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Out of the Ruts of Nova Scotia Education:

Mi'kmaw Doors of Education Emerge

By

Barbara Muriel Johnson

Submitted In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree

Of

Doctor of Philosophy in Education

At

Dalhousie University, Halifax, Nova Scotia

December 2000

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by Barbara Muriel Johnson

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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DEDICATION

To the next seven generations of Mi'kmaw, may your journey in education be smoother than mine and not be rife with discrimination, and prejudice such as I have endured. May your generations encounter persons who have travelled the longest road in life "from the mind to the heart" that are more accepting of us be they teachers, peers and supervisors. May the roads in higher education be smoother for the ruts have been graded.

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Abstract

This thesis explores the Nova Scotia Public School Programs (PSP) through the lens of Native childrearing practices (NCRP). The dialogue of the study follows a circular path around an eight-pointed star while using discourse analysis to raise consciousness regarding the need to make the PSP more inclusive of other cultures particularly the Mi'kmaw culture. It advances the notion that both the PSP and the NCRP have specific principles that lead to the enculturation of students. It also suggests that the PSP needs to be deconstructed then transformed to provide more balanced principles governing the Nova Scotia curriculum at it pertains to Mi'kmaw culture. The thesis concludes with recommendations on how the Mi'kmaq culture could become part of the Nova Scotia curriculum. In addition, addressing revisions to the PSP it implies a process for the continuity of the Mi'kmaw culture from the home to school. The thesis also strives to revitalize Mi'kmaw culture by way of a contemporary and balanced Nova Scotia curriculum. The conclusion provides a transformational work in progress that is designed to establish a vision for an inclusive PSP and an opportunity for Mi'kmaw children and youth to not only see themselves in the curriculum but to have enhanced opportunities to be both valued by others and to value their own culture within an inclusive framework The process enables educational opportunities for and about Mi'kmaw lives.

Acknowledgments

Considering that one is not rewarded for being a good teacher or doing good deeds within the Mi'kmaw society I cannot extend my gratitude to those who are supposed to do what they are meant to do. So instead of sending gratitudes, I need to pay tribute to numerous people that led to the production, dissection, regrouping of this dissertation for without them this study would not have been completed.

First and foremost is my education committee with Dr. Fred French at the helm. Dr. French provided me directions on how to deal with the reality of the Public School Programs (PSP). Without the assistance of Dr. Fred French the reality of many of my many undertakings in education would not have occurred. The historical nature of my education under Dr. Fred French has been eventful. The many rise and runs throughout the Graduate Studies process were often daunting for both. Dr. Carmel French reviews kept me grounded and redirected when I went or fell into my own ruts that were off the road. Then there is Dr. Blye Frank with whom I hold special gratitude (against a Native ethic) for coming on board to rescue me from the perils of the academic thread mill. His insights on methodology and the PSP as a regulatory document reality opened (panta'toqip) the way on the road for discourse analysis. Then an exceptional gratitude goes to Dr. Robert Mulchay for coming to Halifax for my Ph. D. defence then undergoing surgery on the following Monday. To say the lease, this is exemplary from an academic standpoint; yet, perhaps risky. Msit welaliog.

I also extend a tribute to Dr. Margaret Olsen for providing me with direction and defining of terms in methods during the early stages of completing my proposal. A special tribute goes to Barbara Maynard of the Graduate Studies Department for her patience, support and understanding. Tributaries are also extended to many unspoken others whose negative actions led me to take this direction in pursuing this arduous road in education.

Then, there are my three sons Richard L. DeWolfe, Kelvin E. DeWolfe and Colin G. DeWolfe on my derelict of duty as a mother and their role reversal when at times I was too fraught to continue. Special thanks go to Colin for the numerous occasions that he has had to rescue me on computer crashes and for laying out my eight-pointed star model

on his computer. Also, for the patience of my granddaughter, Jessica, on the short visitations I bestowed upon her during this writing process.

Last but not least is my niece and surrogate daughter, Valerie Bowers for insights on certain portions of the PSP.

SECTION I: THE ESTABLISHED RUTS

Chapter 1

Introduction. This study has evolved from educative concerns from within the sphere of Mi'kmaw experiences. Due to our ways of life many misconceptions have been forwarded by the dominant society in literature and other forms of discourse. Paul (1993) chronicles these misconceptions in We were not the Savages. LaRoque (1975) provides us with a more acrimonious view about the issues.

One of the issues discussed by the committee members during the September 10, 1999 Capital Committee meeting of Mi'kmaw Kina'matnewey was the consequences of racial problems within provincial schools. It was noted that compounded and concomitant with these racial problems is that many Mi'kmaw children do not want to attend these schools. Where and how does one begin to turn the tide on the lack of understanding and knowledge about the Mi'kmaq by Eurocentric stakeholders within the schools? Opening the doors of Mi'kmaw education can begin to erode the ruts of Nova Scotia education.

The education of the Mi'kmaq has now come full circle for the communities have reestablished jurisdiction and control of their education. This was accomplished through a number of years of negotiation and finally legislated through the 1998 Mi'kmaq Education Act.

Chapel Island, which is situated in Cape Breton, Nova Scotia, reopened the pathway of primary to elementary schooling during the early nineteen eighties after approximately twenty years of provincial schooling. For the first time since the early sixteen hundreds the education of Mi'kmaw children is back in the hands of parents, grandparents and the communities at large. Hence, the segregation of Mi'kmaq education from the mainstream has once again become securely reestablished in Mi'kmaw communities.

Experience with both the segregated schools and integrated schools leads to the belief that both have inherent problems; however, their problems are different. Segregated schools have been held to be isolating and lacking of interaction with children from other cultures. Integrated schools are held to be stressing for they were riddled with attitudes of

prejudice and discrimination. This dichotomy not only affected interactions with other students; but also, emotional well being.

1. Out of the Ruts and onto New Paths in Education

The 1972 National Indian Brotherhood report, Indian Control of Education argued that the curriculum is not an archaic inert vehicle for transmitting knowledge. However, there are those who perceive curriculum as holy writ (Connell, 1993). In order to meet the curricular needs of individuals from diverse cultures, new approaches are necessary. This would, at the same time, provide common schooling experiences which are called for by Connell (1993). A concept of 'Inverting Hegemony' put forth by Connell seeks a practical reconstruction of education that is universalizing in nature. The strategy of inverting hegemony not only advantages the disadvantaged, but at the same time produces experiences and information not generally available to the dominant group (Connell, 1993). A probe of the Nova Scotia Public School Programs (PSP) would support exploration of a different perspective.

Reyhner (1994) suggests Nativizing the curriculum by changing it to reflect Native culture. Could the ideal lie not just in the mix of students from different cultures in Nova Scotia but a curriculum that embodies lifeways from diverse cultures? In order to make schooling meaningful for the Mi'kmaq a need exists for inclusion of Mi'kmaw ways in all subject areas. "Given the historical dominance of Eurocentric knowledge, what is required are additional forms of centric knowledge that empower minority youth in particular to counter their history of being treated as inferior in Euro-Canadian/ American systems" (Dei, 1996, p. 83). Reyhner (1994, p. 27) states, "Students need to relate what they are being taught to their prior knowledge and experience". Are add-ons such as the Mi'kmaq Studies 10 sufficient to these purposes.

The PSP contains a framework on what is probably purported to be appropriate and comprehensive education for all Nova Scotia students. Some could and do argue that 'one system is right' and 'another is wrong' or 'one is preferred as better' as noted by Meadows (1998) however, this thesis will argue that we need to re-conceptualize the PSP with the inclusion of a Mi'kmaw perspective. One way of organizing a

reconceptualization of the PSP is to use the star as a model representative of Mi'kmaw values.

2. The Eight-Pointed Star as a Model

Mi'kmaq view the East as a new beginning or formation of new relationships because the sun begins a new day from the easterly direction. Ironically, the first encounter with Europeans was at the Mi'kmaq's eastern door. Due to the belief that newness emerges from the East – the Europeans were welcomed to our society. It is from this cardinal direction that new relationships are welcomed. Therefore, it is from this door from whence this exploration will commence. It has been posited by Smith (1990) that an examination of how the underlying relations of ruling determines the factual surfaces of textual realities. Smith (1993) contends that textual discourse is situated in social relations not just in texts and it is where it is mediated and organized. This is taken to mean that there is a human interaction between the social context of the written text and the reader. So it is with the relations of ruling and the social relations of the PSP that a vision for a balanced curriculum will be mediated and organized through the lens of the Native Childrearing Practices (NCRP).

This eight- pointed star will be utilized to explore the PSP from a Mi'kmaw perspective through the lens of the NCRP. The star has been used extensively in Mi'kmaw art (Whitehead, 1982). During the creation of baskets and other forms of Mi'kmaw handiwork the shapes of the barnacle, starfish, stars, moon, sun, and others were used for decorative purposes.

Contradictions exist on the meaning and origin of this eight-pointed star. Whitehead has referred to it as the eight-legged starfish, eight-legged star and as a series of diamonds. The model chosen for the exploration of the PSP and the significance of NCRP in Mi'kmaw education is the Mi'kmaw eight-pointed star that is enclosed in a circle, Figure 1.

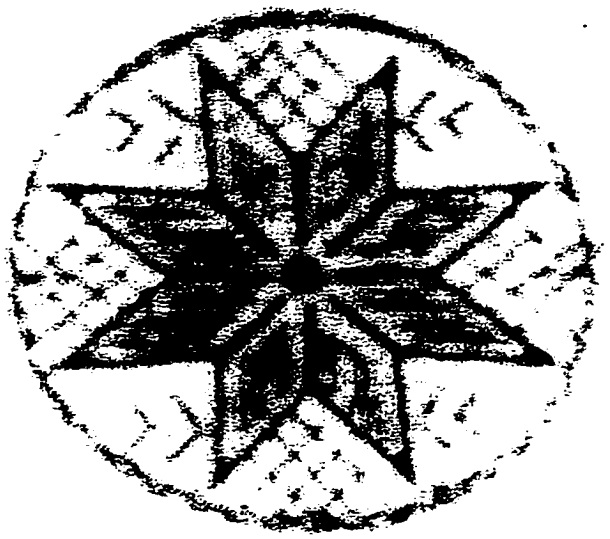

Figure 1

Search on the Internet (URL www.dnai.com~ctpub/LeMoynePattern.html) revealed the Le Moyne Star as a quilt pattern – complete with its instructions. The origins of this Le Moyne Star are not mentioned but it is obvious that others besides the Mi'kmaq have used this eight-pointed star. According to Whitehead (1989) a manuscript by E. S. Eaton and now in the William Dennis Collection at the Nova Scotia Museum has alluded to this figure as representing the sun. This is incorrect as is her notion that Mi'kmaq worshiped the sun. Whitehead does not provide a title or date for this manuscript. Historically this figure has been referred to by the Mi'kmaw artisans as a starfish.

According to Whitehead an eight-pointed petroglyph that is situated in the Bedford barrens predates European metal tools (ca. 1500 AD). It was uncovered during a land development excavation in 1983. This petroglyph differs from the ones that have appeared in quillwork and other art forms. A spiral seems to originate from the centre of the petroglyph. Whitehead notes that the diagonal line between the two parallel lines pointing to the cardinal points of north and south points to the magnetic north. The prior illustration was an art form used by the Mi'kmaq which emanated from nature.

Whereas, according to Whitehead, the Mi'kmaw cosmos most probably is demonstrated depicted through the petroglyph Figure 2.

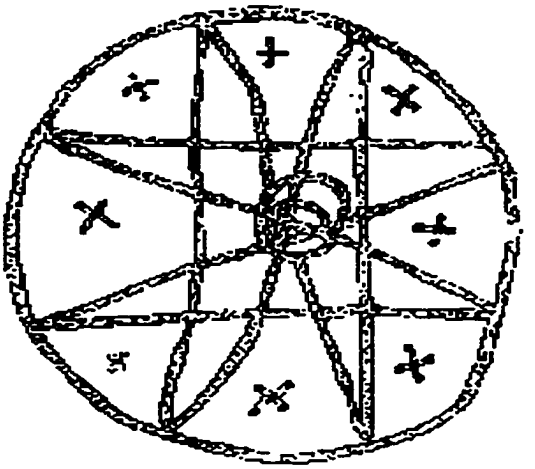

Figure 2

According to Sarah Denny, a Mi'kmaq elder, the center of the star usually has a circle drawn around it as shown on page 53 of Whitehead (1982). For this study the small inner circle represents the central position or stance of a Mi'kmaw person. Graveline (1998, p. 110) states, "Our cultural locatedness is a strong factor in how we experience the world, information how we react/act towards others". This exploration utilizes the axis or the hub eight-pointed star as the 'centre of alliance' where Mi'kmaw consciousness and Eurocentricism congregate. At the axis, they reconceptualize and develop partnerships for the building of bridges towards a balanced and harmonious Nova Scotia curriculum. Symbolically, we are "[G]aining entry into the knowledge banks of community members requires respect, patience, honouring and reciprocity" Graveline (1996, p. 200).

Metaphorically, the points of the star represent the prickly political issues of the Nova Scotia education system. With the aid of the NCRP the bundles of the PSP will be unpacked as I collide with them during my travel around the eight-pointed star. I am following Smith's (1990,1993) lead where she contends that the social organization of knowledge is positioned prior to and including the moment of transition into the textually grounded world. It is at the tips of the two-pronged compass-rose of the Mi'kmaw eight-pointed star upon which I have placed four distinct bundles of the PSP and the NCRP. New understandings for a more cohesive relationship between the dominant and Mi'kmaw societies should evolve from the journey. The Mi'kmaw eight-pointed star escorts us

through each of the bundles of information by critiquing the PSP and the NCRP at the same time embracing the positive aspects of both.

3. Purpose of study

The intent of this study is not to focus on the technical issues as such. However, the purpose is to explore the relationships between the desired cultural ways of life of the Mi'kmaq and the Nova Scotia school system. It follows that this thesis is motivated by the will to include the Mi'kmaq in the Nova Scotia educational system with conscienceness raising of what is probable and possible as well for other cultures.

This study forwards Mi'kmaw culture and its life ways as a valid and appropriate fund of knowledge to be included within the framework of Nova Scotia schooling. This study is also intended to forward Mi'kmaw concerns and hopefully build bridges between the Mi'kmaw communities and the Nova Scotia provincial schools system through an examination of Native childrearing and its implications for the PSP.

The central purpose of the study is to examine through the lens of first Nations childrearing practices the extent to which the PSP guide for Nova Scotia public schools reflects, enhances and/or acknowledges principles central to children of First Nations descent. "This challenge also requires a critical assessment of the sources of knowledge and how they are sanctioned as legitimate" (Monture-Angus, 1995, p.18).

The study will deal with two aspects of education. First, it will look at the nature of the PSP as it relates to the Mi'kmaq peoples' concerns in educating children in matters of their cultural and intellectual heritage. Secondly, it will explore the First Nations society as it is characterized through child- rearing principles for the promotion of specific educational and separate beliefs, values, customs, traditions from the dominant society and the implication of these principles for the PSP. The general research goal is to describe childrearing practices of the Native populace and tie in or postulate the social upbringing relationships and their mismatch with schooling.

The retainment of culture has always been a critical concern for Native Americans (Paul, 1991). Another reason for this study is that traditional Native American childrearing philosophies give a powerful alternative in education and youth development

(Brendto, Brokenleg, and Van Brockern, 1990). Brendto et al (1990) contend that this knowledge is not well known outside Native communities. Connell (1993) contends that when education privileges one child over another, the privileged child actually gets corrupted education. Connell suggests that this results in the degradation of the quality of education. It is hoped that this dissertation will facilitate new grounds in partnership with all Nova Scotia education stakeholders. The ideal would be for complete reciprocity between the Mi'kmaw and dominant society.

a. Limitations of the study As a political process, policy analysis often rests on power through the legal,economic, social, cultural, psychological foundations or interests of specific groups (Manzer, 1994). Oftentimes, the human component is forgotten. Granted, one cannot completely depart from the influences of the above. There are side effects such as marginalization, exclusion and racism to every policy that may or may not touch all. These could and generally do have intended or unintended impacts all around. This study will be limited to looking at the 1997-1998 PSP and the historical nature of NCRP as perceived through this author's eyes. Events in Nova Scotia education are continuing to evolve and may render some of the critique redundant. Nevertheless, a brief review of the 1999-2000 PSP indicates few if any variations exist in the original themes addressed in the thesis. The study will reflect only on public school programs for those First Nations students who attend the Nova Scotia provincial school system.

b. Turning Points. Historically, educational institutions have treated the Native American as part of the immigrant groups when they were never part of this movement (Paul, 1991). The initial goals for educating the Natives were for Christianization and assimilation (Kaegi, 1974; Moore, 1983). This need for the assimilation, acculturation, civilization, and Christianization of the Native people have generally been seen as a problem within the Native communities. Sir George Pedkham [cited in Ryan, 1996] along with his fellow colonizers saw formal education as a means through which Native peoples could be shaped into European approved human beings. This is why the PSP, being a public document, needs to looked at as a public problem not as an Indian problem.

In the past, it was the Native student who was asked to integrate by giving up his/her identity and by adopting new values and life styles (National Indian Brotherhood, 1984). Leavitt (1995, p. 127) states, "With few exceptions, the educational principles and practices of Native cultures are not applied in the classroom, even for Native students." According to the 1972 National Indian Brotherhood report, Indian children will continue to be strangers in Canadian classrooms until measures are taken to recognize Native customs, values, languages and their contributions made to Canadian history.

A review of the literature indicates that North American indigenous people deal with principles that are unique to themselves when educating their youth. For instance, there are principles that involve childrearing (Atlantic 1st Nations Aids Task Force, 1994; Brant, 1982, 1983, 1990; Johnson 1992; Johnson, 1993; Kaulbeck, 1984; National Native Association of Treatment Directors, 1989; Paul, 1991; Pepper and Henry, 1986; Ross, 1992, 1996), respect for elders (Brendto et al, 1990; National Native Association of Treatment Directors, 1989; Ross, 1992, 1996), spirituality (Snively, 1990; Ross, 1992,1996), respect for all forms of life (Brant, 1982, 1983, 1990; Ross, 1992, 1996) and education (Brant, 1982, 1990; National Indian Brotherhood, 1972, 1984; Ross, 1992, 1996).

In addition, First Nation societies deal with principles of ethics and rules of behaviour (Brant, 1983, 1983, 1990) over and above those noted above. These are part and parcel of formal and informal education within First Nation societies as was noted by Philips (1972) and Pepper and Henry (1986). The rules and ethics of behaviour are learned by children starting at an early age. Brant (1990) has detailed eight of the Native ethics and rules of behaviours. This preliminary work is an excellent platform from whence one could springboard into more comprehensive description on the behaviour of Native school children. Philips (1972) observed in her classroom throughout the school year Native children who did not conform to standard classroom procedures. These standards are Eurocentric in nature. Dumont (1972) noted how subtle conflicts in instruction and communication can virtually shut down a classroom. Ryan (1996) examined how selected elements of educational governance conveyed the lack of trust and respect to Native

students and to Native people through the relationships it structures between the Native societies and the White society, schools and communities and educators and Native students. Therefore, a need exists not only for the recognition but the understanding of First Nations cultural heritage as they affect behaviour in school.

Brant (1990) argues that children of First Nations descent learn through certain principles that are important in childrearing which ultimately have an impact on their public schooling. Monture-Angus (1995) writes about the guiding principles of kindness, sharing, truth (or respect) and strength along with their merits. Paul (1991) expresses the importance of family relationships within the Native culture and their impact on schooling.

Native people, indeed, have a different history, social life, and economic relationship with Canada from Euro-Canadians.

c. Policy analysis. This study utilizes the Native lens while other studies may use the Irish, Scotch, Black, feminist lenses to view the PSP. Pal (1989) maintains that the focus of content analysis is on current policy that requires probing of the recent past to build a detailed picture of rationales and intentions.

The reason for a content analysis is that by taking just one of the elements of Pal's policy process narrows the scope of the study and allows it to be manageable. Another is that its focus is the discourse contained in the PSP not the determinants (drivers) or impacts (effects) of the PSP for the same reason. Only, policy process, one of the elements, will be explored. According to Pal, the elements of the policy process are: policy determinants, policy content, and policy impact. Policy determinants are the causal forces that are responsible for generating policies while policy impacts are intended or unintended consequences for the direct target of the policy. Pal contends that policy content may include a problem definition, goals and intentions along with the governing instruments. This exploration focuses on the policy content of the PSP with the problem definition of exclusion. Pal tells us, "Policies may be obscure and misleading even about the problem or problems to which they respond, and so it is part of the analyst's art to decipher these problems and sometimes reformulate or recast them" (p. 10). This analysis questions and

mitigates the obscurity and paradoxical nature of the PSP. It then recasts what the NCRP lens considers as an alternative PSP that is inclusive.

This study explores the 1997 - 1998 PSP through the lens of the NCRP. Studying cultural products through the lens of Native theory exposes the long pervasive omission of Native people within Nova Scotia's PSP. The concept of journey is used as we walk counterclockwise from the East, North, West and South and unpack the symbolic bundles of knowledge around the Prairie medicine wheel.

4. Process utilized in the Thesis.

The childrearing model, Figure 3, Influencing Factors in Native Childrearing

Influencing Factors of Native Child-Rearing
Figure 3 ©

(Johnson, 1992) is the lens for the critical review of the PSP. It serves as a camera to capture what relationships exist relating to the Nova Scotia Native populace within the PSP. The Influencing Factors of Native Childrearing model is comprised of three different sized circles. The inner circle situates the Native child as the core and the middle circle's

thirteen ethics as Brant (1983, 1990); Brendto et al (1990); Marshall (n.d.) and infiltrate toward the outer circle where social interactions take place.

Native authors such Paul (1991) document that this happens in Native society. Kaulback (1984) and Pepper and Henry (1986) also support this model. The reason why the model is valued is due to its representation on what is believed to be the socialization patterns of Native children. So, the model stands alone as validity for a lens. The model will be the litmus test for the detection of where and how the PSP serves the Mi'kmaq and it will help illuminate problem areas of the PSP. While this model is not final nor meant to encompass all Native enculturation, it exposes a new area of exploration in Native education, particularly while considering the potential and actual incongruencies of provincial school pedagogical practices.

Like other Native authors (Johnson, 1993; Graveline, 1996; Sabattis, 1996) I use certain terminology in applying identification labels for my people. I have used the term Mi'kmaq while relating to my brethren of the Mi'kmaq Nation. Mi'kmaw is the adjective form and is often used to indicate one individual. The term Indian originates from a Spanish conquistador, Christopher Columbus, and forwarded to become part and parcel of legislation created by Europeans on all First Nations from North American or Turtle Island. Hence, the use of the term 'Indian' labels us, all the First Peoples, through legislation and I refrain from using it except when it is quoted from others or as legislation.

Legislation again brought forth another ambiguous term 'Aboriginals' through the 1982 Constitution Act. This term is not fitting for us either for it belongs to Australia. It most probably originates from pan-Indianness (a melting-pot version for North American Natives). I use the term "Native" to denote that we are Native to this continent and I use it as proper noun. The term First Nations or First Peoples is also used in a proper noun case for we are just that. I along with many of my Native brethren such as Wilson (1976) fundamentally dispute all theories including the Asian land-bridge theory purported by Department of Indian Affairs (1990) on the origins of my people. Monture-Angus (1995, p. 24) says, "We are the original people of this territory. We have no other 'motherland to

to return to'. In this respect we are not minorities". Hence, if we loose our language, culture, and all the intrinsic aspects of our being, we cannot travel elsewhere in the world to recover any of it for this is from where we originate, Mi'kma'ki.

Becoming open-minded, Hare's (1979) term, and taking the longest road in life from the head to the heart, a Native philosophy, creates much better relationships and partnerships among people of differing backgrounds. Johnson (1993, p. 107) describes it thus, "One Native elder told the author in conversation 'Indian people see the world in a whole different way than white people do. We see things from the heart. They see things from the head. Will your study show that?'" This thesis does not proceed with what Deloria (1994, cited in Graveline, 1998, p. 21) states, "People are not allowed to be Indians and cannot become whites. They have been educated, as the old-times would say, to think with their heads instead of their hearts". Some could say that this is a biased and stereotyped position, be that it may, it is a Mi'kmaw reality. The thesis, in light of the lens model, looks at what is appropriate and inappropriate between NCRP vis à vis the PSP and it is written through the heart and reinforced by the head. In order to understand the connections between policy and schooling we need to view what is the nature and function of schooling.

5. Nature and function of schooling.

The nature and function of the schooling process according to Robinson (1984) has been seen primarily as socialization for Anglo or Franco conformity. Aoki, Dahlie, and Connors (1984) remarked that the British and French were seen as benefactors, so much so, that paternalism became evident within social studies programs. Ryan (1996) made arguments that leads one to believe that this notion could expand to other subject areas. Aoki, T. et al (1984) point out that students of Native ancestry are aided to savor their own history and heritage but their cultural interpretation is by the dominant society. Whyte (1982, cited in Kuehne and Pence, 1993, p. 302) indicated that Native people generally regard this as superficial and inadequate Ryan fully supports this view. There are many factors besides school practices that influence student learning such as family background and student activities outside of school are identified by some authors

(Coleman, et al, 1966; Keith, Reimers, Fehrmann, Pottebaum, and Aubey, 1986; Milne, Myers, Rosental and Ginsburg, 1986 cited in Elmore and Fuhrman, 1996). Phillips and Crowell (1994) also contend that processes of learning transpire to a distinctly social context. They argue that the learning opportunities that children encounter in preschool years not only transmit skills and knowledge but subtle information about how knowledge is acquired and communicated. Neito (1996) mentions that not only are children from different cultures taught differently but the differences they bring to school affects their educational experiences profoundly. Children from different cultures have been and are being taught differently. In addition, Mi'kmaq children do come to school with differences and these have impacts on their educational experiences.

Phillips (1972) and Leavitt (1995) described how the role of social rules intertwine within the classroom. This had an impact upon entry into integrated schools, particularly with personal interactions with students from other cultures. Leavitt (1995, p. 125) argues that "traditional Native education relies upon ways of knowing, ways of interacting and ways of using language which are not normally exploited in formal school". The 1972 National Indian Brotherhood report, Indian Control of Indian Education, contends that parental responsibility is the pillar of tradition and culture. It is hoped that this thesis will provide a foundation for building supports of the notion that Mi'kmaw social rules affect schooling.

6. Wenaqte'm

Before you and I embark upon this journey toward new trails of education, I want to reflect on how and why this journey began. I never realized that I would travel this educative trail from beginning to end by bringing forth issues relative to my culture. During my pursuit for a Bachelor of Education degree I was awe struck on just how we, the Native people, are not only stereotyped but also misunderstood. "Although the stereotypes of the past are fading now, they are so deeply rooted that they continue to haunt use still" (Petrone, 1990, p. 3). Tim Bernard (cited in The Chronicle-Herald, 10/06/95), editor of the Micmac-Maliseet Nations News states,

> Myths about Canadian aboriginals, how they live and the benefits

> bestowed on them by the federal government are rampart. Racism still exists, aided and abetted by ignorance on both sides. Often non-natives have many misconceptions or misunderstandings concerning Micmac people, who've been stereotyped by European society over centuries. Some stereotypes exist to this day. (p. M 6)

Moore (1983) indicated that Indian [sic] values are not understood by Whites and that Indian [sic] behaviour is misinterpreted in schools, workplace and by government officials as a failure to conform to white standards.

On the other hand it is enlightening to read an expression of advancement on the thinking about us; however, at times we have to be careful that it is not patronizing. I state with certainty that there is sincerity when Ross (1992, p. xxii) states, "I am now drawn to the conclusion that while we share with Native people a common desire to live healthy, love-filled and peaceful lives, we share very few concepts about how to accomplish those goals".

Mi'kmaq, as part of the Wabanaki Confederacy (an historical form of governance by the Northeastern Natives), share the rocky trails with our neighbours through life's pastures. We certainly share with all of the members of every contemporary Wabanaki community the experience of stereotypes that non-Indians have of them as described in a document by the American Friends Service Committee (1989). While those who seemingly lead us to believe that they understand our culture they can be still be off the trail. On the one hand, messages are conveyed that leads one to believe that they understand Nativeness by declaring eXpertness yet on the other hand they make erroneous pronouncements. Three examples are very significant.

One example is Millward's (1992) remark when she presumes that many of the children enrolled in the Shubenacadie Residential School already spoke or were familiar with English just because the enrollment forms were in English. One has to consider the times and who was responsible for drafting the enrollment forms. It was not the Mi'kmaq. Many Mi'kmaq never went past grade three in schooling during those days. The students who were enrolled with the Shubenacadie Residential School were not all English speakers or writers of English prose, poetry or song. Granted there may have been some like Elsie

Charles who were able to function in English.

Another example is Moore's (1983) use of the loaded word 'savages' in her language while writing on the different perceptions on the meaning of culture and discrepancies between government and Native. Her words would have been more accepting had she used the word Micmac as she has done throughout her text. Moore's (1983, p.15) emphasis on the word and her direct quote is as follows, "We tend to forget also that these 'savages' shared many of their skills with our ancestors when they first arrived, to enable them to survive.

Another major problem is with Joe (1994, p. 108) when she states, "Rarely are those maladjusted or dysfunctional members of the Native-American communities compared with the norms of Native Americans". To consider any North American Tribal group as maladjusted or dysfunctional in comparison with outsider groups is racist. What is more scathing is stated by Joe,

> In the area of childrearing, the culturally based norm and expectations of children's behavior held by a child's parents may become confused, inappropriate, and behaviorally destructive for both the parent and child. Unfortunately, the long-range impact of these varying destructive forces has not been well documented for Native-American childrearing practices. (p. 109)

These statements on Natives are read with wonderment. It would be best had they stated that Natives are different, for we are different. Adding to this notion of difference, Banks (1997) states, "Although different in many ways, these groups share some important experiences." Our norms are different along with our values, beliefs and customs. It is my contention that if one writes about such issues then they could at least leave insulting terminology behind unless it is a direct historical quote. This concurs with Paul (1993),

> To be called a savage, and to be treated like one, is the ultimate insult to an Aboriginal person. The term was never applicable to Aboriginal people and should never be used when referring to them unless in historical quotes... (p. 34).

Added to this is that we have been and to a large extent are still ignored in school curriculums. Battiste (1986) mentions that Indian [sic] history, culture, and language were being ignored in the provincial system. An example later on the text about Rita Joe's

poetry demonstrates how the Mi'kmaq have been put on the shelf and ignored. It needs to be made clear that this most likely is not an isolated case. Rose and McCormick (1997) reflect on this very issue about how the First Nations have generally been ignored; they state, "Where they are presented, they are depicted as an aberration to be explained away (rather than understood) before Canada's "true history" can begin" (p. 259).

Marsh (1996) mentions that oppressed peoples are voiceless. It is not so much that Canada's first peoples are voiceless but the communication is often ignored. This in effect is silencing our voices. Silence, in itself, is not a bad thing within Native communities and can mean a lot of things (Monture-Angus, 1995). It is when our voices fall on deaf ears and become silent then in turn it becomes ignoring. Then again, when the introduction to the PSP was initially drafted in 1992, a number of Natives had written within theses and other discourses about such issues; however, their viewpoints were not reflected in the final document.

Ross (1992, p. xxii) has eloquently described it, "Our two cultures are, in my view, separated by an immense gulf or chasm, one which the Euro-Canadian culture has never recognized, much less tried to explore and accommodate". Bernie Francis (quoted in Sable, 1996, p. xiv) puts closure on this so well, "People tend to make Native people larger than life, more spiritual. We are not. We may look at things differently, but we are just people".

Nuttall, Landurand and Goldman (1984) wrote about the very misused classification of 'mentally retarded' with linguistic, cultural, and racial minority students. It was only through the notion of racism that we realize or became enlightened that there was and is an inferiority doctrine or deficit model that emerged with psychoeducational assessment and challenged by Roland Chrisjohn during the 1988's. The model argued that Natives had deficits in cognition.

The question remains as to what and whose culture are we as First Nations being deprived. The English culture? Being schooled within the context of the Eurocentric education and the lack of Native perspectives within public school curriculum denys access to knowledge that would help explain racism. The issue of racism and gender differences

has come into light as a discourse just within the last decade. Ironically, it is at the closing of the second millennium that we as educators are finally embarking onto a new trail for diversity. I am more optimistic than Moore (1983, p. 65) when she states, "It is not likely that prejudice and discrimination can be educated out of the attitudes of individuals in our society because their real functions are an intrinsic part of the overall social system"

This optimism leads one to believe that there can be reconceptualizing possibilities in the goals, policies and procedures of the PSP.

Chapter 2

Review of Literature

Part A: The History of Mi'kmaw Schooling

The history of Mi'kmaq schooling in Nova Scotia reveals a variety of schools since the contact period. Kaegi (1974) describes the development of Canadian Native education by suggesting three specific periods: 1) Before the Whiteman; 2) pre-Confederation; and 3) post-Confederation. W. D. Hamilton (1986) does not consider the first but uses the latter two.

The intention of this chapter is to provide a social historical sketch of Mi'kmaq schooling from a Mi'kmaw perspective. The term schooling is used to refer to formal or public schooling, while education and learning refer to a more global sense; one can be educated; yet, one may not be schooled. This social historical sketch provides particulars on three main periods: pre-contact, pre-Confederation and post-Confederation. It looks at the variety of schools that existed in these periods and their significance, and it examines how Native education has come full circle from pre-contact to the present day. The chapter provides a synopsis of Native education in Canada and particularly for Nova Scotia. Kaegi (1974) renders a more detailed description of Native education in Canada while Hamilton (1986) gives us a broader spectrum of Native education in the Maritimes.

The different types of schools are described as well as the impact on Mi'kmaq society of placing children there. The term "institution" is defined and discussed in relation to Mi'kmaq education, and the notion of institutionalization is placed within the context of the Shubenacadie Residential School. This school was one of the many schools established throughout Canada by the federal government. It was located in Shubenacadie, Nova Scotia and operated by a religious organization. Millward (1992) tells us that it operated from February 1930 to June 1967.

Distinctions are made between the day schools (the precursors of present-day public schools) that were established specifically for Mi'kmaq and settler students during the early contact period, and the post-Confederation segregated federal Indian day schools. The placement of Mi'kmaq students in Shubenacadie Residential School is

discussed with a view toward countering media reports. An attempt is made to look at the Shubenacadie Residential School's thirty year history in a more positive light or rather as contradictions because allegations of wrong-doing did not surface until the 1990's.

Recent and present-day popular media and academics have alluded to the contradictions pertaining to this school. These contradictions can probably be explained by Vygotsky's (1994) theory that no two people are developmentally influenced in the same manner by the same situation. According to Vygotsky, the psychological and personality developments of children are made up of emotional experiences and that the emotional experience of the environment plays a role in child development which varies according to age.

Pauls (1996) notes that a longer history of schooling exists in Canada for Natives than for non-Natives. Certainly Mi'kmaw education in Nova Scotia has undergone an evolution during the past 500 years or more. With the advent of European intrusion Mi'kmaq education changed from a family-based process to a military, then a missionary, then a government-controlled enterprise, and is now a tripartite Mi'kmaq, federal and provincial operation. It is noted by Green (1990, p. 36) that "...in the evolution of Indian education is the lack of parental involvement in the education process and thus the failure to put responsibility where it truly belonged - in the hands of parents". Pauls (1996, p. 25) stated, "The education that has been provided to Native people has been traditionally inferior and designed by the dominant society to complement the racist objectives of assimilation, and acculturation of the Native people". Unfortunately Pauls does not provide qualifiers for this remark.

Types of schools

Since 1605 there have been a variety of schools used among the Nova Scotia Mi'kmaq. The dates themselves are deceiving for as one could see from the table that the different types of schools overlapped each other. The different types of schools that were drawn from literature are outlined in Table 1.

Table 1

Types of Schools

1. **Before the White Man** (prior to 1605)
   Native run
2. **Pre-confederation** (1605 - 1867)
   Mission schools
   Day schools
   Boarding schools
   Integrated Schools
3. **Post-confederation** (1867- 1980)
   Federal Indian Day Schools
   Residential schools
   Boarding schools
   Day schools
   Integrated Schools
   i. **Mi'kmaq Control** (1980 - present)
      Segregated and Integrated Schools
   ii. **Tripartite Mi'kmaq, Federal and Provincial Control** (1998- present)
      Segregated and Integrated Schools

1. Before the White Man Period

a. Native run. In this period, which Kaegi (1974) refers to as "Before the Whiteman," the aim of schooling was to teach necessary life skills to ensure survival, and to form children into productive members of society. Julian (1997) describes the interconnectedness of Mi'kmaq culture during this period, emphasizing the ethic of sharing. Although there are reports (Miller, 1991; MacKay, 1989) of Portuguese, Spanish, Norwegian and Basque fishermen frequenting the shores of Mi'kma'ki, there are no written records available. Extrapolations have been made by early settlers about the social life for there is a dearth of literature on the Mi'kmaq culture of that period.

Education during this period was under the complete control of the Mi'kmaq; this had been the case since time immemorial. IAN (1982, p. 2) reported that

> "... this period in the history of Indian education was to date, the only period when the training of Indian children was designed, planned and implemented by Indian people for Indian children to prepare the children for the environment in which they were to live".

During this period, Mi'kmaq education was under the shared control of the immediate family, the extended family and the community at large. It was familial in nature and there was no other variety of learning. Family life as an institution was exhibited in two distinctive forms according to Denys (1908) and LeClercq (1910). These forms were 1) bilateral extended household or village units; and 2) bilocal, monogamous or polygamous arrangements. According to Lescarbot (1914), social conditions were superior to those of Europeans, and life expectancy was longer with good physical stature.

2. Pre-confederation Period

This period includes both Kaegi's (1974) and Hamilton's (1986) views of the pre- and post-Confederation periods in Native education. Prior to the enactment of the British North America Act, the administration of Indian Affairs had been under provincial administration (Philips, 1957). There was also a military component associated with this administration, especially during the French and British conflict. With the enactment of the British North America Act of 1867, Section 91:24, the administration of Indian Affairs came under the jurisdiction of the Federal Government (Kaegi, 1974). Although education in general was assigned to the provinces under the British North America Act, Native education fell under the control of the Federal Government under the section, Indians and Lands Reserved for Indians (Philips, 1957).

The Indian Act revision of 1920 made school attendance compulsory and gave authority to truant officers to take a child into custody for not attending school. Also, a child who would not attend school, a truant, was labeled a juvenile delinquent under Sections 118-119 of the Indian Act (Mosher, 1992). This labeling did not apply to White students who were truant. This section of the Indian Act was not removed until 1985.

Miller (1991) states that probably the earliest disruption of Mi'kmaq life and

culture began well before 1600 when the Mi'kmaq were caught up in the fur trade. As a result of contact, the Mi'kmaq were exposed to a variety of Eurocentric educational approaches, which probably makes this the most complex period of Mi'kmaq schooling. This period included mission schools, day schools, federal Indian day schools, a residential school, boarding schools, integrated schools, Mi'kmaq-controlled schools and the new tripartite agreement type, today's new challenge.

a. Mission Schools. Schools of this type were run exclusively by missionaries whose aims were Christianization and "civilization." The first missionary work among the Mi'kmaq commenced in 1605 led by Abbé Jesse Fleché (Upton, 1979). These first missionaries were from France. The Jesuit Relations is a voluminous documentation written by the missionaries of their observation in New France which consists of reports from 1610 - 1710 to the imperial power of France. We are reminded by Meyer and Ramirez (1996, p. 93) that "[T]he missionaries, of course had a vested interest in documenting native American cultures". This vested interest arose from their obligations to the European state, France. In order for them to be eligible for funding substantiation or justification had to be procured.

The year 1610 marks the baptism of Chief Membertou and 140 Mi'kmaq (Knockwood, 1992; Upton, 1979). There is also a contradiction regarding the actual number of Mi'kmaq baptized with Chief Membertou. Upton's number comes from Jesuit sources, while Hamilton's is presumed to be from academic license. The Nova Scotia Mi'kmaq have adhered to the Catholic religion since Membertou's conversion. This is not to say that Mi'kmaq do not practice other religions nor does it say that there are no traditionalists among the Mi'kmaq. Hamilton (1986) mentions that the Roman Catholic missionary work passed through the Jesuit, Recollect and Capuchin orders during the next three decades. The years 1610 and 1640 introduced the French style of schooling to the Mi'kmaq at LaHave (Hamilton, 1986). According to Johnson (1968), the parish schools and Jesuit colleges of pre-Revolutionary France earmarked the French style. Considering that these were based on parish schools and Jesuit Colleges, it is probable that religious education was paramount. Mi'kmaq and White settlers were therefore indoctrinated in

socialization patterns based on pre-Revolutionary France.

In 1629, the Jesuits operated a mission school at St. Ann's in Cape Breton that was available both to French and Mi'kmaq students (Grant, 1984). By 1646 the Jesuits had established four missions in Cape Breton. In 1633 the LaHave School which was located on the south shore of Nova Scotia was transferred to Port Royal. Port Royal, Nova Scotia has been deemed to be the first European settlement in New France. Between 1640 and 1652 a girl's school was in use at Port Royal. During the 1670s and 1680s, using the reworked hieroglyphics that he learned from the children, LeClerq taught Christianity through the use of prayers, hymns and chants. Two of Joe Cope's boys attended St. Mary's Seminary in Halifax (Hamilton, 1986) under the sponsorship of the colonial government (O'Hearn, 1989). The curriculum and instruction were primarily European except during the period 1735-1762 when Father Maillard advanced the use of the Mi'kmaw hieroglyphic system of literacy. This system of writing is considered by the Mi'kmaq as the traditional form of literacy according to Francis (1997).

b. Boarding Schools. The first boarding schools in Nova Scotia were the LaHave School (later Port Royal School) and St. Mary's Seminary. Although these boarding schools were established and operated concurrently with the day schools, they may not have been meant specifically for the Mi'kmaq, except for the LaHave School. Boarding schools were defined by the intake of students within the confines of a school, convent or seminary. Due to distance or lack of financial resources, the child was usually restricted to the confines of the school. Consequently, the children were separated from their families for long periods of time.

c. Day Schools. The day schools were the first public schools in Nova Scotia. They differed from federal day schools and Indian day schools. They were established by French missionaries during the early fifteen hundreds, initially for Mi'kmaq students. Their aim was the Christianization of the Mi'kmaq (Hamilton, 1986). They succeeded within one century with the baptism of Chief Membertou and his family. Day schools were in the vicinity of the students' residence, community or encampment. Some students were able to return to their homes for lunch and after school. Although day schools have been in

existence since the early contact period, their structures have evolved through the years. Today, they are in the form of integrated schools or provincial schools.

3. Post-Confederation Period

The Our Lady of Assumption Convent and the Mabou Convent in Cape Breton were modern boarding schools for girls in the 1950's and 1960's. Modern boarding schools for boys during the same period consisted of St. Dustin's College in Prince Edward Island, and St. Thomas College in Chatham and St. Joseph's College in College Bridge, both in New Brunswick. Boarding schools during the 1950's and 1960's were for grades nine to twelve. These were run by Catholic religious orders using the provincial curriculum. These schools were not exclusively for Mi'kmaq students; hence, there was exposure to other cultures. Some students went home for holidays, and for the summer.

a. Federal Day Schools. Federal day schools, better known as Indian day schools, were the norm within Mi'kmaq communities prior to 1960. Federal day schools were segregated schools that started in the mid 1800's. They were located on reserves. The first of these schoolhouses was located on the Bear River Reserve in 1872 (Hamilton, 1986). These schools had their ups and downs due to fluctuations in attendance. Hamilton reports that attendance was a deciding factor in the success or failure of many of these schools. One federal day school remains today at Waycobah First Nation in Cape Breton. Waycobah is the Mi'kmaw name for Whycocomagh. These federal day schools emitted non-Native values, alien methods of discipline and instruction in a foreign language.

b. Integrated Schools. The 1951 revision of the Indian Act made integrated schools legal. Integrated schools in the Post-Confederation era are public schools, but they fall under the contractual agreements between the federal and provincial governments. Integrated schools existed prior to this in the form of mission and day schools but the 1951 revision of the Indian Act opened the doors for contractual agreements with provincial governments. Green (1990, p. 37) tells us, "...in 1968 Indian Affairs received parliamentary authority to negotiate tuition agreements with provincial school boards for the education of Native children". Integrated schools officially and

legally came into effect during the 1960's and 1970's. That is not to say integration did not happen prior to this. The mission and early day schools did integrate French and Mi'kmaq students and probably other immigrant children. Green makes note that during the 19th century "Indian education was provided through boarding schools or integration with non-Indian students" (p. 36). However, the philosophy of the new integrated educational system was to integrate the child more fully into the dominant society (Mosher, 1992). The federal government's policy of assimilation and cultural imperialism was the motivating force. It was to bring with it a higher standard of teaching, a greater variety of subjects and better-equipped classrooms.

The integrated schools were intended to replace the residential schools and the federal Indian day schools. In fact, one could probably state that they were more radical in educating the Mi'kmaq than the earlier day schools during the early contact period. The reason being is that accommodation was found in boarding residences within the school vicinity (Hamilton, 1986) or children were bused to school to ensure attendance. Preconceived social inferiority (Mosher, 1992) was imposed on the Mi'kmaw student along with new social problems such as racism. Students were labeled as culturally deprived, low verbal, right-brained, drop-out, mentally retarded and learning disabled (Johnson, 1992). A few of these integrated schools experienced outbursts of racial violence within the past five years. This era also saw the start-up of pre-school and kindergarten schools as preparation for the integrated schools. These included Sister Elizabeth Coady Kindergarten at Indianbrook and Little Chiefs in Membertou, Cape Breton. These were the original head-start programs and remain to this day.

i. Mi'kmaq Control

Although the resumption of Native control actually began during the post-Confederation period, for the purpose of this chapter, it is considered as a distinct phenomenon. Mi'kmaq control came about when the schools located on reserves, federal Indian day schools, devolved from federal to Native control. Mi'kmaq control of education is separate but a part of the contact period. The first school that worked when it was returned to Mi'kmaq control in 1982 was the Eskasoni school (Hamilton, 1986),

previously a federal Indian day school. A number of schools followed suit. The 1972 report Indian Control of Education led to the devolution of administration from the federal government to the Band. One would think that this type of schooling placed the Mi'kmaq in a better position to teach courses in their culture. Quite the contrary happened, however; for example, a group of Saint Francis Xavier pre-service teachers from the Mi'kmaw community of Eskasoni, Cape Breton were unhappy with the situation in their school. They stated that the use of their mother tongue was suppressed by the Mi'kmaq school board at the Eskasoni school.

ii. Tripartite Mi'kmaq, Federal and Provincial Control

The last item in Table 1 refers to the new tripartite agreement signed in March 1997; it too is part of the contact period. On February 13, 1997 a group of nine Mi'kmaq chiefs, the Minister of Indian Affairs, and Nova Scotia premier John Savage signed a historical tripartite agreement that transferred control of $140 million education funds to the Mi'kmaq band over a five-year period (The Chronicle-Herald, 02/18/97). This agreement was the first of its kind in Canada. Four chiefs pulled out months before the final draft was made due to many uncertainties in the deal. Chief Lawrence Paul from the Millbrook Mi'kmaw community, near Truro, was seeking a Mi'kmaq education treaty and felt that this agreement threatened future funding. The results from this will only be known in the future.

On March 1997 a tripartite agreement was signed giving administrative control of education to the Nova Scotia Mi'kmaq. This control is not complete for it is renewable in nature. It is still a plus; however, for there is financial control and self-determination in the interim. The curriculum both on and off reserve is still Eurocentric in nature. Policy and practice are still mandated by the Department of Education. The PSP has edged forward in the last year by making Mi'kmaq Studies 10 available to provincial schools. Much still needs to be done to make the integrated schools more accommodating to Mi'kmaq students.

4. Struggles

Certified Mi'kmaq teachers are needed to play a dual role by helping to educate

both students and non-Native teachers (Shaver, 1990). Administrators and public figures should be included in this list. Public education is needed to combat racism. Danny Paul (The Chronicle-Herald, 04/05/96) states that eradicating racism must be a government priority. Certainly everyone agrees that racism has to end but the government cannot do it alone. What is a government anyway? Is it not comprised of people? Is it not the people who make decisions? Where do we begin? Do we need to tinker with the mindset of the older generation or would we be wasting our resources? The answer lies in young malleable minds if we are to have any success in eliminating racism. We can begin with a content analysis of the public school curriculum to determine how compatible it is to the Mi'kmaq. Developing a PSP with a balanced curriculum will ensure Mi'kmaq perspectives reach a large population of "culturally deprived" Eurocentric educators and administrators. There will be no option but to utilize a balanced curriculum in the classroom, due to the nature of the PSP and who gets to enforce it. What is required is a more relevant form of knowledge that empowers youth from diverse cultures to challenge their history of being treated as inferior and subjugated in Euro-Canadian/American school systems.

The idea of education goes beyond traditional Eurocentric social structures (Dei, 1996); hence, the progressive, social, inclusive and democratic theories of Dewey, Piaget, Vygotsky, Brant and many more need to be incorporated into a revised PSP. Dei (1996) states that all youth have the right to be exposed to different experiences, histories, and accounts that have patterned and continue to pattern or shape human growth and development. In regard to the fear of being acculturated, it will happen only if the Mi'kmaq want it to happen. Bezeau (1995) states that although Native students have been a minority within the school system, they are less likely to be engulfed by the dominant society than are other minorities.

The idea of de-schooling society is a contentious one. What type of schooling is needed to form Native youth for modern society? In traditional Native societies, young people were prepared to function in a hunting, fishing and gathering society. The emphasis was on collectivity to ensure the survival of the society. Today, Native youth

need to be prepared to function in a technological industrial world. Separation of family and child is the focus of an industrial society. These are but two of the choices that could be made; blending the two would be more acceptable to some. In the end, determinations will be made by new voices, new politicians and a new PSP. Another problem with schooling in the nineties is that children are not leaving their culture at the door to be picked up later. Rather, parents and school personnel are discouraging the use of mother tongue. So a new need arises. How do we recapture the culture? And can we?

In this discussion a social historical sketch of Mi'kmaq education was provided. There was identification and a brief description of the various forms of schooling available to the Mi'kmaq from the time of the first European contact to the present. The institutionalization of schooling within the context of the Shubenacadie Residential School was explored in relation to the dominant culture and Mi'kmaq students in other schools. Indications of current struggles were mentioned and questions raised about bringing change. The irony is that despite nearly four centuries of cultural imperialism which came close to annihilating the Mi'kmaq language and culture, we have managed to retain the essence of our traditions, knowledge and customs.

Part B: Brief Outline of Related Literature On Native Childrearing

Traditional Mi'kmaw ideology embraced respect, autonomy or self-reliance that was couched in the principles of individual respect, mutual aid, sharing, stewardship over land and natural resources. This ideology linked the systems of economics, politics, social, legal, spiritual, and education. Johnson (1992, p. 26) tells us, "Traditionally, education of the Native child was conducted by the elders of the Native communities. The teaching method used was primarily demonstration and the learning style was observation. There were no lectures". The notion of no lectures did not mean that the children were not spoken to. It meant that they were not taught didactically as it presently occurs in many of today's provincial schools. Johnson (1994, p, 4) states, "...the Traditional belief that the Elders, their stories, and our Traditions still inform the construction of our subjectivities, and so continue as a discourse". We were told by Johnson (1992, p. 26) that "Native people have a strong oral tradition and are culturally rich in legends". These legends were

existence since the early contact period, their structures have evolved through the years. used as the hallmark of disciple for prevention rather than as punishment of children within Mi'kmaw society. The wealth of information embodied in our traditional programs needs to be spilled over across the land. Traditional programs and knowledge are resources that have been barely tapped within this province's educational system. Because of the scarcity of information on programs within our educational system problems have been created. A need exists to counter not only misinformation; moreover, to challenge appropriation and expropriation of traditional programs.

First, we need to challenge the numerous authors who have drawn upon traditional knowledge "...all too often as a career ladder for those who wish to 'work with Indians'..." Jaimes (1987, p. 5). Many academics from the dominant society have been challenged by Native authors as not being fully able to discern Nativeness. Many of these cognitive tourists, as Johnson (1991) calls them, or academics are exploiting the Native culture by asserting themselves as eXperts. Stonechild and McCaskill (1987) report that one of the factors which let to the advent of Native Studies was "the need to correct distortions imposed by the neo-colonial European view of Canadian history and culture" (p.103). Some authors have taken extreme measures to validate their writings. For example, O'Meara and West (1996) note that there are those who have written many books and profess to have gained information through 'old Indian men'. O'Meara and West also mention that to validate their interpretations of indigenous thought, there are recognized experts who have announced and claimed that they have been adopted by specific tribes. Others have donned beaded leather vests and danced the kojua to the tune of Mi'kmaq drums.

Second, there are false presentations advanced from within our culture that create or tend to add burdens and confuse our youth, and for those who care for their well-being. This writer behind the NCRP lens challenges and contradicts Graveline's (1996, p. 20) claim that "If we proclaim or are proclaimed to be Aboriginal, we know, are seeking or are mourning our aboriginality". This NCRP lens holder categorizes this as self-inflicted cultural crime. This present viewer behind the NCRP lens also challenges other Native

authors (Bernard, 1996; Christmas, 1988; Assembly of First Nations, 1993) for they have a mistaken belief that our culture has been lost. The analyst holing the NCRP lens considers this as a new form of the missionary zeal whereby our people are donning the black and brown robes of the missionaries to proselytizing with colonial thought.

The Native youth of today are seeking solutions through participation, empowerment and healing for a myriad of social problems (url:inac.gc.ca/rcap/ report/ persp.html); however, wrong messages are being sent to them. One area that is vital for rectifying these wrong messages is through traditional Native enculturation practices. Williamson (1987) notes that one of the consequences of formal schooling is that there has not been any enabling of Native students to learn the value or skills for life within their own environment. Bringing this closer to home, Christmas (1988) told us,

> The proselytizing by school officials to this end devastated the Micmac functionality in the youth. For example, in just one generation all the youth in one well-known Indian community were fluent in English, whereas before the mid-1950's, they were conversant in Micmac. (p. 171)

The utilization of traditional childrearing practices, as a knowledge base for empowerment, healing and a participatory structure is one aspect that has pretty much escaped the wrath of cultural discontinuity through Eurocentric educational systems including Nova Scotia's PSP. Hence, that is the reasoning used by this writer in forwarding childrearing principles relative to the Mi'kmaq.

1. Principles of Native Childrearing

Literature pertaining to Native childrearing is scant and scattered. At the same, time it is illusive. Similar to Herbert's (1995) encounter with the underground nature in accessing documents relating to language I too had to resort to going underground to gather documents pertaining to the Native family. First Nations consider the family in the context of community. Traditionally, the family structure included those who were directly involved with or had a role in the family (NNATD, 1989). In today's society the notion of family in First Nation societies extends beyond the lived communities due to family members residing in other Native communities or provincial hamlets.

The Native people developed and maintained an enculturation process in the form

of childrearing principles. Native principles of rearing emanate from the teachings of our ancestors. Our ancestors challenged us to look out for our interests and needs seven generations into the future (Assembly of First Nations, 1997). Although, a commonality exists with the Euro-Canadian society in terms of rearing the child to adulthood, the similarity ends there. The primary goal in traditional First Nation's childrearing is to instil respect for life, and life to all creation. This contrasts with the dominant society's goal for individuation, assertiveness, and competition (O'Meara, 1996). The Assembly of First Nations (1997) states that the goal of every compassionate society is to have their children mature to full and contributing members of their society. Clarke (1989) has set these roles as 1) family as planner, 2) elders impart wisdom, 3) child listens, 4) community monitors. Children growing up within the confines of a Native society have their behavioural ethics instilled within them without these ethics being defined or explicated. They are merely practised upon without realising that they were becoming part of you.

Brant (1982) was the first among us who departed from oral tradition and inscribed on paper the first eight of these ethics. Brant listed as such, Ethic of on-interference, anger must not be shown, time, sharing - equality and democracy, gratitude, protocol, teaching - shaping vs. modelling, conservation-withdrawal, dependence-independence. Brant (1983) classified five ethics, ethic of non-interference, anger must not be shown excellence and gratitude teaching shaping vs. modelling, and conservation withdrawal as being relative to Native childrearing practices. Then in 1990, Brant linked these to education to illustrate that a relationship existed between Native childrearing practices and classroom behaviour. Under the classifications of Conflict Suppression Brant (1990) identified non Interference, non competitiveness, Emotional Restraint, Sharing, The Native Concept of Time, The Native Attitude toward Gratitude and Approval, Native Protocol and the Practice of Teaching by Modelling. Under Projection of Conflict, he described bogeyman admonitions or teasing, shaming and ridicule. In 1992, Johnson expanded these ethics to thirteen which include: non-interference, concept of time, protocol, consensus, conservation/ withdrawal reaction, modelling, generosity/ sharing/cooperation, gratitude, striving for excellence, dependence/ independence,

egalitarianism, competitiveness/conflict avoidance, and anger not shown. These Native childrearing ethics are rendered as 'the lens' for exploring the PSP in Figure 3 on page 10.

The Assembly of First Nations adheres to specific principles for the care and preparation of First Nation's children (Assembly of First Nations, 1997). These principles are, 1) that all children are valued and should be properly nurtured, 2) children are viewed as sacred gifts from the creator and must be kept safely (AFN, 1997). Native childrearing archetypes support John Lock's, father of modern psychology (Meyer, 1975), notion that children are people, just like grown-ups. The Assembly of First Nations contends that many of the traditional childrearing methods have been lost due to the historic and colonial efforts to settler citizens. The term 'lost' is exaggerated and very often over emphasised for it connotes extinction. This is not to say that assimilative, christianising, acculturating, civilising policies and practices did not occur.

Considering the intrusion of the above noted policies we find support that the traditional Mi'kmaw family systems are still operative. Brown (1991, p. 54) states, "We, the Mi'kmaq, have not yet lost our traditional kinship networks and family values." The notion of the cycle of life within the context of family has been our traditional foundation. The patterns of Mi'kmaw childrearing have followed a philosophy of harmony equality and sharing since time immemorial. Mi'kmaw children learned the patterns through their contribution to the Mi'kmaw society as soon as they were able. Autonomy or self-direction is the foundation of learning where each and every person is a learner and teacher. Within Native societies the mistakes we make along the path of life are learning experiences not failures because we consider life as being holistic. There are bumps along the way of our life force.

First Nations consider the family in the context of community. The philosophy of traditional Native child care acknowledged the necessity of reconciling or harmonizing apparently conflicting needs by blending autonomy with belonging (Brendto et al, 1990). Not only does the philosophy of traditional childrearing practices among the North American First Nations embark upon the concept of wholeness it is also the hallmark of Indian conscienceness (Warner, 1975).

Childrearing practices in the traditional sense is one area where we, as teachers, can begin to assist today's young Natives who are seeking solutions for a myriad of social problems. "Therefore, the foundations for Tribal/Indigenous education naturally rest upon increasing awareness and development of innate human potentials" (Cajete, 1994, p. 34). This tribal consciousness emanates from the teachings of the elders. Children are taught to respect elders (Johnson 1992; Johnson 1993; Marshall n.d., NNATD1989) and not to question their teachings but to accept these teachings as truth. Light and Martin (1985) state,

> ... The beginning of life and the years of childhood are times when beliefs, values, and attitudes must be communicated to the child. The future of their community and the responsibility of nurturing respect for their heritage must be communicated to the children during this time period. (p. 44)

2. Traditional Parent and Child Relationships

The traditional parent and child relationship does not epitomize children as burdens. Not only did interdependence exist between parent and child but also so did reciprocity. In the Mi'kmaq society, if a parent become ill and required care a young person would terminate his employment immediately and return home to care for the ailing parent (Johnson, 1991). This reciprocal interpersonal relationship was buttressed on the notion that kindness was salient in the treatment of children (Medicine, 1981) with the development of reciprocity. This same procedure also holds true for those who are attending university or other educational institutions. Considerations such as the consequences of school leaving or loss of revenue do not enter one's conscience. What is paramount is the welfare of the parent or a family member.

Furthermore, children were valued and not considered as little adults as purported by Johnson (1993). Introduction of adult type roles or chores did not constitute the child as being an adult nor being capable of fulfilling a complete adult role. Due to economic reasons children had to help so that the family may survive, this did not mean that children were seen as adults (Pollock, 1983). It is not uncommon to have children present at all community functions (Nova Scotia Department of Education, ca. 1993; Johnson, 1992; Marshall, n.d.).

The nature of childrearing within First Nation societies is varied and complex (Sullivan, 1983). There are probably as many variants as there are tribes, if not more. A common thread is that childhood is a period of development and a strong sense of responsibility goes with it (Gill, 1982). Another is that of value systems. For example, The Western Sioux had four cardinal virtues of bravery, fortitude, generosity and wisdom (Medicine, 1981). The Mi'kmaq code of ethics contain seven virtues love, honesty, humility, respect, truth, patience and wisdom. Wisdom the highest virtue is obtained when one is recognized as an elder. To further illustrate these variations of value systems the New Brunswick Mi'kmaq gifts of life are beauty, balance, kindness, respect, love, caring, generosity, patience, and humility (Alma Brooks, August 3, 1994). Medicine (1981, p. 30) states, "One must be cognisant of the aspects of culture as a code and see it as a normative system which underlies cognition and behaviour".

Paul (1991) contends that the importance of family relationships is the key underlying tenant of American Indian and Alaska Native culture. It can be said that this also true in the Mi'kmaq society. A publication [prepared by a Mi'kmaq] released by the Nova Department of Education, Mi'kmaq Past and Present: A Resource Guide, refers to various types of protocol not only within family groups but also within the community.

Childrearing within the North American First Nation communities is unlike childrearing in the Euro-American societies. There are unique and specific family and kinship patterns. Cleary and Peabody (1998) describes the kinship patterns of the Anishinabe,

> ...conceptually there is not such thing as an uncle, particularly when describing the father's brothers. Their brother's and sister's children are their children. Aunts are often considered to be mothers, uncles are called fathers, and cousins are seen as brothers and sisters. Even clan members are considered relatives, so American Indian cultures are apt to consider many more individuals to be family than non-Indian cultures do. (p.41)

These kinship patterns differ greatly from the Mi'kmaq. Even to this day Mi'kmaq children have more autonomy and responsibility instilled at an early age in comparison to the dominant society. Although, a commonalty exists with the Euro-American society in

terms of rearing the child to adulthood, the commonalty ends here. Childrearing among the North American First Nations embarks upon the concept of wholeness. The child's body, mind and spirit are not intertwined but coalesced. If one of these is unhealthy it affects the others in some way. According to Marshall (n.d.) a belief exists that neither is healthy when one of them is askew. In essence, the effects on the body, mind, and spirit of Mi'kmaw children are affected by what transpires with any one of these three elements. Marshall (1991, p.18), "When an identity crisis is experienced by an individual, his spiritual, mental and physical well-being is bombarded with feelings of doubt, anxiety, confusion and uselessness".

Indeed it is evident here that a lot of similarities exist among the First Nations families in their world view as it relates to childrearing but care should to be taken not to over-generalize. Due to the complexity and diversity in the number of tribes and their variations it could be safely stated that there are as much variations on family structures among the First Peoples of Canada as there are tribes.

3. Native Child Development Theories

Like Dewey, the Mi'kmaq people also believe that education is a lifelong process, that learning continues until death. Historically, Mi'kmaq people were not exposed to any of the child development theories espoused by Piaget, Dewey, or others. Nonetheless, I see a connection between Dewey's notion of true education and Native childrearing. My parents possessed great wisdom in childrearing, and as children I and my siblings were indirectly guided towards (wjinu'kwate'n) new ways to adapt and control subsequent experiences. Piaget, as a constructivist, emphasized that each person builds his or her knowledge structures (Carin, 1993). As children raised to be autonomous, we adapted and controlled subsequent learning through our own thoughts. Connections do exist between Native and non-Native child development; however, a major difference lies in cultural upbringing. Piaget's work on diversity is extensive.

The zone of proximal development is a key theoretical construct which captures an individual within a concrete social situation of learning and development (Moll, 1990). Brant (1990) mentions that there is evidence in literature of variations in customs, beliefs,

ideals and aspirations, along with psychosocial differences. Brant also states, "It has long been recognized that the culture of North American Natives differs substantially from that of the dominant white (non Native) society" (p. 534). For example, Brant (1990) mentions that praise is difficult to accept, as are rewards and reinforcement, and Native children will often deliberately do something to reverse a teacher's good opinion of them.

According to Meacham (1997), Vygotsky's theory focuses on the reproduction of society through education and the transmission of knowledge from one generation to another. Mi'kmaw society is also reproduced through education and the transmission of knowledge from generation to generation. Yet, its mode of operandi and culture differs from the dominant society. Meacham (1997) indicates that the strength of Vygotsky's theory lies in its analysis of the process by which society and culture are transferred inter-generationally. The danger inherent in Vygotsky's theory of child development is the social reproduction of racism. The Mi'kmaq and other First Nations child development theories such as the stage, medicine wheel, and life cycle concepts advanced by Brooks (1994), Clarke (1989), and Marshall (nd) respectively - embody respect (Brant, 1982, 1983 and 1990; Clarke, 1989; Brendto et al, 1990; Marshall, nd; Paul, 1991) for all which could and can minimize racism.

Native children are subject to development theories like other humans. They proceed through the stages of human development of nurture and nature. It is evident from literature and a conference that the life cycle approach has been used among the North American first peoples. It is also evident that it is viewed differently from coast to coast. The medicine wheel approach is used by the Salish (Clarke, 1989) while a variation of the dominant society's life cycle model is used by Marshall (n.d.) to illustrate a Mi'kmaq life cycle. The common thread here is the use of circle/s and age spans to represent the continuity of life. These models can be understood as indicators of the stage theory of child development.

The family life cycle concept in the medicine wheel approach posited by Clarke (1989) includes dividing the wheel into four 25-year segments. Clarke's drawing of the circle of life seems to project a personal interaction model. The individual is the core and

reaches outward to the family, the local community, tribe and beyond. According to Clarke (1989) the four stages are: 1) naming and initiation (1-25 yrs); 2) mature-thinking (25-50 yrs); 3) wisdom teaching (50-75 yrs), 4) sensory loss (75-100 yrs). Marshall does the same except her age span is different. Clarke places birth and death at the South representing the newborn and the elder while Marshall places it on the North. As a member of the community advances in life to old age, he/she progresses through four stages.

In contrast, Marshall's life cycle Figure 4 has seven-year increments and depicted

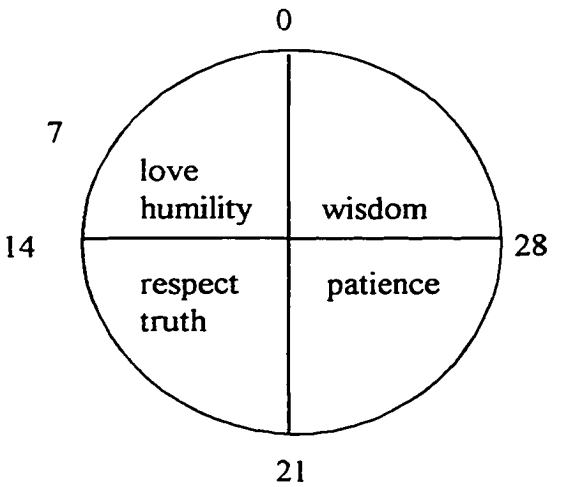

Figure 4. Cycle of Life

with six Mi'kmaw code of ethics. The model does not depart significantly from white society's family life cycle except for the counterclockwise direction. The problem with the model is that it uses seven-year increments to represent significant change; this corresponds to age seven, the "age of reason" for the Catholic Church. Its numbering is also inconsistent. Instead of the seven-year increment, the first quadrant has fourteen. It is likely that this model was developed when life expectancies were shorter than they are today, for death no longer comes naturally at age 35. A positive aspect is that it agrees with Piaget's stages of cognitive development as well as other development theories advanced by other child development theorists such as Vygotsky (1994) and Case (1996). Tears are used as a tool to describe maturation. It is explained thus: quadrant 1, age 0 -

14, tears are not worth much; quadrant 2, age 14-21, tears are not so free; quadrant 3, age 21 - 28, tears are reserved; quadrant 4, age 28 - 35, no tears are shed. This model requires some reworking, for life expectancies are fairly parallel to those of the dominant society. The problem with Marshall's model is that death comes at age 35. This is may have been correct when she garnered the information from elders over a decade or so ago. It is incorrect to utilize this concept in today's world for the Mi'kmaq no longer die from consumption or tuberculosis at age thirty five. Hence, her model is outdated for two reasons 1) with the advent of modern medicines our life expectancy is longer; 2) the Mi'kmaw culture has evolved.

During the Strengthening the Mi'kmaq Family Conference on August 4, 1994 a presentation by Brooks (1994) provided some insights on the Mi'kmaq family through a family life cycle. Upon exploring the origins of this model two documents that were not in circulation to the general public were identified for follow-up. These include the Native general public for both were being utilized as a package deal for training programs. <u>One is In the Spirit of the Family: Native Alcohol and Drug Counsellor's Family Systems Treatment Intervention Handbook</u> by the National Native Association of Treatment Directors (1989) and the second document is <u>Resource Manual: Healing our Nation</u> by the Atlantic 1st Nations Aids Task Force (1994).

According to Brooks (1994) persons within the Mi'kmaq society go through seven changes during their lifetime. This is a more reasonable model because it depicts attainable human rites of passage and more telling of our way of life. Piaget's stage development emerged from studying his three children and generalized them to all children. Hence, if and only if, Piaget's theory is valid then First Nations' theory based on socio-historical cultural interpretation has more validity for Mi'kmaq.

Brooks mentioned that women are the first teachers of Native children. The child knows where live comes from and the man is the helper so that the woman can be a good teacher. The mother prepares the child for the path of life. Brooks described the "changed life" concept as a life path that starts from beyond the door (the womb) to death. Brooks' interpretation of the model is presented.

The first stage known as the Spirit Life is between the age of 0 -7. At this time the child is considered to be half spirit and half human. Hence, a lot of freedom is given to the child. This is probably why the child is provided with complete autonomy and personage. A good foundation of life is generally attained by the time the child reaches age 7.

The second stage is the Fast Life that is from age 7 to 14. It is depicted by the rapid physical and emotional changes that are occurring with the child both from within and without. Brooks mentioned that the child should have solid foundations and needs in life by this time for everything is starting to happen to the child really fast. The physical and psychological growth of the child at this stage is not only rapid but also compounding. This stage leads into the next stage by the child starting to distance himself/herself from the parents; however, the parents' responsibility is not over.

The third stage is marked by the years 14-21 and is referred to as the Wondering Life. Brooks noted that children would raise numerous questions at the third life stage. What are you looking for? What is the meaning of life? Why is life like this? What is the point of going on? This is the questioning in their lives - seeking answers. If they look behind and see nothing - no beauty - no values, if they look ahead and see nothing -no hope - no values, then this time becomes a critical point in their lives. This is when caregivers become vigilant and communication becomes intensified amongst each other so that guidance will be provided for those in need. Whatever they have been raised by will influence them. They will seek out their own teachers at this age - some will be good and some may not be so good. The experiences that they have been through are their teachers too. It is our experience and our knowledge coming together that makes us who we are. We learn our behaviour.

The fourth stage is the Truth Life earmarked to be between the age of 21-28. This is the time we show our gifts and talents. We are our own persons, and we will show our truth. We will give to others what has been given to us.

The fifth stage is the Planting Life that is between the ages of 28-35. This is the time for having our families and taking responsibility as a parent.

The sixth stage is designated as Doing Life and is between the ages of 35 -50. We

will practice what we have been given and these will be our teachings whether they are good or bad - they are all teachers.

The seventh stage is the Teaching Life which is from age 50 and upward to the end of life. We begin to look back to where we have been. We may look around and there may be no one there to help us - we go it alone. We are 100% teachers. Now, elders are the key people for the beginning of life. A new cycle begins with grandchildren - and the elders are the past.

4. Native Family Systems Model

Counsellors from the Native alcohol and drug treatment developed this model which consists of four subsystems; the elder subsystem, the grandparent subsystem, the parent subsystem and the child subsystem (National Native Association of Treatment Directors, 1989; Atlantic 1st Nations Aids Task Force, 1994). Its design was implemented to assist counsellors in assessing clients and or family so that a road toward healing can be made. It is based on the traditional culture. We will view this system from the top down for we need to start from the whole to the units.

a. Extended Family System. The percentage distribution by family structure reported by a 1984 Stats Canada report based on 1981 survey does not include figures on extended families. However, it does mention that extended family members or members from another family are likely to be included in Native households (Stats Canada, 1984). First Nations consider the family in the context of community. Traditionally, the family structure included those who were directly involved with or had a role in the family (NNATD, 1989). In today's society the notion of family in First Nation societies extends beyond the lived communities due to family members residing in other hamlets; yet, the intergenerational care for children remains. "Child rearing was the responsibility of more than the parents, children were also taught by a network of kin, including relatives, friends and elders in the community" (Couture, 1985, cited in Johnson, 1994, p. 34). Therefore, childrearing is not restricted to just the members of the extended family. Furthermore, that the intergenerational care for children reaches out into the community through Marshall's notion of block parenting. Marshal (n.d.) indicates that a type of

neighbourhood watch or blockparenting existed among the Mi'kmaq. This is when childrearing is not restricted to just the members of the extended family.

b. Elder's subsystem. Generally this subsystem consists of women and men in the community over the age of 60. There are variations amongst the tribes as to what age a person is considered to be an elder. Generally these persons are highly-respected and considered to be the teachers and role models for the people in the community. The primary purpose of this subsystem was to ensure community survival. It was acclaimed that only those who had already lived a lifetime were the wisest of all the people and have attained wisdom (NNATD, 1989). Elders' teachings to the new cycle reflect the gifts of life - Beauty, Balance, Kindness, Respect, Love, Caring, Generosity, Patience, and Humility. These gifts are given to the children to live by and pass on to new generations. Share our truth with one another.

c. Grandparents' subsystem. This sub-system consists of the children's grandparents. A variety of expositions in writing mention the roles by which the grandparents conveyed cultural information to the youngsters. Literature also identifies certain responsibilities for the members of this subsystem. The grandparents were the disciplinarians (Light and Martin, 1985). It was believed that they would be the best teachers of the young due to the grandparents' experience of raising their own family. Since the grandparents had lived a long time and learned much that they could pass on all that they had learned in life to the young (Light and Martin, 1985; NNATD, 1989). A belief also existed that the grandparents had more patience and have more leisure time (NNATD, 1989). This was probably due to their non-participation in sustenance acquisition that enabled them to have more time and consequently more patience.

d. Parents' Subsystem. This system consisted of providers. Traditionally in the Mi'kmaq society males were the providers, protectors, and leaders of the family while the women were the core of the family (Knockwood, N., 1994; Marshall, n.d.). The parents worked side by side for provision of familial needs in an egalitarian fashion. It was believed that the parents were possibly more adept in hunting, fishing and gathering foodstuffs than the grandparents due to age. Light and Martin (1985) stated that parents

had the main responsibility for the support of their children. The essence of responsibility was most probably to ensure survival by the acquisition of foodstuffs.

e. Sibling Subsystem. This system consisted of children from birth to pubescence. The place for the elder as the teacher of customs and the child as the future are viewed to be paramount in this model. The child's role in this traditional component of the Native family system was to respect elders. The most significant aspect of this model in terms of childrearing is the value placed on children. Paul (1993) describes this aspect for the Mi'kmaq. Paul states, "The children were raised in an atmosphere of benevolent devotion. They were loved and cherished by their parents and given loving care and attention by members of the Tribe" (p. 14). Children occupied a very special place in First Nation societies. This special place is often referred to by various authors as the future (NNATD, 1989), or the link to the future (Paul, 1991). This future assured the survival of tribal customs or the survival of the entire tribe. In essence, children in traditional societies were embodied as the substance for survival of their communities far into the future. Children demonstrated self-control and self-restraint in the presence of elders. Llewellyn & Hoebel (1967, p.) contend that the Cheyenne believed that "When there is respect for the aged, the mores are safe."

Sibling care as a form of parental guidance is part of Mi'kmaq society. Very often the dominant society has alleged that the Native people are not responsible or considered negligent when it came to utilizing this mode of sibling form of parenting. How can it be neglect when we tapped into such an extensive resource? Children were not merely left alone to care for younger siblings for there was usually an adult nearby to supervise. This form of care went with those who were admitted to the Shubenacadie Residential School. Mi'kmaw parents instructed their older children to look after and care for their younger siblings.

It is most probable that the Native traditional programs advances implications for the PSP. Considering that this is new territory for the PSP, it needs to rethink its intents particularly on how Native traditional programs could affect implementation for planning. Irwin and Liebert (1996, p. 156) tell us that "Sometimes we are given real challenges in

the physical, the emotional, the mental, and the spiritual, but like the winds of the four directions. They go to make the strength, the balance of the tree". The PSP has to envision the significance and role of principles in Native childrearing vis à vis the PSP's principles of learning. This is just a glimpse of what lies ahead of "These cultural resources, marginalized and rejected in the development of schooling since the late 1900s as part of governmental practice of extinguishing first Nations sovereignty, offer possibilities for education" (Regnier, 1995, p. 384).

A cross-cultural study conducted on a Blackfoot reservation in Montana by Gray and Cosgrove (1985) revealed a few universal principles in Native childrearing. First, that non-interference is well grounded in Indian tradition. Second, that an intergenerational responsibility exists for children. These two pillars of childrearing are supported by First Nation writers (Brant, 1982, 1990; Morey and Gillian, 1974). The notion that North American First Nation children are allowed to learn by their own experiences is well supported by various writers (Johnson, 1992; Marshall, n.d.; Morey & Gilliam, 1974; Ross, 1992, 1996). Furthermore, intergenerational care of children has always reached out into the community. Childrearing is not restricted to just the members of the extended family but to the community at large (Clarke, 1989; Johnson, 1992; Johnson, 1994; Marshall, n.d.). Marshall in her unpublished manuscript, Our Mother Earth from A Mi'kmawisk Perspective (n.d.), reported that the extended family is a vehicle by which grandmothers and great-grandmothers become visible and active participants in the lives of all the children within the family.

Protocol is considered to be part of self-discipline within Native societies. Brant (1982) mentions that this notion of protocol varies among the different Tribes in Canada. Discipline as part of all education is a tenet that is within both the socializing agents of family and school. Discipline or control is often termed as classroom management according to Bezeau (1995). Ross (1992) describes the role discipline plays within Native societies. It is very different from Euro-Canadian educational systems. According to Bezeau, (1995, p.144) under Section 54 (b) of the Nova Scotia's Education Act, "a teacher must maintain proper order and discipline in the school or room in his charge and

report to the principal or other person in charge of the school the conduct of any pupil who is persistently defiant or disobedient".

Brendto et al (1990) reckon that Native American philosophies of child management manifests into perhaps the most effective system of positive discipline ever developed. This positive stance by Brendto et al most probably stems from their autonomous nature and the self disciple implied within them. In addition, they describe the sense of belonging and the respect bestowed upon children that recognizes them as persons with special rights. This is not to deny the negative aspects of shaming. Native forms of discipline as illustrated below appear absent within Nova Scotia schools.

3. Pathways to Life

All societies have norms in trying to change the behaviour of children to better serve either the children and the communities at large. Native North Americans operate in a similar fashion. Whatever guidance a child receives during the first years of life will affect his/her intellectual, social, and emotional well being throughout life (Light & Martin, 1985). The Native child is offered little or no overt guidance and punishment (Gray and Cosgrove, 1985) for the maintenance of autonomy. However, when one interprets this statement it has to be seen from a positive stance for the notion of little or no overt guidance may be transmitted and understood by a Native child as being appropriate for a given situation. The traditional First Nation family's counselling was generally accomplished through the use of metaphors, modelling and shaming (Marshall, n.d.) ; Johnson, 1992). Counselling was not restricted to the above in the Mi'kmaq society. A popular psychological effect was asking a child to fetch their own npisoqnn (switch) from the woods (Johnson, 1992; Marshall, n.d.). The switch was actually seldom used for the child repudiated by the time he/she obtained the switch. This had a less serve impact on children mentally and emotionally than shaming. To impact a more severe impression on the child shaming would be used. Shaming was achieved through verbal communication. In today's society this method is known as verbal abuse. Helen Martin (cited in Brant, 1982) stated that this had a psychological effect on her self-esteem and self-concept. This method is still carried out today, even throughout adulthood.

Parents utilised indirect methods of discipline, while other family members used more direct approaches. Parents often deferred discipline to the aunts and uncles of their children. It is evident here that a generational gap is formed for disciplinary measures and most likely for counselling as well. Another method of correcting inappropriate behaviours is self-discipline which is described by Marshall (1992) in Values, Customs and Traditions of the Mi'kmaw Nation. The children were taught to observe, explore and make judgements using their observations to arrive at a decision or conclusion for their pathways in life. "Discipline was expected to grow internally" (Maguire and McAlpine, 1996). This method is referred to as common sense in Mi'kmaq Past and Present: A Resource Guide.

Part C: Overview of Native Childrearing Practices, Socialization and Issues of Self Identity

According to Phillips (1972) the young among certain Native groups had considerable freedom in traditional settings to decide upon the nature, timing and placement of learning situations. The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Affairs (1995) conceptualizes what Canada's First Nations envision as goals of education,

> 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. (Vol. 3, p.)

Imbued within the goals, policies and procedures of the Mi'kmaq are aspects governing interpersonal relationships among family and community members. The NCRP knows that self-in-relation benefits through the interconnectedness developed and advanced with the personal aspects of responsibility, self-sufficiency, integrated whole, mind, body and spirit. The NCRP transposes these personal aspects as goals, policy and

procedures while 'striving for excellence' in reconceptualing change for Mi'kmaw education within the sphere of Nova Scotia in education. The NCRP bears in mind what Paul (1991) states,

> The goals set by Native communities, however, will not be reached without help, support and commitment. The schools must come to acknowledge, respect, and understand the child's language, culture, and community. Through parental insistence there must be incorporation of cultural information and values in curriculum. (p. 10)

1. Socialization

We are told by Ross (1992, p. 155) that, "Every social group creates rules to govern relations between members of that group, rules which may be entirely ignored when dealing with others". Socialization is defined by Howe and Bukowski (1996) as the process by which children become part of their social group and thus acquire the norms and values of their culture, learn to control their impulses, and develop their identity or self-concept. Cortes (1995) refers to this as societal curriculum. Brendt (1992) extends the definition to include the acquiring of the beliefs, values and behaviour considered appropriate for people in their society and culture. Indeed, one learns the patterns of how to live through role models as a child, adolescent and young adult growing up in given societies. Furthermore, every society knows that children require parental guidance.

The primary socialization of children occurs at home within a family system (Barman, Hebert and McCaskill, 1987). Cochran (1988, p. 144 cited in Kuehne and Pence, 1993, p. 307) states,"...all families have strengths and that much of the most valid and useful knowledge about the rearing of children can be found in the community itself - across generations, in networks, and in ethnic cultural traditions...". Students learn not only from schools but they also learn from the informal curriculum of families, peer groups, neighbourhoods, churches, organizations, institutions, mass media and other socializing forces (Cortes, 1995). The problem of social difference embodied in language, ethnicity, social class, religion, race and gender is a central concern according to NSTU (1996) by critics of an outcome based education (OBE). It is mentioned by the NSTU

document that "OBE represents a model of how schooling ought to be structured" (p. i) that was pioneered by William Spady.

The problem of social difference for the Mi'kmaw child's schooling plays havoc between these two worlds that are acting as two socializing agents for the Mi'kmaw child. In most instances, the Mi'kmaw child has to deal with two social worlds, the Mi'kmaw home and non- Mi'kmaw school. Within the Mi'kmaw home stream the child is completely submerged in the Mi'kmaw culturally based world while the non-Mi'kmaw school stream is a cultural border crossing (Giroux's term) as suggested in Giroux's (1992, cited in Aikenhead and Jegede, n.d., p. 4) book Border Crossings: Cultural Workers and the Politics of Education through the utility of the PSP. That is to say, that the most critical period just before the end of the Spirit life [0-7 yrs] or early childhood [0-5 yrs] the Mi'kmaw child is socialized by the Mi'kmaw family. The socialization of the Mi'kmaw children proceeds in a double stream through that of the Mi'kmaw world and the non-Mi'kmaw world after entry into the provincial school system. Legally speaking the Mi'kmaw child is enveloped in a system that inculcates a completely different set of norms, rules, attitudes, values, beliefs from what s/he is accustomed. Burnabay (1980) mentions that there could easily be a conflict between the socializing and perhaps the creative aspects of the English language arts program along with the values and social behaviour that the Native parents would like their children to learn. I contend that there is more than a 'could' or 'perhaps' for in reality there are real conflicts.

The OBE agenda is viewed by the NSTU (1996) document as a vehicle that force-feeds skills and content that are both generic and disconnected from the identity which is not mainstream. "Such students may be discouraged by heightened expectations that further marginalize increasing numbers of students in a system already rife with failure and dropouts" (NSTU, 1996, p.13).

The Hawthorn Report (1967) which was written during the new era of absolute integrated schooling for the Mi'kmaq and other Native societies mentioned that the home and school were 'two parallel opposing worlds'(p. 168). I agree with the statement for the social worlds of the Natives are parallel in the life sense of humanity; yet, opposing in

many ways including how children are reared to adulthood. Albeit, I strongly disagree that they 'impinge on each other very little' (italics my emphasis). Eurocentric schooling has definitely negatively influenced Mi'kmaw ways of life. The non-Mi'kmaw school impinges greatly on what the Mi'kmaw child brings to school. The erosion of the Mi'kmaw language and culture commenced with the formal school system. Some may think that this impinging may not have been so rampart in the late 1960's, nonetheless, it impinged on the very core of Native societies. The erosion comes into force vehemently on the Mi'kmaw language, heritage and the ways of living from day one of each Mi'kmaw child's entry into the integrated schooling. The reason for this is that the language of instruction is English and the culture being taught in schools is not ours. A severe decline of our language commenced with integrated schools not the Shubenacadie Residential school as certain authors (Christmas, 1988; Joe, 1989) have purported. Then again, we need to accept some responsibility on this erosion for we have contributed towards it.

Socialization is a multifaceted process. Howe and Bukowski (1996) confirm this notion by stating that as the child grows older other socialization agents besides the family (the primary agent) include peers, neighbours, schools, and the media. Each of these agents plays different roles. "We know that it's not education which shapes society, but on the contrary, it is society which shapes education according to the interests of those who have power" (Shor & Friere, 1987, p.35). The United Nations' proclamation for the International Year of the Family (1994, cited in Bader, 1997, p. 12) states, "The family provides the natural framework for the emotional, financial and material support essential to the growth and development of its member particularly infants and children".

The child may struggle, resist or adapt to each given situation in a variety of ways depending on circumstances, attitude, and personality of the child. Furthermore, this process of socialization continues throughout life.

There is no question that childrearing goals, policies and procedures model or shape individuals by the society of which they are a part. There exists distinct features in the goals, policies and procedures in the upbringing of children between the dominant society and the Mi'kmaq society. One of these features relates to the notion of formal

education. Johnson (1992) noted that Native students do differ significantly from Anglo students in regard to their socialization, lifestyles and upbringing. Barman, Herbert and McCaskill (1987, p. 3) state, "The primary function of education is the socialization of the young into a society. Primary socialization occurs through child-rearing practices in the home and within the family system. Secondary socialization usually occurs through more formal institutions".

This feature regarding formal education as a process of socialization is very often discounted by the Native societies. During an address at St. FX on March 24, 1997 Ovide Mercredi stated, "Education shouldn't be just what happens in the classroom...It should be about what happens in society" (The Chronicle-Herald, 1997, 03/25/97, p. A5).

Within Native communities the teachings occur very early in the life of the child. Some elders say it begins at conception. The primary goal in traditional First Nations' childrearing is to instill respect for life, and life to all creation. This contrasts with the dominant society's goal for individuation, assertiveness, and competition. A philosophy associated with Native childrearing is that an intergenerational responsibility exists for the care of children. Paul (1991) contends that the importance of family relationships is the key underlying tenant of American Indian and Alaska Native culture. It can be said that this also true in the Mi'kmaq society.

The philosophy of Native childcare acknowledged the necessity of reconciling or harmonizing apparently conflicting needs by blending autonomy with belonging (Brendto, Brokenleg and Van Brockern (1990). Not only does the philosophy of traditional childrearing practices among the North American First Nations embark upon the concept of wholeness it is also the hallmark of Indian conscienceness (Warner, 1975). Mi'kmaq childrearing is embedded with the rules and regulations of a society that is comprised of the values, customs and traditions of the past, present and the future. Whatever guidance a child receives during the first years of life will affect his/her intellectual, social, and emotional throughout life (Light & Martin, 1985).

a. Responsibility. Common sense or prudence tells us that when a child is brought into the world that it is our responsibility, not just as parents, educators,

administrators, and legislators to provide services to that child somewhere along its life path. The Mi'kmaq have different systems in place in comparison with the dominant society. Consequently, these have been misinterpreted as meaning that Mi'kmaw people are not responsible. It is very often based on misunderstanding. Yet, in a way, it is correct due to the usurping of our responsibility by the European settlers. This usurping was legalised by the 1867 British North America Act, Section 91(24), under what has been termed 'jurisdiction over Indians and land reserved for Indians'. Furthermore, many provincial governments have sealed this as being our fate. Calder (1988) tells us that Alberta firmly declares that Canada's First Nations are a federal responsibility.

The Mi'kmaq and dominant society's worlds for a number years that the concept of responsibility within the Native sphere has a different meaning. LaRoque (1975, p. 37) states, "Traditionally, the Indian concept of responsibility was not based on climbing the social ladder. Responsibility meant, and still does in the communities that are yet intact, contributing to the welfare of the group - the family, clan or tribe".

The NCRP as a lens of exploration espouses three types of responsibility 1) individual or personal responsibility, 2) family responsibility and 3) community or collective responsibility. Personal responsibility is at the heart of social order and survival (Beck, Walters, and Francisco, 1995). Personal responsibility is tied to personal awareness or being attentive to one's environment as the child is learning. Being aware of life choices is the responsibility of individuals. Parents, as individuals, are not only responsible; moreover, they are obligated and should be committed to the welfare of their children in all aspects of life. Educative-wise according to Green (1990) the most important outcome of the National Indian Brotherhood 1972 was "the recognition that the responsibility for educating Native children should rest with Native parents" (p. 37). The roles and responsibilities of Mi'kmaw parents were not held through a nuclear family. Today they are still to a great degree closely bound to the extended family. The concept of 'extended family' links all our relations. Its responsibility includes the upbringing of children and caring for our elders.

Historically, children among the Native communities had and still have roles and

responsibilities. Mi'kmaw children are given the responsibility to learn of one's purpose early in life. Ross (1996) has picked up on the essence of children's roles and responsibilities. Ross states,

> Children learned from birth the proper attitudes and behaviours that promoted appropriate dispute prevention and resolution: to respect their elders and teachers, to refrain from boastfulness, and to value qualities of self discipline, self-control, generosity, peacefulness and hospitality... Their teachers were usually the family elders who taught by example, lecture, storytelling and recounting family history. This training prepared children for their role in a society that was structured to minimize open disputing. (p. 255)

An ambiguity exists with the term 'family responsibility' for it can easily be termed 'collective' due to the number of persons involved. Nonetheless, it is a term most associated with immediate family members; however, it is also exercised through extended family members. That is, kinship patterns very often make the separation between assigning of responsibilities within a family or community. In contrast, this generally has no effect on community responsibility; yet, there may be exceptions to the rule. The distinction between family and community responsibilities lies within the parameters of kin. Family responsibility includes interacting with the children, playing with the children, telling stories, family and community stabilizers, primary companions of children and provide guidance in all aspects of tribal life. The Micmac Native Friendship Centre (1991) developed a spiral diagram that depicts self-in-relation to the forces emanating from and impressing each of us and our collective consciousness.

Community responsibility is generally a social responsibility involving kin and non-kin members. It was through the notion of 'local control' of education that the NIB envisioned community responsibility. Personal, family and community responsibilities can be shared responsibilities. This follows through on what (Gosh, 1996, p. 72) told us that "[S]hared responsibility implies that control is not vested in appointed positions but in a collective freedom to create and innovate". Speaking from a global Native perspective, Graveline (1996,) advises,

> We are able to see ourselves and our immanent value, as related to and interconnected with others - family, community, the world, those

> behind and those yet to come. Through embracing this epistemology, each individual becomes intensely aware of personal accountability for the welfare of others. We are taught that we must, each in our own way and according to the dictates of our own conscience, attend to communal responsibilities. Personal awareness of intergenerational responsibility, and "proper conduct" are still expected throughout the life cycle. (p.47)

Each person in the community had and still does have a role in the educative process. It is believed that the combination of personal responsibility and the power of the individual within Mi'kmaw society leads to the weaving of a web of relationships in the formation of a collective. The importance of this collective is important in the continuity of culture. One aspect that is expressed by Cleary and Peacock (1998) is that the homes and communities are responsible for the survival of the language. Hence, parental responsibility should be manifested by the need for parents and educators working together as partners in the education process. Unlike the PSP Mi'kmaw pedagogy is not predetermined, prescribed or structured. The report, In the Spirit of the Family by NNATD (1989) outlines some of the duties or roles of an elder. According to Paul (1991) the elders link the community to the past. The elders were entrusted with the responsibility of teaching the children (NNATD, 1989).

The role of responsibility in Native education is advanced by Cajete (1994) as a 'seeking life' or 'life's sake'. This requires not just obligation and responsibility but the commitment to service as an end. Hence, it is our obligation; as well as our responsibility to ensure that we provide the best services available to that child through its life span. If we don't; then, we are not upholding our responsibility. After all, responsibility was one of the pillars advanced by the National Indian Brotherhood (NIB) in their landmark document of 1972. In addition, the NIB (1972) document asserted that only Native people can lay down a suitable philosophy of education for Native people that is based upon the values of contemporary living.

The NIB in effect agrees with what Tyler (1949) suggested on the use of philosophy and psychology in the development of educational purposes or goals. Tyler contends that a comprehensive philosophy of education along with certain kinds of information and knowledge are necessary to guide in the making of value judgements and

objectives. Manzer (1994, p. 37) confirms this by asserting that "[P]hilosophies of education and theories of learning specify, and justify, what constitutes good learning activities and appropriate learning groups". These authors link philosophy of education and curriculum that exists within societies through the needs for sustaining, improving and for the continuum of societal values, customs and norms. Manzer (1994, p. 37) states, "A philosophy of education is needed to provide guidance in determining the social purposes of education, the types and quality of schooling to be provided, and the best allocation of education among particular social groups". Be that it may, then the philosophical base of local control and parental responsibility for Native education as posited by NIB (1972) stands alone on a valid and reliable ground.

It seems that there are two venues on how responsibility in general is acquired. One is through legal means, while another is through designated roles. In the legal sense, education for the Mi'kmaw child fell under the auspices of sections 114 to 122 of the Indian Act until 1998. No provincial government ventured into this area except through tuition agreements with either the federal Department of Indian Affairs or a First Nation after 1867. Provincial responsibility for educational services was derived from the contracts that were negotiated between Band Councils, the federal government and the provincial school jurisdictions (IAN, 1982; NIB, 1984). According to Bezeau (1995) this was due to the paramountcy of federal law, provincial education law must give way to the extent that provision is made under these sections.

Initially all provinces were bestowed educational responsibility by the British North Act of 1867. This jurisdiction changed for Nova Scotia in 1998 when companion federal and provincial legislation entitled 'The Mi'kmaq Education Act' were legislated. These Acts were the result of Nova Scotia entering into a legal framework with the federal government and Mi'kmaw Kina'matnewey which recognized and affirmed that the Mi'kmaq have jurisdiction over their children's education.

The PSP does not seem to have laid out any responsibilities for the students except to defer them to the 1996 Education Act. In 1995 the Atlantic Provinces Education Foundation (APEF) mission statement stated,

> Nova Scotia ...to provide all students with a broad-based high-quality education. This education will help students to develop the knowledge, abilities attitudes and skills that they need to become responsible and caring educated persons who are competent, confident, lifelong thinkers and learners, and valued, contributing members of society. (p.3)

It is very apparent that this statement is a directive for students to become responsible. The PSP identifies responsibilities relating to race relations and cross-cultural understanding on page C- 14 as belonging to the Student Services Division. Yet, it lacks qualitative evidence in responsibility and mindfulness regarding reflection of diverse cultures within its programs. It is also a known fact that only a draft policy has been developed within the Department of Education regarding diversity (race relations) until 1998. Then under the theme of 'learning principles' teacher and administrators responsibilities for the classroom are designated. Roles and responsibilities of partners are mentioned in passing and deferred to the 1996 Education Act. The year 1998 has seen the Mi'kmaw Nation take local control of the Mi'kmaw children's education. Granted, some argue that they have been abrogating the responsibility of passing the Mi'kmaw language to the children. The question of how much parents have been abrogating their responsibility of passing the Mi'kmaw language to the children is an issue and it has to be acknowledged that it is a problem. LaRoque (1975) contends that responsibility is often judged according to cultural priorities. Teaching English was seen as a cultural priority for school success among some Native groups (Anger, 1988; Christmas, 1988; Fleras, 1993; Maguire and McAlpine, 1996).

The second avenue of acquiring responsibility is through designated roles with one's position in society, be it - a parent or as an employee one's role identifies whatever one is responsible for. Bezeau (1995)informs us that in all provinces a teacher's responsibility is elucidated by provincial statute and regulation. In contrast, the parent's responsibility is through a process of natural law unless proven otherwise by some law pertaining to child welfare. In the Mi'kmaw society children are taught that the entry point for responsibility begin intrinsically or originates with designated roles.

Within the Native societies the notion of knowledge and responsibility is connected

through the teachings of the elders according to Beck et al (1995), National Native Association of Treatment Directors (1989) and Atlantic 1st Nations Aids Task Force (1994). What is most important is "[M]y Elders teach that we can offer a learning opportunity but it is up to the learner to take responsibility for the lessons that apply to him or her" (Graveline 1996, p. 334). How we deal with the responsibility bestowed upon us by certain roles is in our hands and our hands alone. We are told by Irwin and Liebert (1996, p. 151) that, "We are given only one life; this isn't a dress rehearsal. What are we going to do with this life we are given?" According to Stewart (1987) the responsibility of the schools is wider than to just merely to educate. Schools are responsible for the development of the rational mind, socialization, the growth of personal integrity and basic preparation for the work place (Stewart, 1987). We need to remember that "[I]t is easy to get stuck" (Irwin and Liebert, 1996, p. 151) in a rut and forget that we have the power to change. "This power is within you alone" (Irwin and Liebert, 1996, p. 151). It is our responsibility as teachers to take into consideration the culture aspects that children bring to school. Paul (1991, p. 10) argues, "The expectation must be there for a culturally congruent curriculum, caring and nurturing staff, individualized learning, and an environment where the Native student will want to succeed and develop their full potential". One collective responsibility for school administrators and teachers noted by Kirkness (1992, p. 110) is the notion that these personnel "create an atmosphere which will foster respect and friendship between White and Indian children". Downey (1988) used the term 'social auditing needs assessment'. We were reminded by Paul (1991, p. 10) that "[T]he teachers are the specialists with some knowledge...". The Mi'kmaq hold that to be true, at the same time, knowing that they hold the cultural knowledge that has to be communicated to the schools.

The NCRP agrees with Ermine (1995) when he expresses that Indian [sic] education has a responsibility that upholds a worldview based on the recognition and affirmation of wholeness and to disseminate the benefits to all humanity. Sometimes we need to look to the past to edge forward. OCDE, (1989) made it clear the in today's society teaching is more difficult and demanding with a clear consensus that education's

responsibilities and hence teacher's responsibilities are more extensive and complex than in the past.

b. Self-sufficiency, Throughout the world there are some universals when it comes to child and youth care. Regardless of generalizations about children and youth variations exist among cultural groups that are behavior related. Brant (1990) describes Native ethics and rules of behavior "as carryovers from the aboriginal culture and which strongly influence Native thinking and action even today" (p. 534). The goal of Native ethics and rules of behavior is self-sufficiency. Self-sufficiency means providing for oneself to be comfortable. Paul (1993, citing Jaenen) states, "Liberty is nowhere more perfectly enjoyed than where no subordination is known but what is recommended by natural reason, the veneration of old age, or the respect of personal merit". To be self-sufficient means to be self-reliant while maintaining cultural loyalty. It differs from individualism espoused by the dominant society. MacIvor (1995, p. 81) states, "Traditional childrearing practices respected the autonomy of the individual". The NCRP regards self-sufficiency as one of the most important aspects that Natives strive for and achieve. Self-sufficiency has implications for education and they are significant. An example provided by Brant (1990) states,

> The child may be allowed to decide whether or not he will do his homework, have his assignments done on time, and even visit the dentist. Native parents will be reluctant to force the child into doing anything he does not choose to do. (p. 535)

c. Integrated Whole. The philosophical position of the North American Native is grounded in the key concept of holism (Heinrich, Corbine, and Thomas, 1990). It is based on the notion that all things are interrelated. Graveline (1996, p. 164) tells us that "[T]he holistic perspective promoted by use of the Medicine Wheel permits one to see the entire educational process as a complex, integrated whole: psychological, spiritual, emotional, and physical are all part of the human consciousness, and are inseparable". Aboriginal goals, policy and procedures proceed on the notion of wholeness. "In the Traditional worldview, wholeness or holism is equated with balance" Graveline (1996, p. 163). According to Graveline (1996) the traditional forms of aboriginality not only integrate the

individual into the world as a whole but how the spiritual suffuses a person's entire existence within the world.

The fourth principle on page B-3 of the Public School Programs includes the words 'integrated whole'; yet, text during the analysis of the PSP that showed holism or integrated whole from the viewpoint of the Mi'kmaq was not uncovered. The potential of utilizing holism as a key element in personal development within the PSP from a Native education perspective could be significant regarding the sense of self as comprising of the body, mind, spirit and emotions. Bearing in mind that the PSP is not clear on what it means by integrated whole within the dominant society let's look for a definition within Native society. A newsletter, Drums of Freedom (1991, cited in Johnson and Cremo, 1994) describes integrated whole as,

> All things are interrelated. Everything in the universe is apart of a single whole. Everything is connected in some way to everything else. It is therefore possible to understand something only if we understand how it is connected to everything else. (p. 162)

Cleary and Peacock (1998) advises educators of Native children on how important it is to extend the concept of harmony and balance to comprehend how it plays out in schools. This concept of life being a whole is embodied in the notion of change from childhood to adulthood. The idea of fearing the possibility of getting old does not exist. It is a life stage that many consider an honour. An aged person is revered and considered to be with wisdom and a source of knowledge for the young. There is a recognition and acceptance of a life cycle from birth to death within Native societies. Ageing is inevitable and there is no escaping it - except through death and the spirit form lives on in the minds of those left behind.

d. Mind. Mind is defined by Valsiner (1996, p.295) as "a constructivist creator of know-ledge within a scientific framework...that is guided and formed by the social world of scientific institutions." The social and cultural world of the Mi'kmaq possesses a fair amount of discourse stored in the minds of the Mi'kmaq that has not been set in any written form. A monograph, So Much for the Mind, describes Cochrane's (1987, p. 2) view "...about the development of the mind as the central purpose of the school and the

procedures which should guide curriculum review". Cochrane (1987, p. 128) states, "its connection with a conception of human nature ...places the mind at the core of being educated".

Within the present structure of the PSP, a gulf or a zone of proximal development posited by Vygotsky exists and separates the mind of the Mi'kmaw student from its social and cultural continuity. Much of the information on the Mi'kmaw has been stored in short and long term memories and conveyed through the oral auspices of the elders and all our relations. However, it has not been utilised extensively within the Nova Scotia educational system to reconceptualise the PSP. The question of whose mind (Valsiner, 1996) has been advanced through the promotion of concepts within the PSP. We need to be mindful with what Meacham (1996, p. 302) says, "Any society that does not endeavor to guide this constructive process and thus to transmit its beliefs, practices, values, and collective identity to the next generation will cease to exist".

The viewer of the NCRP lens suggests that the PSP's goals, policy and procedures be reconceptualized from assimilative to inclusive. This is in light of the fact that the PSP is lacking many connections to the Mi'kmaq culture. The connection which presently exists is merely a bridge for assimilation. Assimilation has been functioning as a tool for erasing Mi'kmaw culture. Assimilation began with the French missionaries commissioned by the imperial power of France. Policies and laws imposed by colonial powers disturbed the mind-set of aboriginal societies (Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1997).

The aim of colonial powers was to Christianise, civilise and assimilate the Mi'kmaq to the worldview of the colonisers. Consequently, the Mi'kmaw mind has experienced numerous crisis of the mind leading to alcoholism, suicide, and other forms of abuse. The mind or the will of the Mi'kmaq has played a considerable role in resisting European culture; yet, it remains strong and powerful. Once the mind is affected it gnaws away at the spirit, body and emotions.

e. Body. The term body has been associated with a variety of aspects within the human society. There is our human physical body, body of water such as the Atlantic Ocean and there is also a body of knowledge. All of these bodies need to be maintained in

prime pristine condition to survive. The PSP as a body of knowledge presents itself "with little or no grass-roots experience of ethnic education" (Connell, 1993, p.37). The PSP is a unhealthy body of knowledge that requires healing. The PSP is unhealthy for the NCRP recognized quite early that at first blush it was racist in nature. Similar to how a human body needs to remain healthy so too does the body of knowledge or curriculum. To protect the Mi'kmaw body from physical and mental ailments the Mi'kmaq have relied on their values, customs and traditions for eons.

The values, customs and traditions will assist the NCRP "...do some educational house-cleaning - identifying aspects of curricula that are socially unjust and that we might care to get rid of" (Cornell, 1993, p. 48) from the PSP. The notion of the human physical body among Native societies across this continent is that the body encases the spirit. The spirit of the PSP is disheartening for the Mi'kmaq. Like the earth, the human body is composed of 75% water and it requires more water for survival. Water with its own river system, the circulatory system, supplies nourishment and oxygen to the whole body (Okanagan Tribal Council, 1982).The PSP with its educational system that permeates all of Nova Scotia flows like a river touching the bodies, minds and spirits of all ethnic groups in attempts of cleansing them of their culture. The human body is also comprised of air (oxygen and other gases) which fuels it and the fire. In like manner, the PSP is comprised of air or atmosphere which fuels the "belief that the mainstream curriculum is holy writ" (Connell, 1993, p. 30).

f. Spirit. Getting into the spirit of the goals, policy and procedures, the NCRP forwards the notion that the PSP has broken the spirit of many Mi'kmaw students by not having its goals, policy and procedures reflect their culture. The spirit was the first entry point by early in their attempts of divesting the Mi'kmaq with their essence of being self-sustaining human beings. Pauls (1996, p. 27) states, "The ethnocentric belief found expression in religious zeal that the Europeans deemed to be the prerequisite for civilization". To break our spirit the missionaries disallowed and named our spirit ways as paganism. It was the role of the French Jesuits in the name of the King of France to Christianise, civilise, and assimilate the Mi'kmaq into French society. Hamilton

(1986)tells us that they were gloriously successful in attaining this objective.

Not many scholars would dispute that the missionaries' work was successful in divesting the Mi'kmaq of their spiritual way of life. Yet, there are many of our Native people who have lost themselves in a variety of addictions without the aid of missionaries. Many have had their spirits broken through a variety of ways. When one's spirit is broken then doorways are made available to attack other aspects of humanness. (Marshall, 1998, p. 5) states, "I believe it is possible to educate the Indigenous child in the formal requirements is possible without destroying his spirit". There are some who blame the residential schools for the breaking of their spirit through denial of speaking their Mi'kmaq language and cultural practices. There are others who numb their pain with drugs and alcohol which are forms of withdrawal reaction. Generally, when withdrawal\reaction ethic is invoked it is such that one's spirit is sheltered from whatever disdain may come in the way to the self. It is a preservation mode described by Johnson (1992) thus,

> The principle is to conserve energy or withdraw and recoup until one is able to respond correctly to the stress. Native people react to stress by becoming more quiet by slowing down physically or emotionally; or, by removing themselves from stressful situations. (p. 29)

Brant (1982) stated that one of the ways to remove oneself from frustrating angry making situations is to become stoned. Untold numbers have been and continue to be on a spirit path of healing to reconcile their body, mind and spirit. Eagletail (cited in Halifax Herald, 5/18/92) states, "Finding your culture is like finding yourself. It's a rebirth of the body and spirit". For many Mi'kmaq this search is both collective and individualistic. "The Pathways for learning about the spirit have been traveled before. Those who have traveled them before lead those who travel these Pathways now. We follow the tracks of ancestors in our individual and collective journeys to the spirit." (Cajete, 1994, p. 55).

Within Mi'kmaw society the essence of the human being is the spirit. It is believed that when the body dies, the spirit lives on. Our ancestors and deceased relatives or extended family members are our intermediatories or guardian spirits. The free soul or mjimaqamij had the option of staying on earth to stalk friends and relatives or travel to the land of Souls (Christmas, 1977). That is to say that the spirit exists even after the burial of

the earthly body to guide or misguide those who are left behind. The relationships of life or the living do not die for those who are alive are related to those who have died and that aspect of life will never be broken. In other words, within the Mi'kmaw society there is a "belief that after death, the 'free-soul' would travel to the land of the dead (land of the Souls). It was also believed that the 'free-soul' could remain on earth to haunt the living" (Christmas, 1977, p. 24). This haunting could be the spiritual guidance that very often occurs in dreams or visions.

Sable (1996) mentions ghosts, dreams as messengers, telepathic experience, and forerunners as being meaningful to a number of Mi'kmaq. In reality these phenomena are more than meaningful. The elders would view this as a gift that has been bestowed upon the receiver from the spirits of one's ancestors.

Another feature of the Mi'kmaq spirit world relates to the anger not shown ethic and is tied to the puowins, knips and wiklatmu'jk. These are not superstitions for they are ways the world is experienced and articulated (Sable, 1966). Johnson (1992) describes how anger not be shown ethic transpires within Native societies,

> ...taught children at a very early age never to display angry behavior. The principle is that one is never sure to whom this anger is demonstrated, therefore; it was suppressed to ensure survival of the group. It originates from aboriginal society when shamans and witches were predominant. It was not possible to tell a good shaman\witch from a bad one. Anger was something which provoked them and threatened the survival of the group. (p. 28)

The puowins were the bad spirits who had the power to create problems for those who they disfavoured. The knip were the good spirits who had the power to do good for others. The wiklatmu'j were the little people (tricksters) who played tricks on you. One can see how each of these luminaries had specific roles. Not everyone agrees with Marshall (n.d.) when she states that there were no female knip. We need to keep the spirit of goodwill alive if our mind, soul and body is to stay healthy, caring, in harmony and balance. One avenue for reconceptualizing the goals, policy and procedures is forward by Marshall (1998, p. 5) by stating, "The best way to honor one's spirit is to respect his culture and accept his style of learning". In the Mi'kmaw society we often say that

wisdom comes to all ages. A Cree high school student, Opoonechaw (1971, cited in Renaud, 1971) provides us with these words of wisdom,

> One cannot achieve peace of mind and body by depending on a crutch. One cannot achieve self-respect by receiving welfare when he is able in mind and body to work. Certainly one cannot achieve an identity when he is forgetting his true heritage by integrating wholly into another society. (p. 69-70)

This chapter gleaned over Native traditional programs along with the principles of childrearing which were accompanied by Native precepts of the family systems theory. The importance of the Native childrearing practices for the viewing lens being utilized cannot be underestimated. The Mi'kmaq perception of the world is acknowledged by the Atlantic Provinces Higher Education Commission document and demonstrated by literature that diversity exists among different societies.

Chapter 3

Methodology

The Mi'kmaw Eight-Pointed Star as Bridge Builder

Introduction. Given that the Mi'kmaq were the first of the North American peoples to be encountered by the Europeans it is not surprising that Mi'kmaw education has always been viewed from a western or Eurocentric perspective. Assault on Mi'kmaw culture through a variety of Euro-Canadian educational systems were methods of indoctrinating the Mi'kmaq. Conflicts have risen between the intentions of our ancestors and present day educators through the hidden agendas of the federal and provincial governmental policies. The challenges that I, as a Mi'kmaq, face begin with posing my people and myself as positioned subjects. The Mi'kmaq and other First Nations in this country have been positioned in a subjugated/ repressed-knowing paradigm for many moons. More recently, the proposed enactment of federal and provincial legislation for Mi'kmaw education has created new conflicts and contradictions. Unlike the assimilation, acculturation, Christenization, and civilization policies of earlier times that First Nations in Canada associated with cultural genocide - these new polices have Mi'kmaw input. The current educational system must be looked at in light of these conflicts. It has to be looked at as a partnership.

1. How Best To Proceed: Issues of validity, perspective, assumption, tactic, reasoning, method and methodology.

For this study I reviewed 'in depth' this province's education policy. I read it word by word, sentence by sentence, paragraph by paragraph and page by page. While I read I made notes in the margins of the PSP document on its congruence or incongruence with my positioned and contextualized viewing lens that of Native childrearing practices (NCRP). Every section of the PSP was thoroughly explored with a critical eye. Prior to drafting the thesis I wrote extensive notes which were scrutinized by a second reader. My discussion in each of the four directions is on a block by block basis. Each block contains the PSP and the NCRP. This in no way alludes that there is a preference for one in opposition to the other. The process is thematic in nature with a Mi'kmaw door that opens

the bridge toward inclusion. Our journey begins at the Eastern Door: Re-conceptualizing Goals, Policies and Procedures. The first bundle encountered includes the goals, policies and procedures of the PSP. On the upper point of the eastern door is the NCRP and within that triangle are its goals, policies and procedures. Travelling northward (counterclockwise) is the Northern Door: Challenging School Programs. Situated on the northern door's right point is the PSP along with its School Programs. Situated on the left point of the northern door is the NCRP including its modes of socialization. Moving to the west is the Western Door: Connecting the Struggles. At the western door's upper point is the PSP together with its related services. On the lower point of the western door is the NCRP accompanied by its related services. Advancing to the south is the Southern Door: Re-conceptualizing Nova Scotia Education at the southern door's left point is the PSP with its English Program Services. On the right point of the southern door is the NCRP as well as its family systems services. This lends into the major theme of reconstructing the struggles and triumphs.

Graveline (1996) has presented the adoption of the medicine wheel as a philosophical guide in social work from a First Nation perspective. Similar to and drawing on the work of Graveline a need exists for the development of a similar concept in education. Examining the PSP through a specific lens of Native childrearing as interpreted from a review of the literature affords a model and methodology from the Mi'kmaw perspective. While it may be somewhat subjective and speculative, it is supported by work of others such as Smith (1990) and Weiler (1988) who have written from a feminine perspective, Dei (1996) who wrote from a Black perspective and Graveline (1996) from a Metis perspective.

Anastasi (1990) forwards the notion of a contextual approach in multiple perspectives under the context of settings such as educational, occupational and societal. Hence, Anastasi supports Conbrach's (1980, p. 318) view, "In a study of persuasion, the interventions (*t*) consists of (*this*) message as uttered by the speaker to a unit who is in a certain physical and social environment; the outcome is the endorsement of (*this*) belief statement". The present thesis is in a way a persuasion with a Mi'kmaw lens intervention

consisting of childrearing practices from the Mi'kmaw community; the outcome is the endorsement of an inclusive curriculum. Drew, Hardman and Hart (1996) state,

> Qualitative researchers use what is known as triangulation to build validity into their database. Triangulation refers to the use of multiple sources of information to obtain data (Lancy, 1993). These sources might include multiple informants, written documents or records, and any other information source that can be used to construct an accurate account of what happened. (p. 195)

The present analysis follows this model of qualitative research using prior multiple written documents or records, prior literature, personal perspectives drawn from community life experiences and utilizing a lens encapsulating an approach supported by other authors. A further step was taken by having a third reader with the same type of education, field of experiences and familiar with the methodology review the major themes emerging in the present work.

Guba and Lincoln (1989) argue that the naturalist insists on the right to incorporate and use tacit knowledge. Their definition of tacit knowledge is all that we know minus all that we can say. According to Guba and Lincoln bringing tacit knowledge to bear on a situation serves as the beginning stages of an inquiry. With this in mind and in consideration of what Soltis (1984) had indicated, a method that is philosophical, argumentative and from a Mi'kmaw perspective is used to extend arguments in the present thesis.

The sociological/ ethnographical method chosen for this study is a two pronged approach through content analysis and sociological inquiry. It qualifies as ethnographic for it meets the criteria that Wolcott (1988) describes as description and interpretation. Wolcott states, "In selecting a case to illustrate ethnographic research in education, I am better able to dramatize how description and interpretation, rather an preoccupation with research 'procedures', are the core of the ethnographic enterprise" (p. 217). Wolcott also tells us that "The ethnographers goal is interpretation, not proof" (p. 219).

The importance of understanding the production and reproduction of knowledge and social meaning from diverse and variant vantage points have been put forth by Weiler

(1988) and Jameson, Eagleton and Said (1990). This is understood to mean the multiple perspectives that Dei (1996) and Graveline (1996) speak of. My perspective as a Mi'kmaw educator, woman, and mother exists as a single perspective composed of multiple perspectives. A change in context may influence but does not necessarily change how the world is perceived.

Since content analysis is a very broad term that applies to content of anything and everything within an area of inquiry, it is hoped by narrowing the term to discourse analysis will lead one to a more precise location within the text of the problem that is being considered. Discourse analysis is defined by (Hatch, 1992, p.1) as 'the study of the language of communication – spoken or written'. Written and oral discourse are common terms within the Mi'kmaw society. Written discourse or literary text is contained in the PSP; yet, it is a form of communication that informs one by reading. According to Mills (1997, p. 149), "Fairclough frames discourse to, refer to the different ways of structuring areas of knowledge and social practice...Discourses do not just reflect or represent social entities and relations, they construct and constitute them". While Scholes (1982, cited in Bernstein, 1994) defines literary text as,

> the product of a person or persons, at a given point in human history, in a given form of discourse, taking its meaning from the interpretative gestures of individual readers using the grammatical, semantic, and cultural codes available to them. (p. 7-8)

Mills (1997) has outlined three contexts of usage, (broadly speaking, cultural theory, linguistics and critical linguistics/social psychology) pertaining to discourse analysis. Within this framework of usage Mills (1997) describes feminist theory, colonial and post-colonial discourse theories. Colonial and post-colonial discourse have characterized the systematic nature of representations about colonized countries (Mills, 1997). According to Mills this has apparently troubled Edward Said's homogenization of colonial texts. My usage of discourse analysis will follow a somewhat neo-colonial discourse. This appears more fitting for it retains the colonial while acknowledging or awakening to the existence of Native discourse. At the same time neo-colonial or self-government has emerged within Native societies in Canada.

Further narrowing the scope of the study with critical linguistics and critical sociological inquiry (a slight departure from Mill's third concept) will secure the location of this exploration more closely to the textual or documentary reality of the PSP as a social interaction in a communicative process to the world at large. Mills (1997) indicates that with critical linguistic/discourse theorists developed a radical from of analysis that inflects the term discourse differently. The notes that this group of linguists have been concerned in developing a political analysis of text. Connerton (1976, p. 20, cited in Caldas-Coulthard and Coulthard, 1995) defines critical sociology as:

> Criticism... aims at changing or even removing the conditions what is considered to be a false or distorted consciousness.... Criticism ...renders transparent what had previously been hidden, in doing so it initiates a process of self-reflection, in individuals or in groups, designed to achieve a liberation from the domination of past constraints. Here a change in practice is there a constitutive element of a change in theory. (p. 4)

Taking a professionally responsible attitude is an important consideration for the critical linguist to take towards the analysis of context (Caldas-Coulthard and Coulthard, 1996). The overall goal for this thesis is grounded in informing the public (Piaget, 1977) or consciousness raising (Smith, 1993 & 1996) about Mi'kmaw educational concerns. LeRocque (1996) sums it this way in this rather lengthy quotation,

> Native scholars...have been accused of "speaking in our own voices", which is taken as "being biased" or doing something less than "substantive" or "pure" research. Not only are such accusations glaringly ironic given the degree of bias, inflammatory language, and barely concealed racism evident in much of early Canadian historical and literary writing on Native peoples, but are also adversarial. Native scholars' contribution to contemporary scholarship is significant for, in a sense, we bring the other half of Canada into light. Not only do we offer new ways of seeing and saying things, but we also provide new directions and fresh methodologies to cross-cultural research; we broaden the empirical and theoretical bases of numerous disciplines, and we pose new questions to old and tired traditions. And often, we live with many anomalies. (p. 12)

After all, anthro-sociologists have probed Native ways for centuries and these probes have been recorded in history; therefore, validated Native ideology as being socio-historical. Also, did not many educators, historians, ethnographers, anthropologists,

scientists, and psychologists benefit academically and professionally from their probes on Native culture? LaRocque (1996) has this to say on this notion,

> If we serve as "informants" to our non-Native colleagues, for example, about growing up within a land-based culture (e.g. on a trap line) our colleagues would include such information as part of their scholarly presentations; it would authenticate their research. Yet, if we use the very same information with a direct reference to our cultural background, it would be met at best, with skepticism and at worst, with changes of parochialism because we would have spoke in our "own voices." (p. 13)

Caldas-Coulthard and Coulthard, (1996) advise us that texts suggest what ideological formations are appropriate for readers to bring to texts. This is in agreement to a feminist stance taken by Smith (1990), wherein she advocates that feminist sociology begins with actual subjects situated as they actually are. Disclosing my interests and a perspective does not according to Smith (1990) invalidate a knowledge that is grounded in actuality. The PSP is an actuality grounded within the spheres of Nova Scotia education. She also advances the notion that an insider's sociology of society, as it is, must be known by people who are active in it. I, as author of the thesis, am active as an insider within the confines of academia as well as within the Mi'kmaq and the dominant societies.

Guba and Lincoln (1989, p. 86) state, "The ultimate test of the validity of any inquiry findings is that they should describe reality exactly". While any viewing lens biases the requirement of describing reality exactly can only be accomplished by acknowledging that values enter into the inquiry due to the personal choice of the investigator (Guba and Lincoln, 1989). Admitting the fact that values impinge upon an inquiry as suggested by Guba and Lincoln can be used to advantage. I, as author, not only sit in the saddle among these social constructions but also have control on the reins in most instances. Guba and Lincoln argue that whenever a human inquiry is considered that the best fit is provided by the constructive paradigm.

One could argue that a single reader does not represent a sample of the reading public except to the extent that person is a competent reader (Stoddard, 1991). However, Hare (1979) tells us that the plural aspect is retained when an individual discusses a problem implies that various positions are considered on the issue in question.

"Knowledge of more than one discourse and the recognition that meaning is plural allows for a measure of choice on the part of the individual and even when choice is not available, resistance is still possible (Weedon, 1987, p. 106)".

Stoddard (1991) goes on to say that the use of a single reader is not without merit as a first approach to a method of discourse analysis of one type of textual element. That is, if I, as a Mi'kmaw reader can understand and isolate whether or not relationships exist between the NCRP of the PSP, is it not possible that others could so likewise.

Use of the NCRP lens and an assertive analysis falls in line with what Caldas-Coulthard and Coulthard (1996) define as productive consumption. Reading positions are constructed by texts; that is to say, it is appropriate for readers to bring ideological formations to texts (Caldas-Coulthard and Coulthard, 1996). They further contend that the reader, in this theory, is not the passive reader of the fixed meaning of the text but is discursively equipped prior to the encounter with the text. "My use of 'voice'... is a textual resistance technique" (LaRocque, 1996, p. 13).

a. Policy Analysis. There are four elements identified by Pal (1989) that define policy analysis. The four aspects are: 1) cognitive activity, 2) collective activity, 3) disciplined application, 4) public problems. According to Pal, policy analysis is a generally seen as cognitive evaluation of public policy. It is a process oriented toward the identification of problems as they pertain to the general public. Pal defines policy analysis as the disciplined application of intellect to public problems. This definement of problems could and often does include activities within the realms of producing and reproducing knowledge. The assimilation, acculturation, civilization, Christianization of the Native people (Green, 1990; Paul, 1991; Ryan, 1996) have generally been seen as an Indian problem through the lens of dominant norms by the White society not a public problem.. The lens of the NCRP, as an instrument of policy analysis, intends to explore the PSP regarding its exclusivity on and about Mi'kmaw pedagogy. If the analysis is conducted in such a way as to expose and justify a need and have it rationalized about one's position on a given policy then hopefully some public problems can be resolved. Public problems in Nova Scotia's education could probably be resolved through cross cultural understanding

as suggested by Phillips and Crowell (1994) or by what is suggested by Osborne (1997) through citizenship education.

b. Rationale. Smith (1993) derived a method from feminist theory whereby the subject as knower of sociology conducts an inquiry into the social organization of text. Her need to develop this method rose from her perceptions of how sociology has been based and built upon the male social universe. Similarly, the present study using the Native lens allows the subject as the knower of sociology to inquire about the PSP as a social organization of text. Cohen (1991) equates the reading and writing of history to reading and writing of stories. Cohen states, "As writers what we produce are stories or models of story-telling, representations of historical reality...what we produce is a way of conceptualizing the reality of American education" (p. 245). One would like to think that writing from a Mi'kmaw perspective would produce a re-conceptualization on the reality of Nova Scotia education. Writings 'as works of imagination' can tell us stories as a way of representing the experience of people excluded from mainstream literature (Miller and Chuchryk, 1996).

As Cohen (1991, p. 245) puts it, authors "...judge history writing within its own conventions, and ...compare histories of education or stories about education to each other (and with other representations of educational world-making)". O'Meara and West (1996, p. 131) note..."It was important for Indians to learn to use the White man's tools, if only to see what they have written about us and then to correct the mistakes". I advance forward on this new road with the encouragement of my cousin's words:

> The road I am on as I gain understandings about what I am here to do on this earth. As I walk the road, I learn how to use my voice, my warrior spirit within me, in a manner which is effective, useful in making an impact for my community towards social change. (Martin, 1998, p. 2)

This was Martin's (1998) challenge when she was questioned by a White woman on how a fair skinned person fitted in the scheme of Mi'kmaw artists. The warrior spirit within me challenges Eurocentrism and colonialism/imperialism by advancing or positing a Mi'kmaw stance. The Mi'kmaw ways of knowing are as valid and creditable as Eurocentric ways. Bringing forward Mi'kmaw ideological formations in the analysis of

the PSP through critical linguistics and critical sociology is an important undertaking for it provides a basis to better understand and connect the notions between the NCRP and the PSP.

2. Summarizing the Ways of Work in the Analysis of the PSP Through the NCRP Lens

Entry into the textual mediated mode of the power, hegemony, Eurocentrism, colonialism/imperialism, racism and beyond as represented within the PSP will begin by utilizing the techniques of reading and writing. Critical thinking will be interlaced with reading and writing as so well defined by Cochrane (1987, p. 9), "Critical thinking is a combination of a questioning attitude, considerable understanding, and the application of the standard of reasoning found with the disciplines and in logic".

Techniques of reading are comprised of skimming, scanning, comprehension and interpretation. There will be no technical analysis such as sentence structure, grammar but an exploration of context. Initial writing will be comprised of extractions or distillations of text from the PSP and interpreted into prose. Returns to the text for further reading and abstraction will ensure until all of the text in the PSP has been explored.

This exploration of the PSP is grounded in its own textual reality. "The corpus or body of the text is the data. ...the discourse analyst's data is taken from written texts..." (Brown and Yule, 1983). There will be a journey through each of the bundles of the PSP. During the journey the textual reality inherent within the PSP will characterize using the authors and others interpretation through the NCRP lens. Smith (1993) indicates that texts are analysed to reveal what the subject knows how to do as reader and what the subject knows how to do in reading. Furthermore, while doing that it displays the organizing capacity of the text within its capacity as a constituent of social relations (Smith, 1993).

Balance and harmony for persons of Mi'kmaw heritage within the public school can arise from a transformation of the present structure of the PSP. Ron Noseworthy, an health educator, with Health Canada presented the medicine wheel as a 'concept of life'to the Mi'kmaq. While it is not the way the Mi'kmaw people represent life but it is rather the

way 'Prairie or western plains' people see life is an intriguing way to visually represent the sequence of analysis.

The process adopted for the thesis; therefore, combines Mi'kmaw art and the medicine wheel concept of the Plains people. Specific topics that have been abstracted from the 1997 - 1998 PSP along with issues from the NCRP were used to form the four blocks as delineated in Figure 5.

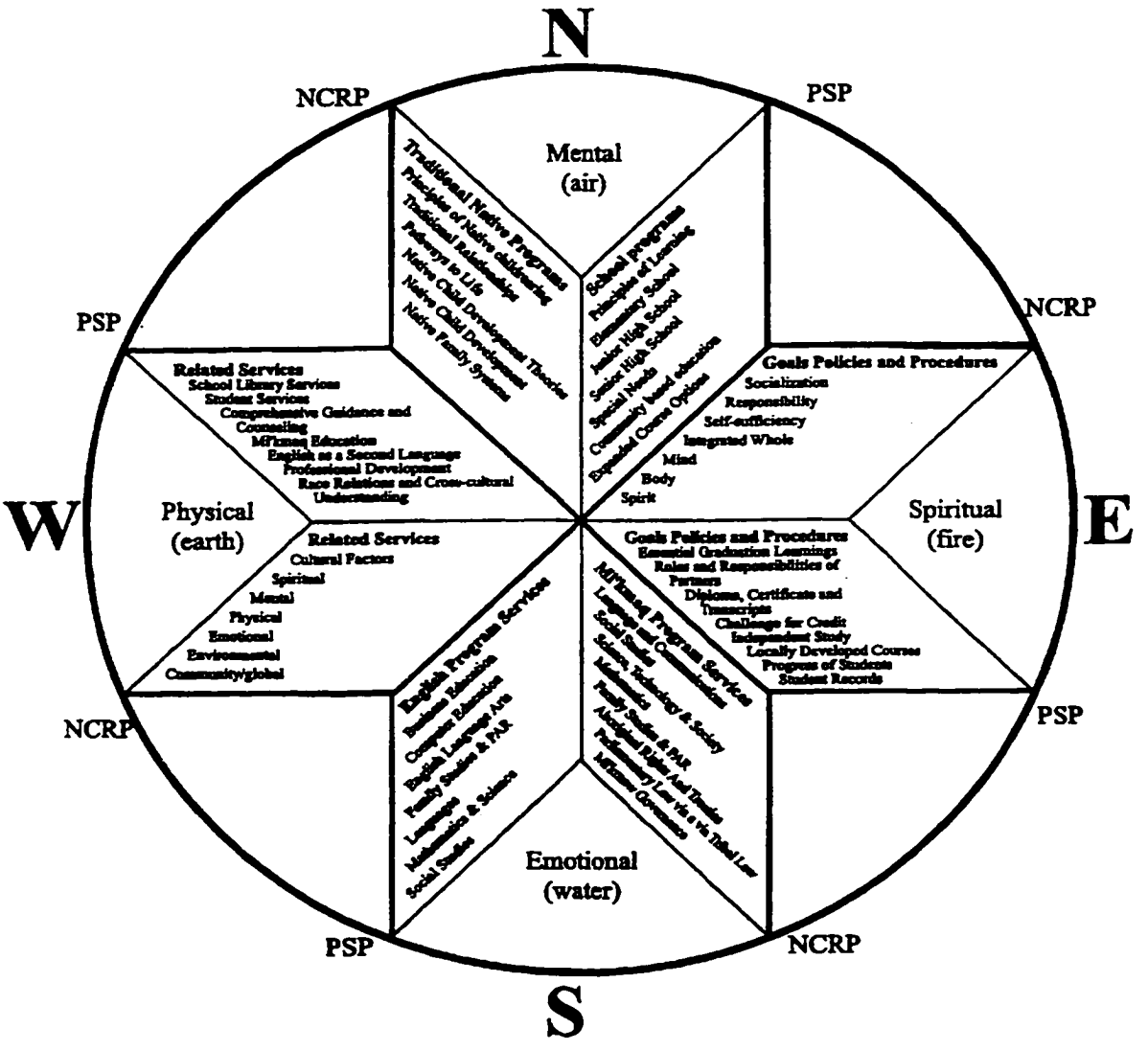

Figure 5

Four distinct bundles for the NCRP and four distinct bundles for the PSP have been inserted in specific locations within the Mi'kmaw eight-pointed star. In essence, there are eight information packages. During the analysis these eight bundles will have be abridged to four thematic blocks or units. Downy (1988) suggests contributions of rationality result in problem clarification, context setting and assembly of comparative data followed by contributions of extra rationality.

3. Thesis Organization.

The thesis format will follow the thematic units arising from the discourse of the PSP as viewed through the NCRP lens. The order of discussion will follow the thematic units arising from the points of the eight-pointed star.

a. Eastern Door: Goals of Schooling or Education The thematic units will help bring out the theses in the analysis. It is contemplated that this eastern door block will flesh out missing relationships if there are any between the goals, policies and procedures of both the PSP and the NCRP. Kahne (1996) notes that educational policy makers tend to focus on the technical issues surrounding practice rather than on the desirability or the way individuals and society are shaped by policy.

The goals of public education in Nova Scotia are two pronged. The first goal is to help all students develop to their full potential cognitively, affectively, physically and socially. The second is to help all students acquire the knowledge, attitudes, and skills necessary for them to continue as thinking, learning, physically active, valued members of society. The textual communication here speaks in a neutral sense for it generalizes to the Nova Scotia population. The NCRP spots a problem here for Citizenship is identified to be among these six areas of learning. The PSP's suggestions for the six areas of 'essential graduation learnings' are aesthetic expression, citizenship, communication, personal development, problem solving and technological competence. These essential learnings are not only identified; moreover, descriptions are provided on what each of the learnings embodies. The NCRP casts no spotlight here for the text is neutral here, except for Citizenship. Citizenship is defined to be meaning European settlers in the British North America Act. While First Nations peoples are defined as Indians in the same Act.

b. Northern Door: School Program Policies of the PSP Through the NCRP. The theme at the cardinal direction of the north is School Program Policies of the PSP through the NCRP. This block or northern door theme will frame the challenges between the NCRP and the PSP. To affirm their identity in positive ways Native children need and have the right to be taught and experience their own language and history particularly within their own communities. Following Graveline's (1996) lead,

> Recognizing that our present lives are embedded in contemporary times, and the present is built on our histories, many modern Aboriginal voices address the issue of the attempted erasure of our culture, identity, and history through processes embedded in and constructed by colonial consciousness. (p. 67)

Eurocentric educators have told us far too long what we need. This was told through their voices within mission schools, day schools, boarding schools, residential schools and integrated schools. This missionary zeal is still present among the Native communities particularly within schools. Hare (1979) notes that John Dewey's philosophy objected to the fixed subject approach to teaching. Peters (1976) advises that this manner of classifications is foreign to the experience of the child and fails to be meaningful. I posit that we need to challenge the PSP as a prescribed common learnings program that fails to provide Mi'kmaw children who have the right to know and live their culture.

c. Western Door: School Services Through the Lens of the NCRP. The theme at cardinal point of the west or the western door/block is an examination of school services through the NCRP lens. The west will make connections with the struggles between the PSP and the NCRP. Gore (1991) stated,

> When we acknowledge multiple aces of power, when we accept our own loss of innocence, when we forget the construction of grand narratives, struggles within our own specific and local contexts become the source of our energy and site of out hope. This focus on the local does not preclude universal concerns...with justice freedom dignity. (p. 9)

d. Southern Door: English Program Services Through the NCRP Lens. The theme located at the south addresses English Program services through the NCRP lens. This southern block or door will explore ways to transform or modify the NCRP or the

PSP that which may lead to restructured and balanced curriculum. "[It is]not who they [are] but what they...know and what they [are] preparing to do about what they know that [is] going to make them free at last" (Jordan, 1992, p.37).

There have been a number of studies and Royal Commissions in Canada pertaining to the education of Natives. The Hawthorn Report 1967 focussed on the integration of Native students into the mainstreams of provincial schooling. Although it shed a new light on Native education one could argue that it was assimilating in nature. The National Indian Brotherhood's (1972) document, Indian Control of Education, identified two pillars for Native education. One was parental responsibility and the other local control. This report was accepted by Parliament; however, it pretty well remained on the shelves. In 1988, over a decade later, the Assembly of First Nations' Tradition and Education: Toward A Vision for the Future brought forward the issues of the 1972 report and made recommendation. Lastly, the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples brought forward multitude of issues. With the formation of Mi'kmaw Kina'matnewey (Education) new relationships became established so that makes Jordan's quote above noteworthy.

e. Section III: Visioning Beyond the Ruts. The final theme which grows out of the Southern door deals with moving beyond the ruts by connecting the PSP and the principles espoused by the NCRP. This section entitled envisioning affords an opportunity to reconstruct and transform the PSP. The reconstruction of the struggles and triumphs will be the focus using the elements of fire, air, earth and water. These elements will depict situations that are relevant to schooling. For example, air will represent the atmosphere or the environment as it relates to schooling. Here harmony for a balanced curriculum is sought.

f. Missing Elements. Not all of the elements contained within the PSP have been located within the framework of the eight-pointed star; yet, they may be discussed. This is due primarily to available space within the star. For example, the Black Studies Division along with the Acadian and French Language Services: Program and Course Descriptions plus Publications are not included but could be discussed as other points of departure. Also, omitted is Preparing all Students for a Lifetime of Learning. The latter is the first

descriptive text that one encounters, sort of a preamble to the PSP, when one starts reading the text. This will serve to foreground discussion. At the eastern door's lower point the PSP is placed and within that triangle are its Goals, Policies and Procedures. Although the Policy and Procedures fall later on within the text of the PSP they are placed earlier because they are also a supplement to the goals of the PSP.

In effect, the thesis is an expedition onto a new trail of education to explore the bundles of information placed on the tips of the two-pronged compass-rose of the Mi'kmaw eight-pointed star. The exploration consists of four Mi'kmaw wigwams symbolized by doors or openings to new trails in Nova Scotia education. As we gather and unpack the bundles, the PSP will be reviewed through the critical perspective of the NCRP, looking for incompatibilities that are problematic for the Mi'kmaw child.

The teachings of the cycle of life along with the Plains peoples' medicine wheel and the spokes of the Mi'kmaw eight-pointed star will touch our imagination as we travel and progress around the circle and draw from the resources contained in the bundles at the tips of the eight-pointed star. The medicine wheel has its origins from ancient times similar to the Stonehenge.

An adherence to a precept suggested by Graveline (1996) and reflects respect for differing ways of life (O'Meara, 1996) would enable us to speak our hearts with our minds so that we doubly understand (Monture-Angus, 1995). Graveline (1996) states,

> In this Model, I am proposing a form of community-building education, which involves persons engaged in actively transforming the quality of their lives, communities, and societies. Rather than being an individualistic academic exercise, it is a dynamic process in which education, experience and social change are interwoven. (p. 253-254)

4. Difficulties With The Methodology

Smith (1993) had been wondering how to develop a sociological inquiry from the standpoint of a woman. Smith (1990) grounds feminist discoveries of language, political cultural, artistic, philosophic into consciousness raising. I also have pondered on a method from the standpoint of a Mi'kmaw woman. Our struggles are common, yet different and apart. One might inquire on the commonality. The response lies in the

ideology of the convictions of hegemony and patriarchy as brought forward by Weiler (1988). How are they different and apart? There exists with the feminist perspective, or from the standpoint of a woman, a privilege that speaks from a White middle-class perspective. Furthermore, an abundance of Native women respect their children and motherhood. Native women consider White feminists' notions wide apart in terms of mothering due to the power bestowed upon the First Nations woman as the creator of life. Marshall (1996) advises us that aboriginal women resisted the feminist movement and what it represents. Emberley (1996, p. 99) writes, "...the colonialist assumptions in academic feminist theory make it difficult for Aboriginal women writers to align themselves with this and other dominant forms of feminism". Identifying with a non-Native feminist group alludes to the notion of turning one's back on all that our grandmothers struggled for (Marshall, 1996).

A somewhat similar problem/reason exists regarding gay and lesbian theories due to the Mi'kmaq viewing of homosexuality as a threat to reproduction within the Algonquin society. This is not to say that the Algonquins were homophobic but homosexuality went against the grain of the customs and traditions. Hence, the Algonquin peoples, which include the Mi'kmaq, had and some still do have steadfast aversions to the notion of homosexuality. For example, historically within Mi'kmaw society if a Mi'kmaw woman was found to be twin spirited (contemporary term used by gays and lesbians within Native societies) that woman was slain. The notion of twin-spiritedness is now tolerated but not fully accepted within Mi'kmaw society. The reason being is that there is a focus on rebuilding the population after centuries of assault by European diseases and the like. Theories on homosexuality or twin-spiritedness jeopardize this rebuilding process.

Another problem lies in the terminology or language used in educational research. Soltis (1984) declares his views about this notion of language, "As a philosopher of education, I have been bothered by the fact that I have been unable to place many and vastly different languages and logics that people call educational research into a coherent conceptual framework" (p. 5).

Terminology within the context of linguistics and particularly educational research

have been a major problem. The notions of cohesion, texture, node tied to linguists and the likes are foreign words except in the context of fibers. Soltis (1984, p. 5) after identifying his problematic areas suggests a resolve, "One could just say that there are multiple research languages and logics and in one way or another each research mode tries to make sense of some aspect of education and so qualifies as educational research".Soltis also tells us that this is an easy way out and it is not very informative. Soltis states, "The hard way out is the philosophical way of reflection, argument and perspective" (p. 5).

Hence, developing an inquiry from a Native sociological aspect has been daunting. It also has been more frustrating from the Mi'kmaw point of view due to colonialism and Eurocentrism. Mills (1997) speaks of how this aspect can be subdued with post-colonial discourse theory. As a Mi'kmaq person situated in a colonialized country, Canada, I have a major problem with this term. I am uncertain of its origin but if it relates to the Constitution Act of 1982 as suggested by Monture-Angus (1995) then the term is misapplied for the following reasons. Canada is not into any type of a post-colonial period. Neither do we (indigenous peoples) all write from a decolonized perspective or post-colonial voices as advocated by LaRocque (1996). Those Natives who claim to write or create literary text with the stance of decolonization or post-colonialism have, in fact, colluded with their oppressors. Mills (1997) mentions that a need exists to break away from the mind-set of using terms such as primitive, medieval, feudal, developing country, pre-industrial and backward. "To redesign social systems we need to acknowledge their colossal unseen dimensions. The silence and denials surrounding privilege are the key political tools here" (McIntosh, 1992, p.81).

Textual resistance is the form that we, as Natives, need not collusion. After all, Graveline (1996) and Sabbatis (1996) expressed what they, as Native women, have experienced in a university setting. Imagine what possibilities that my exploration will find in much earlier effects on the Native child at the public school level.

As my Mi'kmaw ancestors before me I welcome you to join me on my journey in exploring what is contained beyond the different doors of the Mi'kmaw wigwams along a new trail in education.

SECTION II: DECONSTRUCTING THE RUTS

Overview and analysis of PSP using the NCRP Lens

Chapter 4

Introduction to PSP

Educational policy in Nova Scotia for the school year 1997 - 1998 was set out in the document entitled the Public School Programs (PSP). The 1997 - 1998 PSP handbook is a copyrighted public policy document that emanates from the auspices of the Nova Scotia Department of Education and Culture. Even though, this version is much more comprehensive than prior editions, it fails to capture the diverse cultures of this province. It meets the criteria that Pal (1989) and Manzer (1994) mention about how public policies stem from government or public authorities.

One can consider the PSP as a regulatory document for the Nova Scotia's educational system. The PSP has the Education Act as a referent in a legal statute. The current PSP is partitioned into seven sections. It not only describes the programs and courses that are offered in the Nova Scotia public schools but also presents the goals and policies of public school education in Nova Scotia. It recommends which materials to use, procedures and services that should be available, sets out the curriculum, and recommends publications to meet its major educational goals.

Two of the major goals as outlined on page A-3 of the PSP speak of how these goals are for all students. With that being said, it would be fair to say that reference to all students includes students from the Native communities who attend provincial schools. However, this raises the cultural concern of whose skills, attitudes, cognition, and knowledge does the PSP encompass. Steele (1992) believes if schools do not embrace the cultural richness that is brought by students then the schools do not serve the needs of their students. Neito (1996) contends that children of different backgrounds are not only educated differently by our schools but the differences children bring to school have a profound effect on what they gain from their educational experiences.

The PSP is keyed in part on the collective of society as represented through curriculum committees. Manzer (1994) defines collective in society as those persons who

belong to the same community, share history and language which defines their collective identity and usually represents the dominant society. This collective in society is typified by Pal (1989) as the policy determinants. Manzer (1994) argues that this collective in society is underscored by political action culminating in public policy. The political nature of education was well known to the Native populace when the report Indian Control of Education was released by the National Indian Brotherhood in 1972. More often than not, these curriculum committees or collectives of society are devoid of First Nation representation when membership lists are reviewed.

According to a NSTU (1996) document the curriculum framework espoused by the Nova Scotia Department of Education and Culture is sociopolitical. This confirms Manzer (1994) indication that these educational policies are constructed within the framework of political ideas that form individual and collective thinking about educational problems, public instruments, policy choices, and political evaluations. Alladin (1995) argues that education generally serves to reproduce dominant ideologies by the political space it occupies while it continues to de-emphasize a pedagogy that emancipates. This form of constructing policy excludes the educational needs of minorities and First Nations people such as the Mi'kmaq.

Outlined within each program and course descriptions are learning outcomes or objectives that are open not only for teacher interpretation but also for teacher-determined boundaries. Indeed, the PSP is open to interpretation by every Nova Scotia teacher. On page D-3 of the PSP, the school boards are mandated by the Department of Education and Culture to implement the policy. The PSP states,

> The Department of Education and Culture expects school boards to implement policies and practices that will encourage each student to make maximum progress according to his or her needs and abilities. Instruction must be adapted to meet the varying rates, patterns, and needs of all students from elementary through senior high school. (p. D-3)

Given the above, it implicitly acknowledges that the PSP allows for modifications to accommodate every student including those from diverse cultures. Hence, an avenue or panawti'kek (an opening to a path) is available to move Nova Scotia Education 'out of the

ruts and onto new paths in education' for the Mi'kmaq. The Public Schools Program is so significant to Nova Scotia schools that without it, there probably would be a great variation of educational programming throughout the province. It is in effect a standard for schooling in Nova Scotia but as noted above is open for accommodation of diverse cultures.

The Table of Contents of the Public School Programs does not vary too greatly from the standards deemed to be appropriate for a table of contents except that the page numbers are a combination of letters and numbers. The letters represent sub-headings or divisions within the document. The table of contents's format or style has one major boldfaced heading 'Public School Program' followed by boldfaced sub-headings then sub-sub-headings revealing a three tier system of headings. However, when one glances ahead within the text more levels are realized than what is presented within the table of contents. That is to say that the table of contents for the PSP is not a complete representation of the document's discourse. This presents problems for the reader relating to the actual contents within the document.

At first blush with the table of contents, one can see that the Public School Programs is divided along the racial lines of African Canadian, Acadian and French, English, and Mi'kmaq. This is evidenced not only in relation to the number of pages allotted; but by the type of programs or courses offered for the different cultures. The African Canadian Services consists of three-quarters of page C-3 while Mi'kmaq Education is not quite half a page. Acadian and French Language Services: Program and Course Descriptions fills slightly over three pages. There are approximately eighty-eight pages contained in the fifth major heading entitled 'English Program Services: Program and Course Descriptions.

The disparity in the type of programs or courses is evidenced through the assignment of sub-headings under the major headings. For example, programming pertaining to the African and Mi'kmaq is collated under the major heading of Related Services. Furthermore, a greater marginalization of the Mi'kmaq in comparison with the African Canadian is evident by assigning yet to a lower category assignment 'Student

Services' under Related Services. This is not to say that Acadian and French programming is not without marginalization for it is dichotomized between Related Services and with its own major heading. In contrast, the English programs are assigned their own major heading replete with specific subject areas.

It is well understood the uniqueness relating to the diversity of the Nova Scotia populace; yet, one would like to think that this uniqueness would not lead to marginalization through programming. This marginalization seemed to be supported by the wording or language used for it is also very disharmonious. For example, the term 'services' is used for the English, Acadian and French, along with the African Canadian while the word 'education' is used for the Mi'kmaq. The wording is indicative of racism for it alludes to the notion that the Mi'kmaq need to be educated while the rest of the Nova Scotia populace need to be provided with services. The next page reveals the contents of the Foreword.

1. Foreword

The 'Foreword' follows the 'Table of Contents' and it consists of two short paragraphs. The foreword in fact serves as an abstract that provides important philosophical points of the PSP. It should have included clarification of terms or terms of reference at the onset which would have assisted the reader, in the reading of this document.

2. Preparing all Students for a Lifetime of Learning

The section entitled "Preparing all Students for a Lifetime of Learning" in the PSP reflects the nature of the content to follow. This portion of the PSP seems to be an opening statement or prologue to the PSP for it conveys information on how society has changed locally and globally along with the children's need for a broad-based, quality education. This section could be viewed as the philosophical focus of the PSP; although, it is not specifically labelled as such. The text, in fact, becomes an active constituent of the social relations of public textual discourse as defined by Smith (1993).

An immediate problem with the PSP is that terms are not defined, such as, what is meant by "broad-based quality education". There are six paragraphs within this page, and

each with a distinctive topic. The first paragraph speaks to us about fundamental changes that are occurring globally. Much more than speaking about the growing awareness of global interdependence among peoples and nations is required such as, closing the information gap. This notion of interdependence or philosophy was always known among Native North Americans for eons. The Native North American has lived under this axiom of interdependence.

In spite of the fact that the first paragraph of the PSP addresses the notion of how Nova Scotia's future is becoming reliant upon partnerships and collaborations, it fails to address how and with whom this is to be accomplished. There is no denying that partnerships are probable; nevertheless, the PSP should be more specific on the types of partnerships and with whom partnerships are desired. Granted, when one glances at the table of contents one locates discourse related to this topic on page A-7. However, no Mi'kmaw links with these partnerships and collaborations were found. Realizing the political nature of partnerships and collaborations, a referral in this portion to all students' home and community would probably have been more relevant for the reader. Then again, are these partnerships implicit as part and parcel of the home and community forms mentioned in the second last paragraph under the precept of an educated person?

The second paragraph communicates the need for a broad-based quality education. Although quality of education is defined as demonstrations, its precise definition is illusionary. The PSP (p. v) states, "Quality in education is demonstrated by the excellence of individual courses, programs and shared experience". There is no justification or substantiation regarding this remark. Using the lens of the NCRP a problem is uncovered with this notion of excellence with individual courses, programs and shared experiences. In addition, concern is found and a question emerges, "What is broad-based quality education?" It does not include Mi'kmaq History, Mi'kmaq Family Studies, Mi'kmaq Language, Mi'kmaq Social Studies. However, it includes a smattering of the history, geography, economics, political science and sociology of African-Canadians through a token or add-on African Canadian Studies 11 course as described on page R-4 of the PSP.

In addition, the Acadian and French Language Services Program and Course

Descriptions concentrate on language and immersion leaving the impression that this is included to meet the requirement of the 1982 Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. This is confirmed by the statement on page S-3 of the PSP, "These programs are for schools attended by students where Section 23 of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms guarantees their right to be schooled in their mother tongue". The French language program on pages S-3 to S-5 of the PSP does not describe other types of course descriptions such as history, culture, economics or sociology. It is also noted that the Teaching Guides for the French aspect are focused exclusively on the French language. That is to say that there are no cultural elements linked to the French culture.

The PSP defines the second aspect of quality education as the diversity of educational experiences in which students are actively involved and by the extent to which individual student needs are met. There is no diversity of educational experiences within this PSP for it is English Program Services. Not only is all programming under the PSP Eurocentric in nature; moreover, it is hegemonic, race and class structured according to NSTU (1996). This confirms what Connell (1993) told us,

> The mainstream curriculum is hegemonic in schools in the sense that (a) it marginalizes other ways of organizing knowledge, (b) it is integrated with the structure of power in educational institutions, and (c) it occupies the high cultural ground, defining most peoples' commonsense view of what learning ought to be. (p. 38)

These notions are supported by the NSTU (1996) document to the extent it alleges that the PSP was not developed at the grass roots level, but from the pinnacle of bureaucratic and corporate power. Considering that the lower rungs of the dominant society were excluded according to the NSTU document then can it not be postulated that the Mi'kmaq are in a reverie if they thought that they would be consulted in curriculum development. The NSTU (1996) document states,

> There has never been consultation or discussion in the province or in the region, in which educators, parents, students, academics, and other interested parties could participate concerning the advantages and limitations of this curricular model as opposed to other alternatives. We feel that there is sufficient evidence here to open discussion before the Department proceeds any further with these plans. (p. 60)

They did indeed proceed with the exclusion of other stakeholders. The NSTU document notes that teachers will view this 'new educational fad from the States' as a 'top-down, imposed, semi-secret government initiative'. Concerns from the Mi'kmaw community are also well supported in the NSTU document. Sable (1996, p. xiv) provides us with a quotation from a Mi'kmaw, "We know more about White culture than they know about us".

On page v, the PSP espouses quality in education through the excellence of individual courses, programs, shared experiences and diversity of educational experiences. If these actually met the standards of what excellence is purported to be then why is it that a fair number of Mi'kmaw communities have pulled their children out of provincial schools? There are many reasons, including racism, low retention rates, and drop out problems, for the withdrawal of Mi'kmaw students from the provincial schools. However, this study only focuses on the problems associated within the nature of the curriculum as forwarded by the PSP. The Mi'kmaq are not alone with such problems. Last year African Canadian parents residing on the outskirts of Dartmouth also expressed their wishes for a school to be located in their community.

After about two or more decades of Mi'kmaq integration within provincial schools an exodus began in 1981, albeit in a trickle, with Chapel Island leading the way. There were massive departures in the late 1990's. In 1994, the five Mi'kmaw communities of Membertou, Afton, Pictou Landing, Chapel Island, and Eskasoni expressed the need for new schools within their communities (Chronicle-Herald, 3/8/94).

Furthermore, why have the Mi'kmaq reverted to re-establishing schools within their own communities after decades of integration in provincial schools? I believe that Sable (1996) provides an answer to this question. Sable stated that "For centuries, Mi'kmaw children have been educated in English-speaking classrooms where principles based on a European model of education have been applied". Bear River reestablished a school within their own community in 1994 when a school in Clementsport was closed due to poor enrollments (Chronicle-Herald, 10/29/94). Pictou Landing opened its school in 1996. In November 1996, there was an incident at the East Hants Rural High School

which brought about the departure, suspension, and expulsion of Mi'kmaq students. A similar incident occurred in Riverview High which led to accelerating the measures for the provision of a new school in Eskasoni.

Mi'kmaw complaints are located precisely in the inability to share the experiences that the PSP expounds on page v. Whose shared experiences does the PSP refer to? Is it shared experiences among the Nova Scotia population? Are these shared between the dominant society and the Mi'kmaq? Or is it with the French and the English peoples? Is it between the African Canadian and the English? It is more likely that these shared experiences are amongst the members of the dominant society. These experiences will be teased out later throughout the thesis. Furthermore, how can the writers of the PSP know whether the above are delivered with excellence? It is only an assumption. Indeed, one would like to think that while delivering these courses and programs that administrators and teachers aim for the best. Then again, how could they aim for the best with Mi'kmaw students when Sable (1996, abstract) tells us, "Non-native educators have had little understanding of their world view, ways of knowing and traditional forms of transmitting knowledge."

There are other questions that arise. For example, why do non-Native writers such as Gosh (1996) and Dei (1996) need to write for anti-racist education while Connell (1993) writes for social and curricular justice? These educators would not be searching for resolutions to racism, social and curriculum change if all was well within all sectors of education in Canada or elsewhere. Also, why is it that the Native peoples in Canada are not succeeding in school? Could not one see that just maybe there are problems inherent with the type of education that is provided for Native students not just in Nova Scotia nonetheless elsewhere? There are many reasons why we need to acknowledge that problems do indeed exist and require confirmation from a variety of sources.

The text in the third paragraph acquaints the reader with the challenges of the 1990's and into the next century. Maximizing the utility of the NCRP lens concern challenges how the 1990's and into the next century could offer the Mi'kmaq the privilege of making connections on their learning and lifestyle in an Eurocentric educational system.

Monture-Angus (1995, p. 5) states, "Canada has yet to provide an opportunity for Aboriginal people to be educated in a meaningful way". The offering to the students of a school experience apparently lies in the opportunity to develop skills for lifelong learning whereby they become capable of identifying, solving problems and dealing with change.

The brunt of this third paragraph is the identification or the spelling out of two students' needs. These needs are identified as, 1) "Students need well-developed organizational and interpersonal skills, which include working collaboratively with others and developing leadership skills", 2) "Students need to be able to communicate clearly, competently and confidently from a broad knowledge base in order to make thoughtful and responsible decisions" (PSP, p. v). Although, these student needs or education goals are meant to provide the means for students to make connections between what they live and what they learn, it fails to connect how the diversity of educational experiences maybe met. Connections between what they live and what they learn should have been extended and elaborated on for they would have served a better purpose considering the notion of the diverse society, global interdependence, partnerships and collaboration identified in the first paragraph. That is to say that they appear isolated and presented as add-ons.

The last sentence states, "Achieving these educational goals will provide the means for students to make connections between what they learn and how they live" (PSP, p. v). The NCRP or my Native lens shines a spotlight on the operative word, 'opportunity'. Many question what opportunities have been offered to the Mi'kmaq under the shrouds of stereotyping, misunderstandings, and ignoring coupled with discrimination and racism. Connell (1993) expressed similar views when he referred to the educational system becoming more and more important as a gatekeeper. Monture-Angus (1995) also noted that public school education has become a significant gatekeeper to the opportunities accessible to Native students. Without speaking directly to "how" such "opportunities" will be implemented, the possibility exists that such statements are mere rhetoric.

The fourth paragraph conveys the merits for the development of self-esteem. The text here suggests that self-esteem is to be fostered through a learner-centered school environment. Cochrane (1987) describes child-centered education as being co-operative,

supportive classroom environment using curricula geared to the learner's interest and maturational level. This Mi'kmaw woman's eyes or lens views this learner-centered (child-centered) school environment as a myth for some of our Mi'kmaw students. At second blush the Nova Scotia PSP does not meet this criteria and we shall see further in discourse. It is noted by Sable (1996, abstract) that, "Many Mi'kmaw children do not find a place or vision within this system and simply drop out or are not encouraged to higher levels of education." How does one contend with the remarks of a fourteen year-old grade eight Mi'kmaw student, such as the following which affects self-esteem? "I'm not welcome in this school. The teachers and principal are prejudiced" (cited in Dolan, 1995, p.239). Is the notion that "Educational programs, services, and the teaching/learning environment must be sensitive to the culture and heritage of learners, and must actively promote anti-racist principles" (PSP, p. v) mere rhetoric. The problem is that it does not stop there but erodes one's identity. As Lila said, "Because of the racist assumption that we're stupid, I thought for a long time I didn't want to be Micmac. I didn't want to accept who I was." (Sabattis, 1996, p. 108).

Could the answer lie in the purported learner-centered school environments? It maybe possible that part of the answer lies here and part of it lies within the Mi'kmaw communities. The learner-centered school environment philosophy could resolve a lot of issues by its purported tendency to focus on students' or learners' problems if it was properly utilized. That is, this philosophy is supposed to have a focus on dealing with children as individuals, thereby avoiding the pitfalls of the teacher-centered environment.

In respect to the Mi'kmaw communities, the parents or others who are responsible for students could become more vigilant on students' problems and needs. Helping Mi'kmaw students to cope with problems associated with personal issues or with schooling could prevent or alleviate some problems. As Monture-Angus (1995) stated the answer lies in living with respect. Respect for life and life for all creation has been a guiding principle for many originals of the Americas.

Dolan's (1995) landmark study provided insight on the development of self-esteem within Mi'kmaq students which might assist somewhat in alleviating some common

problems. In essence, her study identified the problems associated with counselling Mi'kmaw students at the public school level.

The text which describes an educated person in the fifth paragraph on page v of the PSP actually puts forth three issues that are problematic for the Mi'kmaw students. It states, "Our version of an educated person is of a competent, confident learner able to think critically and participate fully in a democratic society and in a lifetime of meaningful work" (p. v). Although glaring through the NCRP lens, I cannot agree more that an educated person could be a competent and confident learner able to think critically. However, the PSP falls short in simply stating a philosophical position without supporting the perspective with an implementation plan or referencing other sections in the PSP or other government documents to support follow-up.

Tait's (1999) report complied from Statistics Canada data on the educational achievement of young Aboriginal adults (aged 20 -29) found that 51 % had less than secondary education. From this one reads it as saying that 51 % of this group completed grade nine and this is probably generous for the report is not specific on grade levels. Hence, this could most likely mean that schooling was terminated for this group at junior high level. "The drop our rate among Micmacs is such that only 3 out of 100 children who entered the school system graduate" (Grand Captain Alex Denny, cited in the Chronicle-Herald, 7/21/95). There are many African Canadians and Native peoples including the Mi'kmaq who have become educated persons yet have not been able to live up to these expectations. The PSP's writers notion of an educated person being able to not only be a competent critical thinker and participate fully in a democratic society is a goal that is desired. However, the goal needs to be supported with an implementation plan and be integrated with other PSP initiatives.

The fifth paragraph on page v of the PSP also alludes to the notion that sound education through "home and community partnerships forms the basis for students to become healthy and caring persons, having a respect for self and others and a desire to contribute to society as productive citizens". Once again, this is a positive goal but lacks integration and implementation references.

The sixth and final paragraph on page v of the PSP advances how a comprehensive education must offer a balanced program of studies which includes opportunities to include cultural, aesthetic, social, intellectual, physical, vocational, and moral aspects of society. This appears to reflect a balanced program of studies; however, whose perspective is advocated and advanced by the PSP. Dei (1996) has this to say about balanced curriculum,

> In the political context, it is perhaps more appropriate to talk about a search for a balanced curriculum rather than simply an inclusive curriculum. The idea of a "balance" is predicated on arriving at some "centrality" in terms of how students situate themselves and their cultures, histories and experiences in the learning process. In other words, centrality is a matter of locating students within the context of their own cultural frame of reference so that they can relate socially, politically, ideologically, spiritually and emotionally to the learning process. (p. 83)

The text of the PSP further states, "All partners in education must work together to provide a stimulating and supportive environment to assist individuals in reaching their full potential" (p. v). As Monture-Agnus (1995, p. 91) so well articulates, "The stark reality, however, for Aboriginal Peoples is that our education has not been about access to opportunities but rather forced assimilation to a different and foreign cultural worldview".

3. Role and Fit of Programs and Policy vis à vis School Classrooms

The message is clear that the policy document, Public School Programs 1997-1998 which the NCRP explores for this study mandates what actually happens in classrooms. The Foreword on page iv of the PSP states, " This handbook is produced for school boards, school administrators and teaching staff ... School boards, school administrators and teaching staffs are to use the information provided in this handbook as the basis of their programs". It is understandable that school board members, administrators, teachers could interpret this policy through their own philosophy, social and cultural positions. Hence, potentials exist for the inclusion of discriminatory or prejudiced programming because the PSP is forwarded as the basis of their programs. The importance of articulating a philosophical stance in policy or individual practice cannot be underestimated. Manzer (1994) mentions that good learning activities and appropriate learning groups are specified and justified under philosophies of education and theories of

learning. By way of contrast, Native writers such as Brant (1982, 1983, 1990), Johnson (1992), Johnson (1994), Marshall (n.d.), Paul (1991) argued that certain principles such as childrearing are held by First Nations children and reinforced by their care givers.

Those who developed the PSP did not state explicitly the philosophy of education or stance (lens) used to develop this policy; however, it is implicit as being 'for the preparation of all students for a lifetime of learning'.

As was mentioned earlier, the PSP contains within it descriptions of courses to be taught in Nova Scotia provincial schools. Considering that the PSP originates from the Atlantic Provinces Education Foundation (APEF) extrapolations can be made from other Atlantic provinces in making connections between the PSP and the Maritime First Nations. When Johnson (1994) interviewed a number of teachers, students and Native counsellors in New Brunswick, he found that those who administered the education system did not place much value on Native culture, its contribution to Canadian society or its importance to Native students. Apparently, it comes in the form of tokens by way of theme and awareness days, a school activity or as a means to attract or accommodate Native students. Johnson describes how this is achieved. Johnson states,"Even though much of the fabric of Canadian culture today is interwoven with the thread of First Nations people, there still exists a filter in the Euro-Canadian psyche that somehow screens out the contribution of First Nations people" (p.14).

This supports the notions brought forward by W. D. Hamilton's (1991) report to the Department of Education [cited in Johnson, 1994). The report states,

> It is nonetheless obvious that the needs and concerns of Indian students are still misunderstood, neglected or unimaginatively approached in many schools and classrooms in the province. Some Native spokespersons see this as proof of a failure of will on part of the educational establishment or worse yet, as evidence of the persistence of racist feelings or attitudes in the hearts and minds of teachers and administrators, but is clearly a situation that calls for action... . (p. 66)

Although, the above specifically refers to New Brunswick schools, a number of links have been formed with other Atlantic provinces through the Atlantic Foundations of Education. Hence, the province of Nova Scotia is not that far removed from policies,

practices and administrative procedures implemented there. Similar to Nova Scotia, the Department of Education in New Brunswick had taken the initiative to appoint a Native consultant. Programs reflecting Native culture that were implemented in New Brunswick were dropped after three years, while others were put in abeyance awaiting 'final approval' (Johnson, 1994). Since 1992 the public schools in Nova Scotia have had designated pilot courses on Native Studies but these still remained until September 1997. The PSP's position on the duration of a pilot program is for it not to exceed two years and then either it may be terminated or become a locally approved course. This has not happened with any Native oriented pilots, in particular, the Basic Training and Skills Development for Natives program remained a pilot for almost a decade. Also, there is a distinction or disparity of services available to the Mi'kmaq, the African-Canadians and Acadian and French under the PSP. On page C-3 of the PSP, African Canadian Services is identified as a Division that stands alone under the Program Branch; whereas, on page C-13 the Mi'kmaq education falls under the auspices of Student Services. Then page S-3 of the PSP identifies service for the Acadian and French has a Branch within the Department of Education and Culture. This exemplifies what Ryan (1996) describes as the lack of trust and disrespect for Native peoples. What is more striking is what Ross (1996, p. 59) mentions as "... it appears that the settler nations were content to assume that anything different was inferior, and to treat Aboriginal culture as exactly that".

Chapter 5

Goals Policies and Procedures of PSP Through the NCRP Lens

Introduction. The first tip or pinnacle of the eight-pointed star is the unpacked bundle of the Public School Programs' goals, policies and procedures. Our journey will take us in a counter-clockwise direction of the around the eight-pointed star. It was from this easterly direction that the Europeans were welcomed by my Mi'kmaw ancestors. Similar to my ancestors, I, a Mi'kmaq, now extend my hand in offering a new relationship in education by travelling with me on a more diversified trail. "We will take a journey through allegory and imagination to learn something about points of view and also to open a doorway into recognizing some concepts and relationships" (Okanagan Tribal Council, 1982, p. 45).

Reconceptualizing Goals, Policies and Procedures of the PSP

The exploration at the Eastern Door will essentially follow the layout as outlined in the PSP. This theme of reconceptualization proceeds from the notion that it is important for the reader to understand what Dei (1996) advocates as the belief that one's own reality is not the only reality. The context in this chapter is that the PSP is presumed to be a document that has its reality based on a society which is different from the Mi'kmaq.

The portion of text under the general heading 'The Public School Program' has three minor headings, 1) Essential Graduation Learnings, 2) Essential Graduation Learnings and the School Program and 3) Roles and Responsibilities of Partners. The first two of these minor headings have subheadings, while there is no subheadings for Roles and Responsibilities of Partners. Although there is not a precise heading or discourse on Goals of Public Education within the text of the PSP the analysis will still involve discussion on the goals of public education. Then the text under the heading of 'Essential Graduation Learnings' (EGL's) which has the six sub-headings of Aesthetic Expression, Citizenship, Communication, Personal Development, Problem Solving and Technological Competence along with their specific objectives will be explored. The EGL's descriptors describe what each of the learnings embody. These EGL's are required in order for a student to graduate from any high school in Nova Scotia (NSTU, 1996). The last topic for

the Eastern Door will be Policies and Procedures. Although, this topic is not located within the Goals of Public Education, it placed here for I believe that a connection exists between them and the goals. It has been my experience that very often policies and procedures are developed prior to the formulation of programs in administrative situations.

The Goals of Public Education

The goals of the Public School Programs are included under the heading Essential Graduation Learnings. There is no discussion on how to evaluate or determine whether these goals meet student potentials or their suitability within Nova Scotia society. They are merely listed in the first paragraph of the PSP (p, A - 3) thus,

> 1) to help all students develop to their full potential cognitively, affectively, physically and socially;
>
> 2) to help all students acquire the knowledge, attitudes, and skills necessary for them to continue as thinking, learning, physically active, valued members of society.

These two goals are very misleading and inappropriate for the Mi'kmaq society because it is implicit that the dominant society's cultural is advanced rather than the diverse population of Nova Scotia. In addition, they are not culturally relevant to the Mi'kmaq for there is no discourse on how the cultural continuity of the Mi'kmaq would be included. These goals also ignore the Atlantic Provinces Education Foundation (APEF) information booklet. APEF (1995) states,

> The common core curriculum will be designed for all students; that is, programs will attempt to reflect the abilities, needs, interests and learning styles of students of both genders, and of ethnocultural groups. Students will be challenged to obtain the expected outcomes. (p. 5)

The goals may seem suitable and desirable but they radiate hidden curricula, assimilation and acculturation for they do not really depart from the missionary zeal. The authors of the PSP could have stated more on how diverse cultures would have been accommodated within the context of the goals. In order to help the Mi'kmaw students

develop full potential cognitively, affectively, socially and physically wise, the language of instruction, particularly, in the formative years should be Mi'kmaq. Furthermore, the PSP needs to drop its philosophical stance that is "[C]learly the policy regarding Native education was to acculturate the Native people to the Christian region in an attempt to promulgate the European economic, social and political cultures"(Green, 1990, p. 36). Augustine (1997) suggests,

> Their goal was not so much academic but to integrate and standardize by means of a rigid structure. The problem all along is that the moral and social instruction was always from a perspective not indigenous to the people at which education was directed. However, the sad part of it all is that this experience is recorded as the Indian students' failure to learn and adjust instead of the system's inappropriateness. (p. 1)

Under the axiom of hidden curriculum, these goals send subtle and covert middle class messages of assimilation and acculturation for all Nova Scotia students. The second goal is very telling of assimilation and acculturation by its tendency "to help all students acquire the knowledge, attitudes, and skills necessary for them to continue as thinking, learning, physically active, valued members of society" (PSP, p. A-3). This also implies that all students come to school lacking in knowledge, attitudes and skills. This is particularly critical for students from diverse backgrounds as the knowledge, attitudes and skills that they bring to school are important.

Considering the history of Mi'kmaw education, one needs to be conscious about the purposes of Nova Scotia education. Connell (1993, p.123) states, "Education systems serve both as a means of enlightenment and cultural advance, and as a means of social exclusion and oppression". These two major goals of the PSP do not offer any enlightenment or cultural advancement for the Mi'kmaq but continue to exclude and oppress them. Indeed, these two major goals are suppositions only and offer no guarantees; nor is there any textual discourse on the context of these two major goals. Moore (1983, p. 58) expressed that "... an exceptionally high proportion of Micmac students were channelled into slow streams at an early age, so that they did not graduate from the academic stream and were then disadvantaged for higher education". MacKay

(1989) supports this notion of streaming and extends it to the African Canadian. MacKay states, "At locations throughout the province, we were told of the pervasive practice of streaming - whereby teachers and guidance counsellors channel Black and Micmac students into non-academic high school programs" (p. 85). In terms of school achievement these goals are more dramatic for Mi'kmaw children who come to school speaking in Mi'kmaq only. Referring to research conducted by the Union of Nova Scotia Indians, Christmas (1990, p. 4) states, "...by the end of the eighth grade there was an age/grade retardation of 2.5 years". Christmas also reports, "that only 3.4% of students survived the thirteen year formal education cycle - a withdrawal or drop-out rate of 96.6%" (p. 4).

The second paragraph is more focused on the heading 'Essential Graduation Learnings'. One wonders if maybe the EGL's are meant to be the goals because of the diffusion of goals within this heading. This notion is clarified for "[T]he department believes that these goals can be reached if school communities help students to develop in certain areas of learning called "essential graduation learnings"." (PSP, p. A-3). The textual communication here seems to speak in a neutral sense for it generalizes to the Nova Scotia population, yet; it has become evident that the PSP is assimilative in nature. The concept of 'certain areas of learning' delineates or narrows the PSP to what seems like a predetermined specific knowledge within the EGL's. The NSTU (1996) did address that issue.

"Dewey supports neither uniform pedagogy nor standardized educational goals" Kahne (1996, p. 42). Kahne further states, "Dewey wants educational policy to respond to social and economic inequalities, but unlike mainstream proponents of equality, he neither holds the same goals for all students nor recommends that all students receive the same pedagogic and curricular approaches" (p. 43). Hence, Dewey's views were in contrast to the treatment of all students as if they were coming from the same backgrounds and then dumped into a melting pot classroom. Moore (1983, p. 53) reports that a leader from the Union of Nova Scotia Indians has to have stated, "We don't want to be thrown into the soup-pot. We have a right to special status". According to Moore "...perhaps the most devastating one of all, is the experience of having the very existence of your group

ignored" (p. 40). Battiste (1987, p. 108) tells us, "Yet, despite research that has examined the problems and offered some solutions to recidivism and dropouts of Indian children, little has been done in the Nova Scotia school System to address the Indian's culturally different needs." What is most telling Battiste goes on to state," Indian history, culture, and language were being ignored in the provincial system" (p. 108).

The Mi'kmaq have not been alone in expressing this 'ignoring' through the notions of prejudice and discrimination. Concerns associated with 'prejudice and discrimination' have been raised by feminists such as Smith (1990, 1993, 1996) and Weiler (1988) while Greenfield and Cocking (1994) provides a collection of Asian, African, American perspectives. Closer to the home front are writings by Brant (1983, 1990), Denny (1995), Johnson (1994), and Nicholas (1993). Supporting the Mi'kmaq, Moore (1983) states,

> The concern had been growing among Indian leaders about the increasing loss of their culture and language as they are pressed to 'assimilate' to White ways of life, even while social and economic barriers were maintained with prevent them from doing so. (p. 46)

In addition, "to the serious problems of curriculum, language, testing programmes, and lack of Native teachers, there has been the additional problems that the students can see little evidence of the benefits of education" (Moore, 1983, p. 35). This is supported by the NSTU (1996) claim that this outcome-based education has been seen "as an attempt to inculcate values and attitudes in children" (p. 13). Furthermore, there is no acknowledgment or accommodation for students from diverse cultures let alone the Mi'kmaq in these goals or around them, although the PSP does speak to this issue later.

The Public School Program

1. Essential Graduation Learnings

The first text that we encounter in the first paragraph under this subheading relates to the two major goals (discussed earlier) and the sub-sub-headings of Aesthetic Expression, Citizenship, Communication, Personal Development, Problem Solving and Technological Competence. They are identified in the first paragraph of page A-3 under the heading Essential Graduation Learnings. The text pertaining to the goals of public

education are enmeshed with essential graduation learnings for a separate heading for them does not exist. In a sense the title for this part of the PSP is misleading for there is no extensive discourse on 'The Goals of Public Education'. There is no mention of their origin, how or why they were developed. The text on the last paragraph before Aesthetic Expression mentions that the education departments of Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island Scotia, New Brunswick and Newfoundland developed these statements through the auspices of the Atlantic Provinces Education Foundation (APEF). This is confirmed through a newsletter, Focus on Academies, issued by the Strait Regional School Board (1999, p. 1) states, "Have you ever wondered how curriculum is developed in Nova Scotia schools? You may be surprised to learn that curriculum development is a joint effort among the four Atlantic provinces". The NSTU (1996) document states that William Spady has significantly influenced the Nova Scotia Outcome-Based Education plan. This NSTU (1996, p. i) document states, "Curriculum is "designed down" from core values and knowledge which are characterized as "learnings" thought to be "essential" by "stake holders." There is not any explanation of why the goals are structured that way. In addition, there is no mention of how these are to be reached other than if school communities help students to develop certain areas of learning called essential graduation learnings.

There is a presumption in the EGL outcomes that all students have access to the same type and quality of resources throughout the province. The NSTU (1996) details issues relating to social diversity in each of the EGL's and more.

The extent of community consultation in the development of these objectives is questionable. This is suggested by the NSTU (1996) document which states,

> The argument that these "essential learning" were developed by any kind of popular consensus is not supported by the evidence. The "clarity of focus" (a Spady essential for OBE) was not developed at the grass roots, but at the very pinnacle of bureaucratic and corporate power. The outcomes of public school education were not dictated by the masters, they were sold by the masters in the guise of consultation and consensus. The reality is that the entire process was engineered to ensure token public input no significant dialogue, and acceptance of the APEF plan. (p. iii)

These outcomes are also very terminal. The term 'outcomes' has become a code of failure in some jurisdictions according to the NSTU (1996) document. There is no inclination that 'students' will be able to meet these objectives but 'graduates' will be able to. There is an overall assumption that only graduates will acquire these skills. These are exit outcomes and the NSTU document questions whether we will be returning to the days of having fourteen-year-olds sitting in grade 3 classrooms.

These concerns are amplified in the case of the Mi'kmaq for many do not graduate from formal schooling and do not reach these aspects of graduation. It was reported in the May 21, 1994 issue of The Chronicle-Herald that despite high ambitions few Mi'kmaq were graduating.

Sable (1996) mentions that, on the average, Mi'kmaw students are two grades below other [non-Mi'kmaq] students and the dropout rate is 90%. Moreover, it varies from region to region. Resorting to the 'skills of life experience' has been the norm for they are part and parcel of the integrated whole. The formal school drop out rate is so high; yet, their learning continues in an informal way. That is to say that the Mi'kmaq consider themselves to be continually learning. Blanche (cited in Sabattis, 1996) mentions why she felt that further formal learning was unnecessary for her by stating,

> ...my community is going to survive no matter if I get a degree or not...because we have that strength, we can do those things, we don't need those magic letters. I realize now that...I need those magic letters to make the people outside listen to me. My community respects me for what I am.. I think those magic letters behind my name will make the people outside listen to me. But ...it will mean nothing to my community other than that I'm back with them. (p. 66)

The above quote is tied in with the notion of an integrated whole which is manifested in the child's body, mind and spirit not intertwined but coalesced. If one of these is unhealthy it affects the others in some way. It is a Mi'kmaq world view. The next discussion relates to the EGL's on pages A-3 to A- 5, followed by their descriptors on page A - 5 to A - 7. The text for the EGL's from pages A-3 to A-5 is very confusing and choppy for the reader; yet, I endeavour to follow through on a discussion based on the sequencing of text as laid out in the PSP.

a. Aesthetic Expression. The outcome for the aesthetic expression EGL states, "Graduates will be able to respond with critical awareness to various forms of the arts and be able to express themselves through the arts" (PSP, p. A-3). The NSTU (1996) dubs aesthetic expression as an oxymoron of the aesthetic outcome. Through the NCRP, two problems seem inherent with this essential graduation learning and are carried forward with the objectives. These problems relate to the ability of graduates to respond with critical awareness and the ability to express themselves through the arts. Passmore (1976, p. 192) questions whether teaching a child to be critical might involve indoctrination or teaching of skills. Passmore questions, "Is it a matter of imparting of facts, of inculcating habits, of training in skills, of developing capacities, of forming the character or something different from any of these". Passmore's question opens a pandora's box for the Mi'kmaw child. In the first instance, whose variety of art forms are presented? Second, become aware of these art forms then expressing themselves through the art forms (mirroring them) could likely constitute indoctrination not learning.

The problem regarding the interpretations of aesthetic expression according to the NSTU (1996) document is that of perspective and power. First, in terms of perspective, Mi'kmaw art was not an aesthetic expression for it was based on economic needs. Traditionally, it did not stand alone but served as a functional communicator to identify clans, and send messages. Mi'kmaw children understood these art forms to mean contributions for sustenance in their daily lives. This is in contrast to the restrictive nature of art 'as beauty' or 'artistic skill' within the dominant society. Second, in terms of power, Mi'kmaw art as a subject area does not have status within the PSP.

There are four objectives listed under this EGL. The first objective states, "use various art forms as a means of formulating and expressing ideas, perceptions, and feeling. Silence has been noted as a withdrawal ethic (Brant, 1990). It can pose problems for all four objectives in this EGL. Johnson (1994, p. 44) describes it thus, "... most Native people are generally not verbose and prefer to express themselves in a succinct, precise manner without going into long explanations or dissertations". This is further confounded by "[C]riticism of others, for example, is neither tolerated nor condoned" (4 1993, p. 78).

A great majority of Mi'kmaw forms were forgotten; hence, unknown to a good majority of contemporary Mi'kmaw people until the late 1970's when Parks Canada revealed their existence. Granted there was a form of art used in basketry. Another area of art is in what Sable (1996) describes,

> Story, dance and song were pervasive throughout Mi'kmaw culture. They most commonly occurred together - song and dance, song and story, story, song and dance. All three are still important in the Mi'kmaw culture although contexts have changed, and some information has been scattered or is held in the memory of a few. For this reason, as well as their effectiveness as educational methods in the teaching of sciences and all subjects, their use should be encouraged, particularly for the elementary school grades. This should, however, be done in cooperation with the Mi'kmaq. (p. 176)

The second objective, "demonstrate understanding of the contribution of the arts to daily life, cultural identity and diversity, and the economy" (PSP, p. A-3) will pose as much difficulty on Mi'kmaw students. As suggested by the NSTU (1996) document the problems of perspective and status will also emerge similar to the first objective.

Furthermore, due to the decline of artisans within Mi'kmaw communities within the past two decades, it is very unlikely that many Mi'kmaw students will be able to demonstrate understanding as this objective implies. A few Mi'kmaw students might make a connection that splint baskets were a major source of income after the Second World War. This in fact restricted propagation of a more in-depth knowledge base about Mi'kmaw art until the Arts and Crafts Societies came into existence. The third objective, "demonstrate understanding of the ideas, perceptions, and feelings of others as expressed in various art forms" (PSP, p. A-3) due to implicit need to articulate in a spoken word may very likely prevent Mi'kmaw students from expressing ideas, perceptions or emotions. This is also supported by Johnson's (1994) above noted quote.

The fourth objective requires graduates to, "demonstrate understanding of the significance of cultural resources such as theatres, museums, and galleries (PSP, p. A-3). Based on the NCRP lens, this outcome is incongruent to the Mi'kmaw for it is very doubtful that any White teacher can explain what a Mi'kmaq experiences about Mi'kmaw

art. Access to libraries and museums is compounded by cultural norms on both the Mi'kmaq and the dominant society. The NSTU (1996, p. 32) states, "In many parts of the province such resources are simply not readily accessible." This notion of access exists more so for the Mi'kmaq not only due to 'such resources are simply not readily accessible' but how the libraries and museums are perceived by the Mi'kmaq. According to O'Meara (1996) governments, Euro-Canadian teachers, Missionaries and others have catalogued our culture in museums or archives. Carson (1996) supports the view that culture as a 'museum piece' serves as 'mere object of curiosity'. Consequently, there is a Mi'kmaq perception that there is a perpetual relegation to the past not an evolving contemporary culture

b. Citizenship. The general objective for the Citizenship EGL states "Graduates will be able to assess, social, cultural, economic and environmental interdependence in a local and global context" (PSP, p. A - 3). The NSTU (1996) states that all of the outcomes associated with citizenship are value laden and political. The NCRP lens analyst takes a political stance here and notes a problem. The notion of citizenship in the PSP is a multifold problem for Mi'kmaw students for they have to straddle two cultures.

We are often confronted with this question, "How could you not be a Canadian citizen when you live in this country? It is insulting when others question our citizenship. Archaeologists and anthropologists have recognized and affirmed that through carbon-12 dating that in fact we actually predate European civilizations. A geological time line developed by Microsoft (1996) places the existence of the North American Native Peoples eons before the Egyptians. Paul (1993) states that we, the Mi'kmaq, have been in this area for over 10,000 years.

Relative to the first objective, "demonstrate understanding of sustainable development and its implications for the environment" (PSP, p. A - 3) for the Mi'kmaq practiced sustainable development long before the term became a buzzword. Banks (1997, p. 146) states, "The Europeans regarded earth as a commodity that could be broken into parts and owned by individuals". We were very much aware of the effects or implications of human actions to the environment. The philosophy of Native people, including the

Mi'kmaq, has long recognized and lived under the axiom of interdependence with all living things. Banks (1997, p. 145) indicates, "They view the universe as a harmonious whole, with every object and being having a scared life: to separate human beings from nature is antithetical to the Great Spirit, for to the Great Spirit is life".

It is difficult for the viewer behind the NCRP lens to relate to the second objective of the Citizenship EGL. The objective states, "demonstrate understanding of Canada's political, social, and economic systems in a global context" (PSP, p. A - 3) for a variety of reasons. Among which includes One wonders how this objective could be pursued within a classroom. Dei (1996) advises,

> Educators cannot shield their responsibility to investigate how the societal system of domination and subjugation are mediated in the processes of schooling and delivering education. Putting power relations at the centre of schooling requires an interrogation of how knowing, learning, and understanding our world happen in the schools. (p. 59)

The Mi'kmaq have always been concerned with how the Europeans borrowed our concepts then turned them around to subjugate, oppress and eradicate our culture. Land claims was forwarded as an issue by the Union of Nova Scotia Indians in 1976. We are reminded by Nicholas (1993) when she states,

> To natives, who at first agreed only to share land that, in the native view, was not theirs to give, the almost complete taking of traditional land [most often prime fishing, farming, hunting, and settlement areas] meant losing access to life itself - a form of genocide, just as effective as war. (p. 33)

The Mi'kmaq understand well the results of our willingness to share, our kindness, acceptance, recognition, and rescuing those from the perils of Europe to those who landed to our East and how they instituted barriers on our global economy and the development of our Mi'kmaq society.

The third objective on page (PSP, p. A-3) states, "explain the significance of the global economy on economic renewal and the development of society". Then, the fourth objective, "demonstrate understanding of the social, political, and economic forces that have shaped the past and the present, and apply those understandings in planning for the

future" Both of these objectives will most probably be perceived by the Mi'kmaw students as barriers. No one has had to teach us or make us aware of how the social, political and economic forces of the dominant society have excluded us. We are also very cognizant of how they presently apply today. They have not changed and new forces are brought into effect very often through the legal system.

The NCRP lens holder has no problem with the fifth objective, for we examine in our daily lives just how our human rights and other marginalized victims' human rights are violated. These include discriminations based on gender, sexuality, class, race and regionalist. The Mi'kmaq have equity and equality embedded in language and culture. There are no pronoun words such as he, she, her or him. Everyone including children have the same rights or egalitarian. The Mi'kmaq have for centuries been practicing what is contained in the last objective of this section. The Mi'kmaq have always understood their own culture, heritage, cultural identity, and the contribution of other peoples to society. Historically, the White society particularly the English had no respect or understanding for our culture and wished to acculturate the Mi'kmaq by imposing assimilistic policies with the school system. Kirkness (1985, p. 1) states, "The history of formal education of Indians in Canada is married by failure ...for hundred of years we have been victims of a colonial mentality ...intent only on transforming us into 'their' culture. The results have been devastating".

c. Communication. The general objective for the Communication EGL states, "Graduates will be able to use the listening, viewing, speaking, reading, and writing modes of language(s) and mathematical and scientific concepts and symbols, to think learn and communicate effectively" (PSP, p. A-3). The mathematical and scientific concepts and symbols, to think learn and communicate effectively" (PSP, p. A-3). The NCRP finds major problems in this section not just for the Mi'kmaq for it is the same for those from many other cultures. There are problems with all of the objectives because it is implied that the language of communication here means English; albeit, in the plural sense this section applies across the board to all Nova Scotians. The White society comes equipped with a majority of the skills identified in this section particularly in the speaking and

understanding of the instructional language, English. Granted the underprivileged or marginalized groups will most likely not be as well equipped.

It is difficult for Mi'kmaw child to follow what is stipulated in the first objective of the communications EGL. The first objective states, "explore, reflect on, and express their own ideas, learning, perceptions, and feelings" (PSP, p. A - 4). A Mi'kmaw student's ability to communicate through the English language would be gravely impaired due to lack of comprehension. This gets compounded in school for there is no mechanism for conversion or relaying of Mi'kmaw interpretations from English to assist the child. For example, terminology is and can be a major barrier. This notion of the confounding of language becomes further complicated when people are politically appointed who have no formal schooling as counsellors and mediators between the school and the Mi'kmaq society. To make matters worse there are many non-equivalent English words to match with Mi'kmaq. This triple jeopardizes a Mi'kmaw child, especially for one who has no home or community support systems. Furthermore, changing one's language also changes our thought patterns along with our view of the world for the context changes especially when we try to translate and match mismatched words. Sable (1996) articulated this so well,

> ...a number of misconceptions and misunderstandings can arise between Mi'kmaw/English speakers and non-Mi'kmaw/English speakers simply because each has a different concept of what is being said. ...most non-Native people do not realize that even when a Mi'kmaw is speaking English, he/she is not necessarily ascribing the same meaning to the words, or sharing fundamental concepts assumed by a non-Native English speaker. Coupled with differing cultural values, these misunderstandings can lead to racism at one extreme, or simply to a false sense of communication, or no communication at all, between the parties involved. ...For Mi'kmaw children in provincial schools, some of whom speak only Mi'kmaq in their home, this can have a discouraging effect on their ability and desire to learn. In response, they may simply and quietly "drop out". (p. 74)

Through the lens of the NCRP, the Mi'kmaq are fully aware of how we cannot 'demonstrate' our understanding of 'facts and relationships' as forwarded under the second objective due to subjugation. The second objective states, "demonstrate

understanding of facts and relationships presented through words, numbers, symbols, graphs, and charts" (PSP, p. A-4). For example, resistance will come from the teachers, principals, and administrators, if and when, we make an effort to demonstrate our understanding of the facts and relationships through any form. Marshall (n. d.) encountered this resistence when she attempted to contribute a story from a Mi'kmaw perspective and it was labelled a myth. The dominant group such as students, teachers, principals and the like will more often than not reject either their reflections or interpretations. Speaking on subjugation and resistence Sable (1996) mentions that,

> Despite challenges to its social and cultural integrity throughout the last five centuries, the Mi'kmaw culture has adapted and endured with surprising strength and humour. The attempts of the Federal government to assimilate the Mi'kmaq, especially through educational programs in the post-Confederation era, threatened one of the most vital components of culture: their language. (p. 74)

The third objective states, "present information and instructions clearly, logically, concisely, and accurately for a variety of audiences" (PSP, p. A - 4). Most Mi'kmaw students cannot and will not complete what is called for under this objective due to cultural conflicts and incongruencies. Because of the ethic of withal/reaction which Brant (1990) refers to this as 'escape behaviour' withdraw rather than make presentations.

The Mi'kmaq understand the fourth objective, "demonstrate a knowledge of the second official language" (PSP, p. A - 4) very well. We do not wish 'to demonstrate a knowledge of the second official language' when our Mi'kmaq language is in peril. In addition, its value is not accepted as a credit as university entrance or as a university credit.

Considering the interconnectedness of the fifth and sixth objectives I have enmeshed them in this discussion. Due to their upbringing the majority of Mi'kmaw students will not understand or how to comply with either the fifth objective, "interpret, evaluate, and express data in everyday language" or the sixth objective, "access, process, evaluate, and share information" (PSP, p. A - 4). The goals have merit and are probably achievable by many students nevertheless questions do emerge. The main question that

rises is what everyday language is referred to in this version of the PSP. It is most probably English. Neito (1996) comments that students who come to school with another language are deemed to need compensation. These goals do not grow far enough for how will the students interpret, evaluate, and express data in everyday language. Their perceived everyday language may include words that are not acceptable. The problems of everyday language are not isolated to the Mi'kmaq child in school but to the Acadian and French along with the African Canadian. This is in effect putting the Mi'kmaw student on stage or on the spot. Other cultures such as the Irish, Italian, Polish, etc., most probably have difficulty with everyday language as well. For example, Bernsterin (1994) says,

> The Irish did not come to English easily. It is no simple thing to switch from Gaelic to English, to leave one's language and all that it contains of history, myth, religion, ethos. Symbol, and metaphor. It is not easy thing to adopt a language that ...reinforced the impression of the Irish as so low in self-esteem that they would even sever their language to be accepted by the rest of the world and that made them seem inferior, unfashionable and gross." (p. 266)

The ability for Mi'kmaw students to completely function in their own language is also non-existent. Unlike the dominant society their language skills are not continuous when they arrive in a formal educational setting. They are generally able to understand and speak in Mi'kmaq and are unable to read and write in Mi'kmaq. Hence, they are limited to interpret, evaluate and express data in the everyday Mi'kmaq language. This makes it difficult to follow what is suggested under the sixth objective of accessing, processing, evaluating and sharing of information. The skills of reading and writing exist with a select few. There are less than ten Mi'kmaw adults who can listen, view, speak, read and write in the Mi'kmaw language fluently and functionally. For those adults who have these skills they have to seriously think just how they are going about to read and write in Mi'kmaq. It does not flow naturally. There are much more of those who comprehend and speak fluently than those who read and write.

A survey conducted by the Nova Scotia Centre of Excellence (1999) reported that 43% can read Mi'kmaq while 31 % can write it. Although the survey included a question pertaining to type of Mi'kmaw course taken it failed to indicate when the courses

were taken. For the Mi'kmaw children reading and writing in the Mi'kmaq language within school is a very recent phenomena. Lillian Marshall, who assisted with the development of the first Mi'kmaw language course for elementary students at the Mi'kmawey School in Chapel Island, stated that 1984 was the first school year for teaching the Mi'kmaw language. This was confirmed by one of the teachers, Elizabeth Paul, who taught the course. Leavitt (1987) reported that the Mi'kmaw language was taught at all grade levels, P- 9 during 1985 - 1986 school year at Eskasoni. Leavitt also indicated that two staff members (both licensed teachers) taught the Mi'kmaw language full-time. This in effect contradicts what was earlier indicated by Christmas (1988) that Mi'kmaw students were not being instructed in the Mi'kmaw language. Even now, there is little or no home experience for a good majority of pre-adolescents in the speaking and understanding of the Mi'kmaw language. This does not mean that these Mi'kmaq have been completely acculturated for Mi'kmaw culture is only masked by the presence of the English language. They in fact speak Mi'glish which is a mixture of both Mi'kmaw and English. Also, present is a Mi'kmaw dialect of English coupled with cultural characteristics.

Turning to the last objective, "critically reflect on and interpret ideas presented through a variety of media". The privilege for a Mi'kmaw child to critically reflect on and interpret ideas presented through a variety of media just does not happen. "Even though much of the fabric of Canadian culture today is interwoven with the thread of First Nations people, there still exists a filter in the Euro-Canadian psyche that somehow screens out the contribution of First Nations people" (Johnson, 1994, p. 21). The inability to communicate through writing, speaking, or reading with standard English is also a major challenge for the Mi'kmaq and minorities. This is contrary to what is stated by the NSTU (1996, p. 34), "This essential graduation learning statement is almost impossible to challenge because it is packed with virtually every imaginable use for symbols of all kinds". The PSP does not consist of symbols from the Mi'kmaw community so it is incorrect to state that it is packed with every kind of conceivable symbol. What is missing are the cultural products from the Mi'kmaw society for this is an Eurocentric PSP. Piaget

(1977) notes that aphasia or the notion of the 'understanding of language' is semiotic in nature for it deals with signs and symbols. Piaget (1951, cited in Harris, 1997 p. 121) wrote, '...symbolism provides the child with the live, dynamic individual language indispensable for the expression of his subjective feeling'. By corollary, symbolism within Mi'kmaw society provides the same elemental aspects for dynamical language expressions of Mi'kmaw children's subjective feeling. Hence, it is impossible to challenge the English language symbolism as it is the only language of instruction.

d. Personal Development The outcome presented by the PSP (p. A-4) for the personal development EGL states, "Graduates will be able to continue to learn and to pursue an active, healthy lifestyle". Although this is a worth wile goal some problems areas exist here for the NCRP. The goal speaks of the potential that graduates will be able to continue to learn and pursue active and health lifestyles. Personal development is more than continuing to learn and pursuance of an active health lifestyle.

The first objective of the Personal Development EGL states, "demonstrate preparedness for the transition to work and further learning" (PSP, p. A-4). In a global sense, this objective can be seen as a positive; however, many Mi'kmaq do not have the same advantages as the dominant society for the pursuance of work. In addition, the NSTU (1996, p. 38) document lets us know that, "This outcome assumes that there is a job market into which students might be able to integrate". It is very difficult for the Mi'kmaw child to demonstrate preparedness for the transition to work and further learning as suggested by the first objective. They only have to look within their own communities to see what formal education has brought their fellow community members. "No one seems to mind that the job goes to a non-Indian, or 'white' who 'happens' to be an 'Indian expert' (Cordova, 1996, p. 17). Work situations are very bleak and disparaging even for those who have earned numerous degrees. Eurocentric law pertaining to Canada's natural resources and taxation of earned income off reserve has a major influence on this objective. Many would rather remain unemployed and subsist on welfare rather than allow further violations of what they perceive as their Native Rights.

Some authors (Dei, 1996; Gosh, 1994) speak of this as systemic marginalization

or systemic racism. The unethical practices of Eurocentric lawmakers compound problems by passing one law then striking it out in the next has been very perplexing for every Native across Canada.

The second, third and fourth objectives, listed on page A-4 of the PSP,

- make appropriate decisions and take responsibility for those decisions
- work and study purposefully, both independently and in groups
- demonstrate understanding of the relationship between health and lifestyleare

seem very fitting for the NCRP as the Mi'kmaw culture, through its beliefs and practices of childrearing, instill decision making skills and responsibility in children. The family enables the child to make choices but at the same time to take responsibility for these decisions. This lends to what Bezeau (1995, p. 171) states, "Responsibility for learning is partly voluntary and partly involuntary and is jointly held by the teacher and the pupil". The parents very seldom impose a work ethic for the children know that certain responsibilities are theirs and theirs alone. This often poses problems with homework or school projects.

Mi'kmaw students do make connection between the 'work and study be it independent or in groups' and 'understand the relationship between health and lifestyle' as suggested by the third and fourth objectives, respectively, albeit a negative one. The denial to the access of forestry products, the harvesting of wildlife and fish has affected their health and lifestyle. It is well known that mental stress precipitates other illness and consequently affects health and lifestyle. In addition, it creates mental stress knowing that Eurocentric law is the root of the problem. Eurocentric law has been the leading edge in the establishment of educational systems and other processes within Mi'kma'ki since the early 1600's.

The fifth objective, "discriminate among a wide variety of career opportunities" is very interesting because of what has been previously discussed. Most Mi'kmaw university students are not enrolled in a variety of career paths. Bachelor of Arts and Bachelor of Social Work are and seen to be the safety net programs. 'Safety net programs' is a metaphor to mean that these programs will lead to graduation from university more so

than the Bachelor of Science. It is not very often that Mi'kmaw students enter Bachelor of Science programs. Cathy Martin, a former Native counsellor who had worked on site at Dalhousie University for the Confederacy of Mainland Mi'kmaq stated that there have been no more than a dozen Mi'kmaq who have earned Bachelor of Science degrees. In addition, she stated that a number who started in Science programs have dropped out due to their inability to cope.

MacKay (1989) and Whyte (1986) both stated that Native students are channelled into the non-academic stream of schooling. Whyte also indicated that channeling is toward vocational tracks. One has to be cognizant that in general most provincial school counsellors direct Mi'kmaw and other Native students to general programs not university preparatory programs. This is confirmed by Bowers (1998) and Monture-Angus (1995).

As Dolan (1995, p. 242) states, "The students showed in this study that they have a clear vision of where they want to go, and we need to provide them with the support needed to get there". This will ensure that those Mi'kmaw students who have appropriate abilities may look at a variety of course offerings and follow a diversified path.

The sixth objective, "demonstrate coping, management, and interpersonal skills" on page A-4 of the PSP is an appropriate goal but major problems may surface due to cultural reasons for the Mi'kmaw child. This objective will be viewed by some Mi'kmaw students as interference if and when teachers are "... instructing, coercing or attempting to persuade" (Brant. 1990, p. 535) others of undesirable behaviour. This is not to deny that a large number of Mi'kmaw young are not coping or managing on an interpersonal level. Many are involved with drugs, alcohol, substance abuse and are sexually active at an early age.

The last objective, "reflect critically on ethical issues" (PSP . A - 4) ties in with the fifth objective. This goal is positive in one sense and negative in another sense. It is positive for one needs to make decisions based on personal development. It is negative for it interferes with the ethic of non-interference. The ethic of non-interference "promotes positive interpersonal relations by discouraging coercion of any kind, be it physical, verbal or psychological" (Brant, 1990, p. 535).

e. Problem Solving. The overall outcome for the problem solving ethic states, "[G]raduates will be able to use the strategies and processes needed to solve a wide variety of problems, including those requiring language and mathematical and scientific concepts" (PSP, p. A -4).The NCRP should have no problems with this outcome if the information being taught was relevant to the Mi'kmaw child. All the objectives seem to be favorable; however, the NSTU (1996, p. 40) document poses the question, "...whose problems and what sort of problems will be placed on the agenda for students to solve?" Considering that these objectives may not always be favourable as suggested by the NSTU (1996) then lets look at the first objective.

The first objective states, "They will, for example, be able to acquire, process, and interpret information critically to make informed decisions" (PSP, p. A-4). The ability to acquire any type of a process and interpret information regarding Mi'kmaw student solving problems rests with how connected or relational these problems are to Mi'kmaw society.

From a Mi'kmaw perspective, the remaining objectives,

- use a variety of strategies and perspectives with flexibility and creativity for solving problems
- formulate tentative ideas, question their own assumption and those of others
- solve problems individually and collaboratively
- identify, describe, formulate, and reformulate problems
- evaluate ideas and examples, and ask for explanations
- ask questions, observe relationships make inferences, and draw conclusions
- identify, describe, and interpret different points of view and distinguish fact from opinion

are complex; however, they should not be problems for Mi'kmaw students. A problem will rise for Mi'kmaw children who have been taught not to ask questions from the elders. The Mi'kmaw child has been conditioned to respect elders and more often than not they consider teachers and principals as elders. It is a given in traditional Mi'kmaw society that the young do not question the information taught by the elders. Mi'kmaw children are taught by the parents and significant others to show respect to those who are older than

they. The questions are directed to the self and when an appropriate answer is known then that information is conveyed to the elders for verification. It is a scientific process.

The ability to solve problems collectively and individually by Mi'kmaw students is in all aspects of their life. Cummins (1996) indicates that collaborative relations empowers participants. The ethic of non-interference precludes that one does not tell a fellow Mi'kmaq what to do including children. This does not mean that there is no guidance.

f. Technological Competence. The outcome presented for technological competence states, "Graduates will be able to use a variety of technologies, demonstrate an understanding of technological applications, and apply appropriate technologies for solving problems" (PSP, p. A - 4). The underlying assumptions that all students in Nova Scotia, particularly Mi'kmaw students, will become proficient in new technologies while valid is not as easily attainable as stated by this objective.

The last two objectives on page A-5 state,

- demonstrate understanding of the impact of technology on society
- demonstrate understanding of ethical issues related to the use of technology in a local and global context

There will probably be more legal and economic impact of technology on society. These should not pose many problems for the Mi'kmaw students for they have been impacted by technology and ethical issues related to the use of it.

2. Essential Graduation Learnings and the School Program

The above heading appears on page A-5 of the 1997-1998 PSP. Based on the NCRP lens, it is contended that the text in this section is misplaced for it should be combined with the previous section 'Essential Graduation Learnings'. The reason being that more appropriate objectives could be drawn from the text and better connections would be made on human rights, social justice, global issues, diverse cultures, economics, curricular justice, and the environmental issues, to name a few. In addition, the text would have a much better flow and continuation of topic areas.

The NCRP also locates a contradiction here. The notion of partnerships espoused upon in the section 'Preparing All Students for a Lifetime of Learning' seems to have been

discarded. The PSP now informs us that these graduation learnings are a shared responsibility within the whole school community. The PSP (A - 5) further states, "Enabling students to use language as a tool for learning is the responsibility of all teachers..." The Mi'kmaw lens interprets this to mean that this is formal education and that parents are not seen as either partners or stakeholders. Granted it could be interpreted to relate to teachers in all subject areas; yet, another contradiction arises with the exclusion of the Mi'kmaw language. There are no definitions provided for either the term school community or teachers and no clarifications are made on this conundrum .

a. Aesthetic expression. The NCRP is in full agreement with the enhancement of subject areas with a variety of teaching aids such as films, drama, and poetry reading. There are problems associated with the example given for Mathematics relating to the design of aesthetic appeal to modular homes. The suggested Mathematical problem of designing "tetrahomes" then making a judgement call based on aesthetics can be contested on its grounds. First, it is all-well and good to look pretty but what is more important is the functionality and structure soundness of a home. Second, what are we teaching our children? Durability and form should not be separated from aesthetic expression for they are enmeshed.

The PSP (A-5) states, "...they are then asked to choose the home that is the most aesthetically appealing and design a brochure advertising the home." The brochure may fit the criteria of aesthetic expression; however, it is ridiculous, if not dangerous to teach Mathematics with this concept. That is to say, the students need to be informed when tackling this problem that there is a difference between form and function. The Mi'kmaw NCRP lens analyst adheres to respect for the environment and if these homes require modification in the near future then the notion of aesthetic appeal is redundant. There are implications on the drain of not only natural resources but also human and economics demand reconsiderations on the teaching approach given here.

The NCRP lens finds that there is exclusion of diverse cultural content not just in this portion of aesthetic expression but in the previous section. There is no mention for any insightful ways of incorporating or including art forms from the Mi'kmaq society

or the French, African Canadian and other ethnic groups that exist in this province. The NSTU (1996, p. 32) document states, "Like the ideas of citizenship, the problem of representation is a question of power and perspective, or more precisely, whose perspective and which kinds of perspective will be given the special status 'art'".

It also seems as though this section emphasizes art, mathematics and science as being the only subject areas capable of having aesthetic expression. Maybe it is because of the nature of Mathematics and Science with them often being considered abstract and lacking aesthetics that the authors of the PSP brought these subject areas forward. There seems to be a lack of certainty for the provision of aesthetic expression due to the wording 'providing students with opportunities' to develop awareness. One would like to think that services under aesthetic expression would have been mor than "the carrot on a stick syndrome". Then again, the NSTU (1996) document finds a problem with the inequity of access to instruction particularly to small rural schools due to lack of human resources and art materials. The NSTU (1996, p. 32) document states, "If aesthetic expression is an essential art of core curriculum then it ought to be equally accessible to all students in Nova Scotia".

b. Citizenship. The NCRP does concur with the global essence of citizenship while recognizing and acknowledging the atrocities inflicted on the Mi'kmaq by other global societies under the guise of civilization. To be a citizen is reckoned to be civil. This section trivializes human rights, social justice and human diversity by encapsulating citizenship in a political and value laden context. Whose standards are to form this civility? The NSTU (1996) did question the power and kinds of perspective that forms the outcomes for this EGL. The PSP (p. A-6) states, "Throughout the public school program, students are expected to demonstrate understanding of these notions and their effect on the world in which we live, assessing the strengths as well as the weakness of an array of particular situations". Indeed, the evolutionary aspect of the goal has merit but students need to more than understand human rights, social justice and human diversity. Mi'kmaw students need to experience the strengths. It is all well and good to put it on paper but to put it into effect is another matter. The term 'praxis' has not been evident within our

school systems. The PSP should have assisted the reader in identifying the characteristics of a just society. Regarding citizenship, the PSP merely states,

> It refers to human rights and the characteristics of a just society; to the impact of multiculturalism; to the forces that have made our towns, countries and the world what they are today and are likely to be tomorrow; to the environment that stretches between our own backyard and the furthest reaches of the atmosphere and beyond. (p. A - 6)

The NSTU (1996) document mentions the lack of socially grounded ethics from which students could draw upon to evaluate questions of rights, differences and ethics from a variety of positions and perspectives. The Mi'kmaq have only experienced the negative attributes of human rights and characteristics of a just society. The NSTU (1996, p. 31) document asks, "Which forms for injustice will merit consideration as discrimination of human rights issues? Will teachers and students be left to choose?" How does one explain to a wrongly imprisoned sixteen-year-old the significance of human rights, the characteristics of a just society, the impact of multi- culturalism and the environment that stretches and envelopes citizenship? What do you tell the alter boys who have been sexually assaulted by priests? What about the young offenders who have been sexually, physically and mentally abused at Shelburne and Truro? What about those contradictions that emanate from the Shubenacadie Residential School? This section is silent on these very important issues. Indeed, these points cut across the Mi'kmaq and dominant societies; however, "[A] Mi'kmaq student may draw very different conclusions about the nature of this system than those found by a middle class White child" (" 1996, p. 29).

c. Communication. The NCRP questions how the Mi'kmaw language can serve as an instrument for learning and as a means of communicating. It is all well and good to express the cognitive processes involved in communication; however, when one's thought processes are in Mi'kmaq and no enablers are available to serve as an instrument for learning to communicate. "When people speak in a certain language, they echo its vision, its peculiarities, its sense of importance, and even its sense of separateness" (Bernsterin, 1994, p. 266)

All too often the Mi'kmaw language is conceptualized by teachers, principals as a barrier to learning and communicating. Unfortunately, the majority of Mi'kmaw students and parents are in agreement with the teachers and principals. Not realizing how languages develop, the Mi'kmaw language is suppressed in favor of the English language not only by teachers and principals but by parents and members of the Mi'kmaw communities. "Consequently, in all subject areas, students need abundant opportunities to use language as an instrument for learning and communication" (PSP, p. A - 6) leads one to understand that language use is not as easy as one would like to think. Mi'kmaw students not having opportunities to use either the English or Mi'kmaq interchangeably stymies the functions of language. Suppressing the use of the Mi'kmaw language within a classroom environment by English teachers also stymies learning for the Mi'kmaw speaking child. The Eskasoni school board has adopted English as a language of instruction. The statement, "Through language we make our thoughts known to others" (PSP, p. A-6), is redundant for the Mi'kmaw student cannot do this if there is no Mi'kmaw speaking teacher or if a fellow student does not understand Mi'kmaq or is not present in the classroom.

The last paragraph under the communication heading articulates for us the variety of uses that language as an instrument for communication may serve. Recent legislation passed by the federal and provincial governments and endorsed by some of the Mi'kmaw communities did not recognize or affirm the Mi'kmaw language as an instrument for communication. Nor was the Mi'kmaw language embraced as an instrument for learning. Particularly troubling is Section 6(2) of Bill No. 4, a provincial government bill, which speaks to the transferability of credits for Mi'kmaw students to other Canadian systems. It is implicit in this section of the Bill that there will be challenges made for credit for courses earned by Mi'kmaw students in their home communities if and when they enter other educational institutions other than the newly formed Mi'kmaw systems.

d. Personal Development. Although there is a problem in the third paragraph with the words "confronting racism" (PSP, p. A - 6), the NCRP concurs wholeheartedly with the textual discourse in this section. It does not matter who confronts racism, there

is always an opposite reaction emanating from those who permit or practice racism. Softer words should be utilized here. In effect, it contradicts the first words the same sentence, "Students on their way to healthy personal development demonstrate respect for persons of different social and religious backgrounds, different gender, and different abilities from their own.." (PSP, A - 7). Considering human nature "[Some persons in school enjoy respect and self-respect, while others suffer searing discrimination and self-doubt" (Manzer, 1994, p. 8). Also, the majority of human beings do not like to be confronted. If they were made aware and knew how inappropriate their behavior was they may respond differently. Self-correction is a more positive effect. This sounds idealistic but it is better than confrontation. In addition, students observe and know when adults are not demonstrating appropriate behavior. This is an area where home partnerships are very critical. Parents know their children and their cooperation is required to monitor and enforce positive behavior. Johnson (1994) tells us,

> Native students come from an environment where, in spite of many social problems, they are still valued and treated with respect. When they first attend a predominantly Euro-Canadian school, however, they sometimes enter an environment that is at once aggressive, impersonal, threatening and even hostile. The effects of these changes can be devastating for those Native students who are ill-equipped or unprepared to deal with the problems these changes create. (p. 51)

Johnson (1992, cited in Johnson, 1994) articulated this in a different way,

> There is a need for Native students to become aware of personal options available to them that may impact on the way they choose to live their lives. There is a need for them to realize, understand, acknowledge and accept that change has always been and will continue to be a part of our human development and that people have always had to adapt to change or face hardship. (p. 112)

Personal development is such an emotional, spiritual, physical and mental conundrum. Every stakeholder involved in dealing with personal and civil issues should be equipped to resolve these issues with fairness, diplomacy, tact and above all with empathy or compassion. "Schools can provide cumulative creative experiences by which students not only open ways to future personal development but also realize now the satisfaction of discovering and using their talents to the fullest extent possible" (Manzer, 1994, p. 8). All

adults were young once and if they would just reflect on their own experiences, the world would be a better place for all. The NCRP totally agrees that personal development can and should present itself in all subject areas. Openly critiquing the content of all information contained in Nova Scotia schools will empower the future citizens of Canada.

e. Problem Solving. The applicability and examples given for this section are logical. The text is general in nature and concepts are most likely attainable for a majority of students. Yet, a problem rises in relevance to Mi'kmaw students. This section poses a number of problems for the Mi'kmaw child due to their inability to articulate in the English language. It is implicit that the Language Arts within the PSP relates to every aspect of problem solving through the English language. For instance, who is Hangar Shirley that is referred in the first sentence? What connection is there to senior high English language arts and the connection with pride? There is no question that the English language is the language of instruction and for problem solving within all Nova Scotia schools with a few spatters of French. The NSTU (1996) document notes,

> A variety of commentators have noted that the language of outcomes is the language of training, i.e. the language of solving other people's problems. The language of training has been conspicuous in the some of the Department's own strategic planning material material... (p. 41)

The attributes of English as a second language and its effects are silent or dismissed in this section. Maguire and McAlpine (1996, p. 226) state that "...the power of English is seductive, pervasive, and frequently associated with social and economic success".

It is noted by Burnaby (1980) that the children come to school with certain language skills. However, the majority of educators could not describe in grammatical or communicative terms the Mi'kmaw language skills of a normal five year old Mi'kmaq. Students from the lower socioeconomic class, African Canadian, French, and Mi'kmaw communities often are not able to comprehend, express, explore and respond in English as well as the middle-class for whom this PSP is written. Also, their confidence and self-esteem are at stake when they fail to articulate their views. This often results in within

classroom withdrawal or other personal problems. In a majority of cases it is a form of school leaving whether voluntarily or involuntarily or whether it is classroom withdrawal or school withdrawal. Dolan (1995, p. 234) states, "The students have found that one way to avoid the frustration of coping with the system is to drop out".

f. Technological Competence. The first paragraph for this section advises us that are two branches associated with technological competence. These are "how technology, society and the environment are interrelated, and how technology is used to manage information" (PSP, p. A-7). The NSTU (1996) document labels 'Technological Competence' as 'Another Problem of Access'. What is very transparent in this section is how "These outcomes, or essential graduation learnings, were not produced by the Nova Scotia public, they have been authored by individuals who remain in the shadows" (NSTU, 1996, p. 25). While reviewing this section it was obvious that it was written without considering students from the lower socioeconomic areas, let alone from the Mi'kmaq. The NSTU (1996, p. 42) document tells us, "The reality is access to most cutting-edge technology is restricted and circumscribe, principally by social class". The Mi'kmaw students do not have ready access to computers due to poverty, transportation problems and the like. This is also so true for rural students and students from lower socioeconomic areas.

Students will encounter similar difficulty as in the previously mentioned paragraphs with the information contained in the third paragraph. The NSTU (1996) document stated that it is tempted to add "when they become available" to this outcome, "will demonstrate understanding of and use existing and developing technologies" (PSP, p. A-4). Often these computers are only meant for specific classes. These are generally for Mathematics or Science. The last paragraph is just as unrealistic and fanciful as the third paragraph. It states, "Technology should be explored as a facilitative tool for students who face academic or physical challenges' (PSP, p. A-7). Two problems arise with the notion of technology as a facilitative tool. Just how does one convince the establishment when access is denied? What happens to those who are not interested or value computers? Nowhere does the PSP state what to do with those who are resistant to this essential

graduation learning. The NSTU (1996) document advises us that the Department has said little about those who cannot or will not do what is demanded.

3. Roles and Responsibilities of Partners

There are no subheadings in this section. The first paragraph is an overstatement for the notion of providing excellence in teaching and learning is not possible. One can strive for the best but may not always achieve it. The first paragraph states, "To achieve the goals of the Public School Program requires school and classrooms that focus on providing excellence in teaching and learning. Achieving this level of quality can best be done through teamwork where partners have meaningful involvement in decision making" (PSP, p. A-7). In actuality, striving for excellence is a Native ethic (Johnson, 1992; Brant, 1990). The text under the heading of 'Roles and Responsibilities of Partners' on page A-8 of the PSP does clarify who are the partners in education. The NCRP fully concurs with the second paragraph. It states, "Success in schooling begins in and is sustained by the home. The family is the centre of learning. Parents are the child's first teachers". (PSP, p. A-8)

More often than not most parents never relinquish this role of primary teachers. This is so true among the Native societies. After all, only a portion of life is vested to public schooling. Although parental teaching maybe greatest during pre-school years there is interweaving of their influence throughout the school years and beyond. This is why the third paragraph is so important. The third paragraph states,

> If students are to be successful learners, parents must demonstrate their respect for education and value its worth. Students should know that there are high expectations of them and their family, school and community will work together cooperatively to help them achieve these high expectations. (PSP, p. A-8)

This statement applies to every student in Nova Scotia. What is significant to the Mi'kmaw children is that some Native parents do not respect formal education due to a variety of reasons. Such as, their own negative experiences within a variety of school situations. It is not just merely because of the residential school as some authors (Christmas, 1988; Mallard, 1992) may think. Others do not value formal education for

they think that they do not need or require it. Then there are those parents who feel that education provides a cultural discontinuance rather than education in a broad sense of the term. Compounded with this lack of respect and value for education is the inability to communicate in English with proficiency. A majority of parents cannot read or write in Mi'kmaq let alone in English because of the low levels of schooling. This very often poses problems for the Mi'kmaw child with homework or school projects. These parents along with their children require gentle guidance and assistance on how to regain respect along with their children require gentle guidance and assistance on how to regain respect and value for education.

The last paragraph on Page A-8 of the PSP defers to the 1996 Education Act in the identification of the 'partners in education'. It states that the 1996 Education Act defines the roles and responsibility of students, parents, teachers, principals, superintendents, support staff and school boards. It essentially defers the roles and responsibilities of stakeholders to the Education Act. A summary would have assisted those who require clarification after all the heading is Roles and Responsibilities of Partners. There is no demarcation of the roles or responsibilities. The information contained in this section is very superficial. No sooner do we partially resolve one problem then another crops up.

Another problem that appears in the last paragraph for the NCRP in the last paragraph is the notion of School Advisory Councils. It would have helped the reader immensely had the text delineated the roles and responsibilities of the School Advisory Councils. The Mi'kmaw Education Council has been in place for approximately five years. Grassroots parental representation is also non-existent for it consists of educational personnel. Furthermore, there are no students within the Mi'kmaw Education Council as mentioned to be a requirement in the PSP just Mi'kmaw parents and teachers. The PSP states,

> A School Advisory Council is a legally recognized body composed of the principal and representatives of teachers, support staff, students,parents, and community member who work together in an advisory capacity to increase the quality of education being provided they the School The fundamental purpose of the School Council is to ensure that all students receive the best possible learning opportunities by engaging

> all partners in an ongoing process of problem solving and shared decision making. (p. A-8)

Suffice to say that these appointments do not appear to comply with the requirements of both the PSP and the 1996 Education Act. This change will occur when we all begin to accept our responsibilities and begin to examine more fully the contours of all oppression (MontureAngus, 1995).

Policies and Procedures.

As mentioned earlier the Policies and Procedures section does not come directly behind this section within the PSP but is located in pages D-3 and D-4 with its own headings.

1. Diplomas, Certificates, and Transcripts

The text in the first paragraph of this section commences with an exclusionary comment. On page D-3 the second sentence of the first paragraph states, "Beginning September 1997, there will be one High School Graduation Diploma (French and English versions). Beginning in September 1997, there will also be a French Immersion Certificate". The notion of two founding nations, French and English, are put forward at the exclusion of the Mi'kmaw and other Native Nations. Language wise it also excludes those who have completed language programs in Gaelic, German, Latin and Spanish. These courses are listed on page B-15 of the PSP. Is this an oversight? The 1996 Education Act for the first time in history had acknowledged and included Mi'kmaw education; yet, it is obvious that the words in it are worthless or mere rhetoric. A number of Mi'kmaw educational institutions located within Mi'kmaw communities, Wagmatcook and Chapel Island, have been issuing diplomas, certificates and transcripts in the Mi'kmaw language. Recognizing the problems and implications associated with the Mi'kmaw wording on diplomas, certificates and transcripts is understandable for it could be confusing for those seeking credits when pursuing post-secondary education. In any event, it is not legal under the Heritage Languages Act?

It is understandable that there could be a grave problem if a bilingual or English translated copy of the certificate or diploma was not provided. Nonetheless, Mi'kmaw

education had been our jurisdiction prior to the European onslaught and it is our right to have Mi'kmaw words on diplomas, certificates and transcripts. Our persistence and cultural survival has finally convinced and validated our rights as a people. This is not to say that the journey to achieve this position has completely restored our rights or erased all misconceptions.

The last paragraph informs us that the information contained in transcripts will be more uniform, informative and comprehensive. The NCRP has no problem with that; however, it has a problem with the notion of market driven or oriented curriculum. Most employers do not request a transcript of marks. There seems to be an assumption that they do in the last paragraph. The majority of employers are primarily interested in knowing if you have completed secondary education. Within Mi'kmaw communities, a person is only required to fill in an application form which generally leads to employment. Generally there is no interview only an announcement in the community newsletter. Selected people are identified along with their work areas.

2. Challenge for Credit

This section has the potential for educational, social, economic, and legal ramifications for all stakeholders. There exists a possibility of a clash between the provincial and Mi'kmaw educational systems. The Mi'kmaw communities have not been following the provincial guidelines under the PSP for a fair number of their courses. It is a form of resistance to assimilation and acculturation. On page D-3 the opening statement, "Challenge for credit provides a process for recognizing that a student has already acquired the skill, knowledge, and attitudes that an existing course seeks to develop".

This is a very broad all encompassing remark that could lead to challenges from a variety of sources. What is critical in this statement are the words 'has already acquired the skill, knowledge and attitudes'. Furthermore, what have administrators put in place to test these already acquired skills, knowledge and attitudes? How are they going to preserve the sanctity of the PSP when a Mi'kmaw student enters or reenters the provincial educational system from the Mi'kmaw community? Are they going to believe or take the word that indeed all the requirements have been met?

An area for debate has been advanced by recent federal and provincial legislation. Section 6(2) of Bill No. 4, a provincial government bill, speaks on the transferability of credits for Mi'kmaw students to other Canadian systems. It is implicit in this section of the Bill that there will be challenges made toward the creditability of courses earned by Mi'kmaw students from their home communities if and when they enter other educational institutions other than the newly formed Mi'kmaw systems. It is possible that the Canadian Charter of Right and Freedoms could be used to 'challenge for credit' any course that has been deemed creditable in the eyes of the Mi'kmaw educational systems. Then again, some Mi'kmaw students are experiencing problems in the recognition of the Mi'kmaq language as a second language within Nova Scotia universities. Presently, as it stands now there are courses being offered in Mi'kmaw communities that may not be perceived as acceptable by the provincial system. For example, Indian Brook is offering courses in Science that the provincial system may not recognize.

It is noted on page D-2 of the PSP that fine arts, languages, mathematics, and physical education exist as challenge for credit. Then again, what types of skills are to be enforced? Would the language component require reading and writing in Mi'kmaq or just oral tradition? Fine arts is a very broad based subject area; yet, the possibility of a challenge for a Mi'kmaw perspective remains to be explored.

3. Independent Study

The NCRP lens does not reveal any issues with this aspect of the PSP for possibilities exist for incorporation of a knowledge base from the Mi'kmaw communities. Since independent study could easily be value based "both teachers and students must be aware of what they do and why they do it. This involves developing the mind as well as the heart" (Gosh, 1996, p. 116). Then again, a problem may surface when students feel the need to explore controversial issues for there may be a lack of support and a lack of open-mindedness of teachers and principals. It is mentioned by Gosh (1996, p. 43) that, "[E]ducators such as Dewey and Friere have stressed the need for children to have the opportunity to value their own experiences, to feel part of the curriculum and of their education". Independent study certainly could open the possibilities of students developing

their own meaning as suggested by Gosh (1996) suggest. We are also reminded by Gosh that, "the classroom must be recognized not simply as a place for learning but as a site for resistances and negotiations, conflicts, and dialogues" (p. 94). The one and only paragraph in this section of the PSP states,

> Students may be granted one independent study credit in each of grades 11 and 12. Independent study credits provide an increased opportunity for individualization of programming and allows students to initiate and develop courses tailored to their needs, abilities, and interests (p. D-3).

Since these two courses are independent and considering the nature of independent courses, Mi'kmaw students have a variety of topics areas that they could choose from barring any resistance from the establishment. These topics may be in history, economics, law, family studies, and much more.

4. Locally Developed Courses

While this section does not refer to pilot programs or courses, it is evident that the information contained in this section pertains to pilot programs and courses. The first paragraph states, "Approval is required to offer a program or course not included in the authorized programs named in this document, as well as for the use of related learning resources and teaching materials not included in the authorized lists" (PSP, p. D-3).

This section, in fact, provides direction on the procedures and process of installing locally developed courses. The NCRP actually sees an opening for the offering of Mi'kmaw courses at the local Mi'kmaw community level. Many Mi'kmaw educators will naturally question and object to the top-down process of this process and procedures. However, some Mi'kmaq communities may balk at this suggestion for they would rather have courses completely based on Mi'kmaw knowledge. The notion of the 'missionary zeal' of knowing 'what is best for you' may be brought forth. Yet, the avenue or path is there to utilize as the Mi'kmaw see fit. This could be a vehicle to use to satisfy the needs and wants of Mi'kmaw education and yet not contravene Bill No. 4. This is not to say that this legislation completely embeds the Mi'kmaq in perpetuity to comply for Section 8(2) is

an exit clause, although it depends upon the political will of the powers that be within the Mi'kmaw society.

5. Progress of Students

This first paragraph of this section seemed to be directed to the schools boards. The PSP states,

> The Department of Education and Culture expects school boards to implement policies and practices that will encourage each student to make maximum progress according to his or her needs and abilities. Instruction must be adapted to meet the varying rates, patterns, and needs of all students from elementary through senior high school. (p. D - 3)

If there ever was an oxymoron regarding student progress this certainly qualifies. Considering the prescribed nature of the PSP and since all essential graduation learnings are required to be met by students in order for them to graduate this paragraph presumes a lot. "The notion of high expectations seem to be integrated with the ideas that all students can master the learning if they are given sufficient time to deal with the required material" (NSTU, 1996, p. 14). A strong possibility also exists in the holding back of students when teachers are expected to adapt their instruction to meet the needs of varying rates, and patterns of all students. This in turn affects the non-special students.

The NCRP has a problem with the redundant nature of the first and last sentences of the second paragraph. Bearing in mind what is stated in the first paragraph, how can the Department's programs and courses be utilized to assess student progress - let alone direct the school boards to review policies that reflect the Department's expectations? Then again, the NSTU (1996, p. 57) document tells us, "The Department has indicated that EGL's will not be measured or assessed formally".

The second sentence in the second paragraph states, "Schools are responsible for creating the learning environments that will encourage students to make maximum progress" (PSP, p. D-3). The NCRP concurs with the issues brought forward regarding school responsibility. Albeit, we have to remember that they can also create an environment when learning does not occur at a maximum and student progress is curtailed. Manzer (1994, p. 8) verified, "Schools can also restrict, stultify, and destroy

curtailed. Manzer (1994, p. 8) verified, "Schools can also restrict, stultify, and destroy individual creativity".

The third paragraph contains some errors. The paragraph page D - 4 of the PSP states, "To help students develop to their potential school boards would ensure that procedures are in place for the continuous appraisal of each student's growth. ...School boards are responsible for the placement of students within schools". It would be more correct to state that school boards entrust the responsibility of student progress and placement to the school principals and the principals in turn delegate to the subject teachers. This is not to deny that some boards outline guidelines.

On the second issue, it has been traditionally the principals with the assistance of teachers and guidance counsellors who have placed children in appropriate classrooms throughout Nova Scotia. In addition, subjectivity and informal evaluation procedures and processes by teachers are taken into consideration during placement discussions. These placement decisions are more precisely based than what the PSP stipulates. The last sentence in this paragraph states, "They should base their decisions on the assessments they have conducted" (PSP, p. D - 4). The students who appear at the doorstep of schools are not just those who have been processed through one school. Information from other schools is also used to place students in certain classrooms. Students originate from other regions of the province or from other regions of Canada or from elsewhere. Hence, it is incorrect to state that their decisions are based on the assessments they have conducted for they may not have carried out the assessment. Granted, some of those who arrive from different countries may have to be evaluated before entry in a certain classroom. The textual discourse within this section seems to indicate that the ghostwriters or the individuals who remain in the shadows (NSTU's phrase) were out of touch with school reality.

6. Student Records

The NCRP lens has no difficulty with "students records being confidential" as stated in the first paragraph of this section (PSP, p. D-4). The NCRP also agrees that careful explanation be given to parents or guardians along with its significance. However,

the second paragraph is a problem considering what was stated in the Progress of Students section regarding how the board is supposed to "encourage each student to make maximum progress according to his or her needs and abilities" (PSP, p. D-3).

The second paragraph under student records of the PSP states,

> Information may also be released to appropriate agencies with parental or guardian consent or with student consent where the student has attained 18 years of age. Students who have attained the age of majority (19 years) may legally request that the information not be disclosed. (p. D- 4)

The intention of the authors of the PSP is uncertain regarding the release of information. The key word here is 'may'. Considering the confidential nature of students marks the NCRP questions why an agency would seek access. What is considered to be appropriate agency? The NCRP questions the need and intent of this section other than being a legal protection for the administration and teachers.

Chapter 6

School Program Policies of the PSP through the NCRP Lens

Introduction. As we journey onward in a counter-clockwise direction we come across the next point of entry of the eight pointed star. The Northern Door's first pinnacle presents the next bundle belonging to the Public School Programs (PSP) that is situated on the first tip of the eight-pointed star. The unpacked bundle introduces us to the 'School Programs' along with its principles of learning and programming for the elementary, junior high and senior high schools.

Situated at the second pinnacle of the Northern Door is the Native childrearing practices (NCRP) with its traditional programs. Swinging the northern door wide open we find the theme Challenging School Programs. This block or northern door theme looks at the challenges facing the NCRP in the midst renewing the Public Schools Programs (PSP). Banks (1999, p. 26) tells us, "The Anglocentric curriculum will continue to be challenged until it is reformed to include the voices and experiences of a range of ethnic and cultural groups".

This challenging of our provincial education begins with how the Atlantic Provinces Education Foundation (APEF) and the PSP set policy to achieve their mission statements within the framework of the essential graduation learnings. The call for change by the APEF (ca. 1995) endorsed a vision to rethink the education our children receive, requirement of a balanced curriculum, distinct needs of each linguistic community and a common core curriculum which includes ethnocultural groups. However, not only did the PSP side-step the APEF requirement, it also failed to meet or accommodate the Mi'kmaw traditional programs which would have ensured that cultural continuity was maintained. The exclusion by the PSP of programs in family studies and childrearing are but two issues that has been brought forward in literature which could probably have led the way in the restoration of Mi'kmaw pride and dignity.

The title "Challenging Eurocentrism Through Interrogating the Epistemologies of Colonialism" in chapter three of Graveline's (1996, p. 67) thesis persuades this northerly direction of the eight pointed star to challenge the PSP's textual discourse. With this, we

now gain entry to advance and unpack the bundle located at the Northern Door. Discussion will focus on the challenges in dealing with what is perceived to be the Eurocentric and hegemonic curriculum.

School Programs

School programs is the major heading on this section of the 1997-1998 PSP. The content of school programs is located on pages B-3 to B-20 and consists of these readings: Principles of Learning, Elementary School: Primary - Grade 6, Junior High School: Grades 7-9, Senior High School: Grades 10-12, Programming for Students with Special Needs, Community - Based Education.

1. Principles of Learning

This sub-heading contain no textual data and serves more as an headliner for the learning principles.

a. Learning principles. The first paragraph on page B-3 states, "The public school program is based on principles of learning that teachers and administrators should use as the basis of the experiences they plan for their students". This sentence tells us the intent of school program and serves as a directive for teachers and administrators for it includes the terms 'should use'. It conveys a message that the school program is grounded on the principles of learning that teachers and administrators should use as the basis of the experiences they plan for their students. It is noted immediately that this excludes parent and community participation and contradicts earlier statements in the PSP such as, "Nova Scotia's future is becoming reliant upon partnerships and collaboration..." for a "sound education provided in partnership with the home and the community..."(PSP, p. v). Then again this should not be a surprise for the NSTU (1996) keeps restating how the curriculum is designed by 'a tiny elite group from the Department of Education' with corporate and political agendas. The NSTU (1996) tells us, "We were invited to respond then our response is absolutely ignored..." (p. 25) and "controversy has been avoided because the Ministry has successfully managed and controlled the discourse around student outcomes" (p. iii).

The PSP advances seven learning principles complete with a set of responsibilities

under each principle for teachers and administrators. There is no mention of parental responsibilities or what their contributions are supposed to be. The notion of home and community partnerships has again become rhetorical. It is also ironic that responsibilities for teachers and administrators are spelled out under each principle rather than objectives for students to learn by and for teachers to measure their success. The NCRP notes, "This is not a curriculum guide. It is the curriculum". One would like to think that since these principles are directed toward the students this should be a 'how to' for the students and not direction for teachers and administrators. Then again, these are responsibilities so they should have appeared under Roles and Responsibilities of Partners. Roles and Responsibilities were discussed in the Eastern Doors under the major heading of The Goals of Public Education.

On page B -3 of the PSP the first principle states,

> **Students construct knowledge and make it meaningful in terms of their prior knowledge and experiences.**

The analyst with the NCRP lens questions the intention of the PSP's writers for this learning principle with the notion of 'students construct knowledge". Whose prior knowledge did the authors of the PSP intend to build from while students are constructing knowledge? This learning principle most likely has merit for European culture but how is it going to interface with other cultures. One needs to question whose culture is being forwarded. Dewey (1938) put forth the notion of education being a continuous reconstruction of experience. This principle does not go far enough for the NCRP lens viewer fails to see how students from other cultures are to make continuous connections in this principle. The authors of the PSP needed to form some type of bridging or form a link between the Mi'kmaq society and school by thinking of formal education as a continuous reconstruction of Mi'kmaw experience. Cultural continuity is a major issue for the Mi'kmaq students. A study conducted by Dolan (1995) found that Mi'kmaw students attending provincial schools were concerned about the loss of language and the lack of opportunity to learn their culture. Enhancing cultural identity and heritage was rated 90.7 % as a need by the Mi'kmaw students. Although this study focussed on

counselling, it proved a lack of cultural continuity between Mi'kmaw homes and the provincial schools. This in turn demonstrates that Mi'kmaw students construction of knowledge is not meaningful in terms of their prior knowledge and experiences within provincial schools. This is not to deny that there is no cultural capital within Nova Scotia Schools. Weiler (1988) tells us that,

> cultural capital as the knowledge and modes of thought that characterize different classes and groups, with some forms of cultural capital have a higher "exchange rate" than others. In the case of advanced capitalist societies, those children whose subcultural knowledge most nearly matches the valued knowledge of the educational system will tend to be most successful. ...Thus the children of the dominant classes appear to be successful in school because of their natural intelligence, whereas in reality they rise because *they already* know what is valued. (p.10)

Using the lens of the NCRP there is agreement with Cummins (1996) when he mentions that students' prior experiences are seen as an impediment to academic growth rather than as the foundation upon which academic development can be built. The simple reason is that reality for the Mi'kmaq is a discontinuance of what was learned before. That is to say, if the provincial systems were to "...use student's prior knowledge for new learning" (Neito, 1996, p. 190) there will be connections between what was learned at home and school. If the intent of the PSP is serious then it would follow what Neito (1996, p. 190) says, "...[T]he language and culture children bring to school are assets that must be used in their education". Bear (1988) outlines five reasons why parent/teacher communication is needed. They are, 1) most teachers are non-Native, 2) Native teachers are unfamiliar with community life and may be acculturated, 3) Native teachers unquestioned acceptance of dominant society's superiority, 4) lack of Native-developed culturally relevant curriculum materials, 5) stereotypes and misconceptions confused with truths.

These needs exist among the Mi'kmaq as well. Non-Mi'kmaw teachers, who have Mi'kmaw students, could greatly assist their students to construct knowledge if they interacted with parents "...[S]ince a positive working relationship between teachers and parents is essential for proper education" (Bear, 1988, p. 270) of Mi'kmaw students. Non-

Mi'kmaw teachers should learn from parents on how to make links with prior knowledge and experiences. This parent/teacher relationship would also help the teacher to understand the personal nuances of Mi'kmaw children. In addition, the first principle is most likely culturally biased for the knowledge that teachers and administrators construct and deliver in school systems within this Province is well known to be Eurocentric. Although, the word 'Eurocentric' per se was not found within documents that refer to Nova Scotia curriculum there are documents that argue that the curriculum falls short on diversity. One such document is NSTU (1996) which argues the inappropriateness of the provincial curriculum across social difference which includes religion, social class, ethnicity, language gender, race and more. Other authors such as Christmas (1988), Moore (1983), Potts (1971), Ralston (1981) and MacKay (1989) provide views about Mi'kmaw education that allude to discrimination or prejudice in terms of curriculum and other areas.

The usual understanding of Eurocentrism is that of it being generally considered as a policy and practice used by Europeans to extend their rule over other territories. The terms to which we are most familiar with are colonialism and imperialism. "It is not necessary to devalue the standards of Western society, except insofar as they claim to be the only worthwhile standards" (Hampton, 1995, p. 37). Pauls (1996) advises that the government structure in Canada along with its economic philosophy and the educational systems reflect the dominant culture rather than the indigenous culture.

Based on this viewer's perception through the lens of the NCRP this follows the lead of policymaking described by Manzer (1994) as being an exercise of political thinking and political power. Mi'kmaw children come to school with social and cultural bundles comprised of language, values, customs and traditions. Kirkness (1992, p. 109) tells us, "Almost all contacts between teachers and Indian parents are made in the school, are demanded by the teacher, and have the purpose of informing the parent about faults in the child". Kirkness suggests that teachers visit the Native communities to see parents and she highly recommends that other occasions be created for contacts between parents and teachers. These types of interactions would provide not just knowledge required by

teachers regarding the students skills, behaviour, strengths and weaknesses; moreover, how to work in a partnership relationship with Mi'kmaw parents to provide optimum education for the Mi'kmaw students. This would also help reap the benefits in learning how "[A] culturally-relevant education can enhance the self-image of Indian students, especially when taught by culturally-sensitive teachers" (Bear, 1988, p. 274).

Because of the opening statements commencing on page B-3 for each and every set of responsibilities after each learning principle, "Therefore, teachers and administrators have a responsibility to" the NCRP has taken the stance that the PSP intends these as what teachers and administrators are to exercise or implement. Hence, this section raises questions on the implications regarding qualifications for teachers and administrators in the delivery of the responsibilities attached to each of the learning principles.

The first responsibility on page B-3 states, "find out what students already know and can do". This responsibility may have merit or standing for students from the dominant culture; however, it's applicability to other cultures is questioned. This responsibility raises questions relative to the abilities of teachers and administrators in truly finding out what Mi'kmaq students know and can do. The intent of the PSP does not seem to go far enough on how and when this is supposed to occur. For example, at the Primary level how much information can be extracted from a five year old Mi'kmaw speaking child. With certainty today's Mi'kmaw speaking students experience language pitfalls such as mentioned by one mother who told the Potlotek Education Board, "We did not know the difference between a simple 'yes' and 'no'". Only a non-English speaker would know just how frustrating it is to have some one talk to you and not understand them. This is not to say that English as a first language is advocated for Mi'kmaq or that it isn't done by some.

The second teachers and administrators responsibility states, "create learning environments and plan experiences that build on learners' prior knowledge" (PSP, p. B-3). It would probably be difficult for teachers and administrators to follow through on this PSP intent if they are unfamiliar with the Mi'kmaw culture. Teachers and administrators who lack knowledge of Mi'kmaw culture cannot build on Mi'kmaw students prior

knowledge due to cultural differences. The issue is not the goal; it is the lack of further statements about how to implement the goal. Neito (1996) reminds us about the social and educational policy of the 1960's regarding the deficit paradigm. Discrimination in every shape and form did not vanish with the 1960's for it happens even in well meaning and well-intended learning environments. Dei (1996, p. 47) states, "They are evident in the schools when, for example, student's home cultures and families are continually pathologized and blamed for creating academic deficits in minority children". Martin and Cherian (1999) describe a variety of situations where these are abundant. Martin and Cherian state, "Tales about the horrors of schools and the despicable treatment of individual children on the basis of race and class abound in the literature and in the cinema" (p. 115). To illustrate how home backgrounds are utilized as backdrops for discrimination and prejudice two examples are provided. Martin and Cherian (citing Anyon, 1981) states, "They're lazy. I hate to categorize them, but they're lazy". Another example coming from Martin and Cherian, "Teachers speak despairingly of children from 'broken homes' as having 'bad home lives'" (p. 115).

The question remains how did the authors of the PSP intend to resolve the implications of this responsibility. The teachers and administrators knowledge base requires them to know the differences between the school and home environments. Johnson (1994, p.37) makes note of this by stating, "The informal, non-threatening, nurturing manner of teaching found on some reserves differs from the formal, impersonal and demanding climate found in mainstream society schools". Describing cultural differences as deficits does not lead to receptive school climates. It is not enough to merely state that teachers and administrators will plan and create certain environments to coincide with prior learning. The PSP needs to recognize and present structures to enable teachers and administrators to carry out this task for those who are lacking in these skills.

The third responsibility on page B-3 states, "ensure that learners are able to see themselves reflected in the learning materials used in the school". The NCRP understands the key word 'ensure' to mean 'a guarantee'. It is with certainty that the same type of problems can rise as the second responsibility with the PSP's intention. The intent has a lot

of merit; however, there is no legal support either within the Education Act 1995-1996 or the 1998 Mi'kmaq Education Acts for cultural continuity of the Mi'kmaq. McCue (cited in the Halifax Herald 10/29/94) is reported to have stated, "All Canadians, with the exception of status Indians who live on reserves, have the right to determine their children's education". Then again, residence should not be a determining factor on cultural continuity of Mi'kmaw children. More often than not this teacher and principal responsibility will be ignored. Mention was made earlier on my attempt to bring Mi'kmaq poetry into the classroom. It is difficult for either the Mi'kmaq, the lower socioeconomic groups and African Canadians to see themselves reflected in learning materials. It is also difficult to take faith with words which carry uncertainty are used.

Information pertaining to the Mi'kmaq within schools is scanty and inaccurate for a fair majority of it is historical in nature. "Learning the history of the Micmac is important but so is knowledge of the present", says Sister Dorothy More, Micmac education consultant for the Department of Education and Culture, (Chronicle-Herald, 01/27/96). It is the Nova Scotia Museum that coordinates the information kits but they are still in the sixteenth and seventeenth century mode and used in today's schools. Sister Dorothy Moore is quoted to have said, "The kit helps students learn about Micmac life in the past. Teachers must bring the students beyond the past to the present in Micmac history, culture and languages" (Chronicle-Herald, 01/27/96). Initially assembled in the 1970's the Nova Scotia First Peoples kit revised in 1996 now includes a Micmac database with a unit on petroglyphs (Chronicle Herald, 1991-1997). Why it took twenty-six years to include the Mi'kmaq is perplexing? These kits are boxed in a Eurocentric way. The kit contains exotica - historical artifacts that include sweetgrass, porcupine quills, shells, eel-skins, hides, fur and flakes of stone tools that were compiled by non-Mi'kmaq. These do not truly represent the Mi'kmaq contemporary lifestyles. These require being located in the proper context and it is uncertain if any or many teachers can do that.

According to Joan Waldron, the information contained in the kit is so old that itpredates the Mi'kmaq (Chronicle-Herald, 01/27/96). What is most disturbing about the kit is the negation and the pervasive denial of the existence of Mi'kmaq. The Chronicle-

Herald (1991-1997) database reports that the Micmac [sic] emerged as an identifiable group in Nova Scotia within the past 2,500 years.

Regarding the fourth responsibility, "recognize, value, and use the great diversity of experiences and information students bring to school" (PSP, p. B-3). The NCRP lauds the intent of the PSP for this responsibility; however, the PSP has not completely accepted it on its own merit. First, it failed to commit itself to the vision of the APEF and its own philosophy of partnerships and collaboration as demonstrated in previous chapters. What measures has the PSP taken to ensure that the teachers and administrators are prepared and ready professionally to do this? Lets us not forget how racism and classism play a paramount role in the exclusion of experiences and information that Mi'kmaw children bring to school. It is noted by Wallerstein (1987) that people bring with them their cultural expectations, strengths for survival and experiences of social discrimination and life pressures. Mi'kmaw students bring to school the Mi'kmaw language, childrearing effects, cultural norms to name a few. These are not recognized to be of any value or use within Nova Scotia schools. The notion of play as an interpersonal interaction among Mi'kmaw students has often been interpreted to mean violence for the child.

The disrespect shown to Native culture is evident in prior and current legislation. Ralston (1981) mentioned that the 1842 Act which was intended to provide instruction for the Mi'kmaq "embodied the dominant white ideology that the Micmacs were to be civilized and assimilated to white society through education and instruction in the white man's language, discipline, customs, and way of life" (p. 484). This ideology is now carried foreword with the Mi'kmaq Education Acts which were affirmed and legislated by the federal and provincial governments. That is to say, that no provisions for either the Mi'kmaw culture or Mi'kmaq as a language of instruction are recognized or provided by these Acts.

The fifth responsibility on page B-3 states, "provide learning opportunities that respect and support student' racial, cultural and social identity". The NCRP supports this intent of the PSP for it is a social and curricular justice issue. It has value; yet, nothing can be identified here that supports or enables learning opportunities which respect let alone

support the Mi'kmaw student's racial, cultural and social identity. Peterson (1994, p. 30) speaking on social justice states, "A teacher cannot build a community of learners unless the voices and lives of the students are an integral part of the curriculum". The PSP does not go far enough in detailing how this is going to occur for the different cultural groups within this province. This responsibility also has implications for implementation for the teachers and administrators may not have the proper background professional-wise to implement this PSP intent. This was very evident when I completed a case study on the Mi'kmaq Cultural Alliance for a Ph.D. course. Often it is mere grandstanding or media glitz, especially when there is a threat to funding from contribution agreements.

The final responsibility for teachers and principals under the first principle, "relates to ensuring that students are invited or challenged to build on prior knowledge". The viewer behind the NCRP lens acknowledges that this PSP's authors intent can be valuable. The problem lies whether the teachers and administrators know the prior knowledge of students from other cultures. This responsibility certainly would be inviting and challenging for all not just the students. Johnson (1994, p. 8) advises, "the provincial educational institutions have not acknowledged to Native students that their culture has been recognized or accepted as being relevant (this includes taking into account traditional ways of learning and teaching)". Presently the building on prior knowledge is not happening for the Mi'kmaq. All new knowledge that they encounter in school is Eurocentric in nature. New courses, Mi'kmaq and Mi'kmaq Studies, that were piloted and approved focus on Mi'kmaw language and social studies are mere tokens. They are not part of the core curriculum. Furthermore, the Mi'kmaq Studies 10 course is not designed for the Mi'kmaw students but for the dominant society. The course is about the Mi'kmaq not for the Mi'kmaq. The above noted courses are mere electives and to add insult to injury there were no course numbers assigned just a grade level. This is also true for the Canadian African Studies for grade 11.

The second learning principle reads,

Learning is a process of actively constructing knowledge.

The NCRP lens analyst agrees with what the writers of the PSP intend for this

principle. The question is whose knowledge is to be constructed. Prior to establishing this principle did the authors of the PSP consider what implications may rise in terms of teacher and administration preparation both at the pre-service and in-service levels? It is not enough to just state this intent for qualifiers are needed as to whether other cultures besides the dominant society are going to benefit from knowledge construction. Although the NCRP agrees with it, this does not mean much to the viewer behind the lens of the NCRP lens when there is no delineation of what constitutes learning.

The first teachers and administrators responsibility under this principle states, "create environments and plan experiences that foster inquiry, questioning, predicting, exploring, collecting, educational play and communicating" (PSP, p. B-3). The intent put forth here by the authors of the PSP is an excellent one and the analyst with the NCRP lens agrees with it. The problems associated with this intent relate to whether it goes far enough. It should define what it means by environments for implications regarding implementation may rise not only in the classroom environment but within the school and the play-yards environments. DeGaetano, Williams and Volk (1998) mention that the physical classroom environment sends powerful messages to children about what is valued within and without school. One has to consider how the teachers and administrators are going to deal with personal nuances within diverse classroom and school environments especially during dialogue. Tenorio (1994) provides the subtleties of such nuances. Tenorio states,

> Sometimes it centered around a verbal put-down, other times it involved body language; white or lighter-skinned children would get up and move if a brown Latino or African-American child sat next to them. Life on the playground could be even rougher, and certain students would be isolated or ridiculed if they are different. (p.25)

Did the writers of the PSP consider this aspect on how interpersonal interactive environments may rise during 'experiences that foster inquiry, questioning, predicting, exploring, collecting, educational play and communicating'?The second responsibility on page B-3 states, "engage learners in experiences that encourage their personal construction of knowledge: for example hands-on, minds-on science and math; drama;

creative movement; artistic representation; writing and talking to learn". The NCRP lens viewer questions how relevant these experiences are meant to be for students from cultures other than the dominant society. This intent does not go far enough for personal knowledge does not necessarily mean cultural knowledge or connections. DeGaetano et al (1998) suggest two fundamental aspects regarding cultural continuity. The first is stated by DeGaetano et al thus, "When the messages given by the school are similar to those given by the other culture-transmitting institution, there is reinforcement and continuity of culture, resulting in harmony" (p. 10). The second is stated thus, "When the messages of the school are in opposition with those of the other primary cultural transmitters, there is cultural discontinuity, resulting in conflict" (p. 10).

Then again would the teachers and administrators have an understanding and be prepared to deal with such issues. Would the school climate or environment be receptive? For example, would a Mi'kmaw students personal construction of knowledge about aboriginal rights and taxation be included? The issue of personal construction of knowledge opens a pandora's box on just how much teachers and administrators are prepared professionally to implement and plan these experiences.

The final responsibility for this principle states, "provide learners with experiences that actively involve them and are personably meaningful" (PSP, p. B-3). The analyst with the NCRP lens agrees with this intent but questions the role and fit as it relates to other cultures. The viewer behind the NCRP lens questions if these experiences are individual or group activities. This intent does not go far enough for it does not mention how it relates to the Mi'kmaw culture. In order to make this intent personally meaningful the authors of the PSP have to go further by providing a pedagogy that connects Mi'kmaw home communities and the schools. Are the teachers and administrators ready, prepared and willing to attend inservice workshops to learn new instructional strategies that would execute this intent. Also, what implications for implementation and planning in terms of providing this has the PSP considered? What types are resources are in place? The third learning principle on page B-3 of the PSP states,

Learning is enhanced when it takes place in a social and collaborative

environment.

This learning principle has cultural relevancy for the Mi'kmaw for social and collaborative environments are standards. The viewer behind the NCRP lens recognizes both the positive and the negative aspects put forth by this principle. The positive side is visioned through the Native ethic of generosity/cooperation/sharing and certainly could be applied to assist enhancing Mi'kmaw learning in a social and collaborative environment. According to Brant (1982) this principle is couched on group survival. The question is whether teachers and administrators are prepared and ready professionally to not only understand Native principles but to link the two principles. The intent of the PSP has to consider the implications for implementation and planning of what most Mi'kmaw children exercise in their daily lives. Moreover the intentions of the PSP needs to be conveyed to teachers, administrators and other students.

An area that was overlooked by the authors of the PSP is the importance of school climate. Banks (1999, p. 48) cannot be disputed when he states, "Cooperative learning activities also have a positive effect on the academic achievement of students of color". This positive effect is in reality a side effect of social and collaborate environment. On the negative end of the spectrum of this principle a very unique problem emerges for Native students regarding implications for implementation and planning for this PSP goal. The problem lies within schools where social and collaborative environment envisioned by Mi'kmaw students is stymied for it is considered 'cheating'. According to Banks (1999) collaborative learning becomes a justice and equity issue. It is indeed a justice and equity issue for the Mi'kmaw children are bringing the 'ethic of sharing and cooperation' into the classroom. It is would be and has been very difficult for the development in the enhancement of learning in social and collaborative environments for a good many students of diverse culture in this province not just the Mi'kmaq.

The NCRP lens considers that learning enhanced through a social and collaborative environment could mean home-school liaison. This is a critical area for the Mi'kmaq that the PSP is silent on in this principle. In order to resolve the attendance, lates, cultural misunderstandings and other problems and fulfill the intent of this third principle the PSP

has to become a school leaver. It has to leave school and go home to rejoin the partnership discussed in Chapter four. The authors of the PSP need to consider the ways and means of alternative procedure for dealing with the implications for implementation and planning on how to deal with what the teachers and administrators consider as inappropriate behaviour of students. Ogbu (1995, p. 583) states, "...teachers and schools must change for the benefit of the students. They should acquire knowledge of minority cultures and languages for teaching minority children, promoting cross-cultural understanding, reinforcing ethnic identity, and so". The effects of inappropriate behaviour are generally suspension, expulsion or push outs. True social and collaborative environment in education includes school climate. Withrow (1995) sums it up this way, "

> The climate of a school makes a difference in the way teachers interact with students, and has a strong influence on student achievement and behaviour, regardless of a student's academic abilities and home environment. In a school with a positive school climate, students achieve at higher levels, despite adverse socio-economic factors, while teachers are more reflective and open to participation in the schools's operation. (p. 6)

The writers of the PSP failed to address the meaning behind "Learning is enhanced when it takes place in a social and collaborative environment" (p. B-3). The NCRP viewer has a problem with social aspect of this principle. The reason being is that social learning within schools means a process of development with the dominant society's values and norms. Douglas (1987, p. 181) states, "Relevant education both for and about Native people is possible". Very often the demeanor displayed in school among Native friends is similar to the conduct at the home community; yet, considered unacceptable for school, for there are problems when it comes to implications for implementation and planning.

The teachers and principals cannot meet the responsibilities contained herein for all students if the students are continually absent from class due to suspensions for behavioural concerns.. Two issues surface, first if learning is to be enhanced through a social and collaborative environment the teachers, principals and administrators cannot do it alone. Community connections are required with the parents or social workers of the community. Second, it is important to make connections for those students, especially,

those who thrive on suspensions and expulsions. How can these absent students see themselves as members of a community of learners if they and the system fail to make connections for them within a social and collaborative environment? Suspension and expulsion serve only as self-fulfilling prophecies for teachers, principals and the administrators.

A race relations officer advised that the Mi'kmaq and the African Canadian students are suspended and expelled from school with the pettiest of reasons. One example is smoking and there are school policies in place; however, there are no complementary policies to deal with it as an addiction only as a school discipline problem. A good majority of people in society including teachers and principals do smoke. Examples are set for these students and everyone knows smoking is an addiction. "The addiction should be treated along with the behaviour of the student", Gloria Desmond (Personal communication. March 1997, race relations officer, Strait Regional School Board).

The fourth principle on page B-3 of the PSP states,

> **Students need to continue to view learning as an integrated whole.**

This is a concept that the Mi'kmaw NCRP lens observer supports. Although there is no definition provided for the term integrated-whole – it seems to be understood in education to mean the integration of subject areas. Learning for the Mi'kmaq has always been bound into an integrated whole through the language, spirituality and culture of the Mi'kmaq. When Mi'kmaw children arrive in school learning is dissected into subject areas. For comparative purpose let us look how the subject area of language as 'viewed' in Native education. "Language both reflects and promotes children's cognitive-academic and affective growth. Language, then is the heart of subject-area teaching and learning, not a necessary evil to be relegated to a single daily class period" (Smith et al, 1976, cited in McCarty, 1988, p. 81). A view which the NCRP accepts as a view from the dominant culture is as defined by Seamon and Kenrick (1994, p. 250) "Language is a system of gestures, sounds, or written symbols that is used for communication". This illustrates

different worldviews on language. In other words, the synergy of all that takes place in the body, mind, and spirit is one concept of the integrated whole.

We make connections in our daily lives with every thing that we do. At the same time, we recognize exclusion in other social interactions. One of these social interactions is the school. Mi'kmaq are not provided invitations to apply strategies from across the curriculum to solve problems in real situations.

The fifth principle on page B-3 of the PSP states,

Learners must see themselves as capable and successful

There are eight teacher and administrators responsibilities listed for this principle. They all hinge on the psyche of students. This principle can work; although, it cannot work for all due to a variety of reasons such as, problems with self-esteem, self-confidence and cultural differences. The intentions of the PSP have merit yet there is no delineation on how this principle or its responsibilities are to be implemented. Since, it is the intent of the PSP to have students see themselves as capable and successful then it has to consider the implications for implementation and planning. The NCRP lens considers this principle as a backbone to learning for when a person's psyche is down it is difficult to be capable and successful.

The problem inherent with this principle and its eight responsibilities relates to implications for implementation and planning. It is very difficult for Mi'kmaq students to see themselves as capable and successful learners as posited by the fifth principle. For instance, the NCRP lens provides a window on a major problem with the second opportunity, "communicate high expectation for achievement of all students" (PSP, p. B-4). The notion of teachers and administrators communicating high expectations to the Mi'kmaq may not happen. On the contrary, the opposite may be truer. Mi'kmaw students are put down and not expected to achieve. Monture-Angus (1996, p. 48) tells us, "It is important to recognize the possible impact of our actions on another person's life. Even small words of encouragement can be the basis for significant changes in our life circumstances and self-confidence".

Historically, a good many Mi'kmaq were streamed into nonacademic programs

and told that they will not make it to university (MacKay, 1989). Although, adjusted programs that served 'special education' have been phased out - non-academic courses do still exist. For example, on page N-4 of the PSP, a Mathematics course is identified as being academic at the Grade 9 level while another is not. This results in the destruction of self-esteem and self-confidence with leaving school as the end result. The Chronicle-Herald (07/22/95) reported that only three out of one hundred school Mi'kmaw entrants graduate from the educational system. It also reports that it is mainly the mature students who continue on to university.

The sixth principle states,

Learners have different ways of knowing and representing knowledge.

Based on the view through of lens of the NCRP, there is complete agreement with this principle; though, very seldom are Mi'kmaw ways of knowing and representing knowledge acknowledged. How can teachers who do not know the Mi'kmaw diverse ways of knowing and representation of Mi'kmaw knowledge recognize, acknowledge and build upon them? "To assume that the aboriginal past or knowledge can be adequately explained from a totally foreign worldview is the essence of cognitive imperialism and academic colonization" (Henderson, 1997, p. 23).The Department of Education has developed the Mi'kmaq Series, however, this program is historical and pre-contact in nature.

The seventh principle states,

Reflection is an integral part of learning.

The time when students are encouraged to reflect or articulate their learnings occurs when questions are directed to students during a lesson. The Mi'kmaq society does not expose children to these kind of exercises. Anderson and Roit (1998, p. 46) states, "... that only in schools are people constantly required to answer questions to which the asker already knows the answers - an infrequent occurrence in actual conversations". This is not the norm of knowledge transfer in everyday Mi'kmaw society. Students are not encouraged to discuss or demonstrate their knowledge or articulate their learning as

classroom innovations. Hernández (1997, p. 111) expands this notion of knowledge transfer by stating, "For the student to take the initiative in requesting clarification from the teacher when he or she does not understand something is not common practice within all educational systems." Generally, Mi'kmaw students will seek clarification from peers and if the peers cannot clarify, the problems remain.

The authors of the PSP do not go far enough with any of the principles or the responsibilities attached to them for the teachers and administrators. If the intent of the PSP is genuine then it needs to consider and articulate its intentions in a more precise manner. It also needs to consider what the APEF advocated for ethnocultural groups. It needs to find out if teachers and administrators have the proper background professionally to execute these responsibilities. Most important it needs to assess the implications for implementation and planning and to provide guidance aupported by other actions..

The next step of this journey will address issues relating to program descriptions from elementary to senior high.

2. Elementary School: Primary –Grade 6

The opening paragraph for this section is misleading for not all programs are offered in every school. Language arts also means English language arts not French, Gaelic, or Mi'kmaq. Coupled with the non-offering of some programs is the dire shortage of materials within some rural elementary schools. Very often children need to double up within classrooms. It is interesting to note how the writers of the PSP refer to the second official language, French, of the students in the next paragraph. This is open for a variety of interpretations. For example, Mi'kmaq is the official language of the Mi'kmaw students not a second official language. Yet, no attempt is made to offer it as a viable option, in addition, very few schools offer Mi'kmaq Language Arts. With certainty this can also be said for Gaelic. The last line states, "Gaelic as a second language and Mi'kmaq as a second language may be introduced at Grade 3" (PSP, p. B-5) The words "may be" make access to the Mi'kmaw language conditional and no guarantees are offered so that Mi'kmaw children will be able to learn Mi'kmaq Language Arts. The same could probably be stated for the Gaelic. One would like to think that the writers of this PSP could have

been more sensitive to other cultures and reflected on their words such as 'may be'. The offerings of an extended or immersed language program relies upon a request for approval from the Department.

a. Learning outcomes Framework. This portion of the PSP could have been best located in Preparing Students for Learning section. This topic relates to all levels of programming and for all students not just the elementary. The reason being is that it describes the rationale for an outcome-based education. A NSTU (1996) document explored the origins, meaning and implications of the 'learning outcomes framework'. Needless to say that the writers of this document are not impressed with the designed down (p .i), force fed skills and content (p. 13), pre-formulated (p. 19), top-down (p. 21), elitist (p. 24), and hegemonic (p. 30) nature of the outcome based education.

b. Guidelines for Time Allotment. The lens of the NCRP finds problems here for a flexible time allotment is generally seen as being accommodative. Similar to the previous section this topic is misplaced for it applies to all levels of schooling not just the elementary.

Another problem identified by the NSTU (1996, p. 54) document states, "There are no plans for flexible time allocations for course completion but a Department spokesman reports that the issue of time, "has not yet been decided", although the Department is "definitely not using the Spady model"...". The NSTU (1996, p. 54) document raises this question, "How OBE might work without some flexible time component is another important question?". Or to think that it could erase all problems of performance (NSTU, 1996) for those students who require more time for task completion. The creators of the NSTU document suggest that flexible time is predictably a logistical nightmare for teachers. Furthermore, from the students stand point the NSTU document (1996) states,

> The notion of high expectations seems to be integrated with the idea that all students can master the learning if they are given sufficient time to deal with the required material. It is simply assumed that flexible time will eradicate all problems of performance. (p.14)

Considering the language differences and the notion of meaning most Mi'kmaq may not 'master the learning if they are given sufficient time to deal with the required

material'. What has been occurring for the Mi'kmaq is exactly what the NSTU (1996, p. 54) suggests, "A student fails because s/he has not achieved a required outcome in the requisite amount of time". The nature of the PSP follows what the (NSTU, 1996, p.16) describes as "...the entire theoretical apparatus of the OBE movement is premised on the ideas that it is not what goes in which is important, it is what comes out". The 'what' of what comes out for the Mi'kmaq is generally early school leaving or failure.

c. The Learning Environment Two key elements that are not mentioned in this section on page B-5 of the 1997-1998 PSP are the shortage of supplies and having an environment that respects diversity. One may question what shortage of supplies has to do with Mi'kmaw learning? It is difficult to plan a supportive environment for students when classrooms do not have enough materials for each student. Resources whether they are human, time, financial, or material have an impact on implementation and outcomes for someone has to go without when there is a shortage. The NSTU (1996, p. 47) document argues that "[W]ealthy White Anglo districts and their students will simply continue to benefit from unequal distribution of inputs like well-appointed schools, well trained teachers, and small class sizes (not to mention the middle class cultural capital that Bourdieu [1984] has argued accounts for the real difference in academic outcomes)". The result being that of what the NSTU (1996, p. 47) describes, "Consequently the select group will continue to perform well, and will continue to populate the universities and access significant positions of privilege". The NSTU (1996) document goes on to state,

> If all graduates will be expected to achieve...then all graduates should have access to similar resources. It is only fair, otherwise the expectation is onerous and illustrative of the real inequality which exists in this province at a number of levels, particularly in terms of region. (p. 42)

A critical aspect that is not mentioned in this section of the PSP is having anenvironment that respects diversity. This is very often the aspect that is not present for the Mi'kmaq.

d. Essential Learning Experiences. The lens of the NCRP agrees wholeheartedly with the first paragraph but problems are inherent in the delivery of varied learning experiences and choices within the structured program for the Mi'kmaw child.

Children do definitely have many things in common and have just as much uncommon. From the beginning of schooling and throughout their school years Mi'kmaw children bring to school their culture, language, ways of knowing and so on. They arrive at school from a non-structured environment. Schooling at the Mi'kmaw community level very often lacks structure and chances are excellent that they bring forward this lack of structure associated with Mi'kmaq schooling to the integrated schools. Being conditioned to free roaming or relaxed classroom management and the ethic of non-interference very often conflicts with the rigid structures of integrated classrooms. Mi'kmaw children do definitely learn and behave differently from the dominant society.

Program decisions do not reflect a knowledge of how these few characteristics of Mi'kmaw learners change with their growth and development. A fair number of teachers are not aware of the cultural differences between the Mi'kmaw child and the mainstream society. Language problems also contribute to the ineffectiveness of meaningful inter-actions with others in a variety of learning situations. The Mi'kmaw form of play is misunderstood by White teachers and it is often negated. Children within the Mi'kmaw society love to tease and torment one another. Each of them knows the limitations on how far one could go. Using the lens of the NCRP, there is agreement with the idea that schools have the responsibility to provide varied learning experiences to meet the children's diverse needs. Whether or not they take and accept that responsibility depends on the curriculum being taught. The school very often does not meet the needs of the Mi'kmaw child. Materials in school are not relevant to the life ways of the Mi'kmaw. Mi'kmaq is not valued therefore students get the messages that they are not valued. There is no sense of belonging, contribution or value of the Mi'kmaw culture.

As for allowing choices under a structured framework that seldom happens. At the elementary level children have no say on the curriculum or the materials they use for that is preplanned by teachers, principals and administrators. The choice of words used here makes one wonder what these choices are that children make on a daily basis. This notion of choices is brought forward again with the junior high program and the same questions are raised. Clarification is needed here on what the PSP means by choices. Making

choices and reflecting upon the decisions the Mi'kmaw students make are taught to them through the childrearing practices. What choices does it refer to? Does it mean choices in course offering within a structured framework? If indeed that is what it means then all students are being led down the garden path without any flowers. At the elementary level the curriculum is prescribed and there is no deviation from it.

In Nova Scotia there is too little consideration of what a child from a different culture brings. Most if not all children are put in classrooms and expected to perform the same tasks within a given time frame. The classroom becomes a melting pot or a blender of diversity into a similarity. Indoctrination to the dominant society's school culture and norms can then take place within the spheres of the school. In the higher elementary grades when Mi'kmaw children become more cognizant in the ability to generalize from their experiences generally fail to see any connections between home and school. In addition, what they read and learn in texts is not relevant to the Mi'kmaw way of life. School expectations to work independently is not conducive to their learning for they are accustomed to working with their friends. Independent work very often leads to lethargy whereas group work is stimulating and challenging.

e. The First Year in School This section appears on pages B-6 to B-8 of the PSP. A fair amount of this textual discourse could be utilized in other grade. The lens of the NCRP clashes with the notions of school or the primary program or the program having the ability to guide, offer, or recognize and be responsive to children. The notion of inanimate objects having this ability is impossible for the Mi'kmaq due to the inanimate nature of programs. It would be different if the primary child had the ability of reading and comprehending what was read. Then the driving force would be with textual discourse along with the teacher not the program. The lens of the NCRP finds agreement that during the first year guidance within schools occurs for children through transition from home to school; though, the NCRP lens clashes with the notion of schools providing a foundation for independent, lifelong learning. Partnerships with parents and communities are again in jeopardy. There is also complete agreement that what and how children learn in their first year in school will have a major impact on successful learning experiences in

school, personal development, and on their future participation in society. On page B-6 of the PSP the statement, "The primary program should,"is made. How can a program nurture, extend, foster, provide, promote, ensure all these experiences? It is the teachers and principals who should be identified as providing the services not the program. It is not a matter of semantics. Programs cannot carry out duties but teachers and principals can. Programs are inanimate objects and therefore cannot interact. This analysis will proceed with the understanding that it is people who will provide the services not objects.

Based on this viewers interpretation through the lens of the NCR questions arise on the use of the term 'nurture'. Teachers do not generally nurture for it is the parents' responsibility. Furthermore, teachers do not have time to nurture children as individuals with diverse needs and from diverse backgrounds. It is impossible to nurture each and every child in a primary class for very often there are over thirty children in a classroom.

The lens of the NCR concurs with the provision of experiences and challenges with early literacy and early mathematics. The reason being is that this is most probably ground breaking work for the Mi'kmaw child. There is a problem with the last two experiences on this list. The ability to promote positive attitudes toward learning will not occur for the Mi'kmaw child if there is no connection to the Mi'kmaw culture or if there is a negative attitude to the Mi'kmaq.

The remainder of the text in this section can be viewed in a good light providing that there is recognition and understanding that the Mi'kmaw child brings to school different forms of work, play, psyche, and some with the Mi'kmaw language. Some may bring Mi'glish. Then again, problems may rise when the Mi'kmaw child is invited to explore ideas, relationships, and knowledge through language the arts, technology, movement and play due to language conflict or interaction differences.

The first line on the last paragraph reads, "The program must recognize and be responsive to each child's prior knowledge, skills, attitudes, learning pace, personal traits, interests, and preferred learning style" (PSP, p. A-7). The program cannot do this for it is inanimate; albeit, the teachers and principals can. Then again issues were raised earlier regarding the different ways of knowing and representing knowledge and how teachers

and principals cannot know let alone recognize what is stated in the above sentence. Granted Mi'kmaq are recognized when they enter the doors of schooling but their culture is left outdoors for it is not recognized within the curriculum. Although the PSP states, "Learning activities must be flexible enough to be adapted and modified to meet individual as groups needs, interests, and developmental levels" (p. B-7). The issue remains as to how or what it supports.

f. Primary Registration and Preschool Orientation. The Mi'kmaw parents generally do not play any major roles in the registration and orientation of their children to formal schooling. Numerous reasons may apply as to why parents to do not partake in these processes. One major reason may be that someone else does this for them. Another reason maybe is that they just do not want to partake in a process that they do not agree with or do not understand. It can also be speculated that it is easier to have someone do this. It may also be a form of resistance toward sending their children away from the home communities. In order to have an increased parental participation rate for primary registration and preschool orientation the parents need to advised of the benefits of these processes.

g. Registration. The Mi'kmaq do not partake in orientation activities at the provincial schools. Parents do not generally respond to invitations to inform the teachers and administrators about their children. It was noted by the National Indian Brotherhood (1984) that an Indian child needs to be prepared and oriented before being thrust into a new or strange environment. It is uncertain on the number of Mi'kmaw parents who do not realize this phenomena.

3. Junior High School: Grades 7-9

The portion of the PSP appears on page B-8 to B-11. Similar to the prior section some of the textual discourse contained in these pages could apply to other grades. The lens or the eye of the NCRP notes that for the first time in the history of Mi'kmaq education that the Mi'kmaw language is offered as a course. September 1997 is marked in history when the language of the Mi'kmaq became recognized and fulfilled the second language requirement within some Nova Scotia schools. Using the lens of the NCRP

perspective, it is noted that the Mi'kmaw and the Gaelic languages remain conditional while French becomes compulsory in September of 1997.

a. The Learning Environment. The NCRP lens agrees that junior high students need considerable support to deal with adolescence and the challenges of the junior high program. This is a critical time for the Mi'kmaw children for a large number of students withdraw from formal schooling during this period. A fair majority are age grade retainers. Due to their age differences between their classmates they feel awkward and out of place.

A number of the features identified for a supportive environment at the junior high level are not available for the Mi'kmaw child. There is a lack of support for a learning culture oriented to high expectation, academic achievement and success for all students. If there is one it is for the dominant society. There seems to be an unspoken rule to remove Native students from education for teachers, principals and counsellor make it difficult for them. This hidden curriculum manifests itself generally by streaming Mi'kmaw students into non-university preparatory route. Connell (1993, p. 15) tells us, "As we all well know, the 'hidden curriculum' contained in the way schools treat their pupils is as powerful an educational force as the official curriculum".

The provision of opportunities for Mi'kmaw students to develop confidence and a sense of self-worth is relatively difficult to achieve given the limitations contained in the PSP. Very often a warm and receptive school climate is lacking for the Mi'kmaw students due to the hegemonic curriculum.

A feature of a supportive environment identified on page B-9 states, "Instructional contexts that reflect an understanding of adolescents' developmental growth; differences and commonalties; and concerns, emotions, interests, values and motivation". There has been no Mi'kmaw contexts within the curriculum at the junior high level of provincial schools to support the Mi'kmaw child. To accomplish this all subject areas need to include all that is stated within this feature. A token Mi'kmaw language course cannot fulfill the immense needs of the Mi'kmaw child.

As for collaborative learning contexts that invite social interaction, "[It can only

happen if teachers are given the professional freedom, time resources, and support they will require to develop this level of professionalism and collegiality" (NSTU, 1996, p. 27).

There is no provision for flexibility in classroom organization, methods of instruction or assessment to accommodate Mi'kmaw learning styles. These features are Eurocentric in nature with assimilatory goals. Teachers and principals who are not knowledgeable about Mi'kmaw ways cannot accomplish this feature in the junior high for Mi'kmaw students.

In terms of the next feature, 'respect for racial, ethnic, social, and cultural diversity and sensitivity to differences in gender, ability, values and lifestyles' this seldom occurs. Ramsey (1987) tells us,

> One thing that makes it hard for us to recognize our biases is that most people assume that everyone else shares their view of the world. It is difficult to see what we don't know and therefore hard to differentiate or own perspective. We base our judgments on our own accumulated experiences and often forget that they reflect our unique perspective not universal truths. (p. 42- 43)

An announcement such as 'Would all Indian students come to the gymnasium?' denotes racism. Remarks such as these impose an adrenaline rush, which lead to anxiety. This also sends a strong message that a wrong has been committed and that the Mi'kmaq students are culpable. One never hears 'Would all the English students come to the gymnasium?' Granted many Mi'kmaw students may and do contribute to their own isolation and problems their issues regarding racism in schools are real. All children to an extent do just that. Considering with what and how they contribute to their own plight Mi'kmaw students still need a sense of belonging to succeed in school. It cannot be achieved through the lack of role models within the schools and a Eurocentric hegemonic curriculum.

The assumption brought forward by the next feature, "opportunities for students to integrate and interpret their society and cultures with the school environment" (PSP, p. B-9) is a worthwhile goal. However, further elaboration is necessary. How can Mi'kmaw students, let alone any students from a different culture, integrate and interpret their society and cultures within the school environment with what is espoused by the

hegemonic curriculum of this PSP? Weiler (1988) indicates that institutions reflect the power of capitalism through their hierarchical structure, the nature of the hidden curriculum of rules and social relationships all tend to reproduce the status quo. These rules and social relationships embossed in hidden curriculum are very often problematic for the Mi'kmaw child. The consequence of this hidden curriculum is the destruction of self-confidence and self-esteem. "As the student's feelings of rejection intensify, self-esteem and expectations shift, and a negative self-concept develops. Eventually, the child rejects schooling" (Garcia, 1988, p. 9). There is no better way for a child to reject schooling than to destroy a student's sense of self or psyche.

The lens of the NCRP perceives grave problems with the next feature for the junior high program, that of the proposal for "an environment that upholds the right of each student and requires students to respect the rights of others" (PSP, p. B-9). While this is a valuable or powerful goal it requires a great deal more attention than a simple goal statement. The NCRP lens questions how this intention within an inclusive learning environment is to be administered in an equitable manner. In so far has having "models for democratic approaches to problem solving" (PSP, p. B-9) how and what approaches are to be utilized for the Mi'kmaw students. The PSP does not go far enough for it needs to spell out what democratic models it refers to. It also needs to consider how to provide support systems for Mi'kmaw students who are encountering difficulty in school.

The last feature is of interest to the viewer behind the lens of the NCRP. It states, "Features of a supportive environment at the junior high level include access to a range of resources including technology as a tool for learning" (PSP, p. B-8). What did the writers of the PSP have in mind when they wrote this? Considering that this is the level in schooling where a good majority of Mi'kmaw students withdraw from school one questions what these range of resources are? Generally speaking wood and metal workings are the only technology based program available in the Industrial Arts Technology program. Hence, it probably should include computers or other multimedia which would capture the interests of Mi'kmaw students; but this is not specific.

b. Essential Learning Experiences. This section of the PSP is located between

pages B -9 to B-11 inclusive. The first line under this heading on page B-9 states, "Schools have a responsibility to provide a range of experiences to meet the diverse learning needs of junior high students". The NCRP lens has a technical problem with the notion of schools being applied as animate or having the ability to take responsibility to provide a range of experiences. The NCRP lens posits that schools cannot be responsible only the school personnel whose roles and responsibilities are situated in schools are responsible.

Is it the intent of the PSP to have teachers and administrators in place who are ready and prepared professionally to 'provide a range of experiences to meet the diverse learning needs of junior high students' from diverse cultures? The PSP does not go far enough in detailing its intentions. It has to mention whether or not its intentions include pre-service and inservice training for teachers and administrators.

Under this section are three sets of bulletted items. The first set are learning experiences, the next set are learning opportunities and the third set are multiple learning opportunities. The second set specifically targets junior high. The NCRP lens detects a bias with all of the learning experiences identified in the first set or grouping. On page B-9 the PSP states, "Program decisions must reflect a knowledge of,

- the principles of learning
- curriculum outcomes
- ways to construct appropriate learning experiences that enable students to achieve those outcomes
- the diversity of adolescent developmental patterns
- the diversity of students' abilities, interests, and maturity
- the interaction among teaching styles, instructional strategies, and learning styles

Whose knowledge is involved for these learning experiences? McLaren (1989, p. 160) forwarded the notion that "schooling always represents an introduction to, preparation for, and legitimation of particular forms of social life". Inclusion of learning experiences from other cultures would be best rather than presenting one ethnocentric curriculum. The intent of the PSP in presenting a monolithic form of knowledge needs to be weighted against a more balanced curriculum that includes other Nova Scotia cultures. Die (1996, p. 82) states, "The danger of Eurocentricity is that its is the only centre; it is

presented as the only valid knowledge form through the constant devaluation and delegitimation of other forms of ideas". The NCRP argues for the inclusion of Mi'kmaw funds of knowledge to assist in balancing the present curriculum. Dolan (1995, p. 237) reported, "those attending provincial schools showed greater concern about the loss of language and lack of opportunity to learn the traditional culture". Battiste (1990) suggested a number of possibilities for the incorporation of Social Studies. Battiste's preliminary work includes thematic units from kindergarten to grade eight; albeit, the reader is warned that some of topics identified are not relative to the Mi'kmaq. The NCRP has reservations regarding the implications for implementation and planning in terms of the readiness and preparedness of teachers and administrators. The intentions of the PSP need to be made clear on it intends to resolve the issue of inclusion and cultural relevancy for the Mi'kmaq and other cultures such as the African Canadians.

The NCRP lens inquires whose principles of learning are accorded status. The NCRP lens questions just how relevant these principles of learning are for the Mi'kmaq. Mi'kmaw learning principles and rules of behaviour are known to the Mi'kmaw parents and are never directly stated to the children. In contrast, behaviour objectives are stated to the students within provincial schools. Brant (1990, p. 537) mentions that, "Rules can never be stated, for to do so would interfere with the individual's right to behave as he sees fit". Is it the intent of the PSP to have teachers and administrators become familiar with Mi'kmaw principles of learning through pre-service and inservice workshops or other modes of professional development? How then does the PSP grapple with implications for implementation and planning for preparation in professional development? Did the writers of the PSP intend to include consultion with the Mi'kmaq to ensure proper forms of principles for learning are included for professional development? The NCRP lens raises concerns as to whether or not appropriate principles of learning would be established for the Mi'kmaq.

The notion of "curriculum outcomes" (PSP, p. B-9) and their knowledge is understood by the NCRP lens to emanate from content that is not relevant or related to Mi'kmaw society. This intent does not go far enough for the PSP needs to mention from

whose culture that these outcomes will be drawn. The NCRP lens viewer understands this to mean that the intent established by the PSP does not necessarily meet the expectations or requirements needed within the Mi'kmaw frame of reference or worldview. It is important to keep in mind that very often the development of curriculum outcomes are extracted from text books and may not resemble the societies being taught. O'Leary (1995, p. 28) tells us, "Many times, educational outcomes are a byproduct of cultural differences and expectations, factors that seem to lie beyond the classroom".

The PSP's writers intentions did not include or reflect other cultures such as African Canadian or Mi'kmaw cultures. More important the intent of the PSP fails to express it plans the implications for implementation and planning to have teachers and administrators involved in pre-service and inservice training regarding the development of curriculum outcomes from other cultures. This is not to deny that curriculum outcomes have been developed for Mi'kmaq Studies 10; yet, some are not relative to Mi'kmaq. The medicine wheel is not part of the Mi'kmaw society for it belongs to the Plains people and it is inappropriate to include it in any Mi'kmaw studies curriculum except for comparative purposes. One example in Nova Scotia Education and Culture (1998, p.7) states, "Students will be expected to explore traditional Mi'kmaq beliefs as represented in the Medicine Wheel and anticipate the ways in which the circle concept can guide their studies of First Nations peoples". The issue is now whether the intent by the authors of the PSP's for curriculum outcomes will focus on Mi'kmaw culture considering the experience with Mi'kmaw Studies 10? The question remains whether the intentions of the PSP will follow the lead of the APEF and entertain or seriously consider these areas for the development of curriculum outcomes relative to the Mi'kmaq.

This NCRP lens asks what and whose "ways to construct appropriate learning experiences that enable students to achieve those outcomes" (PSP, p. B-9) are to be considered. The importance of basing the learning experiences from ethnocultural groups within the common core curriculum was known to the APEF. Hence, the intentions of the PSP authors should have been more clear from where they were constructing the learning experiences. Die (1996, p. 113) suggests, "The formal school should therefore aim for

some continuity between the learning that takes place in multiple places". These multiples places of appropriate learning experiences can be drawn from a variety of other Nova Scotia ethnic groups. We can also learn from lessons like what Whidden (1995) describes,

> In spite of a strong native presences at Hants East for the past 30 years, little would reveal to a visitor that 10 percent of the school population was Mi'kmaq. Native and white did not mix in the halls, and former native students would later tell people that 'we were never a part of it'. In the first 15 years, our school did not graduate a single native student. Racial graffiti and slurs were all too much a part of daily experience for many Mi'kmaq. (p. 20)

Other ways to construct knowledge are also provided by Blais (1995), O'Leary (1995) and many more in the Spring 1995 edition of the Aviso.

The NCRP lens holder agrees that program decisions must reflect a knowledge of the "diversity of adolescent developmental patterns" (PSP, p. B-9). According to Marshall (n. d.) children in the Mi'kmaw world experience traditional socialization patterns. Is the intent of the PSP to identify and provide essential learning experiences that reflect Mi'kmaw adolescent development patterns Are the teachers and administrators ready, willing and prepared professionally to do this? Is there a system in place or will it be put in place to provide professional development for those teachers and administrators who require exposure to diverse adolescent patterns? A suggestion mentioned by Johnson (1994) although intended for students would provide interaction of teachers and administrators with Native students. Johnson states,

> There is also a need for Native students to learn more about the culture of Euro-Canadian society before entering its schools. For example, workshops for students in transition to Euro-Canadian schools can help Native students to become aware of some of the pronounced cultural differences they can expect to encounter in the upcoming year and help coach them in strategies and methods that will enable them to deal with these challenges with less stress. There is a need for education departments to ensure the materials, curriculum and teaching methods being used are 'culture friendly' (p. 120)

The NCRP lens argues for the establishment of programming decisions that reflect a knowledge of "the interaction among teaching styles, instructional strategies, and learning styles" (PSP, p. B-9) of Nova Scotia's cultural groups. Gollnick and Chinn (1998,

p. 316) state, "Educators need to develop strategies to overcome negative expectations they may have for certain students and plan classroom instruction and activities to ensure success for all students". The Mi'kmaw students are experiencing difficulty within this province's schools. Dolan (1995) found that 76% of Mi'kmaw students identified a need for remedial support. In order to meet the remedial support of Mi'kmaw students does the PSP intend to offer inservice and preservice training to look at innovative ways the interaction among teaching styles, instructional strategies, and learning styles would remedy this need for remediation. It is critical that "[T]eachers must figure out strategies to ensure that they do not further exacerbate students' feelings of low esteem" (Gollnick and Chinn 1995, p, 67).

The terminology is changed for this portion of the essential learning experiences. They now have become opportunities. There are six bulletted opportunities for students listed on page B-9 after this quotation, "The junior high program must provide opportunities for students to" (PSP, p. B-9) and the NCRP will follow them sequentially. These are in effect behaviour objectves for they follow Bloom's taxonomy.

Because of new structures within schools it is difficult for Mi'kmaw students to work under the (1st learning opportunity) develop and use strategies for organizing and planning their learning (PSP, p. B-9). It is difficult to carry out these opportunities especially now due to the elimination of free periods or study periods within many Nova Scotia schools. The need for practical assistance identified by Dolan (1995) suggests that some Mi'kmaw students have not developed and used strategies for organizing and planning their learning. This is in contrast to how they function within their own communities. Dolan found 81.3% of the students in her study who needed academic support. Remedial periods or study periods would greatly help in providing this service.

For the Mi'kmaw students to (2th learning opportunity) "gain independence or take responsibility for their own learning" (PSP, p. B-9) is generally not a problem within their home communities. The common childrearing practices of the Mi'kmaq stresses that the Mi'kmaw child gain greater independence by taking increasing responsibility for their own learning and behaviour. With that being said, how do the authors of the PSP intend to

learning and behaviour. With that being said, how do the authors of the PSP intend to narrow the cultural divide between the two cultures. Ogbu (1995) states,

> ...involuntary minorities may consciously or unconsciously interpret school learning as a displacement process detrimental to their social identity, sense of security ans self-worth. They fear that by learning the White cultural frame of reference they will cease to act like minorities and lost their identity as minorities and their sense of community and self-worth. (p. 587)

This is the problem facing many First Nations in Canada. The students engage their autonomy or self-reliance and take the responsibility for their own learning by no longer wanting to engage in further acculturation. This is the largest form of resistance.

For the Mi'kmaq to (3rd learning opportunity) "engage in learning experiences that vary from hands-on to more abstract activities" (PSP, p. B-9) an important aspect comes to mind. Depending how one looks at this opportunity and the notion of switching from hands-on to abstract or abstract to hands-on could pose great difficulties for the Mi'kmaw students. DeGaetano, Williams and Volk (1998) state,

> In some cultures, neither adults nor children try out new skills in front of others before they feel the can perform pretty competently. Making mistakes in public - in front of their peers and teacher - is not considered a 'learning experience'. (p. 60)

Further problems would come about if the teacher directs questions to any Native child who is not ready and prepared to provide an answer. They would rather withdraw.

As for Mi'kmaw students (4th learning opportunity) "becoming aware of and use opportunities for learning that exist outside the school" (PSP, p. B-9) difficulties may rise. There is one area that is problematic for the Mi'kmaw child and that is homework. Dolan (1995) found handling school and homework as the third major area in need of service. The customarily setting down of homework presupposes that schoolwork can be easily done at home (Connell, 1993). The PSP authors failed to address how to work around this troubling area for the Mi'kmaw students. LeCain (1995, p. 22) states, "When it comes to the enrichment of academic stimulants, areas outside the classroom have been neglected".

In order for the Mi'kmaw students to (5th learning opportunity) "enhance their

understanding of how various areas of learning are interrelated" (PSP, p. B-9)connections are often necessary to their culture.

For Mi'kmaw students (6th learning opportunity)" to engage in diverse interactions with adults and their peers in curriculum-based contexts that foster the development of interpersonal skills and social maturation" (PSP, p. B-9) requires social and collaborative environments. Very often educators overlook one of the most enriching areas that help promote interpersonal and social maturation skills. The domain of play or freedom from the classroom invites observations of interpersonal and social interaction skills that often have impacts on student learning. LeCain (1995, p. 22). tells us, "Another area that some teachers might see as improbable settings for academic exchange would be play areas (playground/school yard, multipurpose rooms, etc) during recess or lunch hour". Extensive lessons are learned not only by students but by teachers and administrators that can be brought back into the classroom for discussion.

The lens of the NCRP suggests that there does not seem to be any rationale drawn to separate this last aspect of the essential learning experiences from the previous portion other than it being referred to as multiple. All learning experiences are generally multiple or supposed to be multiple within the school. It is very often distressing for the Mi'kmaq to "meet the expected learning outcomes" (PSP, p. B-9) when there is a lack of support within the school and home environments.

Time constraints do not allow the students to "explore rich and stimulating ideas" (PSP, p. B-9). When they "engage their emotions, their imaginations, and their intellects" (PSP, p. B-9) they encounter a multiple variety of barriers. First, Mi'kmaw students are not allowed to explore their rich and stimulating ideas from their culture for this deviates from the prescribed curriculum. Consequently, it is extremely hard on the Mi'kmaw student for it often includes the stymie of Mi'kmaw funds of knowledge.

In terms of engaging "actively in a variety of purposeful and meaningful learning experiences" (PSP, p. B-9) many Mi'kmaw students are fearful to do a project relating to their culture. They fear being ridiculed or having their culture negated by unreceptive teachers and student peers. At best their class projects will barely receive passing grades

for they would be deemed not relevant to the Eurocentric curriculum. This is due to the research topics being pre-selected by the teachers. In effect, the policies lead in an appropriate positive direction but additional clarification is necessary to enable Mi'kmaw learners to benefit from the opportunities offered in the goal.

For the Mi'kmaw child to "articulate their own learning needs" (PSP, p. B-9) requires support and removal of both language and cultural barriers. This is also true with reference to the PSP goal that children will "work independently and use self-directed learning approaches" (PSP, p. B-10).

Having Mi'kmaw student "learn with and from one another in a variety of groups" (PSP, p. B-10) is not a problem. Very early in the lives of the Mi'kmaw children they are taught how to work independently and use self-directed learning approaches. The problem at school lies in the encountering of knowledge that is different and contrary to the home environment. The Mi'kmaw child also learns early in life to learn with and from others in a variety of groups. An important aspect related to learning with and from another groups is described by a teacher from East Hants.. Whidden (1995, p. 21) states, "We knew that many non-native elementary students, who have been exposed to the racist stereotyping of natives, feared coming to our school". Of note, Whidden, I believe refers to the Mi'kmaw students from Shubenacadie Elementary School which is one of the feeder schools for East Hants.

On many occasions it is a problem for Mi'kmaw students to "Use language across the curriculum to facilitate learning" (PSP, p. B-10). The ability to use English as a learning tool across the curriculum poses many problems for the Mi'kmaw child. Many students will have difficulty articulating in English what they know. If a Mi'kmaw child's first language is Mi'kmaq then they would have greater difficulty than his peers whose first language is English. No matter what the forms of discourse are, be they reading, writing or speaking, problems in English will surface for the Mi'kmaw child.

As far as being able to "relate new learning to prior knowledge and experiences" (PSP, p. B-10) and requires capable teaching coupled with a non hegemonic curriculum. No doubt that if capable teachers provide the Mi'kmaw students with concepts on how to

make "interdisciplinary connections" (PSP, p. B-10) they would succeed in this endeavor. The PSP is unclear relates to the goal making "choices within a structured framework and reflect upon the appropriateness of those choices" (PSP, p. B-10). An important goal for Mi'kmaw is to "develop a work ethic and further understanding of career opportunities" (PSP, p. B-10). The lack of access to employment off-reserve stymies advancement to higher education that could potentially lead to careers in a higher position than welfare dependence.

The NCRP lens agrees with the opportunity to "build self-esteem in meaningful ways" (PSP, p. B-10). This will need to address a multiplicity of issues to help deal with racism or stereotypical behaviour. As well as the opportunity to "explore multiple pathways to learning as they work toward achievement of the expected learning outcomes" (PSP, p. B-10) should be positive for the Mi'kmaw child. The final opportunity, "reflect on what and how they have learned" (PSP, p. B-10) again is a positive goal that could benefit from enforced specificity.

c. Guidelines for Time Allotments. The information contained in this section is not about time tabling guidelines but more about the outcome based curriculum espoused by the PSP. For example, the first item states, "School schedules and decisions regarding time allotments for each course should allow for a focus on student learning and achievement of expected learning outcomes". The NSTU (1996, p. 54) tells us, "For teachers, time is an important working condition issue". Similar to the previous section this topic is misplaced for it applies to all levels of schooling not just the elementary. An interesting point raised by Johnson (1994, p. 49) states, "Since many Native students' conception of time is that it is endless, they may ask how one can run out of it?" The concept of time not only differs within Mi'kmaw society but then to allot it is another matter.

All a schedule does is identify the period and a course with a topic area. There is nothing here to accommodate students who have been sick or on suspensions to make up lost time due to the elimination of study or free periods. The PSP is silent on the provision of guidelines for alternative means to deal with the issue of suspension.

Remedial periods used to enable those students who were having difficulty in assisting them to expand their learning needs. This is the type of guidelines that one should encounter here but there are no real guide- lines provided in this section.

Based on the interpretation by this Mi'kmaq's view through the lens of the NCRP there is agreement that it is the school's responsibility to design schedules appropriate for all students; however, there is again a problem of the inanimate or non-living nature of the school. In addition, there is no mention here of the general scheduling of classes within the provincial system. All schools generally utilize a specific number of daily periods without variation throughout the week. The periods are usually forty-five minutes long aside from the lunch hour and they are cyclic in nature. Once these schedules are put in place usually by department heads in consultation with the administration they are pretty well carved in stone until the next year. This brings us back to page B-9 with the second items down on the list of opportunities and multiple opportunities. They are, "gain greater independence by taking increasing responsibility for their own learning" and "explore rich and stimulating ideas" (PSP, p. B-9). How can any student, let alone a Mi'kmaw student, gain greater independence by taking increasing responsibility for their own learning or to explore rich and stimulating ideas when there is a schedule that is carved in stone? Furthermore, how, and when is the teacher going to find time to allow for the learning needs of individual students? Does this mean that a student is removed from the program to achieve this?

The third item on this list, "opportunities for meaningful integration of curriculum" (PSP, p. B-10) relates to the allowing of opportunities for meaningful integration of curriculum. This should not be a problem if teachers were able to practice this.

Mi'kmaq are part of the school community; yet, very often they are excluded.

> The Euro-Canadian students received a strong message that Natives Studies was 'Not part of the curriculum' during an inquiry regarding the need for a Native Studies course within their school. The students were inspired and determined to take action where the School Board and the Department of Education had failed to provide a guarantee of Native control and inclusion of Native curriculum". (Johnson, 1995, p. 23)

Mi'kmaq have been and are still excluded in the planning stages of school activities and in subject areas. Indeed, Mi'kmaq are seldom invited as resource except for the token Mi'kmaw month of October.

4. Senior High School: Grades 10-12

The information contained in this section is not very helpful to evaluate from the NCRP lens standpoint. It is only the first two paragraphs that are worthy for discussion for the remainder describes course numbering and it is not relevant to the thesis.

The first paragraph mentions how a student is awarded a high school diploma when all requirements have been met. A good majority of Mi'kmaw students do not reach this level. A vast majority have either withdrawn or failed in a variety of ways.

The first line of the second paragraph states, "Each school should make available to all students patterns of courses appropriate to their needs" (B-11). This is quite a statement. The next sentence on page B-11 states, "The counselling and teaching staffs should help each student select courses that both meet the entry requirements of the post-secondary education or employment choice of the student,
and that help him/her develop broader personal interests and abilities". Bowers (1998) provides us with a very provocative story. Bowers states,

> In the spring when I was in Grade 9, I had to make course selections for High School. My first cousin, ...and I were sent to the guidance office to make course selections. My expectations were shattered when she told us that we were not smart enough to take academic courses and that we should register for the general program. ...Both of us accepted her word as gospel and did as she advised. (p. 4)

While this is an admirable goal, it requires additional supports in order for it to become a reality. However, as a goal it is a desirable starting point.

The remainder of the text from hereon end relates to what is considered high school credit and what courses are required to earn a High School Graduation Diploma. It notes that 18 credits are required to graduate but students are encouraged to take 24 credits. Considering that there is no accommodation for Mi'kmaw culture in any of these credits then is it not possible to transform these extra credits by making them more

relevant to the First Peoples of this province. This would certainly provide a better probability for success for the Mi'kmaw student due to enabling them with programming that is more relevant to the Culture. At this time there is only the elective token Mi'kmaq Studies course. Even then, this Mi'kmaq Studies course is an add-on for it was an afterthought to pacify the Mi'kmaw politicians. According to the PSP on page C-14, the Mi'kmaq Studies 10 is about the Mi'kmaq and not for them.

One would think that it would be logical to extend the language courses initiated in the Junior High School to the Senior High School. The Mi'kmaw language is dropped at senior high but French and Gaelic are retained and continued to grade twelve. Contemplating what is being offered in the way of the course offerings for the Senior High School a probability exists that Mi'kmaw culture could be included quite easily and readily within all subject areas.

5. Programming for Students with Special Needs

There are five subheadings under this category of the PSP. Only the subheading 'Parental Involvement' is significant in this section for this analysis. However, a real concern exists in placing cultural issues under the topic of Special Needs Historically, special education meant the *deficit model.* Under this model were students from cultures such as the French, Irish, African American/Canadian, the First Peoples of Canada. That is, any culture besides the English.

The Section on parental involvement is significant should be in the forefront of the document and not made specific to students of special needs only. All students have parents or guardians and all care one way or the other on their progress.

6. Community-Based Education

At first glance, there is a problem with this for it should be available for Junior High students. It is especially crucial for Mi'kmaw students for that is when this type of a program is needed the most. It should not be designated just for the high school for there are other students besides the Mi'kmaw students who need a community-based education. Connecting schools to the Nova Scotia communities at large would greatly expand the skills necessary for not only academically but personally as well. This would instill pride,

self-esteem and confidence to those students who are at risk. It would offer a potential of well being that is so often lacking among a group of students who are in jeopardy by virtue of life circumstances.

Chapter 7

School Services Through the Lens of the NCRP

Introduction. As we journey onward in a counter-clockwise direction we reach the next point of entry of the eight-pointed star. The Plains First Nations refer to the West as the power behind the need for preparation and for gathering. The theme is appropriate in the sense of preparing and gathering information for connecting the struggles between the Public School Programs (PSP) and the Native childrearing practices (NCRP). The Western Door's first pinnacle presents the next bundle belonging to the PSP that of relative services. This bundle is situated on the first western tip of the eight-pointed star. The theme at cardinal point of the west or the western door/block is Connecting the Struggles. Services related to meeting the goals of education are every important for all students.

1. Related Services

A large segment of this section starting on page C-3 up to and including a portion of page C-10 is excluded from this analysis. The lens casts shadows on some topics; hence, not all topics that are recorded or listed in the PSP under Related Services will be explored. This is due to the headings and subheading not being relevant to the study. The text contained in these pages appears to be intended as directions for administrators, principals and teachers as a resource. For example, African Canadian Services or Centre provincial des ressources pédagogiques are a special support for the French (PSP, p. C-3) and do not relate to the Mi'kmaq. Another example, is the provision of locations and telephone numbers for the Nova Scotia Museums. The remainder of the text from page C-10 to C-14 of PSP merits discussion. Those including School Library Services, Student Services, Comprehensive Guidance and Counselling (at the elementary, junior high and senior levels), Mi'kmaq Education, English as a Second Language, Professional Development, Race Relations and Crosscultural Understanding.

a. School Library Services

The first line in the first paragraph of this section on page C-11 states, "The school library is an integral part of the learning process in schools". The NCRP lens agrees with

the PSP on the value placed on school library services. If the intent of the PSP is to have this valuable service available to all students then one would think that the PSP could provide better directions on how this message is to be conveyed to the students. Unfortunately, this very important student resource is very often not fully appreciated or valued by the Mi'kmaw students. This is most often due to the lack of skills or intimidation of the library environment. B. M. Johnson (1994) found that,

> It is obvious that these students differ significantly from the mainstream of the student population. They are different in terms of their desire to read or spend time in the library. It is also obvious that they could probably use some coaching or gentle persuasion in developing reading skills. (p. 5)

The first sentence of the next paragraph on page C-11 states, "As a 'learning laboratory', the school library offers a wide range of print and non-print information sources. Electronic information sources (e.g. databases, CD-ROM, Internet) offer technological competence while enhancing traditional literacy and developing critical thinks skills" (PSP, p. C-11). If the goal or intent of the PSP is meant to follow through on library access then it has to develop policy on how to serve students from other cultures. A prior study (Johnson, B.M., 1994) found that Mi'kmaw students will completely avoid entering the library by stirring clear of the area for a variety of reasons. I such services as t is imperative that the PSP establish protocol to accommodate not only the Mi'kmaw students but others in the margins. How did the authors of the PSP expect to deal with Mi'kmaw students who feel that they have to avoid embarrassment by not asking questions on how to locate items or if by chance they have been coaxed to enter?

Then again how did the authors of the PSP intend to deal with a good majority who will not use the library at all to complete school projects? The authors of the PSP remained silent on the need to orient all students in the library for there is no discourse under this heading on how the principals, teachers and in particular the librarians intend to orient students to the services of the library. The importance of access and utility of library resources is critical for reading, writing, listening and speaking in all subject areas. Racial, emotional, psychological, physical and social barriers have been cited by a group

of Mi'kmaq teenagers (B.M. Johnson, 1994). Johnson states,Only one teenager reported frequenting the libraries. This was due to a class being scheduled one day per cycle in the library. The rest did not like that library at the school. Another answered, "I don't like reading". One student reported that the librarian was racist, sexist and has no respect for youth. The librarian was also too busy to care. Another stated that he seemed to be more interested in collecting forty-cent fines than serving the students. Consequently, she buys her own books. (p. 5)

This mini study uncovered that a need exists not only on the development of library research skills; moreover, the conveyance of information regarding the beneficial effects for the Mi'kmaw students. Stepping on the rims of implementation, could not the writers of the PSP have suggested orientation classes during the first few days of school in September as part of schooling to alleviate intimidation and address the reluctant use of this resource. The message from B. M. Johnson (1994) is clear for it tells us,

> It is obvious that these students differ significantly from the mainstream of the student population. They are different in terms of their desire to read or spend time in the library. It is also obvious that they could probably use some coaching or gentle persuasion in developing reading skills. (p. 5)

b. Student Services. This section of the PSP commences on page C-11 and ends on page C-15.The first line under the major heading of Student Services on page C-11 states, "The Student Services Division is responsible for creating and developing a framework for student services for the province of Nova Scotia including setting the direction, establishing the vision goals, and action plans". The intent of the authors of the PSP is obvious for they mandate the Student Services Division for originating and advancing a framework for student services through Nova Scotia. The problem is that on pages C-11 and C-13 of the PSP (1997-1998) Mi'kmaq Education is a sub-heading of Student Services rather than a Division like African Canadian Services Division. The intent of the PSP's authors is understood or perceived to be uncomplimentary to the eyes behind the NCRP. On the one hand this section embraces race relations and crosscultural understanding; yet, it relegates Mi'kmaw education to a mere service. Hence, it is

marked with racism for it subjugates Mi'kmaw pedagogy.

The second line in the first paragraph on page C-11 states, "This includes providing direction and leadership to school boards regarding implementation and evaluation of programs and services for students in the areas of special education, guidance and counselling, Mi'kmaq education, English as a Second Language and multicultural education". There are no subheadings for 'special education' and 'multicultural education' that are identified as being areas for implementation and evaluation. In this sentence the term 'multicultural education' is used not race relations and cross-cultural understanding. Later in the text 'race relations and cross-cultural understanding' is the topic discussed not multicultural education. The latter term is more appropriate in today's society due to an understanding that multicultural education focuses only on awareness and celebrations. Another problem with the term multicultural education is that does not deal with problems such as racism and stereotyping. The evolution of terminology within the spheres of education has made the term multicultural redundant. This evolution in terminology has made it possible for the accommodation of services for the marginalized people like the Mi'kmaq. Race relations and cross-cultural understanding is a critical and significant sphere which could influence and affects the power structure of the PSP. Because the text in this section has discrepancies and omissions the discussion for this section will focus on the five highlighted subheadings of 1) Comprehensive Guidance and Counselling, 2) Mi'kmaq Education, 3) English as a Second Language, 4) Professional Development, 5) Race Relations and Cross-Cultural Understanding.

2. Comprehensive Guidance and Counselling

This section appears on page C-12 of the 1997-1998 PSP. The first line of the first paragraph on page G-12 states, "An effective guidance and counselling program is a vital component of a comprehensive school system". The NCRP lens viewer is in total agreement with the idea that a Counselling and guidance program is a vital component of a comprehensive school system. However, when the intended goals are formed from a culturally different society, Herrings (1996) suggests that culturally incompatible

counseling assumptions and processes be identified. Since the writers of the PSP made no note as to whom this service targets then one question the intentions and for whom they apply. If the intent of the PSP is to fulfill the mandate of helping all students as stated in its two goals on page A-3 one would think that suggested ways to meet the provision of these services to other cultures would be delineated.

The second line of the first paragraph on page C-12 states, "The guidance and Counselling program offered by district school boards must be planned, comprehensive, developmental, and an integral part of the educational experience of the students from Primary through grade 12." Inasmuch as the intent of the PSP is to provide planned, comprehensive, developmental and integral educational experiences; does it recognize and understand that a significance difference exists between the services provided to those attending band-operated school and provincial schools as reported by (Dolan, 1995)? That is to say, in order for such a program to be successful for Mi'kmaw students it also has to be relevant, effective and provide cultural continuity. Dolan found that services were insufficient and generally the wrong type for the students experience the least amount of exposure to their culture and counselling services.

On page C-12 the second sentence of the second paragraph states, "The Comprehensive Guidance and Counselling Program operates in four domains related to the personal, social, academic and career development of students". The intent of the PSP in this sentence is well meaning; nevertheless, there seems to be no provision to provide the Mi'kmaq or other cultural groups with services that reflect their culture. This is despite of what Dolan (1995) says about services for the Mi'kmaq. On the other hand, if the authors' intentions of the PSP services are as comprehensive as they are purporting to be in this document then the PSP should provide services that are not stigmatizing for those who need them.

The second sentence of the second paragraph on page G-12 states, "Activities and programs in each domain are designed to develop in students an increased capacity to...". It is quite obvious that the intent of the PSP with the terms 'activities and programs' refer to classroom instruction. It is all well and good for the PSP to put forth intentions but it is

another to have culturally appropriate services available. Mackay and Myles (1996) mention that a vast majority of non-Native teachers and counsellors have never visited the Native communities they serve. Is it possible that this is the prime reason that Dolan's study found services lacking in a number of areas for the Mi'kmaw student? In contrast, Dolan also found that the students attending provincial schools perceived themselves to be having significantly fewer counselling services available to them than within their community schools. In addition, the PSP's intents for this sentence along with its accompanying goals apply to the students; yet, it is silent on how this interfaces with school personnel. On page C-14 of the 1997-1998 PSP Professional Development is another area within related services and one wonders why personal and social development are not also included under that heading.

The first bulleted item on page C-12 states, "understand and appreciate themselves (personal development)". If the PSP is sincere with its intents then a question rises as to why this PSP is lacking in the provision of services to enhance the personal development of students from other cultures such as the French, Gaelic, Mi'kmaq or the African Canadian.

The second bulleted item on page C-12 states, "relate effectively to others (social development)". This item remains within the 'activities and programs' that follows the intent of the PSP which one considers to be within classrooms and targets students. An aspect of vital importance to social development or relating to others is the setting where the interactions occur. Hernandez (1997, p. 112) tells us, "The interaction that typically takes place within a classroom is different from that in other settings - different in ways that are of importance in language development". Whose values, beliefs, norms and customs are being utilized within this social development component of the PSP? Philips (1983, p. 125, cited in Johnson 1994) points out,

> ... while there is continuity and consistency among the various spheres of activity through which Anglo children are socialized, and between their socializing experiences and the world of work they will enter, for...Indian children, this is not the case. The Indian children instead experience conflict between their community socializing experiences and classroom socialization - a conflict that continues into adult life. (p.37-38)

Were the writers of the PSP intending to circumvent its two stated goals and are they discarding the partnership philosophy discussed earlier in the text? Granted this is not to deny that historically Eurocentric education meant to socialize rather than to provide the student with the ability to increase the capacity to relate effectively to others, especially to the teachers and administrators of the schools. Is it then not any wonder that the Native students feel that "[T]he stigmas some teachers have about Native students as a "race" can be very damaging and only serve to anger and frustrate or to erode whatever healthy self-concepts some Native students have about themselves according to Doucet" (cited in Johnson, 1994, p. 32). Johnson informs us,

> ...if Native children try to assume independence and freedom of movement in Euro-Canadian schools as they have been permitted to do in their homes and communities, they may be viewed as being undisciplined and, as a result, could be reprimanded by the teacher. Native children, then, see their natural freedom to explore, curtailed by an adult who sees them as restless, misbehaving or contrary. They are not treated in the same way for this behaviour as they would be in their community and may become confused about the reasons why. (p. 62)

The first sentence of the seventh paragraph on page C-12 states, "An integral part of the guidance program is life/career planning and career education ". As far as increasing the capacity to develop appropriate educational plans or develop appropriate career plans it appears to does not happen. Dolan (1995) found that Mi'kmaw students were being channeled into the vocational rather than the university stream classes. This verifies what the Breaking Barriers Task Force led by Wayne MacKay indicated in 1989. One would think that in order for the PSP, as a regulatory document, to meet its intent it has to ensure that guidance counsellors and administrators are prepared and ready professionally to execute this intent in a fair and just manner.

The first sentence of the third paragraph of the PSP states,

> Planning a comprehensive guidance and counselling program that addresses student issues in the four domains requires a thorough understanding of student needs and the cultural differences that can influence these needs. (p. C-12)

Is it the intent of the PSP's writers to provide some more rhetoric or window

-dressing in this paragraph? The reader behind the NCRP lens is full agreement with the above noted statement and it is a positive goal; yet, there are problems with it. First, it is an excellent goal to have it incorporated into the Professional Development section on page C-14 of the PSP. However, does this include students from the Mi'kmaw communities or is it intra-relational for the dominant society? Understanding student needs and cultural differences and how these needs are influenced through cultural differences would assist those who are planning comprehensive guidance and counselling programs. Second, who does the planning that addresses student issues in the four domains for the Mi'kmaq. Considering that it is usually White administrators of the school and the school board who plan, then it is fair to put forth the notion that they did not understand or may be seen as not wanting to understand the needs and the cultural differences of the Mi'kmaq. Furthermore, cultural differences should not not be deemed or considered deviant from the school and not acceptable. Johnson (1994) suggests,

> Counsellors can help other school staff members become more informed about Native culture by making available, any information which will provide general understanding of the cultural differences that exist and may be the root cause of some conflicts. Counsellors could also ask their education departments for information such as the workshop on Counselling Native Students, which contains pertinent information relating to working with Native students and which could be shared with teachers. (p. 70)

Planning a comprehensive guidance and counselling program for the accommodation of Mi'kmaw students as suggested above requires the writers of the PSP to recognize and accommodate Mi'kmaw culture and to mandate a program in the fields of cultural needs and differences within professional development.

The second sentence of the third paragraph on page C-12 of PSP states, "Schools can best identify these needs through formal and informal assessments that collect input from students, parents/guardians, educators, and the community at large". The intent with this sentence of the PSP seems to be a directed for the involvement of others besides school personnel to fulfill this goal. The intent or goal is very good for this touches the its partnership aspect put forth by the writers of the PSP earlier in the text. Yet, regardless of

good intentions there are often implications for practice.

This raises the question of who is to be involved not only as researchers but participants in the development of the 'needs assessment process' that is referred here to meet the requirement. A larger question of whether there has ever been any Mi'kmaw need assessments conducted by any school board "...to the personal, social, academic and career development of..." (PSP, p, C-12) Mi'kmaw students during the past decade or more. One would like to think that an evaluation of a Mi'kmaw child's needs from a Mi'kmaw perspective would be more valid than those from a non-Mi'kmaq.

The first sentence of the fourth paragraph on page C-12 states, "The results of the needs assessment process should determine the specific and detailed goals and outcomes of the school's guidance and counselling program within provincial guidelines". Bearing in mind that this leads to policy development one needs to question the intent of the composers of the PSP on how these results are determined? Is the needs assessment representative of all Nova Scotia cultural groups? In order to be representative of all Nova Scotia cultural groups the needs assessments require inclusion of all students from every spectrum of Nova Scotia society including the Mi'kmaq, African Canadian and French Acadians and other cultural groups. Or is the needs assessment value laden or value free? This is an important question for the guidance and counselling program is adjusted from the results of the needs assessment. If and only if a representative sample from the Mi'kmaw and other provincial groups is not included then it become value laden.

The second sentence of the fourth paragraph on page C-12 states, "These goals, developed out of the needs assessment, outline the criteria by which the efficiency, appropriateness, adequacy, and effectiveness of the comprehensive guidance and counselling program is evaluated." Are the intentions of the PSP meant to be efficient, appropriate, adequate, and effective for all students or for a select few? Are they inclusive to satisfy the African Canadians, the French, the Gaelic and the Mi'kmaq? Have these needs assessments ever been provided to the Mi'kmaq to peruse?

The last sentence of the fourth paragraph on page C-12 states, "The results are the basis for continuing program design, development and improvement". Since the intent of

the PSP is obvious on the utility of these results the NCRP questions whether inclusion of other cultures plays any significant role with the program design, development and improvement. Since this process has an annual evaluation it would be very interesting to view the reports that have been conducted during the past decade or more as they relate to the Mi'kmaq. It would be very intriguing to examine the comments relating to the provision of services to the Mi'kmaw population especially in an area such as Cape Breton where there is a larger contingent of students. Most of all, it would be most beneficial to view the reports pertaining to the school where this child has been attending for the past ten years. This would be an excellent study for it would tell stories of this child's progress from day one.

On page C-12 the PSP speaks of two approaches for the delivery of this Comprehensive Guidance and Counselling Programs in school. The first way is by classroom teachers. The PSP states,

> The first is the instructional component that can be integrated into regular classroom programs, and is often delivered by classroom teachers with the support of other professional staff of the board. The curriculum involved can be developed co-operatively by teachers, administrators, and guidance counsellors to meet local needs. (p. C-12)

The intent of the PSP to relegate guidance and counselling to teachers needs to be questioned. First, at issue is whether the PSP intends to provide professional development for classroom teachers. It is inconceivable how this program as expressed here, can serve as an add-on to the courses outlined on pages B-8 and B-14 to B-15. Why is the PSP recommending that curriculum be developed when there is no course listing at either the elementary, junior high, senior high programs?

It is understandable that counselling could be easily incorporated in the Personal Development and Relationships course and the Career and Life Management course and may be in the Social Studies program as suggested by the PSP. The reason being is that these courses seem to be associated but not complementary. The fifth paragraph on page C-12 should be removed from this section of the PSP for it duplicates already existing course that are approved to fulfill the intended goals of quite a number of issues regarding

Comprehensive Guidance and Counselling.

The second delivery mode identified for the comprehensive guidance and counselling program is through qualified guidance counsellors. Based on the lens of the NCRP, there are no major problems associated with the this paragraph for it is an understanding of what counselling is about. It is the provision of services to individuals and groups. The problem lies in not having clear objectives of what the counsellor supposedly strives for.

The last line of this paragraph on page C-12 states, "These services should be delivered by qualified guidance counsellors". The intent of the PSP in having qualified guidance counsellors is nullified with the word 'should' for makes it easy to place unqualified personnel in these positions. If the PSP is serious with this intent that more precise and definite words should be utilized.

The last paragraph on this page, page C-12, commences with this sentence, "An integral part of the guidance program is life/career planning and career education". The PSP's intent here has implications for practice. It has been reported by both Dolan (1995) and Johnson (1994) that First Nation students in the Maritimes seldom use the school counselling service. If the intentions of the PSP are sincere then it needs to delineate how certain human realities such mediation, conflict resolution and anger management and their implications could become part of the counselling system. Prevention programs must be spell out along with safety issues and crisis management.

In terms of providing this type of services to Mi'kmaw students Dolan (1995) reports that language was a barrier in accessing counselling service along with the outsider status of non-Mi'kmaq counsellors. According to Dolan, Mi'kmaw students found it easier to withdraw from schooling rather than cope with the frustrations of the system. This shines a different light on counselling services for the Mi'kmaq. In order for the PSP to follow through on its intentions, ways need to be found to deal with conflict resolution or mediation for a good many of Mi'kmaw students. Then, to meet the bill so to speak of "as well as other activities that are developed to meet student needs" (PSP, p. C-13) maybe the PSP intends that teachers, principals and administrators be provided with in-

service on the virtues, utility and impacts of expulsion, suspension, social passes and school push outs.

If that is the intention of the PSP these activities need to include how to deal with Mi'kmaw students for often do not have a sense of belonging to the provincial schools they attend.

Johnson (1994) found while reviewing a study by Clark, DeWolf, & Clark that it clearly and accurately described and confirmed the all too common experiences of most Native students in North America today. Johnson states,

> Students reported feeling inferior, singled out, objectified, angry, lost and unable to concentrate. Many wanted to be recognized as individuals and objected to being singled out. Some students became quiet and withdrew, while others acted out, showed discomfort or became apathetic. Nearly all students felt alienated. They resented the fact that others had stereotyped them and made them feel inferior. Unsettling to most was their loss of self-esteem and identity and that the teacher expected less from them in terms of performance. (p. 57)

To develop a better understanding and sense from whence the Mi'kmaw students are coming, an expansion is required of the present knowledge base for all teachers and counsellors. In order for the PSP to live up to its intentions and expectations pre-service and in-service programs must be built into the system to accommodate upgrading of skills in diversity, race relations and cross-cultural understanding for all teachers, administrators and counsellors. Maybe these requirements should be laid out as mandatory responsibilities.

a. Elementary. The first sentence in the first paragraph on page C-13 under this heading states, "At the elementary school level, the guidance and counselling program is especially concerned with assisting students to develop self-awareness and to relate effectively to others." This PSP intent sounds promising; yet, it questions how it expects to make this apply. The major question is how does it intend to have it apply to the Mi'kmaw students? Has it considered the implications for implementation in light of the cultural differences between the school and home? Then let us consider the last sentence of this paragraph. It states, "Guidance counsellors involved in the delivery of services

within the comprehensive guidance and counselling program assist students in coping with crises in their lives, and are significantly involved with community and social service services" (p. C-13). This intent seems to be crisis oriented and the Mi'kmaw community would most probably view it as intrusive and heavy handed. Hence, the NCRP questions the appropriateness of this service. Some schools may have Mi'kmaw liaison workers who are present in school whether for translation services or to provide shuttle service for children who become ill at school. Although they are often asked to counsel students these workers are teacher aides and do not have qualifications as counsellors.

b. Junior High. The first sentence under this section on page C-13 states, "The Comprehensive Guidance and Counselling Program at the junior high school level continues to help students in their exploration of self as they develop understanding of their own interest". One needs to consider whose interest the PSP intend with the 'understanding of their own interest". Just how relevant is this to other cultures particularly for the Mi'kmaq? Dolan (1995) noted that counselling services are insufficient and generally of the wrong type. Her study was concentrated on the Cape Breton Mi'kmaq. This finding most probably means that Mi'kmaw students interests in the exploration of self were either suppressed or ignored. The Junior high level is a critical stage for many Native students across Canada. Dolan found for the Cape Breton Mi'kmaw that the transition between band operated schools to provincial schools was critical for counselling service at the Grade 9 level. Others may disagree for their entry point into provincial is much earlier, Grade 7. Kirkness (1992, p. 56) writes on these issues, "...that many school-related problems still remain, including poor attendance and dropping out, poor motivation and attitude, and problems with integrating school and First Nations culture".

The next sentence which states, "Guidance counsellors in the junior high school use a variety of individual and groups techniques to continue to assist student development in personal, social, educational, and career development domains". The NCRP questions just how relevant these techniques are for the Mi'kmaq and other cultures. One wonders what is involved in these techniques that could assist Mi'kmaw

students? Since the intent of the PSP is to assist in all the above noted areas one wonders what measure are in place to combat the barriers identified by Dolan.

The first sentence of the second paragraph on page C-13 under junior high states, "A major part of the role of the qualified guidance counsellor in the Comprehensive Guidance and Counselling Program at the junior high level is crisis counselling". The NCRP lens questions why the major part of a qualified guidance counsellor's role is prescribed to be crisis counselling. The NCRP has a major problem with the PSP's concentration on crisis counselling. Why is it that we need crisis to occur before we take action? This intention definitely does not meet favor with the NCRP. Due to this intent that is probably why Dolan makes note of frustration, high drop out and failure rate. This intent does not meet the interests of the Mi'kmaq students for it waits until a crisis occurs. Dolan reports that Mi'kmaw students need counselling with transition between provincial and Mi'kmaq schools, improved access to counselling services, personal and substance abuse counselling. It is very apparent that the PSP intent to make crisis counselling the major focus carries implications regarding service to Mi'kmaw students.

c. Senior High. The first sentence under senior high states, "At the senior high level, the comprehensive Guidance and Counselling program extends all aspects of the junior high program and emphasizes the preparation of students for post-secondary education, training, and employment". The intent of the PSP has not met with much success for Mi'kmaw males, as many have withdrawn from school before they reach this level. A majority 67% reported that counselling services to be inadequate and rarely used (Dolan, 1995). Access was reported by 18 out of 25 males as an area of need. Dolan also reported that more females than males were using counselling services. This may partly account for why Aboriginal females lead in numbers within secondary and post-secondary graduation. Tait (1999) reported that Aboriginal women had somewhat higher rates of success at all levels in education.

3. Mi'kmaq Education

This portion of the PSP appears on page C-13 and C-14 consisting of three small paragraphs. One wonders what the intentions of the PSP are regarding Mi'kmaq

education. The first paragraph under this heading on page C-13 states,

> The Department of Education and Culture recognizes that education must be attuned to the cultural and language needs of the Mi'kmaq students. Through partnerships with parents and the Mi'kmaq educational organizations, the department is committed to ensuring that development and delivery of programs, which include Mi'kmaq heritage, history, language and culture are incorporated in the public school program. (p. C-14)

The Department of Education and Culture needs to go further than just recognizing or attuning to the cultural and language needs of the Mi'kmaw students. This is insulting for the viewer behind the lens of the NCRP to just have the Mi'kmaw culture be recognized and attuned. What is needed is inclusion of Mi'kmaw culture, science, mathematics, family studies, Aboriginal rights and treaties, language and communications, history, social studies, arts, music, dance, personal development and relationships, health and fitness, within all subject areas.

The second sentence in the first paragraph has much potential. It has been three years since the writers of this PSP have advanced this intention of commitment to ensuring development and delivery of programs which include Mi'kmaw heritage, history, language and culture; but, a void is still evident except for the Mi'kmaq Studies 10.

The second paragraph states,

> Mi'kmaq has been defined in the new Education Act as "all first nations people, whether living on or of a reserve." The Education Act defines Mi'kmaq education as the development of programs, resources, and learning materials that provide information about and promote understanding of the Mi'kmaq and their history, heritage, language, culture, traditions and contributions to society and that recognized their origins as first-nations people. (p. C-14)

There is a problem with the over-generalizing of the Mi'kmaq by including 'all first nations people'. The Mi'kmaq are a Nation on their own right and including others is incorrect. The social, cultural and historical experiences of other First Nations depart greatly from Mi'kmaq. The inference or equating all first Nations in Nova Scotia as Mi'kmaq likens all Anglo-Saxons of Europe as English. Furthermore, it is more serious due to the variety of Native languages whose characters and structure differ so greatly.

The definition put forth in the second sentence counters with what many Mi'kmaq would envision to be Mi'kmaw education. The education of the Mi'kmaq is so political, philosophical, psychological, economical and legal based that even the definition espoused by the powers that be is misleading. It is not only misleading but there is a racial divide. Mi'kmaw education advocated within this PSP is 'about' not 'for' the Mi'kmaq. Mi'kmaw education should and can have links to the Mi'kmaq through subject areas that are similar to what is contained on pages B-8, B-13 and B-14 for the White society.

Mi'kmaw education should not have any demarcations along racial lines. It needs to be open to all Nova Scotia students without exceptions. A new definition for Mi'kmaw education that is not racially inclined is forwarded thus,

> Mi'kmaw education is the history, geography, family life, science and technology, heritage, language, culture, law, economics, traditions, music, arts, mathematics, foods and nutrition, contributions to the world and recognition of their origins as First Nations people.

The PSP definition for Mi'kmaq education is contradictory for on the one hand it speaks of the inclusion of Mi'kmaw heritage, history, and so forth within the public school program. On the other hand there is nothing here that promotes the education of the Mi'kmaq. This is not only exclusion but also an assumption that all Mi'kmaw students know their culture, particularly the social studies or history subject areas. Are not the Mi'kmaw students expected or allowed to learn about our culture? More important, are we not entitled to cultural continuity? This makes some Mi'kmaw educators confused and uneducated about our culture that they make uncomplimentary statements. For example, John Jerome Paul has noted that a fair amount of our culture is gone (cited in Bernard, 1996). It is most likely an over generalization.

It is also ironic that this document's intention for the embodiment of what is purported to be citizenship education is itself so riddled with prejudice. It is confirmed not only on page C-3 but also on pages C-13 and C-14 that indeed there are racial lines. For example, page C-3 deals with African Canadians and page C-13 speaks of attuning to the cultural and language of the Mi'kmaq while on pages C-3 and C-14 the PSP contradicts

itself by having the words "about" and "promote understanding" for African Canadian and Mi'kmaq Education.

The operative words 'provide information about and promote understanding' are exclusionary. The authors of the PSP discuss the 'provision of information about' and 'promotion of an understanding' of the Mi'kmaw history, a heritage. Commitment and incorporation spoken about in the PSP are now erased and replaced with providing information about and promoting understanding. The paragraphs in fact nullify each other; hence, any commitments made with the first paragraph are erased with the second. The NSTU (1996) document's review on this aspect has been very thorough. The document questions whether points of view or perspectives from the First Nations, Black, feminists, Christian, and Black women will be adequately addressed. The NSTU (1996, p. 31) document questions, "Which forms of injustice will merit consideration as "discrimination" or "human rights issues"?" It also asks on page 29, "Could a White male teacher adequately assess a young Black woman's understanding of Canada's political economic and social system?" As to whether he can probably do so most likely depends on how open-minded he is. That is, does he have "that attitude which continually strives to be open to counter-argument to the beliefs which we hold" (Hare, 1979, p. 60).

The intent of the PSP is clear that it only provides education about the Mi'kmaq for the dominant society. This ties in with what Wien (1992) states as a reflection of the Eurocentric view of the world with the aboriginal peoples as subjects to be described and analyzed from a European perspective. In addition, it is exploitation of the Mi'kmaw culture, customs and traditions.

In this day and age, Mi'kmaw youth are unable to contend with the bewildering political, philosophical and psychological problems that they experience in their daily lives. Most important of these is the lack of curricular connections between what they learn and how they live. Inclusion of their life experiences are not reflected nor respected in both the provincial and Mi'kmaw community schools. Prior to Bill # 4 the Nova Scotia Mi'kmaq were not bound to use the Nova Scotia provincial curriculum. Section 6 (2) compels the Mi'kmaq to abide by the Eurocentric programs and services. Section 6 (2) states,

> The educational programs and services provided by a community must be comparable to the programs and services provided by other education systems in Canada in order to permit the transfer of students to and from those systems without academic penalty, to the same extent as the transfer of students between those other educational systems.

There are implications in Bill #4 about its impacts upon the language of instruction and more implications on the curricula as well. Considering that the Mi'kmaq and all other First Nations across Canada have no mobility rights then the notion of transferring in the Bill is redundant. Once we cross the invisible borders of our colonial designated communities our rights are stripped by the colonizers. Hence, the idea of transfer to other systems will probably be not necessary in the future considering that many of the Mi'kmaw students will be attending high school in their own communities.

Shaping the future of Mi'kmaw education requires not only the identification of problem areas but coming to terms with difficulties encountered with all stakeholders. Besides, professional development and human relations are needed for teachers, principals and administrators on both sides. There has been confusion from both the Mi'kmaq and non-Mi'kmaw communities on the role and responsibility of teachers, administrators, politicians and community members. On the one hand they are encouraged to excel in school and attain the highest status in schooling but on the other hand there is no support base only hopelessness and despair. Children, no matter how old, have a keen sense of perception. They read the deportment of teachers, principals and staff be it through their hidden agendas, gestures and treatment of students.

4. English as a second Language

This section appears on page G-14 of the 1997-1998 PSP. The first line on page G-14 states, "The Department of Education and Culture recognizes the language and culture complexities face by English as a Second Language (ESL) learners". If the PSP is serious with its intent in providing this service then an explication of its contents need to be outlined here. The second sentence on p. G-14 states, "ESL learners include students who are newcomers to Nova Scotia from non-English speaking countries, second generation immigrants students, internals students and some indigenous students". It is

very apparent that the PSP's intention for this program is fulfilling the need of immigrants. This service is needed; yet, seldom utilized by Mi'kmaw students. Although, Christmas (1988) noted that the Mi'kmaw child was not taught the mother tongue at home during the formative years or within the school this is not to say they are not functional in it. The PSP categorizes ESL learners to include 'some indigenous students', however, we need to keep in mind that erosion of the Mi'kmaw language within Mi'kmaw communities has played a key role in having not much need for this service. That is to say there is recognition in the need to rejuvenate and maintain our Mi'kmaw language.

5. Professional Development

The NCRP lens questions why this section is under student services. The paragraph relating to it states, "The Student Services Division provides leadership in the design, development, implementation, and evaluation of Department of Education and Culture's teaching effectiveness programs, institutes, in-service and guidelines, as well as related matters in public schools" (PSP, p. C -14).

6. Race Relations and Cross-cultural Understanding

The NCRP lens reveals a major problem here. This section is also racist for it is very blatant that it is a Black and White issue for no other ethnic group is identified except for the African Canadians. The second sentence of the first paragraph states, "The aims and objectives are met through co-operation with other Department of Education and Culture staff, in particular, the African Canadian Services Division, and with external educational partners such as school boards, universities, associations, other government agencies, and the general public " (PSP, p. C-15). This is demonstrated by the all African Canadian presence of race relations officers within this province's education system. Why is there no room for the race relations and cross-cultural understanding for the French, Gaelic, Mi'kmaq, gender, gay and lesbian diverse cultures? Race relations and cross-cultural understanding should be part and parcel of the Personal Development and Relationships course. It also fits in with Family Studies. Why is racism associated with violence? It is largely due to denial and the non-acknowledgment that racism exists within our Canadian society. Furthermore, it is easier to deal with for if we deny its existence

then we avoid all the issues that have to deal with it.

The first sentence of the next paragraph on page C- 14 states, "The Division is responsible for identifying and implementing policy, programs, and activities relating to race relations and recognition of cultural differences." One questions the intentions of both the Department and the PSP considering that it was only in 1998 that a Racial Equity Policy dealing with race relations was drafted. Ironically, this same intent appears in the 1993 - 1994 PSP with a slight variation. Instead of recognition of 'cultural differences' it was 'cross-cultural understanding'. In contrast, the Halifax Regional School Board has had a race relations, cross cultural understanding and human rights policy in effect since February 25, 1997. There should be more inclusion of other cultures within race-relations programs.

The last paragraph in this portion of the PSP defines race relations as anti-racist education, cross-cultural understanding, multicultural education and human rights. All too often problems are associated with the terms, anti-racist education and multicultural education. Anti-racist education is very often related to reaction based response. This reaction is very often retaliative in nature and does more harm than good. Fleras (1996, p. 62) tells us that, "Invariably, antiracist proposals generate controversy and backlash ; in doing so, they expose the shrinking middle ground between those who dismiss reforms as a menace to higher learning and those who endorse a more inclusive, less discriminatory environment.". The problem with multicultural education is that it does not deal with issues such as racism and discrimination. It merely provides awareness and very often in a celebratory mode (Dei, 1996; Gosh, 1996).

The last sentence under this section referring to 'race relations' states, "It is reflected in policies, curriculum documents, learning resources, teaching methods, assessment and evaluation practices, guidance, school/community relations, attitudes, and staffing" (PSP, p. C-14). Race relations is not reflected in any way within policies, curriculum documents, learning resources, teaching methods, assessment and evaluation practices, guidance, school/ community relations, attitudes, and staffing. Furthermore,

there has been no policy developed or written to deal with these issues within the Department of Education. This is not to deny that a draft is in progress.

This chapter has explored the PSP relative to the services that it provides the Nova Scotia populace in terms of school library service, student services, guidance and counselling, Mi'kmaq education, English as a second language, and race relations and cross-cultural understanding.

Chapter 8

The Eight Pointed Star's First Pinnacle at the Southern Door: English Program Services through the NCRP Lens

This is the most controversial aspect of the Public School Programs (PSP) for it is where the core the ENGLISH PROGRAM SERVICES, of the Nova Scotia educational system is positioned.

Transforming Nova Scotia Education with The PSP

This theme discusses issues within the PSP that require transformation from an individualistic to a collective or global sense relevant to meet the criteria for inclusive education. This leads us to begin the process of transformation with the inspirations posited by Downy (1988) on the road to creating and crafting policy alternatives. This chapter raises issues relative to problems, establishes context setting and assembles comparative data that is associated with the English Program Services and how the PSP intentions do not relate to the Mi'kmaq. That is to say - how the intent of PSP does not relate to the inclusion of all students, particularly the Mi'kmaq. Most importantly, it speaks of the exclusive nature of the PSP by being hegemonic, social ranking and racist.

English Program Services: Program and Course Descriptions

Before moving on it is important to comment on the implicit issues embodied in the first word, English, in the heading of the PSP. The NCRP lens viewer questions the use of the word 'English' in the title for the last section of the PSP - 'English Program Services Program and Course Descriptions'. The first expression within the title for this part of the PSP is so obviously and blatantly racist that it leaves the impression of exclusive program services for the English and English only. One would like to think that a more appropriate title could have been selected. Although, the universal use of English in a global sense it is not a requirement in this context, the utility of the word English here is very slanted toward the English and it would have been better to use words such as Program Services or Educational Program Services. Nevertheless, "English is the language of my colonization" (Monture-Angus, 1995, p. 68) and "English also makes difficult for the expression of my race and culture experiences" (Monture-Angus, 1995, p.

57).

The heading portrays a message as if no other society exists or attends school in Nova Scotia other than the English. It appears as if all academic programming services are meant only for the English people because of the way this portion of the PSP is presented. It also sends a strong message to other cultures that English Program Services is exclusionary and is not meant for them. In addition, it is assimilative and prescriptive in nature. Since the English Program Services is mandated for all Nova Scotia students whether they like it or not without any exceptions one would like to think that it can be made more inclusive rather than exclusionary. To make this PSP more inclusive and racially balanced the word 'English' needs to be removed from the title. Then again, could it not move in the same direction that some western provinces have advanced? Moodley (1995) advises us that in 1971, 1974, and 1978 Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba respectfully had implemented integrated language programs. Nova Scotia's policy similar to Ontario does emphasize intercultural understanding and broader focus on equality of opportunity and access but remain totally inadequate (Moodley, 1995). Today, this ethnocentric or Eurocentric view is still evident in public education. The intellectual hegemony of Eurocentrism has not provided full equal opportunity for the advancement Mi'kmaw education. Kirkness (1992) alluded to the notion that the educational shortcomings identified in 1972 by the Assembly of First Nations' landmark statement: Indian Control of Indian Education still exist. The areas within the education programs, which Kirkness (1992) found to be most problematic, were in curriculum, learning materials, pedagogy, learning objectives, and teacher or administration training. Furthermore, that they are still assimilative in nature.

Prefacing this major heading with the word 'English" sends a strong message that English has being monumental over all others against the world. The PSP presents a visual image of compartmentalization and lack of importance to other languages and cultures. "Most of this image arises out of what is not stated rather than what is stated" (Bernard & Prosper, 1991). Visually, the choice of English programs sets a tone that can suggest discrimination and imperialism rather than the affirmation and inclusion of

differences.

This part of the PSP commences on page E-3 and terminates on page R-9, a total of approximately 80 pages. The quantity of pages devoted to this section is overwhelming in comparison to the column and a half of page C-3 for African Canadian Services, less than half a column commencing on C-13 for Mi'kmaq Education and the three pages (S 3-5) for the French Division.

Topics covered under the heading of English Program Services include: business education, computer education, English language arts, family studies fine arts, health, industrial arts technology, languages, mathematics, personal development, physical education, science, and social studies. Each of the sections in the English Language Arts under this heading is followed with outcomes. NSTU (1996, p. ii) finds that this outcome based education (OBE) "attempts to inculcate certain values in all children in a given school system". These certain values are Eurocentric in nature and middle class. "In some jurisdictions the term 'outcomes' has become code for failure" NSTU (1996, p. 6). Although NSTU does not clarify 'code of failure', it ties jurisdictions to fundamental Christians who comprehend OBE as indoctrination. Then it can probably be stated that other cultures striving for outcomes based on the discourse set out in the present PSP are exposed not only classism but Western ideological codification.

Weiler (1988) informs us that Freire's teaching of literacy to peasants was based on a method of codification. According to Weiler, Freire's codification emerged from the life experiences of the students themselves. Native authors such as Johnson (1994), Graveline (1996), Sabattis (1996) argued that in a variety of instances a code of failure has been imposed on First Nations due to the separation of learning from life experiences. That is to say there is not only a lack of cultural continuity but a potential for academic failure when a Native child commences formal schooling.

1. Business Education

The headlining text here informs the readers that this section is under revision. In light of not being aware of what the terms of references are for the revision it is difficult to speculate with certainty what the revisions will bring. Consequently, the Native

childrearing practices (NCRP) lens views this without any knowledge of the revision process.

Glancing back to page B-14 where the listing of courses is situated for high school credit, there are twelve different courses under this heading. Accordingly, business education is intended for the senior high school students. The reader is advised that there are two phases for this program one being individual business courses and the other business sequences. Two different streams are distinguished in this program. One being general in nature and the other for business and office occupations preparation the individual business courses are general in nature and the other for business and office occupations preparation. This clearly introduces and demonstrates to the reader of what will be read in the upcoming text.

As one reads on, the disparity and inequity is indisputable throughout this portion of the PSP. The second paragraph presents clear evidence that there is a disparity between the haves and the have-nots. Again disparity of programming within the PSP (p. E - 3) is evident for it states, "As part of the High School Graduation Program schools that have business education departments may offer accounting clerical, and stenography sequences". This is evidence of the have and have-nots by the availability of business education departments existing in some schools and not in others. It is ironic that this PSP is intended for all Nova Scotia students but there are built-in discrepancies between schools. It is not just a matter of cents [sense] that leads to the existence of business education departments.'May offer' are not only operative words but they are noncommittal as well.

Furthermore, in the best interests of both the students and advancement in technology does it not make sense to offer a number of these courses in junior high? It certainly would serve the Mi'kmaw students better at this level than at the high school level.

Time-tabling a course at the junior high level such as keyboarding and perhaps not calling it keyboarding but computer literacy would open doors for further development at the high school level. Many Mi'kmaw students never reach grade twelve, let alone survive

past grade nine. It will benefit not just the Mi'kmaq but to all students who are at the margins of education. Streaming is not suggested here but expanding the program to be more inclusive and varied.

It is noted that the Accounting Sequence is intended for a basic understanding of modern accounting procedures that are suitable for proprietorship, partnership and corporations. Considering the use of the term 'modern' it is presumed that it means the use of computers and accounting software. Could this then not also jeopardize the marginalized students? Rural students who have no transportation after school will be unable to stay after school to complete assignments on the computers. Use of study periods becomes a major factor to the success of these concepts. What of the lower socioeconomic students who cannot afford personal computers? They too will be unable to utilize computers other than during class time periods.

Given the philosophical decision to divide the PSP into English, African Canadian, French sections and bearing in mind that this is under the English Program Services one wonders how provisions can be made to provide business education with a Mi'kmaw focus. Due to the different characteristics of accounting procedures within Mi'kmaw societies a number of mainstream accounting aspects are not applicable. The accounting procedures are government based rather than market or sales based. In addition they are more of dispersal or payable than revenue producing. Monies emanated from several different government agencies then dispersed as welfare, workfare, or staff salaries at the community level. Leonard Murray, the Band Administrator for Chapel Island, (Cited in Johnson, 1985, p. 15) reported that the accounting procedures he learned were different than the accounting system of Chapel Island. He also noted that what he learned was based on sales and marketing along with net income.

Granted, there are transferable skills for the Mi'kmaw in Business Education but there are large portions of the courses identified under this section that have no connections to Native business, financial planning, budgeting and so on. For example, Law 341 makes no connections to Mi'kmaw or Native law in general. The law that is imposed on the Mi'kmaq is not traditional Mi'kmaw law just Eurocentric law. For the

course content the PSP (p. E - 5) states, "Course content includes the Canadian legal system, crimes, and crime control, injuries and wrongs, human rights, property rights, promises and agreements, business relations, family relations and courts and trials." The theoretical and ideological bases for each of these concepts are Eurocentric in nature and alien to Mi'kmaw culture. The law course should be more inclusive of both English and Mi'kmaw perspectives for they are both Canadian. In addition, the NCRP asserts that all the dimensions identified in Law 341 exist within the Mi'kmaw society. The PSP not only leaves the impression of exclusion, but divides the law course when it should do both and not subjugate Native law.

Another example is Business Mathematics (BMA 231), very few grassroots Mi'kmaq except the elite have the ability or the means to make investments or apply them to "typical business situations" (PSP, p. E-5). Considering that this course is provided to solve problems for the topic areas such as "budgeting, financial planning, banking and credit, employee compensation, merchandising transactions, investments, business report analysis, and managerial mathematics" (p. E - 5) one wonders how the PSP intends to link this course to the Mi'kmaq. In terms of implications for implementation typical business situations are sparse or non-existent. Nevertheless, opening this door provides a valuable opportunity to learn new skills; provided it is made meaningful. In contextualizing this course for the Mi'kmaq and others. Frideres (1993) makes an interesting point when he states, "Both Natives and non-Natives in the Maritimes have required social assistance and social welfare at much higher rates than elsewhere in Canada" (p. 200). Federal and provincial grants have been keystones not just in Atlantic Canada but elsewhere to alleviate poverty and provide basic human needs. Frideres (1993, p. 200) advises that "[U]nemployment creates a need for social assistance that goes beyond simply providing funds for food and housing". One would think that adopting an inclusive curriculum would lead to or bring about innovations in the accounting sequence.

The Clerical Sequence offers a large amount of skills that could be transferable to Mi'kmaw situations. Intergovernmental communications for the Mi'kmaq is a must. All agencies located on reserve are accountable to either the Department of Indian Affairs or

some other federal department for fiscal support. The only source of revenue is what gets budgeted from Ottawa. It is the fiduciary trust stipulations of the Indian Act and the lack of resources for viable revenue that maintains these conditions.

2. Computer Education

The PSP makes note that the Department had circulated in May 1997 a discussion draft entitled, Vision for the Use of Information Technologies within the Nova Scotia Public School Program. The results contained from this consultation were to be used as direction for professional development and integration of information technology across the curriculum in support of the diverse needs of learners. This present PSP 1997-1998 does not seem to reflect any of this in the business section that deals with computer use. Page B-14 clearly demonstrates through the course offerings of CRS 11 and 12 that computers are sanctioned only for senior high. There is no evidence of any computer-related courses on the course listing on pages B-8 and B-14. With the notion and understanding of information technology across the curriculum one would like to think that there will be no holes barred. The largest gap in this PSP is its utility at the junior high level. The importance of computer literacy at a younger level should not be overlooked or so easily set aside for skills developed at an early stage of development are transferable and retained.

a. Elementary (Primary-Grade 6). A contradiction arises here between the wording in the last paragraph "integration of information technology across the curriculum in support of the diverse needs of learners" (PSP, p. F-1) and "[I]t is not intended that a separate computer unit or course be offered at the elementary level" (PSP, p. F-1). On the one hand it states 'across the curriculum' yet no unit or course offering is available at the elementary level. This contradiction carries not only implications for computer literacy but undermines how to "enhance the learning of elementary children" (PSP, p. F-1). A question rises as to how the children at the elementary level are to utilize "the computer as a tool for written expression, for illustrating, and for developing thinking" (p. F - 1) when they are not provided the skills to use it as a unit of study. Is it the intent of the PSP to expect teachers to relay preliminary instruction and explanation when there is no

flexibility allowed in the timetable? The NSTU (1996) document deals with this issue and it is discussed elsewhere within this study. Given that most teachers are pressed time-wise to deliver required courses this element of education is often waylaid and is kind of subverting the purpose of engaging the computer as a tool.

The second paragraph on page F - 1 of the 1997 - 1998 PSP throws more absurdity on this topic for the elementary level. While referring to the guidelines for computer use at the elementary level it uses the operative words 'may be used'. This casts another negation on the utility of computers within the elementary classroom. Would it not have been more beneficial to use terms that express more certainty? As well, the guideline is dated due to its reference to Vic-20's, Commodore 64's and 128's and the early Macintosh's and Apple's failing to recognize the advancement in microcomputer technology since the 1980's. Technological advancement makes this aspect of the PSP only peripheral and redundant not just for the Mi'kmaq but all Nova Scotia students.

b. Junior High (Grades 7-9). It is ironic here that objectives/outcomes are provided when there is no offering of computer related courses at this level. It is easy to see why teachers do not offer any of these skills to students for they would go counter with the listing on page B - 8. Both of the outcomes identified in this paragraph are unrealistic. Not every student has access to computers whether in or out of school. As stated earlier, it would only be those families who have financial resources that would benefit from computer education for after-all it is not a course or subject area. A great chasm exists within this province between the haves and the have-nots. A document by NSTU (1996) refers to this as social difference.

A reference to the development of a revised teaching guide for Junior High is more encouraging than the outdated one for the elementary. Albeit, one questions why so much time, energy and other resources are capitalized in redrafting the guideline when computer education is not considered a 'subject area' as stated on page F-1. The last paragraph in this section speaks of the production of word-processed and presentation written work by grade 9 along with the recommended use of a database system before the end of grade 8. This is at best inconsistent without the allotment of a subject area for computer education

to attain any of the skills mentioned in this section.

c. Computer Related Studies (CRS 11). Here computer education is no longer computer education for it is switched to computer related studies. This is a genuine course and it is listed on page B-14 as a High School Credit course. Its focus is in the use of application programs and there is to be little or no programming language. It is stated in the outline that it is meant for solving real world problems. The question is whose and what problems. A larger question was raised by (NSTU, 1996) as to how this is to be operationalized in curriculum guides and assessment instruments. The utility of solving real world problems cannot be completely achieved with only the use of application programs. Then again whose world problems are to be solved?

3. English Language Arts

This section of the PSP consists of a very substantial portion of the PSP. It consists of twenty pages (G-1 to G-20) of English Language Arts. The course listings for junior high on page B - 8 identifies the French, Gaelic and Mi'kmaq languages. However, there are no other language arts available within this section of the PSP and the title is excluding language arts from other cultures. In addition, the language arts courses identified on page B - 8 are generic in nature for they are not prefaced with the word 'English'. The prefacing does not occur until the high school credit courses are listed on page B - 14 of the PSP. Technically speaking it is at the high school level where there is an emergence or the first indication of English monopolization with the language arts course. In essence, the English Language Arts section stirs away from the intents of the two major goals identified on page A-1 of the PSP.

This section by its very nature being an English Language Arts Program makes it assimilatistic. Amos Key (cited in Halifax Herald, 3/29/96) was reported to have said, "each language reflects a different cultural ``world view," and that is what is being lost or sometimes deliberately eliminated in the drift toward a few common languages" (p. D3).

Key (cited in Halifax Herald, 3/29/96) is reported to have said,

> "If you want to destroy a people, you get their language first. Then there is no mode to transmit ideas or concepts. If you want to have another world view, you get rid of the language and bring another language, and

that brings in another world view". (p. D3)

These may sound like strong words for some people. The words are not that strong when one considers that you and your ancestors are indigenous to the region.

Even with French being the second 'official' language in Canada there is no French Language Arts under this heading or under the heading "Acadian and French Language Services Program and Course Descriptions" (PSP, p. S - 3). Burnaby (1980, p. 297) tells us, "If Native people are really concerned that schools are acculturating their children to majority culture ways, then the English language arts program, among others, should be carefully scrutinized for culture fairness". What Burnaby states is so true especially when the first language for the region belongs to your people along with how your language and culture had been subjugated for centuries by your colonizers. As well as, the ability to finally express issues of concern regarding your people is like a blessing in disguise and very overwhelming.

The English Language Arts program is a foreign language immersion program for many of the Mi'kmaw children. This is not to say that it is not necessary for the Mi'kmaw students to learn the English language; however, the problem is exclusion. The following quotation from Bezeau (1995) mentions problems associated with immersion programs.

> Unique problems occur with respect to learning at home if the children are in a language immersion program. In French immersion, the most common example, children receive most of their instruction in a language that, in many cases, their parents are not familiar with. Parents are expected to provide positive motivation and a suitable environment for second-language learning activities in addition to more intensive support for their children's first-language learning activities. (p. 152)

There is a contradiction here as well for it is necessary for the Mi'kmaw student to understand and be able to converse in the English language. Burnaby (1980) tells us that the first language is closely tied to the child's social and intellectual development. In addition, Burnaby (1980, p. 295) states, "From the point of view second language teaching, first language instruction looks valueless and undirected. From the point of view of first language teaching, second language teaching looks rigid, restrictive and abstract from the reality of personal communication". However, if the Mi'kmaw student is going

to continue to higher levels of education s/he requires to be fully functional in English for that is the language of instruction at higher levels of education. However, this can become a double-edged sword as it takes away from the Mi'kmaq language and the ways of life of the Mi'kmaw student.

The first line in this section on page G - 1 states, "One of the major aims of the schools of Nova Scotia is to produce graduates who are thinking, articulate, literate people". This very first line sends a clear message that the English language as being the only vehicle to produce Nova Scotia graduates who are thinking, articulating, and literate people. Are not the French, Spanish, Italian or Mi'kmaq thinking, articulating and literate people? Racism now emerges as a cornerstone with language arts.

The notion of becoming literate in English sends a strong message meaning learning to read, write and speak in other languages is not valued. "The notion of manifest destiny, ..., strengthened the concept of white dominion" (Petrone, 1990, p. 2) by discounting the literate nature of the Mi'kmaw society. There is a lack of inclusion of these skills in other languages such as French, Spanish, Italian or Mi'kmaq are not recognized or acknowledged - although one could read and write French, Spanish, Italian or Mi'kmaq hieroglyphics and Mi'kmaq prose.

The second line states,

> It is expected that graduates will be able to communicate effectively and confidently in personal and public contexts for a variety of purposes and through a variety of means and media, and that they will be comfortable using language to explore and construct meaning. (page G-1)

Following through on this quote from second sentence's notion of being effective, confident and comfortable fluent Mi'kmaw speakers are very often not effective, confident or comfortable in articulating in English. Neither are those from other cultures or some social classes. implies that every graduate will be effective, confident and comfortable with the use of the English language to explore and construct meaning. The combination of these two sentences also sends a message of ethnic and social class demarcation. While a specific language is not identified but the English language is implied within the title of this section.

The utility of the term illiterate is vexing for me for very often the term is used to denote only the lack of reading and writing in English. This used to be considered the 'deficit paradigm'. Despite a lack of forma English education Mi'kmaq are able to communicate through letters by reading and writing in Mi'kmaq. Would we call a person whose first language is French, illiterate?

The personal and public expressions of a Mi'kmaw person are very seldom heard or recorded through a variety of means and media due to "[T]he dominant position of English in North America suggests that English immersion in Canada may be unnecessary or inappropriate..." (Bezeau, 1995, p. 95-96). Even to present day there is a rarity for the expressions of personal and public opinions through the Mi'kmaw language. The pride and dignity embossed within the Mi'kmaw language and culture has been superimposed by the colonialists with inferiority and degradation. Because of this inferiority and degradation I was not taught to write profusely in my Mi'kmaw tongue for English has been and still is the language that subjugated me.

Most often it is the Mi'kmaq-Maliseet Nation News that records what has been declared publicly by a prominent Mi'kmaq. It is generally recorded by popular media if it is unfavourable to the Mi'kmaq or of benefit to the dominant society. Or are appropriated by White persons who consider themselves eXperts on Mi'kmaq or other Native societies. In other words they speak for us and at times without our consent or consultation. The provision of education within society's schools is service oriented. In North America human services as been historically based on deficit paradigms with the notion that professionals are seen as those with the knowledge to impart to needy and deficient consumers (Cornell Empowerment Group, 1989: cited in Kuehne and Pence, 1993). This happens in every sphere of Canadian society. Graveline (1996) has this to say about appropriation,

> The undertaking is inherently paradoxical due to longstanding relations of appropriation. It is an ongoing struggle to balance the desire to share our gifts to inspire respect and the fear of having the offerings appropriated and stripped of spiritual intention by "well-meaning" Whites. I raised this concern in one circle. (p. 306)

> I really struggle sometimes with feedback from members of the Native community who feel maybe sharing Native ways with Non-Native people is losing something. And / hear from other Native people that say, maybe sharing things of beauty from our culture will help people respect and share in our culture and learn from our culture (Fyre TC3:23).

> Arising from and embedded in teaching an Aboriginal process in a Western context is the history and current reality of appropriation of our cultural processes. (Graveline 1996, p. 305)

In an attempt to bring closure on the issue of personal and public expressions very often for a Mi'kmaw person these are manifested in the subjugated/knowing paradigm. Subjugated knowing includes how on May 26, 1998 Donald Julian's (President of the Confederacy of Mainland Mi'kmaqs) and Darren Googoo's (Education Director for Membertou First Nation) and the authors concerns about the Mi'kmaw Education Act were negated and had no influence to change any wording on the Mi'kmaw Education Act. Politicians on this committee acted as the eXperts of what was best educative wise as they have done in centuries past. One committee member took exception, in fact, felt insulted, to a truth presented to the Committee by Mr. Julian. Graveline (1996, p.305) stated, "As a person with Native ancestry, I learned a lot the last few years, just how much our people have been silenced over the years". I too have learned a lot on silencing not only just from the White society but also from our own politicians and educators.

Graveline (1996, p.305) questions, "How do we teach respect for tradition to those still embedded in colonial consciousness with an ingrained practice of destroying what they fear?" Colonial consciousness does not rest with the dominant society for it is a mentality that has become permeated within aboriginal societies since the realization of First Nations' self-government. Oh, how well, we have learned from our oppressors. Hence, this question seeks responses from the Native community as well for the politicians and personnel located within Native organizations and communities who have taken on colonial mindsets. That is - they have learned well from their oppressors on how oppression operates for they now practice it on their own First Nations community members.

I utilize the words of Martin and Cherian (1999) to illustrate an unequivocal social

and curricular justice aspect regarding social class and language differentiation,

> The following anecdote illustrates how children make meaning of the language and its usage according to the culture in which their learning is embedded. A 5-year-old asked his teacher, "Is butt-hole a bad word?" "Well, its not really something nice to call someone," the teacher replied. Overhearing the conversation a second child of working–class background chimed in, "I know a bad word, fuck, but only Mommy and Daddy can say that." The second child's serious breach of social convention, despite his apparent intention of "helping" to clarify "a bad word" caught the teacher off guard. She had responded instantly to the first child, but to the second child, an awkward silence was followed by a partial agreement, "Yes, that is a bad word" and for further clarification, "We don't say that at school." The final phrase solidified the distinction between the language used at home and at school, by parents and by teachers. (p.113)

This is a pungent example but it clearly illustrates language differences and usage between the school and home. Regarding differences in the communicative interactions between school and parents Martin and Cherian (1999) argue that language effectively separates persons of different social class. They demonstrate how Tim, a middle-class student, learned the 'the magic words' please, thank you and excuse me to make a distinction between middle class and the working class. These words allowed Tim to in effect manipulate the teachers and principal; hence, receive less negation on what he did in school. The Mi'kmaq children do not use these magic words either due to what is embodied within the cultural ethics.

The second sentence in the second paragraph states, "While language experiences in all subject areas contribute to the multifaceted development of students as language users, the English Language Arts Program, in particular, expands communication potential for all students" (PSP, G - 1). This cannot apply across the board for all students because as a child communicative potentials through the Mi'kmaw language were expanded and developed from relations. It did not develop from a school career or expand and extend through the process of formal schooling. It was part and parcel of civility as a Mi'kmaq. The repertoire of Mi'kmaw language skills and strategies within every facet of Mi'kmaqness emanated from community and beyond contributed to complete the individual communication potentials. Values, beliefs, and norms were taught by parents,

grandparents, and relations; not by formal schooling. The Mi'kmaw language was the main instrument for the transference of culture between my relatives myself. These are the major reasons why exception is taken to the paragraph. Hence, "...in spite of all that I have said in English - English is the language of my colonization" (Monture-Angus, 1995, p. 57).

The first sentence of the second paragraph on page G-1 states, "Throughout their school career, students should expand and extend their repertoire of language strategies and skills for leaning and for communication". Is it the PSP's intention to bring forward the English Language Arts Program is an end for all students. English Language Arts as a communicative process fails to connect with Native notions of communication. English also makes it difficult for the expression of race and culture experiences (Monture-Angus, 1995, p. 57). Every other language that exists in this province is thrown at the margins.

The third paragraph on page G-1 of the PSP it states, "The program should provide a range of learning experiences engaging students in the purposeful use of language to"

- think and learn
- communicate effectively and clearly with a range of audiences for a variety of purposes
- gain, manage, understand, and evaluate information
- explore, respond to, and appreciate the power of language and the contexts of its use

How could it do this for most Mi'kmaw students cannot explicate the above in the English language? If the PSP's intent is to follow through on its two goals of helping all students then it has to divest itself of the assimilative practices of bygone days. On the second column and prior to the bulleted items on page G-1 the PSP states, "[T}he English language arts program provides students with multiple opportunities to...". This is more dispiriting for the multiple opportunities identified in the column on the same page imply that it is not possible with other languages. The English language arts program more or less echoes Martin and Cherian (1999, p.) "...The English Language arts this and the English language arts that..." and pushes forward the notion that English is the only language that can provide learning for students at the exclusion of other languages.

The first multiple opportunity, "talk as a means of learning" (PSP, p. G -1) is not unknown to Mi'kmaw discourse either in the past or present. The problem is who would be listening. The second multiple opportunity, "use talk, writing, and visual representing to explore and express their thoughts, feelings, perceptions, ideas, and attitudes" has been utilized to express our views and concerns but again no one has been listening. More often than not it has been viewed as a sounding-off principle more so than communication of desired changes within all phases of Mi'kmaw life. For the Mi'kmaw it is difficult to follow through on the multiple opportunities identified here due to lack of understanding the English language. Also, Mi'kmaw people need and want to develop the structures and conventions of their own language in conjunction with the English language not to the detriment of our first language. The raises the larger issue of literacy development that is inclusive rather than exclusive, that is to say the PSP lacks the development of other literacies.

Dolan (1995) found that the Mi'kmaw students who attended provincial schools showed a greater concern about the loss of their language. We recognize that our language is in peril so there is an urgency to capture all elements of our language to have it revitalised. Over thirty years ago it was noted by authors Cairns, H. A.C., Jamieson, S. M. and Lysyk, K. (1967) that it is inevitable that ethnic identity and cultural traditions is led by the loss of a language. These authors also noted that governmental policy is ambiguous for the Indian [sic] languages are allowed to disappear and be replaced by either the French or English languages. This is precisely what is occurring with the Mi'kmaw language. The English language is in no danger of extinction; hence for the Mi'kmaw child learning it can wait. Pitawanakwat (1989) states,

> The English language is everywhere: on television, radio, on signs and billboards, newspapers and magazines. It tells of many things that are important. It also tells us of many things that are not important. The English language passes many useless messages to us every day. One of the biggest messages that the English language has tried to pass on to us was that the Anishnawbe culture, history, and political heritage, language the pace of Anishnawbe people in Canadian society, was unnecessary and burdensome. (p. 73)

The Mi'kmaw language has not reached the heights of how the English language is described by Pitawanakwat (1989). It most likely will not either except maybe in some niches within the Mi'kmaw communities.

The notion of interacting with a range of communication devices such as the electronic, visual, and other media forms is idealistic. This may be possible for some of the middle-class and the upper echelon of society but not for the lower class, the rural communities or the Mi'kmaq. Furthermore, not all schools have access to these resources and students transported to and from rural areas are further disadvantaged because of their geography. It is next to impossible for a Mi'kmaw person to respond personally to a range of literature, popular culture and media texts as purported by the PSP for it is not allowed by the dominant society because it challenges the idealistic forms created by them.

a. Speaking and Listening. This topic appears on page G-2 of the PSP. The referencing or labelling of language arts as 'English' is continued against the notion of inclusion. The first sentence states, "Speaking and listening are essential for language development, for learning, for relating to others and for effective participation in society" (PSP, p. G -2). The NCRP has no problem technically with the role identified for speaking and listening during the process of communication. However, this quote albeit void of the word 'English' needs to be challenged on whose society does this apply. No matter what language we utter, speaking and listening are necessary components of communication except for those who have lost or never had these facilities.

A missing element in this section of the PSP relates to a lack of a pedagogical process that is familiar with Native societies. Regnier (1994, p. 141) describes it as, "The process moves students from silence to speaking, monologue to dialogue, isolation to participation. ... It advances cooperative, supportive and imaginative social relations among students, ans significantly improves communicative competence and interaction". Regnier also mentions that this connects the students with community, culture, and the world around them. This global or inclusiveness remains elusive in the PSP.

The NCRP lens reveals a problem with the word "for effective participation in society" (PSP, p. G - 2). Whose society? Does it mean the dominant society? Does it

mean Canadian society in general that includes all cultures or does it pertain to the dominant society only? The first paragraph implies that without English our communicative abilities are non-existent. The PSP should also make it clear the universality of the English language and its importance in global economic trade not as an educative means to an end for general communication. Prior to the construction of objectives or outcomes emphasis should clarify why English language arts is important in schooling. Emphasizing the benefits of English language in a global economic trade sense would lend credence on this focus on the English language.

Also, we need to keep in mind what the NSTU (1996) document states,

> ...the outcomes which deal with speaking and listening...contend that students will speak, listen, ask questions, and think about the utterances of others. These are actually anti-outcomes, they are not measurable in the sense that teachers might measure the percentage of correct answers on a vocabulary test. An hones assessment instrument for such an outcome would either have to be complex and idiosyncratic as to make comparison impossible or so derisive of the process it is trying to measure that it would (for instance) boil the evaluation down to checklist of speech acts. (p. 36)

The next line states, "The English language arts program should develop students' understanding and effective use of oral language and enhance their capacity to express themselves in formal and informal situation, adapting style and response to audience and purpose" (PSP 1997-1998, p. G-2). One would like to think that other languages such as the French, Mi'kmaq and Gaelic would develop comparative skills in students. It is surprising for the NCRP lens that the term 'oral language' is utilized as the notion of oral language has been primarily the custom and tradition of Native peoples throughout the world and not the English. Once again the PSP sets up divisions and margins by focussing or labelling the oral nature of language arts as English and disregarding French, Mi'kmaq, and Gaelic. Petrone (1990) maintains that the term oral literature has been considered as a contradiction due to the belief that only the written word comprised or fulfilled the condition of literacy.

The NCRP lens also raises concersn with the notion that the English language arts program is alone for the development of students' oral language for other languages do

this. The Mi'kmaq for centuries have utilized oral tradition as form of language expression which transcended our culture from generation to generation. Value was placed on orality long before the Europeans arrived. The orality of the Mi'kmaw language has been subjugated within a variety of Nova Scotia schools since formal education was introduced to the Mi'kmaq.

It is not only the focussed small groups talk in English that is essential to the English language arts in classrooms as stated on page G-2 that is important. Focus on small group talk with other languages such as Mi'kmaw talk is very critical for the learning of English. The ability to translate into Mi'kmaq, French, Gaelic, Spanish is coupled with crucial elements in the comprehension skills for these students. Cognitive translation processes from L_1 to L_2 can lend a hand in understanding and developing language fluency. It is similarly true in the reverse. The irony of the second to the last paragraph in this section is that it states, "...the program emphasizes a variety of paired and small-group activities in which students may practice and develop their language fluency" (PSP 1997-1998, p. G - 2). Johnson and Johnson (1990) advise us that placing students in groups does not necessarily work. Their reasoning stems from some students seeking a free ride while others decrease their effort to avoid being suckers. Then there are those who have high ability and may take over at the expense of lower achievers. What does "students may practice and develop their language" (PSP 1997-1998, p. G - 2) mean? The language could not necessarily be theirs for the English language is imposed upon them as a language of instruction. Or does it imply the mother tongue of the Mi'kmaq, French and other culture groups? In either case, if students were enabled to utilize or defer to someone who is proficient in both their mother tongue and English the level of comprehension with the language used for instruction will increase or to make 'meaning making' (borrowed term from the Reading and Writing). Furthermore, if the PSP makes it clear that English was the language of instruction within Nova Scotia schools and if there were a mother tongue connection or reference would ease the minds of students from other cultures.

b. Reading and Viewing. The first paragraph on page G - 2 states, "Reading and

writing are meaning-making processes. They include making sense of a range of representations including print, film, television, technological, and other texts". The text contained in this section seems to be misplaced for it speaks more of the types of print and visual text than the processes involved in reading and viewing. The NCRP perspective agrees that reading and viewing are meaning-making but the PSP does not describe how this process is to occur. Critical elements described by McNeil (1990) such as word recognition and comprehension, applying reading skills in everyday use, and integrating reading to their background are not mentioned in this PSP. Reading as a backdrop to making sense within the Mi'kmaq community is very often absent during Native childrearing practices. Hamilton (1987, p. 41) found that "most of the children were not read to by their parents or taught nursery rhymes or word games". This echoes in part of what Potts (1973) identified about the language gap between home and school that led to high retention rates.

The second line under this heading on page G-2 states, "Reading print texts has always been an essential component of the English Langue Arts Program and of other disciplines and is becoming increasingly important in a complex, global, information-based, technical society". While the NCRP lens provides a perspective in agreement with the notion of reading and viewing as an essential component of the English Language Arts program and other disciplines, it is just as important in other language arts programs as well. For instance, reading and viewing multimedia in Portuguese, French, Mi'kmaq will not reduce the effectiveness of reading and viewing in English. Actually, it would supplement it. What is enlightening in this paragraph is that English is being put in a global context.

The next paragraph on page G-2 which deals with graphic and visual messages is understandable in the context of today's high-tech society. However, the only problem is that Native people and people in the margins do not necessarily have access to these high-tech visuals or texts. If the PSP's intent or goal is in the utility of such media then measures need to be undertake to assist those in the margins in the developing these graphic and visual messages relative to their life experiences. The PSP needs to not only

address this issue but maybe develop guidelines on how access can be more accommodated.

c. Print Texts. It fits best with the prior section for it dwells heavily on the virtues of reading. The first line states, "To help students become better readers, learning experiences should reflect the belief that reading must be meaning-centered, interactive, practised, purposeful, modelled, and supported" (PSP 1997-1998, p. G-3). Is it possible that the two titles are out of order? Another problem is that what types of print text and whose created print texts are not mentioned. Johnston (1992) stated,

> Students studied Kaw-lijas, wooden Indians, who were incapable of love or laughter; or Tontos, if you, whose sole skill was to make fires and to perform other servile duties for the Lone Ranger; an inarticulate Tonto, his speech limited to 'UGH!' 'Kimo Sabi', and 'How'. (p. 105-106)

Johnston states, "Books still present native people in terms of their physical existence as if Indians were incapable of mediating upon or grasping the abstract" (p. 105).

The second sentence of the second paragraph states, "It is also important that students learn to apply appropriate reading strategies to different situations, varying their approaches according to the nature of the text, their purpose in reading it, and their own knowledge and experience" (PSP 1997-1998, p. G-3). It is clear that the authors of the PSP intents this sentence to relate to all students; yet, it makes no reference to discourse from other cultures albeit it makes note that reading must be meaning-centered, reading strategies of their own knowledge and experience. Also, since the media is in a print form it contradicts the oral nature of the Mi'kmaw language.

If Nova Scotia education is to be transformed existing and available resources have to include not just the newly found print voices of Mi'kmaw writers but the oral traditions of the Mi'kmaq. Petrone (1990, p. 4) tells us that "The primary role of oral tradition literature was utilitarian and functional not aesthetic". This utilitarian and functional role of oral tradition has been carried forward by the Mi'kmaq to serve as the transmitter of our culture or our ways of life to the younger generations. Oral tradition is more than looking good as presupposed by aesthetics. The reading of print texts are very often not

the lived through experience of the Mi'kmaw students. Written documents are relatively recent or absent within indigenous societies (Canadian Historical review, 1994). This includes the Mi'kmaq as alphabetical written forms of communication were not prominent until this decade. It is now being taught within Mi'kmaw community schools and selected provincial schools.

It is also evident in this section that there is no provision for the development of library skills for the pursuance of appropriate print text. The frequenting of libraries by Mi'kmaw students is lacking (B. M. Johnson, 1994). A need exists to develop library skills for the Mi'kmaw students are intimidated with the system in place. Very often the frequenting of the school library is due to the scheduling of a class in the library and not for the seeking of books to read (B. M. Johnson, 1994).

The viewer using the NCRP lens would disagree with the assertion that, "[S]tudents' lifelong concepts of the function and value of reading are shaped by the reading they do in school. Thus students need to learn not only *how* to read (in the traditional sense of skills and strategies), but also *why* to read" (PSP 1997-1998, G-3).

The first line in last paragraph in this section on page G-3 states, "The broad range of literature read and studied in English language arts includes classic and contemporary texts in a variety of genres including poetry, plays, novels, short stories, essays, biographies, and autobiographies". While this is a valuable goal, in order for it to be effective, cultural relevance and support for reading readiness will be necessary and should be specified.

The next sentence PSP 1997-1998 states, "In addition to texts relevant to the students' own lives, the range of texts should offer perspectives that contrast and conflict with their own experiences and invite readers to reflect critically on alternative ways of knowing and being" (p. G-3). The Mi'kmaq encounter daily the range of texts that contrast and conflict with own experiences and the stress emanating from them often makes it vexatious to critique. Second, there are more conflicts and contrasts with their own experiences then they could care to read. Third, as for them being invited to critically reflect on alternative ways of knowing contradicts the Native culture for students are

encouraged "...to listen to one another without judgement, condemnation, criticism" (Regnier, 1994, p. 140).

d. Response. This section of the PSP commences with this discourse, "Personal responses, including spoken, written, and dramatic interpretations, are an important component of literature study" (PSP, 1997-1998, p. G-3). The NCRP lens provides the perspective that the notion of 'personal responses' strikes a cord of dismay particularly with the spoken and written aspects of communication. First, if the intent of the PSP is verbal and written fluency in English for the different types of communication mentioned here then problems will rise for Mi'kmaw speakers. Hamilton (1987) noted that the language background, meaning Mi'kmaq as a first language, poses difficulty. Second, if the PSP intents to follow through on its goals then it also needs to accept oral literature as "an important component of literature study" (p. G-3). Words written by a fellow Mi'kmaq on how her response was contrived as a **myth** when she responded to a teacher's question tells us otherwise. In Mi'Kmaq Language, Legends and Oral Traditions; Foundations in Acquiring Tribal Consciousness, Marshall (n.d.) recounts not only how she was not allowed to speak Mi'kmaq but how the teacher cut her off when she tried to tell her class about a legend once told to her by her grandfather.

e. Information, Media, and Visual Texts. This topic opens with the notion that "Students live in a culture increasingly dominated by images, both moving and static" (PSP 1997-1998, p. G-4). This is true for all cultures and there is no problem with it. However, the second line which states, "The English Language Arts Program has a significant role to play in helping students to select, assimilate, evaluate, and control the immense amount of information and the diverse messages produced in this culture" (PSP 1997-1998, p. G-4) posits English as the only language capable of a significant role. Other languages of the world play such significant roles just as well.

The third line states on page G-4 states, "The program at all levels, primary to twelve, must include experiences that enable students to interpret, evaluate, use, and create information, media, and visual texts - including advertisements, maps, multimedia/ CD resources, and other graphic displays". It is with certainty that the culture that is

referred to here is most probably the dominant society's. What experiences and whose experiences does the PSP refer? The PSP has to make clear if its intentions extend to diverse cultures.

The first line on the second paragraph states,

> Teachers should provide learners with experiences that will enable them to develop habits of perception, analysis, judgment, and selectivity; and to become discerning and critical viewers as they respond to experiences with available media, such as still image, film, video, interactive video software, CD-ROM, videodiscs, digital multimedia, the World Wide Web and other Internet resources. (p. G-4)

The third paragraph's first line states, "It is important that students develop an informed and critical understanding of mass media and popular culture, as well as the techniques they use and the effects of those techniques" (PSP 1997-1998, p. G-4). Whose popular culture? The next sentence in this paragraph states that, "They also need to understand that mass media convey ideas, information, and news filtered through someone else's values" (PSP 1997-1998, p. G-4). The viewer using the NCRP lens has no difficulty with this.

The last sentence of this paragraph on page G-4 states, "Experiences should engage students in examining those values and assessing the role the mass media play in their lives, the lives of others, and society as a whole". Again whose experiences, values, lives and society are to be examined?

The sentence in the last paragraph just before the learning experiences on page G-4 states, "Teachers from Primary to grade 12 should help students to develop the skills, knowledge and attitudes related to media literacy by planning learning experiences that...". This statement necessitates a need to have experience and knowledge of the cultural background pertaining to the skills, knowledge and attitudes necessary for Mi'kmaw students.

The fourth leaning experience, "provide opportunities for students to use media and visual text for pleasure" (PSP 1997-1998, p. G-4) is a problem not just the Mi'kmaq but for others in the margins. This is because of the disparity of services between the haves and the have-nots. The fifth learning exercise states, "provide opportunities for students to

study and create audio-visual and multimedia texts" (PSP, p. G-4) encounters similar problems with the prior learning experience. How can they create audio-visual and multimedia texts when resources are limited? Is there availability of computers and program applications available throughout Nova Scotia for what seems like lab settings?

The sixth learning experience, "encourage students to explore and critically reflect on their own perceptions and concerns" (PSP, p. G-4). This is another double edged sword for the Mi'kmaw due to the non-interference ethic many may not be critical. As well, a great many of these experiences are in Eurocentric perceptions.

The seventh learning experience states, "help students to examine the role played by the media in constructing notions of appropriate roles and behaviour" (PSP 1997-1998, p. G-4). As far as Mi'kmaw students being able to examine the role played by the media in their construction and notions of appropriate roles and behaviour there are no provisions or accommodations made within this PSP to reflect Mi'kmaw culture. There is nothing here for the Mi'kmaw student. The roles displayed by the media are not roles that are embraced by the Mi'kmaw students. The roles are Eurocentric except for selected shows such as The Rez, North of Sixty and Aboriginal Voices.

Similarily with the eighth learning experience that of helping "students to examine the role played by the media in constructing notions of culture and reality" (PSP, p. G-4), the question remains whose culture.

The ninth learning experience on page G-4 states, "encourage students to respond personally and critically to audio and visual elements in media texts". The biggest question which rises here relates to acceptance. Would Mi'kmaw students personal and critical responses be encouraged or stymied depending upon the type and appropriateness of the visual and audio elements in media texts?

On page G-4 of the PSP the tenth learning experience is "require students to critically examine messages from television, film, and other media". While the goal has positive potential much depends on how it will be implemented.

The eleventh learning experience on page G-4 states, "require students to retrieve, select, interpret information from a variety of media-based sources". This learning

experience should be combined with the tenth for the only difference lies in interpretation. It is only after interpretation that students could critically examine the content. Again with the being said, we need to question the origins of this retrieved, selected and interpreted information which is most likely Eurocentric in nature.

The twelfth learning experience for this section on page G-4 states, "help students to evaluate the reliability of information communicated through mass media and other sources of information". The PSP's intent has the potential to be very powerful if followed through to its fullest possibility.

The thirteenth and final learning experience for this section on page G-5 states, "include 'hands-on' experiences involving the creation of media products". Is it the intention of the PSP for this learning experience to create media products such as school newsletters, press releases, computer and television programs, advertisements that are developed, edited and driven by students? If the answer is in the affirmative another question rises. Is it the intention of the PSP that these media products could be produced in French, Gaelic or Mi'kmaq? Are these media products to serve the needs of students whose communities lie in the margins of society? Really the resources is needed to author a message.

f. Writing. This section which consists of three and a half columns starting on page G-5 speaks of the complexity in the development of the writing process. It is critical not to down play the need and importance for the basic elements of the writing process in the development of a solid foundation for it helps non-English students to deal with the sophistication of skills.

The second sentence on page G-5 of the first paragraph states, "Students, as well as teachers, need to recognize that writing is not a step-by-step process but one that is recursive and simultaneous". The statement is perplexing for the word 'recursive' according to the Oxford dictionary implies sequencing. Graham (1985) suggests sequencing of the writing process based on a five step process: 1) prepare, 2) draft, 3) revise, 4) strengthen, and 5) polish.

The third sentence on page G-5 states, "Writing involves a sophisticated set of

skills that evolve slowly and unevenly throughout school". The NCRP lens perspective agrees that Mi'kmaw students require and need sophisticated skills that will evolve slowly and unevenly. How these skills are continually strengthened along with their extended use and application; is the challenge for all.

The first learning experience under this heading on page G-5 states, "use writing and other ways of representing to explore, clarify, and reflect on their thoughts, feelings, experiences, and learning, and to use their imagination". It is difficult for many Mi'kmaw students to write in English for there will not only be language interference while writing in English but they will be affected by their feelings, experiences and learnings. Thought processes are incongruent and exact translation would be difficult if not impossible. What is confounding is so well noted by Petrone (1990) that Indian [sic] literature does not fit the criteria governed by the Western literary genres. Leavitt (1995) provides an insight on Native literature through the use of legends, myths and oral tradition.

Considering the extent of the learning and writing experiences in relation to this section, a few critical aspects have been relents for review.

The ninth bulleted item on page G-5 of the PSP states, "use available technology to write, revise, edit, and publish texts" is a problem. The reason being is that a great majority of Mi'kmaq cannot follow through on this writing experience. It is not a problem just for the Mi'kmaq but for those in the lower socioeconomic and rural strata as well due to access.

The twelfth bullet item on page G- 5 which states, "develop an explicit knowledge of their own writing process for particular tasks" raises a number of issues. What is meant by explicit knowledge? Whose explicit knowledge is it? What does "their own writing process" mean? Most important what connections if any are available for the Mi'kmaw in all of this?

The fifteenth bullet on page G-5 states, "respond constructively to each other's drafts". If this bulleted item was intended by the PSP to be viewed as cooperative learning then it is compatible with the Mi'kmaw students.

Item number 17 on page G-5 states, "develop an understanding that written

language varies according to context". Similarly, questions rise from this bullet. What written language is it? Or is it only English? Or could not this notion apply to other languages as well? One need not look elsewhere for the intent of the PSP answers that this is naturally English for it is English Language Arts. Experiences in developing reading and writing language skills in French and Latin implies certainty that this could apply to other languages. The implicit demeaning of other languages is again carried forward in this text. Other languages vary in English. Acculturative and assimilative processes are also implicit in this area of the PSP.

The eighteenth bulleted on page G-5 of the PSP states, "Explore the connections between voice and audience, and purpose and form". Will the intentions of the PSP allow connections of Mi'kmaw voice to the audience? Speaking on this issue, Johnston (1992) states,

> Herein, I submit, is the nub and the rub. Without the benefit of knowing the language of the Indian nation they are investigating, scholars can never get into their mind, the heart and soul and the spirit and still understand native's perceptions and interpretations. (p. 106)

Then again, one has to understand that there are limits to Johnston's statement for knowing the language is not enough.

Item twenty-one of the bullets states, "develop an understanding of the structures of written language" (PSP, p. G-6) is also questioned by the viewer through the NCRP lens. The PSP's authors appear to have intent throughout this section and in the other sections of the English Language Arts Program to avoid issues relating to the creation, maintenance and sustainable development of other languages. What or whose written language structure is to be understood? Do not all languages have structure and the ability to be written including the Mi'kmaq language? The structure of Mi'kmaw language is explored in the NCRP portion of the Southern Door. Speaking on the inter-connective culture and language Neito (1996) reminded us,

> Language is inextricably linked to culture. It is a primary means by which people express their cultural values and the lens through which they view the world. ...The language that children bring to school inevitably affects how and what they learn. (p. 187)

The twenty-second bulleted item states, "develop an understanding of the conventions of written language and the appropriateness of their use" (PSP, p. G-6). Much of the same can most probably be stated for this item as with number 22. If the intent of the PSP is to espouse English as being the only language that can function as described in item 22, it leaves a conjecture that no other language can lead to understanding or be appropriate in communications.

The twenty-third bulleted items on page G-6 of the PSP states, "make use of a range of conventions in creating texts for different audiences and purposes in a range of media". The major question that rises out of this item relates to whether the intentions of the PSP mean that "different audiences and purposes in a range of media" connect to other cultures. Or do these different audiences for writing mean in school audiences or are they external to the school?

The first sentence of the paragraph immediately following these bulleted items on page G-6 of the PSP states, "Using writing to learn, as a thinking tool, is an important component of the language arts program and other disciplines". According to Frideres (1993) people see and make sense of the world in different ways, in addition, their relationship to the environment also differs. Frideres further states that peoples approach problems looking for different solutions and that they process information differently to come up with solutions. This is due to the thinking process often being in Mi'kmaq and the child has to covert or process the information into English for it does not correlate. Vocate (1984, cited in Johnson, 1992) mentioned that comparing results between monolingual and bilingual students was not sensible. Kolers (1968, cited in Johnson, 1992) found that a bilingual person actually used two different distinct symbols. Consequently, it takes longer for the Mi'kmaw child to advance or make progress in the writing process.

The first line in the third paragraph after the bullets on Page G-6 states, "Through succeeding grade levels, students will be expected to demonstrate increasingly complex levels of thought and imagination as well as increasing fluence and competence". In this paragraph the NCRP lens sees a major problem with the PSP's intention of expecting all students including the Mi'kmaw students to readily increase competency in English.

Hamilton (1987) equated the English submersion at the Eskasoni school as sink or swim method. That is, by grade nine more than half of the students sank because of difficulties encountered with English. Also, this PSP has no provision to assist students from other cultures for 'English as a Second Language' is absent in this section of the PSP. The PSP's expectations in the English language lead to frustrations which in turn influence grade retention or the Mi'kmaw student's school leaving. Teachers' expectations could be out of line for the information processes of the Mi'kmaw student will be curtailed, cause anxiety and some may shut down due to bilingual information processing.

The second last paragraph in this section of the PSP states,

> Teachers should provide students with focussed instruction particular skills, strategies, and techniques appropriate to the needs of individual students. Instruction focussed on the conventions of written language (including usage, spelling, capitalization, and punctuation) should take place in appropriate contexts of meaningful activity. (p. G-6)

At issue here is whether the PSP' intentions are serious in meeting all that is stated in the paragraph. One needs to consider that there are little provisions for 'English as a Second Language' in this PSP for the Mi'kmaq. Second, considering the issues of cultural, linguistic and other barriers brought forward by Hamiltion (1987) the NCRP lens questions how teachers can provide the necessary instruction as outlined above. A majority of Mi'kmaw students cannot and will not talk about the difficulties that they are experiencing with English writing skills. One explanation is provided by Johnson (1994, p. 122) in the statement, "...Native people are sometimes too polite or shy to ask you to repeat yourself or ask for explanations if they don't understand". Another reason noted by Sable (1996) is that they do not want to expose themselves to ridicule or criticism by their Mi'kmaw peers.

The last paragraph in this section on states,

> Whatever the technical proficiency of a student's writing, the teacher's primary response should be meaning - response only to surface features of writing implies that meaning is less important than mechanics. The conventions of written language are important, but they should not eclipse meaning as the focus of writing. (page G-6)

The PSP's authors intention in this paragraph implies that the teacher's response be focussed on meaning and not on mechanics. However, disregarding the mechanics makes it difficult and frustrates the Mi'kmaw student.

g. Learning Through Drama. This section of the PSP is found on pages G-6 and G-7 of the PSP. The first paragraph on page G-6 PSP commences with these words, "Drama can be a powerful medium for language and personal growth, and should be an integral part of the interactive language arts program". The viewer through the NCRP lens agrees that drama is a powerful medium; however, in the same breath it disagrees. In spite of agreeing to this, the NCRP lens again grapples with the repudiation of other languages. How could drama assist in language and personal growth of the Mi'kmaw students when there are no life connections? Whose medium and whose language are to be utilized here? What connections are there to Mi'kmaw content?

The last sentence on the first paragraph states, "Teachers should use drama to enhance learning in a variety of ways that include the following..."(PSP, p. G-6). The NCRP lens questions what the PSP intentions are for this sentence as it sends a message that it is the teacher who utilizes drama not the students. Were not the two goals that were identified in chapter seven intended for all students not all teachers? The sentence needs to be reworded to accommodate students from all cultures. There are eight items bulleted under this section.

The text following the first bullet states, "as a collaborative social activity that allows students to explore ideas through improvisation and role play" (PSP, p. G-6). The NCRP lens questions whose social activities are to be emulated through improvisation and role play. Does the notion of 'collaborative social activity' mean that the intents of the PSP will include collaboration with other societies such as the French, the Gaelic, the African Canadian or the Mi'kmaq? It is very evident throughout this English Language Arts section of the PSP that words carry messages of exclusion and marginality. Or could the PSP be carrying double messages? The NCRP would rather embark on a more solid philosophical plane than deal with double messages. Certainty would be much easier to manage than circuitous or indirect forms of racism.

The second bulleted item states, "as a response to literature and to media texts" (PSP, p. G-6). A problem rises again about the type of literature and media texts are to be used. What and whose literature is to be utilized?

The third item states, "as a vehicle for involving students in decision making, problem solving, verbal interaction, mime, movement, and group dynamics" (PSP, p. G-6). Complying with the precept of a global community, could not the intent of the PSP accommodate other cultures besides the English in the utility of drama as a vehicle for the inclusion of what students bring to school. An opening exists with drama 'as a vehicle' to launch or develop intergroup race relations through myths, legends, stories and songs from a variety of cultural groups. Johnston (1992) advises us that there is enough literature, both oral and written, that is available for study.

The fourth item on page G-6 of the PSP states, "as a springboard for language exploration through role play that allows learners to try out language usage outside their normal range". The intent of the PSP is questionable in this sentence but whose language is to be explored? Regarding this quote we need to keep in mind that the springboard for language exploration and written reflection is for English Language Arts not French, Spanish or let alone Mi'kmaq. This is not an example for 'making connections between what they learn or how they live as advanced' on page v of the PSP.

What does "try out language outside their normal range" mean? Clarification is required on the meaning of this outcome. Or does the intent of the PSP call for utilizing drama as a springboard for innovative introduction to other language with the phrase 'to try out language outside their normal range'. It certainly conveys that message!

The fifth item states, "as an opportunity for learners to try on roles they wish to play or need to work through" (PSP, p. G-6). The NCRP lens questions what roles students will play or work through. Whose social context are these roles to emulate? Is the intent of the PSP only to portray character roles from the dominant society? For if it is, then only a select few, if any, will come forward to participate in drama or role-play. This is similar to putting up your hand in a classroom or responding to teacher's questions which open up other situations for Mi'kmaw students being chastised or ostracized by

peers. The opportunities are only for those who have strong self-esteems and are confident to get involved in drama or roleplay. Steinhauer (1997) states,

> In modern terms, this creates problems for those who achieve or have more: they become victims of jealousy. In the classroom this means that a student will not try to over achieve, because he will be viewed as arrogant by his peers and could become a social outcast. (p. 254)

Item six on top of page G-7 states, "as a way to explore voice and point of view by writing in role". It is with certainty that the PSP's intent is to utilize English as an instrument for encryption of voice in text. The NCRP lens asks whose voice and point of view are to be explored? Is there more for diversity and collaboration of voice and point of view? If it is not then it does not meet its own initial framework that was established on page v of the PSP.

The seventh item on page G-7 states, "as a springboard for written reflection in and out of role". If the PSP's intent is to question and critique with what the students have set down on paper as it relates to roles in drama then it has to address issues relative to lack of diversity within this learning experience.

The last bulleted item for this section on page G-7 states, "as a medium for out-loud thought". If it is the intent of the PSP to have students spontaneously express their thoughts then it is more liable that will lead to silence for the Mi'kmaw student due to cultural and other factors. Out-loud thought is not a medium that would be commonly used by the Mi'kmaw student.

The second sentence in the last paragraph of this section states "Improvised drama encourages learners to make discoveries using their own language; reading aloud can help learners to make discoveries using the language of others" (PSP, p. G-7). The NCRP lens lends the view to question the intent of the PSP regarding language. There is an assumption made that improvised drama encourages students using their own language. Generally speaking it is only the English language that is used. How could it be the language of others when it is English usage throughout? If the mother tongue is not English then it does not really enhance their own language growth. Then again, a contradiction rises for the Mi'kmaq - English is the language of others. The last part of the

final sentence states, "...to help them acquire an understanding of self, their relationship to others, and to the world of ideas" (PSP, p. G-7). How is it supposed to help them when in fact it would be hindering instead? The NCRP arrives at a conclusion with this section that initially there was hope for inclusion; however, hopes are dashed with the hindrance of English.

h. Language Across the Curriculum There is only a two sentence paragraph pertaining to this very important aspect of learning. One would like to have seen some connections or stipulations regarding how language, Mathematics and Science are interdependent. When students cannot read, or interpret word problems that are specific to these subject area problems generally rise. These problems lead to frustrations for Mi'kmaw students especially when the word problems cannot be related to their personal experiences. As one glances ahead on the remaining pages that relate to language arts there are no outcomes, aims or objectives to make connections for language across the curriculum.

4. Elementary (Grades P-6)

This section appears on page G-7 of the PSP. A good number of issues raised in this section have been viewed through the NCRP lens already, hence, detailing will not be as extensive here. The first sentence states, "Through the elementary English language arts program, students become effective users of language or learning, for communication and for enjoyment" (PSP, p. G-7). This textual discourse is a rewording of what was earlier encountered in the second paragraph on page G-1. The NCRP lens finds problems with the quoted sentence as it relates to English as the language of instruction and as the language for communication and enjoyment. How can Mi'kmaw students enjoy learning and communicating in a foreign language? Many Mi'kmaw children are effective users of language prior to entry within a formal school. Is it the intention of the PSP to denigrate other languages such as Mi'kmaq, French, Scot, Irish and others? This program is meant for English speakers and it is much more difficult for non-speakers.

The next two lines on page G-7 state, "The language arts program engages children in experiences that develop all the language processes: talking and listening,

reading and viewing, writing and other ways of representing. Always, the focus is on meaning." (PSP, p. G-7). The NCRP lens encounters a similar problem with these next lines for whose language processes are spoken of here. Mi'kmaw students have difficulty on meanings and other language processes with the English language. Many Mi'kmaw students whose first language is Mi'kmaq experience a delay in processing whether they are reading, viewing, talking and listening, writing and other ways of representing because of the focus on meaning or semantics. The Mi'kmaq student has to do twice the amount of work that an English speaking student does because of the delay in understanding. This in turn makes the Mi'kmaq student look slow or stupid. Referring to the outcomes' agenda, the NSTU (1996, p.55) document states, "There is an implicit theory of development in all of this which posits that all children ought to be developing skills and competencies at similar rates". The PSP does not allow for this concession and it is very unfair to the Mi'kmaq speaking students for they are put at a disadvantage. Burnaby (1980) tells us that the English language arts program should be carefully scrutinized for cultural fairness if Native people are concerned that schools are acculturating our children.

The authors of the PSP tells us on page G-7 that, "The program is language-based, collaborative and interactive". Whose language is it based on? No other language besides the English language is identified in its title. With whom does this program collaborate and interact and how could it for it is inanimate?

The second sentence on page G-7, "Through talking, listening, reading, viewing, writing, and other ways of representing, children develop their ability to refine their thinking and build their understanding of the world" excludes the Mi'kmaw or others whose mother tongue is not English.

The four directives that follow this paragraph are teacher centered not student centered. This is contrary to the student-centered approach of the PSP, hence off track. Although the PSP policy document appears to have established what looks like incremental outcomes by labelling them as P-3, 4-6, 7-9, 10-12 the NCRP lens finds that the outcomes identified in each of the different categories are identical semantically except that they are re-worded. The first three sets of outcomes are intended for primary to grade

three levels. The same meanings are advanced forward from P-12 making the outcomes achieve the same purpose from P–12. This is to say that the outcomes are similar from P-12 and are not progressive or enlightening to comply with Dewey's notion of progressive education. Also, the headings are identical. That is, it is only the language expressions that differ; yet, the same meanings are conveyed. Hence, the expectations of a Grade Primary student are exactly the same as a Grade 12 student. This is a classic case of reproduction. Or should I say that during the construction of this outcome based education there was an attempt by the writers to REDUCE their work load for they followed the ecological paradigm of REDUCE, RECYCLE, REUSE of what was already stated for the lower grades clear up to and including grade 12.

Based on a careful review of the Elementary outcomes for speaking and listening; reading and viewing; writing and other ways of representing; learning experiences; speaking and listening; reading instruction; viewing; responding to reading and viewing experiences; writing and other ways of representing; writing to learn; writing to communicate; and medica production there is much that is positive relative to English programs. But, that is just the problem. All the references as in the preceding sections of the English language Arts are designed and peak of goals that deal with English programs. The verbiage speaks of sharing feelings, exploring solutions, listening critically, engaging in a variety of texts, questioning print and non-print material, pursuing ones own questions, seeing onself in materials to be read, and supporting emerging literacy.

There is much that is positive here but three critical issues are not addressed for the Mi'kmaq.

1. Whose language, culture, vision and experiences are represented? The emphasis is on English and Eurocentric information detracts from the valid goal statements offered by the authors of the PSP.
2. How are the goals to be implemented? What supports exist for teachers? In order for thes goals to be achieved for the Mi'kmaq, then as noted by Cleary and Peabody (1998) for those who have oppressed and those who were modelled by elders who were oppressed, it will take a powerful

reason to give voice to their thoughts whether in picture, oral language or prose. Hence, implementation will take a strong force and those attempting to deliver the programs will need a great deal of professional development in order to make it work.

3. As noted by Cummins (1996) student prior experiences can be an impediment to academic growth. How will the learner of Mi'kmaw descent see her/himself in English programs and how will she/he move beyond her/his history. It requires more than a goal, more than awareness and more than brief attempts at token statements of inclusion. Rather, real, significant and powerful all inclusive approaches are necessary.

This transformation of the PSP is addressed in Section III. For more we continue our journey through the PSP.

5. Junior High (Grades 7-9

This section of the PSP commences on page G-13. The NCRP found contradictions with the outcomes in this portion of text as it relates to the progression of skills from the elementary grades. As explained earlier on page 319 the outcomes are not progressive due to the PSP utilizing the environmental three R's of reduce, recycle, and reuse. Hence, the exploration of English language arts by the NCRP will not advance into the outcome areas for levels after the end of Grade six. However, there are new topic areas located in this section such as study skill and strategies, extending knowledge about language and its use at the grade seven, eight, nine levels.

The second sentence of the first paragraph on page G-13 states, "The program is characterized by instruction that balances content and process with attention to developing students' knowledge, skills and motivation". The NCRP lens encounters a problem with this sentence. If the PSP took into consideration either the instruction that balances content regarding Mi'kmaw students' knowledge, skills and motivation by chance the dominant society may learn more about the Mi'kmaw and leave a door open to embrace other cultures. At present it is only the Eurocentric student's knowledge that instruction focuses on.

The last sentence in the second paragraph on page G-13 states, "The focus of the program is on enhancing students' communication capabilities". This is an English language arts program and the NCRP lens takes exception to this notion of enhancing communicative abilities. Elaborate forms of communication devices existed among the Mi'kmaq which were reported by explorers and missionaries. According to Battiste (1986) the Mi'kmaq used pictographs, petroglyphs, notched sticks as forms of written communication as records of social, political, cultural and spiritual needs. Many of these forms were extensively utilized during in the late nineteen forties and fifties in Chapel Island. The PSP implies that only the English language, at the exclusion of other languages, is the only language able to enhance communication capabilities.

The same can be said of the third paragraph. Then again, what connection is there to make optimal use of resources from the Mi'kmaw community. This is in light of the lack of school resource centers or libraries not being made available to the community members at large. The NCRP lens has a problem with the last portion under this heading whereby the program emphasizes certain abilities due to its inanimate nature.

a. Study Skills and Strategies. The section is misplaced for it should be located on page G-12 as part of comprehensive guidance and counselling. The reason being is that it would greatly assist all students who need these skills. This is particularly important for the Mi'kmaw students due to language and cultural differences.

The last sentence of the first paragraph under this heading on page G-14 states, "Teachers should help students to understand that strategies learned for writing and reading one kind of text do not necessarily work with all texts; different purposes for writing and reading require different approaches." This sentence is an issue of implementation for it sends a clear message to teachers regarding their responsibilities. This message is clear that some students, particularly Mi'kmaw students, cannot draw the information from certain text; nevertheless, if they read another text that carries the same message then they are able to make meaning. The text is also clear that different approaches are required; however, since teachers do not read this PSP document then how can they assist those students from diverse cultures who are in need.

The NCRP does not foresee any problems with the last paragraph if there was certainty in regards to the utility of the Mi'kmaw child's prior learning from the community during the course of his her education.

6. Extending Knowledge about Language and Its Use. The NCRP lens illustrates problems with the notion of extending knowledge about language and its use for it negates the Mi'kmaw language. It needs to be acknowledged that the Mi'kmaq Language Arts has been studied by many Mi'kmaw students as a formal discipline; hence, the English Language Arts is not alone with such a status. The idea of talking about how authors craft powerful writing pieces of text would not sit well with a majority of Mi'kmaw students for they would rather remain silent and internalize the information. Then again, it would difficult due to bilingual processes to reflect upon language use. Then a continual question rises, whose language?

a. Grade 7 The text on page G-16 that for this grade level continues all of the concepts that were introduced in the elementary grades. The textual discourse also advises us of more sophisticated language competence for Grades 8 and 9.

b. Grade 8. The first sentence advises that grade 8 is a year of consolidation, expansion and further discovery. However, why or what is to be consolidated, expanded and needs further study is not shared in the discourse of the PSP.

c. Grade 9. For Grade 9 we are advised that it is a year of synthesis; yet, there is no delineation of what is to be synthesized. This is a serious commentary for such an important period to be given such little detail in the PSP.

7. Senior High (Grades 10-12)

This section of the PSP commences on page G-16. The NCRP found contradictions with the outcomes in this portion of text as it relates to the progression of skills from the elementary grades.

a. English (Eng10). The textual discourse for this section on page G-18 reveals that this course emphasizes proficiency in the use of oral language for a variety of purposes. There are six bulleted learning experiences which should not pose any difficulty for Mi'kmaq students barring that they are not singled out during the process. As stated

earlier a danger lies regarding singling out and the students will invoke the withdrawal/ reaction ethic. Silence will ensue and participation will stymie.

b. Grade 11 and 12 Courses. All this section reveals is that there are two course options for specialization within a grade-defined framework of outcomes. A good majority of Mi'kmaw students who reach this level will be the high-end achievers. There should not probably be any problems associated with this level for the high achievers.

c. English 11 and English 12 (Engl1 and Engl2). It is noted in the text on page G - 19 that these courses are intended for those who are pursuing post-secondary education. While the Mi'kmaw students were very proficient at this level; yet, they were silent during class. In contrast, their English proficiency was superior to those whose mother tongue was English.

d. English/Communications 11 and English Communications 123 (ECM11 and ECM12). It is obvious that these two courses are not geared toward those who wish to pursue postsecondary education for they are not earmarked as such like the previously mentioned courses at this level. The first sentence of the second paragraph on page G- 19 states, "English/communication courses should be flexible enough to allow learners to move to academic courses" confirms the non-academic nature of these two courses. Very often this is the usual tracking stream that school counsellors use as course selection for Mi'kmaw students.

8. Canadian Literature (CLT 12).

The first sentence under this heading on page G- 19 states, "NOTE: CLT 12 is an elective credit course and does not fulfil the mandatory English language arts requirement. CLT 12 is currently under revision." We are advised that this course does not meet the requirements for the English language arts program; yet, it is included in this PSP.

It is ironic that students at this level are inundated with Shakespeare; yet, they are not allowed to learn about texts that emanate from our own country. With certainty this could most likely be categorized as racist for it is mostly English with an unit in French and First Nations. It negates other literary experts from cultures. Canadian Literature should include literature on the Scot, Irish. Also, this should be a credit course for the

NCRP lens sees value on what the Mi'kmaq could learn about what is contained in literature concerning them. For instance, they would find out that imposters like Grey Owl (Archibald Stansfeld Belaney, 1888-1939) and Chief Buffalo Child Lone Lance (Sylvestre Clark Long, 1890-1932) existed, capitalized and exploited our ways of life.

9. Family Studies

This section located from page I-1 to page I-5 commences with a very broad statement on the purpose of family studies. On page I-1 the PSP states, "The central purpose of the family studies program is to enhance the quality of life for individuals and families in Canada and throughout the world". If the intent of the PSP is to provide a global aspect then it not only has to provide this Western Eurocentric view but African Canadian, Mi'kmaq and other views as well. It is further complicated for it is well known that in this province that family studies teachers emanating from Mi'kmaw are not teaching in the provincial schools, or for the matter in any Mi'kmaw community schools. The same can be said about African Canadians. This statement is made with the support from Sylvia Paris, (personal communication, April 10, 2000) a family studies teacher and a race relations consultant within the Nova Scotia Department of Education. She stated that there are no current programs or courses being taught in Nova Scotia schools that reflect African Canadian family studies. Moreover, there is no African Canadian family studies teacher located in any of this provinces' schools. Hence, this Eurocentric view very often casts shadows that negate Mi'kmaw and other Native childrearing practices. Maybe the PSP has to reassess this course of studies and review the implications of its intent in having this program as part of the core curriculum and as an high school graduation credit. The NCRP lens perceives this as the best way to meet its intent on how this program can enhance the quality of life for individuals and families in Canada and throughout the world. During this review it also needs to address the implications for implementation of family studies teachers from diverse cultures.

Fischler (1985) reported that there has been misunderstanding and mislabeling of childrearing patterns of sibling care, and care by extended family members as being neglect and maltreatment. In order to correct this misconception a need exists to develop

curriculum that encompasses Mi'kmaw cultural ways of the family. Family studies has been mainly within the junior high level domain of schooling. That is to say, it has been the junior high students who are exposed to this program. Considering that this is an elective area of study its purpose is very overwhelming. Furthermore, only a select few will take this program due to the nature of it being an elective.

The intent of this sentence is overwhelming for family studies is progressive from the individual to the family and to the world at large. In addition, maybe it goes too far since this course of study is an elective and not part of the core program. The course is listed in all grade levels form grade seven up; yet, it is not recognized or listed on page B-14 as a credit for high school graduation requirement.

The next sentence is more realistic; still, it places limitations by stating, "... that students are encouraged to identify, clarify, examine, and deal with significant concerns they encounter in their daily lives" (PSP, p. I-1). 'In their daily lives' is a key for scrutiny. What about the racism and discrimination that the Mi'kmaq and African Canadian students encounter in their daily lives. There is no mechanism to deal with the issue here. Race relations and cultural understanding could very easily be incorporated within this section; yet, it is not.

To whom are the writers directing this central purpose? One can only presume that it is toward the students from the dominant society considering that this is the English Program Services. How can race relations and cross-cultural understanding be incorporated with such a narrow focus? On the one hand as the PSP says earlier on page C-10 under Comprehensive Guidance and Counselling that this section could be included here.

The next sentence is equally interesting. "They are given opportunities to make reasoned and sound judgements as they consider their decisions in terms of consequences to self, family, and society" (PSP, p. I-1). What are these reasoned and sound judgements based on? According to Leavitt (1995) the speakers of North American Native languages, in contrast to speakers of European languages, do not necessarily organize reasoning through a linear sequence of cause and effect or axioms-theorems-corollaries. Leavitt

(1995) goes on to say that related ideas are kept in mind and are not hierarchical or ordered. These were noted to be one of the most frequent concepts reported by my Diverse Culture class students in a class assignment about the Mi'kmaw Elders Symposium. Similar to the words, "To linear thinkers, this approach may seem scattered and unfocussed" of Leavitt (1995, p. 131) most of the students who reported stated they found the presentations as scattered and unfocussed. Rigidness and narrowness often are not part of the multithreaded and multi-connected world of the Mi'kmaq. The NCRP also advances a number of questions that surface regarding as to who is this self, what family and whose society is represented in this program. Naturally, it is implicit by its very title, "English Language Arts" that it is Eurocentric perspectives. Furthermore, I, as a family life educator from the Mi'kmaw community, take exception when there is no reference to consequences to peers or fellow students. My collectiveness imparts a community beyond the immediate family members. It is global and that seems to me is the intended outcome of this family studies program.

10. Fine Arts

Pages J-1 to J-5 of the PSP consist of fine arts for all grades. The first sentence of the third paragraph states,

> During elementary school years, the program should provide a selection of increasingly complex experiences in various aspects of the visual arts including all of the following: drawing, painting, printing, sculpture, fibre (weaving, stitchery, applique, macramé, batik), puppetry audio-visual work, art appreciation and design and group activities such as murals. (p. J-1)

The NCRP lens notes that although, fine arts is directed to the above noted experiences limitations are placed by a following sentence. The next sentence of the third paragraph on page J-1 states, "These experiences should be selected according to the needs and interests of the children and teachers concerned, and the possibilities arising from the nature of the their environments". This is not about disparity but equity - an attempt to meet local needs.

The last sentience of the fifth paragraph on page J-1 states, "The various media should be explored through the four concept areas depending on the facilities of the

school, the interest of the students and the experience of the teacher". The four major concept areas that it refers to are the self, social interaction, environment and cultural heritage. We are drawn back to the issue of disparity regarding 'facilities of the school'. The NSTU (1996, p. 32) document states, "Generally speaking, small rural schools have neither the human nor the material resources necessary to provide the kind of enhanced art program..." Mi'kmaw perspectives can be easily accommodated with the support of student interests, self, social interaction, environment and cultural heritage but will depend upon the experience or inexperience of the teacher. If the teacher is receptive to other ways of knowing then it should not be a problem. The PSP should explicate more on whose social interaction, self, environment and cultural heritage and what professional development is required by teachers to meet this goal.

Taking into account what is stated, "The Music education program is designed to provide a balance, broad musical experience from Primary through Grade 12. The chief aims are the development of an aesthetic response and musical discrimination, together with an understanding of as many as possible of those diverse elements embodied in the term "music". Music from the perspective of the Mi'kmaq can be easily accommodated for a number of audio recordings have been are available by the Mi'kmaw communities. In light of the new awareness in the existence of alternate forms of music such as drumming, chants coupled with dance all sort of possibilities exist.

11. Health

Based on the NCRP lens, there is full agreement with the purpose identified on page K-1 of the PSP. It states, "The purpose of health education in schools is to foster the growth of knowledge, attitudes, skill, and lifelong behaviors that will enable students to assume responsibility to healthy living and personal well-being" (PSP, p. K-1). The intentions of the PSP are commendable with this sentence. However, this program is silent on Mi'kmaw heath and associated health issues. In order for the PSP to meet what it sates as its purpose it not only look at implications for implementation and planning; moreover, it needs to address the severe health conditions that presently exist within First Nations communities.

For example, the Assembly of First Nations (1996) reports mortality rates being 3 to 4 times higher among First Nations, tuberculosis 9 times higher than the national average, diabetes 4.5 times higher, suicide rates 36.1 per 100,000 for First Nations and 14.5 per 100,000 for other Canadians. The social conditions and problems are also different. The same report mentions that one out of four community water systems and one out of five water systems pose health problems. In addition, health related conditions such as lower and unacceptable housing standards. These include over crowding, lacking of water and plumbing systems coupled with low incomes.

The NCRP lens foresees very little difficulty with the bulleted learning experiences except for one. Whose moral values are open for discussion within the classroom environment? The program could probably be enhanced by including comparative analysis between what is constituted as Mi'kmaq health and health within the dominant society.

12. Industrial Arts Technology

The NCRP lens has no difficulty in agreeing what is contained on page L-1 of the 1997-1998 PSP. Nevertheless, a paragraph on the top of the second column may be loaded with the understanding that the Mi'kmaq are included when we may not be. The PSP states,

> Teachers should encourage students to undertake activities that are firmly based in the real world and that have meaning for them. In addition to satisfying their urge to produce a finished product, the activities should challenge students to develop their thinking. (p. K-1)

In actuality this paragraph could pose a number of problems for all students considering that 'Industrial Arts Technology' most likely in today's terms includes computer technology and its impact on Science, Technology and Society. Then again, whose 'real world', is it the middle, urban poor, rural folk, Mi'kmaq, French, Irish, Scot?

13. Languages

On page B-8 of the 1997-98 PSP at the Grade 7 level Mi'kmaq language stands par as a core subject with the French and Gaelic languages; however, from there it starts to slide, status wise, to nonexistence by the time we review Grade 12. The Mi'kmaq language has compulsory standing in Grade 7; however, in Grade 8 and 9 it is a mere

elective. On page B-15 the Mi'kmaq language is not listed among the "Languages" portion of course listings. Nonetheless it lists Latin, along with French, Gaelic, German, Spanish and **NO** Mi'kmaq language.

From pages M–1 to M-5 the Mi'kmaq language is not mentioned anywhere within the text neither is the French language. Yet, descriptions of course in the other noted languages are provided. As stated earlier the Mi'kmaq are originate from this region; yet, we are excluded in this PSP in more ways than one. There are provisions for Gaelic at elementary Junior High and Senior High. German only rates at senior high. Surprisingly, Latin has complete status from grade nine to twelve. Spanish is at par with German. The NCRP lens questions what this means in terms of the PSP's intent. It is obvious that exclusion has come back to haunt us. We find the answer on page D-3 why the French language is not listed among this group of languages. Unfortunately this brings us back to the two founding nations theory whereby the French are allotted their own program services and issuance of their own high school graduation certificate.

14. Mathematics

The Mathematics portion of the PSP starts on page N-1 and concludes on N-8. It is noted in this section that although the adjusted program is to be phased out it seems apparent that it is now in the guise of course coding and now in senior high school. For example, at the Grade nine level there are two courses, there is a Grade 9 - Academic and a Grade 9 - Mathematics – A Study Skills Approach which appears to be a non-academic course.

The Grade 9 - Mathematics – A Study Skills Approach course lacks the mathematical skills identified in the Adjusted Program Grades 7-9. One questions the intentions of the PSP of initiating such low skills for the junior high school program. One wonders if the PSP seriously looked at the implications for implementation. This course has the possibility of it being used as a social pass rather than development of skills that "develop into lifelong" (PSP, p. v) learning. Does the PSP intend to use this course along with a stream of courses Mathematics 221, 231, 241 courses revised general mathematics program? The coding seems to indicate that this is exactly whay it intends. The PSP

PSP clearly states,

> "The first digit denotes the type of course as follows: ...Code "2" - Graduation courses. These courses are designed for students who wish to obtain a high school graduation diploma with a view to proceeding to employment or to some selected area of post-secondary education. Normally, these courses do **NOT** meet the entrance requirement of universities or some other post-secondary institutions". (p. B-11)

The majority of the Mathematics courses described in the text are pilots that are to begin in 1999.

The NCRP lens raises question for the viewer relative to the language in the content area of Mathematics as a problem for the Mi'kmaq. Where the NCRP sees problems is in the interface or interaction between English and Mi'kmaq. Mi'kmaw language is grounded in number sense with its own operation principles. The problem rises when students need to articulate in English about the Mi'kmaw patterns of design, relationships. To achieve Mathematical skills, Garbe (1985, cited in Davison and Schindler, 1988) recommends that vocabulary be mastered and student's performance in vocabulary be forwarded to the next grade as the child advances. Difficulty should not be encountered with shapes or space for this is one area that Natives seem to excel in testing. The language barrier and conflict that emerges when they are solving mathematical word problems is more problematic than the skills needed for solving mathematical problems (Davison and Schindler, 1988).

According to Tate (1996) Mathematics has been traditionally described as a discipline with no connections to human affairs. It is very apparent that focus on diversity during this decade has made attempts to make connections between Mathematics and humanity. The 1999 upcoming pilots identified in this PSP are very indicative of what lies ahead for the 21st. century. This is not to say that great strides have been made. There is nothing within this PSP that indicates that old counting techniques be dropped. One such example is this nursery rhyme,

> One little, two little, three little, Indians
> Four little, five little, six little, Indians
> Seven little, eight little, nine little, Indians
> Ten little, Indians, and more

15. Personal Development

The major heading located on page O-1 contains no discussion or definition on what is purported to be personal development. This portion of the PSP is on pages O-1 to 0-3 inclusive. It contains a minor heading 'Personal Development and Relationships (PDR) along with requirements for grade 7, 8, and 9; Creating a Career (CAC 331) and the minor headings of Career and Life Management (CLM 11) and Physically Active Lifestyles (PAL). The lens of the NCRP casts a long shadow to this page and recommends that it be twinned with Comprehensive Guidance and Counselling Program. This will prevent burdening the teachers with 'a course' that is not listed as one of the required graduation courses or overstepping the boundaries of this PSP.

16. Personal Development and Relationships (PDR)

The first line of the fourth paragraph on page O-1 identifies the topic areas for this program. It states,

> The program offers six units sequentially at each grade level: Climate Building, Self-Awareness and Acceptance, Relationships, Human Growth and Development, Career Planning, and Healthy Active Living. These units focus on developing personal growth in areas of understanding and acceptance of self, feelings, and their management, relationships with others, human growth and development, career planning, and an active healthy lifestyle. Throughout the program, students develop their ability to communicate and make decisions. (p. O-1)

The intentions are well founded for this program; yet, no resources are identified that could supplement the program for the accommodation of diversity. The NCRP views this program as being a vital component in education. However, the NCRP shines a red light on this program for it cannot see how a non-Native teacher can make connections in this area for Mi'kmaw and African Canadian students. The intentions of the PSP failed to consider the implications for implementation and planning for Mi'kmaw cultural aspects. The NCRP lens raises questions whether the authors of the PSP intended to provide professional development with either pre-service or in-service teachers and administrators for this program.

The second sentence in the fourth paragraph on page O -1 states, "These units

focus on developing personal growth in areas of understanding and acceptance of self, feelings and their management, relationships with others, human growth and development, career planning, and an active healthy lifestyle". This too is credible; however, the authors of the PSP should have had serious reservations before forwarding this goal to meet the needs of diverse cultures. The Maritime Provinces Education Foundation (MPEF) which is the major governing body in education had called for change by making attempts to include representation of ethnocultural groups within the common core curriculum. Is it possible as to whether the authors of the PSP intended to consider teachers from Nova Scotia's diverse cultures to be team teaching this three-year program. At issue is the implication for implementation for not only are the inter-ethnic peer-group levels low; besides, the Mi'kmaw students are not with their Mi'kmaw peers due to age and grade retention. The PSP authors intentions are questioned as to whether or not they intended to exclude other cultures by being silent on how viewpoints from other cultures would have been excluded. It is suspected that a fair majority of Mi'kmaw students have been alienated rather than helped by the above statement due to understanding and acceptance of self and relationships with others to name just a few.

a. Grade 7. This section identifies personal development and relationship topic areas for students in grade seven. The sentences are extremely long and contain lists of items to be used for this grade level. Hence, words will be abstracted and explored in the context relative to the Mi'kmaq. Sixteen items are listed in the second sentence of the first paragraph on page O-1. Although this segment and the related topics are universal in nature for all students it does not go far enough. Gilliland (1988) stated that,

> Educators sometimes speak of Native American students as being 'disadvantaged'. In reality these Native people have the double advantage of knowing and living in two cultures. The teacher, on the other hand, may know only one culture, and may have accepted that culture as being superior without any real thought or study. It is the teacher, the, who is disadvantaged. However, if the teacher does not know, understand, and respect the culture of the students, then the students area a disadvantage in this teacher's class. (p. 3)

This quotation applies to student peers as well. This is not to deny that severe problems exist among the Mi'kmaq. The most crippling ones are substance abuse and

prevention, career and educational exploration, and the process of reproduction. The combination of these three very often lead to a higher rate of school leaving, grade retention and teen pregnancy than the dominant society.

In particular, the lens of the NCRP notes that there are severe problems associated with the career and educational exploration component of PDR. It is very unlikely that this would entail any Mi'kmaw perspective. One needs to understand the difficulties connected on both ends of the spectrum, the Mi'kmaq as well as the dominant society. A Mi'kmaq may set long-range goals for oneself in terms of life work; yet, there are so many obstacles to overcome that it is disheartening. The solution to these obstacles cannot begin to be resolved by Eurocentric teachers because concepts associated with resolution are not discussed in classrooms.

Considering the problems associated with the concepts identified in this segment it is suffice to say that the Mi'kmaq are very attuned to the environmental awareness and the consequences of natural resource depletion. In addition, the safety and emergency procedures related to babysitting are instilled to most children early in life due to their assuming of such responsibilities early in life.

b. Grade 8. The focus for this grade level is meant for expanding the concepts offered in Grade 7.The second sentence on states,

> ...students in Grade 8 learn about managing feelings, using decision-making processes, developing a positive self-concept, recognizing the role and influence of friends and peers, setting long-range goals based on an understanding of oneself and the world of work and understanding and respecting the self and others in relation to sexuality. (p. 0-1)

It is hard for Mi'kmaw students to manage feelings, and develop positive self-concepts within the school environment. Racism and discrimination encounters sometimes lead to outbursts; role models are not present either in school or within the communities, in school many topics are assimilative in nature and contradict what happens in real life at the Mi'kmaw community level.

a. Grade 9. Based on the viewer's perspective behind the lens of the NCRP, the Mi'kmaw students should not have difficulty in understanding "...the importance of

personal behaviour, responsibility, the consequences of one's actions for others and the necessity to think beyond one's self" (PSP, p. 0-1). Since, early childhood Mi'kmaw children have understood all of these aspects. The difficulty usually rises when the teachers and administrators cannot and do not conceptualize that other worldviews exists including the Mi'kmaw worldview.

As for the Mi'kmaw "Students focus on specific educational planning and become aware of the options and opportunities available in the workplace and in the community" (PSP, p. 0-1), this is not for them. In addition, contradictions exist vis a vis the NCRP and incentive is lacking due to the welfare trap. This however is not unique to the Mi'kmaq for it exists for students from the African Canadian communities, White communities, urban centers and rural areas.

17. Physical Education

The NCRP has no problems with the aims of this program for it is tied to the concepts of the body, mind, emotions and spirit of the Mi'kmaq. It would have a problem if the concepts were treated separately rather than in a holistic manner. The second sentence on page P-1 states, "If students are to be involved in physical activity on a lifelong basis, they must be equipped with the skills, knowledge and attitudes that will enable them to enjoy and benefit from these activities". The PSP needs to consider how to deal with implications for implementation on equipping Mi'kmaw students with appropriate knowledge and attitude regarding the benefits physical education. Mi'kmaw students very seldom are involved with the competitive nature of physical education vis a vis school competitive sports. The PSP author's intent should include providing professional development courses that will assist them to maximize involvement of Mi'kmaw students. This should include developing strategies to counter family economic situations or avoidance and resistance which play a large part on whether there is participation or not. Professional development would also be required if the authors of the PSP intend to satisfy the implications of implementation when physical education gets translated into hockey and other competitive sports.

18. Science

The vestibule of Science upon entry has had only one corridor and that is of a Eurocentric perspective. The exploration of this section could be voluminous, hence the NCRP lens restricts this exploration. Aspects that stand out as red flags in the eyes of the NCRP lens are explored. MacIvor (1995, p. 76) states, "Much of what is learned in contemporary science classroom is seen as divorced from community concerns. This is particularly true in the case of Aboriginal communities, where the national or provincial curricula present science in unfamiliar contexts." Sable (1996, p. vi) states, " It seemed obvious that the same knowledge that children now learn in science lessons, was known to the Mi'kmaq in their daily lives, but viewed and communicated in different ways".

19. Recommended Topics

General comments are made in this topic area from a variety of issues for all grade levels. Although the adjusted science program has been phased out it is significant to the Mi'kmaq for they were streamed into this category even at the Mi'kmaw community level. There remain within schools those students who went through this process and will subsequently hamper their progress in the higher grades. The Mi'kmaw students ability to function at the senior high level would not be marred for only a few reach this level in Science. They have already been tagged earlier and pushed toward the general program. The NCRP lens notes a few items that are incongruent for the Mi'kmaq. Scientific knowledge and processes that depart from the Mi'kmaw way of life such as clear-cutting and fishing trawlers sweeping the ocean clean of all fish would clash with Mi'kmaw worldview. Also, the notion of whose Science and society concomitant with logical reasoning may lead to resistance or coasting in the program.

20. Social Studies

This subject area of study is contained from pages R1-R9 inclusive. Social Studies in this PSP consists of collection of programming from primary to grade 12 that includes family studies, economics, geography, history, law, sociology, political science, African Canadian Studies 10 and Mi'kmaq Studies 10. The problem is African Canadian Studies 10 and Mi'kmaq Studies 10 are add-ons. Banks (1999) tells us that the additive approach

does not challenge the basic structure or canon of the curriculum. These add-ons are indicative of cultural borders which import geographical constrained materials. Banks and Banks (1997, p. 236) tell us, "Content, materials, and issues that are added to a curriculum as appendages instead of being integral parts of a unit of instruction can become problematic." Mi'kmaq Studies 10 exists as a curriculum guide. It contains the following six units; an introductory unit, political unit, culture unit, education unit, social/economic unit and spirituality unit along with appendages that contain information that is not relevant to the Mi'kmaq. A good majority of the appendages are historical and relegating to the past. The information is scanty rendering it non-substantive. Mi'kmaq Studies 10 is meant for the non-Mi'kmaq.

The second paragraph speaks of the aim of the social studies program. This aim appears directed toward enculturation for it clearly renders precise and specific bodies of knowledge,

> The primary aim of the social studies program is to equip students with a body of knowledge, a repertoire of skills and an understanding of the perspectives, values, and attitudes which will enable them to understand and contribute to the social, culture, economic and political environments within which they will function. (p. R-1)

Whose body of knowledge, skills, and whose perspectives, values, and attitudes do the authors of the PSP intend? The intent of the PSP resonates with indoctrination rather than including bodies of knowledge from other cultures such those from the Mi'kmaq and the African Canadian. How can students from the Mi'kmaq, African Canadian, rural and the lower economic spheres of Nova Scotia be enabled to understand and contribute when in most cases this body of knowledge is considered irrelevant? The PSP is silent on including knowledge, skills, perspectives, values, attitudes, and contributions to society from other cultures. This issue is relative to implications for implementation and planning and the NCRP questions if the intent of the PSP involves in-servicing and pre-servicing of teachers. Teachers and administrators need to be prepared to deliver this program to make it relevant for the Mi'kmaq and African Canadians due to cultural differences. At the time the PSP needs to recognize that it is middle class and consequently problematic for the

lower socioeconomic sphere. Furthermore, how and what linkages are to be made that will enable the Mi'kmaw students to understand and contribute to the social, culture, economic and political environments within Mi'kmaw communities? There is no reference made to Mi'kmaw social aspects unless it is contained within global or multicultural education. Then again, nothing is spelled out in this area.

The second line on this paragraph is equally troubling for the Mi'kmaq. On page R-1 the PSP states, "This component of the public school program has a particularly vital contribution to make in the areas of citizenship, global education, sustainable development, multiculturalism, anti-racism and gender education." According to this quotation, social studies within the context of Nova Scotia education focuses on the areas of citizenship, global education, sustainable development, multiculturalism, anti-racism and gender education. What connection or relevance do these topic areas have in common with Mi'kmaq Social Studies? Social studies is considered a process of socialization for its outcomes are citizenship related. It also forwards issues relative to values, customs and beliefs be it in sustainable development or the environment. The notion of citizenship does not exist for the Mi'kmaq through the British North America Act. The BNA Act clearly makes a distinction between Indians and citizens. Hence, the Mi'kmaq consider themselves North Americans not Canadian citizens. Mosher (1992) mentions that the *North America* Act of 1867 Section 91:24 refers to two types of Canadians, "citizens and Indians," and states that Indians and lands reserved for Indians were the legislative and administrative responsibility of the Federal Government. Hence, a Mi'kmaq could question as to what context this notion of citizenship refers or infers.

Multiculturalism as an educative force needs to be reckoned with for it is incongruent with fairness in social and curricular justice. Gosh (1996) argues that multiculturalism means transformation and a radical shift in power relations. However, the term 'multi' means 'many' according to the Oxford Concise Dictionary edited by Sykes (1987). Hence, multiculturalism means a process involving many cultures. It is not enough to redefine multiculturalism as advocated by Gosh (1996). Recognizing, knowing, and evaluating multicultural education is not enough. Dei (1996, p. 57) states,

"Our current public school system is a long way from dealing comprehensively with the qualitative value of justice and educational equity, and systematically addressing the questions of race, identity and representation in education". One of the criticisms identified by Rymer and Alladin (1996) is that multicultural education generally targets White students and teachers. In the public arena very often multiculturalism is associated with and focussed on celebration and making aware of the dance, art, and food of different cultural groups. Moodley (1995) has found that multiculturalism is considered as a source of conflict due to the competition for funds intended to support cultural activities. Celebration and making aware are superficial and have no long lasting effects for it does not deal with issues. It is noted by (Hall, 1984, cited in Rymer and Alladin, 1996) that the exposure of White teachers and students to sensitivity training has not reduced or eliminated prejudice.

The NCRP lens finds a similar problem with antiracism but more so due to its antagonistic stance. Inclusion of other voices, particularly the African Canadian and Mi'kmaq, within this province's education system is paramount considering the racial tensions among a number of schools in Nova Scotia since 1989.

The NCRP lens enable viewers to support a view of antiracism posited by Ken Alexander (a panelist) during the airing of a CBC panel discussion program, The Editors, on Friday, March 12, 1999, Alexander stated,

> ...a typically Canadian experience and we try to deal with these things by creating antiracist programs which may have a place nonetheless they come from the negative side of the spectrum which try to tell people what not to do and at the end of the day they are not very interesting especially for kids, who try to digest it. Better to engage in real stories, in the real narratives, diasporic history, in the real people, and the real context...that stuff you can really get a hold of, that stuff that is really interesting and engaging and comes from the positive side of the spectrum.

The NCRP lens also grapples with the term gender education. Gender education or feminist pedagogy along with antiracism are exclusionary for one focuses on race and the other on gender (Gosh, 1996). The term gender education is also misleading for it denotes gender which to me relates to both sexes – male and female but its use

use tends to be for feminist discourse. Issues pertaining to males also require attention.

This chapter viewed issues related to the English Program Services. The major issue for this chapter was whether or not the PSP's English program services which is mandated for each and every student, without exception, in the provincial education system meets the needs for diverse cultures. A particular interest for this chapter was on issues relative to the Mi'kmaq. This chapter found that the English program services is assimilative in nature in a majority of the areas explored.

SECTION III: VISIONING BEYOND THE RUTS

Chapter 9

Connecting NCRP and the PSP

Introduction. This portion of the thesis is grounded by what Medicine (1981, p. 30) told us, "One must be cognizant of the aspects of culture as a code and see it as a normative system which underlies cognition and behavior". In this section "[R]eality is never just simply the objective datum, the concrete fact, but is also men's perception of it" (Freire 1985, p. 51). The reality in Nova Scotia is that we immerse all children in classrooms and treat them all the same forgetting that they come from different cultures and experiences in life. Christmas (1988) writes about this issue for the Mi'kmaq. Christmas wrote,

> All children were to be treated the same according to the clauses in the Tuition Agreements. The agreements made no special provisions to adapt and to adjust the child in a new and an alien environment. The Micmac-speaking child was expected to start at day one (irrespective of grade) at the equivalent progress level of the non-Indian child". (p.170)

The Mi'kmaw eye behind the NCRP lens terms this as cultural discontinuity for the prior experiences of the Mi'kmaw child do not match with what is forwarded in the provincial curriculum. The lack of cultural continuity is the prime reason for the need to reconceptualize of the goals, policies and procedures through the NCRP. The NCRP finds support in the words of Green (1990, p. 37) when he stated, "So in the 21st century, Native education will assume a distinctive Native flavour; and Indian education will begin to do what all education systems should do - promote the culture of the society it serves".

Considering that the experiences that children bring to school are often overlooked as reported by (Gollnick and Chinn, 1999) and Christmas (1988) then it is through healing or repairing this chasm that this section advances.

Connecting the Struggles.

This chapter presents the last westerly point of the eight-pointed star. It brings us approaches for connecting the struggles of the Native childrearing practices (NCRP) with

the Public School Programs (PSP). Similar to the prior tip of the eight-pointed star this chapter will proceed with the notion inspired by the Plains First Nations medicine wheel where the West typifies 'preparation and gathering'. This chapter in essence prepares and gathers the struggles within the NCRP that require inclusion in a transformed PSP.

The struggles by the Mi'kmaq to be included within the Public School Programs (PSP) have been brought forward on numerous occasions. We have not been alone in advocating or forwarding the wants and needs in connecting the struggles within education. Authors such as Hawthorn (1967), Potts (1972), Moore (1983), Mosher (1992), Robinson (1984), Sable (1996) and Millward (1997) who do not represent our culture have raised issues relating to the incongruency and incompatibility between this province's education system and the Mi'kmaq. That is to say a support system exists within the dominant society for the inclusion of Mi'kmaw culture within the realms of the PSP. Robinson (1984) suggests "[L]earning programs must give full recognition to the strength so clearly demonstrated by the cultures".

Mi'kmaw struggles do not depart from those who have experienced marginality, discrimination, racism and the like within Canadian society. Mi'kmaw struggles are unique in the sense that these struggles have occurred since the early fifteen hundreds or earlier when the missionaries first established formal schooling in Nova Scotia. After reading numerous reports focused on Native education and particularly Mi'kmaw education it leads one to believe that the separation or dichotomy between Mi'kmaw and Euro-Canadian pedagogy represents centuries of misunderstandings between the two cultures. Speaking about stereotypes Petrone (1990, p. 3) reminded us that, "They have perpetuated, through the centuries, a negative psychological orientation that has erected a barrier to giving the intelligence of Indians, their culture, and their spiritual and aesthetic values the respect and understanding they deserve". This chapter forwards the theme of connecting the struggles of the NCRP to mitigate cultural factors within related services.

This chapter's exploration through the Plains people's teachings of the medicine wheel's personal aspects of the mental, physical, emotional and spiritual connections will be posited as an attempt to connect the struggles of the NCRP to the Nova Scotia PSP.

"The medicine wheel teaches us that we can gain physical, emotional and spiritual sustenance from all of creation" (Wolf 1998, p. 3) resulting in a balanced and harmonious mental state. This chapter is lead by the notion that "[L]earning and teaching in the Traditional way embraces the mental, spiritual, emotional and physical aspects of the individual, the family, the community, and Mother Earth as a whole" (Graveline 1996, p. 42). It would be just a beginning or one attempt to follow the notion of "to help all students" as put forth or advocated by the goals of PSP. The above noted personal aspects have been the hallmarks for healing among the diverse First Nations of North America. Consequently, the NCRP advances this philosophy for the healing of the chasm in education between the Mi'kmaw and the dominant society. Dei (1996) tells us that,

> The goal for struggle for social change is more than to simply integrate human lives and concerns with the natural world in order to strengthen our basic humanness. It is about how we make sense of our cultural differences and recognize, affirm and engage such social differences as sites and sources of power contestation between and among groups. (p. 50)

The key player in connecting the struggles of the NCRP with the PSP can and should be 'parental responsibility', one of the National Indian Brotherhood's pillars in their philosophy of education. Parental attitudes to education are fundamental in the rearing of Native children who will succeed in school. We were advised by Goddard & Shields (1997, p. 22) that, "Parents and educators need to be seen to be working as partners in the education process. This type of collaboration is contrary to the 'teacher knows best' axiology embedded in the Angle-conformity model so prevalent in dominant culture schools". The NCRP views signs and connections as being relative to the personal aspects and related services of the Mi'kmaq.

1. NCRP Related Services

Services related to the NCRP stem from the depths of our culture. Then again, the NCRP is but one entity and that entity is a vital component of who we are and what we are. Within the depths of our culture lie our language, social norms, spirituality, worldview, and childrearing practices. According to Herández (1997, p. 158) "...these sociocultural factors influence the meaning that students assign to texts and their

interpretation". (LaRoque 1975, p. 8) mentions that "[O]ne of the most severe problems the Native person is faced with today is that he is defined outside himself". Our identity, sense of self and all our relations are fused though the process of childrearing not by some foreign legislation. Although, the PSP identifies counselling as one of its related services, Dolan (1995) found that the Mi'kmaw students were not comfortable in accessing this service nor was the service readily accessible.

Timmons (cited in the Halifax Herald, 01/21/94) and Dolan both recognized that Mi'kmaw children have a clear vision on where they wanted to go educative wise; yet, the NCRP recognizes that they are very often missing proper guidance to attain their goals. More important is what we are told by Freidres (1991, p. 179) "Usually, they do not receive adequate counselling prior to or following placement in integrated school". Hawthorn (1967, p. 6) adds this about the Native child, "Life has not been empty or meaningless for him and he has already learned a great deal before he arrives at the schoolroom door. His character has a certain orientation". One of the characteristics associated with certain orientation is sharing and "Native children, not used to the intense competition that exists among White, middle-class students, may become psychologically uncomfortable and begin to lose academic ground" (Freidres 1991, p. 179).

Biglin and Wilson (1972) identified teachers, curriculum, school policies, and control of the schools as determinants of parental attitudes with school programs. This study, although conducted over two decades ago in Arizona parallels results of the 1972 National Indian Brotherhood's document Indian Control Indian Education. Services related to the NCRP are absent within the present PSP. Among the missing include services that curtail school leaving, guidance or direction of self, cultural relevant discipline. Hawthorn (1967, p. 166) expressed that "services provided do not always meet the needs felt and often are not keeping with needs expressed".

Since the inception of integrated schooling for the Mi'kmaq in the early 1960's we have known that "[T]he student has little conception of what he is gaining by attending school; he recognizes that he is failing academically and that he is socially isolated" (Hawthorn 1967, p. 139).

Dolan (1995) suggests increased service and greater collaboration as necessary components to synthesize student needs and support services. Dolan also noted a need for a collaborative team approach because of insufficient services. Because of who she or he is and what she or he is - it is understandable that services related to the Mi'kmaw child within schools will vary from what the school expects or requires. Services related to the bridging of the socially isolated Mi'kmaw student should be considered for resolution through cultural factors. This is not to say that Mi'kmaw cultural factors are the only factors that are important for other cultures are just as important and should not be marginalized.

a. Cultural Factors. The NCRP forwards the notion that the concept of the cycle of life is the hallmark of the Mi'kmaq not the medicine wheel. Culture is manifested in a variety of ways such as values, beliefs, norms, language (Gollinick and Chinn, 1998). The cycle of life is manifested in the universe because what is contained in the universe is cyclic in nature. Human life, lives of all creatures, the solar system, the seasons of the earth, the water, the gases have a beginning and an end enveloped in a cycle.

Two significant characteristics that play a role on our upbringing are biological and cultural factors according to Mansfield (1982). The NCRP interprets upbringing within this context as the enculturation or socialization of the young toward adulthood. Gollinick and Chinn (1998, p. 5) tell us, "[B]ecause culture is so much a part of us, we often tend to confuse biological and cultural heritage". Gollinick and Chinn characterize cultural heritage as being learned, shared, adaptable and dynamic. Certain aspects of Mi'kmaw culture are described by Plourde (cited in Gray, 1974) thus,

> Culture to me, in relation to Micmacs, is all that belongs to us - our behaviour, beliefs, our work and play. All that's different from other people; how we react to others, and our expressions, how we see ourselves and others. Micmac culture is not of 300 years ago. It has evolved with time. Many things today are from our ancestors but we are forever adapting to things around us. We are a sum total of that we have experienced over 400 years. Those are out ways today. That to me is culture. (p. 45)

Other cultural factors include what Graveline (1999, p. 194) terms as "personal,

yet politically aspired and collectively achieved". While there are contradictions through others like John Jerome Paul (cited in Bernard, 1996) state that a large portion of our culture is gone. Mi'kmaw culture is still alive and well among our people but some choose not to recognize and deal with it. Bernard and Prosper (1991, p. 87) confirms this by stating that "Many Natives see their traditions as inapplicable in today's world and reject there own culture. Thus many are perpetuating their own genocide". Historically and to this present day sociological and psychological aspects connected to respect to all life are attached to notions of the mind, body, spirit and the emotions.

The cultural factors that the Mi'kmaw child brings to school are not negligible. Pauls (1996) mentioned that cultural attributes of Native students have been historically misinterpreted. While Dolan (1995) found that cultural factors were rated by Mi'kmaw students to be most important for strengthening self-esteem and identity. Language and cultural differences were found by Timmons (cited in the Halifax Herald, 01/21/94) as the two cultural factors that played significant roles as to why Mi'kmaw students from the Pictou Landing community were having problems despite their high ambitions in education. Regarding the language factor "[F]or example, a Micmac student who didn't understand a Math question would often be less likely to admit it" (Halifax Herald, 01/21/94). An example given for cultural difference component was praise. It stated, "Praise, generally a good way of motivating students, might make a Micmac feel uncomfortable" (Halifax Herald, 01/21/94).

It is hoped that including cultural factors within the PSP will assist to bridge the sociological and psychological gulfs that presently exist between the Mi'kmaw and the dominant society. Because of the social and psychological engagement or connection of education through the body, mind, and spirit this chapter posits that these gulfs could be secured with the mental, physical and emotional connections.

LaRoque (1975, p. 2) told us that, "[T]here is a new surge of interest and effort among some schools and universities in Canada to bring about education relevant to Indian students". This surge of interest and effort emerged through the Nova Scotia Department of Education in 1993. The objectives for the cultural factors or aspects of

Mi'kmaw culture which were the focus during five separate three-day institutes for Nova Scotia educators during 1993 were replete with socialization patterns. These workshops conveyed the need for personal development and relationships, personal and career counselling, and curriculum relevant to the lives of the Mi'kmaw students within the domain of formal education. LaRoque (1976) refers to these aspects of culture as intangibles. Intangible cultural factors are not the ever present Nova Scotia Museum boxed tangibles that circulate throughout this province during the month of October.

The NCRP acknowledges "[T]he fact that native traditions and cultures have survived the onslaught of white attempts at assimilation and probably destruction of native culture surely is demonstrable evidence of their viability" (Robinson, 1984, p. 321). "When we leave our Aboriginal communities to go to school, we leave behind our sense of place and the homogeneity of being with our own race. This radical shift can pose a threat to our feelings of solidarity and challenge our sense of identity" (Sabattis 1996, p. 30). This is in contrast to what Sable (1996, p. 40) says, "Children did not simply leave their conceptual frameworks outside the classroom and readily adopt new ones the teacher introduces". In contemporary society the Mi'kmaw culture and language is no longer left at the door but this is not to say that it is included in the curriculum. Mi'kmaw children have been and are resisting the Western forms of knowledge.

Our strong sense of identity to our tribes has guarded and held us to the adherence of vestiges of what some authors consider as traditionalism. Greenfield and Cockering (1994) mention that traditionalism has been considered as a negative force that prevents Native Americans from being normal or like the mainstream society. Why is it that the mainstream society, which consists largely of English, considers our culture as an abnormal and a deterrent? For the Mi'kmaq the English culture is a negative force. Paul's byline in the Halifax Herald (09/09/94) states,

> What has caused and continues to cause children in such places as Davis Inlet to overdose on drugs and substances, the suicides at Big Cove and other reserves too numerous to mention here, the alcoholism, drug dependency, and so on, among our people is quite simple. Try the after-effects of centuries of unmitigated racist persecution for an answer. (p. B2)

Paul's byline in the Halifax Herald (11/18/94) goes on to further express negative effects of Eurocentrism,

> Canada's racist laws and policies, which governed for centuries its relationships with our peoples, were not without cost. The costs in human terms are incalculable and are still being borne by our peoples. Young people are committing suicide or turning to drugs and other substances for relief from what they foresee as a dismal and hopeless future. (p. B2)

Community leaders suggest that this negative force emanates from usurping our resources and for hopelessness experienced within Mi'kmaw communities. Then a prominent leader from the dominant society, Frank McKenna, informs the media that he is 'emotionally touched' of the hopelessness, suicide, drug and alcohol; yet, he was not 'financially touched' with the imposition of the 11% sales tax imposed on the New Brunswick Natives (Halifax Herald, 03/11/96). Davis Inlet, an Inuit community, and Big Cove, a Mi'kmaw community, have had a rash of attempted and completed suicides during 1992 and 1993 (Halifax Herald, 13/11/96). In Nova Scotia and most closer to home were Indianbrook and Membertou. The latter involved a group pack that included an eight year old. The English for centuries has breed contempt, imperialism and racism for others while Native culture embraces all life. This is the primary reason why newcomers were welcomed and embraced by our ancestors. Little did we know that these newcomers would push us off our land and access to all its resources through the very essence of our values and beliefs. Mi'kmaw cultural factors have been denounced and not included wholeheartedly within this province's PSP and it is now time to travel around within an inner life cycle or the medicine wheel viewing connections of the spiritual, mental, physical and emotional.

b. Spiritual. The concept of spirituality among the First Nations of the Americas is as diverse as the societies that exist. Speaking of counselling which affects the spiritual aspects of a person's well being Johnson (1994) tells us that "[T]here exists such a diversity between the cultures that a concerted effort on part of the counsellor is imperative in order to meet the needs of the Native student" (p. 8). Then Johnson refers to Philips (1983) and Hawthorn (1967) regarding the feelings of alienation of many Native

students in the Euro-Canadian school system. Yet, one cannot limit this diversity just to societal diversity per se for diversity exists within groups. For instance, the within group spiritual diversity among the Mi'kmaq varies even within families. Spirituality is a self of sense (Marshall, 1996) connected to who we are and what we are. Knockwood (1994, p. 2) confirms this by stating, "It's more of philosophy and a way of life; yet it is a belief in God. Like other beliefs it has a duality of good and evil, right and wrong". The NCRP follows the people from the Plains of North America by situating the notion of spiritual in the East.

The spiritual aspect of Native education is missing from the PSP. It is the core of being Mi'kmaq for it is the essence of selfhood. What is Native spirituality? Spirituality is a broad-based concept and variations exist among the First Nations of the world, not just in the Americas. Graveline (1996) speaks of spirituality as ceremony while (Francis, 1998) advises that it is difficult to talk about Mi'kmaw culture without referring to spirituality for it interweaves within the society. Knockwood (1994) extends this by stating,

> "Native Spirituality is not a religion such as Catholicism. It lacks the infrastructure which includes a Pope, cardinals, bishops, priests, etc. It's more a philosophy and a way of life: yet it is a belief in God. Like other beliefs it has a duality of good and evil, right and wrong" (p. 2).

Native spirituality flows from a code of ethics unlike others. These code of ethics or principles have established our sense of self since childhood and are not discarded by earning an education as espoused by Brant (1982). The educated Natives or 'White Man's Indian' as Brant characterizes is the largest mistake that we impose upon our people. Brant mistakenly describes those of us who have acquired academic degrees as suffering from spiritual death. Having earned four academic degrees has not let me to be acculturated or stripped of my Mi'kmaw ethics and principles. This is not to deny that many Mi'kmaq have been stripped of their spirit or sense of self. The sense of self or spirituality is a strong force that guides or misguides a Mi'kmaq through life's journey. Graveline (1998) tells us,

> A spiritual connection helps not only to integrate our self as a unified entity, but also to integrate the individual into the world as a whole. Spirituality is experienced as an ongoing process, allowing the individual to

> move towards experiencing connection - to family, community, society and Mother Earth. (p. 55)

Early in the life of the Mi'kmaw child this sense of self is instilled by the mother to be. Graveline (1996) describes spirituality as an ongoing process that is required to simultaneously move an individual toward an experiential link with the family, community, society and Mother Earth. That is First Nations people consider themselves as part of the universe (Howman, 1992). The foundations of Native spirituality are grounded in the notion that all life on earth is sacred and dignified. The very essence that the Earth, Air and Water are constructed of our ancestors' remains. It is what makes it sacred. Respect is adduced to all people and all living and non-living things. What is constant among the First Nations is the sense of self in relation to all living creatures and the reverence made to nature. People interactions with nature are considered sacred.

Moore (1998) speaks of spirituality as being based on the belief that all things or forms of life are attached to the land. This is partly correct for it is much more than an attachment to the land for spirituality embodies personal growth and development (Wolf, 1998), education (Hampton, 1995), sense of self (Knockwood, 1994; Marshall n.d). Howman (1992, p.11) eloquently states, "The North American Indian regarded himself as part of the universe. He belonged to the Earth, and cannot own the land or the sky or the animals."

The spiritual beliefs and practices were incorrectly interpreted from the first contact with Europeans (Nova Scotia Department of Education, ca. 1993). Whitehead (1989) has incorrectly stated that the Mi'kmaq worshiped the sun. The Mi'kmaq never worshiped the sun. Respect was bestowed to the sun for providing the energy to the universe. The cycle of life recycles, reuses and balances all substances with the help of the sun. If and when the elements are correctly aligned then nature's strongest force Fire, completes the recycling process. The confusion, misinterpretation, and reproduction processes within in the minds of White ethnographers still clouds our spiritual sense of the Mi'kmaw world. Some argue that the notion of a spiritual cultural factor no longer occupies a prominent space within the confines of Mi'kmaq life. Saulis (1994,

p.15 cited in Graveline, 1996) says this about spirituality,

> It is not separate but integral, it is not immutable, it is not replaceable, it resides in the essence of the person and it is not always definable. It is in the community and among the people, it needs to be expressed among the people. (p. 40)

Graveline (1996, p. 15) noted that, "A universal sense among native people exists in regard to spirituality and that it coexists in all aspects of life." This spiritual sense of beliefs still exists to this day and is now being revitalised. Christmas (cited in the Halifax Herald, 03/27/93) confirms this by stating, "Through time, a lot of our traditions, history, self-esteem and identity were suppressed by society. ...But a native cultural renaissance of sorts began in the 1970's and is culminating today." This notion of 'culminating today' is most probably incorrect for spirituality as a related service is intricately connected to the mental aspects of life.

c. Mental. Adhering to the conformity of the medicine wheel the Plains people situate the notion of mental in north. Relatively speaking the realization of the link between the mental aspects of Mi'kmaw cultural factors and formal learning by the dominant society is a recent phenomena. The mental aspects of the NCRP affects the body, mind and spirit of the Mi'kmaq. Our advancement in many aspects of life have been stymied from both sides of the spectrum, the Mi'kmaw side and the White side. It is not enough to have students physically present in the classrooms for if they are not mentally connected or engaged then learning cannot occur. This is the notion of what Williamson (1987) describes as cultural discontinuity. The NCRP posits that the PSP lacks cultural continuance or mental connection to the social and psychological needs of the Mi'kmaw society. Williamson states that cultural discontinuity is "something which develops when the culture-bearers can not sufficiently pass their knowledge to the subsequent generations" (p. 60). Cultural discontinuity has played a major role in what Johnson (1994) refers to as mentally withdrawn. The irony of this notion of cultural discontinuity is found in the statement of policy in a 1982 Indian and Inuit Affairs document Indian Education Paper - Phase 1. The (IAN, 1982) policy statement states,

> The education policy of the department of Indian Affairs and

> Northern Development, adopted in 1973 and in keeping within its mandate and the expressed wishes of Indian people, is to support Indian people in ensuring their cultural continuity and development by providing Indian youth with the knowledge, attitudes and life skills necessary to become self-sufficient and contributing members of society. (p. 3)

This cultural discontinuity can be likened to the zone of proximal development which was advanced by Vygotsky (1994). "Research has shown that Native students undergo an enormity of stressful situations in the Euro-Canadian school system as a result of their culture not being recognized or accepted as being significant" (Johnson, 1994, p. 2). Johnson advised that Native students feel intimidated, angry or powerless and mentally withdraw when "...they don't understand what you are saying or believe that you are talking over their heads" (p. 114). The notion of the mental connection very often raises issues related to the physical side of education.

d. Physical. The Medicine Wheel of the Plains people situate the notion of physical at the westerly direction of the compass rose. Very often this aspect of Nativeness is related to healing and one wonders how is this connected to education. Monture (1996, p. 66) offers insight through her words , "...too many beads and feathers to class. Try as I may, I can never remember wearing feathers to class". Stereotyping demonstrated in this physical sense is often interlaced as a strand in education. Conferences evaluations (Cleary and Peabody, 1998) and within classrooms (Monture, 1996) by students from the dominant society align Native teachers metaphorically to Native symbol adornments of the body. "We do use physical aspects to aid our understanding, but as you will see, to find those things that inhabit a direction, you may have to look a lot farther than in just the physical direction." (Wolf 1998, p. 3). In essence, what Wolf is stating is that the notion of physical connections educative wise is larger than the wearing of Native costume or to speak metaphorically of the glamour associated with Native presence. "These portraits have a serious impact on the personal development of Native children" (Frideres, 1993, p. 186).

If we do not wish to be branded with stereotypes then we too have to be careful how we contribute to the problem. The notion of the physical relates to our physical

bodies. These physical bodies also make connections to the physical structure of the educational system in Nova Scotia. Hampton (1995) describes North American schools as being hostile to Native cultures by the way they are structured. Some of the physical descriptions provided by Hampton such as individual rather than group tasks could bring forth the emotional.

e. Emotional. The notion of emotional is situated on the south according to the teaching of the medicine wheel. Calliou (1995, p. 58) advises us that the "[S]outh, the emotional realm, provides the groundwork where learners can begin to sense joy or pain, denial or awareness, justice or injustice". Very often what emerges as emotional connections within the field of education arise from the lack of the spiritual, physical and mental links of the PSP. An area that has been at the heart of emotionality within the Mi'kmaw society is the receding of our language along with its marginality within the PSP. The NCRP argues for the support, use and maintenance of the Mi'kmaw language for we the Mi'kmaq can retain our language and culture while being academically educated in the Western context. Christmas (1988) argues against the notion that we need to Anglicize the Mi'kmaw students in order for them to succeed in school. It is a myth for anyone to suggest that we need to be Anglicized to succeed in school.

A good number of Mi'kmaq have more than succeeded in school while retaining our language and our ways of life. During the CITEP (Canadian Indian Education Program) Marguerite MacKenzie indicated that the key to solving problems related to language lies within Native communities (Micmac News 1985, p. S-14).

Another area of emotional discomfort relates to how "[S]ome persons in school enjoy respect and self-respect, while others suffer searing discrimination and self-doubt" (Manzer 1994, p. 8). The NCRP notes that a social element, racism, is very often the perpetrator of discrimination and prejudice which often manifests to self-doubt for the Native child. This is not to deny that Native societies are exempt from practicing discrimination and prejudice. A powerful technique utilized by a number of First Nations societies to maintain conformity is often referred to as the crab bucket or basket. This strategy operates on the emotions or the psyche of individuals to keep them within a

group and from personal growth. "Racism begins in denial, denial that we are, quite simply, one species. Racism is physically, emotionally, psychologically and spiritually draining to both sender and receiver" (Calliou, 1995, p. 57).

We need to take heart these words by Shor (1987, p. 35), "These emotions or 'hidden voices' that students bring with them are essential for educators to uncover, as they have the power to block learning". Eisner (1978, cited in Rymer & Alladin, 1996, p. 168) stipulated that emotion plays a critical role in human understanding. Calliou (1995, p. 61) suggests, "Combining our emotions with thought can help us see the shortcomings of our actions" to create environments that are more conducive to learning.

f. Environmental. Literature reveals or exposes three types of environments, the social, physical and psychological. Contained within these environments are the racial often hostile climates which are and could be situated in both the home and school. The notion of the environment in an educative sense often cascades on the theory of school climate or school atmosphere. Rymer and Alladin (1996, p. 164) suggest that, "This climate grows out of a concern for social responsibility". The environment or climate within a number of Nova Scotia schools during the 1990's was termed by the media (such as the Halifax Chronicle Herald) as being hostile, racist, political, enlightened, cultural and social. Kaegi (1976) questioned,

> How can a child be expected to succeed with so many obstacles to overcome; language difference; alien culture; ignorance and prejudice even among those who are supposed to help him, his teachers. In school his history is usually distorted; his art patronized, the achievements of his ancestors virtually ignored. (p. 15)

The notion that the classroom will provide the environment for exercising the right and responsibilities of citizenship as mentioned by Rymer and Alladin is probably possible given that the classroom participants are open-minded and accepting of other cultures. It is hoped that "[T]his environment will foster individual responsibility as well as respect for the rights of others and a responsibility for the maintenance of those rights" as suggested by Rymer and Alladin (p.164).

Traditional and contemporary forms or bodies of Native education in an

environmental sense consists of bodies of knowledge and practices resulting from the direct interactions with the natural world. The environmental process of education was at the centre and became a guiding mechanism for the sense of sacredness and of expressing (Cajete, 1994). That is, it was and is still part of our ethics. The environmental foundation of education was the essential reality or the place of being (Cajete, 1994).

The Mi'kmaq of today are just as attuned to the environmental aspects of this land, the physical environment, as they were prior to the landing of Europeans on Atlantic shores. Of recent, this environmental aspect has been challenged by certain Euro-Canadians who themselves butcher the forests, the oceans, and the land. Their quest is for monetary wealth as they exploit a living from our natural resources. The Mi'kmaq, of late, have been accused of overcutting within the boundaries of what the crown claimed of Mi'kma'ki. The creation of an environment or an atmosphere of goodwill within an inclusive curriculum that is void of any missionary zeal could lend to the possibility of a balanced and harmonizing educational system. This could begin by envisioning the community in a global sense.

g. Community/Global. A seemingly fitting topic in Tiedt and Tiedt (1998, p. 219), in a Global Village" describes the interconnectiveness and interdependence of countries around the world. Tiedt and Tiedt state, "It has become increasingly obvious that the way we live affects people in other countries and that what they do affects us here". This significance of community or global within Native education has stemmed from the collective nature of Native societies. However, the Natives do not confine the global to just peoples but extend this to all aspects of living which include the creatures and the Earth's natural environment. It has been my experience that this collective is couched in the concept of responsibility.

While working within the community or global aspects of education McCormick (1998) warns us not to make generalizations to all First Nation groups. Dickason (1996) describes the phenomena so well. Dickason states, "As aboriginals see the world, it is a web of multi-directional interacting cycles, of relationships that inevitably affect others.

No one acts in isolation. Everyone is in that web where all things said and done

have repercussions" (p. D17).

Sabattis (1996, p. 52) asserts that, "To the Aboriginal community in Canada the concept of Community well-being begins with the well-being of each individual member". This well-being according to Sabattis "...refers to the balance of the mental, emotional, physical and spiritual elements of self" (p.52). Marshall (1994) mentioned that through a process of collective consciousness the Mi'kmaq prepare and mold the children. Dickason 1996 describes how this occurs. Dickason states, "The emphasis on teamwork implicit in healing circles means that power is shared, rather than being assigned to certain individuals" (p. D17). This is in contrast with individuality among the Euro-Canadians sense of society and education.

North American Indian education with its legacy of traditional forms embodies a quest for self and community survival (Cajete, 1994). Childrearing as a legacy of traditional forms demonstrates that "[I]t still is everyone's responsibility to see that the children are safe from physical, emotional and spiritual dangers" (Marshall 1994, p. 2). This philosophy ties the context of wholeness to the natural environment as a community or global orientation. Johnson (1994, p. 6) explains wholeness thus, "Native elders explain that before an individual can be "whole", he or she must be well balanced mentally, emotionally, physically and spiritually. By being "whole", elders mean that the person has a healthy concept of self and others" . Dickason (1996) extends this by stating that,

> Social order reflects world views: the European concern for absolutes contrasts with the aboriginal concept of the world in a constant process of change, where maintaining equilibrium between shifting forces and relationships calls for initiative and responsibility. ...In the four orders of creation (earth, plants, animals and humans), plants depend on the earth, animals depend on plants, and nothing depends on humans - the most dependent of all. (p. D17)

For connecting the struggles within the concept of community/global LaRoque (1975, p. 2) suggests, "One way to redirect the attitudes of white and Native persons towards each other is to include Native content as a significant, integral part of the provincial curriculums". This brings to mind what the NCRP lens asserts as the notion of inclusive education in a global sense brought forward by authors such as Connell (1993),

Dei (1996), Johnson (1994), Moore (1983), Mosher (1992), Sabbatis (1997), and Sable (1996). Then Marshall (1991, p.17) secures our position by stating, "We, the Mi'kmaq of the Atlantic Region, have remained distinctive in our language, traditions, beliefs and values".

This chapter's glimpse of cultural factors relative to related services are critical to educating the Mi'kmaw child. Invoking the four directions through the personal aspects of the Plains peoples' medicine wheel described some of the personal aspects of the spiritual, mental, physical and emotional . Globally speaking like all others on this planet the Mi'kmaq services related to education are personal in nature.

Chapter 10

Transforming Public Education in Nova Scotia: A Proposed Work in Progress

Introduction. As we advance onward on our journey in a counter-clockwise direction of the eight-pointed star we reach the last point of entry, the Native childrearing practices (NCRP) Southern Door, situated on the next tip of the eight-pointed star. In addition, although we arrive at the final pinnacle for the eight-pointed star our exploration does not absolutely end here. Our exploration will continue in the concluding chapter. Here, we enter the wigwam of the traditional aspects of Mi'kmaw education where a different pedagogical theory is introduced. The unpacked bundle introduces us to the complexities and intricacies of the inner-workings of what the NCRP posits to be Mi'kmaq Program Services.

Similar to prior explorations around the eight-pointed star there are complexities and intricacies contained in this bundle that are intertwined with the traditional and contemporary societal values, customs and norms of my Mi'kmaw people. It is further complicated by the diversity of Mi'kmaq across Mi'kma'ki. Once again I am borrowing from the sacred circle or the medicine wheel of the Plains peoples when I state that the South represents the sensitivity, generosity, and preparing for the future.

The notion of Mi'kmaq Program Services explores the ways for the transformation or modification of the PSP that opens the door to lead toward a restructured and balanced curriculum for all Nova Scotia students. Transforming or "changing the curriculum to reflect the culture of Native students can help create meaning for students who often do not see school as meaningful" Reyhner (1994, p. 27). This exploration does not deny that "...curriculum development to incorporate Aboriginal knowledge and experience faces major barriers" (Atlantic Policy Congress of First Nation Chiefs Secretariat, n. d. p. 37). Sabattis (1996) provides this insight,

> Changes in curriculum need to begin at day care and go throughout all educational levels. Community programs with teachings from the Elders, including language, stories and lessons in a Traditional way to build self-esteem and a positive sense of identity is needed for all ages. (p. 118)

The intent of this alternate program in education is to forward educational

programming that is sensitive to the Mi'kmaq. Persons from other cultures may wish to present from their own worldview. This chapter advocates for the development of Mi'kmaq dimensions of education. It is executed from a stance described by Sabattis, (1996) that

> All Aboriginal learners must be equipped with a strong sense of who they are in relation to their community and culture. Whether in mainstream or Native programs, our connection to our communities and traditions keep us grounded and able to survive with our identities intact" (p. 114).

The forwarded program entertains multiple perspectives within each of the dimensions so they should externally draw information from other dimensions. This is to say that many subject areas intertwine or interlope with each other. Gosh (1996, p. 47) cautions, "Human concerns and issues cut across disciplines and should not be compartmentalized." For the Mi'kmaq at issue is the need to "think of an education process as being, you know, all levels, like its physical, it's mental, it's spiritual, its emotional" (Sabattis, 1996, p. 80).

Specific subject areas such as Personal Development and Relationships, Mi'Kmaq language, Family Studies, Social Studies, Native Law, Native Perspectives in Math and Science are forwarded as being the most important. In essence, these can be the core elements of the Mi'kmaw dimensions of education with "[A]ny argument for a compulsory core must be worked out in terms of the individual and social goods which schooling ought to promote" (Cochrane, 1987, p. 129). The NCRP concurs with what Battiste (1990) suggests,

> Rather than having students experience sporadic and fragmented elements of Mi'Kmaq history and culture, the curriculum must provide a rich Mi'Kmaq language environment, reading, writing, and other language arts skills, and more importantly, build social studies, health, geography, and personal development skills through and from the rich Mi'Kmaq culture, community, and heritage. (p. 1)

A change in curriculum is necessary because the principle that all human beings have equal value demands that students are not demeaned within the school through the curriculum and school environment (Gosh, 1996). For the Mi'kmaq, "[T]he change we

seek is one of transformation, a change that is empowering personally and collectively" (Denny, 1995, p. 3). It is crucial that we swing the door wide open for the infusion of all the dimensions of Mi'kmaw education within the spheres of Nova Scotia's Eurocentric education.

The NCRP has noted that the PSP is conspicuously void of Mi'kmaw pedagogy in an epistemological sense. Sable (1996, p. 62-63) makes note that "[T]he study of Mi'kmaw culture and history does not enter Nova Scotia curriculum until Grade six, yet there are places for content and experiences to be included". The NCRP posits the notion that the Mi'kmaq do not consider any data as being unimportant or irrelevant. For instance, tangible and intangibles of life are learning experiences through one's life cycle and are viewed holistically. The dimensions of Mi'kmaw education are forwarded for new relationships and understandings as submitted by Joe (1997),

> If we take part in each other's ceremonies, we may find something that each of us never fully understood: unity and love in the eyes of the Spirt. Leave the past in the past, experience each day to learn about one another, and then harmony will grow like the seed of wisdom. (p. 10)

I am persuaded by the Mi'kmaw ethic of 'striving for excellence' while *'I am making a new trail'* (panawa'tkitem) in Nova Scotia education. My Mi'kmawness tells me that I will not achieve a perfect product and I am aware that perfection is never attainable for improvements are often necessary. Hence, the notion of a work in progress. Another Native ethic 'Striving for excellence' is paramount rather than expecting perfection. The important thing is to have an open mind in education as suggested by Hare (1979) so that panawti'kek (an opening to a path) will be available for further exploration. This open mind does not require or call for exclusion of what is presently within the current PSP; however, to accommodate or include epistemology from Mi'kmaw ways or modes of knowing.

The development of education that is not only relevant but academically on par with the province builds bridges for the Mi'kmaw child to the modern world (Battiste, 1990). In addition, this bridge narrows the span or the chasm between the Mi'kmaw world and the non-Mi'kmaw population of this province. By extension, it also narrows the gap

among the people in the Maritime provinces, Newfoundland and the eastern shore of the United States for it is Mi'kma'ki or Mi'kmaw territory.

Driver and Bell (1986) and Phillips and Crowell (1994) agree that one of the fundamental aspects of children's learning is that learning outcomes depend on what the learner already knows not just on what the children learn in school. The notion of prior learning has been examined within the Education Department of Nova Scotia and other provinces. This leads one to believe that indeed the cultural and information bundles that one brings to school are valuable and worthy of merit.

It is noted by Wallerstein (1987) that the central premise by Freire is that education is not neutral. Its location whether in a classroom or community does not create a vacuum between the interaction of the teacher and the student (Wallerstein, 1987). Snively (1990) tells us that it is important to consider whether a student accepts or understands a given concept by the determinants in which the student brings to the instructional setting. I take this to mean 'whether there is a match' between the two dichotomies of Western science and Native science. If a match does not occur then there is lack of harmony or incongruities emerge which in turn leads to strife.

Two reasons are mentioned by Gosh (1996) why a change in curriculum is essential. The first being,

> "that a more comprehensive picture of culture and the world would enrich the education of students" (p. 3)

and the second,

> "because the principle that all human being have equal value demands that some students not be given a demeaning picture of themselves in school through the curriculum and school environment" (Gosh, 1996, p. 3).

The NCRP advances Mi'kmaw modes of knowing through the words of Connelly and Clandinin (1985),

> Just as it is good current pedagogical theory to teach the grounds and argument of competing theoretical views within the school subjects, so too it is good pedagogical theory to cast teaching and learning acts in the context of alternate epistemologies. (p.180)

Mi'kmaq Program Services

Considering what has been said in previous text let us now take a glimpse of what is posited as critical aspects that are missing from the PSP and need to be included. The title Mi'kmaq Program Services is utilized here in the context of Mi'kmaw cultural continuity. In addition, the title is self-serving for the lack of a better term and it is temporary in nature for the NCRP lens propositions a new Nova Scotia curriculum that is inclusive of other cultures. Also, at task in this section are critical elements which have been adopted by the Mi'kmaq from western tribes at the expense of our Mi'kmaw culture. The Mi'kmaq knew and valued what the PSP defines as essential graduation learnings; aesthetic expression, citizenship, communication and personal development within the context of holistic Mi'kmaw education. Rita Joe tells us, "We have a heritage that never died, it lives in the eyes of our people. The eyes are sometimes sad, sometimes hostile, sometimes curious, watching what you will do next". As I uncover this NCRP Southern Door, my eyes are very focussed on what I bring forward from our heritage and not to invent our heritage for it already exists in the minds of my people.

The dimensions of Mi'kmaw education are varied, as much as, if not more that the Eurocentric, Judeo-Christian, male middle class culture as advocated by the PSP. Dei (1996) states,

> Without a doubt there is a place for the indigenous know ledges of Aboriginal peoples to te taught in the schools. Unfortunately, traditional knowledge of the indigenous peoples of North America have not been fully analyzed for their contributions to education in North America. (p. 89)

The task of this study is not to analyse contributions by the Mi'kmaq. It is more of what Dei asserts,

> It is a question of creating a space for a synthesis of different know ledges to take place to serve the needs of education in Euro-Canadian/American contexts. First Nations peoples can and do generate knowledge about their own societies that any initiative for inclusive schooling could do well to tap. (p. 89)

Table 2 posits what the NCRP considers as core elements that would be included

within the provincial PSP best serves both the Mi'kmaq and the non-Mi'kmaw. This should be considered a work in progress and is not meant as exhaustive of what it might be.

Table 2

Dimensions of Mi'kmaw Education

1. Language and Communications
2. Social Studies
    - History
    - Geography
3. Science, Technology and Society
4. Mathematics
5. Family Studies
6. Personal Development & Relationships
7. Health and Physical Fitness
8. Art, music, dance, drama
9. Aboriginal Rights and Treaties
    - Mi'kmaq Government
    - Parliamentary Law vis a vis Tribal Law
        - Family Law
        - Criminal Law
        - Property Law

These dimensions are laid out in such a way so that they are more accommodating with the present style of the PSP and by no means are these dimensions exhaustive. They are presented in subject areas instead of the holistic pattern that very often accompanies Mi'kmaw pedagogy. Aspects from the Native culture need to be incorporated into all subjects areas (Pauls, 1996) to assist in the breaking down of barriers and the building of

bridges. Table 2 presents subject area contributions that are suitable for all grades; although, they are not exhaustive by any means. Other can add what they consider to be relevant and important. Battiste (1991) suggests activities from elementary to the end of junior high. The NCRP anticipates that these units will encompass all grade levels. Topics suggested by (MacKey, 1975) which include food, clothing, shelter, medicine, government systems, can emerge from the rubric of these dimensions. This will depend upon the needs of particular educational systems. The forwarded program and services is not meant to stand alone; but, to be part and parcel of the Nova Scotia provincial curriculum for all students. It is inclusive in nature. This is not to say that the Mi'kmaq communities could not take it upon themselves to make it a stand alone program and services within their own community schools. Whereas, the provincial systems could integrate them into the existing PSP.

The dimensions are posited as foundations to build upon and expand. Mackey presents four types of dimensions of Indian education which include, Indian education, Indians in education, Education for Indians and Education about Indians. These four streams of thought occur when the notion of Native education is brought forward. It is presummed that MacKey puts forward these parameters due to terminology - actually prepositions. For instance, there is no preposition for Indian education as Mackey defines Indian education as processes involved in learning the Old Indian Ways, ie. traditional knowledge (TK). The NCRP does not restrict the dimensions in Table 2 only to traditional knowledge for it does not wish to envelope the Mi'kmaq in the past.

When the preposition 'in' is used it refers to Indian people who are partaking in education as students, teachers among all age groups. Included in this group are Indian persons from pre-school to adulthood (Mackey, 1975).

When the word 'for' is used, it directs education toward those being educated. Education for Indians means programs designed for Indians. That is to say, when one is teaching Natives it is for their benefit. Mackey (1975) has confined this to mean educational systems and programs rather than people. One would think that this is short-sighted for Indian education fits best with programming.

When the words 'of' and 'about' are used they generally relate to education 'pertaining to' or 'regarding to' education about a certain group of people. Mackey's last definition is interesting for it refers to education programs directed to the non-Indian about the Indian culture. "[A]lthough the focus would be on the non-Indian populations, many young Indian persons need this dimension of Indian education" (Mackey, 1972, p. 10) for cultural continuity. In fact, it also connects with what was presented on page C-14 of the 1997-1998 PSP. That is to say, when referring to educating the non-Mi'kmaw people about the Mi'kmaq one is teaching Native studies within a provincial school system that is about Native education. The dimensions presented here are to serve two purposes. First, Mi'kmaw education for the Mi'kmaw in education. Second, Mi'kmaw education for all students about the Mi'kmaq. Hence, it is a two-barreled approach.

1. Language and Communications

The NCRP forwards language and communications not only as a program for language arts for the Mi'kmaq language; however, as a communication bridge for the non-Mi'kmaq. First, as a program of instruction in the Mi'kmaq Language Arts so that the Mi'kmaw students will learn to read, write and express themselves in their language. This can form the core for Mi'kmaq students in the development and continuity of the first language. Second, as a tool for comparative and contrasting the different ways of communication among humans. Discussing the different modes of communication between Mi'kmaq, English, French, Gaelic and so on will enlighten all students that there are a variety of modes to convey messages. Third, comparing and contrasting different language structures would further familiarize Nova Scotia students that on a social plane nothing is the same. Furthermore, it is not necessary to contain Mi'kmaq language and communication in a mere language arts mode but dialogue can be conducted in other subject areas such as social studies, science, mathematics.

a. Brief history. The earliest inscribed or written language by the Mi'kmaq were the hieroglyphics on birchbark or animal hides. Father LeClerq, a French missionary priest, noticed children using this system as a memory aid (Robertson, 1973) and adapted it to translate scriptures in 1691. Pacifique another missionary used thirteen letters to set the

Mi'kmaw down on paper. Bernard Francis and Doug Smith developed a new orthography in 1974 to give a more accurate representation of the sounds of the Micmac language. They used eleven consonants, p. t, k, q, j, s, l, m, n, w, and y and there are six vowels - a, e, i, o, and u, along with their corresponding long sounds, and schwa, denoted by a barred i. Smith and Francis approximately five years of research to perfect the 26 sound system of the Mi'kmaq language complete with 55 different sounds. The Pacifique System used eleven letters and sounds. The Mi'kmaq sound system consists of 27 sounds comprised of 11 consonants, the vowels and the apostrophe.

To deny that no writing systems existed prior to European contact is not only prejudicial but also oppressive. Robertson (1973) states that the earliest reports about these writing systems date back to 1672 with the Indians of the Eastern Woodlands. This statement only confirms the Eurocentric view of the ahistorical nature of Mi'kmaw culture.

For example, let us look at the nature of oral tradition among the Mi'kmaq. Traditional teachings occurred by oral communication and role modelling. Learning began through oral tradition by talking to the newborn. This talking to the newborn was not the monopoly of one society on this planet. Although, in contrast to European learning traditional Native education was and is not book learning, only oral tradition. Book learning came after certain missionaries such as Rand and Pacifique starting encrypting our language with Roman script. Orations were in effect reduced by print (Jenness, 1972). Oral tradition consists of stories, legends, and experiences of elders. Oral tradition is defined as a complete verbal form of communication embodied in the mind, spirit and body of the carrier. Petrone (1990) maintains that oral traditions are as intricate and meaningful as written tradition nor are they simply a less-polished, more haphazard or cruder form of literature. Petrone (1990) has this to say about oral literature,

> The oral literature of Canada's native peoples embraces formal narrative, informal story telling as well as political discourse, song, and prayer. Much of this literary expression was didactic in nature, communicating the respective histories and rules of belief and behaviour of the diverse tribes, and perpetuating their specific word views that gave the cosmos its origin, order, and meaning. It bound the 'sacred and the

> profane, the individual and the tribal, the past, present, and future, and it encompasse[d] the teller, the listener, the tribe, and the land and the universe'. By transmitting specific cultural knowledge, with its specific meaning and messages, it helped strengthen tribal identity and provided for its continuity. (p. 3)

One needs to be cognisant of the fact that oral tradition is utilitarian and the carrier was and still is very often a woman of the tribes. The human memories were and are still the recording devices, the repositories and the clearinghouses of oral tradition. This explains why the homes are generally devoid of reading materials. Books are considered to belong to the formal school system.

In 1675 Father Chrestien LeClerq observed the Mi'kmaq children recording lessons with ideograms (Robertson, 1973). The ideograms were used by Canada's first peoples as memory aides and for the conveyance of messages. There were other known types of writing systems that existed among the Mi'kmaq long before Chretien LeClerq came on the scene and before Silas Rand introduced the alphabet. Battiste (1986) identifies pictographs, petroglyphs, notched sticks and wampum as forms of written communication and recording. Most of these literacies were either destroyed, transformed or neglected by Euro-Canadian travellers and missionaries with the mistaken belief that Indian were not capable of writing (Battiste, 1986). According to Robertson (1973) the petroglyphs or rock drawings depict the life of Mi'kmaq, their customs, their beliefs; however, of the earlier times.

In 1989 Rita Joe wrote a poem about the Mi'kmaq hieroglyphics and how the world chose to deny their existence. Robertson (1973) confirms what has been stated through oral tradition of how hieroglyphics were adapted in 1675 by Father LeClerq for teaching prayers and services of the church to the Micmac. Since this the first European documentation of this writing system one cannot help wondering if these are in fact true copies or adaptations. A strong possibility exists that LeClerq's hieroglyphics are true copies not adaptations.

This is partly correct for not all of the petroglyphs pertain to the Mi'kmaq for some messages relate to or are warnings of Europeans.

Silencing got further accomplished by denying the children in speaking their mother tongue while attending educational institutions (Noriega, ca. 1992). Considering that the first peoples of Canada as illiterate when writing systems existed prior to European contact is not only prejudicial; moreover, it is also oppressive.

Robertson (1973) states that the earliest reports about these writing systems date back to 1672 with the Indians of the Eastern Woodlands. Prior to the establishment of the English order in Acadia, Father Chretien LeClerq a Jesuit priest recognised that in order for him to break the language barrier between him and the Mi'kmaq he had find a way to transmit his religious instruction. In 1675 Father Chretien LeClerq observed the Mi'kmaq children recording lessons with ideograms (Robertson, 1973). These ideograms were used by Canada's first peoples as memory aides and for the conveyance of messages. Silas Rand introduced the alphabet. Silas T. Rand wrote out the sounds as he heard them spoken using the modern-day alphabet. He used his work to translate scripture as well as ordinary communication into the Micmac language and published a forty thousand -word grammar in 1894.

Rita Joe's (1989) poem, "The Gentle War" describes how Father LeClerq took advantage of the Mi'kmaq hieroglyphics to teach Mi'kmaq children; yet, the world chose to deny of the existence the Mi'kmaq hieroglyphics. Considering Rita's education (Grade 5) and age, it is very likely that she confirms the above through oral tradition. Since Father LeClerq's use of ideograms is the first European documentation of a Mi'kmaw writing system, one cannot help wondering if these are in fact were true copies rather than adaptations. Francis (1997) described this writing process as the traditional writing system of the Mi'kmaq. It can and should be included as part of Mi'kmaq language and communication within the transformed curriculum.

There are a variety of ways for communication within the Mi'kmaw world. They consist of the verbal and non-verbal modes. The oral tradition of yesteryear still exists and is in practice. Sable (1996) states that the Mi'kmaw language is the heart of the culture. Non-verbal communication consists of silence, body gestures, facial expressions, modelling, silent reading and writing. The subtleties of the first four are and

have been symbolic of non-verbal communication in augmenting oral tradition.

Considering the variety of modes for communication that exists within the Mi'kmaq society the potential exists in the development of curriculum in all the different types of communication. Redden (1981) suggests linguistic patterns, conceptual patterns, and syntax as problem areas for Natives. Some misconception are clarified by Johnson (1994)

> It has been found for example, that many Native people speak more softly and at a slower rate than do Euro-Canadians and don't try to overpower their listener. This politeness toward others may be misinterpreted as meekness, shyness, a lack of self-confidence or even a lack of intelligence, by Euro-Canadians. (p. 50)

As the Mi'kmaq are becoming newly immersed or becoming acquainted with numerous resources many graphic and visuals should be incorporated and utilized to augment communication. We need to be given the occasion to view the graphics and other visual texts in exploring the world at large including exploration of other North American First Nations. Prospects in viewing Mi'kmaw culture through the creative visual arts will help. The censuring of materials either by Indian Affairs, religious and school personnel maintained our isolation from the world and prevented us from exploring or exerting powerful influences as stated by the PSP.

The language of communication within a number of communities is the Mi'kmaw language. Micmac Native Friendship Centre (1991, p.9) made note that "... Mi'kmaq is the first language of the majority of native students in Cape Breton schools, problems related to communication skills (reading, writing, speaking, listening) begin to manifest themselves in the early years of schooling". This is not to say that in a number of communities English does not exist as a language of communication. A renewed interest in the Mi'kmaw language during the 1970's led to a new script. Chapel Island was the first Mi'kmaw community that introduced it as part of the curriculum during the early nineteen eighties.

The following script (cited in Collins & Colorado, 1987) details so explicitly the notion of webbing or inter-relatedness that is the heart or core of Native communication,

> Look out there," the Native Elder said to the young man, "and tell me what you see." The young man looked out and responded, "Well, I see a tree, a fence, and another person walking around out there." "Yes", the old man answered, "when you figure out the relationship between the three come back to see me again." (p. 1)

Leavitt (1995) writes on the precept that North American Natives do not necessarily organise reasoning to a linear sequence of events. Linear aspects include the cause and effect, trial and error, axioms-theorems-corollaries. This is incorrect for one only has to read the implicit messages that emanate from the legends that portray or convey behaviour ethics.

Some forms of customary communication practices which include non-verbal modes such as gestures, body language as are described by Johnson (1994) are still utilized,

> Communicating with Native people can be quite challenging at times for those who are not accustomed to the non-verbal signals they use. For example, most Native people are generally not verbose and prefer to express themselves in a succinct, precise manner without going into long explanations or dissertations. At other times, they may go into long stories to make their point, observing the reactions of the listener as they speak. Therefore, their silence does not mean consent, nor does it mean non-participation. Their silence could mean, however, that they don't feel comfortable being questioned and that they are not going to respond at all. One who understands non-verbal communication would be able to pick up on the signals given off and would know what the silence means. This use of silence may be unnerving to school staff who work with Native students, however, and could result in adverse consequences if not fully understood. (p. 44)

The NCRP posits that these verbal, non-verbal and written forms of discourse be included in Nova Scotia curriculum in order for non-Mi'kmaq to embrace and understand the nature of Mi'kmaq language and communications. Comparative studies of different communication systems from among the diverse groups within Nova Scotia could be chosen not just the Mi'kmaq. Most important is that they be explored from a position that these forms of communique originate from the Mi'kmaq not French missionaries. They only transferred them onto a new medium, paper.

b. Origin of the Mi'kmaw Language Ethnographers and anthropologists have linked the Mi'kmaw language to the Algonquian family of languages. The mother tongue for the Mi'kmaq has its origins from the people who have lived on the eastern seaboards of what is known today as the Maritimes and the New England States. Marshall (n.d.) contends that its existence, its origins, and its legitimacy have always resided in the people that speak it. One of the important marks of identity is the language (Norris, 1998). Needless to say that the Mi'kmaw language embeds not just identity for it also transcends culture from generation to generation.

Language development commences within the minds of children long before formal schooling starts laying down the formal forms or patterns of language arts through syntax, semantic, phonology, and morphology. Battiste (1990) suggests that the integra- tion of the rich Mi'kmaw language and heritage throughout the curriculum must be supported with the same integrity as the provincial system.

c. Uniqueness and Structure. The Mi'kmaw language of today is unique in a variety of ways. Micmac is a polysynthetic, non-gender-specific, verb-oriented language with approximately 3,750 native speakers located within the designated communities of the Micmac Nation. The structure of the Mi'kmaq language according to Rand (cited in Petrone 1990, p. 11) is "copious, flexible, and expressive. Its declension of Nouns, and conjugation of Verbs, are as regular as the Greek and twenty times as copious". Unlike the "Standard English", there is no such doctrine as "Standard Mi'kmaq" because of the fact that the Mi'kmaq language varies among us.

Similar to all languages the Mi'kmaw language has the verbal and non-verbal modes of communication. Under the rubric of verbal is the oral tradition. This had been the chief mode or form of communication prior to European contact. Talking circles were very often used to arrive at a consensus during meetings. The telling of legends were used to impart moral codes to the children and young adults. Instruction to younger generations was and still is orally transmitted by the older generations that are often referred to as elders. This is not to say that the elders did not learn from those younger than they. The non-verbal forms consist of, 1) symbols - notch sticks, pictographs, hieroglyphics,

wampum, 2) gestures - body directed signs), 3) writing with an alphabet (Francis, 1997). Another unique property of the Mi'kmaw language is that it is not gender specific neither are there are any prepositions (Marshall, 1996; Francis, 1997). Gender is not divided into masculine, feminine or neuter like the English (Christmas, 1977). In contrast to the English language, one word in Mi'kmaq can convey the meaning of many words (Inglis, 1996). Another unique property identified by Inglis is that "one can order words in a sentence in a variety of ways yet one must correctly order the word parts inside the individual word if a clear meaning is to be presented" (p. 28). A fair amount of possibilities exist within education for language construction and communication in Mi'kmaq.

d. Problems. The Mi'kmaq do not stand alone with an endangered language. A number of issues need to be resolved if our Mi'kmaw language is be developed into a viable written form. A major problem is that there exists more than one orthography. Burnaby (1984, p.208-209) addresses this issue thus, "The fact the most of the languages have to have orthographies developed for them in order to establish a literacy program is one of the many complicating factors in Native curriculum development". Some school boards have initiated Mi'kmaq language courses at the Grade seven and nine levels. Because of this initiation a problem relating to who can teach such courses has surfaced. Another issue brought forward by Burnaby is, "

> It is only fair to ask why one should expect a Native literacy program to improve a Native child's sense of identity as a Native person by creating something - namely literacy - which has never existed in this home culture before. (p. 209)

Considering the resistence to literacy as mentioned by Burnably larger problems exist within communities. The NCRP vehemently agrees with Cleary and Peacock (1998, p. 146) when they state, "Orthography wars need to end". There has been orthography wars in Mi'kma'ki since the early 1970s when a more realistic and progressive orthography was initiated. Mi'kmaw language should be taught in schools; but it is the Mi'kmaw communities that need to resolve which orthography should be utilized for the best interests of the Mi'kmaw society. Tied to this problem of orthographies is the

usefulness of a Native language within today's society. For example, a Mi'kmaw speaking community member from Potlotek was adamant that the impending immersion program proposed by the Potlotek Board of Education was not of any value for it cannot be used anywhere.

The Smith Francis orthography system is used in Nova Scotia where the Mi'kmaw alphabet consists of eleven consonants j, k, l, m, n, p, q, s, t , w, y and the five vowels a, e, i, o, u and a schwa i. The New Brunswick Mi'kmaq have their own alphabet while Quebec has another. Then there are elders who adhere to an older version which was developed by a French priest, Father Pacifique.

Another problem is the notion of EuroCanadians believing that since one is a Mi'kmaw speaker than you are completely literate in the Mi'kmaw alphabet sense. This is so far from the truth.

An issue that has been the most profound within the aspects of Eurocentrism is the suppression of the Native voice. There are numerous accounts in literature on the silencing of Canada's First Peoples that could be considered traumas of war. (Noriega (ca. 1992) mentions the systematic denigration and suppression of traditional languages, cultures, religions and worldviews. Garcia (1988, p.8) advises, "If the language is not used in school to continue the enculturation process, or if it is taught in a mechanical or demeaning fashion disregarding the culture it transmits, then the student has not positive way of identifying with schooling. Because the student identifies language with culture, language rejection is considered cultural rejection". Silencing occurred in the residential and day schools throughout North America, in courtrooms, while others were in churches and hospitals.

It is noted by the Atlantic Policy Congress of First Nation Chiefs Secretariat Inc. (ca 1996) that education alone will not preserve Aboriginal languages. According to this group the languages will not thrive without a commitment in language use from the family and community as a source of wealth in communications of all kinds. Parents need to be obligated and committed to Mi'kmaw language retention.

The Community Profiles of Statistics Canada (1996) report that of the 12,380 total population 4,245 Mi'kmaq who reside in the federal designated communities in Nova Scotia as being Mi'kmaw speakers. Statistics Canada figures seem to indicate a discrepancy in their community profiles. On one hand the figures total 2,070 male and 2,175 female speakers for a total of 4,245; yet, when one details the actual numbers reported from each community and totals them there are discrepancies with the figures. Table 3 provides a breakdown of Mi'kmaw speakers reported by Statistics Canada. The figures demonstrate the danger in which the Mi'kmaq language is placed. The figures also demonstrate contradistinctions with Statistics figures. Iit is difficult for Mi'kmaw students to communicate clearly, confidently when there are only a few Mi'kmaq speaking teachers present among the teachers in the school boards.

Table 3

Nova Scotia Mi'kmaq speakers recorded by Statistics Canada 1996

Community	Total Population	% Population Speakers	Male	Female	Total
Acadia	-	-	-	-	-
Afton	283	41	55	60	115
Bear River	77	-	-	-	-
Cambridge	-	-	-	-	-
Chapel Island	335	64	115	100	215
Eskasoni	2504	86	1065	1080	2145
Horton	45	-	-	-	-
Indianbrook	945	14	65	65	130
Membertou	615	33	100	100	200
Millbrook	758	16	50	65	115
Pictou Landing	-	-	-	-	-
Wagmatcook	445	87	210	175	385
Whycocomagh	575	77	220	220	440
Totals	6582	52.3 (avg.)	1880	1865	3745

Another debilitating effect on Native languages has been the belief among a good number of Native communities, including the Mi'kmaw communities, that students cannot succeed in school if they are not introduced to English in the formative years. The use of English was encouraged by parents who wanted success for their children (Anger, 1988). Fleras (1993) found that many Ojibway parents have withheld the support for their language fearing the interference with the development of the English speaking skills. Christmas (1988) aptly states, "that Anglicising the child early at home has not guaranteed success in school...". The Ojibway and the Mi'kmaq are not alone with this phenomena for Maguire and McAlpine (1996) report the same with the Inuit.

To its end many members of Mi'kmaw communities withhold support in the use of the Mi'kmaw language as an instructional tool. The Mi'kmaw language as a language of instruction is pretty well void within Mi'kmaw community schools. For example Chapel Island, although the community announced publicly that Mi'kmaq was the official language in the community, it has failed to implement it as such. English is still officially the language of instruction at the Mi'kmawey School.

The Mi'kmaq and other original inhabitants of North America need to advance past the notion of blaming and expend their energies on the revitalisation and maintenance of not only our languages; moreover, of culture.

It is hoped that a proposed Aboriginal language bill that was developed and advocated by the First Nations Confederacy of Cultural Education Centres in 1997 will counter the denial advocated by federal government's and Nova Scotia's Bill C-30 and No.4 respectively. The use of Mi'kmaw language as a language of instruction which is presently denied under Bill #4 will be enforced when the Aboriginal Languages Act is passed through Parliament. Then provincial legislation will be eroded through this Aboriginal Languages Act. By way of summary, schools need to provide for the Mi'kmaw language, perhaps much as is the case for French Language Instruction. Access to both Mi'kmaw, English and/or French will do much to change perceptions of Mi'kmaw children about themselves.

2. Social Studies

Social Studies is the second dimension of Mi'kmaw education that is advanced by lens of the NCRP. This subject area have a range of probabilities far greater than the other subject areas for it interlopes with others such as family studies, mathematics, science and much more. Cultural components which include, Mi'kmaw government, its social and physical landscape, economies, the roles of the myths and legends within the Mi'kmaw society, environmental studies and transportation can play major roles in the proposed social studies program.

An area that is most important is that it should avoid inappropriate curriculum especially in social science and humanities that has devalued Native knowledge and particularly Mi'kmaw culture. The devaluation has not emanated solely from Eurocentricism for when one looks behind our back doors we do find surprises. In 1991, Battiste suggested integration of Mi'kmaw culture to the Social Studies Teacher's Association. A number of topics suggested by Battiste do not represent Mi'kmaw culture. Battiste suggested topics such as; totem poles, crests of the Haida, Potlatch, Haida Art, the weavers, and the Pacific Northwest Coast Indians. The NCRP does not object to the presentation of other First Nations culture; however, it should be in the proper context.

Regarding transportation the Mi'kmaq had the seafaring technology which enabled them to travel along the eastern seaboard of the present day Atlantic Ocean. Construction of seafaring vessels included canoes and paddles. The Mi'kmaq built a canoe that was wide-bottomed with a raised ends and the sides curved upwards in the middle. Most significant was the shape for it offered protection or prevention of it being swamped with water so easily. The Mi'kmaw canoe was used at sea, as well as, in shallow streams and even in rapids. The lengths of canoes varied in length from about ten feet to thirty feet. The Mi'kmaw canoe was light for it was of birchbark over a light wooden frame. Whitehead and McGee (1983) mention boats constructed with caribou and moose hides. Coupled with this "travelling" the North American Indians invented the snowshoe, toboggan, sled.

Another aspect that follows the social studies subject area is how the Mi'kmaw

life ways have been negated or borrowed without acknowledgment or credit. Operation 'centralization' should be included in this topic area for not many non-Mi'kmaq are aware that this enterprise was meant to herd the Mi'kmaq like livestock onto two major reserves. All our territory came under siege and now we are forbidden to carve any type of a living from it. This topic, if established in a respectful manner would help develop understanding among all students.

Alternative curriculum for social studies can be developed as we were advised by Sable (1996),

> ...the family and community is a social studies theme for first and second grades. In these units children are encouraged to bring in and discuss their heritage, their family, their community and exchange their ideas of what it means to them. This is a good way to broaden children's understanding of different cultural ideas of family and community, but if a Mi'kmaq child is not present (or members of other cultures) then any study of their culture is left to the Grade six unit on Mi'kmaq. (p. 62-63)

At the elementary grades only the exotic past is transcended to the school children. They are not told of the truth; hence, they grow up either with racist attitudes towards my people or they romanticize us as 'commercial Indians' with feathers donned on our heads and wearing buckskins. Sable (1996) confirms these views by children in lower grades regarding the Mi'kmaq. Sable provides this example,

> For instance, a very respected fourth grade teacher, one with whom I have subsequently discussed alternative curriculum developments, recently invited a Mi'kmaw speaker to do a presentation to his class as part of Mi'kmaw heritage month. The class went well from everyone's point of view. However, the questions raised by the children revealed the need for a greater interaction with and understanding of the Mi'kmaq as people of today. The questions included whether Mi'kmaq lived in wigwams, wore feathers in their hair, and other commonly held stereotypes. They revealed a complete lack of knowledge about the Mi'kmaq today, or their history as distinct from other tribes of Native Americans. (p. 63)

a. History. This dimension, to put it mildly, is loaded with elements that date back to the Pleistocene epoch. Abundant resources exist from libraries and repositories along with oral histories which contain trends and issues since the Pleistocene epoch. Hence, there should be no problem encountered for curriculum developers. This includes

history on Mi'kmaq contributions in foods, their economies, history on social development, history on education, history on relationships not just among themselves but with others. Much has been encrypted in history books and now a CD-rom, The Peopling of Atlantic Canadian, is being developed by Dr. Reynolds at the University College of Cape Breton. The Encarta 96 Encyclopedia by Microsoft (1996) uses the Pleistocene epoch to date the existence of Native North Americans. The year 30,000 BC is used by Encarta to denote the existence of Native North Americans. According to this, the history of North America predates ancient Sumeria and Egypt. This is longer than the over 10,000 years that is mentioned by Paul, (1993) and Knockwood (1994).

An antiracist handbook by the City of Toronto (1991) makes note that the history that has been traditionally taught in Canada has been the history of the British Empire and the United States. It also mentions that Canadian history has been the history of the British and French. In addition, one or the other gets emphasized depending upon the location in Canada. We have been learning about European history for so many years and yet when one looks in the many references on Native history it is found that it has been relegated to pre-history while European contact demarcates the beginning of history in North America. Hence, White encounters in North America are considered history and we are very often relegated as being pre-historic. The history being taught to Nova Scotia children is Eurocentric in nature. It is history about the what, where, when, what, and why of the European settlement development in Canada and the Americas. It is a history of other lands particularly about Europe.

It is not the history of the Mi'kmaq. It is not the history of how, when, where, what, why of Mi'kmawey life. It does not speak of the subjugation, oppression, civilization, and Christianization endeavours by the settlers toward the Mi'kmaq or any other First Nation peoples either. It does not speak of the atrocities associated with the deliberate spread of diseases or of the legal connections made to maintain us as subjugated people. These are the topics that should be included for all. As (Monture-Angus, 1995, p. 57) explains it, "My reality and my peoples' proud history in the county were continually denied over and over again. Not only did I feel excluded but that

feeling was reality. I was excluded".

For instance, First Nation or Native and African American or African Canadian perspectives as discourse do exist and should be included in history lessons. These may be conflicting views with what is purported to be history from non-Native and non-African perspectives but we, the First Nations of the Americas, the African Canadians and African Americans have a trail of a socio-historical perspective. Those who did not want us to learn about the wrongs inflicted upon us have kept it out of the Eurocentric classrooms.

It is disheartening to note how Moodley's (1995) remark on his justification of why Nova Scotia's initiatives are inadequate. Moodley states,

> These initiatives remain totally inadequate for dealing in particular with the disadvantaged position of the Black population, which has a history of 300 years in this region. Blacks' struggles for social, and educational advancement continue through increasing pressure from their own communal organizations...(p. 805)

Moodley virtually ignores the Mi'kmaq and more could have been said about Nova Scotia's policy on intercultural relations than the two short paragraphs. Then again, it is not surprising considering the overall subjugation of our essence and existence as so well put by Jennifer Marshall when she states, "A lot of us youth don't know much about our history and it scares us. I, myself, am quite ashamed not to know my own language" (cited in Chronicle Herald Native Issues Database, 1991-1997).

b. Geography This dimension not only has geographical significance but it is historical, social, economical and above all educational. Depending upon whose lens, a historian's or an educator's, that captures the information much can be taught to Nova Scotia students about Mi'kmaw geography. In a geographical sense, many possibilities exist for the development of social studies with Mi'kmaw content. Significant sites such as Blomidon, Kelly's Mountain and Porcupine Mountain have been named by the Mi'kmaq to hold sacred or social prominence. Balance can be found between cultural beliefs from the myths and legends of Glooscap exist in a variety of formats and the realities of the archeological studies of Erskine.

Sable (1996) suggests that lessons can be drawn from the Mi'kmaw petroglyphs.

There are two locations in Nova Scotia where these petroglyphs can be found. Robertson (1973) advises that the Kejimoojik petroglyphs were found by George Creed in 1888. That in itself could serve as a lesson on how Creed made these tracings. According to Sable (1996), Robertson (1973) these carvings, etchings or scratches on Cambrian slate served as modes of communication for the Mi'kmaq. Battiste (1986) reports that they are forms of literacy. Whatever they represent, lessons on geology, art, and history can be developed as suggested by Sable. Robertson (1973, p. 1) argues that "A sharp-tipped stone arrowhead, sharp-edged pieces of quartz, or even a sharpened tip of bone or antler served to cut into the rocks the figure or the record the Micmac wished to preserve."

There is a wealth of information in libraries and other repositories on the historical development of Mi'kma'ki which can easily be adapted for all grades. The geophysical boundaries of the Mi'kmaq Nation have been tampered with and institutionalized with Euro-Canadian concepts while eradicating all precepts of all that was constituted before we welcomed Europeans on our shores. It has been said that there have been significant changes within all aspects of Mi'kmaw culture. One of the most significant changes for the Mi'kmaq was geographical in nature. To be included in this dimension is the notion that Mi'kma'ki, in the perspective of Mi'kmaq, remains in a traditional sense. Like in other dimensions perspectives about geography can be and should be established for students with patterns of comparison and contrast, cause and effect, problem statement, general statements that form elaborations, sequencing of events and more.

For example, Mi'kma'ki once included pretty much all of the Atlantic seaboard southward to Florida. Curriculum outcomes which can developed from 'cause and effect' pattern as to why this no longer occurs for the Mi'kmaq can be explored. The trade routes of Mi'kma'ki were from the mouth of the St. Lawrence southward to Florida. It is without question that the territory of the Mi'kmaq was divided into five provinces and seven states or districts. Today, the land of the Mi'kmaq Nation consists of Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick (Eastern & northern), Quebec (gaspé peninsula), Newfoundland, Maine (northern) Magdalene Islands, and St.-Pierre et Miquelon are a part of Mi'kma'ki. Mi'kma'ki was once a vast geographical region. European politics

carved these out in their quest to settle in this region. For example, Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick were carved out of Nova Scotia in the years 1769 and 1784 respectively by a lieutenant-governor, a combined executive and legislative council, and an assembly (Bourinot, 1901). By way of summary, geography could refer to the sociocultural and historical aspects of geography.

3. Science, Technology & Society

The third dimension of Mi'kmaw education that is forwarded is Science, Technology & Society. What are science, technology and society? Mi'kmaw students experience the skills and knowledge of science in their daily lives; yet, the concepts associated with science within the PSP are not from their perspective. Sable (1996, p. 58) tells us that "[P]erhaps the biggest message of all is they are, for the most part, missing from the science textbooks. Most Native content is found in the social studies curriculum". Sable (1996) argues for the inclusion of Science as a subject area from a Mi'kmaw perspective. Yet, MacIvor (1995) weaves Native science through Hampton's twelves standards of education. There are two documents which feature historical insights on Mi'kmaw science, technology and society. One was written by Christmas (1977), a Mi'kmaq and another by Hayward (1973). Of recent, Mi'kmaw respect or orientation to the land and spirituality as elements of the scientific has been put on a pedestal by White educational personnel. Until recently very little interest and discourse on contemporary Native science, technology and society has been available. Then again, what exists seems to focus on the exotic particularly on spirituality and the legends of Mi'kmaw pedagogy.

This narrow focus precludes that there are no other components of Mi'kmaw science other than that of spirituality and natural resources. This precept leaves the impression or belief that we, as a Nation, have not advanced beyond the hunting and gathering stage of our human development. Similar to how the racist characterisation of savageness and primitiveness used to justify Native uncooperativeness, the extraordinary or exotic Native is praised precisely as an instrument of service for colonial exploitation (Emberley, 1996). One only has to view the contents of Mi'kmaq Studies 10 to see the

slants of exotica. Also, Mi'kmaw science is not all subsumed under beliefs. There is more to Mi'kmaw science than ecology or spirituality.

With the advent of recognition and acceptance of Native studies a few studies have been put forward in a positive stance which suggest that traditional knowledge is available and fits the criteria of the PSP. An exploration by Sable (1996) brings forward new visions for the inclusion of Mi'kmaw concepts in the subject area of science. This is an area where the PSP is silent.

Mi'kmaw science consists of all data including dreams, spiritual experiences, visions and prophecies, and information received from nature which include birds, animals, plants. The extraction of dyes from plants and minerals was part and parcel of the scientific knowledge and technological skills that ancestral Mi'kmaq contributed to present-day life. The knowledge and use of herbal medicines for a variety of ailments has been intricate part of Mi'kmaw society. Leavitt (1995) states,

> Before the arrival of Europeans in North America, the Native peoples relied entirely upon the plants and animals found around them for food, clothing, shelter and fuel ...They had a thorough, first-hand knowledge of when and where each type of plant and animal could be found and how best to gather and prepare it for use. (p. 223)

Acadia University's new ecocenter is going to seek assistance from the Mi'kmaq in the exploration of herbal medicines. In order to transform Nova Scotia education to better serve the Mi'kmaw society, scientific concepts such as the above from the Mi'kmaw world need to be included within a balanced and harmonised curriculum.

Mi'kmaq like other Native societies in Canada have known and passed on the knowledge about the cyclic nature of the universe to the next generations. They consider and hold traditional knowledge as sacred for within the earth and atmosphere contain the remains of our ancestors. Recognised within the universal scheme of things are all the natural elements of minerals, gases, and liquids. Unlike western science the discovery doctrine is passé for the notion of discovery does not apply to something that is naturally present. It is just there and its existence is acknowledged.

Native contributions to present-day life are considerable especially in foodstuffs.

New kinds of plants were shown along with the associated techniques of planting and cultivation were taught to early settlers (Indian and Northern Affairs & National Museum of Man, 1979). The Mi'kmaq's knowledge of scientific information and skills contributed to the settling of the land now known as Canada by assisting the early European immigrants to survive and survive they did. The Mi'kmaq were knowledgeable and skilled in food choices, cooking techniques and food preservation. It is well known that the knowledge of the nutrient content of certain foods cured Europeans who became afflicted with scurvy and other nutrient related diseases.

The life cycles and seasonal cycles of earth's creatures and forces were well known and are still well known and adhered to by the Mi'kmaq. Technology in housing or shelters was imbued with the scientific process of design, construction and maintenance. Birch bark as construction material was very important to the Mi'kmaw society (Indian and Northern Affairs & National Museum of Man, 1979). Birch bark was utilised in canoes, household utensils such as food containers and storage baskets (Indian and Northern Affairs & National Museum of Man, 1979) and not to forget wigwams, lean-tos, and cooking utensils.

Sable's (1996) thesis, ANOTHER LOOK IN THE MIRROR: Research into the Foundations for Developing an Alternative Science Curriculum provides an insight on the interconnectiveness of the Mi'kmaw language and science. For Mi'kmaw children use the Mi'kmaw language as an instrument on probable scientific connections. Sable (1996, p XV) states that her "...research is simply an attempt to begin dialogue and raise questions for educators and scientists to contemplate". To me it is more than that for she has listened and consulted with the Mi'kmaq. She was not the mosquito in flight looking to fill herself of Mi'kmaw sustenance and be on her way. Sable upheld in print what the Mi'kmaq have been saying through oral tradition. Sable has made a successful cultural border crossing and found value in Mi'kmaw science then ratified it in the form of a Masters thesis. Aikenhead and Jegede (n.d.) suggest that cultural border crossings occur when someone moves from one social community to another.

An important aspect of science, technology and society which we cannot side-step

is the impact of mainstream Canadian communications on the Mi'kmaw society. The Atlantic Policy Congress of First Nation Chiefs Secretariat (N.D., p. 42) suggest, "Mainstream Canadian communications technology and content have play a critical role in the social history of Aboriginal people. The have reinforced outside authority, commercialized information flows, dampened traditional means of creating cohesion in the community and promoted cultural replacement". Within the context of Aikenhead's cultural border crossing, it is important to realise how this new technology will impact on Mi'kmaw contemporary society. Depending upon the position of the observer the idea of technology as a force is considered as vital if we are to gain an understanding of the applications and limitations of a variety of emerging technologies (NSTU, 1996).

4. Mathematics

This dimension has as much potential in the inclusion of Mathematics concepts from the Mi'kmaw society as all of the other dimensions. One only has to view the aesthetics of Mi'kmaw art to realise that Mathematics was not unknown to the Mi'kmaq. The intricate geometric quillwork patterns, birch bark craft and paintings that required mathematical calculations appeared in basketry, rock drawings, shelters, tools, pottery, toboggans, canoes, snowshoes; and decorative designs on clothing. That is to say that incorporation of geometry and trigonometry within mathematics is possible in a revised curriculum. The mathematical aspects and processes for the development of these technologies can also easily be included in the PSP. Due to changing economic conditions with the 1960's welfare system the prevalence of such craft has declined. This resulted in the development of development and coping with new family budgetting and accounting principles. This is an area that can also be explored in Mathematics. Although, this does not indicate that all such craft has been terminated for it is now constructed under a smaller scale due to the expiration of elder craftspeople. Mathematics can also be taught with the use of a Mi'kmaw game, waltzes. Newell Johnson, developed math lessons using this game. The possibilities are almost endless in the development of math lessons relative to Mi'kmaw life. The construction of a wigwam, the calculation of the double curves in quillwork, the structure of the Mi'kmaw canoe and and there is so much more.

5. Family Studies

This dimension can be linked to other disciplines such as social studies, mathematics, sociology, history, geography, science, law, art, music, and communication. With the immediate subject area many possibilities exists for lesson plans. All that could and should be included for Mi'kmaw family studies are such topics as: foods and nutrition, housing, child and human development, family development, childrearing practices, family structures, family kinship patterns, roles and responsibilities of all kin, home management, clothing and textiles, health and physical fitness.

Medicine (1981) suggests looking at family dysfunction, role dysfunction as specific areas of research. Her suggestion is valid due to recent experiences in a number of Mi'kmaw communities relative to suicides and attempted suicides. Yet, this aspect can be also studied under health. As well, why is not a more positive dimension also undertaken as to Mi'kmaw ways of knowing that have led to an enduring culture and notions of family despite years of oppression.

What is important to keep in mind is that the family structures within Mi'kmaw communities are unlike those within the White society. Native American family systems are extended family networks, which typically included several households of parents and children, grandparents, aunts, uncles, and cousins (Johnson and Cremo, 1995). The nature of the extended family does not depart structural wise from yester years' traditional family system. That is the family unit consists of the nuclear family and the extended family (Johnson and Cremo, 1995). This amalgam of families contributed vast resources for childcare along with the knowledge base for the upbringing of children. This is in contrast to the stand-alone concept of the dominant society's nuclear family. A new and enlightened PSP can present this aspect of Mi'kmaw life to all Nova Scotia students. In addition, links could be formed by the PSP in the reciprocal relationship between the Mi'kmaw families and formal education.

An understanding between the Western scientific description of foetal development and the cultural belief associated with the worldview of pregnancy by the Mi'kmaq is a viable option due to the cultural belief that when a Mi'kmaq women is expecting a baby it

is believed that a baby (not a foetus) is expected. This will avoid the controversy caused by the introduction of a foetal specimen when a guest speaker introduced it to a group of junior high students in Eskasoni.

The topic of Mi'kmaw foods and nutrition would be greatly enhanced with the Native Food Guides that have developed by the Department of National Health and Welfare in conjunction with a number of First Nation communities. National Health and Welfare has analyzed a fair number of Native foods for their content. Bar graphs are available to compare the nutrient benefits of Native foods. There is potential not with just school age children but with adults as well. Food taboos is another area that can be explored in the foods and nutrition component in science and its connection to Mi'kmaw science.

6. Personal Development & Relationships

This dimension is the touchstone to knocking down barriers and building bridges between the Mi'kmaw and the dominant society. Comparative and contrasting the development of personal relationship between the Mi'kmaw and the dominant society could form part of the curriculum. Some of the skills identified by Paul (1993) could assist in the development of personal and community relationships between the dominant society and the Mi'kmaq. Paul (1993, p. 20) "In the Micmac approach to life, to be right was secondary to the need to maintain productive interpersonal relationships with one's relatives, friends, and associates".

The personal aspects of the spiritual, mental, physical and emotional well being of all humans can play cornerstone to classroom discussions. One area that is in dire need, which was demonstrated in Membertou just recently, is the need for life skills development. Important topics such as substance abuse, suicide prevention, sex education, self-esteem, career awareness, consumerism and other related topics fall into this category. Some of these topics were recommended by the Assembly of First Nations (1988).

Curricular-based formation of dialogues on identity, values, customs, traditions, beliefs and race relations within a transformed Nova Scotia curriculum could lead to better understanding and maybe better acceptance of cultures besides the conformities among the

different groups. The notion on transforming the students' beliefs that the Mi'kmaq being still grounded with the vestiges of ancient times can be developed under personal development and relationships. Today, one cannot use that qualifier solely on the development of persona for the contemporary Mi'kmaw child for some traditions have evolved. Yet we have to remember that these has not departed very much from traditional times for they still valued by the Mi'kmaq. For example, "The use of psychology, instead of punitive measures, by Aboriginal Americans to persuade people to behave in an appropriate manner seems to have been a polished skill, and was used extensively in personal and community relationships" (Paul, 1993, p. 16).

Anglicizing the Mi'kmaw child serves to introduce a difficult culture and language in the life of the child which is not only detrimental to the Mi'kmaw culture; however, more so for the child. Let me quote from a document NS-000080 (N.D.),

> Sometimes a child is born into one culture, but is transferred very early on in the life to another culture. The child learns the second culture, starting with its language, effortlessly, spontaneously, and with little or no conscious reflection, discrimination, or judgement. In many such cases, young children become bilingual and bicultural (or even trilingual and tricultural) without realizing that this is something out of the ordinary. These children are literally as much as home in one culture as the other, simply because they have grown up in these cultures. Later in life, however, such people may very well undergo great emotional stress resulting from split loyalties and identities if they feel forced to choose between these cultures (p. 3).

The last sentence is so telling with what happens to the Mi'kmaw child during formal education. They not only have to contend with physical changes of their bodies moreover a good majority are realising that they have been cheated out of the essence of their being Mi'kmaq. They lash out at parents, teachers, principals and administrators or those who may be significant in their lives. Developing and maintaining lessons on the educative functions of elders, grandparents, parents, siblings and drawing parallels with school personal could foster non-confrontational relationships so that positive learning may take place. The can be accomplished concurrently with lessons other topic areas such as family relations. Innovative persons within curriculum development or teachers could establish programs that incorporate Mi'kmaw legends on behaviour. The utility of legends

by parents and significant others during early childhood has assisted in the personal development and relationships formations for the Mi'kmaq. The legends have played key roles to impart personal traits, attitudes, deportment, values, beliefs and identify. Marshall (1994, p. 6) tells us, "The legends teach us respect, love, sharing and knowledge, while also teaching us the consequences of negative gender".

7. Health and Physical Fitness

A unique heath and physical fitness program is needed among our Mi'kmaq communities. Unfortunately, due to numerous causes and effects the Mi'kmaq, require healing. This dimension of Mi'kmaw needs to focus on health and physical fitness in an integrated approach. The Atlantic Regional Office of National Health and Welfare and through the auspices of the Regional Health Educator has developed and compiled numerous resources for health and fitness. The transformed curriculum needs to look at the interrelationships between diseases such as diabetes in an holistic fashion. Today a need exists to focus on health as healing of variety of addictions that include alcoholism, gambling, and prescription drug abuse that affect body functions. Psychological addictions which include compulsive shopping, gambling and these affect family financial resources. Both types of addictions are detrimental to the well being of the Mi'kmaq family and community.

We need to turn this around and focus on teaching not just traditional ways of health and physical fitness but incorporate the effects of drug interaction with food nutrients, prescribed and non-prescribed drugs. Native Food Guides and nutrient content of Native food bar graphs have been developed and implemented by nutritionists for the Pacific and Prairie regions; however, none have been formulated for the Maritime region. This remains an exploration for waiting to be utilized by innovative curriculum developers and teachers.

Health and Welfare Canada has been instrumental in the development of a variety of Native specific audiovisual materials yet they have not reached the doors of schooling. These alternate forms of health education are contained in a catalogue entitled Audiovisual Catalogue: communicate... for a healthier tomorrow! This catalogue is available from the

Atlantic Regional Office of Health and Welfare Canada. It includes such topics as teen parenting, abuse, accident, child health, prevention, fetal alcohol syndrome, parasites, smoking and these are in the Native context. Many of the topics interactive or cross boundaries through culture, science, and social values. It is a tremendous resource that can spur on or generate Native approaches to health and fitness.

8. Art, Music, Dance, Drama

This dimension can be viewed by the transformed curriculum in an historical, social, economic, educational sense similar to other dimensions discussed in this chapter. Mi'kmaw art forms of music, dance, drama and paintings or drawings have evolved through the ages. Many of these are documented in books by New Brunswick Museum (1977), Robertson (1973), Whitehead (1982) and recently the Internet has played a key role with the Mi'kmaw portrait collections through the Nova Scotia Museum. Integrated math, science, and art lessons on the Mi'kmaq's unique double-curved design that was utilized on clothing, quillwork, and other substrates for decorative purposes should be included in this transformed curriculum.

Topics can be developed on the notion of subjugation and oppressive practices applied against Mi'kmaw art forms can to be explored. Lessons can include how most of our knowledge about our art forms was subjugated by the early teachers since the instillation of schools in Nova Scotia. Topics could include how this subjugation resulted in not being able to bring forward a majority of traditional art knowledge to present day. This aspect of the curriculum require inclusion of how Mi'kmaw art has evolved and now includes designs from other Native groups at the expense of Mi'kmaw art. It can include how we now seem to rely on Eurocentric interpretations to rebuild our culture in more ways than one not just through the art form. At the same time, the Mi'kmaq verify or dispute these Eurocentric interpretations through our elders. As well, through this process, it is hoped that traditional art form can resurface.

9. Aboriginal Rights And Treaties

This dimension has numerous possibilities including looking at the origins of aboriginal rights and treaties and how they intertwine with the British North America Act

and the Canadian Charter of Rights. The transformed curriculum needs to include the subjugated nature of Aboriginal rights from an historical perspective so that the non-Mi'kmaq will become more understanding and accepting of Aboriginal Rights. The curriculum could begin with forming a definition that is precise and concise. This will alleviate problems that presently exist with the definitions and versions of Aboriginal Rights that depend upon with who speaks. The definitions need to be defined so that they are more precise not elusive. The notion of Columbus' discovery of the Americas when the First Peoples were never lost need to be explored from a Native perspective. The evolution described by many authors give credit to a Spanish theologian, Francisco de Vitoria for the origin of the concept of Aboriginal Rights needs to be explored. The transformed curriculum could explore the implications of de Vitoria's theory regarding the disputed Columbus' claim to discovery. Exploring de Vitoria's theory in the context of property law and aboriginal rights within the new curricula could shed light on whether or not the criteria established for the theory of Terra Nullis supports or hinders aboriginal rights and treaties. A requirement of the transformed curriculum should include why the original peoples of the Americas have disputed Columbus' claim of discovery.

The transformed curriculum should consider why and how Aboriginal rights are just as illusive for Euro-Canadian as is the notion that a Pope had to declare the First Peoples humans. It should assess this with a follow-up on why the Mi'kmaq were more human and humane than the British for we welcomed their cast-offs who landed on our shores. It should also evaluate these cast-offs included boatloads in terms of who they were, i.e, Irish and Scots. Also the revised curriculum needs to include from where, when and why they were cast-off. Another aspect that can be explored is who and why their countrymen cast them off. The important thing is that history cannot be dismissed. It has to educate those who are not familiar with it for parts of it are connected to racism which the transformed curriculum needs to eradicate.

This dimension should include viewpoints from the First Nations in Canada for they have a different perception of what constitutes Aboriginal Law and Aboriginal Rights in comparison with the dominant society. It is worth mentioning that a survey of 400

people that was commissioned by this province's Aboriginal Affairs Department revealed that 57 percent claim that the treaties are outdated (Halifax Herald, 07/11/00). The residents of Nova Scotia need to be informed through a revised curriculum that Canada's Supreme Court and Parliament did not consider the treaties to be outdated for the treaties are included in the Constitution. What is striking is that 52 percent felt that they were not well informed about Mi'kmaq issues (Halifax Herald, 07/11/00). This survey supports the benefits of this study and more important the recognition of its need to be included in the curriculum.

In consideration of the provincial government survey which was released to the press on July 10, 2000 the new curriculum requires Mi'kmaw precepts about aboriginal rights, treaties, and law to be included. According to Monture-Angus (1995) the concept of Aboriginal Law is defined as Family Law. Others may define it differently. Then again, the concept of Aboriginal Rights is a very elusive term and according to Western thought dates back to when Columbus landed on the shores of the Central America. In contrast, the First Peoples of North America assert that there is no demarcation of time for it is immemorial – that is "from the ancient past". For this very reason, the transformed curriculum should include why the theory of two founding nations does not sit well with the First Peoples.

The viewpoints of First Nation legal scholars such as Monture-Angus can and should be utilized in the transformed curriculum. Monture-Angus (1995, p. 103) indicates that Canadian legal scholars speak of "two founding nations" which is from their own tradition. Monture-Angus (1995, p. 103) says, "The myth of these traditions is not questioned. And the great lie lives on and on". Arguments and counter arguments need to be included in a contemporary curriculum so that understanding and tolerance could be developed in the minds of those who need it. For example, recently a the new Governor General, Adrian Clarkson claimed that she was the first immigrant to be appointed in that position. This is incorrect for Canada is comprised of immigrants and offspring from all over the world. She would have been more accurate if had she stated, "The first Asian immigrant".

Lessons developed on the modern day concept that Aboriginal Rights in Canada have two legal dimensions - international and Canadian law require inclusion within a revised curriculum. International law needs to be defined to mean laws from France, England and United States of America while Canadian law includes and embodies the First Peoples Law or Aboriginal Law complete with Aboriginal Rights. The reasons need to be stated why the dominant society in Canada has taken it upon itself to envelop our laws and our ways of life within their laws. It has to be made clear that First Nations never agreed to this oppression and subjugation.

Developing lessons regarding the chain of pre-confederation treaties in North America along with the Royal Proclamation of 1763 would lead to better understanding of the positioning of these treaties within Canada's constitution. A transformed curriculum would display the inaccuracy of how this proclamation established Aboriginal Rights as defined by European settlers. It would also demonstrate how the British North America Act of 1867 under Section 91(24) usurped and laid the foundations and distinctions that the First Peoples were indeed different from the settler society. As earlier stated one may note from this Act that there are two classes of people, the Citizen and the Indian [sic]. Under the new curriculum the evolution and history of how Aboriginal rights are now guaranteed by the 1982 Constitution Act 'as the existing aboriginal and treaty rights of Natives, which include the Inuit, Indians and Metis, peoples recognized and affirmed by the Charter of Rights and Freedoms' can be explored.

An important aspect of Canadian law is related to the swaying from 'no rights' to 'full treaty rights' as played within the Canadian courts needs to be included in the transformed curriculum. This is indicative of another view which falls under common law whereby it is so often noted that the 1973 St. Catherine's Milling case was the precedent-setting case with respect to granting Aboriginal rights. The new curriculum needs to Curricular-based formation of dialogues on identity, values, customs, traditions, organize how different judges within the Canadian legal system interpret and misinterpret existing laws sometimes to the detriment or betterment of First Nations. For example, judges use precedents that followed by other cases thereby making cases stand on the

merits of prior cases.

The revised curriculum should include how the Mi'kmaq view precedents. A case in point is the St. Catherine's Milling case which has been a standard for a number of Aboriginal rights cases. We can all learn from lessons like what Richardson (1993) tells us,

> "that case had nothing to do directly with Indians and the land. It arose from a quarrel between the federal government and the Ontario governments about which of them had the authority to issue a permit to the St. Catherine's Milling and Lumber Company to cut a million feet of lumber..."

More lessons can be derived form the Calder case for it overturned this notion of Aboriginal rights coming from the Royal Proclamation (Morse, 1991). Then there are lessons available which contrast, "The fact of 'possession since time immemorial' is the fundamental basis of Aboriginal title from the perspective of international law" (Davies, 1991, p. 42). The Mi'kmaq follow this principle of aboriginal rights.

The Royal Proclamation of 1763 as a statute that holds information on the rights of Canada's First Peoples while following the flag of England and being analogous to the Magna Carta can be developed as a module within history, social studies, sociology, and human relations. Lessons on its real purpose would clarify why it was necessary to consolidate British rule in North America and not solidify our rights. Its purpose requires exploration within subject areas, be they historical or relational in form, on consolidation of British rule in the Americas.

A unit or units of study about the *1752 Treaty* as an agreement between the Mi'kmaq and the England crown which affirms and ratifies prior treaties requires inclusion within a curriculum. Understanding of what it holds in terms of it being a peace and friendship agreement rather than surrendering of Mi'kma'ki has to be conveyed within the educational programs. Courses require to include that there were no land surrenders or giving up of aboriginal rights and title within Mi'kma'ki. The contents which consist of aboriginal rights that include commerce, trade, hunting and finishing, promises for the support and maintenance of the Mi'kmaq by the colonisers in return for occupation of lands must be included in a transformed curriculum. A lesson or two on how support and maintenance was to consist of provisions to families was to occur every six months must

be a requirement. Lessons in a sense must relay the understanding that in return for allowing the Europeans settlers to reside on Mi'kma'ki that the settlers will respect our ways of life and ensure that we are provided for. In addition, the lesson must include that the Mi'kmaq could continue to harvest from lands without any interference from the European settlers. Also, that truck houses will remain in operation for the Mi'kmaq to carry on trade as usual with whomever they pleased to the best advantage. Lessons must convey what the terms 'without any interference', 'as usual' and 'best advantage' meant in 1752 and what they mean in contemporary society. Lesson in course materials must include that Mi'kmaq were not subjected with the burden of taxes or other related fees for there was reciprocity in the 1752 treaty.

The Penner Report as a document which speaks of the right for the First Nations to be self-governing can be utilized in the formation of lesson plans. Implications of its 58 recommendations for the achievement of sovereignty for Canada's First Nations must be included in lessons. The report mentioned that self-government can be attained within the present structure of the constitution. In essence, the report called for a new order of government. Connections or links must be provided in lessons between the Penner Report and Section 35 of the 1982 Constitution on how they recognize and affirm the existence of aboriginal and treaty rights.

The fiduciary responsibility needed to be defined in every day terms as the notion of a trust relationship between the crown and the First Nation peoples in a lesson or unit of study. As part of a course it could describes how falls under the principle or law of trusts. One can argue that this responsibility emanates from the treaties for they were the first to establish legal or contractual relationships between the two parties. The nature of how all the treaties resound with trust especially the 1752 Treaty require exploration within courses. Fiduciary responsibility endorsed under section 91(24) of the BNA Act and how the government is obligated to act as a guardian with confidence with respect to all affairs concerning the First Peoples need to be part of educational programs.

Lessons developed in the subject areas of social studies, sociology, history race relations and cultural understanding would assist greatly in having the all Nova Scotia

students understand the relationships and connections between Parliamentary law and the Mi'kmaw society. Proclamation that established Aboriginal Rights as defined by European settlers. Units of study about how the British North America Act of 1867 under Section 91(24) laid the foundations and distinctions that the First Peoples were indeed different from the settler society need to be included. One may note from this Act that there are two classes of people, the Citizen and the Indian [sic]. Aboriginal rights are now defined by the 1982 Constitution Act as the existing aboriginal and treaty rights of Native, which includes the Inuit, Indians and Metis, peoples recognised and affirmed by the Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

Units of study centered on the oral history of aboriginal rights that were known to elders like Joe Christmas (cited in Richardson, 1991, p. 47) when he testified in 1928 for the Grand Chief Syliboy would tap into traditional Mi'kmaw knowledge. The First Nations in Canada do not believe or agree to the notion that European law created Aboriginal Rights. Although, they do agree with Cumming and Mickenberg (1980) that their rights were recognized and affirmed by Vitoria when he disputed the Pope's temporal power over Indian lands. They emanate since time immemorial and were given to us by the Creator.

Another thread to weave into lessons regarding the theory of aboriginal rights is how and when the Mi'kmaq learned about the existence of these treaties on paper. The lessons can be historical in nature describing why and how these documents were only available just within the past two decades. Lessons need to explore the significance of oral tradition for students to understand how the courts perceived oral history. Comparative studies or lessons on oral and document history about aboriginal rights and how they are now recognised and affirmed in the 1982 Constitution should be included in the revised curriculum. Lessons can also centre on the prior chain of treaties which commenced with the Mi'kmaw Concordat of 1610. It has been stated by Mi'kmaw politicians that Aboriginal rights includes all there is in the chain of Pre-Confederation treaties and prior to contact. "Ironically, Indians were expected to respect and obey the law, while the government itself freely ignored the provisions of treaties and proclamations

made under the same legal system" (Leavitt, 1995, p. 298). The transformed curriculum needs to include the recognition and affirmation of the existence of Aboriginal rights and treaties and how they have undergone an arduous journey. The lessons need to convey the message that in a legal sense the theory of aboriginal rights has been drawn from a European perspective. They also need to convey that the North American first peoples have residing on this continent since time immemorial; yet, many obstacles still exist.

Modules and lessons can indeed be generated from traumas that continue within the Eurocentric courts. A chapter in Richardson (1991) entitled "Mikmaqs: the trauma of government help" could provide the backdrop for curriculum development on Mi'kmaq struggles within the provincial and federal courts. The view that Canadian law superseded all Native rights before Jim Simon's success in driving home the 1752 Treaty in 1985 can be a lesson in itself. The roles and responsibilities about the Maritime Treaties considered not to exist by the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs when they are deemed to be guardians and responsible for all Native affairs could form a module. This module could focus on attitudes by people in positions of authority. Questions could rise on the different notions of racism. Connections or links can be formed with the different types of racism that are described by Fleras (1996). When they were finally recognised by the Supreme Court of Canada most provincial governments still ignored them (Nicholas, 1994). Students need to learn about why certain attitudes prevail. Even to this day, the first peoples of Canada are subjected and denied rights promised under various treaties. Lessons can be derived relating to the blatant disregard by both the Federal and Provincial governments of what is scribed in the Canadian Constitution.

History lessons on Aboriginal rights can be from two cases that are related to economics, trade and commerce. Two cases are significant for developing lessons on how courts contribute to the subjugation and denial of any prospect in economics, trade and commerce. Both of the cases mentioned here reflect what Richardson (1991) refers to as the trauma of the Mi'kmaq. Resourceful curriculum developers could create history modules relating to economic development from these case possibilities within social studies, human relations and law.

This case could also play a role in race relations and cultural understanding. The Supreme Court of Canada refused to hear an appeal by Stanley Johnson regarding trade with the 1752 Treaty as a defence. The top court refused to deal with aboriginal trading and treaty rights (Halifax Herald, Oct. 13, 1994). In effect the Supreme Court of Canada is violating Canada's Constitution by not recognising treaty rights as laid out under Section 25 and 35 of the 1982 Constitution Act. There is no better way to enforce subjugation than through the denial of an economic system to which this case pertains. The irony is that ordinary citizens in Canada are expected to obey the law of the land; yet, a small power group render themselves above the law.

This case has many possibilities considering the defendant's background. Numerous debates as lessons can be formulated in the transformed curriculum. As these words were being word-wrapped in this document the Supreme Court of Canada made a decision regarding Donald Marshall Junior and his rights to fish and sell or trade his catch of fish. On Friday, September 17, 1999 the top court ruled in Donald Marshall Junior's favor. It is now recognised and affirmed that the Mi'kmaq can freely hunt and fish year round without licenses. No one had to tell this to the Mi'kmaq for we already knew. This was the only mode that was left for us to survive after the Euro-Canadians usurped us from our lands and would not allow us to be part of what they created so that we could subsist.

A. Mi'kmaw Governance

This dimension encompasses and intertwines not only as the legal thread but through the fabric of the economic, political, social, educational and land base aspects of Mi'kmaw society. The Grand Council was the governing agency in Mi'kma'ki. In that sense, the proposed curriculum requires that it consider its structure on its effects upon the notion of holistic relationships. This dimension could utilize comparative and contrasting discussions on the differences between European and Mi'kmaw styles of governance. Topics can centre around the history of Mi'kmaw governance and how the European affected the roles and responsibilities of the Grand Council when foreign laws were

introduced in Mi'kma'ki. A unit can be developed from the centralization policy. Although the Mi'kmaq adhered and practiced their mode of governance without much interference prior to the later part of the twentieth century it was during the World War II with the transpiration of the centralization policy that a major external interference occurred.

The balanced curriculum should be required to include the effects of European policy and law on the Mi'kmaw. For example, Potlotek (Chapel Island) was a thriving and self-sufficient community before it was devastated by centralization policy. Paul (1993, p. 12) tells us that "It was not until 1988 the democratic systems of government of the Micmac and other tribal groups that inhabited eastern North America were finally acknowledged". That in itself, posed new problems for the Mi'kmaq as federal and provincial laws started to be applied vigorously against the Mi'kmaq. This is in light of what Abler, Sanders and Weaver (1974) report for Nova Scotia on case law. Abler et al reported what seems to be the first case law against a Mi'kmaq, R. v. Syliboy, which involved the Grand Chief of the Mi'kmaw nation in 1928.

B. Parliamentary Law vis a vis Tribal Law

This portion of the transformed curriculum can and should include the differences in structure, mode of operation, roles and responsibilities and values for parliamentary and tribal laws. It could also look at the values and messages that it portrays and conveys to the constituents. Unlike parliamentary law, tribal law is not encrypted on any hard surface. The curriculum could review how Mi'kmaw governance evolved, developed and maintained. How it was encrypted in the minds of the people. Mi'kmaw tribal law and its governance rested on the Grand Council and it still does to this day. Neither has it has been stagnant; moreover, it has evolved throughout the ages. The curriculum should consider how parliamentary and Mi'kmaw tribal laws co-exist and often complement, validate or antagonize each other - it is the reality of today. The new curriculum will need to identify specifics such as Mi'kmaw tribal law; Family Law; laws pertaining to property, crime. Some are probed in this section. There could be comparisons and contrasts or links developed between the two legal systems - European and Mi'kmaw. These are described brief in the ensuing paragraphs. The curriculum needs to include how Aboriginal rights

and treaties have been enshrined within the 1982 Constitution Act. Their validity, reliability and continuity within today's need to be included for many deny them and do not know that they are part of Canada's supreme law. They are stated thus,

> Aboriginal Rights and Freedoms Not Affected by Charter.
>
> 25. The guarantee in this Charter of certain rights and freedoms shall not be construed so as to abrogate or derogate from any aboriginal, treaty or other rights or freedoms that pertain to the aboriginal people of Canada including
>
> (a) any rights or freedoms that have been recognized by the Royal Proclamation of October 7, 1763;
>
> and
>
> (b) any rights or freedoms that now exist by way of land claims agreements or may be so acquired.
>
> RIGHTS OF THE ABORIGINAL PEOPLES OF CANADA
>
> 35. (1) The existing aboriginal and treaty rights of the aboriginal peoples of Canada are hereby recognized and affirmed.
>
> (2) In this Act, "aboriginal peoples of Canada" includes the Indian, Inuit, and Metis peoples of Canada.
>
> (3) For greater certainty, in subsection (1) "treaty rights" includes rights that now exist by way of land claims agreements or may be so acquired.
>
> (4) Notwithstanding any other provision of this Act, the aboriginal and treaty rights referred to in subsection (1) are guaranteed equally to male and female persons.
>
> 35.1 The government of Canada and the provincial governments are committed to the principal that, before any amendment is made to Class 24 of section 91 of the "Constitution Act, 1867", to section 25 of this Act or to this Part,
>
> (a) a constitutional conference that includes in its agenda an item relating to the proposed amendment, composed of the Prime Minister of Canada and the first ministers of the provinces, will be convened by the Prime Minister of Canada; and
>
> (b) the Prime Minister of Canada will invite representatives of the aboriginal peoples of Canada to participate in the discussions on that item.

The transformed curriculum should spell out that this is the supreme law of our country Canada; yet, there are many who violate, abuse, side-step and ignore this legislation to the point where it was declared 'abuse of process' in a recent Ontario court. An editorial from the Toronto Globe and Mail and cited in Leavitt (1995, p. 264) states, "Canada is in violation of its treaties with native people". Issues such as those raised by

Monture-Angus (1995, p. 87), a Mohawk lawyer who has taught at the Dalhousie University's law school tells us, "I know the legal system that we have in Canada is a very big part of our problems today". Other issues which need inclusion are those raised by Leavitt (1995, quoting Graydon Nicholas) states,

> When you look at the legislation that Canada has passed, the first thing the government did was to destroy the customary powers and customary leadership of our people. It said ---from now on, if you are going to have a government or a chief or a councillor, they are going to have to be elected within the provision of our legislation, for a certain term of office. If you have customary leaders, they have to be elected also. It began to determine the tenure of the government. It also said, this is the jurisdiction you can exercise. That began in 1869. (p. 265)

The need to look at how and the type of problems both laws create should be part and parcel of the transformed curriculum. For some lawyers including Native lawyers like Monture-Angus have lost faith of parliamentary law. Monture-Angus (1995, p. 87) states, "I no longer believe law is the solution; it is the heart of the problem". It is certain that all the Mi'kmaq would agree with this statement considering what happened to Donald Marshall Junior. The curriculum needs to include how to restore respect and value of parliamentary law for it has lost respect due to actions of lawyers and police officers who are deemed "officers of the court" that so blatantly give false information (that is lie) in their quest to discredit us, the Mi'kmaq, in court. One example is the highly publicized Donald Marshall case. The transformed curriculum needs to include how legal rights and privileges guaranteed by Parliamentary Law are violated and abused. It needs to deal with issues of how judges dismiss complaints as unimportant and validate the actions of these 'impostor officers of the court'. In essence, a restoration of public confidence with our laws through public schooling would recapture the respect and reliability that they so greatly need.

The transformed curriculum needs to include the traditional governing body of the Mi'kmaq. This could be a module consisting of a variety of lessons based on the discussions of the following text. The structure of the Mi'kmaw governing body, the Grand Council, is comprised of the Grand Chief, Grand Captain and the Putus. The

curriculum should have lessons on the specific roles and responsibilities of these leaders. The Grand Chief is the head of state, the Grand Captain is the head of the council and the Putus is the guardian of the Mi'kmaq Nation. Leavitt (1995, p. 271) tells us, "The traditional government and these leadership positions have continued to exist, and the Grand Council fulfils both governmental and spiritual responsibilities". Leavitt (1995, p. 272) goes on to say, "The unity of government, politics, economy and spirituality – which correspond to mind, heart, body, spirit – is fundamental to the Micmac way of life". The curriculum needs to deal with the effects when parliamentary law attempts to corrupt the body, mind, spirit and heart of the Mi'kmaq like it did to so many of us then the circle of life is broken. Hence, healing has to happen and it has to happen through the same process that destroyed it or it remains broken.

i. Family Law

The transformed curriculum needs to include other systems besides European family law for they are just as valid and useful within the realms of their society. The African Canadians would most probably like to see representation within the system as well. The transformed curriculum of family law requires dimensions of Mi'kmaw family law which consists of; custom marriage, custom divorce, custom adoption, wills, family assets, care and well being of children and the elderly. Teaching modules and lesson plans that need to be developed around the topics similar to other laws. The revised curriculum requires to include linkages to the historical, economical, social, and cultural realities of family law form the Mi'kmaw perspective. The Mi'kmaq like other First Nations in North America had laws pertaining to the family long before the Europeans walked on Mi'kma'ki. Aboriginal law was manifested in family law. Traditional Mi'kmaw family law emanated from ethics of behaviour. In contrast to parliamentary law, respect was the supreme law. There were a number of significant features such as adoption or foster parents were never compensated for the rearing of children for it was an enduring Mi'kmaw custom (Wallis & Wallis, 1953). Documents exists in this field of law that support Native family law.

ii. Criminal Law

This dimension encompasses wrongs against others and most of it has been incorporated from Imperial Law. This subject area should incorporate, compare and contrast the similarities and the differences between criminal law in Mi'kmaw societies and criminal law in EuroCanadian societies. A lot of possibilities exist in this dimension for curriculum developers to establish modules and lesson plans. The transformed curriculum needs to include the Aboriginal notions of justice and how the family and all our relatives were the driving force in healing all the wrongs bestowed by others onto others. A lesson could centre around on how wrongs were restituted by the wrong doer and no person acquired a criminal record for the person was pardoned by those whom he/she wronged. Some lessons can be developed on how traditional criminal law as envisioned by the Mi'kmaq has never been part and parcel of any discussions relating to Canadian criminal law. It can include the structure in European terms, the family was the prosecutor, judge, jury for all wrongs committed against any individual or collectives among the Mi'kmaq until the nineteen fifties.

Some lessons could and should include when Euro-Canadian laws started have to legally envelop and control the Mi'kmaq. For example, our ancestors sold all their products that they made without any licenses to sell or consult with anyone. If they tried that today it is with certainty that they would be served with a summons to appear in court. They made trips to parts of Nova Scotia to cut maple, ash or oak to make baskets, handles for farm implements and they were able to do it freely without interference by others or the European law. Recently, the provincial government has made it impossible for the Mi'kmaq to carve a living from the leftovers of our lands after the European land grant system. The Mi'kmaq never granted Europeans the authority to disburse our land, they usurped our rights.

iii. Property Law

Depending with whom one converses this dimension originates either from time immemorial, the seventeen century treaties or provincial and federal legislation. Topics for this subject area are immense and complex with strong probably for application at very

grade level within a balanced Nova Scotia curriculum. Modules and lesson plans can involve many facets of law such as Aboriginal rights, the Royal Proclamation, the pre-confederation treaties, the Indian Acts with its policies and mandates, notions of certification of possession, wills and much more. In actuality, there are social, economic, educational and historical elements interweaved in the dimension that can be developed into lessons.

Modules and lessons on how the Mi'kmaq hold that Mi'kma'ki remains in their possession for there was never any land surrenders with the pre-Confederation treaties or thereafter can be formulated. The transformed curriculum can access the Union of Nova Scotia Indians, which represented the Mi'kmaq, document that claims all Nova Scotia against all others. Mi'kmaw concept of land ownership along with the processes of its usurpation by colonial powers is needs to be included a transformed PSP. The notion of collective ownership forwarded by Leavitt (1995, p. 223) stated, "Through their constant interaction with these resources, they asserted their collective ownership of the land" can be included. The lens of the NCRP advises that the transformed curriculum include the concept of property law through the senses of the First Nations is not individual ownership; moreover, it is a collective ownership. The revised PSP would include how ownership of land was dispersed through the Grand Council. Leavitt (1995, p. 223) provides a description when he states, "Land itself was not marked with boundaries, describe in deeds or claimed as property. People had areas in which they resided and made their living, but not property or 'real estate'". However, it should also include how some of us now adhere to the private ownership of lands; yet, this ownership is not absolute for according to Eurocentric law the municipalities in this province are on a beckon call away from usurping it from us. This expropriation by government is applicable to the EuroCanadians as well.

The ideas of fee simple came from across the ocean for it was a system that was used by the English and imposed upon the Mi'kmaq. Justification of the government's land polices was through the process of 'civilising' or 'educating' the Native people

(Okanagan Tribal Council, 1982). The colonial government was able to dispossess the Mi'kmaq of their land through these civilising, christianising or educating vehicles.

Summary. This chapter presented the last pinnacle of the eight-pointed star. It considered what the NCRP lens considered as core elements that are required to make the Nova Scotia curriculum more significant to the Mi'kmaw society. It also suggested topics for modules, units and lessons that not only require but stand out as critical elements for inclusion within our provinces' curriculum. This chapter suggested how the PSP should be transformed to produce a curriculum that provides a foundation for encompassing elements from the Mi'kmaw society. The next chapter travels around another circle presenting the universal elements of fire, air, earth, and water and ties them with combustion zeal, missionary zeal, universal zeal and transparent zeal. These zeal were generated from the precepts which emanated from the PSP.

OUT OF THE RUTS AND BEYOND

Chapter 11

Continuing The Work in Progress Beyond the Thesis

The aim of this section is to build a bridge for partnership and to rebuild Mi'kmaq culture through the exploration that we have walked through on this arduous journey.

This final theme although not placed on the eight-pointed star completes our journey. Reconstructing the struggles and triumphs as notions of distributed learning is the focus. What the bundles around the eight-pointed-star have revealed is not exhaustive but a beginning as an attempt to close the chasm between our societies. This thesis has posited some theoretical approaches with the hopes that out of the ruts of Nova Scotia education Mi'kmaw doors of education will emerge. Using the compass rose and following the directions of the Mi'kmaw Wampum belt the elements of fire, air, earth and water form a zeal around the eight-pointed star. Reconstructing the struggles and triumphs through the elements of the universe will help to dim and close the lens of the NCRP.

The Four Elements of Mother Earth: Fire, Air, Earth, Water

We are now at the stage to travel around another inner life cycle or the medicine wheel to dim the aperture of the NCRP lens. The lens is commencing to close on the PSP and the NCRP through the burning zeal of fire in the East, blowing zeal of air in the North, grounding zeal of earth in the West and purifying zeal of water in the South. It is important that "[W]e build unity and solidarity - community - for today's learners through the collective sharing of experiences, coping mechanisms and strategies. This sparks the fires of resistance within us" (Sabattis, 1996, p. 117) and lights up the road from the head to the heart.

Fire: The Combustion Zeal

The settlers are now burning with fire to know about our culture so that they can pacify us by wanting to teach themselves by offering token courses such as Mi'kmaq Studies 10. These token courses need to be torched so that from the ashes will rise a new dawn bringing together the spiritual sense of responsibility to fulfill the need for self-

sufficiency within the heart the Nova Scotia curriculum for an integrated whole by incorporating what emerges from the mind, body and spirit of the Mi'kmaq. These may sound like strong words albeit both sides are burning up with contempt for one another. There is a Native saying that the longest road in life is between the head (mind) and the heart (love). Monture- Angus' (1995) uses the 'ladder of success' as a metaphor describes how she felt 'the road in life' was a burning sensation. "Being so close to the fire explains for me why I now feel the contradictions and conundrums at a new and heightened level" (p. 69).

Manzer (1994) states,

> Policy-makers use ideas to create self-serving perceptions of public problems, generate self-serving beliefs about causes of problems and options for collection action, and produce self-serving assessments of the consequences of public policies. From this perspective political ideas are instrument of political power. The task of policy analysis involves describing and weighing the use of ideas as an instrument of power in comparison with other power resources. (p. 5.)

Fires of resistence will assist in burning "Negative stereotyping by non-Native learners and professors in the classroom and on the papers fuelled as new era of resistance" (Sabattis, 1996, p. 117). No longer should we be seen as "Being the only Native in the class ...and expectations to be the expert on issues.." (Sabattis, 1996, p. 118).

Air: The Missionary Zeal

Within Mi'kma'ki there are missionaries who still make mission statements and travel the routes of our ancestors searching for converts that they hope to assimilate and to civilize. The spirits of the missionaries have not been squelched with the demise of the mission schools or denomination controlled schools. The zeal or the hot air of the missionaries is still very evident within the Nova Scotia education systems. The black and brown robes of the missionaries need exposure to fresh air to clean the atmosphere and environment within our provinces education system. LaFromboise, Treimpble and Mohatt (1990, p. 633 citing LaFromboise, 1983 and Teimble & Hayes, 1984) states, "Missionary zeal is characterized by the counselor over interest or obsession with the

minority's culture and customs". The NCRP makes note that it is not just counsellors for they could be teachers, principals and administrators. LaFromboise, Treimpble and Mohatt (1990, p. 633) charges that "[P]atronizing attitudes and missionary zeal on the part of majority group members are but two kinds of insensitivity experienced by a number of Indians". The air we breathe has not dispersed them. Monture-Angus (1995, p. 96) tells us, "It is also most important ... to recognise that the missionary philosophy in the education First Nations in Canada has not been eradicated. It is insidious in our educational institutions of today". Neo-missionary paradigms complete with new missionaries have been developed as quests for exploitation. Their quest or purpose is not to dislodge us from our land for that seems to be 'kisadusik' or 'fait accompli' but advance to the final conquest of dislodging our body, mind, spirit and emotions of tribal consciousness. McMaster and Martin (1992) remind us that our voices have been silenced for the past five hundred years by the existence of colonialists.

What we are now experiencing is not the appropriation just expropriation of our culture and our ways of knowing because our knowledge bases have come into vogue. O'Meara and West (1996, p. 127) stated that, "The idea of indigenous learning has only come to educational institutions in the last twenty years". This is not evident in Nova Scotia schools. One only has to browse the Internet to consider how Nativeness has become such a commodity. Johnson (1991) tells us that cognitive tourists come to our Mi'kmaw communities with their biased ideas and professional methodologies wanting to conduct fieldwork. Very often these cognitive tourists carry an air of arrogance with the seemingly notion that they know everything about our Native cultures and consider themselves eXperts. Munroe (1973) told us,

> There cannot be a non-Indian Moses leading Indians to a promise land. Non-Indian Canadians can only offer money and goodwill. The Indian and only the Indian can generate the alchemy of the soul which enables "the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty ....and the things which are not to bring to naught things that are. (p. 2)

The term the mosquito approach used by Kim Scott seems to be more telling. She states, "Researchers fly in and fly out. It's called the mosquito approach" (Chronicle

Herald, 1991-1997). Another description of this approach came from a friend referring to people who pop-in for a meal without notice and depart when the meal is consumed. This friend described this type of a mosquito approach as an 'eat and run' approach. After analyzing (digesting) their collected information they return with their missionary zeal and expound on what the Mi'kmaq need. The researchers are not seen again until they return for more bites by way of offering Native courses. This is a vital component that could have a large impact on both the Mi'kmaw and non-Mi'kmaw societies.

The cognitive and the mosquito approaches cannot and should not be determining what the Mi'kmaq want let alone need. Hence, in order to reconstruct and connect the struggles and triumphs toward a harmonizing effect we need to reroute these mosquitoes or cognitive tourists to include Mi'kmaw personnel in their exploits. We need to be involved to counter the missionary zeal for now, they are seeking to offer courses in school, in universities and over the internet on Nativeness. "We firmly believe that the non-native community cannot continue to say to the aboriginal community "we know what is best for you and here it is""(Dorey, 1993, p. 31). Holloman (1996, p. 49) tells us, "Native education is not something invented by the ever-expanding European consciousness. In reality, the aboriginal American had been educated for thousands of years".

Earth: The universal zeal

As the late comers to this continent (Okanagan Tribal Council, 1982) traverse across this country, and interface with the original peoples of this continent they should listen carefully for they will hear a variety of creations stories on how this planet was formed. Here on Turtle Island the medicine predictions say that we have the opportunity to come together as harmonious human family living in partnership in peace and Spirit (Derrick, 1990). Hence, the planet Earth does not have to be seen as separate and apart from us which needs to be exploited for monetary reasons alone; in contrast, it needs to be used and revered as a provider of a variety of sustenances.

After centuries of oppression and domination by Eurocentric concepts in education a need exists for the grounding of education with reality. That is to come down to earth.

"The people who lived for thousand of years on this land...are sharing their traditional ways of living...through books, magazines, newspapers, radio and T.V." (Okanagan Tribal Council, 1982, p. 45) and "now more are listening..."(Okanagan Tribal Council, 1982, p. 45) and realizing the value of traditional knowledge from the original peoples.

Both societies need to come down to earth and become grounded on new strategies. "There is a gap between formal education programs and First Nations aspiration" (Monture-Angus, 1995, p. 78). One such strategy is the notion of the zone of proximal development posited by Vygotsky. Wertch (1984) conveys three additional theoretical constructs as extensions to Vygotsky's ideas. These notions of situation definition, intersubjectivity and semiotic mediation may provide possible answers as to why the Mi'kmaw child has difficulty in school. Wertch (1984) defines situational definition as the way in which a setting or context is represented that is positioned in Vygotsky's zone of proximal development. Wertch goes on to say, "...that is - defined by those who are operating in that setting" (p. 8). In my mind, this notion of situation definition enveloped in Vygotsky's zone of proximal development affects how the Mi'kmaw speaking child understands any teacher's directions. Wertch (1984, p. 9) clarifies this by saying, "...it is essential to recognize that, even though the adult and child are functioning in the same spatiotemporal context, they often understand this context in such different ways that they are not really doing the same task." Hence, narrowing the gap or the zone of proximal development places both societies on solid ground to recognize differences and be grounded in the mind, body, soul and emotions of each society.

Aikenhead (1996, cited in Aikenhead and Jegede, nd.) has mentioned another strategy, "cultural border crossings" which probably plays a phenomenal role in cultural evolution. Actually this border crossing has been most probably utilized by numerous cultures within the evolution of this world's cultures for eons. The reality is, Native and non-Native alike, all have utilized this phenomenon. The notion of one culture crossing over to the other side of the cultural border and borrowing knowledge and skills from the other side is part of human nature, however; the core of the original culture or worldview

remains unchanged. The Mi'kmaq, have made numerous cultural border crossings to borrow and lend various cultural factors between the Europeans yet the kernel of our culture or worldview has pretty much remained intact. Dei (1996, p. 58) advises, "Educators should help students ground their learning in a an appropriate cultural context, by drawing on the connections between the student's body, mind and soul". This grounding needs to occur at all levels. While Graveline (1996) and Sebattis (1997) both speak about the encounters within a university educational system of this province the present thesis now exposed the public school system .

The term Diverse Cultures in contrast to Multiculturalism and Anti-Racist Education not only recognizes but affirms the notion of diversity. It also accentuates, critiques and challenges the educational system for its lack of inclusiveness. The term, 'diverse cultures' best describes the way of life or culture within the context of gender, sexuality, class, economic and differences be they Mi'kmaq, Scot, French, Irish and more. Eagle (1991, p. 283) stated, "... of the need for all of us on Earth to work together in building this bridge of light to a time of peace and abundance for all." This abundance can be in the form of an inclusive curriculum for all Nova Scotia students grounded in peace. We need to recognize and acknowledge that schools are producers and reproducers of certain prescribed curriculum which in turn, during the process, not only limits social stratification and concomitantly excludes diverse cultures. Lester Pearson (quoted in Johnson, 1968, p. 5) felt that the future of Canada, "depends on our success in building a society where diverse races and languages, diverse talents and capacities, diverse energies and interest are not only permitted but are encouraged to grow and develop side by side not as a regrettable necessity but as positive asset."

Technology is also now leading the way to the furtherance of social strata. For example, the School Vista program that is now being used in a number of schools (Hammond Plains, Mulgrave, Sheriff Junior High and Chapel Island) in Nova Scotia is taking human interaction or interface away from the administrators, teachers, and students. In addition, we need to follow the lead of the NSTU (1996, p. 61), "We are no longer prepared to stand by and be relegated to the positions of reactors and receivers of

educational policies. We insist on shaping the future of education in this province." This shaping and "This change will occur when we all begin to accept our responsibilities and begin to examine more fully the contour of all oppression" Monture-Angus (1995, p. 70). The atoms of our body are mere matter and cannot be distinguished from other creatures at this state; furthermore, these atoms all return to earth. We all return to earth to nourish new life. Hence, why not use Mother Earth as a springboard to nourish a new life within Nova Scotia education.

Water : The Transparent Zeal

Water serves many purposes such as a thirst quencher and as a cleanser. Water can also be a killer by drowning innocent and not so innocent creatures. "As children experiment with transporting, storing and distributing water, they are exploring its weight, its force of movement, and the ways it changes as it is poured into different containers" (Ramsey 1987, p. 99). There are a number of areas that we need to symbolically apply the techniques of water to sanitize the PSP of its exclusiveness and permeate it with cultural diversity and inclusiveness for it is too transparent on exclusiveness.

The notion of Eurocentrism or hegemony that is built into the curriculum carries weight just like water. The curriculum contained in the PSP policy document has a force of movement by moving or not moving students up the progressive grades. Lastly the notion of "banking" (Freire's word) where teachers make deposits into different containers [Mi'kmaw minds] where changes in cultural aspects occur. There have been a vast number of areas in which Nova Scotia's educational system has been drowning the Mi'kmaq since we welcomed the Europeans on our shores. A good many historians including Upton (1977) and Hutton; anthropologists such as McGee, Wallis and Wallis (1953); sociologists such as Dr. Dorothy Moore (1983); psychologists like Sheila Steen (1951) and educators like Potts (1973), Sullivan (1982) and Murphy (1984) have documented and chronicled goals, policies, and practices of Nova Scotia's past relative to Mi'kmaw culture and education.

The dominant society has been drowning the Mi'kmaq in hate, sexism, racism, discrimination, prejudice, hegemony through civilization and Christianization procedures

for over five centuries or more. Albeit, not every member of the dominant society has done this for there are others who have befriended the Mi'kmaq genuinely or for ulterior motives. This is not to deny that the Mi'kmaw society is also not drowning in the above noted areas. The Mi'kmaq have also been drowning in discrimination and prejudice, stereotyping, ethnocentrism, scapegoating, racism and alphabet soup. "All of these activities draw children's attention to the physical properties of water, such as its fluidity, its weight, its absorption and its effect on sand and dirt. The storage and transportation of water by the many ways described involves mean/ends, quantitative, temporal, and spatial relationships" (Ramsey, 1987, p. 100). The Mi'kmaw doors of education are not burned by combustion zeal of the element of fire, swayed by the missionary zeal of the element of air; but, remain grounded by the universal zeal of the element of Earth making the transparent zeal of the element of water clearly open for inclusion of other cultures.

This chapter brought forth the elements of the universe commencing with the light of the fire reconceputalizing, the air challenging, the earth connecting, the water transforming the ruts in Nova Scotia education to bring closure to the lens on the PSP and the NCRP. The door is open for others after this exploration with a quotation from Paulo Freire (1985, p.), "To anticipate tomorrow by dreaming today".

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