus drivers, the hostel parents, etc., decide on curricular offerings, and generally run the school. Our role is strictly consultative.

We have entered into a similar agreement with the Koe Go Cho Society of Fort Simpson for the complete operation of the former government-run pupil residence.

This is the direction in which we want our educational system to move, and during the fall session of the Territorial Council in Inuvik, I recommended, on behalf of our department, that the establishment of elected advisory committees--both accredited (such as Rae-Edzo) and non-accredited (purely advisory) be established by law. As you would expect, the performances of the advisory committees, and indeed of the School Society, have been varied, and marked by successes and failures. However, one example may indicate the influence they have with us. Largely at the insistence of local Education advisory boards, we now have two school years in the N.W.T. In most of the larger settlements, school is in session from early September until the end of June, while in the predominantly Eskimo and Indian settlements, school commences in mid-August and finishes in late May, so that families may go out on the land to the fishing and sealing camps.

There are many other educational programs and projects in the N.W.T. in which you may be interested, but which I have not the time to discuss--our Eskimo language school, our dental therapists program, our adult education centres, our vocational training institutions and our higher education program. However, every trousseau tea must end, and I have tried to outline some of the attempts we are making to build a truly bilingual, bi-cultural system of education in the Northwest Territories.

May I conclude by paraphrasing the remarks of one of my heroes in American government and politics--Adlai Stevenson--just before the ballots were counted in the Presidential Election of 1960:

"We are not doing as much as we would like to be doing, but we feel we are doing our best. No man can do more, and the people we serve are entitled to no less."

INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

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First of all let me thank those of you that are responsible for extending an invitation to me to take part in your seminar in Intercultural Education. It's wonderful to be here - I've always dreamed of coming here. In fact, at one point I considered enrolling at the University of Alaska. Money stopped me. Dollars were more available to a Canadian student in Canada than they were here. And, in addition, the University of Victoria which I did attend was closer to the source of my summer income -- commercial fishing off Vancouver Island. I don't suppose too many people go through college on the back of a salmon, but I did. And I managed to live quite well.

I want to introduce the subject of Intercultural Education in British Columbia by telling you something of its background. I assume you don't know much more about it than we Canadians do about your background -- which makes me think sometimes that Intercultural Education should begin between countries, rather than between races in the same country.

Anyway, what I have to tell you about the background of Indian Education is based on history and partly on reasoning, and partly on experience. Following this I wish to deal with

Department of Education involvement in Indian Education, the formation and functions of the British Columbia Native Indian Teachers' Association and the Indian Education Resources Center. And finally, I want to tell you a little about university involvement with cross-cultural education. I know that there will not be enough time for much detail today. But if anyone here wants more information I will be pleased to provide it by mail.

When Canada became a nation in 1867, it did so on the basis of a constitution called the British North America Act (BNA Act). The BNA Act clearly defined the Federal and Provincial fields of jurisdiction. To make a long story short the Indian people of Canada came under the jurisdiction of the National or Federal Government. In other words, everything pertaining to the Native people of Canada came under the control of Ottawa -- your Washington.

As has been the case with the United States, Indian Affairs in Canada has come under various Departments of Government -- even the Department of Immigration. For a time in Indian history we wished that we were under some Department as a Department of Emigration. Today we are in the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. For years the Provincial government at home chose to ignore our Indian people and whenever the subject of Indian was raised in their discussions the standard reaction was almost always " ... federal jurisdiction." In other words, we have always been classed as special people and never as citizens of the province. But while the BNA Act made Indian Affairs a federal matter, it placed Education under provincial jurisdiction. Thus, from the beginning there has been conflict and buck-passing.

Today, the federal government buys the educational services of the provinces to educate the Indian people. Our children attend

schools that are predominantly white. As a result they have termed the process, rightly or wrongly, "integration," a word used to describe a few Indian children in an all white environment. Right now in British Columbia 77% of all school age children of Indian ancestry are being "integrated" and the percentage is rising yearly. The rest are in all Indian Federal Day Schools.

Recently, and for the first time in Department of Education history, an Indian with an educational background has been appointed to see to the interests of Native children in British Columbia schools. I am he. I am proud of it, but challenged and worried and also very hopeful.

This appointment has three far reaching implications as far as I am concerned.

a. It is an indication that the provincial school system recognizes that the special need of the Indian people is not being met because an equal education for the unequal is not enough. The "more of the same" cure, all prevalent in our educational system, is no longer an acceptable remedy for the educational needs of our Indian people in British Columbia.

b. Secondly, it implies an awareness among whites that the First Citizens of the Province must be given more opportunity to share in the decision making processes in the educational system. Only in this way can their meaningful involvement begin to eradicate a deep-seated mistrust on the part of the Indians for those who are in the majority controlling all the major institutions of our society.

c. Thirdly, this move is a recognition that if the province of British Columbia is to be in any way successful in solving the educational needs of the Indian people, the majority whites must seek credibility for their efforts in the eyes of the Indian people.

At this point I can already say that this action by the government of British Columbia is not tokenism -- a budget is already a reality and Indian educational programmes are in motion. I could not at this time tell you in detail the nature of these programmes. I can say that the government Indian education programmes are on the basis of the needs of each school district. Generally, the needs fall into the following categories:

- a. Cultural content in the curriculum both at the elementary and secondary level.
- b. Out of the ordinary help in teaching English as a second language.
- c. Home and school counselling and coordination.
- d. Use of Indians as teacher's aides to fill the gap of communication in the classroom.
- e. Enrichment programmes in the form of travel experience and student exchanges designed to enrich the experiences of Indian children.

I want to mention at this point a special set of people in British Columbia who are dedicated to improving the educational opportunities of the Native people in British Columbia. They are known as the B.C. Native Indian Teachers' Association. Primarily their function is not that of an organized union. Their function is to provide specific educational material pertaining to Indian education and also to provide people resources to serve all educational communities. In this connection the association is concerned with the lack of involvement of the Native people in the educational processes that serve their children. These Native teachers have established, as an outward expression of their being, an Indian Education Resources Center at the University of British

Columbia. The resources of the Center try to take a horizontal posture in their services touching all facets of Indian life which are vertical on a scale and totally related to the life styles of the Indian people in British Columbia. The beauty of the Center and its satellite at the University of Victoria is that its birth and present status is totally Indian in its composition and operation. Should you wish further information regarding the Center, I will leave a brochure with your Chairman.

In British Columbia we are resigned to the fact that we will always have an X number of non-Indians teaching our children. This, of course, is not ideal. Nevertheless, it will remain a fact for a number of years. If all things were equal in terms of numbers and ratios we should have in our educational system 1300 Indian certified teachers. Instead, we have 49 certified and degreed. We have a massive job at home to tackle in teacher training just to up the numbers.

Because we will continue to have non-Indian teachers teaching our children, our universities are providing a service to us by offering cross-cultural education courses for these teachers. Briefly and generally these few cross-cultural university courses have two objectives:

a. The first is to improve the teachers' background about Indian people. In doing this, hopefully the myths and stereotypes that non-Indians believe about us would be dispelled through greater understanding.

b. The second is to sharpen the teachers' skills in those areas where many children have difficulty or where the present educational system programmes are lacking.

That there is a special need in the field of Indian Education is a fair assumption in view of the alarming statistics on the

drop-out situation of Indian students. Some 94 percent of all Indians enrolled in the British Columbia public schools do not complete Grade XII. The average grade level attainment of status registered Indians is 8.15 and that of the non-status Indians is 7.17. With the great emphasis that society places on education in terms of its potential to develop productive citizens of Canada, this drop-out rate is both significant and alarming.

The drop-out process begins early. As every experienced teacher is aware, the home prepares the child for grade one but never does the school prepare itself to receive the child as he is at grade one. In view of this, Native children generally lack the background necessary to cope even with the primary grades. Failure and repetition begin to take its toll. We must -- I must -- do something about this now -- today.

Ladies and gentlemen, I think I have briefly described to you what is going on back home. I thank you again for this opportunity to speak; it has been my pleasure. Thank you.

NORTHERN CROSS-CULTURAL EDUCATION: NON-GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS

BRITISH COLUMBIA INDIAN LANGUAGE PROJECT

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Development of this Project

"British Columbia Indian Language Project is the name used to refer to the linguistic and ethnographic research being done by Native Indian people, with the assistance of Randy Bouchard, a linguist, in various areas of British Columbia, for the past 5 years. This work has been conducted on an independent basis, free of institutional or political ties. More recently, in April of 1972, "British Columbia Indian Language Project" was registered with the Federal Government's Internal Revenue division as a non-profit organization.

The Board of Trustees of B.C.I.L.P. consists of five older, knowledgeable Native Indian gentlemen from various areas of British Columbia. The direction and nature of the work undertaken by the B.C.I.L.P. is determined primarily by the wishes of the older Indian people in each of the Indian communities involved.

Linguistic areas involved

Although the B.C.I.L.P. is concerned with the preservation of the languages of all of B.C.'s approximately 30 different Indian groups, the area of concentration, so far, has been with that group of languages collectively referred to as "Salish". In British Columbia, there are 10 different Salish languages. In addition to working with Salish languages, B.C.I.L.P. has done some work with the Haida language during the past two years.

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Nature of work

It is through the "Indian Language Specialists" that the majority of the work of B.C.I.L.P. is accomplished. Indian Language Specialists are Native Indian people, usually middle-aged or older, who are trained in methodologies of taping, translating, and transcribing linguistic and ethnographic materials pertaining to their own particular groups. Most of these Indian Language Specialists are also trained in methodologies of teaching their own languages; at the present time, B.C.I.L.P. is involved with the teaching of six different Salish languages in British Columbia.

Materials collected

During the past five years, B.C.I.L.P. has built up an extensive collection of taped and written materials pertaining to half of the Indian languages of British Columbia. The majority of these materials are from the Salish linguistic territories of B.C. At the present time, the B.C.I.L.P. collection consists of approximately 350 tapes and approximately 11,000 accompanying pages of word lists, legends, stories, language lessons, and historical and ethnographic accounts. Almost all of the tapes are made in the original Indian languages; they are then translated into English, and are also transcribed in the original language.

In addition to these materials collected and developed by B.C.I.L.P., a "Resource Library has also been built up, consisting, at the present time of approximately 800 manuscripts, both published and unpublished, pertaining to all of the Native Indian peoples of British Columbia.

Feedback

B.C.I.L.P. is deeply concerned with providing feed-back to the Indian people in each of the areas where work is going on. In particular, copies of all tapes made, and of all the written

translations and transcriptions associated with each tape, are given to the Indian person who provided the original information, and to the Indian person who taped or translated or transcribed that information. Copies of taped and written materials are also given to the Band Councils in each of the Indian communities involved. Copies of taped and written materials considered to be of a "personal" nature by those who provide such original information are given to no one, without the express consent of the Indian person who originally provided that information.

Materials in schools

It is the unanimous feeling of those people associated with the work of B.C.I.L.P. that the ultimate aim of this research is to produce meaningful materials that can be used in both Provincial and Federal Schools, particularly in elementary grades, for the benefit of both Indians and non-Indians. This is demonstrated not only in the introduction of Indian language courses, with the assistance of B.C.I.L.P., but also in the introduction of materials for "Indian Studies" courses, and in the introduction of localized collections (in English translation) of Indian legends and stories.

Bibliography

Dorothy Kennedy, Research Assistant for B.C.I.L.P., is putting together an extensive bibliography of both published and unpublished materials pertaining to all of B.C.'s Native Indian languages and cultures, arranged according to each of the approximately 30 different linguistic groups. At the present time, this bibliography contains approximately 5,000 entries. As part of this work, Dorothy Kennedy is travelling around to various institutions throughout Canada and the United States, examining the many manuscript collections in existence outside of this province.

THE STONEY CULTURAL EDUCATION PROGRAM

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In 1972 the Stoney Tribal Council established the Stoney Cultural Education Program (S.C.E.P.). The purpose of creating this program was to provide a learning environment in which Stoney children might develop a deeper understanding of their history, culture, language and individual potential. The program, furthermore, was not to be an example of "tokenism" i.e, simply padding the existing curriculum with comments about the Stoney way -- it was to consist of a reorientation of the entire curriculum around the Stoney way. This paper will attempt to outline the events leading to the establishment of S.C.E.P., and to explain how S.C.E.P. is implementing its goals within the Stoney community.

About the Stoney Community:

The Stoney community referred to in this paper is centered at Morley, Alberta, Canada. The home and working language of nearly all homes in the community is Stoney, a member of the Assiniboine branch of the Siouan language family. The population of Morley, together with that of the two satellite reserves of Big Horn and Eden Valley, is about two thousand. The local economy is based largely on cattle ranching, lumbering, guiding, tourism, oil and gas leasing, and community services. Present

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educational facilities at Morley proper consist of classroom instruction through grade nine conducted in two learning centers, one of which is a new open area primary complex. According to recent estimates, over 95% of the students entering the school at Morley (in kindergarten or grade 1) speak only the Stoney language with the exception of a few English loan words. The development of a high school at Morley is in the final planning stages now and hopefully will be completed and in use by 1975. University credit courses are also being offered at Morley in cooperation with S.C.E.P.

How Did S.C.E.P. Get Started?

The forces that led to the establishment of S.C.E.P. have been part of the Stoney way from earliest times. Recent advancements in technology have allowed these forces to go in new directions. Thus, it was in 1965 that the Stoney Tribal Council entered into an agreement with the Summer Institute of Linguistics, Inc. (SIL), to develop a writing system for Stoney that could be used throughout the community. Several experimental alphabets were developed and after considerable testing, one of these alphabets was selected as the standard for writing Stoney. It follows the Roman orthography tradition.

In 1970 the Stoney Tribal Council initiated the Oral History Program, under the direction of Chief John Snow. Making use of tape recorders, the program workers interviewed many of the elders of the Tribe. Their work resulted in the collection of hundreds of hours of Stoney history, philosophy and moral teachings in the Stoney language. Their work also resulted in an increased community awareness and self-respect that has significantly shaped the style of education in the Stoney community.

In 1972 the Stoney Language Program and the Oral History Program merged, under the auspices of the Tribal Education Committee, to form the Stoney Cultural Education Program. The formation of S.C.E.P. was greatly assisted by the financial and resource backing of the Alberta Indian Education Center, the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, the Department of Manpower and Immigration, the United Church of Canada, the Summer Institute of Linguistics, and the University of Calgary.

What Does S.C.E.P. Do?

S.C.E.P. is first and foremost a people program. That is, it exists primarily to assist the individual members of the community to attain to their highest potential for the well-being of the rest of the community. At present this people-development emphasis is focused on two groups within the community: 1) the S.C.E.P. staff, and 2) the school children.

1) The S.C.E.P. staff, as part of their employment on the program, may choose from several options to help themselves find and develop their individual abilities. For example, some of the staff are enrolled in degree courses with the University of Calgary in order to better themselves in teaching and research skills. Others are attending courses in graphic arts with the Southern Alberta Institute of Technology in order to improve their job performance in printing, commercial and fine art, and photography. Still others are learning on-the-job the various supportive skills required by the program - skills such as secretarial, bookkeeping, library supervision, and maintenance.

Significant, also, is the training-through-experience which most of the staff are gaining right in the classroom situation with the children of the Stoney Community. Here the staff come face

to face with the learning problems encountered by their very own sons, daughters, and other relatives. It is from this classroom encounter that the staff are producing the needed teaching materials, in close cooperation with the more experienced regular classroom teachers at Morley who are under the employ of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. It is in the classroom that the staff find their source of greatest motivation -- the children themselves.

2) The school children of the community are the essence of what the program is all about. It has already been noted that these children start school with a native fluency in the Stoney language. In addition, it should be noted that they are natively conversant with the essentials of the Stoney culture. However, both the language and the culture of the non-Stoney are very foreign to these children. Thus, the Stoney-speaking child enters into his formal education with quite different pre-school experiences from the non-Stoney child. Yet, the approach to educating the Stoney child for many years has been to give him the same basic curriculum that is taught in the non-Stoney communities, such as Calgary. This is known as the Alberta Curriculum.

Now, the Stoney Education Committee and S.C.E.P. had very little argument with the basic strategy of the Alberta Curriculum -- viz., to go from the known to the unknown. (Thus, the child would begin his formal education with studies about his home, his relatives, the places familiar to him, etc., and would progress to studies of the less familiar ideas of the scientific method, economics, etc.) The Stoney community's argument was rather with the details of what constituted the areas already familiar to the child upon entering school. For example, although both the Stoney

and the non-Stoney child know about their relatives to some extent, they may classify their relatives quite differently, or may assign differing social roles to a given relative. Whereas the non-Stoney child in Calgary typically thinks of a "brother" or "sister" as being a child of the same set of parents as himself, the Stoney child thinks of a "brother" or "sister" as also including those children of anyone his father calls "brother" or his mother calls "sister". (The Stoney kinship system follows along the lines of the Crow kinship model.) In this way, then, the Stoney child brings to his first day in school a different understanding of the details about how his relatives are related to him.

S.C.E.P.'s role in this regard is to design and implement a Stoney curriculum which will allow for the differences in the pre-school background of the Stoney child, as compared to the "typical" non-Stoney child in Alberta. That is, S.C.E.P. is attempting to design a curriculum which will achieve the high academic objectives underlying the Alberta curriculum, and which at the same time will take into account the differences in world view and experiences of the Stoney child. In attempting this, S.C.E.P. also accepts the fact that the Stoney child is going to grow up in a world that operates from a very different cultural perspective from the one the Stoney child has grown up in. In view of this, S.C.E.P. is attempting to design a curriculum that will prepare the Stoney child to move freely in a non-Stoney world as well as in his own "home" world. For example, English will be taught from a second-language method, rather than from a first-language method as has been done traditionally. Already some of the regular teaching staff of the Morley school are experimenting with TESL (Teaching English as a Second Language) among the Stoney children, and are sharing

the findings of their experiments with the S.C.E.P. staff in a cooperative effort that is marking a new day for education on the Stoney Reserve at Morley.

Conclusion:

This paper has of necessity been kept brief. It did not consider specific productions in curriculum and publishing, nor did it consider the specific roles which the thirty members of the S.C.E.P. staff fill. There is one matter of considerable importance which must be stated, however. That is the matter of wages and motivation. Today, S.C.E.P. staff members enjoy a reasonable wage. This was not always so. In fact, until the past three years, those who participated in the various endeavors which ultimately led to S.C.E.P. did so largely at their own expense and on their own time. Their sole reward for their hard work consisted of a combination of deep personal satisfaction, warm friendships, a feeling of community togetherness, and a conviction on the part of some that this was a means of serving their God. It is this author's conviction that the present Stoney Cultural Education Program might never have been possible, were it not for those many years of personal sacrifice by concerned members of the Stoney community.

TILTING AT THE WINDMILLS OF INTERCULTURAL
EDUCATION IN THE NORTH

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INTRODUCTION

Early in the fifteenth century, the author Cervantes created the heroic figure of Don Quixote, who, were he alive today, probably would be involved in intercultural education in the north. The windmills at which he tilted were no less giant and no less numerous than the problems that must be confronted in attempting to design educational programs suited to and meaningful for the Indian, Metis, and Inuit people of Canada and Alaska.

No sooner did Don Quixote vanquish one windmill when another appeared to challenge him. No sooner does one northern education problem seem solved when another appears as an adjunct of the first.

Quixote finally solved his dilemma by returning to his former life leaving the windmills for others to conquer. Perhaps there is a parallel here. Perhaps this is the time for members from the majority culture to relinquish the front line positions in northern education to the northern natives themselves. We might be very surprised to find that many of the windmill problems have been of our own creating, and that native people, with their unique capabilities and knowledge of their own culture may be able to make many of the windmills disappear.

This may all sound like a bit of airy whimsey, but in reality, it describes what may be the future direction of education for Indian,

Metis, and Inuit people in Canada. Efforts of native organizations, coordinated through the National Indian Brotherhood, resulted early in 1973, in acceptance by the federal Department of Indian Affairs of the policy paper, "Indian Control of Indian Education". This document says in effect that Indian, Metis, and Inuit people now have the right to run their own schools, hire their own teachers, design their own curriculum. One by one Indian bands are exercising this right in the Canadian provinces, and in at least one school in the Northwest Territories. Indian people themselves have said that for some time to come, however, they will continue to need professional educators to act as consultants, advisors, and practitioners in areas where schooling has not given them the necessary expertise. Don Quixote would agree that there still are, in 1973, plenty of windmills left to challenge the imagination and abilities of people from both cultures who are involved in intercultural education in the north.

WHAT MAKES NORTHERN EDUCATION DIFFERENT?

I run the risk of generalizing to discuss some of the differences between northern intercultural education and majority culture education of southern Canada. Statements made in this paper about northern education refer primarily to schooling for Indian, Metis, and Inuit children. Majority culture education refers to schooling for white, southern, urban children. Obvious differences exist in the requirements, environmental settings, the economic situation, the teachers, and the cultural backgrounds of students. The chart below lists some of these differences which must be carefully considered before programs can be designed to fit the realities of the situation and the needs of the students.

	<u>Northern intercultural schooling</u>	<u>Southern urban schooling</u>
Environmental differences	geographically isolated rural milieu arctic climate minimal communications media sparsely inhabited, undeveloped area	geographically accessible urban milieu temperate climate multi-communications media heavily populated, industrialized area
Economic differences	schools supported by government grants parents largely unemployed and on welfare traditional hunting and fishing is still part of the economy of most families few job opportunities at school completion	schools supported by government grants and taxation parents generally self-supporting through employment a wage economy, and only slight ties to traditional pursuits greater number of job opportunities
Language differences	language of home is different from language of school little, if any, written material in the first language language of instruction is usually learned as a second language	language of home is the same as language of school a wide range of written material in the first language language of instruction is the first language of the students
Family differences	extended family self-discipline and autonomous decision making among children sharing of child rearing responsibilities, food, and material things equalitarian type of interpersonal relationships	nuclear family parents make decisions, discipline is imposed by adults parents only raise their children; individual ownership is prized hierarchial relationships defined by role

Value differences	high positive value for:	high positive value for:
	- respect for nature	- control of nature
	- living in the here-and-now	- planning for the future
	- group achievement	- individual achievement
	- respect for others	- respect for individual
	- traditions from the past	- being up-to-date
	- harmonious interpersonal	- individual freedom
	- respect for elders	- idealization of youth
Teacher differences	majority of teachers are from the non-native culture with the value system and world view of the culture	teachers are from the same culture as the students and generally have congruent values and world view

Many more differences exist, but even from those discussed here, it is obvious that a northern education system must be designed for the clientele it is to serve before positive in-school learning can occur. The picture today is much more hopeful than it was as recently as five years ago. Both in the north itself, and in various parts of the provinces, teachers, educational planners, and post secondary institutions are devoting greater time, thought, and effort to developing a system that will meet the unique learning needs of northerners.

WHAT IS HAPPENING IN INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION IN SASKATCHEWAN?

Programs concerned with intercultural education are an important component of the Saskatchewan educational scene at the university level. This is understandable when it is realized that of the ten provinces of Canada, Saskatchewan has the largest population ratio of people of native ancestry, with Treaty Indians and Metis. Between 1954 and 1959, the rate of increase of the native population of Saskatchewan was 4.3% per year compared to

0.65% for non-native persons. It has been predicted that by the year 2,040, less than seventy years from now, 50% of Saskatchewan's population will consist of people of native ancestry (Miller, 1973)

The University of Saskatchewan, in cooperation with the Federation of Saskatchewan Indians and government agencies, is involved in study and training areas for Indian, Metis, and Inuit students beyond high school age. Programs are designed to make optimal use of the students' unique talents and capabilities. Native people are receiving training which prepares them for employment as elementary and kindergarten teachers, language teachers, teacher aides, curriculum specialists, counsellors, lawyers, social workers, and paramedical personnel.

The Indian and Northern Education Program within the College of Education at the University of Saskatchewan is the oldest and largest of the special intercultural programs. Dr. Andre Renaud was invited to the university in 1961 to offer the first summer class for teachers working in schools whose students were predominantly from Indian and Metis cultures. Under Dr. Renaud's guidance and inspiration, the program grew steadily. In 1973 eleven classes are offered at the undergraduate level, in addition to work at the level of a Master's degree in intercultural education. This year for the first time the program was authorized to accept a student for Doctoral studies in intercultural education.

Well over 1,000 teachers, both native and white, have studied in the Indian and Northern Education Program in Saskatoon, and at centers throughout the province. The program has enrolled students from most of the other provinces of Canada, as well as the Northwest Territories, Yukon, and United States. Faculty and graduate students are involved as consultants at education con-

ferences at other universities planning similar programs, at teacher workshops, and at orientation programs for professionals planning to work in intercultural situations throughout Canada and abroad.

Related programs in which the university and the Indian and Northern Education Program are closely involved include the Indian Teacher Education Program, designed and organized through the Indian Cultural College of the Federation of Saskatchewan Indians, the Saskatchewan Department of Education, and the University of Saskatchewan. The Indian Teacher Education Program admitted its first students in January of 1973. They will receive Standard A teaching certificates in June, 1975, and will be qualified to teach anywhere in Saskatchewan. Course requirements during the two and one-half year training is equivalent to that for students in the regular two year College of Education program but course content has been adapted to the special competencies and particular needs of the Indian and Metis students. Aspects of this program which distinguish it from regular training include: 1) an initial orientation of three months for all students; 2) in-school practical experience of thirty weeks as compared to seven weeks in the regular program; and 3) a staff of tutor-counsellors who are available to the students for both academic and personal counselling on an individual or group basis.

An important supplement to both of these programs is the Indian and Northern Curriculum Resources Centre. This Centre includes supplementary curriculum materials for use by student teachers, and teaching staffs of schools throughout Saskatchewan. Journals and research documents are available for students in intercultural studies.

Another program, the Indian and Northern Curriculum Materials Project, is funded by the federal government through its Local Initiatives Program. This project has been in operation for one and one-half years and has created work for approximately thirty previously unemployed Indian and Metis adults. Experience gained through the project has encouraged ten of the employees to enroll in university classes. The program is directed by a faculty member of the Indian and Northern Education Program, whose role is mainly a consultative and supporting one. Administration of the program is handled by a native person. To date, the project has published thirty-five titles of curriculum materials, plus tape cassettes and language master cards in courses in oral Cree, Chipewyan, and Saulteaux.

Cree language teachers and kindergarten teachers for integrated and Indian schools in Saskatchewan receive special training through a program sponsored by the Department of Indian Affairs and the University of Saskatchewan. Candidates for language teacher training must be fluent in the Cree language. They attend a six week summer course taught by a Cree language specialist; teach Cree from September to June; and leave their schools for a series of week-long workshops during the year. Kindergarten teachers are trained during regular summer sessions on campus. Credit classes are offered for both native and white students in oral Cree each winter. In addition to learning conversational Cree, the students are taught the sound system and grammatical structure of the language.

The College of Law of the University of Saskatchewan took the initiative, in 1973, to organize a special program for Indian and Metis students wishing to enter the legal profession. The first group of 14 students attended a summer orientation program in Saska-

toon and from this group 11 students are now in first year law studies in Canadian universities.

Special training courses are available for Indian and Metis adults employed as Child Care Workers and Counsellor-Technicians on Indian reserves and in school residences. Organization of these two courses is similar but content differs to meet the specific needs of each group of students. In both cases, university credit is given for successful completion of each course and the completion of training leads to certification.

Additional programs being planned by the Indian Cultural College and the university include a course to train native people as social workers and one to prepare Indian and Metis people as paramedical personnel. A program to train teacher aides will take place later this year, but will be conducted in one of the reserve schools which is operated by the local band council rather than the government.

In addition to offering a variety of training courses, the University of Saskatchewan is involved in northern research through the Institute for Northern Studies. Research concerns both the natural and social sciences and has been conducted not only in Canada and Alaska, but as far afield as Russian Siberia. A study which is just beginning concerns the question of post-secondary education for northern people and the possible role that southern universities can play as northern programs develop. This study is organized through the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada and has important implications for educational policy planners in both Canada and Alaska.

WHAT ABOUT THE FUTURE?

We have seen that differences exist in the environment of northern schools and the cultural background of students. We have seen that projects are under way in many areas to find solutions. The question then becomes - what about the future? Are we still creating new "windmill" problems, and are we doing all we can to conquer the ones that now exist? I suggest that there are alternatives we have not yet fully explored in the areas of training programs, curriculum materials, teacher selection, and programs.

I have recently recently read Dr. Kleinfeld's 1972 Alaskan study, Effective Teachers of Indian and Eskimo High School Students. She found that the most effective teacher for such students was one who possessed a high level of personal warmth communicated by non-verbal means and a high level of active demandingness expressed as the teacher's personal concern for the student. (Kleinfeld, 1972) The effective teachers I have met and worked with in the Northwest Territories certainly possessed these qualities, but were conspicuous because they were so few in number. I suggest that it is possible, through more careful selection, to find teachers for northern schools who do possess these qualities. I suggest that it is possible to retrain teachers through orientation and in-service programs to a new awareness of these capabilities within themselves. I suggest that it is possible to help teachers to learn the skills necessary to communicate their warmth and respect to Indian and Inuit students in their classrooms. It seems of little value to recruit highly qualified teachers, to give them the newest techniques of teaching, to give them northern oriented curricula and then send them out to teach in a northern school. Unless they understand the important influences of culture on behaviour, and are able to communicate

interculturally, their students will learn little besides disillusionment, negative self-concepts, and alienation of both their culture and themselves.

In a 1972 study, entitled Factors Related to Teacher Mobility in the Northwest Territories and Arctic Quebec, I found that in spite of an oversupply of teachers in southern Canada the mobility rate for northern schools was in excess of 30% of the total teaching staff. General tone of teacher response was one of frustration and dissatisfaction related to such factors as administrative difficulties, professional isolation, feelings of being unsupported in their work, and feelings of being inadequately prepared to understand or cope with the situation in which they were working. The north continues to lose its good teachers along with the poor ones and little action is taken to remedy the problems they perceive. I submit that we must do more to obtain, retrain and retain teachers who are effective with Indian, Metis and Inuit students.

This brings me to the final area of discussion, a question that has been a personal concern since I became involved in northern education in 1959. So often in a northern classroom I was aware that no one really knew if the things we did were of value, for there was little research or evaluation or what was being done. May I suggest that we stop building "windmills" on the shaky foundations of good intentions, and devote more time and effort to solid research before we design the basic structure of educational programs for the north.

At this point in time we really don't know whether native children learn in the same way as non-natives, yet we give them the same type of schooling. We really don't know if the structured classroom with its one-to-twenty teacher-pupil ratio is suited to northern people, yet that is how northern schools are organized.

We really don't know whether twelve years of schooling for young people should take precedence over adult education, yet that is where we concentrate our efforts. There are so many things that we really don't know about northern education. Without at least some empirical information, how can we hope to make the right decisions?

In closing, I would like to leave with you one of the thoughts of Chief Dan George, a truly wise man among the Indian elders. Speaking at a conference in Banff, Alberta, in 1970, Chief Dan George said,

We want first of all to be respected and to feel we are people of worth. We want an equal opportunity to succeed in life.....but we cannot raise ourselves on your norms. We need specialized help in education.....specialized help in the formative years... special courses in English. We need guidance and counselling.....we need equal job opportunities for our graduates, otherwise our students will lose courage and ask, "what is the use of it all". (Banff, 1970)

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SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC RESEARCH IN THE U.S. ARCTIC
THE MAN IN THE ARCTIC PROGRAM

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The next 25 years will see dramatic changes in the U.S. Arctic and sub-Arctic, with effects which will be international in scope. Major forces generating these changes are already present and are beginning to make themselves felt. Among them are: National energy demands; Alaska oil and gas development; Environmental conservation pressures; and, Reallocation of over 200 million acres of U.S. public land among federal, state, and private interests.

While Alaska and the federal government will share the burden of guiding and accommodating these forces of large, private corporations operating at state, national, and international levels will also play key roles in determining the course of Alaska's development. The ability of public and private institutions to respond to the powerful forces of change will determine whether they can successfully combine economic development and the preservation of environmental and social integrity or whether this far northern region will ultimately fall victim to uncontrolled and self-propelled development. The ability to respond will in turn depend not only on knowing and understanding the forces of change and their impacts on Alaska's social, economic, and natural environmental systems, but on formulating policies to guide and control them.

The ultimate results of these efforts to guide change will have more than a regional or local significance. The U.S. Government has direct interests in Alaska's land and resources, much of which will remain indefinitely under federal government jurisdiction.

In addition, substantial national and international corporations have vested interests in the development of the region's minerals, timber, and fisheries. Moreover, the scientific community, which is not limited by state or national boundaries, has a broad interest in how effectively science and policy can interact to chart optimal courses of change in an environment that is both harsh and fragile.

Man in the Arctic

To provide better understanding of problems of change and ways of dealing with them, University of Alaska researchers are working with research scientists from other institutions on a broad, long-term program of social, economic, and environmental policy studies. Their goal is to help planners and decisionmakers deal more effectively with critical problems which concern both the state and nation.

This multidisciplinary research project comprises the Man in the Arctic Program - the first comprehensive regional study of its kind in the U.S. North. Based at the University of Alaska's Institute of Social, Economic and Government Research, the program has received core funding from the National Science Foundation through the Office of Polar Programs and Division of Social Sciences for the first three years of Man in the Arctic research. Providing additional funding are the U.S. Department of Transportation, the National Institute of Education, and other agencies. Participating in the program are research scientists and specialists in economics, demography, anthropology, political science, psychology, transportation engineering, wildlife management, community and regional planning, and other areas of basic and applied research. The principal investigator is Victor Fischer, director of the Institute of Social, Economic and Government Research.

Change in Alaska

Major developments in Alaska in recent years stimulated the creation of this broad-ranging program. First was the discovery in 1968 of one of the world's largest oil fields on the North Slope of Alaska's Brooks Mountain Range. The development of this field will have major impacts not only on the land, people, and private economy, but also on public institutions and programs, most prominently through the generation of hundreds of millions of oil revenue dollars which will flow each year to the state treasury. The state will then face choices of alternative taxation and expenditure policies that will have long-term and far-reaching impacts on the economy and society of the region. Further, state and national public agencies, as well as private interests, are more immediately facing the "energy crisis" and associated pressures to build hot-oil and gas pipelines through some of the world's most remote and severe terrain. At the same time, they are being forced to respond to the very critical and legitimate concerns of regional, national, and international environmental interests.

Second, the North Slope discovery and the need for a pipeline contributed to the urgency of settling the aboriginal land claims of Alaska's Native Eskimo, Indian, and Aleut populations. These groups were in a position legally to block pipeline construction across lands claimed by them. In 1971, the U.S. Congress settled the century-old claims issue by awarding to the Alaska Natives 40 million acres and one billion dollars. The money is to be paid over a period of a decade or more to Native regional and village corporations which were also established under the settlement legislation. With these resources, the regional corporations will be engaging in economic and social development programs in

rural Alaska. These activities undoubtedly will accelerate the process of culture change and intensify its attendant problems.

By the same act, Congress set aside 80 million acres for study and eventual inclusion in national wildlife refuges, forests, parks, and scenic river systems in Alaska. This, together with an additional 150 million acres of U.S. public lands in the state, will ensure a continuing and direct national interest in the preservation and use of Alaska's resources.

In addition, the settlement act enabled the State of Alaska to renew selection, within its boundaries, of 100 million acres from the U.S. public domain. (This grant was authorized by the same act of Congress that made Alaska a state in 1959.) Following selection, the state will make some of these lands available for private ownership and use, retaining others for public use or preservation.

These and related developments indicate strongly that the Native and non-Native people of Alaska must cope with profound forces of economic and social change in the immediate and longer term future. New and unprecedented demands will be made on their governmental and private institutions, and comprehensive, policy-oriented research efforts will be needed to help determine effective institutional responses.

This is the general setting in which the Man in the Arctic Program was initiated. Its overall objectives are defined on an admittedly ambitious scale, given the breadth and magnitude of the problems it is concerned with and the policy tasks to which the program seeks to contribute. These objectives are to:

Measure and analyze basic changes in the economy and population of Alaska.

Determine significant interactions between outside economic and social forces and Alaska conditions and institutions.

Identify and project policy-relevant consequences of these interactions.

Apply these research findings in analyses of specific public problems and policy alternatives.

The research program consists of four base study areas and an open-ended number of problem and policy study projects. Base studies deal with economic change and impacts, demography, Alaska Native ethnography, and political institutions and processes. Problem and policy studies focus on particular social and economic problems and policy issues of northern development.

Base Research

Base studies will establish quantitative and qualitative characteristics of the Alaska economic, social, cultural, and political environment. These studies will analyze and project economic and population dimensions of change and will offer guidance on how Alaska society and institutions respond to, modify, and accommodate economic impacts and population change.

Economic Studies: This research will identify and quantify the structure of the Alaska economy. The empirical models generated by the studies will be used to project the pace and pattern of economic change at state and regional levels and to test the effects of alternative state and local government policies.

During the first program year (1973-74), economics research includes studies of the major Alaska industries and their interrelationships, internal and external

demands for Alaska industry products, price behavior, labor force and employment, and autonomous forces affecting the Alaska economy.

Demographic Studies: These will develop population base line data and measure changes in the size, growth, distribution, and characteristics of Alaska's population. They will also analyze interrelationships between demographic and socioeconomic change.

First year work includes census tape processing; development of analytical programs; production of working tapes; initial determinations of growth trends; and first projections of population by age, sex, and ethnic group.

Ethnographic Studies: This research deals with the changing patterns of involvement of Alaska Natives in the state's economic and political environment, the influence of cultural factors on the development of Native institutions, assessments of Native social psychological adaptations, and problems of urban migration.

Projects initiated during the first year include studies of the aboriginal and contemporary culture of Lower Yukon Eskimos, problems of Aleut migrants in Anchorage, the state's largest urban center, and bio-social baseline studies of Alaska Native migrants in the interior city of Fairbanks.

Political Studies: These studies deal with the changing character of Alaska's political economy and culture and with the performance of related policy-making institutions and processes. They will focus on federal-state interest group relations in critical policy areas such as resource

management and environmental protection.

First year projects include a study of historical and contemporary federal public lands policies and related intergovernmental institutions in Alaska, and preliminary analyses of existing information on political attitudes and opinions, electoral behavior, and related socioeconomic characteristics of Alaska's population.

Problem and Policy Research

Problem and policy studies will build on and extend the base studies, using information from the base studies and other sources to examine public problems, policy alternatives, and the consequences of decisions. Analyses will be made of policy alternatives in such areas as state revenue and expenditure programs, distribution of income, transportation system development, and Native manpower. In addition, policy studies of resource management and environmental protection, energy resource development, and other areas will be initiated. The purpose of this phase of the program is to select and assess policy alternatives in specified problem areas.

Problem and policy study projects initiated during 1973-74 include:

Education and Manpower: Studies of the supply of trained Alaska Natives in occupational areas of high demand resulting from the Alaska Native land claims settlement; cross-cultural secondary school policy alternatives; occupational aptitudes of Alaska Eskimos; and characteristics of successful Natives in Alaska higher education.

Transportation System Development: The first phase of a three-year project includes detailed development of a systems analysis research design, initial data collection,

and adaptation and preliminary operation of a transportation system model.

Resources Management: Analysis of the impacts of alternative fisheries management policies on employment and community welfare in selected urban and rural regions of Alaska.

Arctic Community Development: Initial survey of Alaska and circumpolar community development and housing policies, designs, administration, and impacts to provide basis for longer term series of specialized projects.

Geographic Scope

Because of the necessary breadth and purposes of the program, its planners have placed no rigid geographic limitations on the research design. A variety of geographic delineations have been used to define the Arctic, the "middle north," or, generally, the northern expanses of the hemisphere. These definitions are normally related to physical and biological characteristics. Appropriate area scales of research must also be adopted when studying man and his social, economic, and political institutions. These scales will vary significantly and will include the community, the region, the state, the nation, and the entire Arctic. For example, economic impact and growth models, demographic analyses, and institutional studies will need to include the entire state of Alaska and its relations with other states, regions, and nations, as well as focus on subregional and community levels.

Further, though national institutions and objectives vary widely across the Arctic, the northern continental regions and adjacent seas have similar environmental characteristics and comparable problems of human habitation and resource development. It is therefore expected that important benefits will be gained through

international cooperation in such research areas as sociocultural change among indigenous peoples, resources extraction and employment, town building and housing, health and social services, and application of modern engineering and technology to special northern conditions. Accordingly, the University of Alaska will collaborate during the study with such institutions as the Arctic Institute of North America, the Northern Sciences Research Group of the Canadian Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, and the Scott Polar Research Institute of Cambridge, England.

The Institute of Social, Economic and Government Research

The man in the Arctic Program is being conducted principally by the staff of the Institute of Social, Economic and Government Research of the University of Alaska. Institute capabilities for this work are based primarily upon its location within the region itself and the special research opportunities this region offers; its multidisciplinary research staff and the breadth of their experience in northern and interregional studies; and the institute's ties with the research programs and staff of other universities and research organizations, as well as with several other research institutes and academic departments of the University of Alaska.

The University's location within the region, of course, facilitates the conduct of research in the Arctic and sub-Arctic and helps ensure that research staff based there will become intimately familiar with its environment and problems. But it is the special characteristics of the region itself that make such a research capability worth having at all. The very sparseness of the population and the related simplicity of the economic institutional structure of the state facilitate analyses and generalizations that can be meaningful elsewhere. While the population is sparse and the

institutional structure is simple, essential elements of social and economic systems found elsewhere also exist in Alaska; they are either largely extensions of more elaborately developed institutions of metropolitan regions in the continental United States, or they are prototypically human patterns of interaction, such as between majority and minority population groups. Social and economic change and its consequences are thus more discernible in Alaska than in more highly developed regions, and they are more susceptible to broad-scale conceptualization that retains the manageability required in scientific research. Alaska, in effect, becomes a laboratory in which to observe conditions, institutions, and processes not unique to the state.

This scientific advantage, together with the fact that Alaska is now a focus of significant U.S. natural resource development and environmental conservation issues, has helped the institute to attract the multi-disciplinary staff and advisors required for a program of the scope described here. A full-time resident staff of over 20 professional researchers will be affiliated with the program during 1973-74. Further, contributions will be made by part-time associates including the University of Alaska teaching faculty as well as consultants from other U.S. institutions such as the National Bureau of Economic Research, Resources for the Future, Brown University, the University of Washington, and the University of Georgia.

The Man in the Arctic Program builds on an established base of institute research experience in the far north. This has included research in economic planning and development, utilization of natural resources, human ecology, education and manpower, governmental institutions and political processes, communication, environmental policy, and the social and psychological dimensions of culture

change. While concentrating primarily on Alaska, institute work has also extended to northern Canada, the North Pacific Basin, including Japan and Siberia, and the Arctic circumpolar region.

Results of the Man in the Arctic Program will be disseminated through regular institute publications together with regional journals such as Polar Record and Arctic, national disciplinary journals, and by means of workshops, seminars, conferences, and other formats.

APPENDIX

REACTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS OF PARTICIPANTS AT THE
NORTHERN EDUCATION SYMPOSIUM

Franklin Berry and Kathryn A. Hecht

During the course of the Northern Symposium, three specific activities were held in which the participants were requested to record--either individually or in small groups--their feelings and ideas concerning cross-cultural education and this conference.

You will find enclosed some of the responses for each of the activities. Please note that responses are not prioritized.

ACTIVITY #1 (Small Group) "How would you spend 5 million dollars?"

During the 1/2 hour activity, in which all practical concerns such as money, politics, school board policies, etc. were removed, the participants were requested to design programs for their imaginary situation. As cross-cultural education experts, they were given 5 million dollars with the stipulation that they could not give it away and that they had to make immediate decisions.

The small groups were allowed to design anything from one detailed program to several less detailed but specific plans. A selected list*of group responses and this talk appears below:

GROUP RESPONSES

- Native Input; Local Input; set up on a system based on local control.
- Multi media center; regional centers.
- Resource personnel.

- Equipment and supplies for material development.
- Take education to village centers.
- Study similarity and differences of cultures.
- Involve communities.
- Involve students in everything: planning, materials, etc.
- Development of materials on local control.
- Massive teacher training and retraining.
- Half of funds to build 12 regional centers designed by the people.
- Local determination of its use.
- Preparation of materials for non-Native education re: ethnic diversity of the north.
- Insure grassroots input.
- Student travel program; exchange of students and widening experience of the students.
- Preservation of language; archiving; collections of stories; technical aspects; Native linguistics.
- Communication: meetings, conferences, travel. Village level interchange of ideas regarding programs.
- Programs secondary to finding out what the people want in programs.

*Since there was some duplication, some non-usable responses and limited space, a selection of responses was made. Responses are given as received, with only minimal editing to preserve flavor and intent.

- Teacher training of people selected by the community.
- Establish a bilingual, bicultural system of education in every school where it the wish of the parents. The Native language to be the language of instruction for the first three years with English as a second language.
- Establish a central resource and training center for area of jurisdiction with branch centers at each village.
- Encourage affection on part of teachers.
- Develop culturally relevant instructional materials.
- Conferences such as this to keep flow of ideas going.
- Students of various cultures to discuss together goals of education, etc.
- Establish 12 centers in the various areas; centers to house bilingual, bicultural materials of the area. Centers to be placed for training native teachers. Staff of center should include bilingual specialists, reading specialist, psychologists.
- Creative people to figure out ways of using well, inexpensive materials locally available.
- Cross-cultural living experiences for non-native teachers, e.g. live one month in fish camp to pick up values, etc.
- Teacher to speak first language of village. Broad use of para-professionals from the village.
- Schools used for Whole communities.
- Study things done in other parts of the world.
- Adopt school calendar to life style of people.

INTERPRETATION OF THE ACTIVITY

The small groups did not seem to lack any work motivation which seemed to testify to the interest in the topic.

There was an obvious need for more time as many of the participants used their time in getting to know each other.

Next time, it may be more beneficial if a more detailed situation were assigned. For instance, each group could be assigned a specific role such as: Teacher Association, State Department of Education; Local School Board; School Administrators.

There was general resistance to the task. Even though the instructions clearly stated that decisions had to be made during the exercise and that the decision-making power could not be given to others, several groups in one way or another called for local community input - including parents and students. This stipulation impeded the work of several groups who could not allow themselves to make program decisions even in a make-believe exercise. It could be surmised that there was a strong feeling among participants that who is involved in program invitation is as important as what the program contains and that programs should no longer be designed or imposed by "the experts" working in a vacuum.

Control needs were a major topic. The need for local control was frequently mentioned. Better servicing of local schools through regional and community centers for materials, training and other functions was also mentioned. Though the call was for decentralization of control, there was an equally strong expression of need for centralization of information, for better communication and coordination among cross-cultural programs. Resource centers, conferences and travel were mentioned among methods to accomplish this. These statements seem perfectly logical in that increasing local control will only serve to further in-

crease the needs for improving communication and information sharing mechanisms, now beginning to be seen as seriously lacking among programs in the North.

The program specifically mentioned most frequently was bilingualism. It is difficult to say with certainty that this represents the priority need as the brainstorming session followed closely several excellent presentations on bilingualism. Other program areas mentioned frequently were needs for teacher training, pre-service and in-service, and the need to develop materials, all with concern and appropriateness to cross-cultural programs.

ACTIVITY #2 (Small Group) "Needs Assessment"

On the morning of the last day, the participants were randomly divided into small groups for a final discussion of Northern Cross-Cultural Education. During this two hour exercise the groups were able to list what they felt were some of the basic needs as well as some ideas for implementing a few of these needs. Again it should be stressed that these needs have not be prioritized and only those which were most frequently mentioned were included in this paper.

NEEDS

- To promote more community involvement in assisting the individual child in finding and developing his individual potential in life - at his own pace.
- To allow more options in education.
- To be more sensitive to the reality that a curriculum needs more than a "themic flavor". It should reflect the variety of philosophies inherent in the population for which it is meant to serve.

- To increase all elements of local control of educational designs and implementation.
- To determine basic concepts of Native cultures through research by Native people.
- To advocate more teacher training for Natives in conjunction with changes in certification.
- To educate all school boards in educational options.
- To evaluate the personnel and programs against the purpose of education.
- To hire fewer "southern" or "outside" teachers with greater emphasis placed on the training and utilization of local talent.
- To relate more closely to the experiences and teachings of the elders for inspirations in the development of curricular materials.
- To provide greater resource - both in terms of money and talent - with a commitment to the development of culturally-based programs.
- For more emphasis on the bi-lingual aspect of education.

IMPELEMNTATION STRATEGIES

- Increased lobbying by Native organizations of such institutions as departments of education and teacher associations.
- Creating and clearing communication channels from the local people to the "technicians".
- Providing the environments and opportunities for "local-creativity".
- Requesting assistance from the elders.

- Providing a greater effort in selling the idea of cross-cultural education to the general public.
- Consolidation of the ideas of local Native groups to provide a greater force acting in their behalf.

ACTIVITY #3 (individual) "Evaluation of symposium by Participants"

Each conference participant was asked to fill out an individual evaluation sheet which included the following questions:

1. Please list three (3) positive things about this conference;
2. Please list three (3) negative things about this conference;
3. Suggestions for future meetings of this type.

Those who were not present at the closing session received the form and a self-addressed envelope by mail. Nineteen of a possible 73 responses were received. Because of the poor response rate, it was decided not to tabulate frequencies but simply to list summarized responses. There were, however, two overall responses reported with such frequency as to justify mention. Almost every participant commented positively on bringing such a wide variety of people together with similar concerns and programs. On the negative side, most respondents felt the conference organizers attempted to fit too much into too short a time.

NEGATIVE RESPONSES

- Conference too short; constant pressure on time; speakers rushed; lack of time to pursue topics in depth; not enough time for questions and discussion; too much to digest in two and one-half days.

- Lack of real interchange; not enough personal interaction in small groups; lack of opportunity for sub-groups with similar interests.
- Lack of Native participation and grassroots people; subjected to "white experts" on Native education; some important people left out, more teacher input.
- Too many papers on too many topics, unable to hear all speakers -- had to chose between presentations; if paper were ready ahead.....could have read papers on own and then discussed; random organization of papers -- suggest grouping.
- Final summary session not effective; more time need for tasks similar to Friday a.m. (activity #3); time needed for resolutions.
- Who do we want to influence? Know problems -- what are solutions?
- Lateness in getting invitations out and lack of lead time to write papers; too many program changes; changing agenda -- unclear at times.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE MEETINGS

- Involve more classroom teachers, Native teachers and teachers of Native children, university staff who are training bush teachers' involve better cross-section of Native (elders, leader, etc.) ' invite state and federal education leaders.
- Get ideas from participants before meeting; invlove more participants in pre-planning; more Native involvement in planning.
- Group people with similar program interests; more small group sessions; more rap sessions; more time for discussion; have group work sessions earlier in conference.
- Separate white and Native participants for first two days and then get together.

- More publicity to increase awareness of this movement (TV, press).
- Demonstration lesson on T.E.S.L.
- Name tags each day.
- Exposure to cultures besides Alaskan Native for better understanding of cross-cultural education; work sessions to plan for better communication between cultural groups.
- More such meetings.

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