The State of First Nations Education:
Two Conversations About Education Post-RCAP

by

Sabrina E. Redwing Saunders

A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
Graduate Department of Theory & Policy Studies
Ontario Institute for Studies in Education
University of Toronto

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Theory and Policy Studies
University of Toronto

Abstract
This dissertation is the product of both lifework and a 2007-2010 research study. Working, living and parenting in the largest First Nation community in Canada, the Six Nations Grand River Territory, I believe it imperative that any body of work I produce be of direct use to my community as well fill a needed area of research within the field of Ogweho:weh (Original/Indigenous) Education. In order to design a study that would yield results to both these ends, I spent a significant portion of this dissertation explaining Indigenous Theory and Praxis. Subsequent to the expansion of literature on Indigenous theory and Indigenous methodology is the primary document analysis and dialogues which were intended to answer the two research questions of: (1) What changes has RCAP made to Ogweho:weh education in Canada; and (2) How does the community understand success at Six Nations? One hundred seventy-three documents (international, national, provincial, and local) and 52 dialogues with community advocates, educators and parents were analyzed using an original policy discourse web entitled Social Particle Webbing. Based on a sociological perspective of particle theory, Social Particle Webbing is a metaphor for identifying areas where marginalized groups can be platformed to enhance their ability to create social change. Social Particle Webbing is comprised of two-tailed threads, similar to a candle burning at both ends. The two competing themes of each thread may run polar or complimentary to
each other, but are the embodiment of the written and oral documents which shape the discourse. The Discourse of Ogweho:weh Education was identified to have fourteen companion themes making up the seven threads of: (1) “Real” Self-Determinants; (2) Responsibility; (3) In the Spirit of Equity; (4) Choice in Education; (5) Rationale for Inaction; (6) Societal Opinion of Ogweho:weh; and (7) Success. Although Social Particle Webbing was created to answer the needs of Ogweho:weh education by creating an enculturated metaphorical image of Ogweho:weh Education, it is appropriately applied to all arenas of social change where a people are marginalized and not readily able to make change due to a lack of space, resources, or power.

**Sabrina E. Redwing Saunders**

B.S. 2005, Elementary Education, Buffalo State College, High Distinction  
M.A. 2004, Multi-Disciplinary Studies: Socio-Education, Buffalo State College  
M.S. 2001, Student Personnel Administration, Buffalo State College  
B.S. 1995, Sociology, Buffalo State College, Distinction  
A.A. 1994, Associates of Arts, Erie Community College, High Distinction

**Supervisory Committee**

Reva Joshee, Theory & Policy Studies, OISE-UT  
Joseph Flessa, Theory & Policy Studies, OISE-UT  
Jason Price, Curriculum and Instruction, University of Victoria

**External Reviewer**

Ray Barnhardt, Centre for Cross-Cultural Studies, University of Alaska Fairbanks
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As a mother, spouse, colleague and friend, I have been supported by so many along this journey. Without that support, I would still be a high school dropout wondering what to do with my life. That contemplation would certainly not include eventually returning to the institution that was so clear in informing me I was worth neither the effort nor the time to educate.

In addition to my internal support, I would like to thank the entire Aboriginal faculty who came before me and blazed the trail for me and other students to find a place within the academy. Additionally, I would like to thank my committee, especially my Supervisor, who has offered critical feedback and challenged me to make this document a productive body of work for the improvement of First Nations education.

Finally, it is because of my experiences that I am here today, not in spite of them. Had my high school guidance counselor not told me I should “dropout and join the welfare rolls like the rest of them” I would have completed high school and become an individual quite different from who I am today. If my college instructors would not have asked me to “speak for my people” I would not have realized the magnitude of power marginalized peoples struggle against. If my children had not been ostracized by their classmates because they were “too white” to be accepted on-reserve, I would never have opted to find ways to improve the school system against racism and reversed racism. Thank you to all those people who laid this path in front of me.

This document is ultimately dedicated to all those who felt attacked or abandoned by their educational experience.
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OPENING:
THANKSGIVING ADDRESS

My understanding of the Thanksgiving Address (Gai wiio [guy WE oh]) sometimes referred to as an “Opening and Closing” or a prayer, is that the Gai wiio is the words that are spoken by the Haudenosaunee (members of the Iroquois Confederacy) at a gathering, with the intention of bringing all of the participants into the same frame of mind. In fact, these are the “words before all others” and are spoken even before beginning a gathering. In everyone agreeing with the aspects spoken in the address, the participants form a common ground to start their dialogue. When participants of a gathering, especially an adversarial one, have a common ground, they have a foundation upon which to build. Cornelius (1999) describes the Thanksgiving Address as a Haudenosaunee worldview.

The Thanksgiving Address defines and expresses the worldview of the Haudenosaunee. The Address can be found in the three major epic narratives of the Haudenosaunee culture: The Creation Story, the Great Law of Peace, and the Code of Handsome Lake. ...The Thanksgiving Address has its origins in Haudenosaunee Creation. It is reinforced in the Great Law of Peace, which provided a system of government and in the Code of Handsome Lake, which outlines a way to continue the old ways and adapt to the realities of the year 1800. The Thanksgiving Address was spoken at the opening and closing of all ceremonial and governmental gatherings, which still is in practice to the present day (p. 69).

Even though the dialogue will be directed one way in this dissertation, there will be a meeting of minds in which you, the reader, and I will discuss concepts that I believe to be relevant not only to the Haudenosaunee but to all First Nations people and educators. For that purpose, the Thanksgiving Address is appropriate to use as an opening and closing of this dissertation. I am asking you as a reader and participant in this process to find common ground with me in the thought that everything we need is present in our lives. Furthermore, all that is present in our lives, has been made available by the Creator. I believe with this as a
basis, addressing First Nations education of the past decade, including its theory, research, action and inactions will make for a smooth journey of gathering of minds.

Likewise, the Thanksgiving Address mentions all that has been given to us (humans) by the Creator (God, Supreme Being, Great Spirit). The speaker of the Gai wiio, in this case me, starts with the ground, that which is closest to us, and works through all of nature on this planet, until reaching the skies (heavens) and that which is closest to the Creator and the Skyworld, the place where the Haudenosaunee originate in the Creation Story (Shenandoah, 1998). After the speaker has given thanks for an aspect of creation, both the speaker and the other gathered participants agree to the each statement with the phrase, “Now our minds are One”. This shows each of the participants are in agreement of the statement and in the spirit of that statement. As this document is in a sense a gathering of minds; mine, yours and the past and future readers, starting and finishing with a good mind is appropriate and important to the efforts of this dissertation.

Traditionally, the Thanksgiving Address is spoken first, before any other dialogue. I should have started the text with the Gai wiio, and should have had the explanation after the address. For the purposes of academic protocol, the explanation and the pre-pages of the dissertation must have come in the order that they are presented. Furthermore, I believe it to be important to the building of our common ground for you, the reader, to enter into the Gai wiio having understood what you are reading and to be able to agree as you do so. This is key in creating this common ground between us (and those readers before and to come). No disrespect is intended by offering words before the “words before all others”.

Although there are several printed versions of the Thanksgiving Address, some in English and others in the six languages of the Haudenosaunee (and surprisingly one in
German), the following address is my personal rendition in which I give daily thanks for my own life, that of my family and the world around me. For printed versions of the address I recommend: Chief Jake Swamp's *Giving Thanks* (1995), *Ganohonyohk Our Being Ogweho:weh* (Henry, 1997), and the Mohawk version of the *Thanksgiving Address* (Thomas, 1993).

**Thanksgiving Address: Gai wiio**

First we start with the *People*. Generations have come before us and we are but one step in that line. Our ancestors continued the path of humans for the future generations and did so with balance in mind. We bring our minds together as one to offer thanks to the People that came before, the People who will come, and those People that are present today.

   Now our minds are One.

Next we go to *Mother Earth*. She provides us with food, clothing, shelter and all that we need to survive. We bring our minds together as one to offer thanks to the Mother Earth.

   Now our minds are One.

Next we go to the *Waters*. They give us drink; they help us and the plants, fish and animals grow; they clean our bodies and lands; they can be as gentle as a stream or as powerful as the rainstorm. We bring our minds together as one to offer thanks to the Waters.

   Now our minds are One.
Next we go to the *Fish*. They give themselves to us as food and help to keep the waters pure. We bring our minds together as one to offer thanks to the Fish.

Now our minds are One.

Next we go to the *Plants*. The Plants come in many forms from the strong ancient trees; to the three sisters of beans, corn and squash—a perfectly balanced food source; to the gentle medicine plants who heal and make us strong when we are sick; to the Plant leader the strawberry. We bring our minds together as one to offer thanks to the Plants.

Now our minds are One.

Next we go to the *Animals*, whose leader is the deer. They give themselves to us for food, clothing and protection. They teach us about balance and conservation. We bring our minds together as one to offer thanks to the Animals.

Now our minds are One.

Next we go to the *Birds*, whose leader is the eagle. The birds give us food and song; they give us their feathers to use in ceremony and in dance; and they warn us of danger. We bring our minds together as one to offer thanks to the Birds.

Now our minds are One.
Next we go to the Winds. The Winds come from the four directions bringing us messages; they purify our air; and bring us notice of changes. We bring our minds together as one to offer thanks to the Winds.

Now our minds are One.

Now we go to the Grandfather Thunder Beings. The Grandfathers remind us of our responsibilities to balance; each spring they wake up the ground, plants, and waters and renew the life cycle; they comfort us with their song; and they offer us protection as they warn of storms. We bring our minds together as one to offer thanks to our Grandfather, the Thunder Beings.

Now our minds are One.

Next we go to our Brother the Sun. The Sun warms us; he helps the food to grow; he brings us stability and helps us to tell our days and seasons as he crosses the sky, as he rises in the east and sets in the west. We bring our minds together as one to offer thanks to the Sun.

Now our minds are One.

Next we go to our Grandmother the Moon. The Grandmother is responsible for life, bringing all children by regulating the women and the tides; she lights our nighttime sky and she tells us nightly of where we are in the cycles of the months. We bring our minds together as one to offer thanks to the Moon.

Now our minds are One.
Next we go to the *Stars*. The Stars help the Moon to bring light into the darkness; when we travel at night they give themselves to us for navigation. We bring our minds together as one to offer thanks to the Stars.

    Now our minds are One.

Next we go to the *Wise Ones*. These Enlightened People have come to us throughout the ages to offer guidance and lead us when we have needed them most. We give thanks for the teachings they have brought us and keep their stories alive in our hearts, minds and activities. We bring our minds together as one to offer thanks to the Wise Ones.

    Now our minds are One.

Next we go to the *Creator, God or Great Spirit*. The Creator has given us all of the things we have just given thanks for so we may live as Ogweho:weh (*Real or Original People*) on Mother Earth. We bring our minds together as one to offer thanks to the Creator for all he does for us.

    Now our minds are One.

If there is anything we have forgotten to give thanks for, we offer thanks now. It was not our intentions to forget anything.

    Now our minds are One.
CHAPTER I—INTRODUCTION
In Aboriginal societies, as in many societies, children are regarded as a precious gift. Control over the education of their children has been a pressing priority of Aboriginal peoples for decades. This is not surprising. The destiny of a people is intricately bound to the way its children are educated. Education is the transmission of cultural DNA from one generation to the next. It shapes the language and pathways of thinking, the contours of character and values, the social skills and creative potential of the individual. It determines the productive skills of a people.

RCAP, Vol 3, Ch 5, p. 1

In each of my educational experiences I have consciously kept at the forefront of my research focus these personally significant issues: (1) my identity as a Haudenosaunee woman, (2) how I can best serve my community, and (3) how I can improve conditions for my children. My M.A. thesis, Native Perceptions of Curriculum: Embracing One Worldview of Native Curriculum (Redwing Saunders, 2004), revealed that both the Haudenosaunee student and the professional educator internalize an expectation and desire to experience the 3R’s (Respect, Relevance and Reciprocal Learning) within their formal and informal educational experiences. The following few years of research, including my doctoral studies, has taken a

1 For the purpose of my research I use the words which would be used by the people themselves, and not the official government terms. To assist the reader, the dissertation includes an extensive glossary in Appendix A, as well as key definitions imbedded into the text.

2 Haudenosaunee [hô da na shô nà] refers to the “People of the Long Rafters” or “Longhouse.” Named the Iroquois by the French, they are the original five nations of the Seneca, Cayuga, Onondaga, Oneida and Mohawk, as well as the sixth addition of the Tuscarora nation (1722). Their original lands extended in the east from the Upper Mohawk Valley to the Genesee River in the West, south through the Shenandoah Water Shed with impacts throughout Turtle Island. In modern time their territorial lands are scattered throughout New York, Southern & Eastern Ontario, Quebec, Oklahoma and Wisconsin.
more holistic and systemic look at Ogweho:weh\textsuperscript{3} education including issues both historical and contemporary in nature, along with policy issues that influence the education of First Nations\textsuperscript{4} and the community of Six Nations Grand River Territory specifically. This research study investigates through primary data, the state of First Nations education at both the federal (macro) and local (micro)\textsuperscript{5} levels in the decade that followed the publication of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples\textsuperscript{6} (RCAP, 1996). Specifically, this study explores the years post RCAP (1997-2009) at Six Nations Grand River Territory.

**Problem**

Since the 1972 *Indian Control of Indian Education (ICIE)* (NFB/AFN), Ogweho:weh peoples have been labouring towards ownership and management of their education. The

\begin{itemize}
  \item Ogweho:weh [ō gwâ hō wâ] is the Haudenosaunee word for the “Real” or “Original People”. Within this document, Ogweho:weh is used in place of Native, First Nations and Aboriginal. In some cases, the government terminology is required in order to understand the participants within statistics or who is represented within policy and treaty law.
  \item First Nations are those original peoples of Turtle Island. Most often used to describe the Native Canadians. Usually, First Nations refers to those people who are status by the Canadian federal government and are able to pass their status to their children and to live on-reserves.
  \item For the purpose of this dissertation the terms of macro and micro will not take the usual economic definitions, but rather refers to the larger federal system and the smaller reserve system. Although the micro system of the reserve encompasses a complete educational environment, it is constructed according to the federal requirements such as Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC) regulations, funding and treaty law.
  \item The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP) was a comprehensive federal study intended to put forward problems causing tensions and solutions to said tensions between Ogweho:weh peoples and Canada (Canadians). Beginning at the close of the Oka Crisis and published in 1996, this multi-volume document that looks at the history of Aboriginal peoples in Canada and addresses five main threads of historical influences: the Indian Act, legacy issues such as residential schools, treatment of veterans of wars, relocation and the Indian Act, education, socio-demographics, and cultural capacity. Components of Volumes 3 and 4 deal with education, particularly that of historical education pertaining to crimes against humanity, and original forms of Ogweho:weh education. Volume 5 in its entirety looks at contemporary education and makes recommendations for school and system improvement for Aboriginal people to succeed at a rate normative for non-Aboriginal Canadian citizens. See (RCAP, 1986) for the entire Royal Commission Report.
\end{itemize}
Federal government, specifically the Ministry of Indian & Northern Affairs Canada (INAC), has acknowledged the request and made offers for communities to step forward and take on management of their own districts. In recent decades, many of the reserve communities accepted this challenge.\(^7\) Currently Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC) has only eight remaining schools on three separate reserves remaining under federal jurisdiction (Scott, 2004; INAC, 2004). Six Nations, the largest of these districts, resides in the bottom percentile of provincial attainment\(^8\) (Bomberry, 2001).

The second problem is the quality of education both on and off-reserve students receive. Carr Stewart (2006) states:

\[
[M]any First Nations students do not receive equitable educational services demanded and provided for Canadian students in general who attend provincial schools. Differences in the level of educational services arise, in part, from the lack of educational focus within Indian Affairs, the inappropriateness of the Indian Act as a vehicle to deliver educational services, and the lack of financial and governance support for First Nations educational delivery of effective schools for First Nations students (pp. 1005-6).
\]

On-reserve students are not the only students failing in the system. While off-reserve students also have high rates of failure, efforts are being made towards improving this status via the First Nations, Métis and Inuit (FNMI) provincial frameworks. In Ontario, though, this

\(^7\) Although at first glance management of education by a local superintendent and board seems a positive step, the fiscal responsibility is still present for INAC to provide education to First Nations people according to the Indian Act. As such the managerial aspects of the Band are still limited as funding is set by INAC and not by the local body. Additionally, these funding envelopes provided are not meeting the needs of communities, nor are they in line with bordering districts within the province.

\(^8\) In 2001, Six Nations released an education report which outlined the current status of the students and the education system. This was part of a larger feasibility study of Band ownership and management of the district from INAC. Since that date, no movement in either direction has occurred towards the local control of education. Further, no documentation has been released stating the District has moved from the bottom one-third percentile of the province.
framework does not pertain to students on-reserve, nor are those secondary students who reside on-reserve but attend schools off-reserve being consulted on improvement needs.

As an educator, the call for community management and the current quality of education are both problematic. Based on the current failing model, there is concern that community control of education may only continue to propagate the First Nations educational status quo, or worse, further decline the attainments of hundreds of thousands of Ogweho:weh students to come. Although yet unconvinced of the final outcomes, the Six Nations Band Council is articulating the design of not only the five schools within the district, but also the creation of the first public secondary school within this district. The discussion of the new school has divided parents; whereas some are happy to have their students attending school within their home community, others fear that the substandard education offered in the elementary program will only continue into the secondary system, causing an even greater gap in both workforce and post-secondary achievements.

In addition to the managerial issues surrounding the Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC) schools, students of First Nations’ educational systems have been found to suffer from imposter syndrome\(^9\) while attending mainstream secondary and post-secondary schools (Benjamin, Chambers, & Reiterman, 1993; Lin, 1988), which may result in the propagation of lower graduation rates (Brookfield, 1990; Cummins in Brookfield, 1990). Authors such as Giroux (2003), Hill (in Johnny, 2002), Scott (2001), Skinner (1999), and

---

\(^9\) Imposter Syndrome is a self-actualized fear that one does not belong in a learning experience due to being unworthy or unrealistically unprepared. Further, there is fear that others will eventually discover this “truth” (Brookfield, 1990).
Reyhner (1992a, 1994) have researched the Native fit in the mainstream setting; while others have offered research pertaining to immersion and language revitalization (Gaikezhongai, 2003; George, 2003; Paulsen, 2003; Heredia, 1999; Battiste, 1998).

Throughout the history of educational publications, one area lacking in published research is that of school improvement in a reserve setting or within the Ogweho:weh public education system itself. In mainstream publications, Ryan (2006; 2003) has discussed school leadership improvement and Fullan (2005; 2001) has published on school improvement via large scale reform programs; but again, no researcher has addressed the specific educational reform requirements of Ogweho:weh communities.

The one document that has initiated steps towards performing this task is the Royal Commission on Aboriginal People (RCAP, 1996). This multi-year study was instituted with the intention of determining how Canada could best improve its relationship with the Aboriginal peoples. The resulting five volume report addressed such atrocities as the federal government’s role in instituting the residential school system, dispossession of land tenure, and denial of civil rights and was anticipated to be a turning point in the situation of Ogweho:weh peoples in Canada. One goal of this dissertation is to bring to light published

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10 Native is the term most often used within the United States to refer to the equivalent of First Nations people and can be referred to as Native American and/or Alaskan Native. Native is intended to mean original people but can easily be argued that anyone born in a country is by default Native and therefore will not be used in this paper to describe original people unless taken in the context of a document.

11 All research published has had a role towards this end (e.g. pedagogy, curriculum, learning styles, culture in the classroom), but in segregated and disjointed publications which are not fully analysing according to systemic school improvement.

12 Aboriginal is the federal term used by Canada to refer to all peoples of First Nations decent. A term used by many British colonies, Aboriginal referred to the original people of the country. Chartrand states that the collective name identification is a "modern form of racialization" (2010, p. 7) and therefore refuses to use the term Aboriginal in her work. I chose not to use this term as it is not widely accepted by ‘Aboriginal’ peoples as “ab” as a prefix is intended to negate, or be in opposition to [e.g. abnormal] and therefore would state that the Aboriginal people are not original to the land.
commentary and research that directly addresses the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP).

**Rationale and Significance of Study**

As a member of the Six Nations community, certified educator in both Ontario and New York State, administrator and parent, I have considered how I could improve education within our district as well as for all Ogweho:weh. As an ‘educated First Nations’ person in Canada I realize that I am a member of a minority, and further recognize that deficiency in educational attainment is a direct contributor to the social conditions of Ogweho:weh peoples coinciding with poverty (Baydala, Rasmussen, Birch, Sherman, Wikman, Charchum, Kennedy, & Bisanz, 2009; Jester, 2002; Peters, 2002; Royal Bank of Canada & Cando, 1997), alcohol and substance abuse (Schissel & Wotherspoon, 2003; Royal Bank of Canada & Cando, 1997), suicide (Schissel & Wotherspoon, 2003), runaway youth (Kingsley, 1998), youth prostitution (Kingsley, 1998), imprisonment (Archibald, n.d.) under employment (Peters, 2002; Carr-Stewart, 2001; Statistics Canada, 2001a; Royal Bank of Canada & Cando, 1997), homelessness (CBC, 2007; HRSD, 2007; The National Homelessness Initiative, 2005; McCue & Wigmore, 1990; Baskin, 2007; Layton, in Rokach, 2004; Beavis, Klos, Carter & Douchant, 1997; Edmonton Homelessness Study, 2004; UNNS, 2001; Cauce & Morgan, 1994; Fitzgerald, 1995; MacLean et al., 1999; Decter, 2007; Golden et al., 1999; lack of self-in place (Nielsen, 2010; Baydala et al., 2009) and children in care (Essen, Lambert, & Head, 2006; Van Wingerden, Emerson & Ichikawa, 2002; Colton & Heath, 1994; Ferris-Manning & Zandstra, 2003; Walmsley, 2005; Hart Wensley, 2006; Gough et al., 2005; Hughes, 2006; National Children’s Alliance, 2005; RCAP, 1996; Mussell, Cardiff, & White, 2004; Ad Hoc Coalition on the Rights of
Aboriginal Children in Canada, 2003; Farris-Manning et al., 2003; National Children’s Alliance, 2005). There are approximately 65 working age Aboriginal people in Canada with doctoral degrees, none of whom are researching First Nations educational disparities.

I believe that neither the community nor Canada is aware of what the problems are in respect to Ogweho:weh education. Although RCAP spoke of disparities of outcomes and wrongdoings of the past, it would be an injustice to simply condense the problem to these two issues. One of the contributions of this dissertation is to investigate the problems surrounding Ogweho:weh education, holistically and systemically. By conducting the State of First Nations Education in a macro/micro analysis, local communities including Six Nations, have received a detailed report outlining educational problems, the current implementation (or lack of implementation) of RCAP recommendations, and most importantly, the voices of the two main actors in the field of education, the educators and the students.

Following the canons of the Philosophy of Research and Theoretical Frame (See Chapter II) the act of the doctoral studies and dissertation research has had a direct impact not only on the main benefactor, myself, but also on the community and Ogweho:weh education in general. Additionally, to ensure that the information is available in a format that will be accessible to community members, an executive report of the research was presented for use by

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13 In 2001 there were 47,180 doctorate degrees reported in the 25-44 year old Canadian population with only 65 of those held by Aboriginal people. This equates to only 0.1% attainment. Proportionately there should be more than 1,415 Aboriginal doctorates in the Canadian demographic of the same age.

14 Holistically is referring to all aspects of educational attainment including progression through education, opinions of education, and the state or condition of the students in comparison to other Canadian students. Systemic issues refer to those directly related to the educational system including personnel, curriculum, administration and infrastructure.

15 In addition to being a culturally respectfully response to Indigenous Knowledge and the respect of the community voice, this approach offers a reciprocation to those participants as outlined by Redwing Saunders (2004) Curriculum Model and in line with the Tri-Council Policy on research involving Aboriginal peoples (2005).
community and officials when making decisions on how to proceed in the next few years as they determine how and if they will take on administration of their own educational systems.

**Research Questions**

Throughout my research, I have developed a supposition that nearly every topic has, at its crux, a common binary—the pro and con, the traditional and mainstream\(^{16}\), the Confederacy and Band\(^{17}\), teacher and administrator, community and educational system. As such I chose to take the topic of First Nations education to the two main actors within the dialogue\(^{18}\) of Ogwehoh:weh education—the educator (administrator/teacher) and the recipient\(^{19}\) of that education (student/family). Without preconceived notions of participant responses, I came to the study assuming that each of these actors will own a variety of responses fitting a policy web (Joshee and Johnson, 2005; Goldberg, 2005) or matrix of thought on Ogwehoh:weh education. Instead I created a set of research questions to act as a guide in plotting the dialogue concerning Ogwehoh:weh education within this dissertation.

\(^{16}\) Even within First Nations communities divides of cultural practice occur. Most common is the divide between those who practice a traditional religious/spiritual way and those who have a more mainstream approach to religious (e.g. Christianity).

\(^{17}\) The people of Six Nations have two distinct governments. The Confederacy is the traditional government, that which all treaties between the Crown and Canada were made. This is the traditional government of the people of Six Nations which reside in Ontario, Quebec and in areas of North America. The Elected Band Council is the body that was put into place to rule the Six Nations Reserve by the federal government in 1924 under siege.

\(^{18}\) In place of interviews I use dialogue. I see interviews as unidirectional request of information and not culturally appropriate. As such I use dialogues which allow me, through guiding questions, to have a conversation with the participant in a respectful manner.

\(^{19}\) When referring to the recipient I am not implying that the student or family is merely a passive group who consume a delivered product. In all aspects of education I believe that the teachers/administrators and the students/families are in constant articulation of both the means and content.
With a theoretical focus of exploring Ogweho:weh education in both the macro and micro community definitions of Nation and reserve, I have two research questions:

1. What changes has RCAP made to Ogweho:weh education in Canada?
2. How does the community understand success at Six Nations?

The first question, “What changes has RCAP made to Ogweho:weh education in Canada” asked the participants to identify their perceptions of Ogweho:weh education throughout the past decade. The educators themselves were the dominant group involved in this conversation, as they were the group believed most likely to have information about the RCAP document, its recommendations pertaining to education of First Nations, and subsequent policy changes. A second group of activist/parents were also participants in this conversation. In the discussions of perceived changes to education, the participants were asked how these changes relate to RCAP and if they believed that RCAP was of influence to any perceived changes. Finally, they were asked to identify if they had any preconceived notions of what would occur as a result of RCAP, and if their predictions were realized. In the event that participants had no knowledge of the RCAP, they were asked generalized versions of the questions pertaining to change over the decade. 20

In the second set of conversations, “How does the community understand success at Six Nations” both participant groups were involved. Initially, each individual was asked to describe positives and negatives of what they foresee in Six Nations’ future, and what improvements could be made. The essence of success and how it is defined was invariably different for each group; with dialogues having a focus on “What does the education system

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20 This will be further discussed in Chapter 5. Educators were, for the most part, aware of the RCAP and educational suggestions. The group who was less aware were the advocates. These participants were asked more directed questions such as “Have you seen changes in the past decade to the education system? If so can you describe them?”
you aspire to have at Six Nations look like” in order to begin to define success. In each of the two research conversations, a series of dialogue guiding questions endeavored to peel away the layers of the Ogweho:weh educational problems and successes, while interpreting them through the lens of the main theoretical and conceptual frameworks. A comprehensive discussion of both methodology and findings is presented in the following chapters.

**Brief Review of Literature**

**History of Canadian First Nations Education**

Historically, the Ogweho:weh people held their distinct educational systems as important aspects of communal life. The main educational method stemming from pre-contact until the onset of the residential school period was the clan system and a hands-on apprenticeship of education. This proved highly productive (Barman, Hébert & McCaskill, 1999). In 1870 however, the traditional means of education fell under attack as the Indian Act was passed into law. From the outset of this Act, governmental control of First Nations’ education has been active in Canada. Initially the “Indians” were identified as wards of the government and were to be educated as such, at the cost of the government. Still working under the same policies, documents and laws instituted under Duncan Campbell Scott, the most notorious Minister of Indian Affairs and the individual responsible for the implementation of the residential school system and resulting genocide via the education system, we find generations of Ogweho:weh peoples subjected to a substandard version of European-based education, while often living in third-world conditions. A close ally to Scott, Carlisle Indian School founder Capt. Richard C. Pratt coined the phrase, “Save the Man, and Kill the Indian” in his 1892 convention paper as a means of remodeling the Ogweho:weh
person via education (Pratt, reprint 1973; History Matters, n.d.). This brutal re-education of Ogweho:weh peoples became a way of dealing with the Indian problem.  

The development of the Indian Act necessitated the creation of an agency intended to oversee the new wards of the Crown. Over several name changes throughout the centuries, the Ministry of Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC) assumed control of reserve-based education and the education of First Nations peoples. The Act states:

[T]he Minister may, in accordance with this Act, establish, operate and maintain schools for Indian children. Thus the Department of Indian Affairs administers, directly or indirectly, elementary and secondary educational services as a statutory right. (Carr-Stewart, 2001, p. 4)

At the same time as the establishment of the Indian Act, reserve communities were being forced, often at gun point, to disband their traditional governments. Revised in 1985, the Act upheld the necessity for the Canadian government to provide education to First Nations peoples. Additionally, legislation such as Bill C-31 was instituted to reinstates the estranged female members of society while limiting the terms of status-ship of their descendants.

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21 Although Scott and Pratt were the initiators of the re-education techniques, the residential schools were for many a place of isolation where physical, emotional and often sexual violence was used in order to break the spirit of the child to produce an English speaking, Christian adolescent (Schissel & Wolterspoon, 2003; Cote, 2001; Barman, Hébert, & McCaskill, 1986). In most cases, these children were unwilling to return to families as they had had minimal contact with them throughout their formative years. Connections with family, community, language and cultural practices were lost. As such, many residential school graduates relocated into urban settings (RCAP, 1996).

22 At Six Nations, the traditional chiefs were locked out of their council house in 1924 by federal armed agents and the first Elected Band Council was handpicked to run the reserve. The institution of Band Councils who would work as intermediaries for the federal government and enact the federal (and provincial) laws was the demise of any regular face to face articulation between sovereign governments and the federal bodies.

23 Bill C-31 was passed on June 28, 1985 and became effective on April 17. This Bill amended three key areas of discrimination in the Indian Act. Specifically, Bill C-31 provided status to women who had lost it through marriage to a non-Native man, and turned over control of band membership lists to the individual Bands. (Congress of Aboriginal Peoples, 1998). Although the decedents of Bill-C31 were reinstated as status First Nations peoples, the terms of their status was defined by a formula which expires as early as three generations when mixed marriages occur.
There was no question in the mind of St. Germaine that the aim of re-educating Ogweho:weh was to limit cultural capacity while indoctrinating the First Nations' as future Canadians. St Germaine stated the role of education is “the means by which a society transmits its culture unto its young” (2000, p. 1). He goes on to discuss how Ogweho:weh were prevented from teaching their children their culture, teachings, and values. This is by no means an unforeseen effect of the Scott and Pratt policies, but a well laid plan to destroy cultural capacity through a continuous political agenda starting in the early 1800’s and continuing until late in the 20th century when changes in governmental policy allowed for tribal governments and Band’s to begin to “share in the role of education” (St Germaine, 2000, p. 2).

**Similar Histories Elsewhere**

Canadian First Nations are not the only Indigenous24 people who have fought for the entitlement to dictate educational curriculum and manage their individual community systems. Both United States and Canadian Native American/First Nations policies have influenced one another, with people such as Scott in Canada and Pratt in the U.S. attempting to eradicate the “Indian Problem” by erasing cultural and linguistic differences through education. Such actions have not been limited to North America however; Indigenous education globally has followed a similar historical path.

European contact with the Indigenous peoples of New Zealand occurred later than in the North American continent but the events were nonetheless similar. The religious missionaries rapidly set up schools to spread their ideologies, with the first school being established in 1816. In 1847 the British Government appointed the first Protector of Indigenous refers to all of the original people throughout the world.
Aborigines along with a fund to service education federally. Rather than build new schools with the funds provided, the government began the funding of the three national mission schools. Where the Māori educational history deviates from that of Canada is that the Māori people were granted the Native Schools Act of 1867 after an uprising against the government and settlers. This Act gave the Native Affairs Department the mandate to provide for the administration of education at the community or village level. Right through the end of the twentieth century these Ogweho:weh schools became equivalent to a public school and all children were mandated to attend, either in their village or another public setting.

In 1955 a National Committee on Education offered recommendations for the improvement of Māori education which included greater emphasis on traditional culture in the schools, an articulation network for those working within Māori education, and a uniform educational system for the Māori peoples of New Zealand (Bradly, n.d.). Since that time the Māori people have seen both gains and losses in their fight for excellence in education, but they are now viewed as the leaders of successful Indigenous education with countries and individual Ogweho:weh peoples following their models for both language acquisition (Aha Pūnana Leo, n.d.) and attainment (G. Smith, 2000).  

25 Māori is the word that the original people of New Zealand use to refer to themselves.

26 Of note is the Māori initiatives to restore language via language nest schools occurred, not in the communities, but rather in urban settings. This is of major significance as countries have taken the language nest model into reserves while their urban settings have made excuses why urban education is ineffective for reparative education.
Australia\textsuperscript{27} is yet another country which shaped a detrimental association with Ogweho:weh via educational policy. Australian state schools are still reeling from the effects of the early twentieth century forced relocation to work schools for all Aborigine\textsuperscript{28} children. Two of these former schools, the Cherbourg and Kuranda State Schools have labored to nullify the previous effects on communities and generations of families, while making a positive impact on the current group of failing Aborigines (Hones, 2005). Resembling the effects of educational policy upon Canada’s First Nations, the Aborigine peoples (also influenced by residential school and racism) suffer low educational attainment and poor community support of education (Reynolds, 2002). It is because of this poor attainment in conjunction with legacy issues related to the residential schools, that these two former state schools have taken their original mandate of education for Aborigine youth to a new level today.

\textsuperscript{27} Australia, New Zealand, United States and Canada all were working from a Euro-foundational paradigm that the original people to the land were in need of saving spiritually (Weatherford, 1990), educationally (Schissel & Wortherspoon, 2003; Dickason, 1992; Jaenen, 1986), culturally (Leggert, 1839) and on some level, not worthy of efforts as they were a lesser quality of man or even sub-human (Huddleston, 1971).

\textsuperscript{28} Although I have chosen to utilize the self-described language for various groups as opposed to the (for the most part) British names given, I continue to utilize Aborigine since it is a name most common to First Nations of Australia. The various regional groups within Australia each have their own name for referring to themselves and others.
The First Royal Commission on Education Concerning Six Nations

The earliest study pertaining to education at Six Nations was conducted in 1923 by Col. Andrew Thompson (1924) on behalf of the Department of Indian Affairs. His report opens with a letter to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs where he writes:

[This report includes that] which I was instructed to investigate and inquire generally into the affairs of the Six Nations Indians, including matters relating to education, health, morality, election of chiefs, powers assumed by council, administration of justice, soldiers’ settlement and any other matters affecting the management, life and progress of the said Indians as may be required by the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs (Thompson, 1924, p. 3)

This comprehensive document spoke of a people who were poor, but for the most part, capable of work and success within white Canada. Thompson’s opening paragraph to the education section reads:

There can be no doubt that the Six Nations Indians have made very substantial progress in the matter of education during the last twenty-five years [1898-1923]. They are a people of very quick intelligence, and quite as capable of assimilating education as are their white fellow-citizens. However, it must never be forgotten that they have not enjoyed the opportunities of the whites for a lengthy period, and are still working under decided handicaps (1924, p. 4)

Among the areas Thompson identified within his report, was the need to expand the truant officer count from 1 to 6 (one per school) and to make all or many of those newly appointed officers women. He goes on to explain that education at Six Nations is the responsibility of the mother and not the father. Therefore, the students and their parents may respond better to this change.

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29 Many thanks to Woodland Cultural Centre’s Librarian. After a year of searching for an original copy this report with Library and Archives Canada and Six Nations, I was concerned that no print copies remained of this historic document. It appears Woodland Cultural Centre is in possession of the only (public) remaining copy of The Report by Col. Andrew T. Thompson, Commission to investigate and enquire into the affairs of the Six Nations Indians, 1923 (1924).
Additionally, he spoke about concerns of the distance students needed to travel to get to school. Thompson suggested moving more students into residential schools, dormitories and bordering homes off-reserve as this may assist with daily transportation costs and truancy, especially at the secondary levels. Further, he listed deficits in the schools including; the lack of text books, resources, healthy school conditions, and sports. He believed that with an improvement to each of these situations, the child would become more engaged and higher attendance and success could be achieved by the Indian student residing at Six Nations Reserve.

Finally he reported on “the question of duly qualified teachers is one of great importance” (Thompson, 1924, p. 5), and the difficulty of recruiting qualified teachers into community, as well as housing them on or near the reserve. He stated a concern brought to him by the teachers was that salaries were lesser on-reserve, but reported that he did not find evidence of this. Most concerning to the administration of the school was that the independent School Board was managed outside of the control of the Superintendent. He suggested the Board, appointed by the Chief and made up of 5 local community members, 1 white missionary and 1 representative of the New England Company, be immediately disbanded and replaced with a duly elected Board of Trustees who would have a Department of Indian Affairs appointed chair and report directly to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs.

Looking at the current conditions of Haudenosaunee education at Six Nations, it appears that two things have occurred. First, the negatives have proliferated, including the attainment gap; old/few resources and books; truancy and drop-out rates; transportation length to off-reserve secondary schools; and poorly funded extracurricular activities. Second,
the few positives Thompson reported to the Department of Indian Affairs were quickly removed following this report including community control of the school district and students residing at home in their community. Both were disbanded for less autonomy on the part of the community and harsh rule of law by the Superintendent of Indian Affairs.30

Thompson closed his section on education by reporting the need for the Six Nations to continue to have positive relations off-reserve was imperative for both their education and the future of the community when he wrote:

The Indians cannot live advantageously as a separate community. They are a small handful of people, only some forty-six hundred in number, surrounded by densely settled white districts with which they must constantly have dealings. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance to them, that their young folk should grow up on terms of friendly intimacy with the young white folk of their neighbourhood, and to this end the attendance at the white schools materially contributes (1924, p. 7).

White Paper and Ogweho:weh Response31

The 1969 Liberal government, under Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, released a document called the Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy which is referred to by most as the White Paper (Canada, 1969). The paper suggested that the federal government begin to treat First Nations peoples as citizens (a right which was received earlier in the decade), and defer all special services and responsibilities to the provincial governments. Further, this paper suggested that treating one population differently than any other was wrong-headed and should be repealed by terminating the Indian Act and amending the Canadian Constitution (Newhouse & Belanger, 2001). The White Paper stated

30 It should be noted that the Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs at the time of this report was Duncan Campbell Scott. Scott went on to become the most notorious Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Canada’s history.

31 This dissertation refers to many different documents. Appendix B includes a graphic representation of various documents and events, superimposed on a timescale, illustrating when they were published.
this was a positive and equitable move for First Nations people as “Obviously, the course of history must be changed” (Canada, 1969, p. 3) and the White Paper would “enable Indian people to be free – free to develop Indian cultures in an environment of legal, social and economic equality with other Canadians” (Canada, 1969, p. 3). This paper was in direct contrast to a previous document, the Hawthorn Report (Hawthorn, 1966, 1967), which agreed that First Nations should have full rights as citizens, as dictated by new laws, but should be considered as “citizens plus” encompassing additional treaty and constitutional benefits.

A direct response to the threat of governmental abolishment of treaty law was the National Indian Brotherhood’s (NIB) Indian Control of Indian Education policy paper (1972). Following a national conference aimed at discussing the feasibility of Ogweho:weh self-government, NIB presented this educational policy paper which expressed a belief that education of Ogweho:weh youth be conducted by Ogweho:weh peoples so that their educational content and values would be intrinsically grounded in Indigenous beliefs. This paper was presented to the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. Additionally, this document presented the perspective that First Nations communities wished to be treated as equals to the federal government, as dictated by treaty, and not compared to citizens or municipalities as the White Paper expressed.

On February 2, 1973 then Minister of Indian Affairs, Jean Chrétien, responded to the NIB by writing:

I liked the paper and its proposals and I agree completely with the paper’s basic position of Indian parental responsibility, and local control in education in partnership with the Federal Governments. ... I wish to assure you that I and my Department are fully committed to realizing the educational goals for the Indian people which are set forth in policy proposals. ... In consultation and co-operation with the National Indian Brotherhood, the provincial Indian organizations and Band Councils, my department can begin immediately to effect the desired educational changes (Deering & Beavais, 1977, p. 25).
Shortly after Chrétien conveyed a similar message to the Standing Committee on Indian Affairs offering his public assurance to NIB that the proposal would be put forth. Despite this assurance, the paper was not acted upon during its initial release. The NIB reconstituted organizationally as the Assembly of First Nations (AFN) and re-released the paper in 1976 and 2001.

Kirkness supports the argument of the AFN in her 1999 article in which she notes, “Ogweho:weh teachers are key to progress in the education of Indians” (Kirkness, 1999a). She further demonstrates, through reviews of various studies, that empirical evidence and testimonials have been gathered establishing that Ogweho:weh students create stronger identities and have longer running success when they are educated by Ogweho:weh teachers. Although the AFN Policy Paper has never been ratified by either the federal government or the Minister of Indian Affairs, it has become a major issue of each subsequent National Chief and all but a handful of communities have since taken over management of their reserve educational systems.

**Cursory Review of RCAP**

The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples five volume report was generated for the federal government in 1996. A multi-year study, RCAP was commissioned as a result of the back lash and governmental concerns following the Oka Crisis of 1989 when both

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32 As much of the RCAP does not pertain to education directly the greater research study will only address the specific sections pertaining to education. This does not imply however, that the remainder of the report is seen as unimportant to education as all aspects of the report house themes of improvement, education, common good and overall improvement of lifestyle and opportunity which is indicative of education and training. Primarily Volume III will be reviewed in this dissertation with some highlighted sections in Volume I.
provincial and federal forces were involved in a lengthy standoff with members of the Mohawk community of Kanesatake.

Struck in 1991, this commission was charged with the task of determining ways to improve relations between the Ogweho:weh and Canadian peoples. Taking five years and at a cost of more than $50 million, this 3536 page, five volume report dealt with matters such as historical background, housing, health, culture/language, self-government, residential schooling and education. The underlying theme throughout this report was the assertion “that the right of Aboriginal peoples to be self-governing is recognized in both international and domestic law” (Newhouse & Belanger, 2001).

Royal Bank of Canada (RBC) and Cando (1997) released a response paper to the RCAP, entitled The Cost of Doing Nothing. In this report they released data which demonstrated the disparities outlined within the RCAP and projected the future should the Canadian government and Canadians allow the status quo to continue. The report cover letter reads:

RCAP outlines how the private sector must move forward to the next level of activity. As Canada’s Aboriginal peoples assume greater self-determination, we in corporate Canada have a ready-made opportunity to take part in what could be a defining moment in history (1997, p. 2).

Within this report RBC explains that Canadian Aboriginals, including self-identified First Nations and their decedents, make 61% of the average salary, have double the unemployment, have more than 500% more dependency on welfare, and nearly 20% fewer high school graduates as compared to non-Aboriginal Canadians. Also discussed were issues of housing, incarceration, health and homicide, as data suggests that Aboriginal Canadians are over-represented in these areas. Of most significance in this report however, is the discussion of a projected future where the Aboriginal population of employment age peoples...
(15-64) grows by 73% and the non-Aboriginal by only 23%. Should the status quo remain unchanged this number of unemployed and under-educated members of society could cripple Canada, whereas a healthy Aboriginal workforce would be of significant impact and benefit to the Canadian economy. ³³

Three years before the RCAP and four years before the RBC report; Benjamin, Chambers and Reiterman (1993) made predictions on how such low academic attainment could affect both quality of life and its influence on society as a whole. In this prediction Benjamin et al. said that as a population, the majority of people 30 years and under would be of racial minority status by the start of the 21st century. This statement was substantiated by a Statistics Canada publication that states that between 19% and 23% of Canada’s population could be members of a visible minority group by the nation’s 150th anniversary in 2017 (Statistics Canada, March 22, 2005; Statistics Canada, 2005). Benjamin et al. (1993) questioned how this changing ratio of majority to minority groups would affect marginalized peoples’ ability to succeed in life if they were unable to gain acceptance and success in higher education. Furthermore, they state that without access and success in the post-secondary system, the members of these groups “may never benefit from the intellectual development, humanistic appreciation, potential employment, and economic advancement which stems from a college education” (Benjamin et al., 1993, pp. 24-25).

³³ Canada is an aging country with the largest population, the baby boomers, nearing retirement age. Coupled with the low birth rate of Canadian’s “This aging of the Canadian workforce raises the potential for shortages in some highly skilled occupations, and the likelihood that Canada will need to continue to turn to immigration as a source of highly skilled workers” (Munroe, n.d.). The nearly one-quarter of the 1.5 million Ogwehó:weh of Canada under the age of 25, this group has the potential of being a home grown workforce who will step into the role the Canadian government current looks to fill through immigration.
Prior to the RCAP, A.C. Cairns had been a long advocate for the Ogweho:weh peoples. Cairns was an author on Part 1 and Part 2 of the Hawthorn Reports (1966, 1967), which made positive suggestions to the federal government on how to direct the new citizenship status of Canadian First Nations people. His concept of Citizens Plus, or having the rights of all citizens plus additional benefits which are granted via treaty law, was in direct opposition to both the White Paper and to the RCAP.

Recently, Cairns returned to his original tenets of citizens plus (Cairns, 2001), as he reflected on the ills of both the governmental action since the Hawthorn Report and the problematic self-governance issues that are suggested within the RCAP. His books and articles pertaining to this area have been accepted with mixed feelings throughout the country. While Cairns considers his work a progressive view of self-governance (2000), Fagan (2003) described Cairns work as an ethnocentric misinterpretation of nation to nation articulation. Although Libesman (2005) states she is unsure whether she is a proponent or opponent of Cairns theoretical stance, she further states that his work raises fundamental questions of nation to nation articulations, and questions which must be addressed by multinational constitutional theory.

**Organization of the Text**

In the following chapters I attempt to direct both a conceptualized study of Ogweho:weh education with a desire to present the various endeavors of Ogweho:weh researchers into one collective resource. I anticipate I will make this analysis available as a resource on education, though the organization and presentation of the document may seem unfamiliar to some scholars. An example of this would be the literature review chapter.
Whereas most dissertations would include a comprehensive review of the literature within the field, I take the opportunity this dissertation provides to focus on lesser known literatures and highlight that which supports the foundations of Ogweho:weh lifeways.\textsuperscript{34}

Chapter II: Theory presents a variety of both Ogweho:weh theory as well as mainstream theory which has been subsequently Indigenized. Although the main theoretical framework, Indigenous Theory and the works of Graham Smith are presented (2007, 2005, 2003, 2000, 1997), I have taken the opportunity to expand upon this Māori based model by incorporating several Ogweho:weh and Haudenosaunee concepts to theories which are grounded in both research and cultural canons.

In Chapter III: Literature Review, I present a literature review of Ogweho:weh education both contemporary and historical. In order to address the broad content areas in a way connected to the theory and the dynamic nature of education, this chapter is formatted not as static headings, but rather as the information fits within the main theoretical principles of Indigenous Theory (G. Smith, 2007, 2003, 2005, 2000, 1997). I felt it was more relevant to present the literature as connected to the theory; as such, it was necessary to divert from the more common order of a thesis and offer the theory chapter prior to the literature.

Chapter IV and V offer the comprehensive survey of methodological approaches to Indigenous research in Canada (Chapter IV) as well as the methodology of the research study (Chapter V). Although policies such as that of the Tri-Council propose ethical approaches to conducting Aboriginal research on human subjects and communities, there are Ogweho:weh researchers who have grounded their methodological approach within the more specific

\textsuperscript{34} Ogweho:weh lifeways are those Indigenous knowledges which are inherent within communities or groups.
beliefs and canons of the communities. A number of these studies will be discussed.

Additionally, chapter IV includes a review of Indigenous Knowledge Rights action over the past decade, highlighting Indigenous research, while chapter V relates the research to Haudenosaunee education specifically.

Chapters VI and VII are the two findings chapters of the study. Chapter VI: Document Findings outlines the findings of the document analysis while Chapter VII highlights findings of the dialogues. Chapter VIII: Discourse Analysis takes both the document and dialogue findings and marries them into a chapter on discourse and a concept I refer to as Social Particle Webbing.

Finally, Chapter IX: Conclusion is the conclusion and recommendations chapter. Although this chapter summarizes the research and formulates suggestions for future work and changes to education, this chapter also responds to the Social Particle Webbing metaphor and its place within social change and social activism.

Included are a number of appendices, accompanied by the dialogue guiding questions, original fliers and consent documents. As mentioned earlier, one of the appendices will be a glossary of terms which will include many of the footnoted definitions presented throughout this dissertation.

Conclusion

The First Nations population has increased at a rate of three times the growth of the general population (Statistics Canada, 2001b) while in Ontario that rate is nearly five times that of the national average (Spotton, n.d.). Coupled with poor attainment and inadequate reserve education, the Canadian public will inherit an under-educated and under-employed
population if changes do not occur. With the imminent shift from federal districts to community ownership and management of reserve schools the educational destiny of Ogweho:weh people hangs in the balance. Comprehensive studies are needed and the time for an innovative conceptualization is now.

With the current demand for review of the Six Nations politics of sovereignty by both community members and Canadians at large, the educational core of self-government, as the RCAP referred, must be reviewed in order to move Ogweho:weh away from the stigma of “educationally disabled by birth right”\textsuperscript{35} (Redwing Saunders & Hill, 2007). Although administrators and educators alike have stated that they are not failing the First Nations people by means of the product they deliver, the Canadian public has seen little evidence of success when observing reserve communities. It is anticipated that this study will be a considerable step in gathering information for communities and administrators willing to advocate for improvements for this educationally impoverished population.

During the process of conceptualizing this study, I was asked why I would want to study an issue if I already knew my conclusions. There are a number of issues and concerns that can be predicted based on the literature to date, and little of the data points to a

\textsuperscript{35} According to much of the Native learning style interpretation, the Ogweho:weh student is and will be at a disadvantage because s/he cannot succeed in typical schools. These students rather than the mainstream educational models are seen to be deficient or \textit{disabled by birthright}. “Disabled by Birthright” refers to the belief or implication that Ogweho:weh people are lesser-abled to succeed (Hill & Redwing Saunders, 2008; Redwing Saunders & Hill, 2007; Redwing Saunders, 2004). When referring to “the Native learning style”, it has been argued that Ogweho:weh people must have specific circumstances within the classroom and via pedagogy in order to learn (Johnny, 2002; Hill, 1995; Plank, 1994; Reyhner, 1994, 1992b; Rhodes, 1990; Philips, 1982; Ross, 1982). Further, an equity of outcomes approach rests on the premise that Ogweho:weh students need the assistance of access and additional services in order to be successful. The broad strokes or Pan-Indian generalizations authors make by stating our students are unable is a dangerous statement. I believe that Haudenosaunee people have a preferred learning style—just as every other person on Mother Earth does. Acknowledging the misnomer of a multi-nation single learning style is accepting that Ogweho:weh people are inferior in comparison to dominant culture, and therefore disabled by birthright.
resolution without some intervening force. It can be acknowledged that without this intervening force we, Ogweho:weh people, will simply be maintaining our current social, political and economic conditions. As a researcher I don’t know where I will end up—how can I know what the solutions may be when, as a community, we cannot collectively agree on precisely what the problems are. In an optimistic regard, I believe it is my responsibility to complete this project with a Good Mind\textsuperscript{36}, bringing whatever new or renewed knowledge that is obtained to my community.

\textsuperscript{36} Good Mind is a Haudenosaunee concept which refers to the living, acting, and reacting with an awareness of how they influence their surroundings and environment.
CHAPTER II—THEORY:
Indigenous and Indigenized Theories

For more than 25 years, Aboriginal people have been articulating their goals for Aboriginal education. They want education to prepare them to participate fully in the economic life of their communities and in Canadian society. But this is only part of their vision. Presenters told us that education must develop children and youth as Aboriginal citizens, linguistically and culturally competent to assume the responsibilities of their nations. Youth that emerge from school must be grounded in a strong, positive Aboriginal identity. Consistent with Aboriginal traditions, education must develop the whole child, intellectually, spiritually, emotionally and physically. Current education policies fail to realize these goals. ... The human costs of this failure are immense. It saps the creative potential of individuals, communities and nations. Yet, despite the painful experiences Aboriginal people carry with them from formal education systems, they still see education as the hope for the future, and they are determined to see education fulfill its promise.

Ogweho:weh peoples encompass hundreds of different nations across Turtle Island\(^{37}\), each with their own teachings, stories, language and beliefs. As a result, no one epistemology is shared by all. However, there are a number of concepts that bridge most, if not all Indigenous peoples. Respect for each other and nature, the understanding of community, and a need for authenticity or authentic voice are common values held amongst North American and other Indigenous peoples.\(^{38}\) Thus a theoretical framework utilizing Ogweho:weh paradigms would also share common concepts with other First Nations, despite linguistic differences.

\(^{37}\) According to many Ogweho:weh creation stories, Turtle Island refers to the North American Continent that resembles the shape of a great sea turtle, created to house the human beings.

\(^{38}\) For further discussion, see the work of Greg Cajete, Graham Smith and Marie Battiste.
In this chapter I aim to discuss not only the frameworks of this study, of Indigenous Theory (G. Smith, 2007, 2005, 2003, 2000b, 1997) and Haudenosaunee Curriculum Model (Redwing Saunders & Hill, 2007; Redwing Saunders, 2004); rather I hope to offer a survey of Indigenous theories being developed in communities as well as mainstream theories\(^{39}\) that have been Indigenized, or given a twist to Ogweho:weh thinking for the purpose of incorporating into community use. As this research is conducted in and of a Haudenosaunee community, I have offered perspectives on a variety of theoretical approaches by Haudenosaunee theorists. However, it is not my intention to be Irocentric\(^{40}\) or to limit the scope of relevant theoretical approaches only to the Haudenosaunee. I trust this chapter will serve both purposes of a general survey as well as a Haudenosaunee specific discussion of protocols.

**Indigenous Theories**

In this and the following section I will offer a discussion of Indigenous theories and Indigenized theories. Before we can consider these theories it is helpful to have definitions which show the difference between the two. Indigenous theories are those theories that are grounded in the practices of a specific group of people and are based on their cultural practices. Indigenized theories, on the other hand, are mainstream theories that are more commonly used, but have an infusion of cultural perspective in order to better rationalize the perspective with the culture of the people. The main difference is that an Indigenized theory

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\(^{39}\) Although there are many mainstream theories that have been used by Ogweho:weh people, I have chosen to focus on Critical Theory, Critical Race Theory and Feminist Theories because these are used by key Ogweho:weh thinkers.

\(^{40}\) *Irocentric* is a word based on the concept of Eurocentric and refers to the Haudenosaunee or Iroquois often having a center of universe perspective.
is not created by Indigenous peoples for use in their community, but is a theory that is an adapted mainstream perspective.

**Transformational Praxis (Indigenous Theory)**

Over the past decade G. Smith has made presentations and publications referring to his concept of Indigenous Theory.\(^{41}\) His transformative praxis or Indigenous Theory is based on Māori epistemology and outlines a mode of practice or cycle that includes the use of an authentic community voice used to produce a product which is then returned to the community for their benefit.

As a socially constructed theory grounded in the knowledge, needs and culture of the Māori, this theory is reflective of combined contemporary and historical worldview and philosophies. As an agent of change and “counter-hegemonic practice and understandings” (G. G. Smith, 1997, p. 455), this theory is grounded in a response to oppression and struggle within the dominant society. G. Smith writes:

> One of key initiatives that Māori have taken is a strategic reinvestment in theoretical tools to assist their transformation. This is not an uncritical exercise. It has involved understanding the politics surrounding theory, the understanding of the flaws of theory and academic work of the past and most of all, the proactive development of indigenous theorizing by ourselves. This latter initiative has been focused, but not exclusively, in the area of Kaupapa Māori Theory (G. Smith, 2003. p. 4-5).

Throughout G. Smith's writing and discussions on Indigenous Theory, he conveys a theme of *for the people—by the people*. G. Smith has noted ([presentation at CINSA], 2005; 2003) that communal purpose, respect and authenticity are regularly absent from research

\(^{41}\) Although this section is referred to as Indigenous theories, only Graham Smith uses the title of Indigenous Theory to name his theoretical approach.
conducted on Indigenous peoples globally. According to G. Smith, the most important concept of Indigenous Theory is that the researcher must be “seriously engaged in grounded critical and political work for transformation and write from a particular cultural, community or tribal particular position” (2005, p. 7), integrating protection against destructive research methodologies. Even the Tri-Council Policy for conducting human subject research has created a section pertaining to the specific historical and contemporary consequences of research involving Aboriginal peoples.

Although Indigenous Theory has only recently gained a title and definition through the works of G. Smith (2007, 2005, 2003, 2000b) and L.T. Smith (1999), Indigenous Theory describes an epistemological stance of many Indigenous peoples globally that has existed for millennia. Indigenous Theory is based on the following six principles: (1) self-determination; (2) validating and legitimating cultural aspirations and identity; (3) incorporating culturally preferred pedagogy; (4) mediating socio-economic difficulties; (5) incorporating cultural

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42 Throughout history Indigenous peoples’ knowledges have been discounted while they have been stripped of their technologies. Examples of such actions would be the use of knowledge of farming to better settlers’ lifestyle, only to later claim that the Ogwehō:weh peoples are not utilizing the land to its fullest potential in the forced relocation argument; or the logging and use of traditional medicines and remedies, followed by forced education, imposition of western health practices and punishment in order to remove uncivilized practices or witchcraft tendencies.

43 The Tri-Council Policy Statement (TCPS) is the accepted practices for academic research conducted by university personnel and students. The TCPS includes specifics on all aspects of research pertaining to human subjects including Section 6: Research involving Aboriginal Peoples. This section includes a brief historical context of and rationalization of why Aboriginal peoples must have special considerations when research is being conducted of them and their communities. Specific issues addressed are the need to be aware of the history of research, both respectful and hurtful in nature and an understanding (membership if possible) in that community is recommended. A Good Practice list and areas to avoid are also included. This document is a generic document and is superseded by a good Ogwehō:weh praxis grounded in the specific culture and protocols. Within the Human Subjects descriptions is Section 6, a guideline for conducting research on Aboriginal Peoples.
structures which emphasize the collective rather than the individual\textsuperscript{44}, and (6) shared and collective vision.

Self-determination is a concept that is a fundamental concept shared among Ogweho:weh peoples internationally. Mostly in reference to land claims and approaches to self-government and sustainability, G. Smith refers to self-determination through the more holistic idea of control. Self-determination comprises control over all decision making and action. This self-determination is evident in personal and cultural choices that individuals and communities are now able to make in relation to their education. The Māori, for example, are able to make decisions about pedagogy, curriculum and even teaching staff. As a result of having this level of control, G. Smith states, “[W]hen Māori make decisions for themselves, the ‘buy in’ and commitment by Māori participants to making the ideas work is more certain and assured” (G. Smith, 2003, p. 8). Similar to a student development model where “Students support what they help create” (Redwing Saunders, 2004, p. 10), G. Smith’s concept of self-determination is a key first step in the transformation process of this praxis.

Validating and legitimizing cultural aspirations and identity has a two-fold approach. The initial step is the inclusion of the language, culture and positive identity within the Māori schools; something which G. Smith states is currently a given. In Canada however, this level of cultural capacity in the schools is nonexistent. Even in schools that are located on-reserve, minimal changes are made as many use the provincial curriculum requirements for ease of transferability for students. As such, individual teachers are responsible for ensuring identity

\textsuperscript{44} The focusing of a collective is in line with a social justice and social action (Johnson & Joshee, 2007; Joshee & Johnson, 2005; Taylor, 2005; Darling-Hammond, French & Garcia-Lopez, 2002) as opposed to the neo-liberal (see Ungerleider, 2006; Davison-Harden & Majhanovich, 2006; Levidow, 2002; Carroll & Shaw, 2001; Elliot & Maclellan, 1994) stance which would look to the individuals as the case of analysis.
is integrated into the schooling experience. Inclusion has still not occurred throughout Canada. The second aspect of this validating and legitimizing is the return into the fold or what I refer to as “finding those lost”. Community members who were educated under the previous system continue to feel the effects of a system they wish to reject, and as such they are often repelled by education. Once they begin to experience transformational praxis, they begin to find validation in their own education and in the new Māori system, and thus return to education.

Incorporating culturally preferred pedagogy is a foundation of many Ogweho:weh teaching arguments, as many Ogweho:weh people argue for a connection both with and to the community experience and history. Having values, teachers, and community understanding engrained within education is profoundly more significant than simply Native support for Native education. This does not mean that all teaching methods are traditional; G. Smith advocates selecting cross-cultural strategies that fit best, including the language acquisition and math programs from Japan (G. Smith, 2003). Although G. Smith himself does not refer to the openness of the system, I believe that by acceptance of other pedagogies into the system, transformational praxis offers an additional benefit of social capacity building. Community members and students alike can see their own pedagogies as equal to, and in some cases more relevant than that of mainstream and cross-cultural perspectives. This increase of social capacity is what is reclaiming those lost from previous generations and ending the cycle of lost learners.

The fourth area, mediating socio-economic difficulties, is grounded in the philosophical understandings of the Māori peoples. G. Smith explains:
The ‘Kaupapa’ (philosophy) of Kura Kaupapa Māori is such a powerful and all-embracing force, through its emotional (ngakau) and spiritual (wairua) elements, that it commits Māori communities to take seriously the potential of schooling as a positive experience despite other social and economic impediments abroad in the wider community. It not only impacts at the ideological level, and is able to assist in mediating a societal context of unequal power relations; it also makes schooling a priority consideration despite debilitating social and economic circumstances (G. Smith, 2003, p. 9).

For G. Smith, social capital refers to how the “collective cultural structures and practices of whanau (extended family)” (G. Smith, 2003, p. 9) work towards alleviating the socio-economic living situations of many Māori. “Put another way, by drawing on the social capital of the culturally collective practice, a mediation of what might otherwise be debilitating socioeconomic circumstances can be achieved” (G. Smith, 2003, p. 10). As the Māori method now working within the Indigenous Theory principles has met and surpassed their educational expectations, we can only endeavor towards finding parallels in our many local communities of Turtle Island.

As mentioned above, the extended family and the reengagement of disillusioned family members is an imperative aspect of transformation. Incorporating cultural structures which emphasize the collective rather than the individual addresses the transformation process of reengagement. In a community setting where the collective and extended family are responsible for the support of the individual, the individual also must return such support, not only for their own children, but for all people within the whanau structure. In short, the whanau sense of collective is similar to the African perspective represented in the statement, “It takes a village to raise a child”. Further, reinvestment occurs as the individual
reengage themselves in a system which, in many cases, they may be reentering after long periods or even generations away due to highly negative experiences.  

Shared and collective visions are important in any process of change. Transformational praxis is no different here and includes a shared ideal of the importance of the (elementary) educational system. This vision is based on a belief that it is important to function in modern New Zealand society while embodying excellence in Māori understanding. G. Smith states that “A powerful vision is able to provide impetus and direction to struggle” (2003, pp. 10-11), something which the Māori people have demonstrated through their educational system and reconstitution of traditional Māori life and understanding.

Transformational praxis or Indigenous Theory is not what I would call a dormant theorem, but is steeped in a critical pedagogical approach. Although a critical approach, Indigenous Theory is not connected to the theories that stem from the Frankfurt School and should not be viewed as an Indigenized Critical approach. Indigenous Theory is both a method for bringing about a change and the change itself. Although G. Smith’s (2007, 2005, 2003, 2000a, 2000b) Indigenous Theory includes the six principles earlier discussed in this section, they are neither an exhaustive list of needs nor a prescribed formula for success.

With both the historical and contemporary cultural oppression embodied within the Māori
collective memory, this pedagogical approach is a form of resistance, one that stimulates the people to further respond to the oppression and struggle, thus recreating their own socio-economic and philosophical environment.

In Robust’s (2007) article based on her 2006 doctoral dissertation, she discusses her own experiences at the University of Auckland, a tribal institution. Although the Kaupapa Māori is designed as a vision and action process for the elementary system, she demonstrates that the process continues in all levels of education and life of the Māori. Pihama (2001) also supports ongoing transformation by studying the current entrenched belief that Māori women are of lower status than both Māori men and New Zealand society. Both of these researchers, as well as a growing number of new and emerging scholars, have grasped the Transformational Praxis of this Māori framework supporting the work of G. Smith, as well as adding new knowledge to the field.47

The transformation of the oppressed New Zealand Māori society is not a direct result of the school system. However, the Māori peoples are changing through a three-level pyramid of raised consciousness, resistance and transformative action. The triad of action includes every Māori person. Whether wrapped up in the daily struggles against oppression (resistance), working towards active changes (transformational action), or returning to an education system to find it a positive experience (raised consciousness), people are present in the model.

**Haudenosaunee Theory**

Prior to discussing the theoretical framework of the Haudenosaunee, it is important to examine our worldview, the view in which this research is conducted. Although I could not

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47 See also Hill, 2006; Ladner, 2001..
adequately describe the historical perspectives of the Māori nation, I feel somewhat comfortable in offering a brief history and worldview of the Haudenosaunee (Iroquois Confederacy), as this is the community to which I belong and in which I reside. Additionally, it is through this lens that I have conducted my previous research which culminated in a conceptual framework I employ in this study.

The worldview of the Haudenosaunee is found in the Great Law, the ancient teachings of the Peacemaker (1200-1400 CE). It is in this law that the roles and responsibilities defined by the Peacemaker were first given to the Haudenosaunee Five Nations: Seneca, Cayuga, Onondaga, Oneida and Mohawk. The Peacemaker is said to have had all those present join hands in a circle, in doing this he said that everything is in the circle – family, traditions, and language. In a circle there is no beginning or end, and most importantly, there is no head. The Great Law proposed a government, and fifty chiefs, clan mothers and other members of hereditary title are present to guide and assist their families, not to lead in the tradition of a hierarchical system. Leading the Haudenosaunee tradition is also conducted in a circle, where everyone has an equal voice, with decisions made and carried through based on consensus of the circle. Additionally, when an agreement is made, everyone has a voice and everyone in the circle is equal; therefore, the role of each member is equal. In other words, men and women, elders and children may be responsible for different tasks, but they are equally important in the balance of community (Alfred, 1999; Burnham, 1999; Cornelius, 1999; Wallace, 1998; Henry, 1997; Thomas, 1994; Barreiro, 1992). One without the other is the end of the circle, and therefore, the end of the society.
Haudenosaunee Curriculum Model

As a conceptual framework I use the Redwing Saunders (2004) Model of Haudenosaunee Curriculum grounded in original teaching modalities that form a “Standard of Care” of teacher pedagogy. The model used as the conceptual framework for this project is based on my own model of Haudenosaunee education which was the product of an extensive master’s research project involving Haudenosaunee students and professionals in the field of education. The Curriculum Model (figure 1) which I define in the following manner:

Curriculum or Native curriculum is the plan, means, method and learning experience that fosters the educational lesson, while creating a respectful and [reciprocal] relationship that enhances the ability to self-direct and process learning in the future (Redwing Saunders, 2004, p. 122).

This model was designed as a conceptual framework that can be applied to numerous areas, such as curriculum design and transmission; research design and implementation; and parenting and life roles. In this design, three separate areas of

48 A Standard of Care is the base line for all care and is not intended to be a formula for health, but rather an acceptance of commitment to the individual as patient and person. For the purpose of differentiating a Standard of Care, as intended in this document, from other uses, it should be noted that Standard of Care is the rights to education that First Nations people (as well as all Canadians) should have available to them. This includes respectful, relevant materials and instruction offered in reciprocation between the educators, learner and community. Additionally this standard includes cultural awareness and protocols tailored to the specific community.

49 Nel Noddings examination of the principles of care and corresponding relationship to wellbeing, schooling, and to learning and teaching within local communities and families reveal the significance of caring and relationships mutually as an educational goal, and as a primary aspect of education. “The key, central to care theory, is this: caring-about (or, perhaps a sense of justice) must be seen as instrumental in establishing the conditions under which caring-for can flourish. Although the preferred form of caring is cared-for, caring-about can help in establishing, maintaining, and enhancing it. Those who care about others in the justice sense must keep in mind that the objective is to ensure that caring actually occurs. Caring-about is empty if it does not culminate in caring relations. (Noddings 2002: 23-4)"

50 Professionals in the Field, for the purpose of this research, is defined as both the formal and informal: teachers; curriculum designers; administrators; and those members of family and friends who follow an original thought of Curriculum, which is that every life experience, no matter how mundane at the time, is a learning experience.
importance are necessary for the standard of care. At the core the Haudenosaunee perspective of Mind, Body and Spirit (Good Mind) is present so that the individual can attain balance and self-awareness. The central circle is what is referred to as the Four Domains of Curriculum: Holism, Lifelong learning, Community involvement and Co-authorship. The third circle is what has been referred to as the 3R’s or key components for successful, healthy education: Respect, Relevance and Reciprocal learning. More recently I have added a fourth R, Retrospection. Although this model separates components, they are equally important for successful educational achievement.

This model grew out of a study that asked students and professionals what they had experienced and what they expected from education. Holism or learning in a cohesive and relevant manner, as well as in a reciprocal manner (student ↔ teacher) was specified as a major missing component in education. In the original 2003 study, the interpretation of voice in parental choice fell across the Four Domains. Further, both students and educators identified a need to create lifelong learners. However, without respect and community involvement, the wheel of curriculum is broken. Epistemologically, this conceptual framework and Curriculum Model on which it is based represents a Haudenosaunee way of educating; one which is lost to most educators and their students, but is, according to a traditional educational model, still considered to be the standard by which all other methods

51 A reciprocal relationship is described as one in which both parties learn from and teach each other.

52 The four circles of the Haudenosaunee Curriculum Model are not in a hierarchy. The individual may use any, all and in varying orders when planning. At the core of the model is the Haudenosaunee Triad: mind, body, spirit. This triad is the basis for teachings and balance. The Four Domains of Curriculum are the 4 areas of importance which were identified as intrinsic to the traditional educational style. The third circle, the 3 R’s, identify the relationship between student and teacher. Finally, the outermost circle is retrospection which is indicative of looking back before moving forward. Without identifying the course and history, the educational journey will be jagged and confused; whereas when the historical past and recent learning past are considered regularly, a more directed and focused experience is had.
are judged. This lifeway and modality of education not only allows for the voice of the participant through counter-storytelling\textsuperscript{53} and authentic voice\textsuperscript{54}; the Curriculum Model is grounded in it, forming a political means of information gathering and building of community vision and consensus in a personally and culturally respectful way. It is within that framework that this study and the greater research project are based.

\textsuperscript{53} Counter-storytelling is a Critical Race Theory tool for providing the experiences of marginalized populations and exposes the white privilege within discourse (Hunn, Guy & Manglitz 2006; Bomberry, 2006; Solorzano & Yosso, 2002).

\textsuperscript{54} Authentic voice is the real and unfiltered voice. Authentic voice is not present when researchers filter the ideas of marginalized peoples through the researchers’ lens (Redwing Saunders & Hill, 2007; Kaomea, 2003).
Iroquoian Political Theory

Examples of theory in practice include Grinde (1992) who established that Iroquoian political theory is a direct extension of the worldview and cultural practices. For the

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55 In this model the Four Domains of Curriculum, the Haudenosaunee Triad (Mind, Body and Spirit) and the 3R’s all work together to create the output of education. Although these individual circles can be pulled apart to work on aspects of the process of Curriculum, it is in combination of the three described aspects that a true holistic experience is had (Redwing Saunders, 2004).
Haudenosaunee, that would refer to the worldview as discussed previously in this section; however Grinde also includes additional areas such as the instructions of conduct and deliberations (collective voice and vision) and culturally designated succession of power and self-determination. Grinde’s Iroquoian political theory has at the core an understanding and utilization of the compilation of key teachings and philosophies of the Great Law, further supported by the Code of Handsome Lake and ultimately with the Thanksgiving Address. These three messages are a constant reminder to the Haudenosaunee people of our worldview, code of conduct, protocol, and self-determination.

In Grinde and Johansen (1995), the authors collect a number of interviews of people representing a variety of nations enduring the ecocide of both their physical environment and social ideologies. One such interview discusses the loss of independence and the subsequent colonization that takes place. They quote Jewell Praying Wolf James:

From the northern most to the southernmost tips of the Americas [when] we were found [by Europeans], we were living under the teachers of the Mother Earth spirituality. Our cultures lived with respect for creation. We had a form of government known as tribalism which included the individual freedoms of democracy and the social responsibilities of communalism. Our people have been colonized by foreign governments. We speak and practice vestiges of our own languages, culture, and spiritualism; but, the non-Indian language, religions, mode of living, cultural values, concepts of individualism, greed, private property, and the nuclear family system have been forced upon our societies through governmental and church programs and policies of extermination, termination, assimilation, acculturation, and enculturation (Jewell Praying Wolf James “Se-sealth” in Grinde & Johansen, 1995, p. 247).

According to Grinde’s Iroquoian Theory, it will be in spite of the government and church programs and policies that the Ogweho:weh people survive and redefine themselves. More specifically, it will be as a result of those last vestiges of language, culture, teachings

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56 At a time when the Confederacy was weakest, a message was delivered by one of its members. This message was a code for how to continue to live according to the Great Law while interpreting the modern problems of alcoholism and the new dominant Euro-settlers.
and worldviews that we, the Ogweho:weh, redefine ourselves according to a modern interpretation of our conduct instructions and parameters of culturally specified power and self-determination.

**Ecological Context**

Henderson (2000) describes ecological context as a natural state that is more readily studied in the natural sciences and through sustainability development theory. However, it is a definitive concept of Ogweho:weh thought and worldview as the natural state determined by the relationship with the environment, the creator and each other. Henderson says that, “Aboriginal elders have insisted that Aboriginal people not fall into the trap of creating artificial contexts for the generations to come” (2000, p. 256). Rather they must reestablish and renegotiate their own relationship and the relationship of the people and culture within the “local ecological order”. He goes on further to state:

Ecological forces have also been the source of the most important lessons of Ogweho:weh thought and life. Ogweho:weh worldviews, languages, knowledge, order, and solidarity are derived from ecological sensibilities, so an understanding of these forces is essential to an understanding of Ogweho:weh contexts and thought (Henderson, 2000, p. 256).

Henderson’s ecological contexts (Henderson, 2000) have been used by others including Haudenosaunee scholar Susan Hill. Hill (2006) uses a layering of four distinct yet similar theoretical stances in order to conduct her Haudenosaunee research. In her dissertation she used Henderson’s ecological context in order to describe how “Indigenous peoples are integrally connected to their territory from which they originate and their interactions with that territory define their relationship to the rest of the world” (Hill, 2006, p. 38). In the case of the Haudenosaunee perspective (as the context is different for each nation and is based on their understanding of themselves and their territory), Hill argues the
context is the Thanksgiving Address. As explained earlier in this dissertation, the Thanksgiving Address (or good message) is the rekindling of the relationship between the Haudenosaunee and all creation.

**Ecology of Indigenous Education**

Additionally, Cajete has written on what he referred to as the ‘ecology of Indigenous education.’ A ‘transformative praxis’ of sorts, Cajete (1994) designed an Indigenous education framework which is grounded within his own understandings of Ogweho:weh theory. His developmental Learning Model includes (1) a need for individual and cultural respect; (2) tribal social learning of how to apply tribal knowledge while living in the natural world; (3) marrying the needs of the individual with that of the group; (4) personal empowerment of social integration; (5) life vision; (6) major character transformation yielding pain and conflict; followed by (7) a deep healing and maturity of mind, body and spirit. At the centre of his model and of his thinking is what he refers to as a knowing center or finding the center of completeness. It is in this finding of oneself that the person moves through the various stages and as such traverses the growth, pain and healing that a life journey provides. (Cajete, 1994, pp. 209-212).

Cajete (2000, 1994) refers to a Pueblo metaphor of “look to the mountain” to describe a need for people to gain the highest perspective in order to fully visualize a situation. He says that it is through the climbing of this mountain that we are able to see all that is, reflecting on our past and therefore understanding the journeys of life and education. “Indeed, life and knowledge are both ways of knowing ourselves in the context of the rich relationships that make up our communities, our environments, our world” (Cajete, 2000, pp. 181-182). Although this developmental model is designed for the individual to find and
understand themselves, it has a place as both a theoretical and methodological practice of achieving an understanding of centre within Ogweho:weh education.

**Indigenized Theories**

As noted in the introduction to Indigenous theories, the Indigenized theories that I discuss below are mainstream approaches to theory that have been adapted by Ogweho:weh thinkers and enculturated\(^\text{57}\) in order to fill the needs of research and/or general change. Each of the theoretical approaches – Critical Theory, Critical Race Theory, and Decolonizing Approaches – could easily be chapters unto themselves. In order to address this as a survey I have presented the main threads of each theory that relate to its usage by Ogweho:weh peoples, and then follow the section by providing examples of how the theory has been taken up and adapted. None of these theoretical stances are used within this study, but each still offers a significant aspect of Ogweho:weh historical and contemporary theory, and therefore are relevant to this chapter.

**Decolonizing Works**

Many may question why I have placed decolonization as an indigenized theory and not one of an indigenous perspective. By default, Ogweho:weh research has often fallen onto a theoretical stance of Post-Colonialism, Anti-Colonialism or Decolonization. It is my informed belief that Post-Colonialism and Decolonization have been incorporated and shaped by Ogweho:weh theorists due to the nature of colonial oppression and influence on

\(^\text{57}\) Encultured refers to a stance or action which is grounded in a cultural perspective. Examples of encultured research are Indigenous Theory (G. Smith 2007, 2005, 2003, 2000a, 2000b) or the Haudenosaunee Curriculum Model (Redwing Saunders, 2004) since both of these have a specific cultural perspective at the core, shaping both methods and analysis.
Indigenous peoples across the globe. However, Post-colonialism was not developed by the Ogweho:weh peoples, but by researchers in order to study the former British colonies in Asia, India, Africa and Australia (Macey, 2000). Originally an early study of the Commonwealth and French colonies, early writers such as Said (1978) and Fanon (1961) were followed by others who viewed post-colonialism, not as the point following independence from the colonial regime, but rather as the duration of the imperialism: from contact, to conquer, to the present. Although more recent post-colonialists have looked at concepts such as marginality and discourse (Sefa Dei, 2002; Sefa Dei & Asqharzadeh, 2001; Spivak, 1999, 1988; hooks, 1992, 1990,) the theory is steeped in the colonial rhetoric of the academy “despite references to ‘all cultures’ affected by imperialism, [postcolonialism] has defined its field in almost exclusively Anglophone terms” (Macey, 2000, p. 305).

The assumption about post-colonialism which I believe to be incorrect is that the period of imperial regime is assumed to have ended. The contact and conquest have occurred, but the present does not appear to be any less imperialistic than that which is discussed as the period of conquest. Mahuika (2008) suggests that post-colonialism is a misnomer as can be seen in the deconstruction of the terms post and colonial. She states post-colonialism infers that we reside in an era and are in possession of frameworks to move beyond (post) the imperialistic models of colonialism. She goes on to state that post-colonialism was supposed to “provide spaces for colonized and marginalized peoples to share their own unique perspectives and understandings” (Mahuika, 2008, p. 10). I believe L.T. Smith debunks the use of post-colonial theory most articulately when she stated:
Naming the world as “post-colonial” is, from Indigenous perspectives, to name colonization as “finished business”. According to many Indigenous perspectives the term post-colonial can only mean one thing; the colonizers have left. There is rather compelling evidence that this has not in fact occurred (1998, p. 14)

Moving away from post-colonialism to the more popular Indigenized theory of decolonization, we find anti-colonialism. Decolonizing theories deconstruct colonial tendencies by reclaiming self through anti-oppressive activism. Although these theories are not intended to work specifically with the Ogweho:weh peoples of Turtle Island, decolonization via anti-colonial theories are a staple of Indigenous research. In examining the Ogweho:weh literature on decolonization I find two very different decolonizing methodologies. In earlier Ogweho:weh works, decolonization was highly political and expressed a belief of reverting back to what was. This classical decolonization viewed the historical Ogweho:weh as a supreme state of being and knowing and often wrote of the purist nature of Ogweho:weh separatism as it was and could be again. Although these stances have been highly influential in early publications and have been used as spring boards to Indigenous research for several generations of Ogweho:weh research; I chose to acknowledge their role but not embrace them as Indigenous models, as I believe they were written to get a message of action and hope out to (1) those who were already in a place of action, and (2) the non-Aboriginal reader who would support the cause.

To participate in Classical Decolonization, and only look back, is to state that the way we were was wonderful and the way we are is not. Therefore the only way to repair, heal or

58 I use Decolonization Theory and Anti-Colonisation Theory interchangeably.
59 I personally see this classical decolonization of returning to the old ways as an isolationist mentality. Of course, I say this as a person who was raised and has lived most of my life from a place that could be interpreted as the other canoe.
progress is to revert to that which we were nearly four hundred years ago. Not only is this a condition which we could not replicate, as our world, environment and conditions have changed, but more importantly that literal interpretation of returning to the old ways ignores the fact that we as Haudenosaunee (and Ogweho:weh peoples) would have continued to progress culturally and technologically. As the founders of democracy, feminism and commercial agriculture, Ogweho:weh peoples would have undoubtedly continued to develop independently since the 1600’s had there been no European contact.

The second type of decolonization in anticolonial theory is what I refer to as Future Decolonizers—those who are looking forward as a means of decolonizing, and not only retrospectively. Through retraditionalization\(^{60}\) one looks back and retraces the knowledge through the lens of those living the context and those recording it. As a result, the decolonizer can find the mistakes, erasures and lost truths. This renegotiation of knowledge is the foundation of this second type of decolonization. Battiste, Henderson and L.T. Smith\(^ {61}\) have each written on this process and others are following them in expanding the decolonization process of their own nations and peoples, as well as creating methodologies based on this theoretical stance.

Two strong proponents for this future decolonization can be found in Battiste’s (2000) edited volume *Reclaiming Indigenous Voice and Vision* and L.T. Smith’s (1999) *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. Both of these texts offer

\(^{60}\) Retraditionalization (Hill, 2006; Ladner, 2001; and L.T. Smith, 1999) is a way of revisiting history in order to find the original meanings as it pertains today. This process is had in the revisiting of history and sites in order to find the meaning that has been lost in the historical story telling process (by the victor).

understanding and methods of resistance, reclaiming knowledge and understanding and re-
education through a combined lens of thought.

Henderson writes:

To acquire freedom in the decolonized and delineated order, the colonized must break their silence and struggle to retake possession of their humanity and identity. To speak initially, they have to share Eurocentric thought and discourse with their oppressors; however, to exist with dignity and integrity, they must renounce Eurocentric models and live with the ambiguity of thinking against themselves. They must learn to create models to help them take their bearings in unexplored territory. Educated Aboriginal thinkers have to understand and reconsider Eurocentric discourse in order to reinvent an Aboriginal discourse based on heritage and language and to develop new postcolonial synthesis of knowledge and law to protect them from old and new dominators and oppressors (2000, pp. 249-250).

L.T. Smith’s (1999) *Decolonizing Methodologies* was a pioneering volume that addressed the future of decolonization and the role of Ogweho:weh scholars in and out of the academy. L.T. Smith described her approach in the following passage.

Coming to know the past has been part of the critical pedagogies of decolonization. To hold alternative histories is to hold alternative knowledges. The pedagogical implications of this access to alternative knowledges is that they can form the basis of alternative ways of doing things. Transforming our colonized views of our own history (as written by the West), however, requires us to revisit, site by site, our history under Western eyes. This in turn requires a theory or approach which helps us to engage with, understand and then act upon history...Telling our stories from the past, reclaiming the past, giving testimony to the injustices of the past are all strategies which are commonly employed by indigenous peoples struggling for justice (L.T. Smith, 1999, pp. 34-35).

Much of Indigenous Theory is grounded in a decolonization stance in some manner. When looking at Ogweho:weh scholars and their frameworks (such as Indigenous Theory by G. Smith) one can see the decolonizing lens of having to rethink, and retrain those to see the truth behind the many erasures. Although I understand this Future Decolonizer stance, I believe that it is the foundation of a more complex praxis, that of Indigenous Theory.
Decolonization is not an external process (something a community does or has done for them); rather, I see decolonization as a negotiation of the socio-economic terrain, comprehension and interpretations of history (and their silences and erasures) and a building or reinvention of the individual identity in order to find or create a space in which the individual and their community is sustained. This seems indeed a far cry from the simplicity of the days of the good red road and wellness models.62

Critical Theory

Critical Theory has numerous varieties and implications. Throughout my studies and research projects I have focused on the principles that originated from the Institute of Social Research at the University of Frankfurt Germany (Frankfurt School). Critical Theory (CT), developed at the Frankfurt School in the 1920-30’s, is a theoretical method that came into being as a direct result of the societal changes and phenomena occurring at the time. CT represents an alternate way of looking at society and was designed by predominantly Jewish researchers who, grounded in orthodox Marxism and Hegelian ideas, watched the Nazi and then Soviet regimes move through Western Europe. As a result, the researchers honed their theories regarding culture and ideology and away from simple economics when analyzing

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62 Beginning in the late 1960’s U.S. Civil Rights Movement, authors such as Vine Deloria Jr (Custer Died for Your Sins, 1969; God is Red, 1994; Red Earth, White Lies, 1995) and N. Scott Momaday (House Made of Dawn, 1968; The Gourd Dancer, 1976; In the Presence of the Sun, 1992) began to publish pieces which sparked and moved generations. Others followed with additional wellness, motivational, and reconnection to culture books. See George, 2003; Jonny, 2002; Kompf & Hodson, 2000; Hill & George, 1996. I do not intend to offend the authors of such Ogweho:weh pride and spirit works and movements. On the contrary, it is through such initiatives that I was brought to school to address such issues as educational change for Haudenosaunee students. I do, however, believe that, as a next generation research and author, it is my duty to move forward, collecting more tools along my path in order to assist community efforts and in short, feed the minds of the generation of researchers and authors to come.
the cultural and societal effects of objects defining relationships between groups (Giroux, 2003).

Until the Frankfurt School, conflict theory was supported by Marxist perspectives of economic inequality as the basis of social injustice. Critical Theory changed that perspective by opening the dialogue to include other forms of societal oppression and expanding the understanding of oppression to include culture, race, religion, and gender (among others). Similar to Marxism, CT states that life is unfair; yet unlike Marxist perspective, critical theory and the Frankfurt School philosophers do not share in the positive perspective that this unfair state of inequality will ever reach an end. At the heart of CT are two concepts: there is no truth or reality except that which is created by the individual’s experience and that individual’s actions and perceptions play a significant role in creating the societal construct and roles. By the mid 1930’s the Jewish researchers were forced to flee Germany and settled in the United States. In 1949 the institute was reestablished in Germany, but many members of the original Frankfurt School had relocated around the world, developing their ideas within a number of different contexts.

The work of Jürgen Habermas, a later critical theorist of the Frankfurt School, was grounded in Marxist understandings of social injustices caused within the industrialized world. Habermas saw additional factors beyond economics as the basis for human injustice. Habermas looked at the human desire to escape the domination of social power-structures, cultural-classism, and personality, as well as society’s propensity for instrumental action (ends justify means). His work has been seen as an ongoing argument with Weber’s perception of society as the “Iron Cage” (Wallace & Wolf, 1991). Through Habermas’ version of critical
pedagogy, cultural inequities are viewed, resolutions to the social injustices can be
developed, and social evolution can occur.

Habermas’ Discourse Ethics Theory states that every moral problem can find
resolution through cognitive means. He states that a differentiation must be made between
the good and justice. What is good, is an individualistic value base (what is good for me);
whereas justice looks outwards to society (what is just for all). Finally there is
universalization, which is the awareness of discourse itself. Through dialogue the moral
problem can be resolved; however, a decision must be universal in its effects. This means
that those in power must understand how the decision will affect those that were not part of
the dialogue community (Gimmler, 2003). It is in universalization or lack thereof, that we can
see how Ogwehoːweh education was hijacked from the Ogwehoːweh peoples. Scott, the
Minister of Indian Affairs (then called the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs) coined
the phrase the Final Solution when he referred to how he envisioned the Indian problem be
resolved. He was the force behind the Canadian Residential School System and stated in
1920, "Our object is to continue until there is not a single Indian in Canada that has not been
absorbed into the body politic and there is no Indian question” (Annett, 2001, p. 6). Although
the Indian Act (1876) and agents such as Scott had a very specific intent of ending the Indian
problem and Ogwehoːweh culture, I cannot believe that those within the dialogue
community ever foresaw today’s problems being created as a result of decisions made in the
past.

It is through an analysis based on Habermas’ Ethics of Discourse that I can clearly see
a history of oppression and a strong rationale for pedagogy. Both governmental bodies and
individual people made choices based on what was beneficial for them while the
Ogweho:weh peoples held the resources and deeds that stood in their way. The entrepreneurs did what they felt was best for themselves, regardless of the outcome. We can now look at how centuries of decisions have played into the social structure of the Ogweho:weh peoples—much like the proverb of the Ogweho:weh to look to the 7th generation when making decisions. Ogweho:weh peoples in Canada, both on- and off-reserve, have disproportional rates of poverty, depression, disease, despair, inequality; all of which have made their way into the educational system which represents a romanticized historical Native or socially disparaged contemporary people. Habermas’ theory is easily applied to the problem of identifying how we have gotten to this place; and likewise can be used as a model of reparative justice to be used through dialogue to determine a way out.63

**Critical Race Theory**

Although Indigenous Theory is the primary theoretical focus of this study, until I discovered the Indigenous perspective, I attempted to Indigenize or adapt Critical Race Theory (CRT) to describe much of what I see in Ogweho:weh education. As a theory originally based in an analysis of law, it has morphed into a wide range of concept based micro-theories including Latino and Tribal CRT. Additionally, this theory was also based on the U.S. experience and therefore may have limited value elsewhere. These two perspectives have the most relevance in an Indigenized theoretical perspective. Token rewards being given and taken by the racial majority and prejudice as both overt and covert norms within

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63 Many Ogweho:weh and Indigenous Studies authors have used Critical perspective as it is one of the longest running theories pertaining to viewing (and changing) oppression of peoples from a variety of angles. Some additional author/researchers sources for consideration are Battiste; Haig-Brown; Grande; Ng, Staton & Scane; O’Sullivan; L.T. Smith; Roesch Wagner.
Canadian society are tenet of LatCrit and TribalCrit\textsuperscript{64} and support the arguments of Indigenous Theory. Although the full spectrum of CRT may not be of relevance to this dissertation, the critical stance of marginalization holds tremendous value in this process.

Critical Race Theory is designed to unmask the hidden face of racism, bringing to light the methods of social reproduction of norms, inequalities and racial hierarchy (Lopez, 2003). At the core of beliefs (most significantly found in the Latino/a writers), CRT assumes that racism is a natural phenomenon that individuals and society choose not to see since it is an aspect of the normal process in which we live and interact. In unmasking the outcomes that racism provides, an understanding of privilege, marginalization and the social norms of racism are revealed. CRT, according to Lopez, states that the white majority power will offer tokens of social action or change to marginalized groups when the benefits are inherent to themselves. Similarly, they have the ability to strip those gifts when the shift of power becomes too great. An example of this is Civil Rights in the United States and the subsequent adoption of Affirmative Action. In recent litigation, the concept of reverse racism has been adopted by the courts to re-establish the imbalance of power and opportunity, thus re-solidifying the power relationship of non-white/white society in the United States over the minority races/gender. A more recent example of this phenomenon is the overturning of treaty rights such as open passage between territories for the Haudenosaunee\textsuperscript{65} and the notification of taxation of post-secondary benefits for Ogweho:weh peoples (2005). The third tenet is the concept of a purifying of historical truth, eliminating the traces of cultural infusion from a societal tale, or history retold by the victor.

\textsuperscript{64} TribalCrit is the form of Critical Race Theory which pertains to Ogweho:weh or tribal peoples. See Haynes Writer (2008); Castagno and Lee (2007); and Brayboy & McKinley(2006).

Yosso (2005) writes of CRT as a means of researching with cultural wealth (as opposed to the deficit perspective that people of colour are lacking in cultural capital). Yosso reviewed Bourdieu’s work where he stated that cultural capital, or the lack thereof, is the reason why people of colour do not rise to the same levels as their cultural counterparts. The lack of cultural capital, the knowledge of skills and values of the dominant culture, keeps marginalized people without the understanding and abilities to enter or climb in society, while those who have this capital are ensured a place at the table. Further, the ability to gain entrance into the preparatory programs and schooling of the elite is based on either the skills and grooming of cultural capital or the nepotism which is engrained in this position, neither of which the marginalized learner will have. Yosso’s community cultural wealth turns this deficit around and looks to the aspects of encultured people as benefits, thus moving them from a place of deficit to a place to that of wealth.

Both CRT and IT can be used to uncover how legal and political systems are used to marginalize people of difference and maintain the social, political, and economic status quo. As seen in U.S. Crown Heights (1991) and L.A. (1992) riots, as well as in Canada at the Oka Crisis (1990) and Douglas Creek Estates Blockades at Six Nations-Caledonia (2006-current), “Socialization of conflict was the lifeblood of policy” (Lopez, 2003, p. 77). Mob mentality superseded rational critical thought and the active audience brought about the resulting outcome. The political realm was then forced to create further policy to manage conflict.

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66 The Crown Heights riots were a response to a Jewish man accidentally killing a black youth, while the LA riots were the response to the acquittal of the four white officers responsible for the beating and arrest of Rodney King.

67 The direct result of the 1990 Oka Crisis was the demand by Ministers for the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples study in order to determine how best to improve relations between First Nations peoples and the Canadian government. RCAP was released in 1996. Ten years later a similar incident occurred at Six Nations, causing some to question the impact of RCAP.
From the Indigenous Theory lens a deeper representation can be identified as to what brought the people in the aforementioned crises to come to the incident in the first place. The constant squelching of the individual and cultural spirit of the marginalized creates a need to transform their circumstance to that of a group with self-determination. In this transformation, cultural aspirations and a shared vision of improvement and identity are at the heart of their struggle.

**Feminist Theory**

*“Whitestream” Feminism*

Grande, a self-proclaimed non-feminist theorist spent some time in her 2004 text *Red Pedagogy* to describe how she sees Indigenous research fitting (or not fitting) in with feminist approaches. She begins by stating that although she came to her research hoping to disprove her initial belief that feminism was a white dominated approach based on privilege, she ultimately fell back on her original beliefs. Grande states that the mainstream feminism is in fact “whitestream” or grounded in white privilege and upholding the white middle class experience. Mainstream feminists have failed to acknowledge and establish any change toward racially based oppression of women and therefore are complicit in historical conclusions.

Grande claims the women of other cultural backgrounds have been ignored or embraced, not out of interest in justice, but as it fed into the current trends of feminist activism. An example of this embracing is in the anti-modern feminist who looked for a break from the highly patriarchal economic society. These women embraced the idealized Ogweho:weh woman and her culture as it was sexually liberated, matriarchal and embracing
a beauty and respect of art, music and motherhood. These women, according to Grande (2004), went so far as to put on display the typified examples of pan-Indian stereotypical females when fighting publicly for their rights.

This idealized womanhood was also fraudulently appropriated by individuals when they claimed to have Aboriginal ancestry, either in response to addressing their role in white privilege, or to simply gain more rights and privileges as artisans, writers and researchers (Grande, 2004, p. 134; Schnick in Schissel & Wortherspoon, 2003). Pewewardy (2004) supports this claim of ethnic fraud in his article where he denounces the movement of so called Indigenous researchers who become Aboriginal for the faculty privilege which may follow.68 In my own career I have experienced such academics who, in midlife, “find” Aboriginal ancestry and therefore, credibility (by the academy) to work and research within Ogweho:weh education. On many occasions I have been told by members of the community that they “knew him back when he was white” meaning the new academic credentials were not qualifying them as Indigenous researchers in the community.

Grande, denouncing white privilege and negligent responsibilities to marginalized women of colour by whitestream feminism, went on to write that she was non-feminist but an *Indigenista*. *Indigenista* is a state of comparison which dictates that regardless of being women, the racially based oppression and subjugation of Indigenous women “places the historical maternity of their lives on a par with indigenous men rather than any other subcategory of ‘woman’” (Grande, 2004, p. 156). As a result of her views and experiences of feminism she attempted to publish her marginalized findings. Her thoughts were rejected by

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68 In this case, faculty privileges are to be hired under grants where an Aboriginal person is required by grant funding or to qualify for Aboriginal research funding.
the mainstream and celebrated by people of colour at a variety of conferences. These results caused her to continue sharing her critique of feminist theory.

**Black Feminist Thought**

Although Grande did not find feminism a sound framework for Indigenous researching, Waterman, a Haudenosaunee researcher, completed her doctoral research in 2004 concerning Haudenosaunee college experience by utilizing the framework of Black Feminist Thought. Black Feminist Thought is not the whitestream criticized by Grande (2004); rather it opens the life experience and wisdom of women to be heard and used as the basis for research method. The sisterhood of African American women finds support both in the home and in the church. The respect for older woman’s experiences is shown by other women’s consideration and taking the knowledge in through narratives, stories and shared dialogue. When comparing male and female perspectives of knowledge, Waterman writes that the generally “male dominated Eurocentric style of knowledge construction is generally viewed as a scientific or scholar writing in isolation” (p. 51) whereas African American women utilize a concept of oral tradition. Black Feminist Thought utilizes oral tradition in a way that connects book thinking to life experience as a symbiosis of discussions, relationships and common experience.

This encultured feminism focuses on procedural knowledge and specific ethical protocols and understandings. The first ideal, procedural knowledge is comprised of the concepts of separate knowing and connected knowing. Separate knowing is the more normative knowing that one would consider that of the analytic, critical thought of academia. However, coupled knowing considers the lived knowledge gained through experience and is
grounded in the ideals of empathy, compassion and care; a vast stretch from the traditional academic understanding of knowledge (Waterman, 2004, p. 50).

Two distinct ethics or protocols are also entrenched in the understanding of Black Thought. The *Ethics of Caring* is a combination of individual uniqueness, appropriateness of emotion in dialogue, and developing the capacity for empathy (Collins in Waterman, 2004, p. 51). The individual represents themselves through words and as such their personality is presented. As such, the two (personality and dialogue) cannot be separated as one is inherent within the other. Emotion is encouraged and necessary in order to form empathy and embrace the “epistemology of connectedness that is grounded in lived experience” (Waterman, 2004, p. 52).

In addition to the Ethics of Care, Waterman discusses the *Ethic of Personal Accountability*. Black Thought not only states that a person is responsible to act and provide such knowledge to their community, but recognizes that they bring themselves with them in that knowledge. This ethic represents an understanding that the community will hold the author accountable for the knowledge they share with members. Finally, it is understood that those within the community who are seen as leaders, or are respected members, carry more knowledge weight and have a stronger impact—and therefore, a stronger level of accountability.

As an encultured stance on theory, the principles of Black Feminist Thought coalesce with the matriarchal stance of many Ogweho:weh, including the Haudenosaunee. It was for this reason that Waterman felt that it would be a strong framework to conduct research of the Haudenosaunee post-secondary population (Waterman [symposium presentation, personal communication], 2004).
**Indigenous Feminist Perspective**

Indigenous Feminism as a perspective I believe may be misdefined as feminism. The article by Tohe (2000) “There is no word for feminism in my language” describes the manner in which Ogweho:weh writers have been moved into feminist research without supporting the framework of Indigenous Feminism. This label usually deviates from a more mainstream feminist perspective as it is not historically about equality, but rather respect for the differences of all roles in society, regardless of genders. In fact, what is often referred to Indigenous Feminist Perspective could more closely be referred to as Gender Decolonizing (Ladner, 2009, 2009a; Green, 2007; Monture-Agnus, 1995).

Haudenosaunee gender equity is the foundation for western feminism (Roesch Wagner, 2001), yet a true embrace of the Haudenosaunee worldview pertaining to women and gender equity is defined very differently than in most Euro-feminist perspectives. As the founders of the feminist movement on this continent, Haudenosaunee women taught the colonist women equity of roles, freedom of choice, importance of political voice, even an awareness of choice regarding conception via birth control methods. The wives of the founding fathers and the three founding suffragettes; Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Matilda Joslyn Gage, and Lucretia Mott (Roesch Wagner, 2001) were tutored and coached on becoming strong advocates for their gender.

The role of women according to the Haudenosaunee is viewed as equal by function and importance. From a western perception, this may be misinterpreted to be inequality or subjugation of roles by task. In the Haudenosaunee logic, women’s roles are designed, as
are men’s, within a gender essential perspective. Although this may be interpreted as a sexist perspective, the Haudenosaunee teachings of roles would be described as utilitarian and practical as each sex has task specific functions. This role identification is also found (historically and contemporarily) in individual career placement within the community. The clan mothers and other community members watch young children, observing them for strengths and interests. Based on that identification, training and fostering skills were implemented appropriately. Though more common in the historical perspective, roles and titles within the longhouse continue to be conducted in this manner. It is rare for a clan mother, chief or other title holder to pass without having men, women or youth as successor who are identified as capable to fill the seat and having prior experience. Apprenticeship, both with title holders as well as in careers, is a longstanding educational tool (Cornelius, 1999). This was not seen as a specializing of education, but rather a rational process for community productivity, as all tasks must be filled in society and all people are a necessary in order to complete those tasks. This perspective is seen not as a feminist perspective, but rather one of respect for all members of the society, regardless of role, occupation or choice.

69 Gender Essential Perspective is a Haudenosaunee lifeway of gender role identification. Men are assumed to be the warriors, hunters, and spokesperson (one who travels from the community); where women would carry roles of social leadership closer to home (and children), be the primary caregivers for children and leaders of family and clan. Further, the active bodied members of society, usually those of child bearing age, would not be the teachers or usual caregivers of children, as they are needed in labour areas such farming (historical perspective) or workforce (contemporary perspective). Instead, the senior members of the community carry this role.

70 Although the perspective is based on respect of the gender for roles as defined; such respect is not stripped for those who choose to live and work outside of their “designation”. The concept of Two-Spirited peoples is an Ogwehó:weh belief that some people may have both the male and female spirits within them. As such, being homosexual is not seen as a choice or a reason to be disrespected. Similarly, a woman who chooses not to have children or be a primary breadwinner, or abstain from marriage is not seen as going against her nature. The underpinning of individual respect is a cornerstone to Ogwehó:weh lifeways and therefore steeped in an Ogwehó:weh lifeway.
More recently, Indigenous Gender Decolonization has become an attempt to return equitable state to gender of the Indigenous people living in the western world. Although Haudenosaunee women worked to train and teach the early colonial women, the reality is that the conquer of Ogweho:weh peoples’ communities via war, residential school, forced relocation and reserve life, westernized lifeways including a forced belief in the masculine dominance. Green states:

Colonialism is closely tied to racism and sexism. These twin phenomena exist in the context of colonial society, directed at Indigenous people, but they have also been internalized by some Indigenous political cultures in ways that are oppressive to Indigenous women. Liberation is framed by some as a decolonization discourse, which draws on traditional culture and political mechanisms. It is conceptualized as totally Indigenous in character, while also honouring women in their gendered and acculturated contexts. But Indigenous liberation theory, like so many other movements and theories, has not been attentive to the gendered way in which colonial oppression and racism function for men and women, or to the inherent and adopted sexisms that some communities manifest (Green 2007, 22-23).

Ladner describes her understanding of gender decolonization in her explanation of the differing perspectives between Indigenous and western colonial gender. She states:

To fully understand these debates, one has to understand that gender within an Indigenous context has a completely different meaning. One has to understand that gender has been colonized and that colonialism itself has been gendered. To understand that gender has been colonized (to some degree or partially) one has to understand that Indigenous peoples had (and may still have) a completely different understanding of, and experience with, gender than their colonizer. Many nations speak of inclusive and transformative understandings of gender as either genderless or multi-gendered (a recognition of sexual diversity) or of an understanding of gender grounded in inclusion, respect and honour. In any case, it is important to acknowledge that the position of women in Indigenous society was (by and large) quite unlike that of European women at the time of contact (Ladner, 2009a, p. 6).

Indigenous researchers identify the result of such colonialism to be a significant loss of power as women lose the ability to own land and make decisions for themselves (Ladner,
2009a, 2009b), become the victims of abuse and sexual exploitation (A. Smith, 2005; Monture-Agnus, 1995) and a loss of inclusionary lifeways for not only women, but children and homosexual or two-spirited peoples.

To conclude, I acknowledge that there are Ogwehohwahweh lifeways which could be described as feminist, but are actually more of a holistic approach to being. These are seen in traditional governance such as the Haudenosaunee Confederacy today. Although there are those who may refer to themselves as Indigenous Feminist, I would argue that they are either living or studying in a traditional Indigenous philosophy or are practicing Gender Decolonization as they work towards regaining gender and social equity.

**Analysis of Difference**

Critical thought (CT and CRT) has similarities to the Indigenous theories discussed; however the worldview and cultural underpinnings of Indigenous theories are tied to the specific community from where they originate. This difference can create a change in meaning from dialogue to dialogue. Since this dialogue would be different from community to community I will offer this section from the Haudenosaunee theoretical perspective only. The concepts of citizenship and equality are central tenets of Haudenosaunee theory and are enculturated in a way which makes them different from Critical Theory and Critical Race Theory.\(^71\)

**Citizenship**

In both Haudenosaunee and the critical views, the concept of citizen and engagement in public dialogue is imperative to the social structure. Citizenship, as it has

\(^71\) Numerous specifics will be focused on in the subsequent methodology section
been taught to me, is an understanding of the effect personal choices have on the greater community: in other words, no person is an island unto him/herself. From the perspective of Alfred’s (1999) *Peace, Power and Righteousness: an Indigenous Manifesto*, the Haudenosaunee worldview includes the concept of retaining the peace to live as a cultural people, side by side with those who may be in conflict with you, yet (1) with respect to each other’s’ freedom of choice, (2) the responsibility to righteous acts, or acts with a good mind, (3) all while incorporating actions of power.

While there are many ways power is understood, one interpretation is that power from a critical or change perspective is the place where injustice originates, as it is owned. The majority or dominant society has power over the subordinates. Power can come from wealth, social capital, fear, or location (O’Sullivan, 1999), but it is owned and traded by the dominant group. Power from a Haudenosaunee view can be the choice to pursue or not to pursue ultimate gain through money, occupation, fear or violence. More importantly, it is also the power to make choices and exert a good mind; and importantly, the power to not utilize power. Another analogy is the worldview of “looking to the faces yet to come” which means always looking ahead to see how your action and inaction will be inherited by the future generations; this is Haudenosaunee citizenship and perception of autonomy.

Although the use of the word citizen has been used by numerous communities since the early Greeks, the worldview of Haudenosaunee citizenship (equality within the circle of the confederacy) has been defined by the Peacemaker within the Great Law.

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72 A pan-Indian concept would be “looking to the seventh generation” which is being mindful of how choices will affect the next seven generations or 175 years. Chief Dan George spoke to the individuals responsibility to future generations in his poem *My Heart Soars* when he asked the question, “Have I done everything [environmentally] I could to earn my grandchild’s fondness?” (Chief Dan George & Hernscholl, 1974).
Not all uses of the word citizen imply the same meaning, nor do all peoples receive equal rights and treatment under the auspice of citizenship. Flores (in Lopez, 2003) states that there are both assumptions and legal precedents that state that being a citizen of America (I will expand that to all of North America) offers inherent rights. Lopez goes on to say:

Then clearly, racial minorities in the [North America] are far from full incorporation in this regard. They may be equal members of society under the law—but socially, politically and economically, they are rendered one down by a racist political and legal system that marginalizes them on a daily basis (Lopez, 2003, p. 76).

This definition of citizenship is clearly engrained within the CT and CRT concept, as well as Canadian text. I anticipate there being significant play in this area within the discursive discussions.

**Equality**

The differences between the definitions of equality and equity may be best discussed by again considering the idea of Gender Decolonization and Indigenous Feminism. Although it was stated earlier in this section that there is no Indigenous Feminist Perspective according to Ogweho:weh peoples, such a label has been given as a result of the historical roles of women over centuries of study. Haudenosaunee women have been advocates for women’s rights and equality for centuries (Roesch Wagner, 2001), even though they may be seen by some as subjugated by their gender roles. This aspect of Ogweho:weh equality is often an area of confusion and misinterpretation. To clarify again, women and all members of society are seen as having roles based on natural abilities. These abilities may be gender specific, but they may also be observable traits and skills. As analogous to consideration of ecological
balance, the Ogweho:weh view is that all peoples are equal in importance, regardless of the roles they serve, as no society can function without the balance of society.

A second area of misinterpretation of inequality is seen in traditional government where women are not elevated to chief. Rather, women and the clan mothers identify the men they would consider for the position, they teach the young man what it means to fill that role; they have the ultimate power of raising or naming the man as chief; as well as the power to dehorn or remove him from the job if he does not live up to their expectations. They are not expected to complete the tasks of men because they are not men; they are not honoured as being women simply because they are women; nor are they degraded. Women are separate but equal to men and are held to an equal standard, as an integral portion of a social cycle that cannot function without all of its parts. Since this concept of equity is so foreign to the current understanding of feminism I refer to it as Haudenosaunee Humanism.

**Conclusion**

Written accounts of Indigenous Theory are based predominantly on the cultural and educational revitalization work G. Smith (and his colleagues) with his home communities of the Māori peoples of New Zealand; however, when compared with the Redwing Saunders (2004) study of Haudenosaunee perceptions and expectations in education and the subsequent Curriculum Model (conceptual framework), it is apparent that Indigenous Theory and research contain themes common to both Haudenosaunee and Māori nations. I would argue that these common themes could be deemed important for other Ogweho:weh peoples as well.
The critical stances of Indigenous Theory, Critical Theory, and Critical Race Theory all share one key element: an awareness of discourse\textsuperscript{73} and culture. Discourse addresses language, the implications of language and the beliefs behind that language. The second area of culture is at the heart of both theories, yet from opposing views. CT and CRT both view culture as an object used by the majority within the game to show difference and offer judgment. Indigenous Theory has culture as the foundation, value and commitment behind the process of the struggle against oppression. From a historical view, I feel it is prudent to look at what has occurred for centuries and assume that a pattern exists—majority power will use differentiation as a value judgment and as a stance of hierarchy.

I use Indigenous Theory as a theoretical frame for this study, along with my model of Haudenosaunee Theory (2004), in order to accomplish change rather than merely highlight known oppression and inequalities. Whether the objective was the gain of gold/money, land or knowledge, the dominant society created a boundary that stripped the Ogweho:weh peoples of their resources to subjugate them to a new dominant society. In recent times, education remains a similarly valued object that defines the current relationship between the Ogweho:weh and the dominant society. The layering of Haudenosaunee approach with

\textsuperscript{73} See Chapter VIII for a comprehensive discussion of discourse. In this chapter I share my perspectives of Ogweho:weh educational discourse as well as the works of James Paul Gee (Gee, 2010, 2005, 1999, 1996) including his “Big D Discourse” and “Little d discourse”. Gee described Discourse as the actions and ideologies or that which is the behaving, interacting, valuing, thinking and believing (and not just speaking). This is different from Gee’s discourse which refers to the language used.
Ogweho:weh theory\textsuperscript{74}, by design, can be used to make change, identify space for such change, and as a means to bring community into the solution and out of the problem.

Haudenosaunee Theory allows me to make decisions based on dialogue (community dialogue and consensus) and understanding of universalization (7\textsuperscript{th} Generation awareness).

As an agent for social change, this theoretical framework enhances the thoughts of citizenship by bringing to light understandings of power, hierarchy, oppression and social cannibalism\textsuperscript{75}; all of which were stopped by the Peacemaker nearly 600 years ago and can be rejuvenated through Haudenosaunee praxis. An analysis of discourse of Euro-contact through present day shows that historically, the governmental agreements and arrangements with the Haudenosaunee and other marginalized peoples were in line with Lopez’s CRT stage, \textit{interest convergence}, where “Whites will tolerate and advance the interests of people of color only when they promote the self-interests of Whites” (Lopez, 2003, p. 84). Centuries later, Haudenosaunee researchers are now entering the academic arena in hopes of bridging gaps of awareness and comprehension in order to bring an understanding of, as well as

\textsuperscript{74} In conference presentations (AERA, 2005; CINSA, 2005) and in discussions with Graham Smith (personal communication, CINSA 2005) he clearly outlines that his Māori based praxis is a broad stroke application for authentic voice and vision that aims to bring on change by and for the community. The broad stroke of the principles not only allows, but demands for the community researcher to layer their own cultural pedagogies into the process in order for it to be transferable \textit{and} authentic.

\textsuperscript{75} Social Cannibalism is when members of the same community fight between themselves which arrests opportunities. An example could be when a land settlement is offered and the community cannot agree if to accept, counter offer or reject. The community government would have that decision as a part of their mandate, but often community members who have not been at the negotiation table will begin a campaign to undermine the efforts of those we have put in place to make decisions. A second example could be a view one community member takes of another community member due to their choices in spouse (if a mixed-marriage), occupation (e.g. police, lawyer, government official) or based on their level of education. One could say “We are our own worst enemy”.

making transformations to, the current political and societal states that exist. A less moderate perspective on interest convergence can be heard in the following statement by Ward Churchill:

Native people and societies are not ‘sick’, we’re wounded. There is a huge difference between being sick and being wounded. Don’t talk to me about ‘reconciling’ with somebody who’s stuck a knife in my guts and is still twisting it. ‘Heal?’ Forgive and forget? Under those circumstances? Get real. The only way that’s going to happen is if you remove your knife from my belly, accept responsibility for the effects of what you’ve done—or what you’ve allowed to be done in your name—and start making consequential, meaningful amends (Churchill, 2008, p. 152).

Comments such as this and other Churchill lectures and writings were a catalyst in both his being posted to a university faculty position without a Ph.D. and ultimately his dismissal. Whereas he was once a voice of interest to white academia, his words eventually hit a tipping point with the same administration that deemed him a loose cannon and terminated him.

Many other Ogweho:weh researchers have talked about and written on the practice of Indigenous theories, albeit not as defined as G. Smith’s theoretical stance. At first glance many of the examples of Indigenous Theory may be taken as method or practice, but I argue that these are living theory, and as such are both theory and practice. Further, it is this living theory that I would presume resulted in the critical nature of Indigenous Theory.

In Chapter IV, an overview of Indigenous methods, I will frequently refer back to the theory. Although a mainstream concept of theory and method can be studied separate from each other; in Indigenous theories there is no divide. Smith and Reid (2000) remind us of this

76 The RCAP was the first major document which provided a comprehensive look at the condition of Ogweho:weh peoples. A second comprehensive document is the Chiefs of Ontario’s Educational Manifesto (COO, 2004b) which addressed all divisions and types of education including language and culture. Other individual papers and thesis have also presented the political and societal conditions that exist (See Carr-Stewart, 2006; OFIFC, 2007a).

77 Churchill has since been reinstated due to lack of grounds for termination.
interconnection when they write “Kaupapa Māori principles and practices are inseparable. We are reminded of this in G. Smith’s 1997 doctoral research which stresses the need for Kaupapa Māori principles to be in active relationship with practice. This praxis then enables us to reflect critically on how provision is undertaken” (Smith & Reid, 2000, p. 1). The living, organic nature of the practice involved both the philosophical/theoretical and the practice towards change.
CHAPTER III—LITERATURE REVIEW:
Platforming the Lesser Considered

This broader perspective has shown us that we are living with the painful legacy of displacement and assimilation policies that have undermined the foundations of Aboriginal societies. ... Children’s lives are being stunted by violence in the home and failure at school. ... Young people are subjected to racist taunts because they are marked as members of a devalued underclass.

RCAP, Vol 3, No. 1, pp. 5-6

As my overall intention for completing this study is to give a voice to the voiceless, I aim through this chapter to bring a voice to the marginalized areas of Ogweho:weh education. Moving away from the more common knowledge base of Ogweho:weh education, I have chosen to use the six primary principles of G. Smith's Indigenous Theory or Transformational Praxis (2005b, 2003b, 1997) as a base supporting Ogweho:weh and Haudenosaunee issues in education, thus focusing on the marginalized literature.

Self-determination

Self-determination comes in many forms. However, due to the scope of this text I have elected to focus on educational self-determination and, to a lesser extent, its influences on other aspects of Ogweho:weh life and determinism.

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78 The approach this chapter takes is one which is not regularly referred to in the literature, as such there will be sourcing when available. Understanding that this chapter is the literature review I grappled with the content for some time. My questions were (1) Do I give an overview of all the literature pertaining to Ogweho:weh education, much of which has been researched and reported over and over again, thus offering a cursory view of the literature of the field; or (2) Do I instead present what is currently missing from the literature knowing that it will in fact be lacking in support. My choice to aim for the second means that this chapter will not include the buzz topics of Indigenous education (drop out, attainment, residential school) in order to present lesser known community topics; rather it will highlight the lesser considered issues of Ogweho:weh education.
The relationship between the community collective and the government exists in a strange political domain, which does not facilitate articulation of control well. For example, in Canada the educational ministries are provincially governed, yet all Nation to Nation (Ogweho:weh to Canada) articulation must occur directly with the federal government via Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC) (Canada, 1985). Most reserves choose to adopt provincial educational curriculum since it streamlines the educational transferability of their students (between on and off-reserve, into the off-reserve secondary systems and into post-secondary).79 Some, while adopting the provincial curriculum, have yet to articulate local control of their schools and therefore remain under federal management. Although articulation of curriculum and managerial control are two of the main factors in self-determination in systems; the third aspect of ownership is financial. With the provincial bodies entrenched in on-reserve education via curriculum and certification of educators, it is not common practice for the province to discuss matters directly with the reserves.80 The province of Ontario, for example, lists 103 Boards within its jurisdiction. These do not include on-reserve schools. As a result, these schools, educators and parents and not included within either the research or policy documents created via consultation. Most recent documents including the First Nation Métis and Inuit (FNMI) Education Policy Framework (2007) were compiled without consultation with reserves. Likewise, the body of research commissioned

79 Those who choose to adopt provincial curriculum have made slight adjustments which are approved within the curricular policies. The main change is the use of Native languages in place of French as second language (or English for those in Quebec). The Language instruction is the mainstay of both language and cultural teachings for students during the day.

80 In cases of other First Nations rights and legal issues which need be articulated directly with the federal government, the provincial negotiators have always invited themselves to the table. This is seen in cases of land claims, fishing, hunting, taxation, even identification—all of which have no provincial bearing as dictated in both the Canadian Constitution and Indian Act.
in 2009 to test the success of the policy also was limited by the fact that no on-reserve assessment was compiled (Redwing Saunders & Saunders, 2009).

Longboat (1986) discussed one reason why he believes consultation is not occurring on-reserve: consultation and shift of control (from federal to provincial) equates to financial responsibility. He writes:

The issue of the right to make laws about education is always linked to that of the burden of paying for that education. Though provincial governments have challenged the federal government’s lawmakers power in other areas involving Indians, the high price tag associated with Indian education has meant that no provincial government has even suggested that it has a right to take over (1986, p. 36).

In order to retain a fully self-determined educational system Ogweho:weh communities have three main options: change the provincial curriculum to represent their interests; discontinue use of the provincial curriculum in order to develop their own program; or attempt to infuse the mainstream curricula with community cultural interests. Many schools on-reserve work to infuse the provincial curricula with community specific content; be it a contribution approach, additive approach, transformation approach or social action approach (Wootherspoon, 2000); the classroom teachers describe the provincial curriculum as an intensive year’s work with little opportunity for deviation (personal communications,
Sprinkling and layering of culturally relevant references, comments, history and literature are incorporated into lessons but are far from being infused into the day.

Self-determination is a common expression used around many tables. Ogweho:weh discuss this when referring to their community as it relates to the federal and provincial governments, individual Nations use it when referring to their differences from each other, and as a result of the National Indian Brotherhood’s Indian Control of Indian Education (AFN, 1972), it is now a focal issue within the educational control dialogue. Many argue that all Ogweho:weh and Canadians alike understand that there is a need for improved education, as well as the need for community voice and control (Cherubini, Hodson, Manley-Casimir & Muir, 2010; Fulford, Moore Daigle, Stevenson, Trolley, & Wade, 2007; Bell 2004, 2003; COO, 2004b; Agbo, 2002; Petten, 2000; Haig-Brown, 1995; Labercane & Mceachern, 1995).

However, I fear that although “community control” and “self-determinism” are common topics of theoretical conversation, they are rarely described and defined. In part I believe there is a lack an understanding of what educational self-determination is since the literature

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81 During my student teacher practicum I questioned my classroom placement teachers about including more Haudenosaunee specific content into the on-reserve classrooms in which I was placed. Although both agreed that the need is present, they discussed the opportunities as “superficial at best” due to the intense curriculum the province has provided for teachers. Although the academic year was described as having numerous teachable moments the teacher should take advantage of, adding to the curriculum in order to fill the gaps of Ogweho:weh history and culture was just not deemed a possibility. The use of literature and values were areas of suggestion. It should be noted that the two placements were with highly innovative and experienced classroom teachers. Others I shadowed or observed did not attempt to include any Ogweho:weh teachable moments or literature, and left that to the Language instructor 30 minutes per day.

82 Throughout this text I refer to both self-determinism and self-determination. Although these terms appear to be interchangeable, you will find the context implies either action or a state of being. Self-determinism refers to the state or ability to act; whereas to self-determine or self-determination is viewed as the action within that state. The mere state of having self-determinism does not in fact make a people self-determined, as they may not act towards that end. Similarly, a people working at self-determination may find that the political realm in which they work does not support self-determinism and yet they struggle for that end.
refers to various examples which are grounded in specific community politics and not easily transferable.\footnote{The SAEE reports (Fulford, Moore Daigle, Stevenson, Trolley & Wade, 2007; Bell 2004) and conference proceeding papers (Phillips & Raham, 2008; Henchey, 2005) have dealt with very specific examples of success and self-determination. As a result of the style of reporting the successes, the reports addressed the community situations, community infrastructure and technology, and offered specifics grounded in the language and culture of said community. Although this does not mean the reports are not transferable; it did mean the process is left to the reader. The CODE commissioned Urban Aboriginal Education Project: Phase I (Hill & Redwing Saunders, 2008) was designed with a highly transferable prime directive so that both communities and School Boards and Authorities would have a running list of successful options to choose from when designing their own Aboriginal school improvement strategies.}

Agbo (2002) said that the process of decentralization, although a step in the right direction from the days of federal education, is just that—a step in a different direction. Further, he warns that it is both too soon to tell if such changes in management are enough to produce changes in education, especially given the state of both the system and the communities. Agbo states it is not as simple as changing the ownership, there must be key strategies for change put into place and an acknowledgement by both the community and government. These must be made to work to determine the problems associated with the current systems being inherited and the vision of what a decentralized system would actually look like.

Taking a very different interpretation of self-determination and need, AFN Policy Analyst, Paula Collier was quoted by Petten (2000) as seeing the implementation of change as the key requirement to productive education of the Ogweho:weh person. Collier stated, “To improve the quality of our education, we need control over it. Because currently there is Indian education by non-Indians, and that’s extremely problematic“ (in Petten, 2000)
Whether self-determination is the act of taking on ownership or not, action without environment cannot yield a self-determined people. Tippeconnic and Redwing Saunders (2007) write:

> Historical, economic, social, health, and political factors continue to influence what happens in Indian education. At times confusion arises about the roles and responsibilities of tribes, states [/provinces], and the federal government, and what the purpose of Indian education should be for tribal youth and adults (p. 80).

These are issues that will be addressed within this chapter, dissertation and, I presume, long after the pages of this text have yellowed with age.

**Sovereignty**

Sovereignty is most closely represented by self-determining one’s government, economy, culture, choices and education. Sovereignty, however, is not a concept of Haudenosaunee origin. Alfred states, “This conceptualization of sovereignty has nothing to do with ideas contained in Great Law and is drawn directly from European thought on the pre-requisites of statehood” (1995, p. 85). In fact, this nation to nation definition was one that had to be established by Ogweho:weh during treaty discussions during early periods of European colonization (Alfred, 1995). Haudenosaunee sovereignty is represented by the

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84 Earlier in this chapter I describe my differentiation between Self-Determination and Self-Determinism. I believe that a Self-Determined people or those with self-determination are people who are acting towards an end. Further, the action must occur in an environment appropriate for said change. One without the other is not effective.
Silver Covenant Chain is a series of treaties made between the British (subsequently Canadian) governments that were seen as a chain which grew with each additional treaty (link) (Hill in Barreiro, 1992). Although the self-determinism and sovereignty power was not established as a result of the making of treaties with the British, the nation to nation status was reestablished each time the governments met in this way (Burnham, 1999; Hill in Barreiro, 1992). The metaphoric use of polishing the Silver Covenant Chain meant that all parties involved, Haudenosaunee and British/Canadians alike, must regularly revisit and keep strong the intentions of the treaties. Through re-educating and reminding each side of their rights and responsibilities, the chain is polished (Alfred, 1999; Thomas in Barreiro, 1992).

One of the earliest international policies known in North America is the text of the Kaswentha or Two Row Wampum (Figure 3.1). As discussed in previous chapters, this 1600’s symbol refers to the sovereignty and self-determination of the Haudenosaunee as it dictated that either group of peoples would have a policy of cooperation, but non-interference towards one-another. Preston (2008) a researcher from Six Nations, also used the Kaswentha as a research tool. He states:

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85 The Silver Covenant Chain is the compilation of several treaties between the Haudenosaunee and the British and was seen as a chain of treaties which needed to be regularly polished in order to keep them strong and true. The statement “polishing the chain” means that the Haudenosaunee peoples and the governments (American, Canadian and Britain) must always care for their agreements including the Two Row Wampum treaty belt or Kaswentha (Gas went ta) so that it and each of the parties can remain strong. It is the responsibility of all members of the agreement (including the Haudenosaunee) to polish this Silver Covenant Chain regularly which means to uphold their roles. Participating in provincial and federal politics such as voting, regular duty as a soldier are considered as damaging this chain.

86 The Two Row Wampum signifies the treaty of the Haudenosaunee as a sovereign nation. This treaty was made between the Haudenosaunee and the Dutch, but has been upheld by the British Crown and the United States. Nations when interacting with each other would respect the customs and ways, and would not interfere with, alter or become involved with policies, procedures or decision making. This representation is shown with the two rows purple beads running side by side, and not deviating from their course or intersecting.
The Two Row Wampum also expressed the complexity of hospitality, promoting peace, friendship and respect as necessary to maintain independence yet provide opportunities for interdependency. It was meant to be a lasting symbolic representation of the duty to honour human social, political, economic and spiritual relations with parallelism to allow peace, friendship and respect to act as intermediates’ in natural conflicts. Many Indigenous protocols offered mechanisms to address differences and wrongs requiring diplomacy. The Two Row Wampum reflects the perseverance of historic memory and the protocols necessary to maintain good will across time (p. 150).

Figure 3.1
Kaswentha (Two Row Wampum)

Sovereignty\(^7\) has been a topic of continual dispute and has even fallen under the influence of educational procedures. By the end of the 1700’s the Haudenosaunee were a people in great despair. Less than half of their original number remained as a result of European disease and American army invasions (Barreiro, 1992). Great confusion ensued on how to continue to live by the Great Law under the mounting pressure and influence of the

\(^7\) Sovereignty is a political term describing the status of a government held within the borders of another government. The Haudenosaunee people, according to treaties are established with the Crown to be sovereign from Canada within their traditional lands (reserve borders). This Nation to Nation articulation has been tested regularly by province/state governments who attempt taxation, and by the federal departments which have forced off-reserve education, residential school, adoption and hunting/fishing rights.
new American and Canadian peoples. During this time, Seneca Chief Handsome Lake received a message of how to reunite his people with the Law. This message of spiritual origin is called the Code of Handsome Lake and is one of the canons of teachings for the Haudenosaunee. Pertaining to education, the messengers said:

We feel that the white race will take away the culture, traditions, and language of the red race. When your people’s children become educated in the way of white people, they will no longer speak their own language and will not understand their own culture. Your people will suffer great misery and not be able to understand their elders anymore. ... Your relations will appoint twelve children to be educated by the white race. They will select two children from each of the Six Nations. We feel that when they become educated, not a single child will come back and stand at your side because they will no longer speak your language or have any knowledge of their culture (Thomas, 1994, pp. 41-42).

Although this may seem to be a statement of self-determination only and not relating to sovereignty, the Haudenosaunee perspective would argue that it is both. Education was only one of the great messages but the subsequent closing of the Haudenosaunee to outside education (in the 1700’s) spoke to a continuance of the polishing of the chain as well as determination of our peoples’ future.

In events following the Code, we find a long line of evidence giving substance to the messengers warning including: forced attendance at residential school (Castellano, Archibald, & DeGagne, 2008; Jacobs, 2006; Antone, 2003; Tripcony, 2002; Kirkness, 1999; L.T. Smith, 1999; Yazzie, 1999; Battiste, 1995; DeJong, 1993), laws and practices related to

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88 Handsome Lake was a Seneca man holding title within his community but he was also an alcoholic. I have been told that if someone as far from The Great Law as a drunken man, near death as a result of his excessive habits could return to the teachings, then there was hope and opportunity for all Haudenosaunee to return to sit under the shade and protection of the Great Tree of Peace.
enfranchisement (Newhouse & Belanger, 2001; Canada, 1969; Hawthorn, 1966, 1967), and forced adoption of children and children in care (Hart Wensley, 2006; Gough, Trocme, Brown, Knoke & Blackstock, 2005; National Children’s Alliance, 2005; Walmsley, 2005; Mussell, Cardiff, & White, 2004; Ad Hoc Coalition on the Rights of Aboriginal Children in Canada, 2003; Farris-Manning et al., 2003; Foumier & Crey, 1997). All of these policies and practices had a hand in the lives of those Ogweho:weh people, who having been educated by Whites, consequently found no place culturally or legally in their home communities. Entire generations of people were lost to their communities as a result of “white education”.

**Right to Education**

Actions in support of self-determination are eased when there is both personal and external support for such actions. Several Canadian and international documents have guaranteed that elementary aged students receive public education; these include the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UN General Assembly, December 10, 1948), the Canadian Constitution (1982), and the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (1982). In each of these documents, school aged children are guaranteed rights to education; however,

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89 Enfranchisement was the granting of Canadian citizenship to First Nations who conducted themselves in a manner which elevated their status. Examples of such behaviours were post-secondary education and serving in active duty military. From a Canadian interpretation, enfranchisement was a positive reward for individuals’ active role in Canadian society. From a First Nation perspective, enfranchisement was the forced Canadian citizenship which was assigned based on behaviours deemed as “white”. Upon enfranchisement the Ogweho:weh person would be given citizenship and therefore stripped of their status including a repossession of land owned on-reserve and First Nations benefits. During the Second World War many Haudenosaunee men crossed the border into the United States to join the war. They felt strongly about serving but did wish to do so in Canada where they would be “elevated” to a Canadian while losing their First Nation rights. Many of the newly enfranchised men and their families later found that even though they became citizens, they did not earn the same rights and benefits as non-Indigenous veterans.

90 When I refer to ‘white’ I am returning back to the original definition by Ogweho:weh people. This is not a derogatory or racist name use, rather it refers to the colonists who labeled themselves as white and the Ogweho:weh inhabitants as red.
these rights do not come with specific means to produce the results outlined in the documents.

First Nations legal documents also dictate that there is a right, not only to education, but to funded education. These policies are found in such documents as the Indian Act which states:

The Minister may, in accordance with this Act, establish, operate and maintain schools for Indian children. ...The Minister may (a) provide for and make regulations with respect to standards for buildings, equipment, teaching, education, inspection and discipline in connection with schools; (b) provide for the transportation of children to and from school; (c) enter into agreements with religious organizations for the support and maintenance of children who are being educated in schools operated by those organizations; and (d) apply the whole or any part of moneys that would otherwise be payable to or on behalf of a child who is attending a residential school to the maintenance of that child at that school. (R.S., c. I-6, s. 114-115).

As legislated by the Indian Act, all aspects of funding of those schools on-reserve as well as those on-reserve students who are under tuition agreements off-reserve, are dictated by INAC administrations.

Although Ogweho:weh people were unsure what would happen to treaty rights in 1982 as a result of the patriated and amended Canadian Constitution, law makers upheld all existing (recognized) treaty law with Canada when they wrote:

The Constitution, Section 35 (1) recognized and affirmed existing aboriginal treaty rights as follows: “The existing aboriginal and treaty rights of the aboriginal peoples of Canada are hereby recognized and affirmed” (Constitution Act, Schedule B of the Canada Act, 1982).

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91 Debates about how to interpret the treaty right to supported education are on-going. In 2004 the discussions moved to include questions of post-secondary. The Federal government’s position on post-secondary education was that it was not a right, as it is not a right for Canadians, but rather a self-funded option. Further, actions were taken to begin to tax the treaty right related funding of post-secondary education. This action was tabled in 2004 but is still being debated within parliament and across Ogweho:weh territories and boardrooms.
This statement upheld the funding of elementary education on-reserves, off-reserve secondary school and post-secondary funds to be disbursed by Band management for localized distribution.

Carr-Stewart (2001) offers an overview of treaty rights to education and the history of such reserve-based educational endeavors. In her article she demonstrates that in fact Canada was slow to acknowledge their right and responsibility to provide such education. Once the state began to administer education, community voice was limited. She went on to state that the RCAP recommendations reinforce the treaty rights to education and further acknowledge the lack of successful practice to date in all areas including primary, secondary, post-secondary and language education.

**Education as core of self-determinism**

Porter (May 26, 2004) announced at the 2004 Repatriating the rafters: A symposium on contemporary scholarship in Haudenosaunee territory\(^{92}\), that as Ogwehoh:weh people we must regain the status we once held as policy makers. As Haudenosaunee people, we led the way for entire nations to be born (Hill, 1992; Johansen, 1982; Grinde, 1977), we led the training of the future women’s movement (Roesch Wagner, 2001), we created educational models of apprenticeship and education that was unparalleled in Europe (Cornelius, 1999), we even enhanced the literature and arts of early Europe (Newhouse, Voyageur & Beavon, 2005). However, our current under-education restricts our ability to both defend and lead ourselves today.

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\(^{92}\) This symposium was a Haudenosaunee graduate student conference where current Ph.D. Candidates, recent graduates and faculty could share their work.
The local and national leaders speak of economic determinism as key to a strong community. Although financial independence may be key to a community being able to fund their own government, initiatives, services and programs; it is in the education of our next generation of leaders that we develop a workforce capable of bringing us to that level of freedom. Therefore it can be interpreted that it is in education that we find the core of a self-determinism model. Again, determinism is only the capacity. Once the capacity has been built it is still up to the actors to take action if they are to become self-determined.

**Parent Involvement in Education**

In the public system students are rarely at an age of majority and therefore are limited in what legal choices they may make for themselves. However, response to student feedback and opportunities for consultation has increased as provinces conduct consultations and interviews surrounding their FNMI Frameworks. Parental voice has also become more prominent. Although the attainment gap has been an acknowledged concern for Ogweho:weh students for more than a decade, there has been little change and improvement. As members of the FNMI Frameworks consultations and as general parental involvement in education is increasing, parents are moving from bake sale and field trip volunteers to a more integral role in the decision making process. Recently, off-reserve parents have made leaps forward as both advocates and decision making partners. Advocacy groups such as the B.C. Confederation of Parents Advisory Councils (BCCPAC) Advocacy Project, “a parent-driven movement to help parents and students be heard in our public education system and solve problems in a positive way” (“BCCPAC advocacy group”,

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93 See both the Ontario and Alberta FNMI Frameworks.
have formalized parental roles and brought strength to the parent voice. The BCCPAC mission goes on to state:

There is a need for child and youth advocacy in BC’s public education system. Students and parents often feel powerless when dealing with education authorities. They seek support from friends, extended family, and other caring adults, but they often need more support. PAC and DPAC leaders and volunteer advocates familiar with the education system and committed to helping parents and students solve problems, can offer that support. BCCPAC advocacy is about students. Everything done has the best interests of students at heart. The BCCPAC Advocacy Project has found that, through fair and effective practices that focus on students, parents and students can address their issues and be better understood. (“BCCPAC advocacy group”, n.d.)

In British Columbia, the movement forward with Enhancement Agreements\(^{94}\) has continued to push for both community and parent consultation, thus involving key family/community members both on and off-reserve (British Columbia, 2008; British Columbia, n.d., a; British Columbia, n.d., b; British Columbia, n.d., c; British Columbia, n.d., d; BCCPAC, 2009). The western provinces also are working toward processes more inclusive of parental involvement, primarily through consultation endeavors, but also through programming and adult education opportunities in the schools both during the evening and

\(^{94}\) The 2005 Transformative Change Accord signed between the Federal Government, Province of British Columbia and Leadership Council (representing the First Nations of British Columbia) held the intention to “close the social and economic gap between First Nations and other British Columbians, reconcile Aboriginal rights and title with those of the Crown, and establish a new relationship based upon mutual respect and recognition”. Pertaining to education, the Accord was the catalyst to create elementary/secondary school Enhancement Agreements (EAs) in partnership between Bands/communities, Educational Boards, local governments and the Ministry of Education. These EAs have been highly celebrated and publicized as a major milestone for their use of consultation towards the resolution of problems and identifying pathways to solutions for Aboriginal education in British Columbia. According to British Columbia’s Aboriginal Education Office, the EAs were designed to “deliver a more culturally-relevant curriculum that is community-focused in order to enhance Aboriginal student outcomes”. The primary outcome of this initiative was to outline goals, targets and means of evaluation for localized student success. In discussions with educators and administrative staff in British Columbia, it has been revealed that short of the initial media coverage of the monumental consultation process, no evaluation has occurred pertaining to their success in either bridging the attainment gap or follow-through of practice pertaining to the EAs.
day time (Hill & Redwing Saunders, 2008; Saskatchewan Government, 2006; Okiciyapi, 2005; Haig-Brown, Hodgson-Smith, Regnier, & Archibald, 1997).

**Parent Choice**

It is not only the off-reserve systems that are seeing advocacy and parent involvement however. The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP, 1996) states First Nations “want two things from education . . . the skills they need to participate fully in the economy . . . [along] with the knowledge of their languages and traditions necessary for cultural continuity” (RCAP, 1986, Volume III, p. 82). The strongest option for community and personal voice (parent choice) that can be employed is to ultimately create your own system. Many Ogweho:weh peoples have done just this in their kitchens and in small independent schools. Through earlier research I encountered numerous families who, unhappy with the balance of curricula and culture available in the schools, have opted to send their children to “western day school” (public education) but then add the cultural education at home (Redwing Saunders & Hill, 2007; Redwing Saunders, 2005; Redwing Saunders, 2004). Still some have been extraordinary advocates as they have started groups that became the founding members of charter and independent immersion schools. The immersion programs of Turtle Island will be discussed later in this chapter.

In 2004-05 a series of articles pertaining to on-reserve Ogweho:weh parental choice and the lack there appeared in national and Toronto newspapers. One such article noted:

Parental Choice has far more reaching implications and should be addressed in as many ways as possible because as Aboriginal people, parental choice was not always an option, just as those that endure the physical, sexual, emotional and spiritual abuse in the assimilating, cultural/Identity killing residential schools. We have come a long way in a little time, but we still have a long hard road ahead of us. (Cowley, 2005)
In this series of articles Federal Chief, Phil Fontaine, of the Assembly of First Nations was asked if he believed parents should be given the opportunity to send their children off-reserve in order to access quality education. He responded to the questions and series of articles by releasing a statement that read:

We don't want to go back to the days of the residential school experience where we were forced to attend schools not of our choice [but rather] by government decree. One major consideration, of course, is treaty rights or aboriginal rights to an education and we don't want that compromised in any way. So we should be able to attend school in our communities knowing that the school that our kids attend is a good school, conducive to learning (Fontaine in Curry, 2005).

The AFN has stood on both sides of this parent control issue for decades. The most recent release of the *Indian Control of Indian Education* (2001) stated that First Nations communities should hold the deed to their own schools, determining the needs of their students. In 2004 this same organization released a lesser known resolution document in which they stated, "providing our children and parents with the choice of where and how they wish to obtain their education is a fundamental right available to most Canadians" (Resolution no. 66/2004, AFN, 2004).

Resolution 66/204 is a response to the concerns of the failing schools in Ogweho:weh communities and can be interpreted as either supporting the right to parental choice, or opposing the fight for community control over education. Fontaine stated that there was a danger of a government mandated system if the federal government stepped in and allowed funded parental choice off-reserve. I ask, are we not relegating the Ogweho:weh students to another residential school system by doing just what Fontaine states, forcing our children to “attend schools not of family choice but by government decree.” Further, one must ask at what cost we continue the status quo. Fontaine's statement "we don't want that
compromised [our treaty rights] in any way" (Fontaine in Curry, 2005) amasses the cost of another generation of children lost due to an educational agenda. The individual treaty rights to education are not what the federal government refers back to; it refers back to the Indian Act as dictating federal responsibility to education. It must be remembered that the Indian Act was not a treaty made with the Ogweho:weh people—it was a government decree, and one which Ogweho:weh peoples have been fighting since its establishment in 1870.

In response to Fontaine’s statements, Cowley published an article in the National Post that supported the right for parents to choose the best system for their children, be that on- or off-reserve; public, parochial or private. Cowley stated, “by focusing on total control as the cornerstone of their education policy, First Nations leaders are ignoring a simple and reliable way to improve education quality: competition” (Cowley, 2005). Cowley went on further explain that beyond the need for parental choice, there must be an advocacy campaign across Canada to inform people of the state of First Nations education. He wrote, “this educational crisis is seldom discussed thanks to a conspiracy of silence maintained by both governments and native groups” (2005).

**“Indian Control of Indian Education”**

St. Germaine (2000) states the role of education is “the means by which a society transmits its culture unto its young” (p. 1). He goes on to say, “However, for the past two centuries, AI/AN [American Indian/Alaskan Native] communities, as quasi-sovereign

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95 This agenda is not that of ending an Indian problem by the Canadian government. Instead it is the agenda of the AFN and Ogweho:weh leaders who, by standing strong on the issue of the right to control Indian education, are disposing of yet another generation of children due to an educational agenda.
nations\textsuperscript{96}, were prevented from imparting their own values, heritage, and customs to their children. It was only in the late 20\textsuperscript{th} century that the tribes were authorized by the federal government to share in the role of education" (St. Germaine, 2000, p. 2).

In 1972, and again in 1976 and 2001, the Assembly of First Nations released a policy paper to the Ministers of INAC demanding First Nations determination over their own educational future (National Indian Brotherhood/Assembly of First Nations, 1972). Since this time reserves across Canada have begun to reclaim their own education from INAC, assuming management of their own educational destinies. Only a handful of districts remain under federal control, the largest (24,000 registered members and approximately 12,500 residents) being the Six Nations Reserve District.

As students continue to fall behind their Canadian counterparts, the bands have labeled First Nations Control as the means to school improvement. Tippeconnic (1999) describes Indian Controlled and Tribe/Band controlled education as having a different meaning than what most parents assume when they hear officials of the Band or INAC offering management of education. In short, tribal control of education is preferred by the Band and INAC because it is a lateral move of government to government control. However, many local reserves that have taken on this management have one director of education responsible for all schooling issues including head start, elementary, secondary, and post-

\textsuperscript{96} Even the Ogweho:weh researchers and authors are unsure of the sovereignty relationship. It is a very dangerous place to write about sovereignty or any ongoing struggle of the Ogweho:weh people with the government as our worlds can, at any time, be used against us to support the political agenda of the day. The use of "quasi-sovereign nations" is one such statement which could be used to demonstrate that the educated Ogweho:weh people question the relationship.
secondary management responsibilities. Additionally, funds are regularly capped as of the
day the community assumes management. Further, the Indian Control of Education implies
that, as in off-reserve settings, some sort of community or district board which is responsible
for educational decisions is established, but this is not always the case. Moving within the
current model of limited community voice, Band officials with limited expertise can make
decisions with little oversight from the community.

Richards and Megan (2009) offer concern that management of a school on-reserve
may yield a number of additional issues that the community needs to consider. Included in
their concerns is that funding for student’s is not on par with needs and off-reserve
settings. Additionally, they voice their concern that the school management model of
Bands is archaic for educational administrative models of today. They state the “‘one school
stand-alone’ model of on-reserve school management is inefficient and explains, to some
extent, unsatisfactory on-reserve education outcomes” (Richards & Megan, 2009, p. 46). This

This point is made here since, although a Director of Education or Superintendent would hold
various portfolios, cradle to grave education is an exorbitant load to expect from any one
superintendent.

Unlike municipal funding of education which sees increases and decreases with each annual budget,
these funds are frozen and tend not to increase annually even though costs such as text books,
utilities and wages continue to increase.

Reserve’s who take over management of their education are not governed by independent Boards of
Education as is found in municipal governments. In most cases the managerial control remains with
Band Councillors who do not have experience in educational systems or solely with the Education
Director/Superintendent. Further, funding remains for the most part, under the control of the federal
government as INAC is the primary funding agent. Therefore, the budgets are pre-determined by the
funding agreements made with INAC which directly impacts the ability to have independent
management of their systems.

Most notable is the dollar for dollar comparisons they provide where they compare on and off-
reserve districts. Although the on-reserve districts of the Western Provinces were equally funded or
slightly higher funded per student, they demonstrated that costs of small districts with under 1000
students (and usually under 200 students) were more expensive to run than larger systems. They also
compared the size of the districts and travel that most on-reserve schools were responsible to
provide services to as being excessively larger and not appropriately funded.
is further supported by Mendelson (2008) when he states that in addition to adequate funding there must be:

...the infrastructure to support and maintain a good education system – from curriculum development to capital facilities planning. Most on-reserve schools are managed by individual First Nations which have authority for one or two schools. This is an old and outdated model of school organization. The “non-system” of small rural schools in every province was reformed many years ago, when consolidated rural school boards [i.e. districts] were created – sometimes over the strenuous objections of local communities. At the same time, provincial ministries of education were greatly strengthened, with significant legislative authority and educational expertise (2008, pp. 7-8).

The Department of Indian and Northern Development (DIAND)\textsuperscript{101} 1982 \textit{Indian-Education Paper: Phase I} supported the NIB/AFN and community requests for community ownership of education. I have found only one public response to this statement, and a negative one at that. Moses, Henhawk and King (1987) specifically talked about the Six Nations students on-reserve and in the Grand Erie feeder schools. The DIAND acknowledgment of low attainment and significant problems occurring within Ogweho:weh education were posed to DIAND when they asked why we (the community) should inherit such problems with minimal funding. Based on community consultation and Council discussions, the report reads:

This band council has no intention of accepting control of education programs in the manner in which the Dept. prescribed. Until such time as the Government of Canada recognizes its responsibility for Health, Education and Welfare as formerly guaranteed by the British North American Act, this band will not accept the devolution process (in Moses et al., 1987, p. 4).

\textsuperscript{101} DIAND is a former version of INAC.
Although the largest educational district has refused to take on local control, many other communities across Canada have taken over management\(^\text{102}\) of their educational systems. Of these systems few have conducted research and discussed their findings, resulting in questions pertaining to the significance of changes within the systems. At the *Sharing Our Success* conference held in Winnipeg in 2007, educators, Board Trustees, researchers and Ministry officials came together to share their action research and successes. The second round of Ogweho:weh research from the Society for the Advancement of Excellence in Education (SAEE) and the first conference of this caliber; SAEE was seen as a breakthrough for communication between Ogweho:weh educators and Ministry curricula writers and funders since it was the first time each had sat at the same table.

Initially, the reports (Fulford, Moore Daigle, Stevenson, Trolley & Wade, 2007; Bell 2004) and conferences proceedings (Phillips & Raham, 2008; Henchey, 2005) addressed the achievement gaps between Ogweho:weh students and non-Aboriginal students. The SAEE authors went on to praise communities who are bridging those gaps as well as having high success in transition across the three levels of elementary, secondary and post-secondary education. Finally, they brought three of the four main stakeholders together to discuss the problems, successes and next steps.\(^\text{103}\) The most common theme throughout the SAEE reports (Fulford, Moore Daigle, Stevenson, Trolley & Wade, 2007; Bell 2004) was the importance of control within the community education. Without community control of

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\(^{102}\) I prefer to use the word management when referring to the ownership of an educational system as this is a closer understanding of what is occurring. Control would imply a stronger independency of areas which are currently determined by external forces such as federal funding, provincial curriculum, and provincial accreditation protocols.

\(^{103}\) Ministry officials, academic and student researchers, and Board Trustees and administrators were present at the 2007 conference. To a lesser degree educators were present but mostly within the groups of presenters discussing their successes. Missing from those involved within Ogweho:weh education were the families/community members and students.
education, changes are not based on action research and are in need of outside approval. Further, the community schools involved with this project demonstrated an increase in buy in and support when the school personnel were the agents of change within their schools and invited to participate in authentic manners within their children’s education. In the APTN documentary *Sharing Our Success* (APTN, 2007) members of the community stated they had never intended to return to a school, not even to support their children or grandchildren. However, the schools had become an arm of community services and programming and therefore no longer the perceived mechanism for genocide and enfranchisement.

**Validating and legitimating cultural aspirations and identity**

We can start this section by asking what are the cultural aspirations and identity of the Ogweho:weh or even that of any one peoples. I believe that if I were to travel across Turtle Island and poll 200 Ogweho:weh people I would collect 200 different definitions of cultural aspirations and identity. The Haudenosaunee at Six Nations are comprised of over 24,000 people from six Iroquois nations as well as Delaware and Tutelo who were adopted in and allowed to reside with the community in times of war or religious oppression. Additionally, the southwestern corner of the reserve was inhabited by the Mississaugas of New Credit in 1847, with permanent residence granted in the late 1920’s by the federal government installed elected Band Council; bringing additional values, cultural influences and differences with them.

Those unfamiliar with the myriad differences amongst Ogweho:weh people (linguistic, religious, historical experiences, etc.) may find the inability to find a shared aspiration or identity an example of Ogweho:weh people being without one vision or
purpose and therefore deem this a cultural weakness. A Pan-Indian perspective would state that all Ogweho:weh people have the same desires. An Irocentric perspective would state that all Ogweho:weh people must therefore be subjected to aspirations as outlined by the Haudenosaunee. Neither of these statements is correct and as such culture, aspirations and identity must be based on not only Nationhood\textsuperscript{104}, but the individual community in which that member of the Nation resides.\textsuperscript{105} Two general concerns which are identified within the literature as affecting all Ogweho:weh communities are identity loss and a drive for cultural literacy.

**Identity, identity loss and resulting effects\textsuperscript{106}**

Brande, Duncan and Sokal (2003) wrote that identity (or lack thereof) could be found at the heart of all academic achievement problems.

Issues of identity go hand-in-hand with those of educational achievement, and indeed the retention of heritage and a strong cultural identity has been identified as being the single most important factor in predicting the academic achievement of Native Americans. (Brande, Duncan & Sokal, 2003, p. 237).

Skinner also makes a case for identity as an indicator of achievement. In Skinner’s 1999 article she revealed that minority language students who had English as a second language and who received at least three to four years of formal schooling in their Ogweho:weh

\textsuperscript{104} If one compares the European countries differences that of the North American Ogweho:weh differences in language, culture, histories and lifeways, it is a simpler road to acceptance that Pan-Indianism is an inappropriate expectation.

\textsuperscript{105} An example of this would be a member of the Mohawk Nation may have different cultural aspirations and identity dependent on which reserve they are affiliated with: Six Nations (urban Southern Ontario); Tyendinaga (rural Central Eastern Ontario); Akwesasne (St. Lawrence Valley crossing the Ontario and New York State Boarders); or Kahnawake and Kanesatake (Southern Quebec).

\textsuperscript{106} A brief discussion of what makes up identity and how the contemplation of personal identity is a difficult process can be found in Chapter IV. In this section I also refer to where identity must come into play as it relates to the research protocols.
tongue had a stronger identity self-image and higher achievement in English and other subjects. This echoes what we learn from investigating the period of missionary education. The clergy who had the mandate of civilizing the “savage Indian” by terminating language and culture realized that students ultimately learned English better if they were allowed to learn in their Ogweho:weh language during the first three or four years of their formal education (Skinner, 1999).

In previous dialogues about Ogweho:weh education and identity I was told, “Education is only one thing that we add to identity, but it does not make us who we are. Educational achievement is not the end all and be all of what we gauge as being successful” (Online Classroom Discussion, 2005).107 As an educated Ogweho:weh on-reserve member, I am aware that my children must be prepared for a life of work and interaction off-reserve. I do not consider that as a less significant life for them, nor do I believe that they will suffer culturally by enrollment in an instructionally strong school.108

Looking deeper than merely the effects on achievement, identity has historically played a role in the evisceration of Ogweho:weh people globally from their core culture as

107 This quote comes from an online dialogue of First Nations parent choice, March 11, 2005, Toronto, Ontario: Seminar on Policy, Web Knowledge Forum.

108 On a side note, I do not feel that there should have to be a distinction between culture/faith and curriculum. Catholic, Jewish, Muslim and French/Catholic language schools all offer the provincial curriculum with high standards while also including a core believe, values and culturally relevant moral fiber into the education.
the now dominant society converged and informed the people of their savagery. That re-
education used the destruction of identity as a means of oppression and colonization.

O’Sullivan, describes the loss of identity at the hand of the oppressor as a means of
genocide. He writes that genocide is “the tool of hatred, fear and dominance used on the
marginalized people from the beginning of time” (p. 246). He goes on to state:

We are not only manifestly different; each human being has a deep
intentionality which is enriched by its own history in the world. The infinite
depth of all human beings of different races, sexes, sexual orientation,
religion and so on demand a sense of awe and reverence. The rich texture of
lives is lost in racial bigotry. We are now just beginning to appreciate how
much was lost when the arrogance of our colonial heritage saw fit to destroy
the incredible creativity and spirituality of indigenous cultures (p. 247).

In an earlier work (2004) I noted:

O’Sullivan speaks of genocide, not only as the intentional destruction of
culture, but also as the damage that hatred and lack of understanding
produces. ... As the dominant society continues to take for their financial or
personal gain; land, nature and cultural genocide has been the end result.
What lies in the aftermath of the campaign against the Native peoples of
North America has been called the colonized Indian (Redwing Saunders,

Literature pertaining to Ogweho:weh identity, especially as it relates to education is not
plentiful. Overall identity as Ogweho:weh people was discussed by Restoule, (2000) as an
encrypted articulation of culture and place overlaid against the legal status and definitions
offered by government. Additionally, King, Walters and Wells (in Ward & Bouvier, 2001)

109 Historically Ogweho:weh authors and researchers have fallen into the categories of post-colonial,
anti-colonial or decolonial theorist (see for example the works of Battiste, Battiste and Henderson,
Cajete, Deloria, Haig-Brown, L.T. Smith). I do not doubt that these authors would consider
themselves Indigenous Theorists of late; nor do I doubt their philosophical stance would align with
the six principles of Indigenous Theory. It is important to note that these grandparents of Indigenous
research forged the way for the next generations of researchers to enter the field. Our reference to
them, even though we do not share the same languages is not disrespectful, we merely aim to take
the Ogweho:weh fight to the next stage, something which could not have been done without their
foundational works. I for example do no refer to myself as a post-colonialist or decolonizing theorist
simply because I choose not to embrace the language of the colonizer to define my work.
offered insight on the varying identity that is encompassed within the urban Ogweho:weh resident.  

From an educational perspective, the focus has been on how to create or identify an identity within the educational realm. Reynolds (2002) looked at the historic means and contemporary impacts of colonizing approaches within education and the role contemporary education systems have in decolonizing the Australian Indigenous population. Friedel (2009) studied identity from an urban youth perspective and stated that place-based education for the Ogweho:weh people has typically looked at the remote or reserve situation and not offered urban solutions to place-based identity-building curricula. Goulet and McLeod’s (2002) review of a teacher education program working to decolonize and foster cultural identity of the future Ogweho:weh teachers of Ogweho:weh youth outlined several key aspects including the inclusion of elders and the four aspects of beings. Michelson (1997), Hill and George (1996) and Hill (2002) argue the technique of portfolio development as a tool for embracing one’s own personal stories and self-awareness. Michelson (1997) writes, “students experience themselves as competent learners, they investigate academic expectations and norms, they explore the relationship between their own prior learning and the contours of academic inquiry, and they take control of their own educational needs” (p. 42). Likewise Native learning styles and other cultural keystones being implemented within

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110 Urban Aboriginal people can be multi-generational urban, recent transplants, or those who move for a set purpose but intend to return to the reserve (e.g. education, health). Additionally, these three groups may or may not have connections in reserve communities, and may or may not practice their traditional beliefs. Finally, is the aspect of fostering and adoption for generations, which have created entire communities of Ogweho:weh people who identify in varying ways.

111 The four states are often referred to as a medicine wheel model and include the emotional, spiritual, intellecction/mental and physical.
the western classroom have also been discussed as either identity building or comforts (Johnny, 2002; Hill & George, 1996).

**Cultural literacy**

Cultural literacy is a topic which can be defined as being knowledgeable in one’s culture. This includes areas such as general cultural knowledge and practice, and language. Although it is understood that Canadian (and other Anglo-colonial countries’) policies were designed to break the connections between the people and their culture, Ogweho:weh perseverance throughout the later quarter of the twentieth century resulted in increasing levels of cultural literacy.

Many (e.g. Gaikezehongai, 2003; George, 2003; Paulsen, 2003; and Skinner, 1999) have written that language acquisition is vital for maintaining a living culture. With more than one-third of all Ogweho:weh languages extinct (Skinner, 1999) and a lengthy endangered list (including one of the Haudenosaunee languages—Onondaga), cultural literacy proponents must ask how culture can be maintained when the Ogweho:weh languages are regularly the second language to English for most people. It is through this question that Ogweho:weh research Paulsen redefined literacy.

Literacy has been perceived as being synonymous with culture, tradition, worldview, languages, and ways of knowing. In the perspective of Aboriginal peoples, literacy is not restricted to the written word; the true meaning of literacy is not confined to the page. ... Literacy, then, is rooted in intergenerational teachings and is active in everyday living; it is a living language. Oral tradition, storytelling, culture and language: these are aspects encapsulated in the definition of Native literacy (2003, p. 23).

Both the Canadian and American governments have used two identifiers in order to define a living people. This is especially important to those who are federally unrecognized and fighting for such recognition. The identifiers of land which the government progressively
stripped from Nations; and language, which was challenged through the educational practices of residential school, are both central questions when determining a people’s petition for status.

Furthermore, it is only with these connections that a people can transmit their knowledge, history and ceremony. As the ceremonial practices are tied to the natural environment, being moved from the original (territorial) environment means your ceremonies are disconnected from Mother Earth. Even INAC has expressed concerns about language loss as devastating for Ogweho:weh identity. According to INAC, “Language is instrumental in creating a strong cultural identity, and key in maintaining a vibrant culture” (INAC, 2002, web). Similarly, the AFN describes language as the core of whom the Ogweho:weh are.

The battle for self-determination has been fought on many levels, but education has remained a central issue and key to the future generations’ ability to know who they are as Ogweho:weh people and to therefore have the opportunity to create aspirations as Ogweho:weh. Barman, Hebert and McCaskill (1999) state that, “the socialization of children, through education, shapes all aspects of identity, instilling knowledge of the group’s language, history, traditional behavior, and spiritual beliefs” (p. 1). Without control over education, the cycle of learning is broken – taking with it cultural awareness and identity.

Incorporating culturally preferred pedagogy

There are some influential pedagogical approaches taking place across Turtle Island and it would be difficult to describe all of these practices in one small section. Therefore I present a brief review of a few Turtle Island programs that use traditional philosophies of
education, immersion programs and mainstream educational practices which are informed by enculturated pedagogy. By no means are the approaches I will describe the only means to alter current pedagogical approaches to education, nor do these represent all the examples of successes within North America or globally.

**Traditional Philosophies**

When reviewing the literature on traditional philosophies, I found that the writing was biased in nature. Those who believe in incorporating traditional philosophies into education spoke highly of it, while those opposed to the concept did not voice their belief. Further, there was little literature which was more than anecdotal in nature. The following section therefore takes some of the anecdotal examples of the benefits of using traditional philosophies and poses questions for reflection as a means of counteracting the limited research in this area.

Morrisseau related his experiences of “schooling in the bush” in written reflections about a personal healing journey (Morrisseau, 2002, 1999). He explained that he had the opportunity to learn trapping from his father, uncle, and grandfather, who taught him these skills by bringing him out, correcting his mistakes, and working closely with him for years before considering him knowledgeable in the ways of trapping. Morrisseau refers to the experience as a “family line” passed down for generations. This knowledge was not only his, but the generations of men who had learned from their own mistakes and successes and then shared this wisdom with the next generation.

When the ministry responsible for farming and fishing took over the process of registering Ogweho:weh trap lines, Morrisseau was given a manual and test to complete which was supposed to demonstrate his knowledge of trapping. His hereditary knowledge
about trapping was not present in the ministry’s manual, yet the act of reading and passing the test declared that he was then qualified to conduct trapping. These different methods of education highlight the difference between western and traditional Indigenous paradigms. Where within the manual was the understanding and questioning that was present while walking the lines with older male relatives who possessed generational knowledge of this particular hereditary line?

Morrisseau (2002, 1999) provides one excellent example of a traditional view of Ogwehø:weh education. Other examples are also found within the literature including the NFB film School in the Bush (Sawyer & Thomson, 1986) which demonstrates a similar approach to the education of youth through familial and community based “apprenticeship.” The apprentice-based method of education is embedded within Ogwehø:weh philosophies of education (Cornelius, 1999), but it is supported in western philosophies of education as well. Dewey (1997 reprint) supported hands-on education in his writing about learner-centered education. He wrote, “education in order to accomplish its ends both for the individual learner and for society must be based upon experiences – which is always the actual life-experience of some individual” (p. 89). Thusly, Dewey supports a core value of Indigenous Education by maintaining a student-centred approach. Similar support is found in the writing of Chickering who wrote of “hidden curriculum,” or secondary messages within the teaching process that informs the whole being (Chickering & Reisser, 1993).

The student-centred approach places the experience, pace and interests in the moment of the learner; traditional education adds a layer which, as experienced by Morrisseau on the trap line, is inter-generational knowledge. Even in the student-centered approach the learner is just that, the person receiving the knowledge. In a traditional
educational model, the inter-generational knowledge is received by all parties, with each participant having a role which moves well beyond the teacher and learner.

**Immersion Programs**

Reviewed literature suggests that the general population is quite divided in its view of immersion programs. Those who are advocates have been quite vocal in the positive outcomes of the process (De Korne, 2010; Gaikezhongai, 2003; George, 2003; Paulsen, 2003; Heredia, 1999; Battiste, 1998), while others do not regard it at all within their description of Ogweho:weh education (McCaskill & Fitzmaurice, 2007; Desmoulins & Grande, 2004; Carr-Stewart, 2001; Haig-Brown, Hodgson-Smith, Regnier, & Archibald, 1997). The point that I hope readers will obtain from this section is the inherent purpose of immersion programs. They are not intended to produce a university graduate who will work on Bay Street in Toronto. They are intended to produce an individual who lives and understands their culture, both linguistically and experientially. This does not mean that immersion schools have lower standards, or that immersion school graduates do not become professionals. I have explained that although western concepts of educational success may not be achieved readily by the immersion graduate, the “immersion students have become important conduits for the perpetuation of [Indigenous Knowledge] IK” (Redwing Saunders & Hill, 2007, p 11).

Many communities have created small immersion programs, including semester long adult immersion\(^\text{112}\) in order to promote the acquisition of language to the public. It is through Indigenous languages that history, laws and ceremonies are properly taught.

\(^{112}\)Six Nations has both Cayuga and Mohawk day immersion programs for adults. These intensive 9am-5pm schools run for full academic years and are garnering adults working towards fluency.
Therefore, without the language, Ogweho:weh traditions would be lost. Immersion programs provide a place to learn the languages which are vital to the survival of the cultures.

The philosophy behind immersion programs is encapsulated in the mandate of one such charter school: to produce “fluent speakers confident in self and cultural identity,” able to “contribute to the greater society beyond Grand River, as they choose” (n.a., 1997, p. xv).113 These immersion schools offer a significant benefit to the community in training the future leaders of the community (Redwing Saunders & Hill, 2007); however, this comes at a cost. While students graduating from immersion schools tend to have high marks, their studies have had very limited critical thinking and writing in the English language. Their grades more than qualify them for post-secondary programs, but as has been observed by Ontario post-secondary faculty and recruiters working with immersion graduates in their first year progression at university, their skill sets are far below par (personal communications, 2008).114 I have found that some immersion programs:

113 I retrieved this untitled, unauthored and undated document from a storage box at the Woodland Cultural Centre Library, July 27, 2007. For citation purposes I have it listed as an authorless 1997 publication in the reference section. Based on references made throughout the introduction to dates, years and parental involvement, it is known that the document was created after the 1995-96 school year, yet prior to the introduction of grade 12. Unfortunately, this document was returned to the same uncatalogued box in the back storage room of the library, though I did make a note that it belongs with the educational documents under the subheading of Curriculum—Six Nations—Immersion high school. This would be a place to search for it in the future.

114 This communication took place between Aboriginal post-secondary recruiters in 2008 while at a post-secondary fair. The general consensus was that the immersion students ranked high according to their grades, but were lacking in both writing skills and analytical skills. Based on this lower preparation many were described as failing or dropping out early in their first year. One of the larger tasks of the Aboriginal advisors at these post-secondary institutions was described to be academic training and counselling early on in order for the students to be successful by year end. This was further described as a chase to find students in time and often viewed by the staff as a set up (accepting students with little chance for success).
...have had struggles with producing (western) proficient educated students, but have been successful in garnering [Indigenous Knowledge] perpetuation. As university faculty and counselors, what is not always mentioned by these systems is the difficulties some students have in transitioning to the mainstream education systems of post-secondary institutions as a result of having stronger Indigenous thinking (similar to ESL) and writing styles as opposed to a critical report/research based experience (Redwing Saunders and Hill, 2007, pp. 10-11).

This does not mean they are incapable of success in post-secondary education, simply that students are unprepared for the rigors of writing in an analytical form.\textsuperscript{115}

**Enculturating Mainstream Curricula—Value Added**

Most schools tend to undertake a middle of the road approach to curriculum—provincial content layered with community specific language, culture, histories and literature. Although the majority of learners are working in this format, little research has been published on this format of pedagogy as it is not innovative. The Elementary Teachers Federation of Ontario’s (ETFO) Aboriginal Education Committee works toward changing both classroom practice and overall curriculum content. For example, four resolutions and major initiatives were presented at ETFO’s 2008 Annual General Meeting, including the development of resources and professional development opportunities addressing Ogweho:weh content across curriculum and grades; training of Ogweho:weh content within the Ontario curriculum; lobbying of the Ministry to include Ogweho:weh voice in curricula and support documents; and the establishment of funds for educators pursuing Native

\textsuperscript{115} In personal discussions with family and educators of language programs such as the Six Nations immersion program, I have suggested that those students who are working towards the academic track high school equivalent, and therefore considering university admission, should be subject to a supplementary program aimed at increasing their written, vocabulary and analytic processes in order to better prepare them for the transfer into mainstream university. This of course would be supplementary and only for those students who seek to move into mainstream academia post immersion program.
Language instructor qualifications. The Ontario FNMI Education Policy Framework (2007) was the primary catalyst for being able to present said resolutions.

A number of teacher-created value added models\textsuperscript{116} have been published; however, they were rarely designed for the public education system. Rather, most have been academic papers such as theses, dissertations and major research papers. My Haudenosaunee Curriculum Model (2004) was designed as an answer to enculturation or offering value added curriculum while ensuring the presence of the 3R's of respect of the partnership between learner and educator, reciprocation of knowledge, and relevance of curriculum and setting. Additionally Hill (in Johnny, 2002) spoke of a development model for students titled the Fundamental Development Circle. This model was not originally designed for youth-based education, but has a place in every classroom as it is intended to propagate holistic development while focusing on personal goals, apprenticeship, and hands-on classroom learning. A third Six Nations educational thesis was Bomberry’s (2006) counter-story telling thesis which addressed the use of narrative in educational and personal wellness. Zamluk (2006) studied the holistic educational environment in order to improve student resilience. Silva (2009) recently completed her thesis pertaining to holistic approaches to providing post-secondary student support and engagement strategies, and holistic retention models.

In relation to teacher education programs and the in-servicing of educators, a 1971 document released by the ERIC Clearinghouse on Rural Education and Small Schools addressed enculturation concerns, as well as laid out steps to be considered. This document was the culmination of a one-day workshop in Arizona where educators discussed the

\textsuperscript{116} A value-added model is described as something which can be used in the classroom to enhance the curriculum and teachable moments. The approved curriculum is not changed with this model, merely taught through the lens of the values and culture of that model or community.
current state of both Ogweho:weh and non-Aboriginal educators, and how to train both so they were aware of educational needs of their Ogweho:weh students; social and political issues affecting Ogweho:weh peoples; and provide continuing education opportunities for educators throughout their career (Burdin, Edington, Reagan & Chenowith, 1971). This issue continues to be discussed across Turtle Island as it is evident as one of the main goals of the NIB/AFN Indian Control of Indian Education (1971) as well as the RCAP (1996, Volume 3).

More recently, Shockey (2003) asked how the students were to identify with the content of mainstream elementary and secondary curriculum if they did not see themselves within it, and how Ogweho:weh and non-Ogweho:weh teachers were to learn the content when it was not included within the teacher education programs or Trillium List texts. Reflecting on his teacher education program, Shockey stated:

Most textbooks used in teacher-education programs provide precious little information on teaching Native Americans. When I glanced through a 300-plus page “multicultural education” textbook recently, the grand total devoted to teaching Native Americans amounted to about half of one page (2003, p. 173).

Although Ontario has seen an influx in activity surrounding the Aboriginal Education Office of the Ministry of Education’s FNMI Education Policy Framework (AEO, 2007), one of the tasks ahead is to fully incorporate Ogweho:weh voice, vision and resources into the approved provincial curriculum.

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117 The Trillium List contains the titles of those textbooks approved by the Minister of Education for use in Ontario schools. The textbooks named on the Trillium List have been subjected to a rigorous evaluation in accordance with the criteria specified in Section 4 of Guidelines for Approval of Textbooks (MOE, List Updated January 29, 2010).
Mediating socio-economic difficulties

Ogweho:weh Attainment in Education

Research pertaining to the education of Ogweho:weh peoples has, for the most part, focused on data illustrating levels of scholastic achievement. Focus outside of this area, especially in Canada, is limited to professional journals, although many individual communities are beginning to track their students and successes.\(^{118}\)

In 1993 Benjamin predicted a majority of the U.S. population aged thirty and under would be of minority status by the start of the 21st century. Statistics Canada confirms that there is a pending shift of the composition of population found in Canada’s urban centres such as Toronto. By decade’s end Statistics Canada (2005a, 2005b) predicts the majority of the population living within urban centres will no longer be multi-generational Canadians, but rather the recent immigrants, first generation Canadians and other marginalized peoples such as the Ogweho:weh. Further, Statistics Canada has stated that the Ogweho:weh population is a youth-based, high birthrate group (2001a, 2001b). Benjamin questioned the repercussions of a “dominant society” comprised of a variety of minority groups, and whether this population would be able to succeed if they were unable to gain acceptance into and be successful in higher education. He stated that without such success in the post-secondary system, this group’s members “may never benefit from the intellectual development, humanistic appreciation, potential employment, and economic advancement which stems from a college education” (Benjamin, 1993, pp. 24-5).

\(^{118}\) With reports such as the SAEE series (Phillips & Raham, 2008; Moore Daigle, Stevenson, Trolley & Wade, 2007; Henchey, 2005; Bell 2004) and the CODE Urban Aboriginal Education Strategy (Hill & Redwing Saunders, 2008), the innovation in Ogweho:weh education has begun to be circulated across Turtle Island.
Few people have written with regard to the socio-economic impact of having the fastest growing population in Canada consisting of people possessing the lowest educational attainment.

According to the 2001 Census, of the population aged 25-44, 18% have not completed a high school diploma while an additional 14% have completed only a high school diploma. This means that 32% of the largest body of working-aged Aboriginal peoples in Canada has minimum to below-minimum educational standards to enter the workforce. Additionally, only 7% of the 25-44 year old population has a university degree. When we take into account that 19% of the Native population is 15 years or younger, educational attainment of these youth is a significant social factor for all Canadians. Within ten years this population will be entering the workforce. Their academic capabilities will dictate whether they enter the educated/skilled workforce or as additional members of the under- and unemployed Canada (Redwing Saunders & Hill, 2007, p. 1018).

Recently, provincial projects and reports have been undertaken (Sterenbert & McDonnel, 2010; Waslander, 2009; Hill & Redwing Saunders, 2008; OFIFC, 2007; Mendelson, 2006; INAC, 2005a, 2005b; Canada Millennium Scholarship Foundation, 2004)\textsuperscript{119}, each of which echoes the concerns and recommendations of the RCAP and expresses a direct connection between education, social justice, and overall Canadian economic health.

**Superimposition of Ability**

Available literature is saturated with “evidence-based” materials claiming that Ogweho:weh peoples are in need of special considerations or formulas in order to succeed. I refer to this phenomenon as disabled by birthright. I have proposed that the solutions to problems such as low attainment and high attrition, including formulas and best practices, can and are being misinterpreted as requirements for success (Hill & Redwing Saunders, 2007).

\textsuperscript{119} The Aboriginal Family Literacy at the Friendship Centers report was published by Ontario Federation of Indian Friendship Centres (OFIFC) in 2007. The Urban Aboriginal Task Force (UATF) was produced in 2007 with funding from the OFIFC and other partnerships. The Urban Aboriginal Education Project (UAEP) was produced by the Council of Ontario Directors of Education (CODE) in 2008 and was the first of a multiphase research project.
2008; Redwing Saunders & Hill, 2007; and Redwing Saunders, 2004). Wording such as must or necessary have changed services and teaching styles which are of benefit to all students and made them a necessity for an Ogweho:weh student’s success; thus making our youth disabled by birthright.

One example of the field saturated by the disabled by birthright paradigm is in the research of the Native learning style which is described as kinesthetic, tactile, and apprenticeship based. The literature citing the Native learning style¹²⁰ (Johnny, 2002; Plank, 1994; Philips, 1982; & Ross, 1982) addressed gaps in achievement but does so by placing blame, not on the political, historical and measurable oppressions; but rather on the student’s ability and the educator’s inability or unwillingness to teach to a Native learning style. In short this blame is seen as “masking the inequities of the system” (Redwing Saunders & Hill, 2007, p. 5).

**Effects substandard education has on community and peoples**

Throughout this chapter I have alluded to the concern of under-educating the fastest growing population in Canada, and what the effects of that future will mean to Canadian society. Further, Royal Bank of Canada (RBC-Cando, 1997) released a response to the RCAP document. In this document a forensic analysis of economic results were considered if the recommendations within RCAP were not addressed. These include results of under-education and under-employment (as well as other health and housing concerns). Cummins (in Reyhner 1992) discussed the relationship of the colonialism of marginalized peoples’ to low attainment. He states that it is marginalized peoples who have “a long history of

¹²⁰ Pewewardy (2002) offers a comprehensive review of the Native Learning Style including both proponents and opponents of race-based learning.
subjugation and overt racism at the hands of the dominant white society” (p. 3) and it is those same peoples who have the largest rates of academic failure and low attainment.

RBC was not the only group who announced their belief that education attainment and future income are directly related to quality of life. Birchard (2006) addressed the untapped potential of the Ogweho:weh population. He stated:

That potential, though, has so far been unrealized. While the aboriginal people -- comprising the First Nations (North American Indian), the Métis, and the Inuit peoples -- make up 4 percent of Canada’s population, they constitute only 1 percent of all college and university students. Only 40 percent of Canada's aboriginals even graduate from high school, compared with the national average of 70 percent. The reasons have much to do with poverty, racism, isolation, and a lack of basic services (Birchard, 2006, p. A46).

In November 2009 AFN Chief Atleo, on behalf of AFN, submitted a pre-budget report to the House of Commons Standing Committee on Finance to address the issue of untapped potential within the Ogweho:weh workforce across Canada (First Perspective National Aboriginal News, November 2009). In January 2010 Atleo addressed the Toronto Board of Trade, calling on businesses to collaborate with Ogweho:weh businesses and reminding them that Toronto holds the largest urban Aboriginal population in Canada (Toronto Board of Trade, January 20, 2010).

Concern over the correlation between Ogweho:weh attainment and social climate go hand in hand. Levin (2009) stated:

Canada has made progress, albeit slowly, in educating Aboriginal people but much more work remains to be done. But more Canadians than ever are aware that the success of Canada as a country is entirely bound up with the success of its original peoples (p. 2).

Raham, having worked directly with governments as a part of the Society for the Advancement in Education (SAEE) spoke to the awareness of concern on behalf of the
governments when she wrote “Aboriginal education has risen to the top of the national policy agenda” (2010, p. 3). Cherunine et al. (2010) agree with these points when they state:

The contemporary realities of Aboriginal peoples are arguably the greatest single social justice issue in Canada today, and the publicly funded education of Aboriginal children in Ontario is an obvious locus of Aboriginal self-determination (p. 30).

Redwing Saunders and Hill (2007), the Urban Aboriginal Task Force (OFIFC, 2007), and the FNMI education history (NAHO, 2008) also addressed the costly decision of allowing under-education to continue within the fastest growing population in Canada. In 2009 the Southern Ontario Library Service (SOLS) released public service announcements pertaining to literacy and Ogweho:weh peoples. In one such advocacy commercial they stated that welfare costs, on average, are 20 times more than that of post-secondary education (FNPL, 2010).

Also speaking to the status of Ogweho:weh peoples in education, Former National Chief Phil Fontaine released a statement pertaining to the under education of Ogweho:weh peoples. He wrote:

More poverty means more First Nations young people will be homeless in the streets of Toronto and Thunder Bay. More of our young people will be in jail – at an annual cost of $96,000 per person. That money should instead be used to pay for one year of school for 30 students. Those resources should provide support to First Nations students attending post-secondary schools (Fontaine, 2008).

The results of maintaining the status quo, as expressed by RBC, are being felt not only by the Ogweho:weh communities, but by all Canadians as the national economy is forced to support the resulting generations of substandard educated and unemployable people.
Incorporating cultural structures which emphasize the collective rather than the individual

In G. Smith’s 2003 discussion of the purpose of the collective over the individual, he speaks to the responsibility to give back to the community. Haden Taylor, a social commentator and playwright conducted interviews with local Ogweho:weh comedians. His 2003 documentary film *Redskins, Tricksters and Puppy Stew* asked those interviewed about the decline of collective personas in community (collective rather than individual). Jackie Bear, a self-described “healer through laughter” social commentator\(^{121}\), reported having asked an elderly member of the community that very question. She was told that the decline of collective persona in the community occurred when hydro was brought into their northern community, explaining that prior to electricity people would share in the hunt since the meat would not keep. The entire community would come together to assist in the cleaning and processing of meat and then each member would share in a portion of the feast. It was assumed that everyone would reciprocate and that those such as the elderly would be cared for as they had once hunted and shared at a previous time. In this way, the community supported each other. However, when hydro was run to the community, households began to freeze their meats and the sharing and support of each other waned.

Education has been described by previous generations as having a negative influence since it specifically worked against the collective—educating the youth only for them to be taken from the community, either by choice or due to lack of employment opportunities at

\(^{121}\) Sarah and Suzie (played by Sharon Shorty and Jackie Bear) is a community comic show based on Ogweho:weh humour. They state their show is intended to bring all generations of a community together to laugh and share in their traditions. This reinforced the elderly involvement in the community while allowing the youth to see a positive identity.
home. Recently, a shift has been seen in communities that is being celebrated. With the recent influx of community consultations, especially in places such as British Columbia (Ministry of Advanced Education and Labour Market Development, 2008) and the western provinces (Research & Planning Branch Manitoba Education, Training and Youth, 2008; Ayoungman, Bouvier, Fox, Laughlin, & Wilson, 2008; Southern Chiefs’ Organization, 2005; Silver, Mallett, Greene & Simard, 2002), this shift in community’s attitude towards education and the role of education in partnership with communities, numbers of registered and succeeding students have increased. Additionally, organizations such as post-secondary funding agents, the Foundation for the Advancement in Achievement in Youth (FAAY) and the National Aboriginal Achievement Foundation (NAAF) work to assist students who wish to work and remain in their communities, as well as those who give back on a regular basis through volunteering and other methods.

**Shared and collective vision**

**Vision and Mandates**

When examining a collective vision, there is a dichotomy between the parties: that of the official government vision and that of the community or agency vision. Kirkness (1984 in Jules, 1999) spoke of community members as being tired of education not meeting their needs.

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122 This was also upheld within the Haudenosaunee Code of Handsome Lake, where one of his visions spoke of the children being removed to enter white education, never to return again.

123 Although this is a positive, it should be noted that the achievement gap has not closed as a result of the shift in perception and the following increase in enrolment as the general Canadian population has also increased in attainment during the same period.

124 The shared and differentiated visions of the National (Canada, INAC and AFN), Provincial (Ontario and COO) and local Haudenosaunee organizations are presented later in this study.
needs, not addressing their concerns and interests, and failing to give community members “meaningful involvement in the total education process” (p. 40). Antone’s (2000) article *Empowering Aboriginal Voice in Aboriginal Education* also addresses the need for a voice that is recognized and valued in educational decision making as being key to Ogweho:weh success and popular opinion of schools. Antone further states that “the Aboriginal voice is lifted up when traditional knowledge and values are incorporated into the education of the Ogweho:weh students in the school system” (2000, p. 99). Could Kirkness’s observations of community members’ desire for meaningful involvement in the process be answered by Antone’s suggestions for traditional knowledge and value incorporation?

In support of statements by both AFN and RCAP, Kirkness (1999) identified Ogweho:weh teachers as vital to progress in Ogweho:weh education, even though she knows that researchers will want proof while the communities will take this statement as a given. As an Ogweho:weh researcher, I both agree and disagree with Kirkness, although I have yet to find support for my concern in published literature. What purpose does the Ogweho:weh teacher inherently bring? I believe that as an Ogweho:weh individual, one is embedded in the community and possesses understanding of the traditional teachings while being an advocate for local students. What is not addressed by this assumption is that communities in an attempt to gain more Ogweho:weh teachers have allowed INAC and Band controlled communities to employ teachers with either minimal or no qualifications to teach. Furthermore, no results have been collected demonstrating that those who are employed have the skills or knowledge to either teach or implement inherent Ogweho:weh concepts
into curricula. In fact, statistics on the continuing gap in education have been collected across Ontario but are not available cross-listed against instructional techniques or providers.

The Ogwehö:weh teacher instructing Ogwehö:weh students in a closed reserve setting is not the only place we find Ogwehö:weh students facing the attainment gap. Approximately 50% of Ogwehö:weh students are enrolled off-reserve in multi-cultural public settings. Do we simply abandon this data set and only consider those living and being educated on-reserve? Or do we begin to look at Ogwehö:weh education and teacher training as a larger systemic issue involving the society as whole?

An Ogwehö:weh teacher is described as teaching with respect for others and the traditional content, conducted according to a lifelong learning model, with an inclusive circle orientation to classroom management and school involvement (Kompf & Hodson, 2000; Antone, 2000; and Kirkness in Jules, 1999). They are also perceived as members working in a full consensus process of decision making within curriculum and school and system decision making. I consider these underlying assumptions to be similar to the dangers discussed by the Native learning style and the youth disabled by birth right. These stereotypical statements have the ability to be grossly misinterpreted to a statement that Ogwehö:weh educators on-reserve are better than non-Aboriginal educators overall. An additional danger

125 As discussed earlier in this dissertation, innovative teachers working within an on-reserve school stated they had no time to do much more than value-added education since the provincial curriculum was so intensive. Therefore, they as Haudenosaunee teachers were not providing any more than the non-Aboriginal teacher would have been able to present in the classroom. Although these two teachers were highly qualified certified teachers with advanced qualifying (AQ) courses and M.Ed. degrees, many of their counterparts were not and could have been replaced with qualified teachers who would have provided no more or less intrinsic Haudenosaunee knowledge to the students, but who may have held stronger skill-sets in both pedagogy and classroom management.

126 The Ontario Ministry of Education historically only looks at those students attending off-reserve schools, reporting on rankings, graduation rates, and overall academic success of identified FNMI students attending school within the 103 provincial Boards and Authorities. Reserve schools are not included in these reports.
is the assumption that the described environment of consensus formed instruction and direction will be present within all on-reserve educational systems. The final concern I have with this belief is that there is an essential need for Ogweho:weh students to be educated in reserve settings, as both the instruction and instructors off-reserve will most likely be non-Aboriginal.

**Conclusion**

Authors and researchers, both Ogweho:weh and not, argue that there is hope for the future of educational self-determination (Mendelson, 2008; Hare, 2007; OFIFC, 2007; Tippeconnic & Redwing Saunders, 2007; Brunnen, 2003). Tribal/First Nations institutes, colleges and universities demonstrate some level of Indian control of Indian education and the success of students on all educational fronts has increased, even if only modestly. In the area of educational research, more Ogweho:weh people have taken on responsibility to conduct respectful community based education while the communities are developing their own ethics and research protocols. Additionally, parents are no longer sitting idly by as yet another generation of students is educated outside of their control. These parents are fighting for parental choice, they are speaking up and assisting in the educational process and they are creating charter and immersion programs to conduct education as they believe their children worthy of. Although those who push forward for charter and immersion programs seem to be moving the argument forward, those who are looking for a mainstream education have not been as active in improving the educational opportunities for their children on-reserve. Needless to say, with all of the incremental changes over the past decades, there is seemingly hope on the horizon for the education of Ogweho:weh peoples.
CHAPTER IV—METHODOLOGY:
Theory into Praxis

At this historical juncture, Aboriginal people, governments, educational institutions and professional organizations all have crucial roles in building the capacity of Aboriginal nations and their communities to exercise self-government.

Methodology has been split between this and the following chapter. In this chapter I outline a methodological practice which I believe to be practical aspects of Indigenous Theory. I offer a guided exploration of methodological practice of Ogweho:weh people globally and consider how such practice fits within the theoretical and philosophical beliefs of the people involved. To accomplish this, I make numerous connections between the following methodologies and the theory chapter (Chapter II). This supports the core value of Ogweho:weh theory as a living and action based process which is meaningless without Ogweho:weh praxis (G. Smith, 2005, 1997). Further, a significant aspect of the cultured research must adhere to community based protocols which are method, but also derived

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127 Although cultural beliefs could be seen as a synonym, I feel that philosophical belief is a stronger use here. First, philosophy is all encompassing. It goes beyond the language, religion or customs and encompasses the heart of the people. Second, philosophy would be used for any community whereas a cultural belief is used mostly when discussing marginalized peoples. By discussing a philosophy and not merely the culture I believe that I elevate that paradigm to that of majority populations social capital and leave little opportunity for denotation of culture to hobble its impact on the community and its research.

128 When I visited the Kaupapa Māori web site (Rautaki Ltd., n.d.) I was pleased to see a citation that had three tabs on a side bar—that of Theory, Research or Action. This simplistic design embodies the heart of Ogweho:weh research and methodology.

129 Cultured Research is research taking place within a specific cultural environment. Although all research involved cultural peoples or had its own environmental considerations, Ogweho:weh and Haudenosaunee research has specific cultural protocol and participant considerations which should be core considerations (e.g. tobacco offered, potential for refusal to sign waiver or to be recorded, acknowledgement of oral tradition, etc.).
from the philosophy which feeds the theory. A comprehensive discussion of the specific methods of the study as well as content specific to conducting like-minded research will follow in Chapter V.

**Tri-Council Policy Statement**

Although I do not consider the Tri-Council to hold all the answers toward conducting research in Ogweho:weh communities, the council is respected by academia. Therefore, it is fitting to designate this policy as our jumping off point as no academic research in Canada is approved by an institution if it does not adhere to these protocols. Section 6 of the Tri-Council Policy Statement (TCPS) lists guidelines for conducting research on Aboriginal Peoples, stating it should “advance accurate, informed and ethical research” (2005, p. 6.2) of those involved communities, subgroups and individual members. Two additional lists of guidelines are offered by the TCPS. First is a list of four hazards to be aware of, as these would preclude the ability to conduct sound research. These include the study of property or private information (IK); the identification of participants and members by community leaders; analyzing and description of characteristics of the group is the purpose; and members are intended to speak on behalf of the community collective. The second list is Good Practice and reiterates much of the TCPS document including respecting the people of the community and the research while working in partnership with said community. Such
partnerships include consultation with the community for expertise, design, outcome for community and subgroup viewpoints.\textsuperscript{130}

\textbf{Ogweho:weh Identity and Research}

In the course of navigating the research protocols of community and academia, there are often conflicting points as well as discussions of culture, affiliation, knowledge and levels of recognition of individual members, subgroups and the community(s) as a whole. I have often used the metaphor of a vessel passing through turbulent waters to refer to identity and research. When a ship enters a new port, the standard protocol is to have a harbour master come aboard and take control of operations from the captain or chief navigator for that short duration. It is in this way that I perceive encultured research. As a member of the community it is arguable that you are knowledgeable in the concerns of the community. A researcher from outside the community would have to initially become familiar with the environment, situation, protocols and language of that community.\textsuperscript{131}

\textbf{Misconceived Identity}

Being Ogweho:weh or having a First Nations identity is not something that can be defined easily. The concept of Aboriginal identity speaks of a homogeneous label when in

\textsuperscript{130} The TCPS is a foundational document for conducting academic research with and of Aboriginal participants. As a policy, it is more cumbersome than protective. Guidelines are generic and cryptic. Areas such as Indigenous Knowledge are alluded to, but not clearly discussed. Further, researchers are required to complete a more comprehensive ethical review package for academic review than any other scholar working in a similar field. This extends the duration of review by members of an Ethics Review Board who may not be fully aware of the encultured research protocols required to participate both ethically, but culturally within the community.

\textsuperscript{131} It should be noted that although the argument is for internal researchers, this is not the only means to conducting sound research. Often having an outside approach can be heard more clearly, especially by governmental agencies that are often more approving of an external expert opinion.
fact identity must consider the numerous languages, cultures and histories of Ogweho:weh peoples across Canada and the United States.\(^ {132}\) The term pan-Indian refers directly to the misperception of a single Ogweho:weh culture. Across Canada there are regional dialects within the same language families, not to mention significantly different nations coast to coast. Further, even within specific groups, individual members may vary depending on age, residence and socio-economic standing. Regardless, there are some attempts to identify Ogweho:weh identity within related literature.

As early as 1977 Fitzgerald wrote of his understanding of Aboriginal identity as being one of a merging of color (race), class (socio-economic status), and the practice of culture. This Ogweho:weh identity research, based on Māori peoples, was accepted by many as a formula for identity construction. Restoule (2000) says that we can no longer utilize Fitzgerald’s original formula (biology + culture + class = identity) as socio-economic status and cultural practice has not been a constant in Ogweho:weh societies since the 1900’s. I agree with Restoule’s statement as I also understand Ogweho:weh peoples as dynamic people living in a multi-cultural world and within a variety of socio-economic and cultural situations.\(^ {133}\) Within the Six Nations community, an Ontario urban reserve\(^ {134}\), there are distinct layers of socio-economic class. Unlike an urban concept of class differentiation,  

\(^{132}\) Although this research is of a community in Southern Ontario it must be understood that the Six Nations is a community within a larger community—the Haudenosaunee Confederacy, which has territories on both sides of the United States-Canada border.

\(^{133}\) Canada is considered by Canadians and Ogweho:weh peoples to be a multi-cultural country. However, many Ogweho:weh people would refer to themselves as being bi-cultural: that of their First Nations’ culture and that of non-Native.

\(^{134}\) Urban Reserve refers to the reservation communities which reside in an urbanized community. In Ontario Six Nations is considered an urban reserve; however other provinces have reserves situated in the urban core such as North Vancouver. Six Nations, although still a very rural setting, is not secluded by distance (such as in the north and fly in communities). It is less than five minutes by car to fast food restaurants and 20 minutes to movie theatres, malls and museums. For this reason, Ontarians and more remote Ontario reserves have referred to Six Nations as an urban reserve.
divided by school boundaries and tax base, Six Nations has land tracts that were divided by families in 1847 (Hill, 2006) and passed down and/or sold throughout the generations to Band members regardless of income bracket. Old mobile homes, lack of electric or phone, outhouses in place of indoor plumbing and million dollar homes can all be found in neighbouring settings.

**Legal Definers of Identity**

Even the words commonly used to describe Ogweho:weh people have produced different emotional values and concepts of identity for different people. Restoule (2000) stated that he has used each of the common terms in his writing including Native, Indian, and Aboriginal. He states that he uses the term Aboriginal because it is commonly used and viewed by most Canadians as being representative of all North American peoples regardless of status. He also uses the term Native as interchangeable with Aboriginal. In the same article he further addresses using the word Indian as it is used within some legal documents (e.g. Indian Act), but admits that this word implies exclusion as it refers to the First Nations only and does not include the Inuit or Métis peoples.¹³⁵

In determining how I would write this dissertation I struggled with how to represent both myself and the people of whom I am writing. Since many documents use First Nations, Native and Aboriginal when referring to education, policy, recommendations, and change, it

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¹³⁵ Not to mention that Indian is a mistaken label given to the Ogweho:weh people by “discovers” of the America’s who were lost on route to India.
is easy to follow suit. However, I do not view myself in those specific contexts, and I believe it is important to locate myself within the research. Additionally, as a “non-language speaker” I was initially concerned with using Haudenosaunee words to describe my research. I did not want to be a writer who inauthentically uses words not in my vocabulary. Ultimately I came to the position that including the language in this dissertation reflects the common, everyday knowledge of my community. No terms used here are outside of my own understanding and daily use as a non-language speaker, which allows me to represent myself and community in an authentic manner.

The federal government has been involved in the ongoing creation of labels and identities referring to Ogweho:weh people. From the first Indian Act to present legislation, a perception of Native identity has been created for both the First Nations and Canadians alike. Enfranchisement defined specific descendants of Native blood to be “Indian” while others were “White” and therefore citizens. A Native woman could become a citizen by marrying outside of her culture, while a non-Native woman could gain Indian status by marrying an Indian man. Their children would follow the line of the mother which was determined by the husband’s status or lack thereof; therefore stripping some children and women of status

\[136\] One example of the differentiation of use is the Ontario First Nations Métis and Inuit Policy Framework (2007). This policy document uses FNMI to represent the individual peoples. Aboriginal is used to refer to those with and without status who have ancestry. Native on the other hand, is not used to define people but the languages and cultures of the First Nations peoples. This is the legal definitions accepted by the Ontario government and upheld throughout other Canadian policy and educational documents.

\[137\] A non-language speaker refers to someone who does not speak their own Ogweho:weh language. As a Mohawk/Delaware from Six Nations of the Grand River I speak only English and therefore am considered by my community to be a non-language speaker.
while awarding others without blood quantum. Additionally, Indian men who had completed specific levels of education or agreed to take part in wars were enfranchised and deemed citizens by the Canadian government.

With the 1985 Bill C-31, the government returned status to many whom had been stripped of it in previous years, albeit for a brief period of time and conditionally to be determined by future internal marriages. In essence this made those who were racially classified as non-Native (even though they held blood quantum) Native. There are also the Métis people who are now considered Aboriginal but not allowed the full rights and privileges of the “real” Indians according to the Indian Act. Even a question of on- versus off-reserve residents has been discussed in both legal context and as identity disseminators (Hill & Redwing Saunders, 2008; OFIFC, 2007; Gordon, 2002; Peters, 2002; Cairns, 2001; Cairns,

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138 Blood quantum is originally a U.S. descriptor of quantity of North American Indian status held by the individual based on percentage of ancestry. This Bureau of Indian Affairs (U.S.) determiner has been adopted by Indian and Northern Affairs Canada recently with blood quantum statements given at the time of initial statusing. Blood quantum was first experienced in Canada following Bill C-31 which outlined a formula for regaining and maintaining status based on the offspring of intermarriage with and without status.

139 A personal story about enfranchisement: My grandfather, George Emerson Peters, Mohawk/Delaware of Six Nations, was born and raised on the reserve. During World War II he felt so strongly about volunteering that he indeed did just that. However, he knew that becoming a Canadian soldier would enfranchise him and strip him of the identity and home that he loved. He therefore joined the United States Military, which enfranchised him as an American Citizen, but did not affect his First Nations status in Canada. His story is not unique. It is only because of his wise action that his children and grandchildren are still considered First Nations.

140 Bill C-31 was passed in 1985 and offered women who had been stripped of status due to marrying with non-statused Canadians an opportunity to regain their status. Children and decedents of the Bill C-31 women would be tracked for statusing purposes according to a pre-determined formula. For example, if their children were the product of two statused parents they would remain statused. After two generations of children produced from mixed (non-status) marriage, the children would become non-statused. The formula is very detailed for the various percentages of First Nations status held. Many view Bill C-31 as an appeasement tactic which was offered under pressure of the AFN and Native women’s organizations as the status could have an expiration date of three generations based on the trends of out of community marriages in Canada. Further, Bill C-31 did not repair the lineage of those who were statused prior to 1985 but were non-Native.
2000; Graham, 1999). Although not a legal definition, Lawrence (2003) argues that the colonizing effect in both the United States and Canada has created a Native identity and that the decolonization process must include the restructuring of the Aboriginal identity.

**Nationally Perceived Identity**

One of the strongest universal identities perceived by Canadian society is that Ogweho:weh peoples at large are a socially inept group. The stereotype of the Aboriginal, Native, Indian and First Nations peoples are those who are involved with alcohol, drugs, and welfare. They are seen as unemployed, homeless, and often living in poverty. They are abused and abusive, imprisoned, prostitutes, and hold a disproportionate rate of both suicide and youth birthrate. They are uneducated and under-educated and have the highest dropout rate in North America. Most disheartening is that these stereotypes are regularly supported by statistics (CTV, 2007; Jester, 2002; Pewewardy, 2002; Anderson, 2000; Restoule 2000; Kingsley, 1998). Richard (2003-2004) described the Native situation as “the most serious social scar of Canadian society” as this is the Canadian perspective of the First Nations (Richards, 2003-2004). Although this national perception is often reiterated by the media, what is not regularly publicized are the successful and professional Ogweho:weh peoples who are part of the Canadian social fabric.

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141 Specific to education, the case of living on or off-reserve means that the federal government is or is not responsible for providing education as treaty law.

142 I use the term decolonization process loosely here. I have previously addressed this in the theory chapter of this dissertation but do not believe in the world of Classical Decolonization. I prefer to consider a negotiation of identity of the Ogweho:weh with their mainstream societies of Canada, provincial and local municipalities. I believe this to be a more sound description of what we are living, breathing peoples are constantly undergoing.
Continuing Negotiations within Identity

Finally, there is a more generic notion of identity most eloquently stated by von Thater-Braan: “Identity. It is simplest to say that we are not from this continent, we are of it” (2001, p. 2). Although most Ogweho:weh people may initially agree with this statement, my personal views of identity forces me to question their ability to explain their interpretation of this statement. Hill (2006) defines this relationship as “the land does not belong to Native people, but rather Native people belong to the land” (p. 38).\textsuperscript{143} I believe that Ogweho:weh people accept this statement as a truth, but do not understand the role they themselves play. This relationship is intended to be a responsibility to protect the land. Instead, I see more Ogweho:weh people as seeing this as a privilege to own land merely because they and their ancestors were present first.

In these days of media bombardment and hectic scheduling, it is difficult to juggle being a mother, wife, educator, and community member. In negotiations with identity, I consider my Haudenosaunee identity as the plate that all else sits upon; sometimes the messiness of juggling these identities leaks onto that plate and I need to scrape, clean and polish it in order to rediscover the beauty and practicality of that foundation.

Defamiliarization of Literary Theory

Kaomea (2003) used a very different approach to examining Native Hawaiian immersion programs. In order to conduct her research of modern day Hawaiian programs which are believed to be successful (See Chapter III) she went to Russian researcher Shklovsky’s literary theory of defamiliarization (1917, 1965). Shklovsky’s perspective was intended to be used in the analysis of art and literature but is adaptable to encultured research. Shklovsky states that life is filled with so much input that we often dismiss a large quantity of input for automated responses based on previous experience. Even though the truth, meanings, and implications are present and visible to those who are looking, most people are just not open to their surroundings.

Art and literature can highlight such everyday items as a person’s face or a self-portrait that would normally produce minimal consideration; however, when Picasso adds a

144 The praxis and methodology presented in this chapter is a further investigation of Indigenous Theory presented in both Chapter II and Chapter III. For those who have selected to read sections of this dissertation, it is suggested to read these chapters in order as presented as I believe that it is only through the combination of theory research action that strong Ogweho:weh work can occur.

145 Defamiliarization has been used outside of this early theory. A regular tool of both critical and decolonizing theories of LT Smith (1999), defamiliarization is the act of making seen that which is surrounding people, but they chose not to see.

146 An example of automating responses is in reciting the multiplication tables. In grades 3 and 4 we each studied and concentrated on the table so that we could learn it. As an adult when asked what 3x6 is an automated response of 18 is given without much thought process. Similarly, when making a drive for the first time, landmarks may have been observed, kilometres may have been watched on the odometer. After several times making the same trip there was little consideration of landmarks and distance since the process had become somewhat automatic.

147 My mother told me that as a child she had very poor eye sight. Although she lived in an area of the city which had beautiful old oak, elm and chestnut trees she never appreciated their beauty as they simply looked like big balls of green (much like a small child would draw). When she received her first pair of glasses she was amazed to see all the individual leaves, lines and shades within the tree. How often have you, the reader simply breezed past a tree? Do you stop to inspect and appreciate the individual leaves and colours or do you simply see another tree?
second nose, Warhol produces a portrait in negative colours or Escher places stairways to nowhere, we are forced to stop and consider the image. This normalization of life can be more easily altered in literature and art than in a socio-political context of society. Kaomea states this is “[b]ecause our everyday perception is usually too automatic, art and literature employ a variety of defamiliarizing techniques to prolong our perception, attract and hold our attention, and make us look at a familiar object or text with an exceptionally high level of awareness” (2003, p. 15).

Kaomea used this method to defamiliarize the Hawaiian kupuna program in order to move past the accepted, normative narratives of the dominant society and find the authentic voice and occurrences of the programs. While layering defamiliarizing techniques with critical theory and Native Hawaiian philosophies she aimed to prolong and hold the attention of the reader in order to expose that which had been missed by most including the “many silences, absences, and erasures” (Kaomea, 2003, p. 15) that dominant society did not process. A concern that Kaomea offered about her process was

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148 For a more in depth understanding of authentic and equitable education see Redwing Saunders and Hill (2007). In this article we discuss authentic voice as offering a place or means by which Ogweho:weh may be Native and not merely societal tokens; where they can be true designers of their space, not merely puppets in the conversation; and where they are active players, not just spoon-fed bystanders.

149 Silences refer to the marginalized voice which is disregarded by the dominant society (Spivak, 1988). This group may be vocal in their own communities, but the dominant ears silence them or chose not to hear them as a result of their race or the (potential) impact of their statement.

150 Absence refers to the lack of voice of individuals and groups of people. An absence is different from a silence as this group is given no opportunity to be ignored as they are invisible and not considered.

151 Based on Derrida (1976) concept of erasures, Kaomea took a more literal interpretation as the Hawaiian mahiki (conflict resolution) technique dictated. In this conflict resolution process, the participants slowly peel away the layers of understandings, discourses, actions and emotions in order to get to the heart of the problem. This peeling away of layers is described as looking at the trace outlines of previously erased or overwritten texts which still play into the final outcome. In her analysis of school children’s art, she similarly looked at the trace remains of their original work, as they continued to correct and modify it in order to meet the perceived expectations of an outer critic.
that the dominant group is often uncomfortable with the newly revealed message. Additionally however, the defamiliarized members of society may also be uncomfortable with the new voice associated with their issues. An example she offered was that of Tolstoy’s writings of the church. Although he saw the words as truth, and several agreed with him, his work was largely referred to as unsettling and blasphemous, not truth. Those involved in advocacy work may also be familiar with backlash against their efforts from the members of the community they are fighting for when issues are revealed publically that are difficult or embarrassing.

**Ladner & Retraditionalization**

The second body of work I examine is Ladner’s (2001) use of retraditionalization, which is the renegotiation of accepted norms and discourses in order to return back to the truth while taking those original teachings into the modern environment. This is not to say that retraditionalizing is changing the original teachings. Rather it is holding a mirror to that which is original and renegotiating the image through the lens of modern day, keeping the teachings while embedding them within contemporary life. Ladner’s study used retraditionalization as she posed questions to the academy pertaining to Indigenous knowledge ways (or lack thereof) within political science. By asking where the political traditions and governmental processes were within mainstream knowledge, she was pointing out the capacity of both historic and contemporary systems, which were, mostly ignored by mainstream analysts and political scientists.
Two Row Research

Susan Hill, a Haudenosaunee researcher, expresses a methodological stance which she refers to as Two Row Research\textsuperscript{152} which is by nature non-classical decolonizing research. “It represents a set of tools and theories that are useful in re-presenting Indigenous experiences and realities within an academic context” (2006, p. 47). In short this set of tools\textsuperscript{153} and theories\textsuperscript{154} is combined in order to reclaim lost intellectual property and objects while at the same time repair the Two Row (or polish the Covenant Chain) by reminding both sides (both rows) of their inherent responsibilities to each other according to treaty law.

The focus of her study of land tenure and the relationship between Haudenosaunee people of the Six Nations Grand River Territory was moved from the key events or people who signed for land or sold land (which is the usual focus of legal land proceedings and documents) to a historical study of the land of territory being discussed. In doing this Hill is able to look at the collective identity rather than that of individuals.

Hill (2006) layers L.T. Smith’s Decolonization (1999) with Henderson’s Ecological Context\textsuperscript{155} (2000). This layered approach offers a way to look with different eyes while revisiting history in order to find alternative (erased) histories. As a methodological approach associated with this theoretical stance, Hill not only revisited the sites and texts of Haudenosaunee land tenure, but she returned to the original writings, their original

\textsuperscript{152} As discussed in other chapters, the Two Row Wampum is a treaty which outlines the relationship of non-interference between the Haudenosaunee and their brothers’ from across the shore.

\textsuperscript{153} One such tool Hill used in re-presenting the Haudenosaunee content was in language acquisition. Only after completing an adult immersion language program did Hill believe she had a strong enough grasp of the language to be able to conduct research which would use retraditionalization and corrections to the misrepresented texts pertinent to land tenure of the Six Nations Grand River Territory.

\textsuperscript{154} Susan Hill’s theoretical framework is addressed in Chapter II.

\textsuperscript{155} See Chapter III for a review of Henderson’s Ecological Context.
meanings and worked with retranslations of many of the texts to identify that which had been dismissed in earlier translations as a result of not understanding either the language and its literal meanings, or the overall philosophies of the people.

This analysis produced a document which frames the Haudenosaunee understanding of women’s roles, relationship to the land, the land tenure, and subsequent land claims based on study of the language and public records. The primary intent of the document was for use by the Confederacy\(^\text{156}\) in arguing their cases lawfully as well as educating those who were unaware of traditional land tenure arguments. I argue that it is an important source of scholarship which exemplifies how traditional work can be academically rigorous and should be seen as a source for future researchers and academics.

A second consideration for methodological practice which arose out of Hill’s (2006) dissertation is an aspect that I had not considered when conducting Indigenous research before because it does not regularly pertain to educational scholars. She chose to only source previously published information as it was already in the public domain (as would her dissertation be upon completion). She stated, “For these reasons I have decided not to privilege unpublished sources that will then be available to others without the requirement that they go through the processes of respect and reciprocity which have allowed me to gain this knowledge” (2006, p. 54). Although I am aware of the power a publication offers both in support for and possible injury to a community, I have not had to consider where my data came from or for whom it was written, as my sources have always been either public documents or primary sources. In the historical context, however, there are numerous

\(^{156}\) As earlier discussed, the Confederacy is union of the Haudenosaunee (Mohawk, Cayuga, Onondaga, Oneida, Seneca and Tuscarora). The Confederacy is also the traditional government of the Haudenosaunee peoples across four Haudenosaunee Canadian reserves as well as in the United States.
documents which are ‘internal’ documents held by the community under IK. In order to
defend the IK of communities, I believe that Hill was correct in limiting her scope of sources
to those already in the public domain.

**Grandmother Spider as Metaphor for Methods**

I have selected to highlight each of Hill (2006), Kaomea (2003) and Ladner’s (2001)
studies as explanation of Indigenous Theory in practice because in combination they offer a
complex view of the Ogwehöweh praxis that I use—that of a web.\(^{157}\) My interpretation of
the methodological web relates to the story of grandmother spider. Grandmother spider was
the smallest of beings, and was ignored by the other creatures when she spoke. After many
other animals failed at the task of bringing light and fire to the people in order to open their
eyes to sight and give them warmth, finally she was allowed to go. Even though the animals
permitted her to attempt the great task of capturing light and fire, they all fretted because
they believed she would never be able to complete such a great task as she was such a small
and useless creature. However, it was she who was eventually able to capture fire through
the use of her web. As a result, humanity was finally brought out of the darkness and was
warmed by the glow of her fire.

My connection to grandmother spider and her web is metaphorical but offers great
insight into an Indigenous Praxis. If defamiliarization (Kaomea, 2003) is necessary to redraw
erasures and give equity and authentic voice to the silenced, then it is through the many eyes

\(^{157}\) In Chapter VIII I offer a complete description of Social Particle Webbing where the metaphor is
completely described with a supporting discussion of the findings of the study. This brief
visualization of Grandmother Spider relates, not generically to the policy web, but specifically to a
methodological approach of Indigenous praxis as described within this chapter.
of grandmother spider that we are able to reassert our vision and find the erased truth. Further, if retraditionalization (Ladner, 2001) is a way to return back to the truth honing in on the productivity of teachings within the modern environment, then it is in the spider’s circling of her web again and again that we will find a mirror of the teachings as they fit in the outer rings of modern day. Finally, revisitation of sites and history (Hill, 2006) in order to deconstruct and retranslate the hidden truths for the purpose of reclamation and polishing is a trait of grandmother spider. As she watches with each of her eyes she also revisits her web constantly looking for areas in need of repair. Regardless of what the outside world is doing beside her, she does not deviate from her webbing, and she continues to see through her own eyes the work which she must complete.

Outside of the connections to the other praxis mentioned, I see the beauty of the web. It is comprised of individual threads which together form a picture, a tool for survival, and a detailed story of the individual spider. Each thread means something and has a purpose, as in the Policy and Discursive Webs (Joshee & Johnson, 2005; Goldberg, 2005). As in Goldberg’s discursive web, the sum of the threads is greater than their parts, painting the full three-dimensional story of the discourse.

It is here that I break from these first two layers of webbing as I take grandmother spider’s web one layer further and begin to look at her positioning of the open space between the threads. In a socio-political interpretation this space would be called the

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158 Even though various species of spiders will create similar styled webs (round, hexagon, linear), every spider creates unique patterns in their webs, with no two exactly the same.

159 Chapter VIII offers a more comprehensive look at Policy Webs (Joshee & Johnson, 2005) and Discursive webs (Goldberg, 2005) as well as the Social Particle Webbing presented within this text.
agency\textsuperscript{160} or maneuvering room in which to utilize the conceptual and theoretical frameworks to construct and generate community change. From the perspective of the spider I see the openings as being significant to the function of the web. The closer the threads, the more intricate the design and the greater chance that they will touch, combine and create a new thread. The larger the gap between threads, the greater chance something will be able to enter and pass though the web.

**Indigenous Knowledge**

When discussing Hill's (2006) Two Row Research methodology I touched upon Indigenous Knowledge (IK) and why it is important to consider and protect it. But what is it and how do we protect that which cannot be fully defined? Of the authors writing in this area, two of the most widely published are Battiste and Henderson (2000). Although many of their papers and edited texts fall under the subject heading of Indigenous Knowledge, I

\textsuperscript{160}The question of structure or agency is a longstanding divide within social theorists. Structure refers to conditions in place which limit choices or influence decisions to fall in a set direction. (See Durkheim). Agency, by contrast is not determined by the environment or external forces, but rather is an independent decision to act or not by the individual agent. (See Weber).
believe that their discussions are indeed an additional attempt at upholding the principles of Indigenous Theory.\textsuperscript{161}

Many early Ogweho:weh writers addressed issues of Indigenous Knowledge Rights and research which comprised blatant academic and material theft from communities which were unreferenced and uncompensated. An additional layer of corruption was the research conducted on communities and people without their knowledge and/or involvement (as addressed in the Tri-Council Policy Statement, 2005). Ethical arguments concerning injury and wellbeing of human subjects have been major issues since the end of World War II as a result of experiments by Nazi physicians during the Holocaust, but it was Battiste and Henderson (2000) who brought the argument of IK to the forefront of Ogweho:weh discussions when they published their \textit{Protecting Indigenous Knowledge and Heritage: a global challenge}.

Indigenous Knowledge, like Indigenous Theory, is a generalized concept or guideline of how to protect and guard the Indigenous perspectives and beliefs, as well as the Ogweho:weh Peoples global property, knowledge and historical conceptualizations. As such, individual communities must take the broad concept of IK, inserting their own philosophies and language to make this concept their own. Obviously, some communities are more

\textsuperscript{161} In fact their edited texts regularly include the authors who write of Indigenous Theory and Transitional Praxis including G. Smith and L.T. Smith. Indigenous Knowledge (IK) is a component of Indigenous Theory (IT) as IK refers to the base of knowledge, which holds that knowledge and what uses the knowledge should be used for. IT is a boarder view of how to conduct research, work, live and act within an Indigenous protocol, of which IK is a part. The point being made by stating that Battiste and Henderson (2000) are speaking of IK but upholding the principles of IT is that they are referring to the lifeways, research and greater issues surrounding the research of Ogweho:weh globally, and not merely the knowledge which is known to the participants. One could argue that since the science behind the process is not known, it is not the owned knowledge of the community. A confusion which is made with IK is that it is interpreted to be the knowledge held by the community or the participants. When conducting research according to IT, knowledge which is intrinsic may surface, even though the knowledge cannot be explained. Traditional medicines are an example of this. Medicines have been created for generations based on teachings.
capable of doing this than others, as the ability to compile visions and policies requires the
time to sit, discuss and then put vision into action. As such, one definition cannot
exemplify all that IK delineates.

In Battiste and Henderson (2000), they address not only the fight for IK, but also the
conflicts of IK with a Eurocentric mindset of most researchers and their sponsoring
institutions.

The first problem in understanding Indigenous knowledge from a Eurocentric
point of view is that Indigenous knowledge does not fit into the Eurocentric
concept of “culture.” In contrast to the colonial tradition, most Indigenous
scholars choose to view every way of life from two different but
complementary perspectives: first as a manifestation of human knowledge,
heritage, and consciousness, and second as a mode of ecological order (2000,
p. 35).

The notions of respect for the inherent and sacred knowledge held by Ogweho:weh people,
their specific communities and subgroups, has historically not been upheld. Further, such
insult is still occurring to a large extent in contemporary research. IK dictates that all
researchers (Ogweho:weh and non-Aboriginal) have both the right and responsibility to
protect IK during the process of their research (also supported by G. Smith’s 2003 Indigenous
Theory principles) and then to present such findings to the community in order to meet their
needs and requested outcomes.

In all of the discussions regarding IK, there has never been a clear and definitive
answer of how to use it or even what it is. However, IK is nevertheless a policy, and to believe
otherwise would be a misconception. I do not attempt to define IK for other communities,
but have addressed what it is not.

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162 With some communities of Turtle Island fighting against land claim issues, current relocation,
poisoned water sources and serious health concerns; understandably, not all communities can create
their own Indigenous Knowledge statement and then offer the resources to uphold it in reclamation
and ethics review of research.
Indigenous Knowledge, however, is not defined by the mere fact that a Native holds the knowledge. As Native authors we have in our possession much knowledge of trigonometry, counseling theories, and Greek architecture. Holding this knowledge as Natives does not make it Indigenous Knowledge. In the same light, IK such as ceremonial and traditional teachings cannot be owned by any one person or group (including the elected band council or a university) as one can only own what is theirs – only their actions and their original thoughts can be owned, sold and copyrighted. The words and thoughts of the ancestors, the enlightened ones, and the Creator do not fit into this group as they have always been present and have been passed throughout generations (Redwing Saunders & Hill, 2007, pp. 1023-24).

Just as colonization tactics such as residential schools, language, bans on ceremonial practice and adoption campaigns were instituted to complete an agenda; IK can conversely be viewed as a tool of Indigenous Theory which offers the community an opportunity for self-determination and the validation of collective identity and vision.
Many Aboriginal leaders speak of resuming control of education, since First Nations and Inuit exercised complete control of education for countless generations. Rather than being a new responsibility, self-determination in education was practised by families and communities in earlier times.

RCAP, Vol. 3, Ch 5, p. 41

I have conducted my research on Six Nations of the Grand River Territory in Southern Ontario. The decision to work with this community was three-fold. First, this community is the largest reserve in Canada with the largest school system. Second this community, being the largest in Canada, has been very vocal in times of change and dispute. Other communities have often looked to Six Nations’ collective voice, national leadership and decisions when considering their own options. Evidence of this statement was clear in the protests against the attempted reconstitution of the Indian Act via the First Nations Governance Act [Bill C-7, 2002] (INAC, 2003) when former Six Nations Chief Roberta Jamieson163 became a spokesperson against the Act. This occurred in the fall of 2005 when the provincial government determined that it would immediately begin taxing First Nations education allowances which are considered by Ogwehó:weh people to be federal treaty rights. An additional example of this leadership is the land claim stand-off between Six Nations and the federal government at the Douglas Creek Estates Caledonia development site that lasted (as of the publication of this dissertation) over five years and has brought land claim issues to the forefront throughout Ogwehó:weh communities.

163 After completing her term as Chief at Six Nations, Roberta Jamieson became the CEO for the National Aboriginal Achievement Foundation (NAAF) which is the largest scholarship program for Aboriginal post-secondary students in Canada.
The third reason for selecting Six Nations as the community of research is that the Six Nations Elected Band Council has been in consultation with the community and INAC for the option of taking on management of the school system. Although there have been years of discussion, debate and often arguments on this issue, slow and steady movement towards the ultimate community management of education is occurring. As a resident and educator within this community, I have a vested interest in procuring the best educational system available to Six Nations and all Ogweho:weh people.\textsuperscript{164}

As a community member and a researcher, I have employed Haudenosaunee specific protocols throughout this study, including the presentation of specific gifts to participants and reporting of documents to both respected members and key stakeholders within the community in addition to official representatives. More important to the authenticity of the project, however, is the inclusion of an understanding of voice, respect and reciprocity as outlined by both Redwing Saunders Haudenosaunee based model (2004) and G. Smith’s Ogweho:weh based theory (2005). Both of these documents refer to a need for respect or righteousness that includes an authentic voice that has a reciprocal approach to collection and reporting so that the community will benefit from and have a voice in the process.

**Self and Identity Within Research**

As a Haudenosaunee woman and researcher, I believe it is important to surround myself with people and bodies of work with which I identify. As such, this research has been

\textsuperscript{164}De La Torre has made critique of the state of Ogweho:weh research. He writes, “My review of the last few years of panel presentations at [conferences] on American Indian topics suggests the ongoing quandary of the overrepresentation of the “outsider” perspective. This is not to suggest that only American Indians can conduct research of American Indians. But what is missing is the Indigenous knowledge from a tribal community approach. This requires much more of a trusted and reciprocal relationship between the researched and researcher” (2004, p. 184).
no different. As mentioned in the earlier introduction to the dissertation I did select this
course of study as it has a direct impact on my work and family life. In fact, I am researching
the system that I work for, the people that I consider colleagues and mentors, and in some
cases opponents in the fight for improved Ogweho:weh education. By all standards
someone who works and lives within the body of research would be called an embedded\textsuperscript{165}
researcher.

Although I believe that I am an embedded researcher as I am one who is working for
the purpose of the community while living and working in that same community, it should be
noted that many so called embedded researchers actually function as a diamorphic (two-
tiered change) spy [Chilingu, class discussions, 1997].\textsuperscript{166} This diamorphic spy is a member of
a cultural group (such as Haudenosaunee), whose perception has been altered through
educational protocol by a secondary group (the Eurocentric system). When that researcher
returns to their original group to conduct research they are no longer truly part of that
culture’s worldview but researching and reporting from a hybridized status which makes
them no longer embedded. Additionally, the very process of reporting to a university or
journal can be interpreted as “spying” as they are then viewed as reporting back to the
dominant group that trained them. Usually the researcher does not perceive this on any
conscious level and is only concerned with the good the study can achieve.

\textsuperscript{165} I have been questioned if embedded is the proper word usage since embedded is a term frequently
used when referring to journalists stationed with troops. I could use the term internal researcher as I
do mean someone from the community, internal to the situation. Embedded, however, describes a
different level of involvement. Similar to the embedded journalist, the embedded researcher is more
than just someone who has a connection and will be considered to have an internal understanding.
They are members of the community, working and living inside of the research being conducted.
They cannot be separated from the research, nor can the research be separated from their lives.

\textsuperscript{166} No formal record exists within the literature pertaining to diamorphic spy. As such, it is assumed to
be an unpublished concept of Dr. Chilingu’s (Research Methodology and Cultural Anthropology
instructor, Buffalo State College, Buffalo, NY).
I am aware that this work is a highly political research study and I am also acutely aware that both community and academic readers will judge me by my work. I am not alone in the feeling that the academic work I engage in has political ramifications. Porsanger, a Sami researcher stated:

Although I have never been politically involved, I believe that indigenous research in general, as well as my research work in particular, have political impact. I consider indigenous research as a means of the empowerment of indigenous peoples through production of knowledge and capacity building. By empowering capacity building I mean the development of indigenous human resources on our own terms and for our own purposes. These purposes are to continue as indigenous peoples with our own distinctive culture, languages, traditional knowledge, philosophies, and world views (2010, p. 2).

The work Ogweho:weh academics conduct is viewed not only by the academics, but the communities, governments, and bodies such as the United Nations. Yet the work we conduct is often grassroots in nature: improve a school, increase language acquisition. The political nature of my and others' work is to “think locally, act globally”.

**Politicizing Education**

Although authentic voice and righteousness\(^\text{167}\) seem to go hand in hand for me, they are not always a part of the normative research process. Ethics protocols make reference to honesty and potential harm, but they are generally silent on whose voice is included, and the need for information to be given back to the *community*.\(^\text{168}\) In this case the participants are representing various associations, groups or factions within the Six Nations’ educational body and therefore this study will be given directly to those involved. Additionally, the final

\(^{167}\text{Righteousness is a Haudenosaunee perspective which is doing what it right or doing what is good for the communal good. This often comes at a personal cost. When peace, power and righteousness are discussed, righteousness also includes the ability to not use power simply because it is available.}\)

\(^{168}\text{Although these two issues are suggested protocols according to the Tri–Council Section 6, the implementation of these suggestions is up to the researcher and their REB.}\)
executive report will be given to Six Nations Council as condition of their ethics approval. The Six Nations Public Library’s new Native Research Centre will also receive a complete copy of the dissertation. Prior to completing this research, I spoke with community members and members of educational organizations such as teachers, administrator, post-secondary officers, educational board members, librarians and parents. Each spoke of the need to have access to such information in a usable format. Therefore this study has been designed so that it bridges the groups of participants and looks for a community vision which can be given back to any and all members of the community.

Secondly, the concept of Haudenosaunee righteousness is not merely a notion of respect and a good mind. Likewise, in this study I do not merely mean to be aware and accepting of the community view but rather offer a voice to those without the opportunity to speak directly to those in power. This platforming\(^{169}\) of marginalized people includes a combination of offering voice and opportunity to act. Notably, platforming does not silence any one person including the researchers and social activists. The individual narratives are strengthened as the researchers engage within the community in a manner that is respectful of hearing each others’ voice, and taking the opportunity and responsibility to act with justice in mind.

Any research that occurs within reserve settings has the potential of being a political endeavor, and this project is by no means an exception. Politically, I have been warned by community mentors that this study will be seen as an attack on those who have authority in the field of First Nations education, including INAC, the Band, and the educators (essentially

\(^{169}\) Platforming is a concept which I define as raising or making visible. In the case of platforming marginalized people or issues which are marginalized, those in power can present the issue or create situations in which the marginalized will be heard. This type of agency creation can be seen within the web as described in Chapters VIII and IX.
my peers, bosses and coworkers). However, I view this as a means of gathering information on how to proceed within educational method for an educationally successful Six Nations community. No matter how experienced and proficient a person is at their job, there is always room for improvement—this study will look for what, where and most importantly, how that improvement can occur while at the same time gathering information from those that often are not part of the data collection.

**Theory as ethical guide to research**

As in other studies the conceptual and theoretical frames fill roles in design and analysis lenses. In the Haudenosaunee context, I believe that my role as researcher is that of a recipient of a gift and therefore the communal body of knowledge being imparted to me must serve a higher purpose than my own academic aspirations. This knowledge must be held as communal property, imparted and analyzed for the sole purposes of returning said knowledge to the community for benefits of (1) self-determination of their educational systems\(^{170}\), (2) validating cultural identity as learner and educator; (3) ensuring the use of Haudenosaunee specific pedagogy; (4) mediating the socio-economic difficulties associated with living on a reserve in close proximity to urban areas; (5) moving community education towards a social justice model of collectivity; and (6) providing a document which offers the shared and collected visions of Ogweho:weh education as it pertains to Six Nations post-RCAP.

\(^{170}\) I believe that the educational self-determination is a starting point for all other areas of self-determination. Financial, socio-economic, and governmental self-determination all follow the educated mind who can find options in adversity.
Indigenous Knowledge

Although one would believe that Indigenous Knowledge (IK) needs to be discussed in the specific methodological approaches to an Ogweho:weh research study, I argue that when an ethical journey has been grounded within the beliefs of Indigenous Theory, the discussion of Indigenous Knowledge Rights are redundant as they are built into the theoretical frame. IK refers to who holds, owns, and benefits from knowledge of a given community. At the core of Indigenous Theory is the premise that research should be done of, by, and for the benefit of the specific community. Further, G. Smith’s IT (2005, 2003, 2000, 1997) has a generalizability which requires the community insert their own values and political foundations. Consequently, I reiterate the use of such theories that have a cornerstone of reciprocity and authentic voice.

Data Collection

Prior to the data collection, I submitted an ethics application to the Six Nations Ethics Review Committee. This Committee is a proactive group charged with the task of oversight of projects prior to onset to determine the purpose, its impact to and of the community and that the methodological techniques are both valid and appropriate. This project was approved with my promise to submit a copy of the dissertation for use by the committee and community.

Philosophical Stance on Data Collection

In a phenomenological context, I am conducting research towards finding answers to my research questions. Additionally, I am conducting this research for the purpose of
bringing these findings back to the community for the intent of increasing the potential energy within the spaces of the web. As such, I have spent significant time determining how best to conduct interviews in general, how to complete the process in a closed reserve setting, and finally, how best to conduct the research so that I may use a web analysis.

Initially, I came to a decision that the primary data collection would not be called an interview as the extraction of information is not reciprocal, and regardless of embedded researching, does not support the cultural pedagogy of the circle or reciprocation of thought. Therefore I moved away, semantically and methodologically, from interviews in favour of dialogue. Dialogue is the preferred method of gathering information as I, the researcher, can be a participant and not merely an observer or leader. I believed this form of gathering information through conversation to be more culturally appropriate. Although I am working within a formal research agenda with research and guiding questions to elicit responses, I believe it is necessary to conduct myself in a manner which incorporates a reciprocal approach through dialogue.

For the purpose of this dissertation, dialogue is based on two precedents. First is the premise that a dialogue is guided by questions but is allowed to run its natural course without micromanagement of the conversation. Second is the understanding that both the interviewer and participants are at equal levels of interaction in the process. Clark refers to

My connection between Particle Theory and the Joshee & Johnson (2005) web is discussed in the analysis section of this chapter. What I see as a basic understanding of this web is that it consists of the treads and the spaces between the connected threads. From that basic understanding I view the threads as being overt aspects of understanding but (and possibly more important) the space is where I find my interest. According to Particle Theory (Chan, 1999; Deschamps & Mohns, 1991; Martin & Spearman, 1970) matter has a comfort state, which it rests in normally. However, when the particles are vibrated at a different rate the matter produces or loses energy, causing heat or loss of heat. I see the web space as just that, the resting state of people—or more so the agency or maneuverability allowance within the web. Should the particles (participants) be vibrated or excited, they produce energy which has the potential to produce a change in state of said matter. It is in this space that I see the potential for producing a change within the State of First Nations Education.
this second premise as “relationships between nominal equals” (1998, p. 73) which he believes is the best means for understanding the practice of decision making. Roberts’ (2001) Self and Others demonstrates this hierarchy within the formal interview. Accordingly he states that those who frame their research as a dialogue reject this dichotomy, including the premise of researcher as positivist or objectivist, in order to conduct a humanist approach to research.

According to Clark (1998), “close dialogue relies upon the intimacy or closeness of researchers to [community] respondents” (p. 73). He goes on to state that this close dialogue produces a “level of personal commitment quite at odds with the conventional notions of scientific disassociation and objectivity” (p. 73). Further, Clark describes the reciprocal relationships of the close dialogue as complex relations, which is in direct opposition to the stylized facts, embellished or over-emphasized data that form the results of interviews.

Additionally, through the dialogue, a community narrative can be created. The guiding questions, according to the first premise of dialogue, do not limit the scope of the conversation. Hence the participants have the real power within the process and have an opportunity to speak on any and all issues of relevance. This “giving back” is seen in such methods as testimonial narrative or counter-storytelling (Bartlett & Brayboy, 2005; Yosso, 2005; Williams, 2004; and Stefancic, n.d.) and will offer those without power172 the ability to speak on issues of socio-political importance to them (individual groups) and their

172 Although everyone has some level of power in life, from a socio-political perspective, many people do not have the knowledge of how to bring about change on their own. They may not know where to vet their concerns, how to present an argument, or even the correct format to making a complaint. This in essence, is a lack of power. Through platforming, one individual or group can assist a marginalized person or group to: first, find their voice; and then second, have their voice heard by those holding the financial or decision making power.
community (collective). These stories will then be examined for overlaying themes, language and meaning, in order to derive a web and, more importantly, the negotiated space and potential energy which lie between the intersecting threads.

**Research Stage I: Document Analysis**

*The State of First Nations Education* was conducted in two distinct stages. Stage 1 included the analysis of both community and “other” policy documents. Community included those originating from Six Nations, and the “other” included federal, provincial, and Ogweho:weh agency and governmental bodies including the Assembly of First Nations.

Analysis of the documents was then completed in order to determine discourses within the documents. Although a smaller component of data collection within the study, this stage was imperative to determining the intent and meaning of the documents, as well as the interpretation by educators and community. I created a short list of documents to be studied early in the research design stage based on materials and agencies that were deemed important to Ogweho:weh education at Six Nations, Ontario and Canada. However, this list grew throughout the analysis in a snowball effect as one document related to another and as dialogues produced additional resources for review and analysis (see Appendix C). It was clear that this process could have been endless but due to time constraints and the scope of this study, it was determined that enough data had been discovered and analyzed in order to offer both a significant web and new body of knowledge to the field and the community.

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173 It is understood that the collective community issues of importance are those which the individual identify as of importance to them pertaining to their community and not to be taken as community directed issues. This is in line with eliminating the “speak for your people” approach of having a member speak for the collective group.

174 Snowball Effect describes a sampling technique where one or a small group of participants are selected and they offer additional contacts for participation consideration. This list of participants snowballs until a full participant sample has been obtained.
Initially public reports were used with the intention of expediting the data collection process. After I began the document analysis, I requested internal documents dating from 1996 and after (post-RCAP publication) such as District Reports, school Action Plans, and the complete Six Nations Education Commission Report. In addition to Six Nations reports, public reports were gathered from the provincial agencies Chiefs of Ontario (COO) and the Ontario Ministry of Education (MoE), as well as national agencies such as the Assembly of First Nations (AFN), Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC), and the National Aboriginal Achievement Foundation (NAAF). Other external documents analyzed included public Band reports such as the Six Nations Education Committee/Commission (SNEC) public report, media reports and other public documents and articles published as a result of RCAP and subsequent concerns pertaining to Ogweho:weh education. Finally, documents including legislation and policy pieces presented to or by the Ministry of Indian Affairs were also included in Stage 1 in an attempt to create the education web. One such document summarizes the conditions in Ontario and is entitled *The New Agenda: A Manifesto for First Nations Education in Ontario* (Chiefs of Ontario, 2004).

It should be noted that the RCAP text was not one of the documents analyzed in this study. For clarification, the RCAP served as the backdrop against which this study was taking place—post-RCAP. Therefore the discussion of RCAP is limited to the literature reviews in Chapter I and Chapter III, the brief clips at the onset of each chapter, and the specific conditions that it resonates within other documents.

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175 There are numerous government offices which have departments and emphasis on Ogweho:weh knowledge and education including Heritage Canada and Human resources Development Canada. These were not reviewed here as their sole mission was not to govern education. In the cases of the other departments, only the education mandated areas were reviewed.
Research Stage II: Dialoguing

In Stage 2, individual and group dialogues in a purposive sample included the two actors of this close dialogue: the educators and community.\textsuperscript{176} The first part of Stage 2 (educators) was intended to include twelve participants filling a variety of roles in Ogwehoh:weh education including INAC superintendent(s), on and off-reserve teachers for elementary and secondary students, principals/vice principals, social development counselors, and educational officers affiliated with Band and other government agencies.\textsuperscript{177} As Six Nations is such a small district, this sample was chosen in part by the management positions held\textsuperscript{178}, and in part by a snowball effect sample. As such my interview possibilities were limited, in nature, by the mere size of the potential pool.\textsuperscript{179}

The second group in Stage 2 (community) was comprised of community members, those not working in education and who were of the age of majority. In an attempt to design this group as an open sample, I proceeded to enlist from three distinct places: advertisements in local venues, invitations to community activists for school improvement, school choice and immersion education, and the Home School Associations of the public elementary and secondary schools affiliated with Six Nations. Advertisements were placed at the four local public posting locations on-reserve (RBC branch office, Canada Post Office, the

\textsuperscript{176} Although I divorce these two groups it should not be viewed as a give-take relationship. Community members are not merely the recipient of the product being published by educators. They should be and often are active in the articulation of the educational product and move away from the economic view of producer and consumer.

\textsuperscript{177} The final list of participants was created based on Band and individual approval of the research project. This will be further discussed in the findings chapter.

\textsuperscript{178} Management titles include superintendent, principal, union representative, Home & School president, etc.

\textsuperscript{179} An example is that there were one current and one living retired superintendent at the time of the study. There are only 5 current principals in the district with an additional 3 living retired (one of which is accounted for as a living retired superintendent however).
Community Hall/Skating Arena, and the Iroquois Lacrosse Centre). These locations are centers of regular posting and collectively are visited by nearly every member of the community for Call for Participants. Although this technique produced a small participant list, I proceeded in this way as I believed an open call to be of importance in order to allow for any interested resident to voice an opinion.

The remaining methods of participant recruitment assume a more intentional direction. The community activist groups and agencies were directly contacted and invited to participate in circle discussions and individual or small group dialogue. Circles\textsuperscript{180} were conducted with group representatives and a follow-up circle of mixed activists and groups in later months. These selected participants were chosen based on differing views with the intention of building groups with mixed perspectives. A great deal of effort was spent on the design of these follow up groups in order to place a heterogeneous opinion group together where each of the members would have a comfort level to share as a group.\textsuperscript{181} Providing this balanced “chemistry” of strength and personality was essential in order to maintain a healthy circle where no one participant would feel pressured into silence or to change his or her views.

In order to seek the voice of the community groups the Home School Associations were initially contacted in writing to request a brief presentation to members about the study. At these meetings an invitation was offered for members to sit and talk in small groups or individually, at the member’s preference, about perspectives of education as both

\textsuperscript{180} Circle refers to the process of creating a circle dialogue similar to a talking circle or cultural focus group.

\textsuperscript{181} Most significant in having planned groups was that the small community where the pool of respondents were drawn should each have a chance to speak and not have a power relationship dominate within the group. In addition to personalities, considerations were taken for reporting structures of each participant.
parents and former students of the district. In either of these purposive sample, I encouraged members to make reference to others who could also be dialogued with (or that they may bring family/friends to the circles) increasing the sampling technique to include a snowball method as well. The target number for this stage of dialogues was again twelve in order to keep an equal number of participants in both groups.

Although Stage 2 has two distinct sample groups, it was run concurrently; alternating between the participant groups, so that I could expand the dialogue’s guiding questions to include pertinent perspectives discovered throughout the process. When concluding the dialogue collection process, a final mixed group circle was completed with several participants. This circle was run after all other dialogues were completed and a clear discernment of each of the possible views and threads were understood by the researcher.

Protocols

Protocols that were adhered to in this process included gaining feedback early in the design from members of the community involved in the educational dialogue. Tokens were offered to participants including tobacco and small gifts. At each Home & School which allowed a presentation, a gift was made for allowing access to present my research request to the meeting. This gift was a donation of $50 worth of books from an Ogweho:weh book dealer in the name of the Home & School to their respective school library. Further, food was offered at every circle. This may seem an unfamiliar code of behavior to a western researcher, but it would have been culturally inappropriate to have a dialogue without serving food. After all, they were feeding my mind, the least I could do was to feed their

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182 All community voices in the Stage 2b respondent must have undergone education at Six Nations in order to participate in this study.

183 The offering of tobacco is an Ogweho:weh protocol when asking for assistance.
body. Additionally the dialogues were taped in order to avoid being disrespectful by taking notes or showing the top of my head to those who were speaking to me.  

Data Management and Analysis

Social Particle Webbing

A web was used to explore the two research questions while identifying both the threads and open space between the threads in the area of Ogweho:weh education at Six Nations. Using a social interpretation of the natural law of Particle Theory (Chan, 1999; Deschamps & Mohns, 1991; Martin & Spearman, 1970) and its relationship to Grandmother Spider’s methodological approach, I proceeded to analyze this study in the following manner. First I considered the web and the threads individually, as a whole and as they related to and supported each other. Next I looked at the web to discover any stories and histories that could be identified as a result of the sum of its parts. Third, I identified the open space between the threads, including predicting reactions of playing threads or open spaces to the whole of the web. Finally, I worked towards identifying open spaces where the marginalized voice could gather, allowing the resulting vibrations to stretch and reform the web via social action within the community. Thus, this project has the potential to be responsible for not only gathering information to answer the research questions and offering those results to a community; but may act as an instigator for change.

184 An option was given for non-recording of every dialogue; however, no member requested this option.

185 With a dissertation focus of exploring First Nations education in both the macro and micro community definitions of Nation and reserve, two research questions have been designed. (1) What changes has RCAP made to Ogweho:weh education in Canada? (2) How does the community understand success at Six Nations?
Document Analysis

Stage 1 included text, articles, reports, news reports, web pages and video podcast analysis. The initially identified threads were then compared to the ongoing dialogues in order to determine if similar or differing themes existed between documents and the spoken perspectives.

An amalgamation of Orality and Grounded Theory (GT) was used to identify the themes and threads present within the documents and ultimately the web. Streubert and Carpenter (1999) state that GT should be used “to explore social processes with the goal of developing theory” (p. 105), as this method of discovery is used when the researcher comes to the table with no preconceived expectations of outcomes. The deviation from the standard GT (amalgamation) include how the data was collected as well as how said data was analyzed. In a GT dataset, the investigator would act as an observer or facilitator to the process. In the dialogue process the investigator is part of the discussion. This shared experience of a dialogue minimizes the distance between the investigator and participants.

Second, the analysis of grounded theory by premise would dissect the transcript into words and/or phrases of thought. Different from GT method, I did not dissect the data into layers; instead, I compared information and experiences or explanations when possible. Whereas GT would have focused on the words used, I focused on the meaning of competing words used. Although many documents and individuals were using the same words, their meaning and discourses held different and varying intentions. Examples included competing meaning of success, self-determination, and control of education. The key factor in this analysis is not what someone says, rather, how it is incorporated into his or her life to create changes in the ways in which they interact as a result of those beliefs and values. The
analysis process is still GT, but with a cultural twist and one focused on discourse rather than statement.

Additionally, an acknowledgement of respect and the concepts of orality meant that the dialogues with participants in my research were taken as truth, with no need to prove the reality of the statements given. The dialogues offer the truth of the speaker’s personal experiences and perspectives. Although this may be of concern to some researchers from the perspective of reliability, validity, repeatability and timeliness, researchers must only ask the question “Why bother asking for the perspectives and stories of the participant if we do not take their words as truth?” If the author of the statement was taken as telling the truth – based on his/her perspectives and life experience – and if the perspectives and stories are what are sought, then there is no need for support and significance to deem the importance and validity of the statements that are made.

**Dialogue Analysis**

Stage 2 included reviewing the audio recordings of dialogues with participants, following the same orality and grounded theory usage as described above. This process was used not to retrieve, code, and mine data but rather to seek out common language with varying meanings within discursive threads and specific inferences. This was process was selected in order to create a web of Ogweho:weh education including threads, connections and the space or gaps between those threads.\(^\text{186}\)

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\(^{186}\) It should be noted that the two stages and analysis techniques are not deemed as divorced from each other, as the discourses of the documents were explored within the dialogue process, additional discursive threads were also sought in the documents as a result of the interviews discussions.
Limitations

The main limitation of this study is the difficulty in gaining official community response when a Band Office must sanction the information any “official member” may give. In addition to this problem is that many agencies on-reserve are fearful of offering representation to research that may affect the future of their office financially, politically, or in the eyes of the Band. In the months preceding the ethics review of this project a new committee was struck to oversee the ethics review process for on-reserve research, which alleviated some of the challenges. When commencing this study, I determined that individual members were offering nothing more than their own perceptions and therefore did not need sanctioning by the Band. Further, in the event that the Band denied my request for official approval, I would not find that problematic as “official” simply refers to Band Sanctioned and does not imply authenticity from any member, subgroup or community at large. The community did, however, approve this project on condition of submitting a copy of the final report for records within the Band Council archive.

Future of Haudenosaunee Researchers

In concluding the methodology of the study I felt it was appropriate to offer a contextual “Section 6” for Haudenosaunee and Ogweho:weh communities. To address the future of Haudenosaunee researchers, four main areas should be addressed: (1) equivalence of expertise of researchers; (2) an involvement of community in needs-based decision making; (3) grounding in the foundation of Haudenosaunee philosophies; and (4) a realization of outcomes and good practices in research. It is in these four methodological priorities that good Haudenosaunee research is practiced.
It is evident that the Haudenosaunee researcher does not work within a vacuum. Although all too many researchers conduct research because of personal interests or as paid revenue without consequence of how or if their work brings needed information to the knowledge base, the Haudenosaunee researcher does not have that level of freedom. Ogweho:weh researchers are observed and critiqued by the mainstream world as often being lesser educated, emotionally invested, and out to prove a point or gain ground legally (as regularly found in historical/political research) (Porter, May 26, 2004). The other side of that problem is that an Ogweho:weh researcher may be sought to state a given response which will carry a level of authority of Ogweho:weh voice. From their own community, they are considered either serving or not serving the needs of the community, based on the direction in which they precede. The result is the researcher often falling on a double-edged sword. The following section should offer some assistance regarding how best to proceed in order to build credibility when working in theoretical research.

**Equivalence of Expertise of the Researcher**

What is educational equivalence? In short, it is an equitable understanding of skills and knowledge for the purpose of reparative education.\(^ {187} \) For years the academy has claimed that Ogweho:weh authors, researchers and educators need not hold the same credentials if they are working with Ogweho:weh students or in an area of Ogweho:weh understanding. In short, a lessening of standards and credibility of the Ogweho:weh academic has occurred in the attempt to elevate people as experts in their field, even though

\(^ {187} \) For a more in depth discussion of equity and authentic education see Redwing Saunders and Hill (2007). Reparative education “affords the student a voice where they may speak and be heard. [Reparative] education is also used as a means for students to build upon; closing gaps between both Ogweho:weh and Canadian opportunity and attainment in order to succeed in all facets of society” Redwing Saunders & Hill, 2007, p. 1017).
they did not hold the academic credentials. Many individuals currently working and researching in the academy, as well as those trained in Native Studies programs have allowed those without the specialized life experience\textsuperscript{188} to take up positions while lacking the practical and critical training needed. The question of who decides both who has and what is a significant knowledge is not one I am prepared to address in this paper, but is an ongoing debate tied to Indigenous Knowledge across Turtle Island (Battiste, 2002; Battiste & Henderson, 2000; Mihesuah & Wilson, 2004). The result of educational equivalence was described by Porsanger in her paper to the United Nations when she stated:

I am quite sure that many indigenous scholars will recognize themselves in the following picture: when entering academic discussions, they must explain their belonging to an indigenous peoples, they have to argue that they are not subjective, they have to refer to the most well-known facts about their indigenous peoples in order to contextualize their research (2010, p. 5)

Such rationalization is not required for the non-Ogwewoh:weh faculty researcher. In a room no one asks them to tell where they graduated from or what methodology they used in their dissertation. They are accepted at the table because they are perceived as educationally equivalent.

**Involvement of Community in Needs-based Decision Making**

Two examples of community involvement in decision making can be seen in Datnow (2000) and Alberta Learning’s Policy Framework (2003), two studies pertaining to school improvement. The first is a study of the power and politics behind the adoption of school based reform, and the second is the Alberta First Nations, Métis and Inuit (FNMI) Education

\textsuperscript{188} Specialized life experience would be Elder, fluent language speaker, or others who have some experience which makes them qualified as experts.
Policy Framework\textsuperscript{189}, both of which are important to understanding community involvement as each was implemented from different approaches. Datnow writes of the political pressures from the upper boards upon the upper administration to make last minute decisions as to which option of reform would be accepted and implemented within their schools. The result of these external pressures compelled the principals to (1) either make a unilateral decision as to what their school needed and would be able to implement or (2) offer the option for the school to talk as a community, but hastily. In some cases there were either pressures or benefits to choose one reform option over the other, or to choose within unrealistic timelines.\textsuperscript{190} In a few more drastic cases, Datnow speaks of schools being threatened with funding loss should a certain package not be chosen and by the timeline indicated. In this brief summary of Datnow's critique of common school reform and school improvement tactics, it is evident that there was no support from or involvement of a community, and the fact that opinions were requested in such a superficial nature could be considered tokenism.

On the other end of the spectrum of community engagement is the province of Alberta and its significant reform movement beginning in the 1990's, which has been a pioneer for the country though it is yet far from perfect. In the area of Ogwehô:weh educational reform, they have included the FNMI Education Policy Framework (Alberta

\textsuperscript{189} Ontario similarly has the 2007 First Nation, Métis, and Inuit Education Policy Framework which also had a component of “community involvement” as many Ogwehô:weh scholars and agencies were involved in the initial drafts. The main differences between Ontario and Alberta's Frameworks are the involvement of community members. Ontario, unlike Alberta, has distanced themselves from reserve communities, even though it is understood that Ogwehô:weh student mobility brings them from reserve to urban areas and tuition articulation agreements transports reserve students via bussing into the provincial system regularly.

\textsuperscript{190} This is similar to the Phase I report offered by DIAND where they agreed all Bands could take on their educational management, even though there were insufficient moneys, systemic problems in the education system and little to no training for those who would assume the role of administrators.
Learning, 2003) initiated in 2002, which falls under the Alberta Initiative for School Improvement (AISI). This school improvement program was attached to an additional 5.6 million dollar funding envelope for the 2003/04 academic year and included this mandate:

Alberta Learning commits to proactive collaboration and consultation with First Nations, Métis and Inuit parents and communities, and other key education, government and community stakeholders to implement learner-focused strategies (Alberta Learning, 2003, p. 3)

To accomplish all of the goals of the school improvement initiative, five Ogweho:weh staff members were hired to conduct training, curriculum development and literacy. This worked towards both educational self-determination as well as the propagation of culturally preferred pedagogy.\(^{191}\)

In both of the school reform and school improvement papers discussed, the schools were given a mandate to improve their system. How those documents were incorporated, the quantity of participation in the process, and the level of support after implementation is where the difference lies. The FNMI program is still new (less than ten years old), but the collaboration model, level of adoption, quality of support, and top down mandating while offering peer schooling and community guidance opportunities leads me to believe this initiative is on the right track for improving achievement levels of students on a myriad of levels.

**Grounded in Haudenosaunee Philosophies**

Although this section is an exercise in integrating Haudenosaunee epistemology within educational research and my conceptual and theoretical frame, I see no reason why

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\(^{191}\) Alberta has made continual changes to their Framework’s implementation and policy throughout the decade. Since the adoption of the Framework Ontario has since created their own FNMI Education Framework and produced several research projects, reports and pilot projects towards provincial and urban implementation. Staffing within the office does not include Ogweho:weh, nor does the work being completed pertain to or include the on-reserve schools.
Ogweho:weh researchers should feel intimidated about using their own philosophical views within their research. With the educational equivalence issue addressed, researchers should regain, although slowly, a respect within their field. This respect will come only when equivalence is present, but also when a good practice mode of research is accomplished and understood.

Realization of Outcomes and Good Practices

Porter (May 26, 2004) offered a list of nine examples of sound practices, titled The Code of Good Practices for Haudenosaunee Researchers, which referred to ontological perspectives of the Haudenosaunee and what Ogweho:weh views can offer. This code also outlines the responsibility the Haudenosaunee Researchers have when conducting their research. Porter spoke of the need to be relevant and to excel in everything that you as the researcher do, so “your enemies” will have no way to attack your credibility and the work done. “Be vicious, this is a battle, this is a struggle. Take the opportunities that come your way to continue the fight to preserve the Haudenosaunee ways of life” (Porter, May 26, 2004). Although Porter was speaking of the Haudenosaunee researcher and graduate student researcher, this list of good practices is relevant for all Ogweho:weh research.¹⁹²

¹⁹² The Code of Good Practices for Haudenosaunee Researchers includes nine sound practices for research. A full analysis of these practices can be found in Redwing Saunders (2004). (1) Retain the Haudenosaunee within us. (2) Have an understanding of the Two Row Wampum and the ideology and philosophy it represents. (3) Have a Good Mind and the values of Peace, Power and Righteousness. (4) “We must pursue the truth wherever it may take us – especially if it gets you in trouble.” (5) Be relevant – Haudenosaunee researchers need to meet the academic requirements of thinking at the highest levels, creating new theories and writing at an academic level, but they also need to put this (their research) in forms that Haudenosaunee people can benefit from. (6) “Don’t waste your talents. Add vigour and zeal into everything you do – the creator will be angry if you don’t.” (7) “Excel in your work. Be excellent, it is the best defense.” (8) Demand excellence of others and demand excellence of yourself. (9) Show no mercy to the Haudenosaunee intellectual enemies. (Porter, May 26, 2004).
CHAPTER VI—PHASE I DOCUMENT FINDINGS:
Macro & Micro View of Education Policy

Past social policy, based on false assumptions about Aboriginal people and aimed at their colonization and assimilation, has left a heritage of dependency, powerlessness and distrust. Establishing a new relationship based on mutual recognition, mutual respect, sharing and mutual responsibility in an era of Aboriginal self-government is the challenge of the twenty-first century. Aboriginal people are anxious to put the past behind them and work with governments in Canada to meet that challenge. ...They are gathering strength for the task ahead.

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In this chapter I have outlined the general findings of the reviewed documents. As a result of the analysis of the documents and the dialogues (Chapter VII), seven discourses were evident and are revealed in Chapter VII. *Phase I: Document Analysis* includes 173 documents from twelve organizations which have been grouped into three main headings of National, Provincial and Local organizations for ease of examination and discussion. (See Appendix C for a full list of documents).

**National**

Although there are several national organizations and offices which have specific FNMI or Aboriginal policies, only those directly involved in education of Ogweho:weh peoples were included in this study. As such ministries and offices such as HDRC, Ministry of Culture, Canadian Heritage, and Department of Justice were not investigated.
**Assembly of First Nations (AFN)**

The first of three national agencies researched, The Assembly of First Nations (AFN) published hundreds of documents within their website; however, only thirty-three were deemed as relevant to or related to education. A total of thirty-three AFN documents were reviewed in this study, with one document identified as an inactive link.

**Electronic Informational Postings**

The AFN website layout provides a link for Policy Areas which directs the user to an information page concerning educational policy. On this page an overview of policy information is listed including decisions, actions and initiatives which are underway, 2004 through present. These initiatives were both federal and community specific and ranged across a wide field of educational action and concerns.

**Resolutions**

There exists a side link from the Policy Areas revealing a list of resolutions 1999 through 2006. Of the hundreds of resolutions listed, thirty had an educational content and therefore were reviewed for this stage of the research. These resolutions transverse a number of areas including language/culture acquisition, funding of Early Childhood & Development (ECD) through Post-Secondary Education (PSE), and self-determination and jurisdictions.

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193 In addition to the documents listed, several relating to residential school were also available. Although residential school is an important aspect of both historical and contemporary education, I have specifically chosen to eliminate this aspect of education due to (1) the scope of the study, (2) the volume of the residential school issue, and (3) the fact that there are excellent Ogwehoweh researchers working on this subject while offering victims and family members a voice to tell their stories.
Action Plans

Only one Action Plan was listed with the AFN in the area of education. The First Nations Action Plan (2005) opens by stating:

The current state of First Nations education is unacceptable. Of the almost 120,000 [on-reserve] Kindergarten to Grade 12 (K-12) students recorded by Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC) in 2001-02, only 32 percent are graduating from Grades 12-13. This results in 68 percent of the school-aged population having less than a high school education. The results are similar for First Nation students attending provincial schools. Human development indicators are generally lower for First Nations than for the general population in Canada. The higher rate of population growth in First Nation communities has created an associated demand for increased services such as education. For example, 40 percent of Canada’s Registered Indian population is under the age of 19, while the same figure for the rest of Canada is only 25 percent (Auditor General 2004) (p. 2).

Focusing on the two self-described key policy areas of jurisdiction and sustainability, AFN states it is these that are “central to any changes that take place and must incorporate the critical interests of First Nations women, urban and youth populations” (AFN, 2005, p. 3).

Further, this plan outlines four important elements of their plan as including (1) Implementation of First Nations Education Systems; (2) New Funding Based on Real Cost Drivers; (3) Information and Research Capacity; and (4) Coordination and Interface of a New Approach. The AFN stressed the importance of information and research capacity as an empowering act and one which communities have yet to attain when they write:

This initiative would represent one of the first steps in empowering First Nations in the area of education, and would contribute to the overall direction that First Nations education takes. Without this capacity, First Nations remain at a disadvantage when it comes to distinguishing their successes from their failures, benefiting from lessons learned, and improving their educational practices (p. 7).
Policy Documents

AFN was responsible for the release of the Indian Control of Indian Education document in 1973, 1976 and again in 2001. This policy document has been woven throughout the fabric of educational policy while it has never been adopted by either provincial ministers of education or INAC. It is in part due to this policy’s original release that RCAP occurred, while it is also in part due to RCAP that the re-release occurred in 2001. Six main aspects of education were discussed in the ICIE and believed to have been derived from the original publication. Initially a discussion of the importance of the role of parents in educational goal setting occurred. Subsequently, and the main focus of many debates over the past quarter-century, is the concept of control including: jurisdiction, local control, and representation on provincial boards and bodies. The third section concerns programming and includes issues such as curriculum (ECE through post-secondary, adult, vocational and alcohol/drug education), language of instruction, and the need and importance of cultural education centres. The fourth aspect focuses on teachers, counselors and para-professionals, as well as their training. Next is the discussion of facilities and services including those which are new, those which remain substandard infrastructure and the various educational institutions utilized by Ogweho:weh peoples (day school, residential, group hostels, and religious). Added to this discussion is the issue of staffing (at a suggested rate of one Ogweho:weh staff to every 20 students) and “Indian Controlled” research for the purpose of informing and guiding educational planning. Finally, the sixth area discussed delves into problems surrounding the integration of schools. This concern addressed the students who are removed from their community to be relocated into urban and city centres for education. In many cases these are the island and northern secondary students, but also include the
urban (adjacent) reserves such as Six Nations who are bused to the surrounding townships and urban centres off-reserve for secondary school. AFN denounced relocation of Ogweho:weh students into off-reserve townships, stating that this is not integration when the AFN wrote:

Integration viewed as a one-way process is not integration, and will fail. In the past, it has been the Indian student who was asked to integrate: to give up his identity, to adopt new values and a new way of life. This restricted interpretation of integration must be radically altered if future education programs are to benefit Indian children (2001, p. 25).

As mentioned, one document was no longer available through public domain. The AFN Education Sector RFP Framework was referenced in response to action planning at both the AFN and Chiefs of Ontario (COO) sites.

**Indian & Northern Affairs Canada (INAC)**

A total of 27 documents were collected from the public domain of the INAC site.

**Electronic Informational Postings**

The INAC web pages were set up in a way that was user friendly towards accessing information. The Educational Index page offered, in alpha-order, fifteen links including reports and action plans. In addition to the index page, two news reports were identified as relating to education: *Improving Quality of Life for Aboriginal People* (June 29, 2007) and *Canada’s New Government Making Significant Investments to Improve Learning Environments for First Nation Students* (July 5, 2007). In both of these documents INAC stresses successes under “Canada’s New Government”.

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194 In both of these documents success refers to academic and attainment success, primarily in achieving the bridging of the attainment gap between Ogweho:weh and non-Aboriginal peoples in Canada.
improvements to the quality of life of Aboriginal people and to remedy historical grievances” (June 29, 2007).

**Action Plans**

INAC listed one main action plan entitled the *Education Action Plan* (2005a) in which an ongoing agenda of building a strengthened relationship between the INAC and First Nations was central. Throughout the document, a main communities need to “assume greater responsibility for their education while clarifying and strengthening accountability of all stakeholders” was presented (p. 1). Further, it was stated that “Education is a key factor in enabling First Nation individuals and communities to develop to their full potential and achieve a quality of life comparable to that of other Canadians” (2005a, p. 1).

Within this document, INAC acknowledged that a significant gap still exists between the attainment of First Nation students and the rest of the Canadian general population. Although statistics show improvement (reserve high school completion up 31.4% to 41.4% 1991-2001), this is yet well below national averages.\(^{195}\) Additionally, the action plan states that:

Maintaining the status quo would be detrimental to both First Nations and Canada as a whole. The country’s demand for a skilled labour force is rising due to an aging population and a declining birthrate. The First Nation population, by contrast, is a youthful one, with more than 50 percent under the age of 25. The next 10 years will see a great increase in First Nation children passing through the education system. If the system fails to meet their needs, it will put too many members of this generation at risk and deprive Canada of valuable human resources (2005a, p. 3).

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\(^{195}\) Although INAC spoke of this increase, they neglected to include that the general Canadian population graduate rate has grown as well, which has actually widened the Aboriginal Attainment Gap.
Surprisingly for a document produced to outline an action plan of Ogweho:weh education; only one statement within the 19 page document refers to culture. However, the use of “culture” does not refer to cultural capacity but rather an atmospheric state. It reads, “INAC recognizes that this vision can only be achieved through an education system that puts the learner’s achievement at the centre of all decision making and embraces a culture of learning [italicized for impact]” (INAC, 2005a, p. 5).

**Policy Documents & Reports**

Of the seemingly hundreds of policy documents and reports available from INAC, only twelve reports and two policy documents were of relevance to education. In each of the reports a reiteration of statistics and conditions were made, with emphasis on gains and improvements over time. However, throughout each of the positive statements on gains, the disparity between the attainment of Ogweho:weh and that of the general public still existed. Of the two policy documents, the Kelowna Accord (Patterson, 2006; Henchey, 2005) was the most promising policy of the past decade for yielding significant changes to both education as well as other key aspects of Ogweho:weh life. However, with the change of

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196 Cultural Capacity is the ability to build or maintain ones cultural knowledge of traditional, language, heritage and ceremony/ways.

197 The two policy documents available from INAC were A Review of the First Nations Special Education Policies and Funding Directions within the Canadian Context (2002) and First Ministers and National Aboriginal Leaders Strengthening Relationships and Closing the Gap (2005) also known as the Kelowna Accord.

198 The Kelowna Accord of 2005 (Patterson, 2006; Henchey, 2005) was created in order to address the various disparities faced by Ogweho:weh peoples. A direct response to the RCAP suggestions, an initial $1.8 million over five years was promised for educational improvements on-reserve in order to bridge the achievement gap. These funds were identified to create Aboriginal school systems, train more Ogweho:weh teachers and identify and assess special needs (CBC, 2005). As a result of political turnover of the Liberal government in 2006, Kelowna was tabled.
federal government following the Accord, those 2005 policy promises have little chance of being enacted.

The other of the two policy documents was co-authored by both INAC and AFN. A *First Nations - Federal Crown Political Accord on the Recognition and Implementation of First Nation Governments* outlines a means of working together towards a future relationship between the Ogweho:weh and Canada. Specifically, the Minister is quoted as stating, “No longer will we in Ottawa develop policies first and discuss them with you later. The principle of collaboration will be the cornerstone of our new partnership” (AFN & INAC, 2005, p. 1). Although there was little discussion of education in this document, the overall policy of collaboration and partnership, founded in respect for similar visions and cultural differences made this document another significant artifact and supported the AFN goal of collaboration and research when planning for educational control.

**National Aboriginal Achievement Foundation (NAAF)**

Although not a policy maker, NAAF is an instrumental part of Ogweho:weh education in Canada. In addition to recognizing fourteen outstanding Ogweho:weh people in Canada annually, NAAF is responsible for distributing two million dollars of scholarship monies to post-secondary students annually. Additionally, NAAF has focused on presenting Ogweho:weh youth with information on career planning via a decade long initiative, *Blueprint for the Future* (BFF), a national high school career fair. Although NAAF does not create policy pertaining to education, their leadership efforts and voice make them a worthy addition to the national Ogweho:weh educational efforts.

The NAAF newsroom offered many press releases which in turn lead me to other sources. One such release was the June 2010 report of former Six Nations Chief and current
NAAF CEO Roberta Jamieson reports to the Senate Committee on Aboriginal Peoples pertaining to the Study on K-12 First Nation On-Reserve Education. In this report Jamieson outlined the disparities between attainment of Ogweho:weh peoples, the looming employment crisis for Canada when more than two million workers will be required to maintain the Canadian workforce, and the fact that equitable funding for K-12 on-reserve schools could improve the attainment of Ogweho:weh and therefore, better prepare the largest growing youth population in Canada for a future in the Canadian labour market (NAAF, n.d.; 2010a; 2010b).

Provincial

**Chiefs of Ontario (COO)**

The COO maintains nearly identical documents to the AFN. References are made to the *First Nations Policy on Special Education* (2000), and the federal and regional development and feedback to the *First Nations Education Policy* and the *First Nations Management Framework* (under development by INAC). Additionally, the resolutions on the COO website, although taking a provincial twist, addressed each of the same initiatives as that of AFN (language, improvement, best possible choice and fit, self-determination and jurisdiction, etc.). Even the communication offered on their webpage listed the identical top 5 initiatives and mandates as that of the AFN.

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199 Following this thread of discussion and additional three news releases were identified including those directly from the Senate Committee on Aboriginal Peoples (Canada, 2010), The First Perspective (2010) national Aboriginal newspaper; and the Edmonton Sun (Hanon, 2010).

200 As of 2008 this document was listed as under development. As of November 2010 this document was still not found within the COO website as a published policy document.
As the COO and AFN possess similar archives, I will only address in this section those documents which were particular to the COO. Primarily these documents focus on Ontario specific issues. An Ontario review to be used as appendices to the National Post-Secondary Education Policy (2005) outlined the current state of post-secondary Ogweho:weh education in Ontario, as well as the areas needed for a successful future. For example, COO identified that only 35% of university and colleges responded that they visited high schools to talk with and recruit Ontario’s Ogweho:weh peoples. Further, these same institutions stated that only 1% had computers with internet available for their students to utilize.

The most significant document released by the COO is The New Agenda: A Manifesto for First Nations Education in Ontario (2004). This document was released in draft form in June 2004 and was approved in resolutions one year later in June 2005.\footnote{It should be noted that the motion to “develop a comprehensive compendium of educational matters” (COO, 2004, Introduction, p. 2) was made by former Six Nations (elected) Band Council Chief Roberta Jamieson (current CEO of NAAF) in 2003. Additionally, the motion to accept the ratification of the document was made by Six Nations Chief Dave General in 2005.} The four-hundred ten page document is presented in similar fashion to an edited text; comprised of sixteen different research papers by various authors for the purpose of presenting all aspects and levels of Ontarian Ogweho:weh education including early childhood education, elementary/secondary, post-secondary, adult, community/alternative and special education. The editors write, “The Manifesto project is unique in ensuring that the primary writers and researchers are all First Nations peoples, and comprise the finest leaders, visionaries and practitioners in First Nations education” (COO, Acknowledgements, 2004, p. 1). Being that this is a major document to both the provincial and national fields, it is of great significance to the Six Nations study. The manifesto, overviews are offered pertaining to the current state of Ogweho:weh education. This is followed by ideology concerning how to achieve quality
education. Specific chapters on special education, teacher education, post-secondary, early childhood education and literacy are each presented by a variety of Ogweho:weh authors.

Additional discussions of the perspectives offered in the variety of individual papers collected in the Manifesto are found in Chapters III.

A second reason why the Manifesto is of significance to this study is that of the twenty-four authors involved in this document at least seven are from the Six Nations community. Although the entire document was reviewed for this study, those chapters by Six Nations authors were given an added ear as they not only offer a provincial voice, but the voice of specific Haudenosaunee members.

A final COO policy document, the *Ontario Regional Case Study* (2005) addressed the disparities between salary and other remuneration for on-reserve educators as opposed to their provincial colleagues.\(^{202}\) Although this document has the intention to address the salary concerns of teachers, their study includes significant data on classroom/school size and certification numbers. The average school size in this study, which included responses from Six Nations, was 156 with a classroom ratio of 16:1, both of which slightly lower than the averages at Six Nations.\(^{203}\) Of these same respondents a certified teacher rate was listed at an average of nine per school. Finally, salary ranges were listed as between $20,763 and

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\(^{202}\) It should be noted that teacher salaries are not the only educational gap in salary. As a CEO of the largest First Nations public library in Canada I am actively involved in salary disparity arguments in Ontario. Whereas most off-reserve CEO’s of a library can make between $75,000-150,000 for a moderately sized library, a First Nations CEO/Director is making on average $13,000-22,000. Additionally book buying budgets, training and educational advancement are usually non-existent or severely limited as well. I mention this here as I believe salary disparity for professional educational workers on-reserve goes well beyond the classroom teacher and must include all peoples working in concert to educate within our community—teachers, aids, principals, librarians, and social development officers—to name a few.

\(^{203}\) As a guideline, the primary classrooms are requested to remain at a maximum enrolment of 20, junior at 24 and intermediate at 26 students. Educational assistants are often available in the room, but usually are assigned to individual special needs students.
$52,000, with most ranging in the mid 20-mid 30’s and only three of the 33 responding schools having certified teachers making $40,000 or above (Ontario Regional Case Study, 2005). This report was seen as important to this study, not only because it addressed the disparities between on and off-reserve, but also because it supported the findings of a previous study where Haudenosaunee educators stated being placed in a predicament due to low salary grades (Redwing Saunders, 2004). While some stated they held second jobs and were forced to see their positions in a part-time status or as supplementary income to their families (in the case of multi-income families), others stated they did not have the financial means to seek additional qualifications including AQ or graduate courses. Still others stated they began their careers with the intention of improving the Ogweho:weh educational systems, but felt forced to leave the reserve systems to work off-reserve where salary grades could meet their financial needs.

**Ministry of Education (MoE)**

The Ministry of Training, Colleges and Universities [MoE] is committed to building the best workforce in North America to ensure a competitive advantage in the knowledge economy by creating accessible, affordable and high-quality learning opportunities and systems with enhanced accountability (MTCU, 2006, Published Results-Based Plan).

One such initiative to accomplish this general goal of the ministry responsible for education and training in Ontario for (and with) the Ogweho:weh people is the new Aboriginal Education Office (AEO) opened in 2006. Although several hundred documents were available at the ministry website, only five policies and one report were specifically Ogweho:weh in content. Additionally, two policies and six reports contained significant sections relating to Ogweho:weh advancement through MoE. Of the Ogweho:weh specific documents, each was the product of the new Aboriginal Education Office.
The most significant is the *Ontario First Nation, Métis and Inuit Education Policy Framework* (MoE, 2007; MoE, Draft 2006). Although this is a welcome report for Ogweho:weh education in Ontario, this study, although listing Métis, Inuit and First Nations students, is a study of the provincially funded schools only and therefore holds limited relevance to Six Nations and other reserve settings. As discussed in earlier chapters, this is an ongoing problem for the reserved based schools either federally funded or Band controlled, as the provincial standards are accepted there by choice and not mandated. Therefore, the policies, promises and provincial dollars are not earmarked for the reserves.\(^{204}\) Citing the Ontario Native Affairs Secretariat’s 2005 *Ontario’s New Approach to Aboriginal Affairs*, which promises policy and fiscal changes in order to assist in the positive changes to health, wellbeing and opportunity of Ontario’s Ogweho:weh peoples, the Ministry acknowledges their commitment to Ogweho:weh education improvement by the year 2016.

Acting on this commitment, the Ministry of Education has identified Aboriginal education\(^{205}\) as one of its key priorities, with a focus on meeting two primary challenges by the year 2016: to improve achievement among First Nations, Métis, and Inuit students and to close the gap between Ogweho:weh and non-Aboriginal students in the areas of literacy and numeracy, retention of students in school, graduation rates; and advancement to postsecondary studies. The ministry recognizes that, to achieve these goals, effective

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\(^{204}\) Elementary students are enrolled in both band schools on-reserves and in urban and boarder town communities. Secondary students, however, are nearly completely registered in provincial schools as even the reserve youth are bussed and/or flown out of their community and into the provincially funded and policy driven high schools.

\(^{205}\) Although no one has publically offered contention to the Aboriginal Education Office nor the initiative of improved Aboriginal education and attainment, the use of Aboriginal and Aboriginal education has met with some discussion. Chartrand states the use of “‘Aboriginal education’ is a problematic term as it overshadows the distinct Indigenous Knowledge structures that inform our conceptions of Aboriginal education...[while masking the] distinct First Nation/Indigenous identities” (2010, p. 7).
strategies must be developed to meet the particular educational needs of First Nations, Métis, and Inuit students (MoE, 2007, p. 7).

The framework includes four principles of (1) Excellence and Accountability, (2) Equity and Respect for Diversity, (3) Inclusiveness, Cooperation, and Shared Responsibility, and (4) Respect for Constitutional and Treaty Rights. Additionally, the Ministry has designated three specific goals of (1) High Level of Student Achievement, (2) Reduce Gaps in Student Achievement and (3) High Levels of Public Confidence; each of which have been designated with a delivery date of 2016. In late 2008 and early 2009 the AEO commissioned studies of the implementation of the Framework to both StonePath Research Group and OFIFC. These amalgamated reports including qualitative and quantitative studies of success of the ten performance measures, four principles and three goals of Ontario Boards including the Alternative School Programs, but have not been released for public review as of this dissertation.206

Building Bridges to Success (MoE, 2007) is a recent document which created policy in Ontario that allowed schools to request and collect personal information about the Ogweho:weh students. Also known as the Self-Identification Policy, both the policy and practice has been widely debated in Ontario207, most will agree that self-identification is necessary in order to fully implement the Framework initiatives of closing the gap between


207 As a university advisor recruiter, many Ministry of Education and Training meetings of the Aboriginal Education & Training Strategy (AETS) were spent discussing the short falls of the unwritten policy against the collection of information on who was Aboriginal within our institutions. As service monies were designated by both program and enrollment, many of our services were under-reporting the number of students and more importantly, under-supporting those who either did not self-identify, were band funded or who “looked white”. The college system was first to institute an option ticket box on their applications but the university registrar was not persuaded by our arguments until recently.
Ontarians and the general Ontario student population. In fact, without the ability to identify and monitor students, it is difficult for educators to determine who is in need of assistance, who/how many are successful and who qualifies for additional Ogweho:weh specific services.

Building on the Aboriginal Education Office releases of 2007, the Ministry of Education also released *Realizing the promise of diversity...Ontario’s equity and inclusive education strategy* (MoE, 2009). Although this document held a broader audience than only Ogweho:weh education, Aboriginal achievement and bridging the attainment gap was discussed as a goal of the document. Further, for the multi-year action plans, each individual academic year included a movement towards “equity and inclusive education policies, with a focus on addressing gaps in student achievement” (MoE, 2009, p.19), be it in planning, implementation or assessing said goal.

The *Urban Aboriginal Education Project Phase I: Research Study* (Hill & Redwing Saunders, 2008) was commissioned by the Council of Ontario Directors of Education in support of the AEO pilot studies to improve urban Ogweho:weh education in Ontario. This report was an intensive survey of success practices of Ogweho:weh peoples in Canada and internationally and included review of policy and practice in Alberta, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, British Columbia, Arizona, New Mexico, Hawaii, New Zealand, Australia and one Buffalo, New York Native American Magnet School. Of note was the premise this report made that success of Ogweho:weh students need not only be measured by literacy and numeracy, but should also include cultural capacity, self-esteem and aspects of being a good human being. This report listed measures of improvement both internally within the schools and classrooms, as well as broad changes which should be implemented provincially such as
language certification, Specialist AQ courses for existing and intensive PD for all new teachers.

A 2006 MoE webcast entitled, *Unlocking the Potential of Aboriginal Students* was also reviewed as a significant Ogweh:weh specific document. Including Dr. Avis Glaze as the key presenter, of most significance was not the content but the reality that First Nations and their educators, the target audience, were unable to access this presentation. It should be noted here that as a Haudenosaunee person living on-reserve, I was unable to open and view this document with a dial-up based internet connection. Although every surrounding community in my area has access to high speed, broad band/cable, wi-max, and/or fiber optic technologies, the reserve is effectively limited to dial-up connections. In order to view this document I needed to travel to a regional off-reserve library which offered high speed internet and view this web-cast in 30 minute increments at a charge of $2.00 per half-hour.

Another specific Ogweh:weh report offered by the MoE was an undated paper208 by Toulouse, *Supporting Aboriginal Student Success: Self-Esteem and Identity, a Living Teachings Approach*. This literature review grounded in the Anishnabek Seven Grandfather Teaching209 offers the premise that Ogweh:weh “students’ self-esteem is a key factor in their school success” (p. 2). Toulouse goes on to further state:

208 Although this paper was undated, it included sources published in 2004. It can therefore be assumed that this paper is a recent document, most likely created under the new management of the Aboriginal Education Office, 2006-2007.

209 Toulouse refers to the Seven Grandfather Teachings as the Ojibwe Good Life Teachings and Implications for Education. They include respect, love, bravery, wisdom, humility, honesty and truth as a foundation for a righteous life.
An educational environment that honours the culture, language and worldview of the Aboriginal student is critical to this process. The curriculum and pedagogy of schools needs to meaningfully represent and include Aboriginal people's contributions, innovations and inventions. Aboriginal students require schools in all aspects to honour ‘who they are’ and ‘where they have come from’ (n.d., p. 2)

Additionally there were a number of communication reports listed on this website that were not Ministry reports, but rather products of the Society for the Advancement of Excellence in Education\textsuperscript{210}, an independent advocacy organization having a mission which reads:

The Society for the Advancement of Excellence in Education (SAEE) provides non-partisan education research and information to policy-makers, education partners and the public. Our mission is to develop new Canadian knowledge on school improvement and foster the understanding of its use. We support public schools and those who work with them to improve outcomes for all students (SAEE, n.d.).

Discovered in a search of the Ministry of Education website was a document on instruction for literacy in Ogwehó:weh settings and the notice of the 2007 SAEE annual conference entitled \textit{Sharing Our Success: Promising Practices in Aboriginal Education} held in Winnipeg in November of 2007. As this notice and several SAEE documents were connected to the Ministry internal search they have been included in this section and in the analysis of documents presented. The SAEE 2007 conference, a follow-up to the earlier conference and subsequent report, revealed eight common characteristics for success including high expectations for achievement, effective leadership, multiple programs/services, language/culture programs, welcoming climate, respects for culture/traditions, high

\textsuperscript{210} Each of the four Aboriginal SAEE reports/proceedings (Phillips & Raham, 2008; Fulford, Daigle, Stevenson, Trolley, & Wade, 2007; Henchey, 2005; Bell, 2004) were investigated with attendance of the 2007 conference included within the literature review section (Chapter III) as well.
percentage of Ogweho:weh staff, assessment directly linked to instruction, and community partnerships/alliances.

Bell, one of the authors of the SAEE reports and proceedings, was also published within the MoE website. Bell (2004) states that the Ogweho:weh communities have reason to list the education of their youth as a prime concern.

Only 37 percent of the 117,000 Aboriginal students living on reserves in Canada will graduate from high school, less than half the national average. Some 20 percent of reserve children eligible to attend elementary and secondary schools are not enrolled, while 18 percent of those who do attend will drop out before completing Grade nine (Bell, 2003).

Bell also revealed that while on-reserve education is often a focus of concern, the off-reserve educational "results are equally bleak" (Bell, 2003).

Local

The local documents regarding Six Nations were obtained through an additional ethics approval granted by the Six Nations (Band) Council. Each of the documents were public access or community privileged in nature; however, requests had to be made to the individual agencies in order to secure the documents dating back over the recent decade.\(^{211}\) In determining which agencies to address an initial consideration was made to those involved with education—namely the Six Nation Council and their committees and counselors responsible for educational research and education portfolios, the Grand River Post-Secondary Office (GRPSEO) and the Grand River Employment & Training (GREAT) office. Between these three organizations the majority of on-reserve educational initiatives occur.

\(^{211}\) As will be discussed in this section, many of the agencies were unable to provide more than the current or previous years reports, regardless of these being part of auditable records which should have been available for at least seven years.
Additionally, INAC is responsible for the day to day operations of the elementary school system as well as funding of the secondary students to attend off-reserve schools. To address the final major capacity of education INAC was also requested to submit their public records and annual reports pertaining to Six Nations education.

Finally, I looked to the organizations at Six Nations who were involved in the extra-curricular education or educational support programs. These included the Six Nations Police and Woodland Cultural Centre. The police requisitions were specific to the Police Athletic League with Students (PALS) program which is conducted one afternoon per week at each elementary school for the intermediate students to interact with the local police through sports. Woodland Cultural Centre was asked for reports which were specific to educational initiatives, programs and projects. Six Nations Polytechnic (SNP) is a local Ogweho:weh institute which offers, in partnership with colleges and universities, a number of programs on-reserve. Although SNP has a significant impact on the community, there is no one policy in place to review as it is accredited only via the various MOU’s of the partnering institutions and therefore would be a cursory look at the college and university system of Ontario—not a capacity I believed was possible, nor relevant to the scope of this study.

**Six Nations Council**

The Six Nations Council offers a number of recent documents online as both PDF and HTML. Of the several hundred minutes and several thousand resolutions reviewed over 2006-2010, only thirty-seven contained any reference to education. The overall understanding gained from the documents is that education at Six Nations is not the responsibility of the community or Band, but rather outsourced to INAC. Therefore, the educational capacities referred to within the documents included such areas as recognition
awards for excellence in attendance for high school, paragraph reports listed in the annual report from the education counselors, and the occasional mention of educational attainment, involvement as representative on Superintendent search committees and the need for INAC to repair the current system. Additionally support services to the schools were addressed, including the request for funds for new playgrounds at each school, the annual request for language support for adult immersion classes, and the significant investment in a Language Commission in 2008. Of note was a resolution in 2008 to support a community group in conducting a tracking study of students when attending the off-reserve secondary schools. This report was presented in 2010 and accepted as information at that point, but again, no direct action has occurred as a result of the presentation. No other resolutions were made by Council short of those previously motioned or ratified by the chiefs through participation in AFN. No Action Plans were presented for how the community would take on management of the educational system, improve the educational system or make recommendations and demands of INAC to make these improvements. Further, there were no policy documents offered by the Band pertaining to education, save the Ethics Review application which is administered through a Band subcommittee to ensure educational research was being conducted in a respectful manner, protecting Indigenous Knowledge and being returned to the community for their own benefit and needs.

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212 At the time of dissertation completion only the Open Council presentation had been made. The report in draft form was not available for inclusion in the document analysis. Final release of the document is anticipated in early 2011.

213 It should be noted that this ethics committee, although a sub-committee of the Six Nations Council, was created by community members who are on faculty at local universities. This committee is comprised of members of the Band staff, but has a Haudenosaunee faculty advisor who offers assistance in determining if the applications are ethical, relevant and in concert with the needs of the community and the requirements of the Tri-Council.
**Six Nations Education Committee (SNEC)**

The only additional major Band documents which were of relevance to this study were the reports from the education committee, a separate group, working off site from the Council Administration Building and responsible for educational research. This group has changed titles over the years including Six Nations Education Committee, Six Nations Education Council, and Six Nations Education Commission.\(^\text{214}\) The SNEC groups were responsible for one very important document released in 2001 which was a comprehensive study of the Six Nations schools and the potential of taking on Band control and management. However, the SNEC did not find it feasible to make a positive recommendation at the time. Similar reviews have been done in the recent decade, all with analogous results.

Although numerous requests were made of the current education commission on-reserve and the Band pertaining to the former groups, no internal or public historical materials were released for this study.\(^\text{215}\) As a result, I was required to utilize the public reports distributed to community members over the years which, as a community member I

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\(^{214}\) Since they each iteration have the letters of S.N.E. and C., I will use the term SNEC to refer to this ever changing group even though with each name change there has been new mandates and members—all responsible for conducting education research and recommendations pertaining to education at Six Nations.

\(^{215}\) It should be noted here that an ethics review was approved by the Six Nations Ethics Review Committee which specifically listed this and all subsequent reports to be reviewed within this study. As an entity of this community and governed by Six Nations Council, the Education Committee/Commission should have had no reason to refuse said document requests previously approved within the community ethics approval process.
had received in the mail in 2001. Although the Bomberry (2001) executive summary did not spell out the specifics of why Council and the people of Six Nations were being recommended against taking on the management of the education system, they did discuss the attainment gap and ranking of the educational system against others in the province. Specific concerns listed within this executive summary include the fact that Six Nations provincial testing scores fell in the bottom 1/3 of provincial schools of Ontario with many scores ranking so low they had to be thrown out of provincial reports (Bomberry, 2001). These test scores were considered a direct attribute of the heightened dropout rates of on-reserve students from off-reserve secondary schools.

**Grand River Post-Secondary Education Office (GRPSEO)**

GRPSEO was very helpful in the request of documents and offered copies of their annual reports for review. Documents could be subdivided into funding policy and statistical reports. It was reported that nearly three-quarters of the GRPSEO funded students’ progress and/or graduate successfully each year, with few students dropping out, stopping out, partially completing or failing. Areas of degrees, certificates and diplomas were across all

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216 It should be noted that this was not an unexpected response to the request. In 2003 I applied for both Band ethics approval and the SNEC to participate in my Master’s research project on educational perceptions at Six Nations and was denied by both since my research “was not of community interest” and because it was “inappropriate to conduct international research involving Six Nations” even though the research was of the Haudenosaunee who, according to sovereignty and the Jay Treaty, do not recognize international boundaries.

217 This is the only place where comparisons between on-reserve Six Nations and off-reserve attainment were available.

218 GRPSEO is the responsible agency for distributing post-secondary funding to the Haudenosaunee students of Six Nations. Other reserves would have similar offices, but GRPSEO is the largest department responsible for funding Ogweho:weh post-secondary bursary in Canada. In addition to tuition payments, GRPSEO assists students in applications to post-secondary and for scholarships. They work one on one with students in crisis and assist with funding tutors or other assistance during school as needed.
faculties and the level of completion ranged between college certificates through doctoral
degrees, with the majority of both diplomas and undergraduate degrees falling in the social
sciences. In their most recently available report, GRPSEO (2010) reports a graduation rate
1998-2010 academic years of 770 university and 673 College diplomas.

Table 6.1
GRPSEO Graduation Rates by Year

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Graduation</th>
<th>Year Completed</th>
<th>Unsuccessful</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2009-10</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008-09</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007-08</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006-07</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005-06</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004-05</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003-04</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002-03</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001-02</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>7%</td>
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<tr>
<td>2000-01</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999-00</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998-99</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997-98</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>17.6%</td>
<td>54.8%</td>
<td>6.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Unsuccessful includes those who did not start, withdrew, were unsuccessful,
Table 6.2
GRPSEO Enrollment by Year

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>College Enrollment</th>
<th>Bachelor’s Enrollment</th>
<th>Master’s Enrollment</th>
<th>Doctoral Enrollment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2009-10</td>
<td>294</td>
<td>372</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008-09</td>
<td>349</td>
<td>351</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007-08</td>
<td>323</td>
<td>379</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006-07</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>374</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005-06</td>
<td>289</td>
<td>364</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004-05</td>
<td>311</td>
<td>379</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003-04</td>
<td>347</td>
<td>380</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002-03</td>
<td>394</td>
<td>372</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001-02</td>
<td>376</td>
<td>386</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000-01</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999-00</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998-99</td>
<td>363</td>
<td>334</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997-98</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average Enrollment</td>
<td>334.6</td>
<td>369.1</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>11.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of Six Nations</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
<td>0.005%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Grand River Education and Training (GREAT)\textsuperscript{221}

Unlike GRPSEO, GREAT was not as forthcoming with their reports. This being so, only a limited approach could be taken towards the analysis of their documents. With no reports available, document analysis was conducted on the GREAT website only. Comprising nine individual pages, GREAT offers both services and funding for high school and adult students interested in gaining additional training, retooling and apprenticeships. They also have a comprehensive job placement office; however, this service is limited by the potential

\textsuperscript{220} There were some discrepancies in figures reported from year to year. In these cases I have marked NA.

\textsuperscript{221} GREAT is the largest training facility at Six Nations. Responsible for short-term training programs and in partnership with their education division, OSTTC, they offer onsite post-secondary programs with Mohawk and Conestoga Colleges. As a community member, GREAT would be the first option for retooling, retraining, or short-term trades, training and apprenticeships.
employers listing job postings with GREAT. Additional services available are skill based and include resume and cover letter writing workshops, and computer training programs for Word, Excel and PowerPoint. Of the distribution of spending, 74% occurs on-reserve, with the remainder spent in surrounding urban centres such as Brantford, Fort Erie and Hamilton. Since no reports were attained there is no ability to review statistical data. A secondary program of GREAT is the Ogweho:weh Skills and Trades Training Centre (OSTTC), established in 2003. This school includes pre-trades and pre-technical programs, green energy certificates, and Aboriginal entrepreneur programs in partnership with Mohawk and Conestoga Colleges.

**Six Nations Police Athletics League with Students (PALS)**

The Six Nations Police offer the PALS program to all of the Six Nations elementary schools, but since its inception, not all of the schools have chosen to participate annually. This program runs from late September through late May and is embraced by many of the intermediate students. Members of the police run intramural games with the grade 7 and 8 students at the school gyms one afternoon a week for an hour following school. The PALS program also takes the students on an all-inclusive one-day trip to play paintball and go-carting in the spring and downhill skiing or snowboarding in the winter. With a community whose crime rate and drug use (often beginning in the elementary schools) is above provincial average, this program aims to make positive connections to the youth so as to

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222 In the past year I have experienced two major postings for professional positions at Six Nations not listed with the GREAT job board. The search for the new Director of Library Services—a person who is preferred to be of Six Nations Ogweho:weh ancestor and the call for elementary teachers for the Six Nations District. Additionally, as a former University Counsellor I posted my maternity relief call at GREAT but did not see the university post calls for the same position over the past three rehires they have made. Additionally, other faculty searches for Aboriginal studies at three commutable universities have not been posted with GREAT.
offer them opportunities for healthy relationships with the police later in life. According to the annual reports available, PALS has had an enrollment of 60-80 students per year over the past decade with nearly all students attending day trips with the police. However, there is no ability to quantify the positive experience the youth have had while interacting with the police as role models.

**Woodland Cultural Centre (WCC)**

The WCC did not have any policy documents which were of relevance to this study and was subsequently removed from the document analysis. While in the second phase of this study, the Dialogue (interviews), WCC was regularly discussed. It is because of this that I returned to WCC as an organization for document analysis. According to their webpage, WCC offers both educational tours to individuals and to school groups. Additionally, both the museum and library are a major resource within the community when conducting research and maintaining the knowledge of the Ogweho:weh past and contemporary states. The main administration building which houses the WCC Library is also the historical site of the Mohawk Institute, also known as the Mush Hole, a residential school for thousands of Canada’s Ogweho:weh over the 19th and 20th centuries.

Although the webpage was reviewed as a document, an official tour of the residential school, library and museum were also undertaken with a cohort of university students in

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223 WCC is a museum and research archive located in Brantford Ontario. The Haudenosaunee communities are a main focus of the collections of this facility. As a result, they are regularly involved in the post-secondary studies of Haudenosaunee students and topics. Although not directly involved in curricula, they are instrumental in directing and assisting with the research documents of graduate level research.
order to experience the living document of the spoken word and scripts which are offered.\textsuperscript{224} In these tours, the general educational message was portrayed with many areas of negative connotation pertaining to the treatment of Ogwehó:weh peoples both contemporary and historically. Of note is that tour guides stated the information was offered in order for people to have a better understanding of the impact and White Privilege, whereas the students stated feeling bitter from their experience, believing they were being blamed for actions of others.\textsuperscript{225}

**Conclusion**

There were several key documents that I was able to review, especially those held by both national and provincial organizations who house their materials online. The local Six Nations groups were somewhat less forthcoming with their documents, either by choice of non-participation, or by inability to locate specific documents from the recent decade. Although this is disheartening as a community member, it speaks to the state of educational

\textsuperscript{224} As a Haudenosaunee researcher I am regularly encountered by the lack of published knowledge on given Ogwehó:weh topics and lifeways and find myself needing to consult the living documents and spoken word. As an encultured researcher I do not find myself unique in this need

\textsuperscript{225} A question to ponder here: Did the students receive the correct impressions of white privilege, or was the tour an experience which could have been positive for the participants?
administration at Six Nations. Documents are simply not available.\textsuperscript{226} The turn-over rate of both personnel and entire agencies has left the recorded history of the past decade either lost or in possession only by those individuals in the community with the forethought to put away publicly distributed materials. I do not believe that if I was to contact the adjacent District or one of their subcommittees I would be told materials, minutes, notes and reports from two years ago are lost, nor would I have to contact community members for a public copy of the districts distributed documents. Regardless, this state of documents at Six Nations was presented without one organization offering public concern to this reality.

\textsuperscript{226} In the Spring of 2010 I was contacted as a member of the Six Nations Archive Committee and informed that the school records for students registered at Six Nations in the 1950-1970’s had been disposed of at the dump. Neatly packed within several boxes in alpha order, community members had been rifling through the boxes looking for the records of themselves and their family members. These documents included grades and personal information such as birthdate, family names, and other personal information such as social services or diagnosis involvement. According to privacy laws these documents should have been disposed of in an acceptable manner, and not tossed into a public access dump. Further, as the only legal records attached to living members of the community, these records should not have been disposed of, but rather placed in the archival records of the community. These records are and were the responsibility of the schools and ultimately INAC. To date, no formal action has been taken against the persons or office responsible for this act.
CHAPTER VII—PHASE II DIALOGUE FINDINGS:
Educator and Advocate Voice

Numerous studies of education have identified changes required to improve the quality of education for Aboriginal children attending public education institutions. In the discussion that follows, we repeat many of these recommendations, because they remain relevant. It is vital that Aboriginal parents and families be able to become involved, articulating and shaping the education they want for their children. Where there are larger numbers of Aboriginal children, Aboriginal people have sometimes been able to establish their own schools with the sponsorship of local school boards. Such schools create a venue for innovative programs and active community involvement.

RCAP, Vol 3, No. 5, p. 12

In this chapter I have outlined the general findings from the 14 Six Nations community dialogues. Additionally, another 38 mini dialogues occurred directly relating to the second question of success.

Dialogue Summary

During 2008, individual dialogues and focus groups with educator and advocacy members of Six Nations and the broader international Ogweho:weh field were conducted. The two main research questions of this dissertation were the focus of the Haudenosaunee dialogues. Although both questions were addressed, the second research question pertaining to success was the primary focus of the dialogues. The findings are as follows:
What Changes has RCAP made to Ogweho:weh education in Canada?

The first question pertained to individual perceptions of change to Ogweho:weh education in Canada as a result of RCAP. The dominant response, at 68%, was “none”. Twenty-seven percent of respondents stated that RCAP was directly responsible for elevating the awareness of the disparities of Ogweho:weh education, most specifically pertaining to the achievement gap. Five percent stated that although there was no major influence directly upon education, the impact of publications of and by the Ogweho:weh educators was significant. Further, no members of the respondent pool were involved in the RCAP discussions, nor did any of the participants have any expectation of change as a result of the commission findings. In short, most did not see the RCAP as a major turning point in Ogweho:weh education nor did they have great expectations that a government publication such as RCAP would bring about such changes. All were surprised to learn the costs of the RCAP study, with two expressing the benefit that $50 million dollars in one-time funding could have brought to Ogweho:weh education directly.

When asked their perceptions of education over the past decade, the responses, although varied, all discussed disparities between Ogweho:weh and non-Aboriginal as well as growth, although minimal. Further, comments were made pertaining to the ownership of education and the inappropriateness of communities to take on such ownership thus inheriting the damaged system. One respondent described why s/he believed it was a

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227 What changes has RCAP made to Ogweho:weh education in Canada?  
228 To the qualitative researcher it may be confusing to identify percentages of contact or responses within this chapter. Although I am including qualitative ranking of the discussion themes here it does not dilute the importance of one over the other merely because one was referred to at an 87% response and another at an 8% response. The cross section of participants included those who I believed would paint a picture of Haudenosaunee success. Therefore all are relative and necessary in the situations to which they refer. Ranking should be interpreted in order to identify a response rate and not a rate importance.
mistake for Council and the community to take over educational management when s/he stated:

Ogweho:weh education in Canada has taken centuries of influence by government policy aimed at disemboding the “who we are” from “who we can become”. The result is a legacy of social problems, destructive school systems and no clear end in sight. ...Knowing how much money the [federal government] puts into education here at Six Nations and how much more it would take to retool our system, why would we ever accept the responsibility to fix a generationally broken system on too little money. We would fail just like they are, but it would then be “considered” our fault. Insanity is doing something over and over and expecting a different outcome. It would be insane for us to think we can fix their broken system with the same resources, same curriculum, same rules and same staff. It is even more insane to discuss starting a new [secondary] school and think we would somehow do better.

How does the community understand success at Six Nations?

Both groups spent a significant amount of time discussing success. Many participants stated that it is easier to say what success is not rather than define what it is. Further, respondents stated that success itself was too broad a term, and that it had to be defined as to what type of success was being requested in order to better respond. When I pursued this, the question of success was regularly directed towards either a level of attainment such as a diploma or an individual who was balanced and happy. The participants defined success as a person knowledgeable in the language and teachings, and functional within mainstream society. Twenty-six percent of the respondents described success as a person who is bi-cultural, yet holds one stable identity.

During the investigation of success at Six Nations and across Ogweho:weh communities, success was divided into two means of investigation: (a) how do we make students successful and (b) how do we identify a student who is successful (indicators of success). Two differing results were identified: What is the Successful Student and What is
Successful Education. Furthermore, a third area of What a successful system includes was pursued pertaining to success at Six Nations.

**What is the Successful Student?**

The Haudenosaunee respondents described characteristics of a successful student across a wide spectrum. Eight themes were identified during the research period. The first seven themes were present across the dialogues of Haudenosaunee respondents; whereas the eighth point was collected during the international dialogues of Ogwehohweh educators and administrators and often included over-riding components with the first seven themes.

- Students are able to compete
- Youth are healthy and safe
- People have a place in both worlds
- Strong identity (bi-cultural or Haudenosaunee)
- Opportunities are present
- Culture bearers (language, ways, knowledge keepers)
- Patience
- Successful student indicators

**Students are Able to Compete**

During the dialogues, 67% of participants stated a major aspect of success was capacity. Accounting for 26% of the comments on success, capacity specifically surrounded the student’s ability to be able to compete: compete in the global market, compete in a world which may not see them as a future leader, compete in a future job market which tests
their own innate understanding of the world and what it means to be Haudenosaunee. Competition took on two distinct stages: public competition and personal competition. One respondent stated, "It’s time we show the world who we are and why democracy and socialist systems have a foundation in our ways of knowing". Although this form of public competition was expressed by nearly all respondents, some also stated an understanding of an internal competition. "We are not all athletic or artistic or academic. We do all have our own energy and we have to push ourselves sometimes. Unfortunately our [education] systems don’t see this as being significant and we [those who choose to challenge ourselves] don’t get noticed".

**Youth are Healthy and Safe**

Also of concern was the ability for the Ogweho:weh student to build a persona which embodied both health and a safe lifestyle which were addressed as key to engagement and ultimately success. Participants further voiced alarm regarding the Ogweho:weh youth’s disproportional rates of suicide, prostitution, abuse, substance use, diabetes and HIV. Accounting for 19% of the responses, a successful student was described as being self-aware and a self-advocate in order to live safely and promote a healthy lifestyle.

**People have a place in both worlds**

Youth having a place in both worlds (Haudenosaunee and mainstream Canada) was a major concern to respondents. Eighty-two percent of participants expressed that life on-reserve, especially for the people of Six Nations, is a life lived within a venn diagram.

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229 In this section I offer both the anecdotal and quantification of responses pertaining to success. My own believe is that the comments are most relevant to the study, but it is also important to demonstrate, not necessarily the response number, but regularity of those comments by the participants. For those that enjoy the quantitative approach this is a bonus and for those who feel it is redundancy, I apologize.
However, the lines of intersection were blurred in so many places (e.g. shopping, working, media, entertainment) that often the youth and community themselves participated in western activities as much or more than they did in traditional community events. The participants also stated that the ability to function in a bi-cultural world has held direct relationship to student success (14% response).

**Strong Identity (bi-cultural or Haudenosaunee)**

Tied very strongly to the concept of ownership in both worlds was the idea that students must have a strong identity and, in fact, be bi-cultural. Although not as common a topic, 13% stated that students who leave to attain secondary, post-secondary, or to seek employment will have to rest on the strength of their cultural identity if they are to remain a cultural person. The off-reserve youth identity was discussed as being in a "war zone" and "under attack" by the students/staff and curriculum. As such, those who question their own identity may be more willing to rescind their own being and transform into the person which they feel will be allowed to succeed by the dominant community. However, this loss of their selves will not mean that they are more able to compete, merely that they feel they are less scrutinized. A young parent offered her story of self-doubt within the off-reserve secondary school when she stated:

I knew who I was but I didn’t think that was worth fighting for. Some of my friends felt it was worth it to fight everyone who said stuff about us. Some said they ignored it. I said I ignored it, but it still really hurt. …I found that when I did my hair and dated out of the community I didn’t have as many people talking about me. Unfortunately I was selling myself short because now I am a young mother, my kid doesn’t have a real identity [being mixed] and my time there really didn’t get any better—I finished though and it has been a really hard road.

Another respondent talked about the students s/he encounters. “They think it’s going to be easier if they just blend in, but they just find they disappear instead. We can watch them as
they become invisible”. Others stated encountering students who refused to amalgamate their identity. The result of refusal to transform was heightened dropout, which limited their ability to advance their own knowledge and opportunities for the future.

**Opportunities**

Opportunities (11%) were described not only as the external entries into the next stage or level, but also the internal capacity of the individuals to be able to move themselves forward or to be able to advocate for themselves, thus creating their own opportunity. It should be noted that in all but one of the dialogues, participants spoke of opportunity not as being “given to” the students, but rather as those “which the student makes for themselves”.

**Culture Bearers (language, lifeways, knowledge keepers)**

In 9% of responses, the ultimate student success was identified as becoming knowledge bearers for their and future generations. Those involved in immersion, language or cultural activities described a knowledge bearer as someone who ultimately knows their history, culture and lifeways. This group acknowledged that being a culture bearer “doesn’t pay very well”. This dichotomy was not something that those who spoke to this topic were able to resolve, stating “This is something each of us struggle with daily” or “Although I see my real job as [language], I—like others—have had to work full time in unrelated careers in order to benefit our own growth and the promotion within the community”.

**Patience**

Although patience was discussed in only three cases, I have opted to report on it due to the distinctiveness of the dialogues. In these dialogues, patience as a virtue was referred to as a canon of Haudenosaunee thought and something worthy of propagating within students. One participant stated in each generation it was discussed that the dances and
songs had sped up; that the time between a teaching and questions had become closer; and that the idea of speeches and movements had since been seen as wasted words on people who did not care, would never change or would never understand the importance of the words of the teaching. This lack of patience was explained as being evident in the faster pace as well as the new generations resorting to other methods of change including violence and illegal activities.

A key concern expressed within the patience dialogues was the Ogwehó:weh who become disillusioned when change is not immediate. An example referred to by each of these three participants pertained to the fighting for upholding of treaty law, land rights and sovereignty. These participants stated that the younger people often see the generational work as useless in producing change and direct face to face conflicts as the new best agent for change. In the case of Six Nations and the Douglas Creek Estates land disputes, the youth blockades and newscasts brought attention to the issues but also overshadowed community movement towards peace and understanding.230

**Successful Student Indicators**

Simultaneous conversations with Ogwehó:weh administrators and educators across North America transpired while conducting the Haudenosaunee specific dialogues. The result was the seven *Indicators of Success* which were identified within both the North American Ogwehó:weh and local Haudenosaunee dialogues. The first and most referred to

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230 A direct result of the several year stand-off at the Douglas Creek Estates was later described when one of the participants visited me a year after the initial dialogue. They stated “We are turning on ourselves now!” They were referring to the same techniques of activism without patience being used within the community when the Olympic Torch Run of December 21, 2009 was blocked from entering the community and the construction of the new Six Nations Police station were halted by protestors in the Spring of 2010. This participant discussed a sadness that the techniques the new generations were using were without merit when they demand immediacy of action and result.
indicator (17%) pertained to *self-confidence and voice*. This included having the capacity within one’s self to be a self-advocate and speak for or against actions\(^{231}\); plan and then carry out said plans; and to see the potential within themselves for success and as a result maintain high self-expectations. Next, *academic achievement* (11%) was self-explanatory, with the expectation that all students are in academics for the purpose of progressing, learning and achieving.\(^{232}\) Additionally, participants spoke of *cultural identity and cultural values* (11%) and specifically the ownership\(^{233}\) of said identity and traditions as roots which ground a student in the various academic and life situations. The fourth area of *balance* (9%) spoke to the need of being a whole person, but also having the ability to function in the bi-cultural life where so many of Ogweho:weh people interact. The fifth area was *responsibility and preparedness* (10%) and covered three distinct areas. Initially, students who were prepared were said to know how to traverse the bi-cultural world and to understand their position within community. They were also described as those who could think critically and act as informed citizens. Additionally, responsibility and preparedness was discussed as a role of students’ communities which directly affects their ability to succeed in life. This was described as the need to be able to competitively recruit these students, having both wages

\(^{231}\) Speaking for or against action is a key concept to self-determination which I see as the action of change.

\(^{232}\) Of note to achievement is the FNMI Education Framework (MoE, 2007) which was designed to bridge the attainment gap. In discussions with faculty working with teacher candidates at 3 Ontario teacher education programs, none stated sharing the Framework with their students and two were unaware of the document. This supports Shockey’s (2003) statement that the teacher education programs provide little information on teaching the Ogweho:weh student. For a policy document to produce attainment improvements, it must be in the classrooms as well as the boardrooms.

\(^{233}\) Ownership is a tenuous topic as everyone seems to have a different meaning by ownership of education. At the heart of the ownership is to say jurisdiction. Currently Six Nations ownership of education falls to the federal government. There is no Board of education, no municipal (reserve) vote or voice for policies, hires, curriculum or funding. Although many have referred to this point as merely management, it is significantly more since the reserve itself has no say in the education of their community.
and professional career options for them to fill once their education is completed.\textsuperscript{234}

Reciprocation was the sixth indicator of success (7%). The opportunity for youth to reciprocate, regardless of the socio-economic situation in which they are currently involved, was described as being of prime importance. In giving back, volunteerism, and seeing their ability to benefit their community and own life, they are given an opportunity to elevate themselves and build self-esteem.\textsuperscript{235} The final indicator was growth (3%) and referred to the fact that success comes in many shapes and forms, and may not be attained at the same rate or manner. As such, the mere movement forward and growth of capacity is an indicator of success.\textsuperscript{236}

\textbf{What is Successful Education}

Finally, participants were asked to respond to the question of what a successful education system at Six Nations would involve. Of those comments made, the following ten key items were identified:

- Certified teachers
- Equal funding for nominal roll, staff, programs, texts and services
- Extracurricular opportunities (sports and other)
- Small class sizes
- Available testing

\textsuperscript{234} One such role of the community was to have an economic state that would support the return of an educated workforce. According to Elected Six Nations Council Chief William Montour one of his personal concerns is the state of wages within Six Nations. Without competitive wage system, Six Nations cannot vie with off-reserve employment.

\textsuperscript{235} In some cases it was stated that for those with lower socio-economic standing, it is even more important to be the participant in a giving relationship instead of only being a recipient of such giving as welfare, disability or employment insurance.

\textsuperscript{236} An additional 32% of responses pertained to factors external to the student in creating success. These included the environment of the school, the role the school plays in advocating and including the community, equity and equality and anti-racist pedagogy and practices.
- Community literacy program and services
- Stronger connection between our students on and off-reserve
- On-reserve education (at all levels head start through post-secondary)
- Role models in education
- Stronger connection between Ogweho:weh and treaty education across the curricula

**Certified Teachers**

Deliberations within the dialogues touched on the level of professional development of the staff at Six Nations. In a push to have Ogweho:weh teachers in the classrooms, initiatives which gave training to staff were implemented. Initially a several-week course, the Native teacher preparation programs were then adopted by several universities, giving credentials to teach (on-reserve) without a bachelor’s degree. After some decades INAC made changes so that new teachers were required to be certified by the Ontario College of Teachers, which is the standard today for those teaching within the federal district. A distinct difference was heard between the educators and advocates surrounding this point. Educators stated there were significant improvements in the areas of certified hires, albeit few professional development dollars available for continued studies. Advocates, on the other hand, expressed regularly that the staff were not trained to their liking, or to what they believed were the standards in bordering communities. This distinction between staff and community is a clear line of dissent and one which, according to both sides, has not improved regardless of the improvements within the district over the past decade.

237 Upon successful completion of a bachelor’s degree a student would qualify to be certified in Ontario and therefore to teach off-reserve.
Equal Funding for Per Capita, Staff, Programs, Texts and Services

Directly following the previous theme was the actuality that there is not equal funding for per capita, staff, programs, texts and services on-reserve to that of the communities bordering Six Nations.\textsuperscript{238} During the time of data collection and dialogues, the education system was not the only funding to come under scrutiny. The Six Nations Fire Department, after having significant cut backs, was identified to have a $14 per capita expenditure whereas the nearest bordering fire department of Caledonia spent on average $97 per capita. Statements surrounding the “worth” of Six Nations members, pertaining to both safety and the ability to be adequately educated were common within the dialogues.\textsuperscript{239} Further, all agreed that the Six Nations District was in a deficit situation of infrastructure, training, text books, manipulatives and other resources. Therefore, the ability to turnaround the system would take more money than neighboring successful systems annual budgets prior to entering a maintenance stage.\textsuperscript{240}

\textsuperscript{238} Although the principals and official acknowledged this state, no figures for comparison were available.

\textsuperscript{239} Although not an educational example: during the summer of 2009 Swine Flu (H1N1) epidemics, northern and remote Manitoba reserves were extremely hard hit by the flu. Grand Chief of the AFN Phil Fontaine and local health professionals stated a desperate need for antibacterial products, flu vaccinations, masks and other common place medical supplies to be delivered to the reserve. Although H1N1 protocols were put in place later in the summer of 2009 by Health Canada and local municipalities, the requests for basic services were unheeded. In early September of 2009, INAC delivered not the H1N1 supplies, but dozens of body bags to said reserve communities. This action was unprecedented in the H1N1 reaction to any other community but serves to reinforce the belief by Ogwehohpehpeh peoples that a per capita disparity exists. This action also reinforces the historical campaign actions (e.g. small pox blankets, rotten meats dispersal) that it is cheapest to eradicate the Indian Problem.

\textsuperscript{240} This argument was the main reason why Six Nations community members have stated not wanting to take on the management of the Six Nations District. If such shift of control was to occur, a stated “significant change in funding structures and envelope” would have to occur.
**Extracurricular Opportunities**

Respondents spoke about a successful Six Nations District having extracurricular activities. The need for students to feel good about themselves and their school was discussed. This led to discussions pertaining to the importance extracurricular activities play in fostering a positive self-image and school spirit and the need for extracurricular activities to be available for all interests and abilities.\(^{241}\) Further, achievements were described as yielding both personal pride and community support. Although no participants stated an alternative to this belief, many did express the need for extracurricular activities to branch out of mere sports competition and into other areas of experience such as academic clubs, academic competitions and school arts programs (e.g. photography, computer, dance, gymnastics, and cultural activities). One participant stated “[Six Nations] is a hard place to grow up if you are not athletically inclined”. This comment brought on a further discussion of intramural programs for those who are not athletically successful, but are willing to participate in healthy activities which also were accompanied by the responsibility of a successful system to assist students who are not living healthy lifestyles or are in danger of developing diabetes due to stagnant lifestyle and poor food choices.

**Small Class Sizes**

Conversations regarding small class sizes were limited to the educators only and were a direct result of the recent announcement that each school would be losing staff and

\(^{241}\) This was a point most identified in the Six Nations’ dialogues. Extracurricular activities in this community are very sports oriented. Sponsorship programs are available for youth sports and club, yet nearly all funds are provided to competitive little league sports. Those students who are not athletically inclined have limited opportunities on-reserve, and there are no similarly funded opportunities for arts and non-competitive sports.
classes would be increasing in size.\textsuperscript{242} Arguments here acknowledged that the current class sizes were in most cases smaller than the bordering communities; however, advocate concerns included the expectation to bridge the achievement gap with fewer resources, and a rising incidence of student disabilities and behaviours.\textsuperscript{243} Further, educator participants stated that given that success had not occurred with the current class sizes, any increase of class sizes would make for added difficulty in bridging the achievement gap with more students falling through the cracks.

\textit{Available Testing}

The advocates discussed a concern for the lack of funds available for student-age disability identification assessments. This could be, in part, because those community members who are educational advocates have a vested interest in improving the system for the community and their own students. Of those involved, many were active due to having children who were in need of additional advocacy such as those with disabilities. In three cases, advocates spoke of disability testing either being denied as not needed or not

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{242} This is of key importance to class size since the enrolment of Haudenosaunee students is on an increase. Six Nations, like all Canadian First Nation communities is experiencing a birth rate nearly 3 times the national average (Statistics Canada, 2006, 2006c, 2005). Cutting teachers and increasing class sizes means that the schools will be less prepared for the continued growth within the elementary ages.

\textsuperscript{243} Behaviours and disability increases in Ogweho:weh students have been discussed in several venues of research. Those who study homelessness and mobility have stated that there is a direct impact on achievement, behaviours and disability labelling (CBC, 2007; HRSD, 2007, Canada, 2005; McCue & Wigmore, 1990). Additionally, those studying Children in Care have stated that nearly 40\% of the Children in Care in Canada are Aboriginal youth. These students also have lower attainment and heightened diagnosis and labelling as disabled (Essen, Lambert & Head, 2006; Hart Wensley, 2006; Gough et al. 2005; Walmsley, 2005; Van Wingerden, Emerson & Ichikawa, 2002; Colton & Heath, 1994; RCAP 1996). Although these increased concerns happen in Ogweho:weh communities at a heightened rate, additional services and training is not available, especially at the on-reserve schools funding by fixed government funding such as Six Nations.}
unavailable until later years.\textsuperscript{244} Each identified that they were informed by their school that they could, should they feel it necessary, have the costly evaluations completed at their own expense. At the time of these conversations, each stated they were of the understanding that should they have completed such testing and the results produced an official diagnosis, the district would then provide additional assistance in the classroom.\textsuperscript{245} Additionally, advocates stated that they were informed by their individual child psychologists that the mere practice of waiting until older years for testing placed their students at advanced stages of defeatism and academic deficits.

**Community Literacy Program and Services**

Both parties discussed the need to improve literacy among the community. Although literacy services were once a part of the community, specifically aimed at assisting school aged students to improve their attainment, such services are no longer available. Participants stated that the services should be a part of a successful district and as such not prone to the ebb and flow of external funding. Additionally, the need to have cultural literacy in the community was expressed adamantly by advocates of immersion programs. They stated that as the Six Nations people continue their assimilation towards a bi-cultural state, the knowledge and lifeways of the Haudenosaunee is being lost in the community. As

\textsuperscript{244} In these cases students were demonstrating learning and/or behavioural disabilities and parents (and in some cases their teachers) requested official evaluation and assessments be completed. These parents were told that such testing was not appropriate at the time as the student may “settle down with age” or the funding was not available within the school for expensive learning disability tests.

\textsuperscript{245} This was not the case in two of the three self-funded cases. After self-funding the assessments which yielded the anticipated diagnoses, the families were informed the school system did not have the funds for the recommended one-on-one in-class assistance. Instead they were offered a classroom with an assistant available to serving multiple children and one-on-one pull out time with a resource teacher assistant approximately 35 minutes per day.
such, cultural literacy should take a stronger level of importance in a successful education system.

**Stronger Connection Between Our Students On and Off-reserve**

Advocates identified the need to have a system with mechanisms for tracking, assisting and supporting the students between the on and off-reserve systems, especially during the transition years of grade nine and ten. They discussed that during these years, students often experienced academic and transition problems and either fell significantly behind their cohort or chose to drop-out. In each dialogue, the situation was described as being avoidable with proper supports in place. One participant added to this argument by stating:

> We don’t have the mechanism now and to do so we need to have a stronger Council and community. Right now no one seems to be stepping up to accept the responsibility, but everyone is willing to point the finger at the [off-reserve] schools who are not meeting the standards.

Similarly, a respondent at a different meeting stated:

> I don't see why [our community] lets this continue. It may not be 'our responsibility' but it sure is our kids and community suffering—so doesn’t that make it our responsibility?

**On-Reserve Education**

Currently only the elementary students are educated on-reserve at Six Nations.²⁴⁶ Although discussions have occurred for more than ten years pertaining to secondary system installation; just like the community forums, no consensus was available by either the educator or advocate groups. Arguments both for and against an on-reserve secondary school were passionate. Those wanting an on-reserve system stated the racism felt off-reserve, coupled with the lack of ability to track and retain the Six Nations students would be

²⁴⁶ Private church schools and immersion schools are offering secondary studies on-reserve.
rectified should the community expand the current K-8 system. Those against the argument stated that the current K-8 system is not meeting the needs of the students and Six Nations grade 9's leave the reserve unprepared for the rigor off-reserve. By retaining them in local schools, albeit a possibility that more would graduate, fewer would have the skill-set provided by the surrounding secondary schools. Further, the opportunities for choice in both academic and extracurricular programs would risk absence as one local secondary school for only a few hundred students would have more difficulties attaining the diversified state that the five border town secondary schools have.

**Role Models in Education**

Several participants made note of the fact that the community is limited in the amount and type of role models. Those who are financially well-off are often accused of attaining this state via questionable methods and not necessarily through strong work ethics (e.g. drugs, smuggling, cigarette shops). The majority of successful businesses on the reserve consist of corner smoke shops which do not require advanced education to manage. In the case where community members have achieved academic success, they have often found limited opportunities for work in the community and been forced to relocate. In order to find the successful post-secondary student as a role model, participants stated the need for students to see post-secondary students succeeding and having a place in the community once they return. Finally, humility and aspirations were identified as a must when considering role models. For example, those who are successful may not be visibly successful (e.g. demonstrating wealth via expenses, cars, home), but are none the less, capable of acting as role models for students.
**Stronger Connection between Ogweho:weh & Treaty Education Across the Curricula.**

Participants stated that curriculum needs to be enhanced for two distinct purposes. First, the Ogweho:weh students should be able to see themselves within the curriculum, being represented within the texts and lessons in authentic ways (not only in the little grey “interest story” text boxes in the corner of the page). Although the current text books give examples in an attempt to meet the required diversity within curricula, the Ogweho:weh stories still remain fantastical in nature (e.g. Ogweho:weh people are pictured in powwow dress or other incorrect/stereotypical contemporary states). Second, in order to meet the general educational needs of Ontarians (and Canadians), the curriculum has an opportunity to teach accurate history, treaty law and contemporary issues to students. Currently, Ontario has courses as electives for secondary school, for which there is no stable base to work from. Text books are unavailable and students are choosing these courses at dismal rates.247

**Conclusion**

In summary, participants did not hold expectations that the RCAP would accomplish any change in education. Rather, they saw such responsibility resting with the community. Definitions of what was embodied within both the successful student and the successful educational system were clearly articulated with only two areas where polar views were present—that of a secondary school being added to the on-reserve district and the quality of

247 The Ministry of Education made a call for text books to be developed in late 2008. In this call they announced that 264 Ontario students have registered for the grade 9 Expressing Aboriginal Cultures; 462 for grade 10 Aboriginal Peoples in Canada; and 144 registered for grade 11 Aboriginal Beliefs, Values, and Aspirations in Contemporary Society in 2006-07. This is a 25% increase from the previous academic year and the largest enrolment to date.
staff and their training. Each participant expressed a belief that the Haudenosaunee student was capable of success and that the Six Nations District was capable of becoming a successful system to the community. Further, many participants stated a responsibility to educate not only the Haudenosaunee students, but also the general Canadian students via enhanced curricula for the betterment of knowledge surrounding treaty law and the two-tiered system\textsuperscript{248} installed by the British Crown under the Indian Act.

\textsuperscript{248}It is important to acknowledge that there is a two-tiered system here. As a result of the Douglas Creek standoff, the Caledonia residents’ supporters have spoken of a two-tiered justice which is allowing for the Six Nations occupation to hold the land unlawfully and the OPP and Ontario Counts to do nothing (Blatchford, 2010). In fact there is a two-tiered system which has been discussed throughout the dissertation to this point including: two forms of citizenship (naturalized and enfranchised), two levels of funding WWII veterans, two funding formulas for on-reserve and off-reserve schools, two criteria for certification of teachers on and off-reserve, etc.
CHAPTER VIII—THE DISCOURSE of OGWEHO:WEH EDUCATION:
Social Particle Webbing

Our purpose is to address the practical question of how to approach public education and the changing of public attitudes in a period of tight budgets and limited attention spans. If a major and sustained effort in public education is required, as we believe it is, where and how should it begin?

RCAP, Vol 5, Ch 45, p. 3

In the previous two chapters I have offered an overview of the document and dialogue analysis, as well as some basic information that was revealed via the various searches. In this chapter I analyze the content revealed in the discourse pertaining to the policy and education of Ogweho:weh people in Canada and at Six Nations.

This chapter is comprised of three main sections. Initially, the seven discourse threads and the opposing themes that were described by both the documents and the dialogues are presented. Second is the explanation of the web and the comparison to the metaphor of Social Particle Webbing which is based on particle theory. Finally, the discourse and the web are combined in both discussion and graphics, explaining where and how the threads and their themes interact with each other. The web presented here illustrates the final results which were evident in the readings and supported through the dialogues.

Introduction to Use of Discourse

Writings I have examined pertaining to discourse theories and discourse analysis seem broad-based. Unlike clear matrices, I found that discourse analysis was not just as a model of study, but rather a framework of perspectives to interpret the individual case or studies by. The phenomenological discussions of discourse are married with social justice
and social change perspectives where power, inequities and often whiteness are central to the discussion. Although having to select any one perspective of discourse theory is a proverbial Sophie’s Choice, I align myself most closely with the works of James Paul Gee.

James Paul Gee’s works (2010, 2005, 1999, 1996) most directly speak to my own understanding of dialogue and interpretation of meaning. His (big D) Discourse, (little d) discourse differentiate meaning and impact between that language-in-use or what is written or said (discourse) and the actions and ideologies surrounding what is said (Discourse). These ideologies of what is known, believed, and valued frame how, where and when the actions occur. Most importantly, Discourse is the lens in which discourse is both interpreted and written. Still more complex, is the premise that both the action and ideology of Discourse and language of discourse are driven by social construction and therefore, regularly outside the awareness of the actor.

After considering my initial perspectives of research design, I found Gee’s (2010, 2005, 1999, 1996) distinction between Big D Discourse and little d discourse to best align with my belief that the discourse of the dialogue and text are not static since the meaning and interpersonal beliefs of Discourse are used in the creation of meaning and interpretation. Discourses are an ever changing, albeit slow moving, socially constructed broadcast of information which shape the very actions and perceptions of those who are members of

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\(^{249}\) Whiteness should not be perceived as a racist statement. Whiteness in this article and in the context of this discussion pertains to a middle class Caucasian person who is most recognized in North America as the “white America”, and as living with White Privilege as a result.
society who are within the dominant, marginalized groups. As a result of the shift in Discourse, the meaning and interpretation of any text or word changes over time as the Discourse changes.

In the utilization of discourse theories in practice, I found Gee’s more holistic approach to be more compatible with Indigenous Theory than either van Dijk’s (2009, 1997, 1993) or Wodak’s (2009) Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Although I agree with discourse as a mechanism of study where the socially constructed ideology can be used to deconstruct the meaning and actions behind power, dominance, privilege and inequities; I find CDA too focused on the linguistic analysis and too little on the cultural differences of perspectives.

Van Dijk states that the main function of CDA is to “describe and explain how power abuse is enacted, reproduced or legitimized by the text and talk of dominant groups or institutions” (1996, p. 85). In her study of whiteness, the power to silence multicultural education, and social justice barriers in the all white classroom, Haviland (2008) states:

One of the tenets of CDA is that all representation is mediated by value-systems embedded in the language or that all language is ideological. Relations of dominance, discrimination, power and control in society are constructed, reproduced or resisted through discourse practices in transparent, but also opaque, ways (p. 221).

Although marginalization can still occur within CDA, the approach provided by Gee appeals to my sense of cross-cultural analysis of documents and dialogues as it is less focused on the linguistic interpretation and more so to the holistic interpretation. From an

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250 When considering this statement I visualize a subliminal advertisement creeping into the subconscious of the unknowing viewer. I also can image the situation where the message is not covert, but loud and blaring in the ears of those in the conversation. Imagine being at a function where there is loud music or multiple conversations. The two conversing parties try desperately to focus on what is being said within their conversations, but rouge words and distractions permeate their thinking so their conversation is ultimately drawn in directions by what they overhear or words and phrases are absorbed mistakenly by the two and inserted, often in ways that may not be coherent to their conversation.

Throughout this chapter I refer to discourse, threads and themes. Although my understanding of Discourse and discourse stem from Gee (2010, 2005, 1999, 1996), my use of terms to describe the findings vary slightly. To best understand the material discussed, one must first have a grasp of these terms as I intend them to be used. It should be noted that not all researchers, policy writers or educators use these terms in the same manner as described here. Primarily, many would refer to each thread as individual or independent discourses. This is a major difference between my perspective as I only see one discourse—the discourse of Ogweho:weh education.

As someone working within discourse theory, I distinguish that many different components create the perceptions and beliefs of the given situation. These individual components are referred to as the various themes. More important to the web that I discuss later in this chapter, is not the disjointed themes (which could be seen as floating independent to each other), but rather the ability to connect the themes as threads. Each thread, like a candle burning on two ends, has two competing themes. In some cases the themes are described as opposing views, polar in nature. In other cases these themes run parallel to each other, co-existing and described not as polar, but as a shift in paradigm within the same thread.

It is in the combining of the themes to form threads that each of the components can be represented in two-dimensional relationships. Further, it is in weaving the threads within the web that the discourse of Ogweho:weh education becomes an entity which describes the

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251 Gee may refer to this as competing Discourses.
current state of Ogweho:weh education. In the next section, the threads and their component themes are discussed. This is followed by a discussion of the interpretation of webs and how the Ogweho:weh Educational Discourse is represented as a web.

Discourse Threads and Their Companion Themes

Table 8.1
Ogweho:weh Policy Matrix

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>THREAD</th>
<th>Theme</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Real Self-Determinants</td>
<td>Jurisdiction</td>
<td>Intrinsic Values</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Responsibility</td>
<td>Treaty Bound</td>
<td>Economically Responsible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In the Spirit of Equity</td>
<td>Equity of Outcomes via Access</td>
<td>Equality of Services &amp; Educational Standards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Choice in Education</td>
<td>Cultural Succession</td>
<td>School Choice</td>
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<td>Rationale for Inaction</td>
<td>Lack of Funding</td>
<td>State of Education</td>
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<tr>
<td>Societal Opinion of First Nations</td>
<td>Impoverished &amp; Problematic</td>
<td>Canadian Embarrassment</td>
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<td>Success</td>
<td>Attainment</td>
<td>Human Being</td>
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Within the documents and dialogues a number of concerns were addressed. When these concerns and general conversation pieces were plotted on a graph, there was a more dynamic appearance between the disconnected pieces. In fact, the fourteen main themes fell
within seven threads, each with a double sided conversation (companion themes). It is this double ended group of threads which create the discourse involving educational policy.

**Thread 1: “Real” Self-Determinants:**

*Jurisdiction ↔ Intrinsic Values:* The majority of the documents I read referred to some sort of self-determination. However, self-determination was used with varying meanings. Behind the multiple interpretations implied, self-determination was on occasion used (as a cliché or catch phrase) even if it was not spoken of in a way that appeared to have any validity, impact or mechanism for implementation. One such example of this is the AFN Action Plan (AFN, 2005) in which they state, “First and foremost, change means that all levels of government must formally recognize the right to self-determination of First Nations peoples under domestic and international law” (AFN, 2005, p. 5). The statement is a foundation for other work to be accomplished, yet the meaning of self-determination has been a point of contention with the three signing authors of treaties since the original signing. I spent a great deal of time and effort sorting through the documents to determine whether the term “self-determination” was rhetorical or clearly defined within the

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252 Self-Determination has often been coupled with sovereignty. The capacity of sovereignty and sovereign government and articulation was out of the scope of this study. No aspect of the discussion of the Real Self-Determinant Thread should be inferred to be relating to the legal and treaty conditions of sovereignty.

253 Although I do believe that self-determination is a powerful aspiration, I see the use of the word becoming a catch phrase with people referring to the state loosely and without adequate actions.

254 Regardless of my personal believe in this statement, I see it as rhetoric. Additionally, by having the unequivocal acceptance of Ogweho:weh people as sovereign and able to self-govern within the confines of the independent provincial/territories and Canadian realm, the ability to move to future stages is hobbled indeterminately.

255 For the most part, the Crown and the United Stated authored treaties/wampum with the Ogweho:weh peoples of North America. Canada, when taking over government from the Crown accepted responsibility on behalf of the Queen for such commitments. Others were involved in wampum such as the French and Dutch but the main three refer to England, U.S. and Canada.
individual documents. The real self-determinants related to concepts of jurisdiction, or the ability to make decisions within a managerial framework. In the remaining cases, the self-determinants related to decision making concerning the propagation and teaching of intrinsic values or those value-based curriculum and pedagogy taught. Throughout the research this polar approach to community self-determinants [Jurisdiction ↔ Intrinsic Values] was demonstrated within national, provincial and local Ogweho:weh ministry and government documents and dialogues.

Within the dialogues, Haudenosaunee and Ogweho:weh peoples alike spoke of intrinsic values as being a part of self-determination. Where the line diverged between the two concepts was in the necessity to manage the agenda in order to be in control. Whereas jurisdiction was largely presented through the ability to take back ownership and control of a policy, program or project; intrinsic values were discussed as an opportunity and mechanism for change available in every avenue, regardless of style or organization.

Jurisdiction has both a contemporary and historical base within the documents such as the AFN’s Indian Control of Indian Education (1972, reprint 2001). As a thread, jurisdiction and the management and control aspect of Ogweho:weh education was what I would refer to as a “no brainer” to find. A highly common thread within both documents and discussions is an agenda to return the jurisdiction of Ogweho:weh education to the Ogweho:weh people. That being said, jurisdiction was seen to possess different meanings for different groups.

Throughout the research, three distinct terms were used when referring to jurisdiction: control, management and ownership. Management, for example, usually referred to a combination of decision making including fiscal, curricula and staffing. Ownership was used as a more grassroots term referring to the community holding the
power of decision making, and not a designated management board. Control usually referred to both management and ownership, with the management handled by a designated group overseen by the community. Further, there were many people in the dialogues who would use the terms interchangeably, with one dialogue participant stating, “It doesn’t really matter what you call it, it is about us stepping back into the equation of educating our community”. Since these terms have different functions and were often dealing with a variety of meaning; in the theme of Jurisdiction, the underlying capacity was created.256

*Intrinsic Values* was the opposing theme to the managerial aspects of day to day jurisdiction of the educational systems of Ogwehо:weh communities. The flip side of the determinant conversation, intrinsic values was described as the need and responsibility for the inclusion of the Ogwehо:weh core values and beliefs in education. The importance of propagating Ogwehо:weh (and Haudenosaunee specific) traditions, history and law were seen as a major shortcoming of the current system. Additionally, the lack of authentic curriculum was discussed in the dialogues as an obstacle to educating Native students, as well as the next generation of Canadians, in order to combat stereotypes and have more informed citizens.

The need and benefit of including values intrinsic to the community were discussed as practical in curriculum and good teaching techniques. There were some who believed that there was little opportunity to include these values into the daily curriculum stating, “Every day I battle to fit in what is needed – math, literacy, the skills they need. I give what I can

256 One aspect of jurisdiction which never faltered was the aspect of financial responsibility for the funding of Ogwehо:weh education was a responsibility of the federal government as dictated by treaty law and upheld within Constitutional documents.
[infusion of Haudenosaunee culture and values into the lessons] but culture just has to come from home”. As a response to this concern, 34% of educators and community activists stated that in some cases, private, charter or immersion schools are the best option for teaching the intrinsic values. For the most part, however, value-based curriculum and pedagogy referred less to immersion-style education and more to offering a strong Ogweho:weh understanding of cultural practices, history and identity within the mainstream curriculum.

**Thread 2: Responsibility**

*Treaty Bound ↔ Economically Responsible:* The second main thread of the texts was the idea of responsibility; also referred to as an obligation to act. This thread grew from an idea that obligatory responsibilities were outlined by treaty and constitutional law, to what I refer to as economically responsible actions. Economically responsible actions were described by many of the agencies and communities as resulting from fear of negative economic repercussions should no action be taken. In these cases, there was no law dictating actions, but those involved believed that taking action deferred serious economic impact to the federal/provincial government services and the Canadian public in general.

*Treaty Bound* responsibility was addressed by the dialogue participants and the Ogweho:weh documents (AFN, COO, etc.) in two areas. Initially, within the dialogues participants were quick to note that Control of Indian Education, albeit a valid argument, must maintain the funding relationship in order to hold the treaty obligations active. Within Haudenosaunee communities this was compared to the polishing of the Covenant Chain. Such treaty bound educational discussion encompassed not only a mandate by the Crown to

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257 This is discussed further in Theme 4: Choice in Education.
be upheld by the Canadian Constitution (via INAC), but the end result to provide comparable education to all First Nations under law.

The second area of treaty bound discussed, not only the need to act because of the requirements of the treaty (e.g. fund on-reserve elementary education), but also as a reason for holding the government to the current state of education. The demise of Ogweho:weh education was described as having occurred during the two hundred years of policy and action by the Crown and Canadian governments and therefore was their responsibility to fix. The two concepts of treaty bound were so intertwined that the arguments could not be divorced from each other. Treaty bound regularly was addressed in the dialogues, with participants offering statements such as “...yes, it’s broken. But why should we accept control over a system generationally defunct” or “On one-quarter the funding as [border districts], we would have to fix a system they broke and have yet to be able to repair with all the government coffers in their arsenal”.

*Economically Responsible Action* was discussed by both mainstream and Ogweho:weh government agencies. The Ogweho:weh response was given as a warning (e.g. If you don’t make change it is not going to improve on its own), whereas the mainstream response used a more fear driven tone (e.g. Can we afford the impact on society and the economy if we don’t make changes today?). Regardless, more movement was observed within the documents towards action as a result of the economical responsibility than that of Treaty Bound responsibilities. RCAP (1996) itself is a response to economic responsibility after the ongoing costs of Oka took their toll on the military budget, economic loss as a result of transit closures and the potential loss of credibility as a world leader in the area of Indigenous and human rights after the province called the military in to assist. More recent
and local in nature is the McGuinty Governments Ontario’s New Approach to Aboriginal Affairs (Ontario Native Affairs Secretariat, 2005) which set the stage, among other areas, for Aboriginal education to become a priority within Ontario, creating an office and numerous policy initiatives around FNMI education and bridging the achievement gap.

**Thread 3: In the Spirit of Equity**

*Equity of Outcomes via Access ↔ Equality of Services & Education Standards:* Again, documents had a string of content which delineated an interest in having equity between the Ogweho:weh and those of Canadian population. Some concerns were also addressed such as the low current attainment in education which was spoken of as needing improvement in order to meet the current provincial and federal attainment averages. This increased opportunity was seen as most productive when paired with special access programs. The opposite end of the equity thread referred to the disparities between educational services and standards between the on-reserve and off-reserve systems. The dialogues also were found to have a polar view and competing views of the spirit of equity.

*Equity of Outcomes via Access* crossed into all of the educational documents as well as conversations including educators and administrators in North America. However, although many used the statement “equity of outcomes” thus feeding into the discourse, it was common to hear the participants and documents later contradict themselves and argue against the neo-liberal stance.\(^{258}\) Equity of outcomes seeks to allow those who could not succeed in the current situation a chance to succeed. In other words, everyone has an equal

\(^{258}\) Neoliberal stance has a central focus of cost-benefit analyst as catalyst for action. Apple (2005) states that neo-liberals believe that private is good and public is bad since it is a black hole for financial investment with little to no results. In this economically based decision-making environment, the student client is seen as consumer, and their education is viewed as an investment in human capital.
opportunity. This equal opportunity or outcome, however, is contrived, as additional services are targeted at minorities and those deemed unsuccessful in order create an end result.

Where additional services are available or may be deemed as unsuccessful, a differentiated level of success is accepted for these students.\textsuperscript{259} Although at first glance the concept speaks of racial blindness, it in fact looks very closely at race and is a driving force behind the new self-identification policies in Ontario and throughout Canada.\textsuperscript{260}

Equality of Services & Education Standards reflects a social justice paradigm, speaking of anti-racist pedagogy more than general outcomes. Whereas equity of outcomes acknowledges the status of minority only for the purpose of identifying needs and offering assistance, equality acknowledges differences as inherent to all people and places expectations of success on all peoples and systems. Significantly, the argument of equality, especially within the dialogues, moved towards equality of expenditures on the Ogweho:weh education as compared to off-reserve expenses. Additionally, arguments of economic responsibility were often connected here when making the point that Ogweho:weh people are not disabled by birth right as equity of outcome would imply, and success within education would yield a decrease in required social services provided to Ogweho:weh people and communities.

\textsuperscript{259} The latter case of creating a differentiated level of success is readily accepted in special education and the Individualized Education Plan (IEP). Johnny cannot complete 20 spelling words each week so we allow for him to test with only the first 5. Two very concerning outcomes can occur from this differentiation. Initially, a “new normal” occurs where the normal for success or behaviours is what has been differentiated or “dumbed down” for this group. The other is the idea of a disabled by birth right which could easily be a gross misinterpretation that a group who needs extra assistance is a result of the racial groups ability and not the situation in which members of this racial group are exposed to.

\textsuperscript{260} This is also not new to North America with equal opportunity policies and legislation being implemented and questioned since the 1960’s Civil Rights Movements.
Thread 4: Choice in Education

*Cultural Succession ↔ School Choice*: Choice in education usually refers to the discussion of parent choice or charter education. However, the two aspects of choice referred within the texts and dialogues spoke of two distinct Ogweho:weh issues of choice. The first, cultural succession, refers to the desire to continue the lifeways of a cultural people. Language, cultural law, ceremony and specific knowledge have been discussed in the literature review chapter through both Indigenous Knowledge and Immersion Programs as a means of cultural continuation of the Ogweho:weh and Haudenosaunee. This idea of cultural succession was most specifically addressed within the immersion content of documents, and most often by community and Ogweho:weh agencies. The competing theme of this thread was the more broad idea of choice. This not only referred to parent choice, but also the ability for community input.

*Cultural Succession* was addressed in a number of ways. Initially dialogues spoke to the need for the community to have cultural succession. Advocates and some of the international participants made passionate arguments for the propagation of traditional knowledge, language and culture at the hands of the schools. Although some spoke of immersion programs completing this task, more stated a belief that the public on-reserve system could accomplish this end, if consultation, respect and community leadership were involved throughout the process.

The second argument pertaining to cultural succession was also in support, but taking the belief that such mechanisms were not in place on or off-reserve. Pertaining to the off-reserve situations, including those feeder schools to the reserve and those of general population, it was argued that neither the staff nor resources are in place or available.
Compared to the Catholic education system in Ontario, and other religious systems such as Muslim or Jewish schools, participants believed that this was only possible in a setting of choice in registration. Similarly, Haudenosaunee participants discussed local immersion schools that are no longer meeting the need of providing culture bearers via cultural succession since the option of choice is not met with the requirement and responsibility by families to practice. Further considerations were posed by non-Aboriginal educators working in the field of Ogwehó:weh education, who stated “We can provide enhanced experiences, but we can’t be responsible for providing a base which belongs to each of the individual nations. I don’t think we can do that—or that we would be wanted to”. Further, when discussing the improvement of education in the off-reserve settings, it was posed by numerous administrators that mainstream systems can only provide the role as dictated by their mandates (province/state/municipality) and not significantly alter the curriculum to provide major requirements in Ogwehó:weh studies.

Choice is not a new argument within education. Most regularly addressed by the advocates within the dialogues, educational choice pertaining to the ability to choose ones school was brought up in four different areas. First, advocates were concerned with the discussion of a limitation in the ability to choose which of the off-reserve secondary schools

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261 One of the stated requirements of the immersion programs at Six Nations is for families to be speakers at home or to have a commitment to become speakers. It is not uncommon for students to be enrolled in the programs who do not share the commitment to cultural succession as the programs’ founding families had intended.

262 Of note is the Alberta Ministry of Education who has undergone years of consultation with Ogwehó:weh elders and leaders to develop a curriculum which is threaded with local Ogwehó:weh perspectives including treaty knowledge K-12. Although the older grades are involved in learning the history and contemporary states of the people including treaty law, kindergarten students learn the basis of treaty law throughout the province. At the kindergarten level, this is accomplished by teaching the importance of making and keeping a promise. This is required text throughout the province and upheld via consultation, resources and ongoing professional development of all staff.
their children could attend. This was provoked by a recent study based upon complaints concerning the length of bussing to the various schools. Second, choice was discussed as advocates argued both sides of the on-reserve verses off-reserve secondary school issue. Third, and lesser in nature, was the discussion of the lack of choice for religious education, something which is not publicly accessible on the reserve, even though many other communities have tuition agreements for religious education off-reserve in Ontario and this is a right available to all Canadians including those residing in Ontario at Six Nations.

Fourth was a more general statement of choice, the ability for the community to choose a form of education, to be managed by which entity and working with whichever content and curriculum fits the needs of the community. Although prevalent within the dialogues, this argument first was initiated by the AFN/NIB’s 1972 Indian Control of Indian Education and subsequent response papers. Since that initial paper, questions have been posed by community members including participants when they asked control by whom? Although the ICIE document speaks of community control, communities have not moved forward in creating independent Boards of Education (as are found in municipal settings). Instead Directors of Education who report directly to subcommittees of Council and have pre-negotiated funding still held by INAC are the norm. As was discussed at Six Nations, participants spoke of a foreseen continuation of marginalized community voice.

Thread 5: Rationale for Inaction

Lack of Funding $\rightarrow$ State of Education: Although not as dominant a discussion within the documents, Rationale for Inaction was placed in several texts and significantly established
within the dialogues.\textsuperscript{263} The first issue relating to the thread of Rationale for Inaction was the current lack of funding for Ogweho:weh students (First Nations/treaty specific), which was identified as the main reason why changes cannot be made. The second and more direct issue was aimed at the federal government and INAC for creating the current educational pandemic.\textsuperscript{264}

\textit{Lack of Funding} was the first theme of the Rationale for Inaction thread and was limited to very specific circumstances within the schools today, and did not look historically. In more than one case, the participants specifically acknowledged the need to move beyond the blame of the past and look forward to how to make changes in today’s system. “No one is going to argue that residential schools haven’t been—and continue to be—a major catalyst in our education, but where does that lead us. I have a room of [students] today who need me”. A small number of participants viewed the lack of funding as key, unless they were describing economic responsibility and concerns.

\textit{State of Education} as a theme of Rationale for Inaction is clearly one of anger and ties to other threads in the discourse of Ogweho:weh education. Economic Responsibility, Equality of Services and Educational Standards, Choice, and later in this chapter Attainment; each feed into the perspective presented that the state of Ogweho:weh education is the

\footnotesize\textsuperscript{263} Originally this thread was titled \textit{Blame}. However, after further consideration I determined that although the respondents were placing blame as to why there were problems within Ogweho:weh education, more significantly they were rationalizing inaction towards change. A common notion was “It has taken us three hundred years to get here, why would we think we can fix it overnight”. This and other statements like it were excuses, not blame, of why change could not or would not be successful.

\footnotesize\textsuperscript{264} The Education Pandemic refers to the extremes occurring in Ogweho:weh education. Although words such as achievement gap sound as if there is a difference between mainstream and Aboriginal peoples; this difference is not a gap, but rather a chasm. Whether the low rate of graduation, low post-secondary enrolment, slight professional degree completion; pandemic is more representative of the extreme danger the Ogweho:weh people face.
direct fault of the historical and contemporary politics. This theme was regularly connected to the question of appropriateness of taking responsibility of the current education system when the success of a student on-reserve is much more than the sum of the classroom parts.\textsuperscript{265} Regardless, it was agreed that inaction will continue to further negatively impact the state of Ogweho:weh education. It was also agreed that the current educational attainment gap directly impacts the overall welfare of the people as the education of the youth effects the communities for generations to come.

\textbf{Thread 6: Societal Opinion of Ogweho:weh}

\textit{Impoverished & Problematic $\leftrightarrow$ Canadian Embarrassment:} The sixth thread within the documents was again a periphery argument but was nonetheless strong enough to be categorized as one of the seven threads of the Ogweho:weh education discourse. The societal opinion of Ogweho:weh presented held two very different emotive reactions. The first was that of a people impoverished and living in a problematic state (low education, high poverty, low social capital, high violence). The competing theme was the historical and contemporary treatment of the Ogweho:weh peoples as an international embarrassment to Canada.

\textit{Impoverished & Problematic} specifically was tied to Ogweho:weh people as a burden on the general Canadian pocket. A variety of needs, such as additional monies for bridging the educational gap or for social services, feed directly into this theme. Although it was upheld within the documents that, in fact, communities are impoverished; it was the connotation that an impoverished community is therefore a blight and problem to be

\textsuperscript{265} Quality teachers, good resources, and small classroom sizes are not the only sum of the classroom parts to be considered. Specifically the participants referred to historic conditions such as legacy of residential school, loss of language, poverty, and community apathy that must also be considered.
contended with. Pertaining to impoverished and problematic, Preston (2008) asked the question:

Canadian media continue to fixate on portrayals of pathology among Indigenous peoples and communities, and regularly point out that Canada’s 1.5 million Aboriginal people are a strain and stain on Canadian identity and economy. Is the underlying purpose of this media voice to raise collective contempt, guilt or empathy, or demands for change? (p. 148).

Although documents such as the RBC *Cost of Doing Nothing* (RBC & Cando, 1997) primarily addressed the issue from the lens of Economically Responsible Actions, they also bridged the social problems of impoverished and problematic by adopting common societal opinions as a tool for initiating change.

*Canadian Embarrassment* was apparent less than Impoverished and Problematic but still appeared dominant within many of the same documents as the theme of impoverished and problematic. The difference between this and the competing theme was a push for change in the opinion of Canada within the global (and national perspective). This concern of Canadian perceptions did not include a need for the betterment of a people, or to address the state of a people and the effect it will have on the greater Canadian populace and their economy. Rather, a more external view of how Canada is viewed in the greater global market was at the core. Documents which illustrate the Indigenous impacts of Canadian policies bring to light the global embarrassment pertaining to Ogweho:weh peoples. These include the Kelowna Accord (and then the subsequent tabling of the Accord), and the RCAP (and subsequent response papers). Additionally, the failure to pass resolutions within the United Nations pertaining to Indigenous rights and recognition by both the United States and Canada, further upheld the standing embarrassment of Canada’s role in injustice towards the Ogweho:weh. Canada, as compared to the United States, has more at stake since we
engaged in socialism at the core of decades of governments while the same governments have voted down opportunities to build Canada’s Ogweho:weh people up.

**Thread 7: Success**

*Attainment ↔ Human Being*: The final thread of the study was found primarily within the dialogues and relates to how participants identified success for Ogweho:weh peoples, as well as what they identified as aspects of a successful person.\(^{266}\) *Attainment* was frequently described as the prime evaluation method to determining success. Within the documents however, attainment was the main area of success, if success was even an attribute sought. In nearly all cases, participants spoke of attainment as either the main areas of success or an aspect of success. Although documents spoke purely of success as attainment (and retention/progression), less of the participants singularly saw attainment as equating to success.

*Human Being* was the descriptor used in many of the dialogues as the ultimate successful person. One participant stated, “School is not the end and we often react as if it is. …Although we do want our kids to be successful it is more important that they know success as an adult”. This was described by others as well with a central tenet that the grading of people is something which is relevant only in that setting, but the success of the human being is something which lives on in everything one does. Additionally, the success of the human being is felt further than any level of attainment or school year. Secondly, the human being as the ultimate acknowledgement of success referred additionally to the over-

\(^{266}\) Those documents which addressed success did so as a value judged primarily by the test scores and attainment levels. The Ontario Ministry of Education’s Aboriginal Education Office discussed success as both the bridging of the attainment gap of Aboriginal peoples and the non-score related aspects of success such as high rates of self-esteem.
emphasize of education as an end-all-be-all to success. It was noted by participants that although it is desired for people to be successful in K-12 and go on to post-secondary, that is a very limited view of success as post-secondary in Canada is designed as an elitist system where only a small percentage of Canadians venture.

**Social Particle Webbing**

As a social scientist I often look to the natural sciences for the laws which govern nature, and see how these can be used to describe humanity and social behavior. Whether contrasting leadership models from a zoological perspective in the case of pack hunting and alpha dog leadership or social development in the perception of Social Darwinism; social sciences have looked to the natural sciences throughout our short two centuries of study.

The natural sciences, specifically the geospatial and physics disciplines, have given the world Particle Theory which explains many aspects of nature including heat, vibration and utilization of space. Deschamps and Mohns (1991) describe Particle Theory as a complex theory of physics evident on earth and in space and responsible for the most simplistic concepts as heat to the more obtuse prospects of black holes. Although a physics theory, some of the more basic concepts are easily experienced. First is the concept of heat and vibration. It is an understood that natural laws dictate that the closer particles are to each other the denser the matter; whereas the further apart the particles are the more they must move before they encounter another particle to bounce off of. These are the general rules of heat, mass and vibration. The closer the particle the more they bounce off of each other in

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vibration; the more they vibrate, run and touch, the more heat they generate and the more they interact with and play off of each other.

The second concept of Particle Theory which speaks to me is the utilization of space. Again seen throughout nature, it is understood that the larger objects will dominate the space leaving pockets unfilled where there is space. One example of this space utilization phenomenon is seen when a child fills a bucket with items such as soil: the largest sediments such as rocks settle and leave large gaps between them. These hollow spaces are then available for smaller materials such as pebbles to settle in between. Even so, these smaller particles leave gaps between them and other materials such as fine dirt or sand will fill in between. At the naked eye we may believe that there is no room or gaps left, but when one pours water onto that same area, the water is held in the infinitesimal spaces left between the dirt and sand. This utilization of space can go on, in theory, as smaller and smaller objects attempt to occupy the same space, signifying that there is no finite end to any given space utilization, merely capacity of size.\(^{268}\)

With the brief primer on aspects of Particle Theory it is time to ask what Social Particle Theory is. An interpretation of the two presented points of the natural world—vibration and space, these same concepts are also visible within the social world. Most noticeably, marginalization can be described as an example of space use and capacity within the social world. More dominant groups, people and personalities take up the foreground leaving gaps where the marginalized congregate—in the fringes, margins and cracks of the society. A second view of this is that those in power usually forge ahead on the backs of the

\(^{268}\) Some theorists believe that in nature there is no true contact as a slight bubble created by the energy of objects surrounds each object. Some state this is air particles, others say that it is the energy of the electrons and neutrons. Regardless, this endless capacity as objects decline in size means that there is a seemingly endless capacity for fill.
smaller people; climbing on others to reach their pinnacles of power, while leaving in their wake those who have been considered immaterial.

Heat and vibration on the other hand, are best seen in social gatherings. Whether positives such as liberation movements or negatives of mob mentality; as people talk, gather and act, they attract others to follow and fold in. This causes more action or snowball effect which is the social description of the natural world’s particle vibration causing heat.

**Web Description & Metaphor: Social Particle Webbing**

Although I did not create the perspective of a Policy Web (Joshee & Johnson, 2005), Discursive Web (Goldberg, 2005) or Particle Theory (Chan, 1999; Deschamps & Mohns, 1991; Martin & Spearman, 1970), it is in this manner that I conduct what I believe to be reparative Ogweho:weh research and action.

Joshee and Johnson (2005) state that social webs are a well-developed area of study dating back more than a half-century. Work in the area of policy webs, however, is a newer field of study. In general, policies and policy webs represent competing or differing understandings, meanings and implementations. Further, the policies and their competing intentions and discourses must function within the same institutions (e.g. Canada, Ontario Ministry of Education, individual districts and even schools). Although one perspective of the policy web states that even though there are changes made, the other threads or policies of the web compensate resulting in a slight ripple which produces little to no change to the structure and output of the web (Reynolds in Joshee & Johnson, 2005). Joshee and Johnson see the policy web quite differently as they state, “We do not see the web in such a
deterministic way. We see it as a discursive and dialogical space within which there are possibilities for change” (2005, p. 55). They write:

[The] web has rings that represent the different levels at which policy is formally developed and cross-cutting threads that while connected are not linear, thus representing policies at different levels that address similar issues but are not necessarily harmonious. The points at which the threads cross the rings represent discrete policy texts, each of which is the result of historical struggles (p. 55).

These historical struggles are inherent in policy as the releasing of text does not magically produce change. Rather the discussions which come as a result of the new policy texts exemplify the struggle and change. As these discussions occur new discourses are created, thus shaping the web. Joshee and Johnson explain:

A significant aspect of the web is that it draws our attention to the open spaces between the threads. It is in these spaces that individuals have some freedom to act in ways that support, extend, or undermine stated policy objectives and to introduce new ideas that may influence the policy discourse. The web approach acknowledges that the policy process is complex and it involves actors from within and outside of the state (2005, p. 55).

Goldberg (2005) builds on the Joshee and Johnson concept of policy webs. She states that the individual discourses surrounding the policy(ies) weave around the text\textsuperscript{269} intersecting, conflicting, and altering other understandings of the message, while at the same time each competing to be heard as the dominant voice. Each of these discourses (as spoken by varying agencies and voices) collect to create a discursive web, greater than the sum of its parts. She writes:

\textsuperscript{269} Text is described as both the written and spoken word surrounding a topic.
I believe the producers of the text cannot control how it is taken up in reality. It is the multiple discourses that impact its meaning or interpretations. Multiple discourses from multiple sources work together as an orchestra. In the end, it may be difficult to separate the notes from distinct instruments, although the instruments work together to form a song. Thus, multiple discourses work together to create a version of the truth that structures current power relations or normalizes a certain way of life by formulating meaning and understandings which disciplines action and regulates behavior (Goldberg, pp. 94-95).

In short, Goldberg modifies Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) (Fairclough in Goldberg, 2005) through which analyzes one text or voice, to research multiple texts and voices in order to see a full picture of the networks.  

Policy is not fully understood in isolation. Only by looking at each of the layers impacting the policy thread can the true knowledge of the meaning, discourse and hidden opportunities be presented. Dissimilar to other web interpreters, I do not look at that which is defined—the threads of the web. Instead of looking at the physical weaving of the threads, I use particle theory to view that which is yet undefined and vacant of current meaning and history to determine what opportunities to change exist. I choose this view for two reasons. First, I do not believe that contested meanings in discourse are obvious places to invest our arguments. We see, hear, experience discourses and therefore respond and interact according to these parameters. Spending time on such threads for me is merely reinforcing their effects.

My second reason for this view is to create and support social change. From the perspective of Social Change, which I believe much of Indigenous Theory aims towards,

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270 Critical Policy Discourse Analysis, according to Goldberg (2005) is an expansion of CDA through the works of Foucault, Ball, Gale, and Joshee & Johnson in order to looks at the discourses of policy.
both the small and insignificant (as in the spider) and that which is undefined and unclaimed are often ignored tools for change. Beyond the interpretations and movement towards justice, the web demonstrates social and natural law. The space between the threads is agency where change action occurs. It was in considering the social phenomena of agency that I began to view the web as a form of Particle Theory (Chan, 1999; Deschamps & Mohns, 1991; Martin & Spearman, 1970). In nature we see smaller particles, even though there may be more of them, disappear into the background as the larger, more dominant items take on the foreground of sight—in short, marginalizing and silencing particles. Further, the Particle Theory explains movement including vibration and the physical generation of heat. In nature as particles move faster three things occur: (1) the vibration causes heat to be created; (2) through heat generation (or loss) the particles have the potential to change state (solid, liquid, gas); and (3) the particles begin to spread out, vibrating further apart.

Interpreted through a sociological lens, I believe that the very acts of discussion and research

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271 As an Indigenous educator and researcher I prefer to view what many refer to as Social Change instead as Reparative Justice. In essence the changes I aim to inspire and vibrate within communities are for the express purpose of restorative and reparative justice within education in an attempt to solidify contemporary positioning within traditional life ways.

272 Marginalized or those living in the margins refer to those living outside of the dominant society. These include those who are marginalized ethnically or socially such as the homeless. Although a marginalized group of people can differ from situation to situation (e.g. white middle class woman could be marginalized due to her choice to seek a career and not a family), for this purpose I refer to the groups of people who reside regularly on the fringes due to their race, culture and or socio-economic standing. Haviland (2008) and Glenn (2004) discusses how silence can be used to propagate marginalization; whereas Flores (1996) addressed social change methods of Chicana’s by carving out a physical space as a result of ending silence and creating discursive space. Ogweho:weh research has also looked at marginalization within the population. This is most notably found in work such as the Urban Aboriginal Task Force publications (OFIFC, 2007a; OFIFC, 2007b) and the SAEE reports (Fulford, Moore Daigle, Stevenson, Trolley & Wade, 2007; Bell 2004).

273 North American society is fascinated with this silencing technique. In the cartoons and pictures that you must focus on a spot and then pull the picture away or closer in order to see the hidden second pictures, children and adults alike play with the sociological concept of silencing and giving back voice to that which blends into the background. Our combined fascination and fear of the dark is also based on this concept of not knowing or seeing what has or may have blend in with the background.
alter the perceived vibrations of the participants, thus producing heat and a clearer view of the margins. Within the efforts of this philosophy of research, participants are invited not only by what they bring to the table, but also by who can take energy and new vibrations away with them, thus enabling more activity by adding “heat”. Even though the threads (a more regulated discourse analysis) are important here, it was the spaces within the web that I focus on as they offered the most opportunity for producing, movement and heat—ultimately change regardless of the history and contemporary state.

As Figure 8.1 demonstrated, Social Particle Webbing is about creating space out of nothingness and empty, untapped space. It is about subversion, platforming and deconstruction in the most practical sense as the activity either forces new states of being and knowing or platforms those who reside in the nothingness (marginalization). The web, although two-dimensional in its picture, is three-dimensional in reality. As is displayed, the web threads are not one clear line of thought, but individual documents and social experiences which create the policy discourse.
The discourse is created when the threads link together. As is evident in Figure 8.2, the thread is comprised not of a single thought, but rather a series of events and artifacts. These documents and events are socially constructed to create the competing themes found on each thread. In the event that one of these documents is removed from the thread, the thread may expand, stretch or adhere to its original configuration. Out of the nothingness between the threads (absence of vibration and unutilized space within the model), both people and their social action are awaiting introduction to the space. This pressure outward from the newly gathered social action can push, fracture or
reshape the thread. With enough vibration the thread can even be snapped, allowing for
the joining of multiple spaces within the web.

Figure 8.2
Deconstructed Thread

The very act of vibration takes on two distinct effects. First, it vibrates, collects
and may ultimately push or reshape the web. Secondly, the marginalized perspective
may become an accepted piece of the web, thus entering the thread in one of the
competing themes, or as a new theme altogether. As more and more themes adhere to
the given threads, the very premise of the discourse can be altered. These movements in
the web are representative of social change and reparative justice.
As an Indigenous educator and researcher the “packaging” of the historical is very important to me. Although I believe that we can never remove ourselves from our past (nor should we ever leave a state of retrospection); in order to make great strides

As can be seen within this series of diagrams, the actors gathered, causing more vibrations which shifted the thread by pushing it. Although more and more energy was gathered no change was made for several gatherings until finally, with enough action, the thread finally snapped. In some cases the thread holds fast, but still more space is taken by the actors as the thread is pushed and reshaped. In other cases the thread snaps leaving two or more dangling pieces to either be blown off and discarded by the web or to re-join other like threads which are adjacent. Either way, the actors have succeeded in expanding their own space.
forward, we must often put aside our past\textsuperscript{275} in order to clear our mind and see a future. One such example is that of residential schooling and the legacy it has caused within the Anglo-Indigenous relations of Canada, United States, Australia and New Zealand. This history remained unchecked for generations and the result was the education systems of these countries Indigenous peoples spiraling in a free fall. Direct examples of social mores impacted by this historical trauma are currently experienced in Indigenous homelessness\textsuperscript{276}, mobility\textsuperscript{277}, under-employment\textsuperscript{278}, imprisonment\textsuperscript{279}, prostitution\textsuperscript{280}, gang involvement\textsuperscript{281}, teen pregnancy\textsuperscript{282}, substance use\textsuperscript{283}, suicide\textsuperscript{284}, and children in care\textsuperscript{285}. In order for us to focus on the needs of the State of Ogweho:weh Education we

\textsuperscript{275} By putting aside or packaging our past, I mean that we can have three states actively considered including: the past, current and future. Similar to minimizing a window on your computer screen, items can be folded and put to the side. The process of folding them allows us to gain more room in the current space, while not being discarded.

\textsuperscript{276} See CBC, 2007; HRSD, 2007; The National Homelessness Initiative, 2005; McCue & Wigmore, 1990; Baskin, 2007; Layton, in Rokach, 2004; Beavis, Klos, Carter & Douchant, 1997; Edmonton Homelessness Study, 2004; UNNS, 2001; Cauce & Morgan, 1994; Fitzgerald, 1995; MacLean et al., 1999; Decter, 2007; Golden et al., 1999.

\textsuperscript{277} See Zehr, 2007.

\textsuperscript{278} See OFIFC, 2007a; Peters, 2002; Carr-Stewart, 2001; Statistics Canada, 2006a; Royal Bank of Canada & Cando, 1997.

\textsuperscript{279} See Archibald, n.d.

\textsuperscript{280} See Kingsley, 1998.


\textsuperscript{282} See Guimond & Robitaille, 2008; Health Canada, 2000; Brunnen, 2003; Saskatchewan Institute of Public Policy, 2004; van der Woerd, Dixon, McDiarmid, Chittenden & Murphy, 2005; SSCAP, 2003.


\textsuperscript{284} See Schissel & Wotherspoon, 2003; Metha & Webb, 1996.

will pack these situations as a direct result to the current state, acknowledging that we can come back to them later, and then focus on the findings and Social Particle Webbing today.

In order to break the cycles and move forward one must always be aware of how they have gotten to the place, but in focusing on the blame and the past (the written threads) that actor is limited in their view of the opportunities (empty space). A strong actor does not only use the script which has been handed to them, they use the stage to impart their story to those around them. This is the essence of Social Particle Webbing: knowing the space which is currently un-utilized and adding voice, depth and vibration to that space to force movement into the web.

As was discussed earlier in this chapter, access to space is never an issue as particles are constantly in motion and larger materials allow for smaller particles to fill the gaps between them. Even the smallest particles of water can have an impact on rock and concrete when their vibrations change their state of being. Water alone has little impact, but ice can bring down mountains. This dialoguing within the web or negotiation of space utilization has been discussed by other authors, although they themselves may not have originally seen themselves as participating in Social Particle Webbing. Kaomea (2003), Hill (2006) and Ladner (2001); although they may not refer to themselves as working within a social change model of Social Particle Webbing; each have at the core of their methods the tenets of Grandmother Spider and the effect to impart new vision and action based on their efforts.
Conclusion

The discourse of Ogweho:weh education which is represented within the web is socially constructed and represented, as of today, by the 14 competing themes which form seven two-tailed threads. No one thread is seen as more important than the next as each is constructed by various documents and events. Further, one thread may seem to receive more attention than others due to the current political regime or societal will, but the web is stable within its entirety. As each thread is represented by documents and events, it must be understood that no one document or event is owned by any given thread as each contribute to the whole of Ogweho:weh education and vice versa. I purposefully have not included a final graphical descriptor of the Ogweho:weh Education Social Particle Webbing, as doing so would stagnate the web’s usefulness and its ability to invite the platforming of agency. Although Figure 8.4 offered an example of what one of the threads could look like, with individual documents and events partnering to create the thread, it is a representation and not a final view of this thread or the web itself. This does not mean however, that a set representation does not exist today, at this given point.

Even as this dissertation is being considered by readers, Grandmother Spider is circling her web, visiting and revisiting, looking for potential erasures. The actors are gathering, dialoguing, voicing their interests and frustrations and gathering vibrations from each other. Threads are swaying from the reactions of these vibrations within the open spaces within the web. As a result, social change and reparative justice within Ogweho:weh education is continuing to stretch, return, and reshape. The actors are being platformed by

Given that the discourse and the threads are a snapshot of the state of Ogweho:weh education, additional threads could be added or those present could be absorbed by new or competing themes in the future.
this and other Indigenous philosophically based research; and they are looking for weakness, cracks, fissures and empty space where they may add their voice with the intention of increasing the energy and potential space—all with the intended outcome of Social Change of the Ogweho:weh student’s possible pathways.
CHAPTER IX—CONCLUSION & RECOMMENDATIONS

To initiate phase one of a shift in authority, we recommended that federal, provincial and territorial governments act promptly to acknowledge that education is a core area of self-government jurisdiction, that is, one in which Aboriginal nations and their communities can take initiatives. Such acknowledgement would open the door to adaptation and flexible interpretation of existing legislation and funding conditions and would allow Aboriginal nations and communities that are ready to proceed with fundamental change to get started. ... In phase two, Aboriginal nations will reconstitute themselves and gain recognition under the proposed Aboriginal Nations Recognition and Government Act. They will then be able to exercise jurisdiction in core areas, preferably agreed upon with the federal and provincial governments, in the context of a Canada-wide framework agreement, or with the federal government and those provinces ready to act. We have no doubt that education will be one of the areas in which Aboriginal nations will wish to assume jurisdiction at an early date and that it will be readily recognized by federal and provincial governments as an area of vital concern to the life and welfare, the culture and identity of Aboriginal peoples.

RCAP, Vol. 3, Ch 5, pp. 150-151

Research Question 1:

What changes has RCAP made to Ogweho:weh education in Canada?

The RCAP document represented something unique for the federal government: a five volume Commission looking at all aspects of Ogweho:weh life in Canada. Further, this document was written mainly by Ogweho:weh researchers. What occurred as a result was unprecedented for the literature and activities surrounding Ogweho:weh life in Canada. A bubble of research directly following RCAP left many feeling that changes were on the
horizon. Unfortunately, the high energy vibrations of activity began to die down by 1999 and by early 2001 there was little being released in the field.

However, the new scholars that arrived on the scene as a result of the vibrations the early half of the post-RCAP decade are noteworthy. This group is new to academia, research and publications, but the body of work they have provided in just the last few years is working to re-energize that lost activity.

Research Question 2:

How does the community understand success at Six Nations?

Even though both INAC and the Canadian Constitution identify a fiscal responsibility to the elementary and secondary education of First Nations students, there are few instances that referenda, policies and curriculum procedures/improvements have been laterally applied to include the reserve schools within provinces. Carr-Stewart states on this matter that, “First Nations students were denied the educational programming and opportunities which facilitated similar achievement levels as their non-Aboriginal peers” (2001, p. 9). Bell (2004) supported this concern when he wrote:

The case studies confirm an uneven playing field in terms of resources. Inadequate educational funding remains a critical issue for all but the largest band-operated schools. While the disparity in funding seems to be slowly improving, federal educational funds available to band-operated schools remain substantially below provincial levels, estimated by some as 75% of that available to provincially operated schools. If the intent of federal authorities is to ensure that Canada's Aboriginal people receive a level of education equivalent to that provided by provincial authorities, educational grants from the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND) should be calculated using provincial funding definitions, formulas and accountability mechanisms. For true equivalency, funding must also take into account the cost of providing the infrastructure and support services provinces provide through their Education ministries. (Bell, 2004, p. 15).
The second research question of this study had to do with the definition of success specifically at the Six Nations Reserve in Southern Ontario. This question was viewed at a micro level of Six Nations, but also compared to a macro perspective throughout Turtle Island with how leaders in education defined success. Success according to the macro perspective was defined comprehensively, and considered more than attainment levels. Such success included the student becoming a whole being who understands their past and future, can visualize themselves as successful, and has the skill-set to make such successes happen. In some cases such skill-sets were defined as language, while others saw it as the academic standards or knowledge of working and life off-reserve. Additionally, some discussed success as becoming a good parent, and one who would ensure their children were loved and had increased opportunities.

At the micro level, Six Nations respondents defined success in much the same way. Educators and advocates spent much of their time speaking about success as achieving attainment and personal success. Comparable attainment referred to the students bridging the Ontario attainment gap while meeting the general standards of college, university, training and professional attainment. Personal success was not as clear across the two groups. The primary area of personal success had to do with personal and physical wellness (e.g. healthy, non-drug use). Discussions of language and cultural capacity were the second most discussed personal success. However, an understanding of language and culture of Six

287 In conversation post-study, a colleague spoke of her time working in an Indigenous community in Taiwan. She stated “I was surprised to note the similar concerns that you mentioned existed across the Pacific Ocean. …I know that many [Taiwan] educators have concerns and wonder what causes the disparity of academic achievement between the aboriginal and mainstream students.” What and why the academic results of colonization and communal suppression affect the Indigenous students in this way is another discussion, but the similar concerns of Indigenous peoples globally are important to be aware of as the Haudenosaunee and Ogweh:weh are not the only people living in this state.
Nations and the Haudenosaunee people were discussed not only as a success for the individual, but also a success for the community. The final main area of personal success discussed was the idea that students develop a sense of responsible action. This ties into personal health and wellness, but also includes leadership and volunteerism as students realize that there are responsibilities placed on the Haudenosaunee student to achieve and give back to their community that non-Aboriginal communities may not consider an aspect of their personal success.

Future Research Implications

Implications of this study are many. Initially there is the identification of the discourse of Ogweho:weh education including the seven threads and fourteen competing themes. Although this is not the first time that Ogweho:weh education has been discussed in literature, it is the first time that policy discourse has been presented based on macro documents. It is also the first time the micro documents of Six Nations (Band number 40) have been reviewed in such a way. Impact on the field could include future researchers building upon or challenging these threads. Past or future decades (and century) could also be analyzed to design a historical web documenting where and when the individual threads of the discourse were initiated. For the purpose of this research however, it is clear that the threads and discourse is well established.

The second implication is the content of the dialogues. As a researcher I anticipated discovering evidence of localized and international discussion of Ogweho:weh education within Six Nations and Turtle Island. Having been to a few conferences where this was the topic, I anticipated a level of availability of conference proceedings developed from this level
of discussion as well. What I found was an awareness that the dialogues have occurred but little evidence of said discussions.\textsuperscript{288} As an artifact this document reminds researchers what has happened, both as a result of this study and in the past.\textsuperscript{289} With no evidence of conference proceedings, dissertations and research publications; students, researchers and communities are forced to reinvent the wheel, participating in the same discussions over and over.

Related to the dialogues is the research question pertaining to success. I personally believe this is a very significant piece. It is not the first time that success has been discussed from a holistic Indigenous point of view, but it occurs so little that every opportunity must be seized. As a high school dropout and a survivor of street living as a teenager, I was, for all intent and purposes, written off by mainstream society. Youth who runaway, live on the streets and/or dropout like I did, can make it back into academia and can find ways of being successful in life. In my case it was academia which pushed me to drop out and head to the streets. After three years of being a homeless street youth, I found myself 17 and wondering how I had survived as long as I had and if, just possibly, Creator had something else in store for me. According to what respondents revealed about success, that was my first in a string of successes which had nothing to do with academia but eventually would lead me to one of

\textsuperscript{288} Although this is speculative, I believe that Haudenosaunee research is being done in the areas of action research and classroom practices. However, this research is being completed by practitioners who have a focus on implementation of their findings and have not had the opportunity to share or publish their work. In part this is due to a marginalization process of Ogwehoweh classroom teachers often not participating in ongoing AQ courses or master’s degrees. Regardless of the reasoning, the result is that the body of research available is limited.

\textsuperscript{289} See examples such as the Urban Aboriginal Task Force (OFIFC, 2007a); Urban Aboriginal Education Project (Hill & Redwing Saunders, 2008); FNMI Education Policy Framework Implementation Study (Redwing Saunders & Saunders, 2009); and the Society for the Advancement of Excellence in Education (Phillips & Raham, 2008; Fulford, Moore Daigle, Stevenson, Trolley & Wade, 2007; Henchey, 2005; Bell 2004, 2003)
the greatest academic successes of our educational system—the illustrious Ph.D. The impact of success comes in many shapes and forms. I believe a third implication of this study will be that others will understand that all steps along a path are success. No success is definitive, but rather another point along the continuum of an individual's life.

The fourth implication of the research is the intention to add a new catalyst to the discussion which will engage current and future researchers to consider social action and change. Ultimately if we do not bring about change, what are we doing this for? Life is a dance between status quo and change. They take turns leading and only we, the actors who are invested in one side or the other, can change the dance. I feel we are at the edge of the cliff, rocky and dangerous with no bottom in sight and no clear path to the other side.

Change, by nature is hard. As in particle theory items in a resting state stay resting whereas items in movement continue to move. It is time to stop resting while we demand change. Standing behind the few who are working will not bring about the change that the masses have demanded. In order to bring about Indian Control of Indian Education we must take action, regardless of the difficult path ahead. To rebuild cultural capacity within our communities we must each learn the language and culture and not leave this enormous task to the small shoulders of our youth and future generations. Potential energy is just that—an item in a resting state which has the potential to attain a movement state. This and other studies and discussions like it can be that charge.

The use of Indigenous Theory as a philosophy is again, nothing new (at least within community based research). What I do feel is innovative here is the precedent it sets for a department and ethics review board to accept said philosophical stance as a framework for education outside of an Aboriginal Studies Department. I am very proud of the committee of
this dissertation for acknowledging my desire to utilize the Ogweho:weh philosophy without forcing me to compare and hybridize it with more readily accepted paradigms of thought. The hybridizing of Ogweho:weh philosophy and academically accepted theory for the mere purpose of providing credibility to the Ogweho:weh philosophy was something I actively worked against. Instead, I hope the fifth implication of this study is to give permission to future researchers to stand fast by the philosophy of research which is understood within their Ogweho:weh communities.

Finally is the concept of Social Particle Theory and Social Particle Webbing. Within this study the new concept based on the physical sciences was used to describe Ogweho:weh education and change within a historically and politically shaped field. Many researchers who have not described themselves or been shaped by this new socio-political model have in fact been functioning within its confines of both webbing and social change. Battiste (2000) for example states that:

...Indigenous education is not one site of struggle but multiple struggles in multiple sites. Thus, these diverse struggles cannot simply be reduced to singular, one-dimensional solutions. Interventions and transformative strategies must be correspondingly complex, and they must be able to engage with and react to the multiple circumstances and shapes of oppression, exploitation, assimilation, colonization, racism, genderism, ageism, and the many other strategies of marginalization” (p. xxi).

Others have been working in this three dimensional web, although they may have seen their work as taking on other forms or functions.

Although the concept of Social Particle Theory was explored through an Indigenous example, Social Particle Theory and Social Particle Webbing is a model of social change and need not be limited to Indigenous or encultured work. In any case where history, policy, or political discourses come together to shape a perception, Social Particle Webbing can be
used. Further, this web model can be used to describe any snapshot of a current situation, while at the same time demonstrating what has been present and changed over time and how said changes made for new spaces between the threads.

**Recommendations**

It would be a natural progression within the dissertation to offer a comprehensive list of recommendations, but I believe that pertaining to Ogweho:weh education they have all been made, reiterated and reiterated again. RCAP alone made 433 recommendations pertaining to the future living conditions of Ogweho:weh peoples; 44 of those directly involved educational improvements such as attainment and control. The Urban Aboriginal Task Force also had 2 of 15 recommendations pertaining to education of Ogweho:weh peoples living within or moving between urban and other housing. Most specific to Ogweho:weh in Ontario was the COO Manifesto for First Nations Education in Ontario (COO, 2004b) and CODE’s Urban Aboriginal Education Report (Hill & Redwing Saunders, 2008). In each of the 15 COO chapters of the Manifesto, recommendations, identified problems, and in some cases, solutions were offered. The UAE Report suggested 10 changes for the province and an additional 10 changes for the Districts. Most disappointing to the decade post-RCAP were the loss of actions taken on the Kelowna Accord (Patterson, 2006; Henchey, 2005) which made detailed and measurable recommendations. Each of these measurable changes was tied to funding cut by the Conservative Government in 2006. Little hope of future change is anticipated without significant federal intervention.

Participants of this study were not hopeful that any of the RCAP, Kelowna or other recommendations would be attained in the next decade. This said, they were hopeful about
the next generation of academics who were working to bridge communities and academia; reserve schools and the ministries of education; and research needs and mainstream publications. When asked if vibrations would accomplish a generation of action one educator responded:

We have waited so long for our communities to be elevated in the priority lists for funding, educators, safe buildings and adequate resources. We [the teachers] feel no one cares about the kids we work with—maybe not even the parents, because no one steps up and says “Hey! Look what is happening here!” These kids—our next generation—are failing and we are content to place blame and the finger at people who have no intention of changing things.

This conversation continued with members of the circle stating that it was the academics who are a last effort, the one with the ear of the current and next generation of policy makers, grant writers, and teachers. Where others have failed, they look to us.

Of a personal consideration, I have three recommendations for members of the community to consider. Specifically they are to (1) choose a system, (2) be a proactive research oriented flagship, and then (3) support the students leaving the system so they can make strong choices when off-reserve that will return them and their new found skill-set to our community.

Choose a system

As a new member to the on-reserve school system I came with a preconceived notion that our school system, the largest federal district remaining in Canada, would have embedded Haudenosaunee lifeways and beliefs. Additionally, I believed there would also be some level of traditional leadership at emancipatory or inclusive levels to be a strong

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290 *Emancipatory Leadership* “focuses on the plight of the marginalized” (Ryan, 2003, p. 55). Working through the three stages of enlightenment, empowerment and emancipation, people will realize that they are living in an unjust situation and work to make a change.
influence in the day to day activities of the school and classroom. Instead, I saw the superficial Aboriginal overtones and cultural capacities such as the Thanksgiving Address offered every morning as a way of showing respect for the earth and all that the Creator has given, yet bullying and lack of respect was rampant within the school. Further, students identified in private conversations with myself and with parents that they chose to do poorly in class and on tests in order to not look as if they were too smart, in obvious opposition to having respect for themselves or working as an active voice in the school. Although the circle justice model has been implemented for non-violent crimes nationally and in the community (Three Fires Group, n.d.; Thakur, 1997), within the school, in and out of school suspensions are the main form of disciplinary action by the administration. To the best of my knowledge, the Haudenosaunee school has never used a circle model (Haudenosaunee consensus) of business and problem solving. This talking circle\textsuperscript{292} or network counseling\textsuperscript{293} (Ivey, D'Andreas, Ivey & Simek-Morgan, 2007; LaFromboise & Fleming, 1990; Attneave & Beiser, 1977, 1975; Attneave, 1974) would offer students a voice that could be offered in a

\textsuperscript{291}Inclusive Leadership involves the equitable and inclusive use of participants in decision making and dialogue (Ryan, 2003).

\textsuperscript{292}On my first day of teaching in my first classroom I brought my grade 7 class together into a Circle and asked what they would like to see during the year and what classroom rules we should be considering. The fear and apprehension the class emoted with this task was both unsettling and liberating. It was apparent they had never been in a Circle and that no one had ever asked them during their short academic careers what they hoped to gain from their time in the classroom.

\textsuperscript{293}Networking or network therapy is the clinical modality of bringing together a group of people involved within the client's life. These participants have some aspect to offer the client, as their presence in the group process often has the effect of "forcing" the client to be more truthful and realistic in their own memories. Network therapy is a multicultural approach to working with persons "from a relational culture" (Cheatham, Ivey, Ivey, Pedersen, Rigazio-DiGilio, Simek-Morgon & Sue in Ivey, Ivey & Simek-Morgan, 1997, p. 182) and involves the gathering of family, colleagues, community, or others together to assist the client in therapy. Carolyn Attneave (Delaware/Cherokee) based her design of network therapy on the Ogwehó:weh concepts of community and extended relationship with the family therapy approach when working with multicultural and dominant society clients in the 1960's and 70's.
respectful way, and give administration a tool to bring issues of concern across the school for consensus and inclusionary decisions.

The conflicting belief system is not the only concern here: the lessened standards which are described by test scores and student success are also of concern. If a school determined to provide Haudenosaunee teachings wishes to limit the curriculum and instructional capacity, I can accept that. Likewise, I can accept a reserve school taking on the provincial curriculum in place of localized pedagogy. What has been problematic for me and many of the respondents of this study is the lessened standards, with conflicting Haudenosaunee pedagogy—in fact the worst of both worlds.

The first recommendation is to choose a system.294 If Six Nations continues to adopt the provincial curriculum then it should do so with full disclosure of their abilities, their students’ abilities, and the disparities between the on and off-reserve system. Without full disclosure and comparison to local systems, the students will continue to receive the worst of both worlds.

Be a proactive research-oriented flagship

Assuming that Six Nations continues to be a district which has adopted the Ontario curriculum and utilizes and Ontario School Record (OSR) system, they should look forward to

294 There are several examples of successful Ogweho:weh systems. I purposely did not spend significant time on these systems in this document as it is not my place to tell the community what system they should choose as this is a decision which must be made in community consultation. Once Six Nations has created the vision of their system they will then look towards other successful Ogweho:weh models. For review of programs, curriculum or immersion programs see Redwing Saunders, 2004; Canadian Council on Learning, 2007; Aha Pūnana Leo, n.d.; Big Island’s Charter Schools, n.d.; Akwesasne Freedom School, n.d., a, n.d., b; Effie Kokrine Charter School. (n.d.); Alaska Native Education Task Force, 1994.
becoming not only a good system, but a flagship system for Ogweho:weh and non-Aboriginal education. By partnering with academia and granting agencies, Six Nations could become a district which works as a research institute, testing pedagogy for success, embracing adaptations within the supervisory model, and training the next generation of both teachers and students. We could, as the largest reserve district in Canada, become the most proactive system in Turtle Island by moving our have not’s into opportunity.

**Support the students**

If the first two recommendations are in place, then the students’ on-reserve will be supported. A follow-through program to assist the students as they leave the reserve for both secondary and post-secondary could follow. In part, the skill building, drop-out prevention, and truancy/success officers would be lessened as the students would be better prepared to flourish in the provincial secondary schools having graduated with their grade 8 from a school system of standards. Additionally, those who transfer in and out of reserve and border town elementary schools would find their academic transitions better suited to success.

One complaint by many participants was the lack of opportunity for youth on-reserve. Currently, smoke shops and similar options for employment are seen as the prominent choices. Those with aspirations for education often believe that an education means they must work and/or live off-reserve. Others stated that if those with an education were to return to the reserve the job market would also be elevated to those being hired with the same off-reserve standard and eventually, the same off-reserve wages. This is a big leap of faith, but without those students off-reserve being supported, it is not a possible future for Six Nations.
The Future of RCAP

Although I can only project my informed opinions as to the future of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal People’s implementation, I will make an educated guess. In 1996 the RCAP was published with many communities and their membership hearing of the work completed. The more than $50 million study was received with some asking why the federal government did not put that amount into the already known social issues the RCAP discussed. Others believed it would bring about some change as the document’s volumes had been researched and written, for the most part, by Ogweho:weh academics and scholars. Further, the discussions that the RCAP yielded in both Canadian media and in response papers, left a feeling that possibly some progress could be made.

Some areas such as the Residential School litigations significantly benefitted from the RCAP research. Others, such as education, saw increased awareness at the local level, especially around the attainment gap. In these cases the RCAP was beneficial.

Similar to the Kelowna Accord (Patterson, 2006; Henchey, 2005), the RCAP document has recently been buried by the Harper government. As of early 2009 the document was pulled from the Royal Print’s available publications and in late 2009 the online links to the PDF available from the federal sites such as INAC and the Royal Print were removed. In essence, the document does not exist.

To date none of the 44 educational recommendations have been completed.\(^\text{295}\) With more than a decade passing between the RCAP, its flutter of response papers, energizing of

\(^\text{295}\) Out of a total 433 RCAP recommendations 44 or 10.2\% were found in the educational volume. None of the educational recommendations have been completed with only a handful having been addressed within local governments and provincial governments including the attainment gap which continues to widen.
the Ogweho:weh academics vibrations, and this dissertation, the bubble of energy has
dissipated. No one seems to be noticing that the RCAP, costing over $50 million to
complete, has not been acted upon. No one seems to be questioning why a Royal
Commission, only 15 years old, is not available for sale the public while earlier commission
reports are still available to purchase. Not one participant believed that RCAP would be the
changing force, but they did anticipate activity as a result of the document. In short, the
Harper Government, by removing access to this document, is working to squeeze the agency
out of the web by closing the gaps surrounding the threads of the Ogweho:weh Educational
Discourse as well as the agency of all Ogweho:weh social issues addressed within the RCAP.

**Conclusion**

This dissertation reflects a journey I have been taking since my first day of school at
five years old. As an Ogweho:weh student growing up in the New York State education
system and then moving to work in the Ontario education system both on and off-reserve, I
have seen that the parallels of disparity for Ogweho:weh students (both on and off-reserve)
are universal throughout North America. We have lower attainment levels, in part because
we are expected to have lower attainment. Efforts for our success are not exhausted. On-
reserve, lesser skilled and lesser resourced staff struggle to bridge a systemic divide between
traditional ways of knowing and being with that of the provincial curricula. These same staff
struggle with the awareness that their best is hobbled by the system constraints. Most
devastating to them is the knowledge that those constraints will play out in their students
and community members will see lower levels of success compared to their white
counterparts.
As a high school drop-out who was in advanced classes successfully attaining B’s and better only weeks before dropping out, I can say that the racist experiences, excuses and expectations placed on me by my teachers and guidance counselor were the sole reason for my dropping out. When I was having difficulties in my senior year pre-calculus, instead of being given a tutor, I was told that I was doing well “for an Indian kid”. This is not an unusual story, no matter how difficult it is to hear.

During my doctoral studies my daughter was home-schooled as a result of significant failures on the part of the school to meet her needs as a learner. When I attempted to enroll her off-reserve I was informed that as a federal school district, the Assembly of First Nations’ ongoing requests for Indian Control of Indian Education was the reason I was denied access to off-reserve education. When I attempted to enroll her in an off-reserve Catholic school, I was informed that there was no nominal role transfer, even though I had a constitutional right to religious education as a Canadian. The denial for nominal role funding for an off-reserve system with a successful ranking was therefore unequivocally denied. When I questioned the Superintendent of our INAC school district on AFN’s stance determining policy for INAC, I was further informed that in being First Nation on-reserve, my child was seen as a ward of the state in so far as provision of her education was concerned. I never

Nominal role funding is the payment to the school board for each full time equivalent of enrolment. Normally, these funds are collected via taxation and provided to the school board by the municipality. The Haudenosaunee on-reserve students funded by INAC have a nominal role payment for secondary schools attended off-reserve to a standard set by the off-reserve school district (by formal Memorandums of Understanding). However, the on-reserve elementary student does not earn a nominal role for their school. In the federal district elementary school, INAC covers the salaries and expenses of the school. The difference is that services, extra-curricular activities, and class sizes are enhanced by nominal role funding, as are the purchase of technologies, new texts and equipment. If a system is only paid for teachers, utilities and maintenance; an easy answer to larger enrolment is to increase classroom size, and not build newer, larger schools with additional staff and services. Additionally, without nominal role the right for religious education is denied since a student transferring to a Catholic elementary school off-reserve would not have any attached funding.
expected how close to home this study would run. I was prepared for my journey of working towards the improvement of our educational system to include a fight for our community kids, but not for the direct wellbeing of my own child.

As an advocate for education, university staff and instructor, I took it upon myself to attempt to change the system from within, thus completing my teaching degree and certification during my second year of this Ph.D. This allowed me into the schools to gain firsthand experience and work with the students.

Whether I was working with my students in the elementary classroom, my students in the college classroom, or on a contracted research project for a Board or Ministry, my main focus of creating agency for social change is always at the core of my efforts. The metaphor of Social Particle Webbing is only a metaphor, but one which has allowed me to reflect back on the research and task set before me and offer mechanisms for social change. I am but one voice, small and insignificant when I stand alone, but my vibrations, the vibrations of my work—those who read it and speak of it, pass it on—these vibrations can change the social landscape of Ogweho:weh education and shed light on our future.
CLOSING:
THANKSGIVING ADDRESS
As we close this gathering of minds we will think back to all of the information we have shared. We will think back to how this meeting started with the Thanksgiving Address and we will once again bring our minds together as we close with thoughts in agreement.

Gai wiio Closing

First we start with the People. We bring our minds together as one to offer thanks to the People that came before, the People who will come, and those People that are present today.

Now our minds are One.

Next we go to Mother Earth. We bring our minds together as one to offer thanks to the Mother Earth who shelters us and offers herself to us.

Now our minds are One.

Next we go to the Waters. We bring our minds together as one to offer thanks to the Waters which clean, refresh and protect us.

Now our minds are One.
Next we go to the Fish, the Plants, the Animals, and the Birds. We bring our minds together as one to offer thanks to them for they give themselves to us as food, protector and medicines.

Now our minds are One.

Next we go to the Winds. We bring our minds together as one to offer thanks to the Winds.

Now our minds are One.

Now we go to the Grandfather Thunder Beings. We bring our minds together as one to offer thanks to our Grandfather, the Thunder Beings.

Now our minds are One.

Next we go to our Brother the Sun. We bring our minds together as one to offer thanks to the Sun who warms us and reminds us of the goodness each new day brings.

Now our minds are One.

Next we go to our Grandmother the Moon. We bring our minds together as one to offer thanks to the Moon who rules the birth of our children, those who we came together to celebrate and assist.

Now our minds are One.

Next we go to the Stars. We bring our minds together as one to offer thanks to the Stars.

Now our minds are One.
Next we go to the *Wise Ones*. We bring our minds together as one to offer thanks to the Wise Ones, remembering their stories, teachings and lessons.

   Now our minds are One.

Next we go to the *Creator, God or Great Spirit*. The Creator has given us all of the things we have just given thanks for so we may live as Ogweho:weh people on Mother Earth. We bring our minds together as one to offer thanks to the Creator for all he does for us.

   Now our minds are One.

If there is anything we have forgotten to give thanks for, we offer thanks now. It was not our intentions to forget anything.
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APPENDIX A:

Glossary

Aboriginal is the federal term used by Canada to refer to all peoples of First Nations decent. This term is not to be confused with Aborigine, the name of the original people of Australia. A derivative used by many British colonies, Aboriginal referred to the original people of the country. I chose not to use this term as it is not widely accepted by ‘Aboriginal’ peoples as “ab” as a prefix is intended to negate, or be in opposition to (e.g. abnormal), and therefore would state that the Aboriginal people are not original to the land.

American Indian / Alaskan Native is the same definition as Native, and is the race category used by the United States government.

Anishnabek is the Algonquian word for the “Original People”

Authentic Voice is the real and unfiltered voice. The filtration of authentic voice can be completed by the researcher or society if the speaker is marginalized or not in a perceived position of equality (Redwing Saunders & Hill, 2007; Kaomea, 2003).

Bi-cultural for the purpose of this dissertation, bi-cultural refers to an Ogweho:weh person who is of mixed identity. This would include Haudenosaunee and Canadian. These people are the majority of Ogweho:weh peoples in Canada and could be described as living in or straddling two worlds.

Blood Quantum is a United States term for the percentage of Native American blood line an individual can prove. Although this is a U.S. term, in recent years, Canadian First Nations with status cards have been questioned at border crossings when entering with legal Canadian identification. Further, the Haudenosaunee nations, having territory on both sides of the U.S. Canada border, regularly live, work and are educated across on either side of the border and need to prove blood quantum.

Circle refers to the process of creating a circle dialogue similar to a talking circle or cultural focus group.

Citizenship is an understanding of the affect and individual’s personal choices will have on the greater community.

Classical Decolonization is a differentiation I see within post-colonial or decolonizing theories. Classical Decolonization views the historical Ogweho:weh as a supreme state of being and knowing and often exemplified the purist nature of Ogweho:weh separatism as it was and could be again. (See also Future Decolonization).
Counter-storytelling is a Critical Race Theory tool for providing the experiences of marginalized populations and exposes the white privilege within discourse (Hunn, Guy & Manglitz 2006; Solorzano & Yosso, 2002).

Creator, God, Great Spirit, Lord, Supreme Being are all interchangeable. The Creator is the being who provides us with nature and balance for all of life to function within.

Cultural Capacity is the ability to build or maintain ones cultural knowledge of tradition, language, heritage and ceremony/ways.

Cultural Literacy is to have a full knowledge of one’s culture, language, heritage and teachings.

Cultured Research is research which is taking place within a specific cultural environment. Although all research involves cultural peoples or has its own environmental considerations, Ogwehoh:weh and Haudenosaunee research has specific cultural protocol and participant considerations which are core considerations (e.g. tobacco offered, potential for refusal to sign waiver or to be recorded, acknowledgement of oral tradition, etc.).

Dialogue is a natural method of gathering information via conversation (compared to formal interviews which are deemed to be one sided transmission of information). The researcher can be a participant and not merely an observer or leader in a dialogue. I believed this form of gathering information through conversation to be more culturally appropriate.

Diamorphic Spy is a researcher who is embedded; living with and among the group being studied. Although this researcher is foremost a naturalized member of the community, by studying and then reporting to an outside body, the researcher is seen as having a different allegiance to that of other community members.

Disabled by Birthright refers to “the Native learning style” implying that Ogweho:weh people are lesser-abled to succeed as they require specialized pedagogy in order to learn. Further, an equity of outcomes approach rests on the premise that Ogweho:weh students part-in-parcel, are needing the assistance of access and additional services in order to be successful; therefore labeling Ogweho:weh people disabled by birthright (Redwing Saunders & Hill, 2008; Hill & Redwing Saunders, 2007; Redwing Saunders, 2004)

Elder refers to any person who is living in a traditional way, has life experience and teachings to pass onto other people, passes on those teachings, and is accepted and respected by their community for that information they hold and pass on.

Encultured refers to a stance or action which is grounded in a cultural perspective. Examples of encultured research are Indigenous Theory (G. Smith 2007, 2005, 2003, 2000a, 2000b) or the Haudenosaunee Curriculum Model (Redwing Saunders, 2004) since both of these have a specific cultural perspective at the core, shaping both methods and analysis.
Enfranchisement was the forced Canadian citizenship upon people who conducted themselves in certain manners to raise their social standing from that of a Statused First Nation to a White Canadian. Two of the most common examples were graduation from university or military service. Upon enfranchisement the Ogweho:weh person would be given citizenship and therefore stripped of their status including a repossession of land owned on-reserve and First Nations benefits.

Enhancement Agreements are legal partnerships held between the province of British Columbia, the local education authorities and the First Nations peoples. The EA's are intended to promote educational improvements for the First Nations peoples by lowering the attainment gap and by providing evidence of the First Nations peoples within the curriculum.

First Nations are those original peoples of Turtle Island. Most often used to describe the Native Canadians.

First Nations Governance Act (FNGA), currently in the bill stage, this Act is under review in an attempt to update the Canadian Federal Indian Act.

Formal Interviews are one-sided, question based, led by the interviewer.

Future Decolonization is a differentiation I see within post-colonial or decolonizing theories. Future Decolonization does not view the historical Ogweho:weh as trapped in the past, nor do they idealize the pre-contact era. They acknowledge that we would have continued to progress over the last centuries, identifying and renegotiated what is, what was and most importantly what is known. They take the modern existence of Ogweho:weh peoples and identify how and where we can be Ogweho:weh peoples with our cultures and traditions relevant in the modern era. (See also Classical Decolonization)

Gender Essential Perspective is a Haudenosaunee lifeway of gender role identification. Men are assumed to be the warriors, hunters, and spokesperson (one who travels from the community); where women would carry roles of social leadership closer to home (and their children), and be the primary caregivers for children and leaders of family and clan. Further, the active bodied members of society, usually those of child bearing age, would not be the teachers or usual caregivers of children, as they are needed in labour areas such farming (historical perspective) or workforce (contemporary perspective). Instead, the senior members of the community carry this role.

Ghetto-ized is the term where a people, a department, or a single method of completing a task such as Native education, will be removed to or segregated into one area or “ghetto”. In post-secondary education, areas such as Native Studies, Women’s Studies and Cultural Studies have been removed from across the disciplines to sit in one department. The result is often a ghetto of thought, not allowed to leave its geographical boundaries of that department. A common problem with this ghetto-izing of a discipline is the expectation for, and often inability of, members of this group to work and/or study outside of that discipline area regardless their qualifications.
*Good Mind* is a Haudenosaunee term which refers to the concept of living, acting, and reacting with an awareness of how one influences their surroundings and environment.

**Great Spirit** (see Creator)

_Haudenosaunee_ [hō da na shō nā] refers to the “People of the Long Rafters” or “Longhouse.” Named the Iroquois by the French, they are the original five nations of the Seneca, Cayuga, Onondaga, Oneida and Mohawk, as well as the addition of the sixth nation, Tuscarora (1722). Their original lands extended in the east from the Upper Mohawk Valley to the Genesee River in the West, south through the Shenandoah Water Shed with impacts throughout Turtle Island. At present their territorial lands are scattered throughout New York State, Southern & Eastern Ontario, Quebec, Oklahoma and Wisconsin.

**Holistic** is referring to all aspects of educational attainment including: progression through education; opinions of education; and the state or condition of the students in comparison to other Canadian students. Systemic issues refer to those directly related to the educational system including personnel, curriculum, administration and infrastructure.

*Imposter Syndrome Image* is a self-actualized fear that one does not belong in a learning experience due to being unworthy or unrealistically unprepared. Further, there is fear that others will eventually discover this “truth” (Brookfield, 1990).

*Indian* is the same definition as Native, and usually spoken within the United States and not Canada.

*Indian Act* is a policy document designed by the British Crown and continued by the Canadian Government. This Act has been reviewed and amended and is responsible for giving power to the Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC) to manage the Native Canadian.

*Indigenous* refers to all of the original people throughout the world.

*Indigenous Knowledge* is at the core of the Native worldview(s) and has been passed down through oral traditions, teachings and actions throughout the history of Native peoples. Some Indigenous Knowledge is inherent to all Native groups, while others are specific to Nations (tribes), such as the Haudenosaunee teachings. At the heart of this argument is that the knowledge should not be exploited by researchers, as this information is not “owned”. This knowledge is inherited by Native peoples as a cultural heritage, and a family heirloom to be passed from generation to generation as a worldview and road map for life. It is not owned to be sold to a highest bidder, nor is it owned to be published for the purpose of targeting non Native markets. The preservation of Indigenous Knowledge and the re-igniting of our core values are essential to our survival and our cultural identity.
**Indigenous Paradigm** is a means by which educators and researchers are attempting to decolonize Native peoples. Kuikkanen (2000) states that this change in mindset can be accomplished “by ‘recentering’ Indigenous values and cultural practices and placing Indigenous peoples and their issues into dominant, mainstream discourses which until now have relegated Indigenous peoples to marginal positions” (p. 411).

**Informal Interviews** are conversational discussion of the topic, led by the participant.

**Irocentric** is a slang word based on the concept of Eurocentrism and refers to the Haudenosaunee or Iroquois often having a center of universe perspective.

**Iroquois** (see Haudenosaunee)

**Lifelong Learning** can be defined in many ways. Garcia and Ahler’s chapter *Indian Education* in Reyhner’s 1992 text defines Lifelong Learning as “the students’ ability to learn a vocation or pursue further education at colleges, universities, or technical-vocational institutions for economic gain or personal pleasure. The aim [Lifelong Learning] also refers to the students’ ability to teach themselves by utilizing libraries, museums, computer data banks, or any other knowledge depositories.” (Reyhner, 1992b, p. 16). Since this author feels that a “knowledge depository” can be found anywhere at any time, for the purpose of this dissertation, lifelong learning is referred to as a paradigm in which the individual is always embracing new ideas and concepts. This paradigm can be realized in a formal setting of adult education, post-secondary attainment or training; or could be visualized by coffee house discussion groups, private reading, a walk down a road for the first or hundredth time, or even a positive attitude towards failure. This definition is used broadly, and therefore can define anyone who is willing to continue to learn in situations inside or outside of the classroom.

**Macro** in this dissertation refers to the large federal system (as opposed to the micro or small reserve system). It also is the research on national offices versus local ones.

**Medicine Wheel** is an Anishnabek symbol which represents the four directions, Native peoples ties to other races and mother earth, as well as a cycle of growth, rest, death and rebirth.

**Métis** or “cross bread” are the group of people who were the product of French trapper fathers and Native mothers. The term Métis is now used to refer to anyone who is of Native ancestry whose blood quantum is below Canadian standards for statusing.

**Micro** in this dissertation refers to the reserve system. Although the micro system of the reserve encompasses a complete educational environment, it is constructed according to the federal requirements such as INAC regulations and funding and treaty law. By nature the micro system does not function separate from the macro system.

**Ministry of Indian and Northern Affairs Canada** or INAC is the Canadian Federal agency responsible for managing all Aboriginal aspects throughout the country. This office was previously referred to as the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND).
Native is the most often used within the United States to refer to the equivalent of First Nations people and can be referred to as Native American and/or Alaskan Native. Native is intended to mean original people but can easily be argued that anyone born in a country is by default Native and therefore will not be used in this paper to describe original people unless taken in the context of a document.

Native American same definition as Native, most commonly used in the United States.

Networking or network therapy is the clinical modality of bringing together a group of people involved within the client’s life. These participants have some aspect to offer the client, as their presence in the group process often has the effect of “forcing” the client to be more truthful and realistic in their own memories. Carolyn Attneave (Delaware/Cherokee) based her design of network therapy on the Ogweho:weh concepts of community and extended relationship with the family therapy approach when working with multicultural and dominant society clients in the 1960’s and 70’s. Network therapy (Cheatham, Ivey, Ivey, Pedersen, Rigazio-DiGilio, Simek-Morgon & Sue in Ivey, Ivey & Simek-Morgan, 1997) is a multicultural approach to working with persons “from a relational culture” (p. 182) and involves the gathering of family, colleagues, community, or others together to assist the client in therapy.

New Normal occurs where something has occurred so often that it becomes acceptable as normal to society.

Non-language speaker refers to someone who does not speak their own Ogweho:weh language. As a Mohawk/Delaware from Six Nations of the Grand River I speak only English and therefore am considered by my community to be a non-language speaker.

Ogweho:weh [ō gwa hō wā] is the Haudenosaunee word for the “Real” or “Original People”. Within this document, Ogweho:weh is used in place of Native, First Nations and Aboriginal. In some cases the legal definitions are required in order to understand the participants within statistics or who is represented within policy and treaty law.

Ogweho:weh Lifeways are those Indigenous knowledges which are inherent within communities or groups.

Ontology is referred to the worldview or the lens in which the framework of the research is viewed and filtered in its approached. The ontological perspective of this study is a Native worldview approach, specifically that of the Haudenosaunee.

Original People are those people who originated in an area. (See Native).

Packing the Historical is often necessary in order to make great strides forward. By putting aside our past or folding them to the side, we may clear our mind and see a future while not discarding the concept. An example is that of residential schooling. The legacy impacts on the current state of education are immense. However, sometimes it is best to accept this impact, fold it and put it to the side, and then look at the current state for solutions without being wrapped up in the historical. Through packing the historical to the side and acknowledging the role it plays, we can focus on the immediate topic at hand.
Pan-Indianism is the generalization of all Native peoples, creating one stereotypical culture, belief or practice.

Platforming is a concept which is defined as raising or making visible. In the case of platforming marginalized people or issues which are marginalized, those in power can present the issue or create situations in which the marginalized will be heard. This type of agency creation can be seen within Social Particle Webbing.

Professionals in the Field, for the purpose of this research, is defined as both the formal and informal: teachers; curriculum designers; administrators; and those members of family and friends who follow an original thought of curriculum, which is that every life experience, no matter how mundane at the time, is a learning experience.

Reserve is the political definition of a territory which has been granted to a Nation based on a treaty agreement.

Residential School was the live-in schools many Native children were sent to for education throughout the 1800 and 1900’s. In some instances children attended willingly or by permission of their families, but in many cases, children were forcibly removed from their families to attend by government order. These Residential Schools were found across the United States and Canada and were usually run by the Christian churches.

The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP) was a comprehensive federal study intended to put forward problems causing, and solutions to, the tensions between Ogeweho:weh peoples and Canada (Canadians). Beginning at the close of the Oka Crisis and published in 1996, this study was published in five volumes addressing five main threads of historical influences the Indian Act, legacy issues such as residential schools, treatment of veterans of wars, relocation and the Indian Act, education, socio-demographics, and cultural capacity.

Self-Determination or Self-Determine is the action. Without the supportive political climate, a people working at self-determination may find that the political realm in which they work does not support self-determinism regardless of their struggle and action towards that end. (See Self-Determination)

Self-Determinism refers to the state or ability to act. The mere state of having self-determinism does not make a people self-determined, as they may not act towards that end. (See Self-Determination)

Self-Determination and Educational Assistance Act was created in 1970 to increase the control of educational by tribal peoples and organizations.

Silver Covenant Chain is the compilation of several treaties between the Haudenosaunee and the British and is seen as a chain of treaties which needed to be reviewed by both parties (or “polished”) in order to keep them strong and true.

Six Nations Confederacy refers to the traditional structural alliance of the six Haudenosaunee nations.
Social Cannibalism is when members of the same community fight between themselves which arrests opportunities. An example could be when a land settlement is offered and the community cannot agree if to accept, counter offer or reject. The community government would have that decision as a part of their mandate, but often community members who have not been at the negotiation table will begin a campaign to undermine the efforts of those we have put in place to make decisions. A second example could be a view one community member takes of another community member due to their choices in spouse (if a mixed-marriage), occupation (e.g. police, lawyer, government official) or based on their level of education.

Sovereignty is a political term describing the status of a government held within the borders of another government. The Haudenosaunee people, according to treaties are established with the Crown to be sovereign from Canada within their traditional lands (reserve borders and/or original accepted territories). This Nation to Nation articulation has been tested regularly by province/state governments who attempt taxation, and by the federal departments which have forced off-reserve education, residential school, adoption and hunting/fishing rights.

Territory is the land base upon which a Nation lives. Original territories are the land bases a Nation held prior to contact. Currently, the use of territory has referred to original land base and current reservation lands. (See Reserve).

Thanksgiving Address or the Gai wiio is the opening and closing address (speech or prayer) that is used to open and close each formal gathering of the Haudenosaunee. Many people will start and close their day with a Gai wiio, as well as informal gatherings. The Thanksgiving offers thanks for all that has been given to us by the Creator, starting with the ground and working up to the sky.

Traditional are those people who continue to subscribe to their original beliefs, practices, and/or religions. They may live in their original territories / lands or be displaced and/or urban.

Turtle Island: According to many of Ogwehoh:weh creation stories, Turtle Island refers to the North American Continent that resembles the shape of a great sea turtle.

Two Row Wampum treaty belt or Kaswentha (Gas went ta) is also called the Silver Covenant Chain. The statement “polishing the chain” means that the Haudenosaunee peoples and the governments (American, Canadian and Britain) must always care for this agreement so that it and each of the parties can remain strong. It is the responsibility of all members of the agreement to polish this chain regularly which means to uphold their roles.

Urban Aboriginal people can be multi-generational urban, recent transplants, or those who move for a set purpose (e.g. education, health) but intent to return to the reserve. Additionally, these three groups may or may not have connections in reserve communities, and may or may not practice their traditional beliefs. Finally, is the aspect of fostering and adoption for generations, which have created entire communities of Ogwehoh:weh people who identify in varying ways.
Urban Reserve refers to the reservation communities which reside in an urbanized community. In Ontario Six Nations is considered an urban reserve; however other provinces have reserves situated in the urban core such as North Vancouver. Six Nations, although still a very rural setting is not secluded by distance (such as in the north and fly in communities). It is less than five minutes by car to fast food restaurants and 20 minutes to movie theatres, malls and museums. For this reason, Ontarians and more remote Ontario reserves have referred to Six Nations as an urban reserve.

Wise Ones or Enlightened Beings are those very special people who have come to bring teachings to the people in time of need. Among such Wise Ones would be the Peacemaker who brought the message of peace and the manner in which to achieve a peace which has lasted within the Haudenosaunee Confederacy an approximated six hundred years, well before European contact.
Displayed in Figure B.1 are the waves of documents and major conflicts. Not all documents and conflicts are represented here; however, the major points of contact are included. Other significant events do occur during these eras, as well as before, however this era graphic is intended to illustrate the timeframe some of the key items held within this dissertation. It should be noted that this is not a linear graph as the events and documents
are not placed on an equidistant line. This is intentional as the eras have produced a wave of growing discourse surrounding Ogweho:weh education.

**Historical Era:** Three key documents occur during this period. The Hawthorne Reports gave direct interpretation to how First Nations should be considered Citizen’s Plus. Two years later the White Paper states that First Nations should be seen as citizens which in effect attempted to strip all treaty rights and status of First Nations peoples in order to make them Canadian. In 1972 the NIB/AFN published the Indian Control of Indian Education which held a core belief that on-reserve students should be taught on-reserve by community teachers. Other response papers also followed during this era.

**RCAP Era:** This era begins with the Oka crisis in 1989 which is a direct catalyst for the RCAP commission of 1991 and publication of 1996. Additionally, there are response papers, peer reviewed articles, texts and the re-publication of the AFN Indian Control of Indian Education which was thirty years following the original publication.

**Action Plan Era:** The Action Plan Era is believed to have begun with or near the 2002 INAC document “Our Children—Keepers of the Sacred Knowledge. This document is a predecessor of the various action plans that provinces and boards began to write. During this era the research and initial drafts of policy around action plans and Educational Frameworks was begun. Some provinces moved forward faster than others. Ontario ended the era with research and minor policy publication. Of note is that it was during this era that the Ontario Ministry of Education began the Aboriginal Education Office, a branch of the ministry which was responsible for policy and research pertaining to FNMI education within Ontario.
Era: As in any era, it is not until you are well into the era that it is possible to identify the main impact or content of that era. If we were to label the era today, I would say that we are in the Implementation Era. As a result of the FNMI Educational Frameworks, many Boards and Districts as well as the Ministry of Education has been busy working on self-identification policies, research and implementation protocols for affecting the FNMI Educational Frameworks.
APPENDIX C:

Document Analysis Bibliography

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<td>AETS Protocol and History</td>
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APPENDIX D:

Ethics Proposal to Six Nations Ethics Committee

FOREWORD:

As this respondent pool is comprised of First Nations members all working on and with First Nations reserve residents, it has been of great importance to the design of this study to ensure cultural capacity is present within the process. I am fully aware of the history of Aboriginal research in Canada and internationally, studying both the respectful and hurtful nature of historical and contemporary research of Ogweho:weh peoples. It is for this reason that I include an underlying tenant of Indigenous Knowledge by reporting back to the respondents and community. Further, I ensure that my protocols are appropriate not to a pan-Indian concept of Aboriginal peoples, but specific to the community. This is evident in dialoguing in a circle, as opposed to a formal interview; the offering of tobacco and fabric to those who are consider participating; and finally using appropriate language to describe peoples throughout the process of this research (Haudenosaunee instead of Iroquois and Ogweho:weh instead of First Nations). All of which is also in concert with the Tri-Council Policy Statement on Conducting Research Involving Aboriginal Peoples.

1.0 RESEARCH AIMS

1.1 Aims of Research

As a First Nations person and certified educator in Ontario I have considered how, as a teacher, administrator and parent, I could improve education within our district and for all Ogweho:weh. Although the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP, 1996) spoke of disparities of outcomes and wrongdoing of the past, it would be an injustice to simply condense the problem to these two issues. *The State of First Nations Education* will be conducted to determine the current state of education at Six Nations and federally for the Ogweho:weh people in order to gather perspectives on education and educational policy as it related to the decade following the RCAP.

1.2 Need & Value of Research

Since the 1972 *Indian Control of Indian Education* (NIB/AFN), Ogweho:weh peoples have been labouring towards ownership and management of their education. The Federal government has acknowledged the request and made offers for communities to step forward and manage their districts. In recent decades, many reserve communities accepted this challenge. Six Nations has not done so and for good cause. E.G. Caffin and Ron Thomas (in
Moses, Henhawk & King, 1987) demonstrated in both discussions with Council in 1982-83 and community research that the intention to deliver the system back to the community housed intrinsic problems as the system was broken at the hands of the federal oversight agencies as well as severely under-funded. Inheriting these problems was seen as a further insult against the Six Nations people as well as in conflict with our treaties.

In addition to the managerial issues surrounding the INAC schools, students of First Nations’ educational systems have been found to suffer from imposter syndrome while in attendance at the mainstream secondary and post-secondary schools (Benjamin, Chambers, & Reiterman, 1993; Brookfield, 1990; Lin, LaCounte & Eder, 1988), which may be resulting in the propagation of a lower graduation rate (Cummins in Brookfield, 1990). Authors such as Giroux (2003), Hill (in Johnny, 2002), Scott (2001), Skinner (1999), and Reyhner (1992, 1994) have researched the Native fit in the mainstream setting; while others have offered research pertaining to immersion and language revitalization (Gaiezezhongai, 2003; George, 2003; Paulsen, 2003; Heredia, 1999; Battiste, 1998). Throughout the history of educational publications, researchers have rarely addressed either means or methods of school improvement in a reserve setting or within the Ogweho:weh public education system itself.

I believe fervently that we must regain the status we once held as policy makers. As Haudenosaunee people, we led the way for entire nations to be born (Hill in Barreiro, 1992; Johansen, 1982; Grinde, 1977); led the training of the future women’s movement (Roesch Wagner, 2001); created educational models of apprenticeship and education that was unparalleled in Europe (Cornelius, 1999); we even enhanced the literature and arts of early Europe (Newhouse, Voyageur,& Beavon, 2005). However, our current under-education restricts our ability to both defend and lead ourselves today.

2.0 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

2.1 Research Questions

Through the use of a policy discourse web two questions will be researched: (1) What changes has RCAP made to Ogweho:weh education in Canada? And (2) How does the community understand success at Six Nations?

2.2 Research Design & Methodology

Two distinct phases of research will be included in this study. The first is a document analysis, which will include public domain documents recovered online and in public archives, as well as year-end reports and Project/Action Plan reports specific to education. The search parameters will be limited to the decade post-RCAP (1997-2007) and of relevance to Ogweho:weh education. The documents will be data mined for common themes and threads. Such themes could be, but are not limited to self-determination, identity, cultural pedagogy, navigating socio-economics, collectivity, and shared vision, the major themes of the theoretical (Smith, 2005; 2003; 2000) and conceptual frameworks (Redwing Saunders, 2004). [See Appendix 2 for documents].

The second stage of this study will include interviews of both educators and community activist groups who are currently at the age of majority, but participated within the reserve system as minors. Stage 2 of research will occur after initial analysis of the documents is completed so that a clear knowledge of the policy themes is present. These
themes will be used to further outline the dialoguing group questions if necessary. [See Appendix 2 for interview questions].

Analysis of both stages of the research will culminate in a web (Joshee & Johnson, 2005). This process will be ongoing and will take the form of written and graphical displays. The webbing for this research project will outline the themes/threads; identify where and how various threads intersect; compare difference over the decade; assigning roles and difference to various groups; and visualize where and how negotiations can occur within the space between the threads.

2.3 Not Applicable

3.0 RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

3.1 Criteria of Participants

The two groups of interview participants will include educator and community members. The first part of Stage 2 (educators) includes (approximately) 12 interviews filling a variety of roles in First Nations education including current/former superintendent(s), on and off reserve teachers for elementary/secondary students, principals/vice principals, social development counselors (no sensitive materials to be discussed), and educational officers affiliated with Band and other government agencies. The second group in Stage 2 (community) are members of community not working in education and who are of the age of majority. Additionally, community participants should be former students from Six Nations as to create a baseline educational foundation.

3.2 Selection & Exclusion Procedures

Any interested community member who is of the age of majority and is a former Six Nations student will qualify for interview. In the case of overwhelming response, those people with closest connections to interest groups (e.g. school improvement, choice, immersion, Home & School) involvement will be chosen. Selection for educators will be by title/organization. The educator invitation pool will include current and/or former superintendent (1), principal/vice principals (2), and teachers (5), social development counselor (1), education officers affiliated with agencies within the Six Nations or the Band office (3).

3.3 Recruitment

In an attempt to recruit an open sample from the community members, I intend to proceed in three distinct places: advertisements in local venues; invitations to community activists for school improvement, school choice and immersion education; and the Home School Associations of the public elementary and secondary schools affiliated with Six Nations. Initial contacts will be made by mail and postings (to avoid pressure of participation) in the form of a Call for Participants flier. They will be given some time to review the information and consider the request and I will contact them by phone to further discuss the process and timing for dialoguing, should they agree to participate. Educators will have a similar recruitment policy. The difference will be that agencies will be directly contacted as well as individual educators. Agencies may designate a representative to speak with myself including employees or board members. Individual educators may also be contacted based on initial interest in the project by colleagues. Additionally, a snowball
sample may also occur in order to meet the design quota of 12 educator interviews. [See Appendix 3 for initial contact materials].

3.4 Method of Delivering Detailed Information to Potential Participants
At the time of recruitment mailing or at initial contact with the potential volunteer I will present them with an information sheet which will outline all the pertinent information of the study including purpose, withdraw, confidentiality use of information and contact information for both the researcher and the institution ethics office. A review of this information will also be conducted prior to consent. [See Appendix 4 for a copy of the Information Sheet].

3.5 Consent
Ample opportunity will be given for participants to choose to withdraw. Initial recruitment materials will have been mailed with a follow-up phone call to confirm interest. Following this discussion a full information sheet will be given which reiterates the content of the in person or phone explanation of the study. Prior to the time of interviewing, the participant will be given a Consent Form which again, will reiterate the materials given in the information sheet. This detailed letter of consent will be explained prior to signing. Participants will sign and retain a copy of the Consent. Information discussed in this consent includes purpose, withdraw, confidentiality use of information and contact information for both the researcher and the institution ethics office. [See Appendix 5 for Informed Consent].

3.6 Not Applicable

3.7 Confidentiality
Due to the nature of the sample it is my intention to have open dialogue including speaking "on the record" as oppose to in-confidence. However, should an individual chose to speak in-confidence that will be allowed. Roles of respondents (e.g. teacher, activist, parent, former student) will be used in each case with pseudonyms given. It will be explained, however, that confidentiality may be difficult to protect due to the sheer quantity of educators at Six Nations. This information will be discussed in the Information Sheet and Consent Form.

3.8 Risks to Participants
No apparent greater than minimal risk is present for the participants by being interviewed for this study. All participants have the option of being interviewed anonymously and in either individual interviews or focus groups. At any time participants may speak off the record (turning off of recorder) or may chose to leave the participant pool. This study is deemed as Low-risk according to the Tri-Council and OISE-UT standard as: Participants are selected due to their activist roles in Haudenosaunee education and are given opportunity to withdraw including (1)-initial contact, (2)-follow-up call, (3)-Letter of Consent review, (4)-discussion of consent at interview onset, and (5)-two-week withdrawal window post-summary receipt. Although Aboriginal research; this study is not conducted within official governments or school setting. It does not intend to describe reserve characteristics, nor have select members speak on behalf of the people. Rather, this study is
a gathering of unofficial, personal experience and beliefs pertaining to education post-RCAP. Further, all Good Practices (Tri-Council, 6.3) have been embedded within the study protocols.

3.9 Risks to Researcher
There is no apparent risk to the researcher in conducting this body of work.

3.10 Payment
No payment is being made to participants. There will be gifts made as protocol including participants receiving one meter of calico fabric and/or a tobacco tie; food being served; and a $50 book gift certificate made out in the name of the Home & School Association to be used towards donations for books to the individual school libraries. This is not considered compensation, rather a cultural protocol of good Haudenosaunee discussions.

4.0 RECORDING, REPORTING, STORAGE & ACCESS TO DATA & RESULTS
4.1 Recording of Data
The data sources will originally be audio-taped and then transcribed. As a result there will be two sources of data: a digital audio record, and an electronic and paper copy of transcripts. A secondary source will be utilized for transcribing the data. All participants will be aware of the audio-taping. Should they choose to rescind from this process the tape will be turned off. They may also ask for the tape to be turned off for a portion of the discussions.

4.2 Storage and Disposal of Data
The data (both electronic and transcripts) will be stored in the personal home of the researcher in a file cabinet throughout the research process and mandatory storage time. At the end of the seven-year storage period the audio tapes and any back-up files of these tapes will be destroyed. All transcripts will be altered so that connection to individuals are changed to pseudonym.

4.3 Access to Data and Results
During researching it is anticipated that the research committee could be involved in viewing parts the data for the purpose of feedback. Additionally a transcriptionist will be used to transcribe the dialogues. This person is an OISE-UT TPS department employee and under contract for confidentiality of the material to be transcribed. No other access or release of data will be given to any other person for any reason. The original electronic sources of the interviews as well as transcripts will be destroyed following the completion of the study, dissertation and defense. Results in the form of a report will be given to all participants and agencies as well as the Six Nations Band Council, Woodland Cultural Centre Library (WCCL) and the Six Nations Public Library (SNPL), with both libraries also receiving a copy of the bound dissertation.
5.0 OWNERSHIP OF RESEARCH

5.1 Ownership

In part, this study consists of document analysis of agency/district/band documents. In this case each of the documents are the ownership of the said group. It should be noted however, that most of these documents will be public domain. Additionally interviews will be taken in order to gain understanding of the individual, subgroup and community perspectives surrounding education. The individual words will be owned by those who have spoken them. The knowledge, once spoken, will become a community property, and as such will be made available to all participating members/agencies and the community as a whole via an executive report delivered to said participants, Council, WCCL and the SNPL.

6.0 APPENDICES

Appendix 1  Top 10 List of References Cited Within this Proposal
Appendix 2  Research Tools
Appendix 3  Recruitment Materials
Appendix 4  Information Sheet printed on OISE-UT Letterhead
Appendix 5  Consent Form Printed on OISE-UT Letterhead with carbonless duplex paper-
Appendix 6  Correspondence

The Appendices of the Proposal are not included in this the Dissertation Appendix as they are attached in other forms within the document.
APPENDIX E:  
Informed Consent Form

See following page for image of form.

Informed Consent for the First Nations Education Project

Thank you for considering your participation in the First Nations Education Project being conducted by Sabrina Redwing Saunders, an OISE-UT Ph.D. student under the supervision of Dr. Reva Joshee, Theory & Policy Studies. You have been invited to participate in this project because you have a distinct understanding of the First Nations educational experience which will be of benefit to this project and our community.

Purpose of the Research

This is a study that is being conducted in order to determine the current state of First Nations education, and what affects the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP) has had on federal and community education of First Nations’. A final report will be made available to community education advocates, as well as any participant upon request. It is hoped that the collective vision and shared experiences will assist in improving the education within our community and for all First Nations’ peoples.

Participant Information

Approximately 24 people will be interviewed, although this number may be increased/decreased during the study. All interviews will be audio-taped in order to allow the researcher to more fully participate in the dialogue. You may refuse to have the interview recorded in entirety or specific sections.

Your participation in this study is voluntary and no compensation will be made for time. You may choose to refuse to participate in this study entirely or withdraw your participation in the study without consequence any time prior to publication of findings. You may decline to answer any question or parts of questions and may request a pause of the recorder in order to share information you wish not to be recorded. The responses you make will be respected as your opinions and experiences and will not be judged by the researcher.

Should you choose to withdraw from this study, please notify the researcher immediately. Approximately one weeks after your interview a summary of the discussion will be given to
you for review. This is an opportunity to ensure that your intentions were indeed captured. You may also add any clarification or additional information you did not have a chance to add or consider at the time. Two weeks following the mailing of the summary your information will be analyzed and included in the study. As of this date, the information will have been logistically published and will no longer qualify for removal from the study.

Should you request, your responses will be kept in confidence. However, for the purpose of this project, it is preferred that participants allow their titles (e.g. teacher, parent advocate) be allowed. It should be noted that even when responding in confidence, there is always a chance of recognition as this is a small closed community with a limited number of residents working in the field of education and educational advocacy.

Only the researcher and her supervisory committee will have access to the interview tapes. All original audio-tapes will be destroyed after study completion and transcripts will be altered to include pseudonyms during the transcription process. Upon completion of the research study it is anticipated that publications and/or professional presentations on the findings will be made. In these cases only pseudonyms will be used.

I have read the above information and understand my rights. At this time I agree to the following conditions of my participation:

1. I agree to be audio-taped and am aware that I may request at any time for the tape to be paused or turned off.
   Or
   I do not wish for our dialogue to be recorded.

2. I agree to the use of my title with a pseudonym within final reports. I understand that the researcher will take all possible precautions of identification.
   Or
   I do not wish to be identified with a title and prefer to have the proceedings of my dialogue referred to in full confidence with no titles mentioned. I understand that there is always a possibility of identification by members of the community regardless of confidence.

Should I have any questions I will contact Sabrina Redwing Saunders at (519) 445-0126 or her OISE-UT supervisor Dr. Reva Joshee at (416) 923-6641 ext 2506. Should I have any questions pertaining to the ethics review of this study or my participant rights, I may contact the University of Toronto Ethics Review Office at (416) 946-3273 or ethics.review@utoronto.ca
Informed Consent for the First Nations Education Project

Thank you for considering your participation in the First Nations Education Project being conducted by Sabrina Desirav Saundars, an OISE-UT PhD student under the supervision of Dr. Reza-Dehnavi. You have been invited to participate in this project because you have a distinct understanding of the First Nations educational experience which will be of benefit to this project and our community.

Purpose of the Research

This is a study that is being conducted in order to determine the current state of First Nations education, and what affects the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP) had on federal and community education of First Nations. A final report will be made available to community education advocates as well as any participant upon request. It is hoped that the collective wisdom and shared experience will add to improving the education within our community and for all First Nations peoples.

Participant Information

Approximately 25 people will be interviewed, although this number may be increased/decreased during the study. All interviews will be audio-taped in order to allow the researcher to more fully understand the dialogue. You may refuse to have the interview recorded in any manner specific to you.

Your participation in this study is voluntary and no compensation will be made for time. You may choose to refuse to participate in this study entirely or withdraw your participation in the study without consequence at any time prior to publication of findings. You may decline to answer any question or part of a question and may request a pause of the researcher in order to share information you wish not to be recorded. The responses you make will be respected as your opinions and experiences and will not be judged by the researcher.

Should you choose to withdraw from this study, please notify the researcher immediately. Approximately one week after your interview, a summary of the interview will be sent to you for review. This is an opportunity to ensure that your instructions were indeed followed. You may also add any clarification or additional information you did not have a chance to add or consider at the time. Two weeks following the mailing of the summary, your information will be analyzed and included in the study. As of this date, this information will have been legally published and will no longer qualify for removal from the study.

If you request, your responses will be kept in confidence. However, for the purpose of this project, it is preferred that participants allow their tenants (a sog dear parent advocate) be allowed. It should be noted that even when requesting confidentiality, there is always a chance of recognition as this is a small, densely populated community with a limited number of residents working in the field of education and educational advocacy.

Only the researcher and her advisory committee will have access to the interview data. All original audio-tapes will be destroyed after study completion and transcripts will be added to indicate pseudonyms during the transcription process. Upon completion of the research study, it is anticipated that publications and/or professional presentations on the findings will be made. In these cases, only pseudonyms will be used.

Thank you again for considering participating in this project.

Sabrina Desirav Saundars, PhD Candidate, M.D., M.S., M.H.S.

Sabrina Saundars@ututor.ca

I have read the above information and understand my rights. At this time, I agree to the following conditions of my participation:

1. I agree to be audio-taped and am aware that I may request at anytime for the tape to be paused or turned off.
   Or
   I do not wish for our dialogue to be recorded.

2. I agree to the use of my title with a pseudonym within final reports. I understand that the researcher will take all possible precautions of identification.
   Or
   I do not wish to be identified with a title and prefer to have the proceedings of my dialogue referred to in full confidence with no title mentioned. I understand that there is always a possibility of identification by members of the community regardless of confidence.

Should there be any questions, I will contact Sabrina Desirav Saundars at (216) 665-9136 or her OISE-UT supervisor Dr. Reza-Dehnavi. Should I have any questions pertaining to the ethics review of this study or my participant rights, I may contact the University of Toronto Ethics Review Office at (416) 946-5717 or ethicsreview@utoronto.ca

Print Name

Contact E-mail (or phone number if no e-mail)

Signature

Date

*Any changes or additions must be signed by the participant and date stamped. Additional changes to the informed consent form cannot be made. A new informed consent form must be completed if any changes are made.
APPENDIX F:

Call for Participant Flier

See following page for image of form.

Speak Up!

- Are you a parent, grandparent, or resident interested in the condition of education for the Six Nations community?
- Are you an educator or school administrator (working/retired) of Six Nations youth?
- Are you vocal about First Nations education issues (drop-out rate & attainment rates; language, culture or immersion; School Choice; etc.)?
- Are you interested in seeing changes in Ogwehó:weh education locally and nationally?

A doctoral researcher is seeking participants interested in discussing their experiences, beliefs and opinions about our education in the First Nations Education Project.

The First Nations Education Project
For more information or to schedule a time to discuss your experiences and opinions, contact:

Sabrina Redwing Saunders
sabrina.saunders@sympatico.ca
or 519-445-0126
Speak Up!

- Are you a parent, grandparent, or resident interested in the condition of education for the Six Nations community?
- Are you an educator or school administrator (working/retired) of Six Nations youth?
- Are you vocal about First Nations education issues (drop-out rate & attainment rates; language, culture or immersion; School Choice; etc.)?
- Are you interested in seeing changes in Ogwehowen education locally and nationally?

A doctoral researcher is seeking participants interested in discussing their experiences, beliefs and opinions about our education in the First Nations Education Project.

The First Nations Education Project

For more information, or to schedule a time to discuss your experiences and opinions, contact:

Sabrina Redwing Saunders
sabrina.saunders@sympatico.ca
Ph: 619-448-0126

OISE/UT
Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the University of Toronto
The Department of Theory and Policy Studies in Education
APPENDIX G:

Letter of Introduction

See following page for image of sample letter.

<ADDRESS 1>
<ADDRESS 2>

August 26, 2007

<NNAME>,

I am writing you as an invitation to participate in a doctoral study pertaining to Ogweho:weh education at Six Nations and nationally in Canada. As an active member within the Six Nations educational front, you represent an important voice in this discussion.

My OISE-UT Doctorate in First Nations School Improvement from the Department of Theory & Policy Studies has focused on various aspects of Ogweho:weh and Haudenosaunee education. This dissertation research specifically is looking at the decade following the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (1997-2007). In this study I am looking for both educators and community members who would like to speak with myself on issues, concerns, changes and initiatives they have either witnessed or been involved with over this past decade. All members should be residents of or working within the Six Nations community and have attended a Six Nations elementary schools during their own schooling.

Discussions will be done in an individual or group setting. An individual discussion should take approximately 90 minutes and will take place at Six Nations at a time of your choosing.

This project has been approved by ethical review boards at both my home institution of OISE-UT and Six Nations Council Ethics Committee. I hope that you will consider this request and possibly discuss it with friends and colleagues who may have beliefs and experiences to share. You may contact me for any questions about participation at either my home phone or by e-mail. I have also included a number of Information Sheets for your consideration and possible distribution.

Additionally, as a form of returning the knowledge back to the participants and the community, all individual and agency participants will receive a copy of the final report of this study. This report will be a document including background, findings and recommendations. I hope this document will assist in your efforts for the best possible education for all our children at Six Nations.

I look forward to hearing from you and working together on the First Nations Education Project.
First Nations Education Project
Interview Request

<ADDRESS 1>
<ADDRESS 2>

August 26, 2007

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My OISE-UT Doctorate in First Nations School Improvement from the Department of Theory & Policy Studies has focused on various aspects of Ojibwe and Haudenosaunee education. This dissertation research specifically is looking at the decade following the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (1997-2007). In this study I am looking for both educators and community members who would like to speak with myself on issues, concerns, changes and initiatives they have either witnessed or been involved with over this past decade. All members should be residents of or working within the Six Nations community and have attended a Six Nations elementary school during their own schooling.

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I look forward to hearing from you and working together on the First Nations Education Project.

Sincerely,

Sabrina E. Redwing Saunders
Ph.D. Candidate, M.A., M.S., B.S., B.S., A.A.
RR#1, Ohsweken ON N0A 1M0
(519) 445-0126 ext. Sabrina.Saunders@symphco.ca
APPENDIX H:

Dialogue Guiding Questions

**Research Question #1:**
*What changes has RCAP made to Ogweho:weh education in Canada?*

**Research Questions #2:**
*How does the community understand success at Six Nations?*

Note: This is a guided list of questions. The exact dialogue of each person will take a direction specific to that participants interests and experience. These questions are a general guide of topics to be addressed within the shared time.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Research Question</th>
<th>Interview Question</th>
<th>Sub-Questions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>What were your initial reactions when you heard that a Royal Commission was being struck?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Did you participate in the conversations with the RCAP interviewers?</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Where did these conversations take place?</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>What educational topics were discussed in these conversations?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Have you seen the RCAP document</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>What was your initial reaction to the RCAP documents?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Do you believe RCAP has had an impact on the condition of the Six Nations schools?</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Can you give some examples of changes?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Do you believe RCAP has had an impact on the awareness of the conditions of the Six Nations schools?</td>
<td>Can you give some examples of the change in awareness?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>If you were to design a school system for Six Nations, what would it look like, include? Or Can you describe the education system you want for Six Nations?</td>
<td>Do you think that the increased awareness has made a difference in [ask the following separately] policy, curriculum, hiring, teaching methods, financial?</td>
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<td>-----</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>1/2</td>
<td>What do you see the reserve doing to improve upon the current educational conditions?</td>
<td>Why do you think these items [those they have mentioned] are important Regular requests to explain or define words, meanings, and implications in order to build a stronger webbing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1/2</td>
<td>What are your greatest concerns about First Nations education?</td>
<td>Are there others in the community who are stepping into this role?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1/2</td>
<td>What barriers are First Nations faced with in improving their educational outcomes?</td>
<td>How do you see these as influencing education today? And in the future?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1/2</td>
<td>Have you seen changes over the past decade in the Six Nations system?</td>
<td>Have you experienced any changes in these barriers, becoming either lessened or worse?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Do you believe RCAP had any influence upon the Six Nations community?</td>
<td>Do you believe these are a result of RCAP? And/Or the document responses to RCAP?</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[allow to expound in all directions, bring back to education]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Question</td>
<td>Answer</td>
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<td>---</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Did you have any ideas or notions of what would happen as a result of the RCAP publication?</td>
<td>Specifically what influences on education?</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Were your predictions realized?</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>When you think about the future for our community, what positive things do you think will happen?</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>What do you think is needed to make this happen?</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>What negatives do you see in our future?</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>What do you think is needed to keep these from happening?</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>Can you tell me how you would describe a successful student</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ask why each were listed</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Regular requests to explain or define words, meanings, and implications in order to build a stronger webbing</td>
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<td></td>
<td>For those actively involved in research or praxis:</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Are there any authors or materials you have reviewed lately which you think would be important for me to review?</td>
<td></td>
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</table>