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THE DEVELOPMENT OF NATIVE STUDIES AT CANADIAN UNIVERSITIES: FOUR PROGRAMS, FOUR PROVINCES, FOUR DECADES

SHONA TANER

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF A MASTER OF ARTS HISTORY FROM THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTHERN BRITISH COLUMBIA
THE DEVELOPMENT OF NATIVE STUDIES AT CANADIAN UNIVERSITIES:
FOUR PROGRAMS, FOUR PROVINCES, FOUR DECADES

by
Shona Taner
B.A., The University of Ottawa, 1993

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THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS
in
HISTORY
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THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTHERN BRITISH COLUMBIA
May 1997

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ABSTRACT

This study traces the development of Native Studies at Canadian universities from its ivory tower origins through its gradual descent to the grass roots by examining four programs which emerged in four different decades in four different provinces. The unique characteristics of the programs and the circumstances which led to these differences, namely, the times in which each program was established, the location of the program, the program's structure, and the level of involvement of the First Nations in each university are explored.

The study demonstrates that since Native Studies first burst upon the academic scene in the late sixties, the programs have steadily increased their responsiveness to First Nations' needs by expanding the curriculum, increasing the participation of Native students and instructors, reaching out to the communities, and involving First Nations people as cultural consultants and throughout the universities' governing bodies. Through a series of interviews with those involved in the programs and an examination of university records, the differences in the origins of the four programs and the unique ways in which each program has approached Native Studies are revealed.
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<td>A.I.M.</td>
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<td>C.U.T.</td>
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<td>D.I.A.N.D.</td>
<td>Department of Indian and Northern Development</td>
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<td>F.S.I.</td>
<td>Federation of Saskatchewan Indians</td>
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<td>F.S.I.N.</td>
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<tr>
<td>G.F.C.</td>
<td>General Faculties' Council</td>
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<td>Indian and Northern Affairs Canada</td>
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<td>I.P.G.</td>
<td>Implementation Planning Group</td>
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<td>N.I.B.</td>
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INTRODUCTION

Those anthropologists, sociologists and historians who poke at our bones, our social systems and past events try to tell us who we are.

When we don't read their books they think we are rejecting our heritage.

So, they feel sorry for us and write more books for themselves.

Untitled, Lenore Tobias, 1980

This poem describes well the perception held by many First Nations people of the type of education provided by universities. The education of Natives has received considerable attention for many years in both the United States and Canada, with very little disparity in overall findings. Low achievement and high dropout rates persist at all levels of education from elementary school through university.\(^1\) For many of the early years of the century, the limited number of Natives earning a university degree could be explained by Canada's unique policy of enforced "enfranchisement" for a Native seeking higher education, which meant the loss of Treaty or Registered status.\(^2\) Although this policy was changed, up until the sixties, for most Native students, Native education meant the education of Natives by non-Natives using non-Native methods.\(^3\) It was in the sixties that the First Nations began to articulate their disappointment with the types of educational opportunities afforded them. A representative of the Federation of Saskatchewan Indians elaborated,

For too many years, non-Indians, including representatives of most universities, have been speaking for Indians. The days of that are long over. We will present our own case, in whatever forum, whenever the need arises. Certainly we appreciate the efforts others have made on our behalf, and certainly we seek continued co-operation between Indian and non-Indian societies. However, it must be just that -- co-operation -- not
assimilation. In the past, failure to establish effective communication mechanisms and working relationships with First Nations resulted in irrelevant programs which had no relationship to the survival and development needs articulated by First Nations leaders. Disenchantment and lack of faith and credibility on the part of Native people in traditional institutions of higher education was often the outcome. Fortunately, the academic community eventually became aware of its past errors and began to make changes to its methods of designing and delivering education to and about First Nations peoples.

It all began in the 1960s, a revolutionary time for the academic community. Political unrest led many to demand changes to the traditional university system. Many believed that universities represented “ivory towers” for educating the wealthy elite, and students and political activists worked to make higher education more accessible to the traditionally under-represented. One of the tangible results of the protest movement in the United States and Canada was the introduction of Ethnic Studies including Black Studies, Chicano Studies, and Native Studies. In Canada, the ethnic make-up of the population meant that Black Studies and Chicano Studies were of less relevance than in the United States, and thus in response to the protest movement Canadian universities chose to pursue the implementation of Native Studies. According to John Price, a Canadian scholar in the area of Native Studies, the discipline emerged from increasing academic specialization, the shift towards social relevance in universities, and political pressure from Native people to have a place in academia for their civilization alongside those of Europeans.

The objectives of Native Studies programs have changed as the field has grown. Initially, objectives were dictated by the results of census studies revealing that First Nations’ participation in post-secondary education was dismally low. The introduction of Native Studies was seen as a means of increasing First Nations’ enrolment at universities by making the institutions friendlier. This was first accomplished by offering traditional academic courses with a focus on First Nations.

Roger Buffalohead, of Washington State University, described the early Native Studies programs of the seventies as having "the general Anthropology courses, general Sociology courses, general
Education courses, in which Indians themselves are supposed to receive an airing, and an intellectual discussion." Over time, as the needs of First Nations people and the role of First Nations people within modern society changed, so too did the objectives of Native Studies programs. With the rights of indigenous people rising to the forefront globally, interest in maintaining and disseminating knowledge of the cultures of Aboriginal people also grew. Native leaders pointed out that preservation of language and culture is one of the embodiments of the philosophy of First Nations education. Universities, as purveyors of knowledge, realized that they were ideal candidates for participation in this process.

In Canada, universities began to respond to internal and external pressures to meet the needs of First Nations people by introducing more Native Studies programs and altering established programs to give more attention to language, identity, and the arts. Thus, as the seventies progressed, Native Studies became "more than an academic chronicler of Native cultures", but "actively involved in their preservation and development." Assisting in the maintenance and dissemination of First Nations culture became the objective of these new Native Studies programs. Yet, throughout the seventies, the traditional courses in the humanities and social sciences continued to dominate the curriculum and the First Nations began to demand further changes to course offerings. For the average Canadian competing in an environment in which employers demand skills and experience, a degree in Native Studies seemed like a waste of time. Many in the Native community felt that "The humanities or liberal arts, such as history, literature and philosophy, in particular, are regarded as superfluous and impractical...Indian professional scholars...are not essential for Indian development, and all effort should be made to produce professional Indian educators, businessmen and technocrats." At a Symposium on American Indian Studies in 1977, Clara Sue Kidwell, a faculty member in the Native American Studies program at the University of California in Berkeley, said, "Native American Studies programs must maintain a careful balance between the purely academic concerns of the University and the purely pragmatic concerns of the community." Therefore, in response to the criticism of government, industry, interest groups, and society as a whole, the academic
community learned that it could no longer concern itself merely with scholarship and gradually began working towards making university education more practical. In Native Studies, these pressures, combined with the demands of First Nations people for self-government, translated into another shift in the objectives of the programs from maintaining culture to helping to prepare First Nations people for the responsibilities associated with governing themselves. As Native Studies entered its second decade, applied courses, practicums and community-based research were becoming a vital part of the program. According to Russell Thornton, a faculty member in the Native American Studies Program at the University of Minnesota,

American Indian studies has developed along three basic lines since its inception. One, it has developed along the line of Indian culture; that is, it has introduced Indian languages, music, art, literature, and ways of looking at the world into academia. Two, it has developed along social science lines; that is, it has attempted to consolidate existing bodies of knowledge pertaining to American Indians in social sciences, most notably anthropology and history, and also evaluate and reinterpret this knowledge. Three, Indian studies has developed along applied lines. It has examined Indian education, Indian social work, Indian health care and has attempted to make these areas more relevant to problems and conditions of Indian peoples.\(^\text{12}\)

This has certainly been the case with Native Studies programs in Canada which have had to balance these three areas.

The First Nations have expressed concern with curriculum beyond desiring a balance in course offerings between traditional academic courses, culture courses and applied courses. Many issues regarding curriculum content continue to be debated, and the place of culture in the classroom was chief among them. Vine Deloria Jr. asks the question, "Are these programs designed to teach the culture of the group as a direct mission, in effect substituting themselves in the role of elder of the community?" Answering the question himself, Deloria replies "University officials have never remotely considered their job to be the perpetuation of culture for racial minorities who have already experienced considerable acculturation.\(^\text{13}\) The First Nations wanted only some of their culture conveyed in a traditional academic manner, and Native Studies programs soon recognized the value of involving Elders from First Nations communities in the provision of cultural information to their students. In 1981, Arthur Blue of the Native Studies Department at Brandon University, indicated that he saw Native Studies moving in the direction of involving Native Elders and spiritual leaders
and recognizing them as having equivalence in terms of degree of qualifications necessary to teach in a university. This led John Price to conclude that Native Studies had begun "to expand in response to social and political pressure on the academic institutions and the changing interests of students (particularly Native students), rather than arising out of isolated, ivory tower developments of academic disciplines."

The programs have also frequently been criticized for hiring non-Native professors to teach what First Nations people like Harold Cardinal, the Alberta Cree politician, view as “White Studies of Indians”. Yet, Native Studies programs have experienced difficulty in finding Native scholars with traditional academic requirements. In many cases, these programs have adjusted their hiring requirements to allow Natives without a PhD to teach. Aside from the universities making adjustments to their policies, governments have also been encouraged to make changes. In 1972, the Indian Control of Indian Education policy paper stated, "The government must adjust its policy and practices to make possible the full participation and partnership of Indian people in all decisions and activities connected with the education of Indian people." According to Eber Hampton of the SIFC, "local control is a defining characteristic of Indian education, not just a philosophical or political good. There can be no true Indian education without Indian control. Anything else is white education applied to Indians." For the First Nations, Indian control meant, at the minimum, Native instructors and Native representation on governing bodies of the universities. A report prepared for a British Columbian institution stated,

Traditionally, institutes of higher learning have acted from the assumption that it is the institution who (sic.) defines the needs and resources needed for its clientele. This approach has invariably led to failure in any attempts to deliver post-secondary programming to Native Learners and communities. For Native communities, long sensitive to this rather paternal, even imperialist attitude towards the needs of their peoples, such an approach is today anathema to their ultimate struggle for self-determination. While this vigorous struggle continues today between Natives and the various institutions who still labour under such paternalistic models and assumptions -- such as D.I.A.N.D., health agencies and the like -- universities in Canada are in a unique position to take a lead in developing new approaches towards partnerships with the Native learner and communities alike based upon an assumption of equals in dialogue and expectations.

In order to maintain credibility with the First Nations community, universities have had to make every
effort to ensure adequate representation of Natives within their faculties and governing structures, and Native Studies programs have been both the prime beneficiary and prime benefactor of these Native academics and representatives.

The importance of education has always been recognized by Native people, both in terms of ensuring the survival and spread of their language and culture, and in preparing to meet the challenges of the changing society of which they are a part. Native Studies programs at Canadian universities represent the recognition by the dominant society of the value of educating both Natives and non-Natives about First Nations' experience, perspective, culture and language. Yet, the role of an academic institution in fulfilling the needs of both Native and non-Native communities through the provision of a Native Studies program is complicated. In many cases, the goal of recruiting Native students cannot be achieved merely by providing Native Studies. According to Charlotte Heth and Susan Guyette of the American Indian Studies Centre at UCLA, "Without true commitment to the spirit of affirmative action...no institution can mount a good program." Thus, admission procedures must be altered and bridging courses provided to better prepare some Native students for university-level studies. In addition, recruiting Native students does not guarantee that the students will graduate. High attrition rates have led to the development of services for Native students to help them to adjust to the urban, academic environment and to overcome the culture shock that many experience. The introduction of Native Studies has proven to be the catalyst for many of these changes.

Other means of improving the participation rates of Native students have been adopted by Native Studies programs in particular and universities in general. The most common is the provision of university courses in Native communities, or distance education. According to the Smith Report, produced for the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada in 1991, the most obvious purpose of distance education, is to make university education accessible to individuals who, for reasons of geography, economics or scheduling, cannot attend at the campus of the university. In many cases, Native students fall into all of those categories. Unfortunately, in the seventies the Department of Indian Affairs indicated that "Universities perceive that a degree obtained in a totally
off-campus situation is less valuable than one gained on-campus; that it somehow suggests a 'lowering of standards'. This opinion has gradually changed as more universities develop their distance education offerings and more students successfully make the transition onto university campuses. Many Canadian universities have implemented off-campus programs and the Smith Report praises the existing distance education efforts of Canadian universities and encourages expansion. The Report stresses that governments should recognize the enormous value inherent in distance learning and provide adequate support. Universities continue to respond to this encouragement and in some cases students can now earn a university degree without having to leave their home community.

For many Native Studies programs in both Canada and the United States, funding is the pivotal factor in determining the success of a program. Early programs were able to tap into resources from different government and private organizations, but the funding was often soft money which could not be counted on long-term. Universities would also provide short term grants to support Native Studies programs, but in 1985, Heth and Guyette from the American Indian Studies Centre at UCLA, suggested that Native Studies programs could no longer rely on benevolent, liberal administrations to carry them through programmatically and fiscally. Funding from the universities' base budgets was sought by new Native Studies programs, and universities in turn looked to the provincial governments to provide them with additional funding. A DIAND report indicated that "University administrations find themselves fighting, in their view, a constant uphill battle for fiscal survival, with little capacity, or provincial encouragement, for expansion in terms of either staff or program." Yet, those Native Studies programs that turned to the federal government also faced an uphill battle. Although the budget within Indian Affairs for Native education from kindergarten through high school is unlimited because the department regards that as a statutory obligation; post-secondary support from the federal government to Status Indians and selected post-secondary education programs and services is non-statutory and thus the budget is both fixed and limited. Nevertheless, in many cases, the myth of a special pot of 'Indian money' available somewhere still persists in academia, and program planners and directors have to convince their respective institutions that they deserve
regular, hard money support, and that the amount of money must be enough to ensure success.  

Since Native Studies arrived on the Canadian academic scene, universities have made many adjustments in an effort to respond to the needs of Native students and the Native community. Those changes have included shifts in the focus of the curriculum to balance academic, cultural and applied offerings. Hiring practices have been altered to allow Natives without PhDs to teach Native Studies courses. Efforts to attract and hold Native students include bridging courses and the introduction of Elders to act as cultural advisors and counsellors. For those students not prepared to enter the university environment, the provision of distance education courses in Native communities is a growing trend. Limited funding remains the primary deterrent to the evolution and development of Native Studies.

This study chronologically examines these issues and their affects on the development of Native Studies programs at several universities in western and central Canada: Trent University in Peterborough, Ontario; the University of Regina (Saskatchewan Indian Federated College) in Regina, Saskatchewan; the University of Alberta in Edmonton, Alberta; and the University of Northern British Columbia in Prince George, British Columbia. Although there are several other universities from which to choose, the four in question were selected because they conform to the parameters of the study, which examines the changes in the development of Native Studies programs in each of the decades commencing with the 1960s and concluding with the 1990s. Geographically, the universities represent the regions in which the most Native Studies programs are offered. In addition, universities were chosen to represent four different provinces, to reflect the unique influences of provincial politics, demographics, and historical experiences. Examination of the Native Studies programs at these four universities will determine the influences, obstacles, and changes that have occurred in the course of establishing and improving each of these programs to meet the needs of First Nations students and communities, and to benefit others seeking to learn more about the history, culture and experiences of Canada's First Nations people. This study will present the differences among the four programs and the circumstances that led to these differences; namely, the times in which each program was established, the provinces in which the
universities are located, the structure of the program, and the level of involvement of First Nations people in each university.

This project was carried out primarily through a series of interviews with the past and present administrators most directly involved in the establishment, design, and evolution of the Native Studies programs at each of the four universities. Interviews with others involved in the program, such as members of the Native community, Native student services administrators, and faculty have also been included. Given the time constraints for conducting this research, those not interviewed included First Nations and non-First Nations students who participated in the programs at each of the universities. The entire proceedings were tape-recorded and transcribed to ensure accuracy, and to store information for recall and validation. For each institution and interview subject, the questions were adapted to reflect the uniqueness of the individual programs and the experiences of the subject. The choice of personal interviews, as opposed to mailed questionnaires or surveys, was influenced by the experiences of Jo-ann Archibald and Sheena Selkirk Bowman in their study of the success factors and barriers to First Nations higher education. They found that low return rates, longer than usual return times, and the need for frequent personal contact to ensure returns of mailed questionnaires are factors that should be taken into account in planning applications of that method. Their final recommendations were that "because the use of mailed questionnaires proved to be costly relative to benefit, the use of mailed questionnaires should be replaced with an alternative method, such as the telephone or personal interview." Personal interviews rather than telephone interviews were chosen to establish a more comfortable relationship with the interviewees, and to allow the interviewer to pause and probe in order to elicit more elaborate responses without the awkwardness associated with telephone conversations. In addition, personal interviews gave the researcher an opportunity to visit each university, a recommendation made by Wayne Stein, who conducted a study of tribally-controlled colleges in the United States and found that reports containing much of the pertinent information were discovered at the respective institutions, reinforcing the need to visit each site to examine and copy documents.

The drawbacks of this method, which influenced or may have influenced the results of this
study, involved the availability and cooperation of the administrators and others associated with the Native Studies programs, the reliability of the participants' memories, and the biases of the interviewees. Unfortunately, there were many within both the academic community and the First Nations community who chose not to participate in this study. In the cases in which key individuals were unavailable, an attempt was made to find files or records at the university left by the person in question. In cases where individuals were not available for a face-to-face interview, a list of the interview questions was sent to them to be answered via mail and followed up with phone interviews or e-mail correspondence to clarify or expand upon responses. With regard to the biases, every effort was employed to ensure objectivity and accuracy. Information obtained was checked against information from other informants on the subject. The information was further checked, where possible, against the written record of the same event or time period.

Research on universities and their offerings is a fairly new field. Works such as J.A. Corry's *Farewell the Ivory Tower: Universities in Transition*[^30], published in 1970, and Lawrence Stone's two volume, *The University in Society*[^31], published in 1974, were among the first wave of research on the subject. These were followed by other works such as S.E.D. Shortt's *The Search for an Ideal*[^32], and A.B. McKillop's *A Disciplined Intelligence*[^33], both also published in the 1970s. Collectively, this research has encouraged contemporary scholars, like Cyril Levitt[^34], and Paul Axelrod and John Reid[^35], to further the study of higher education in Canada. Similar works have emerged in other countries such as Britain where Lowe wrote *Education in the Post-War Years: A Social History*[^36] in 1988, and in the United States with the work of Clark Kerr, *Troubled Times for American Education: The 1990s and Beyond*[^37] published in 1994. While most of these studies have been of the social history of university education in general, this study will examine it within the specific field of Native Studies.

In the 1960s, the literature about First Nations K-12 schooling began to surface, and its exponential growth in the 1970s created a major body of discussion and research reporting[^38]. The same cannot be said for post-secondary education for First Nations students. This is revealed by *Tradition and Education: Towards a Vision of our Future*, a study conducted by the Assembly of First

[^34]: Cyril Levitt
[^35]: Paul Axelrod and John Reid
[^38]: The same cannot be said for post-secondary education for First Nations students. This is revealed by *Tradition and Education: Towards a Vision of our Future*, a study conducted by the Assembly of First
Nations (AFN) in 1988, in which the AFN's review of 600 reports by the federal government, provincial/territorial governments, educational institutions and First Nations organizations reveals that 83% concern elementary and secondary education, while only 13% concern post-secondary education. Yet, in response to the increasing number of Native students completing high school, research is gradually surfacing on post-secondary opportunities for First Nations people. According to the Assembly of First Nations' 1988 report, the volume of academic literature about First Nations post-secondary education increased over a 20 year period from only one report between 1970-74, to 17 reports between 1975-79, and 62 reports between 1980-86. Despite this growth, Canada still does not have a substantial body of literature.

Some Canadian researchers have indicated that given the similarities between the United States and Canada with regard to post-secondary education for First Nations students, the literature is considered continental, with many commonalities across the borders. According to Archibald and Selkirk Bowman,

> despite the observation that the database is inadequate, and the contextualization of discussion about First Nations higher education is in the large context of inequity within the general topic of minority group education, there are more published and unpublished sources of information and discussion about First Nations higher education in the U.S., and its scope is more comprehensive than Canada's.

Nonetheless, they found that, although a more comprehensive picture of First Nations post-secondary education in the United States is reflected in customary literature sources, it still does not adequately document the present American experience.

Much of the American-based research has come from the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA). The American Indian Culture and Research Journal, published by UCLA, has made many contributions to the field of Native Studies, including a 1978 volume dedicated to the issue of American Indian Studies. The volume is highly relevant to the Canadian situation as it discusses the types and values of student input into program and planning, the rationale for an applied emphasis and/or an academic emphasis, and the importance of language instruction, all of which have been heated issues in determining the direction of Native Studies programs at the four Canadian universities studied in this research.
Aside from its journal, UCLA has a dedicated staff that frequently publishes independent research on American Indian Studies. Charlotte Heth and Susan Guyette have contributed to the body of literature with their needs assessment research of American Indian Studies. Their research stresses institutions' favouring of recruitment over services, as well, they note that it is up to the American Indian Studies program to serve as an advocate for new course development emphasizing Indian cultural needs, to encourage the development of Native student support services, and to provide the base for Indian faculty recruitment. Their research also focuses on the occupational needs of Indian communities. Despite the American context, these studies are pertinent to Canadian-based research, as both the importance of recruitment versus retention, and the necessity of responding to the needs of Native communities have been the subject of discussion at Canadian universities with Native Studies programs.

Studies conducted on American tribal colleges are also valuable in that the measure of control held by Native people over the colleges is comparable to that held by the Federation of Saskatchewan Indian Nations in connection with the Saskatchewan Indian Federated College (SIFC). The philosophy of service to the community, reflection of community educational needs, and open door access to all community members, which characterize the tribal colleges studied by Wayne Stein, are philosophies shared by SIFC and the other Canadian universities to be examined. In his 1978 study, Norman Oppelt discussed the emphasis on teaching and service activities in Indian Studies programs at tribal colleges compared with the scholarly activities of other academic disciplines. This is another issue relevant to the Canadian sample examined in this study.

Further review of the literature uncovered Eugene Leitka's doctoral dissertation from New Mexico State University, in which he studied the effectiveness of Native American Studies Programs in universities and colleges throughout the United States and Canada. His study reveals a connection between the components of Native Studies programs and their holding power of Native students compared with institutions with no such programs. The value of this study to the researcher is in its examination of the high attrition rates of American Indians at American
universities (which correspond with Canadian figures), and the responses by the universities with Native Studies programs, which have included providing counsellors and hiring more Native staff.

In light of the current research about American Indians in higher education that is taking place in the United States, it would be pertinent for Canadian researchers to pursue similar studies. The late John Price, of York University, was probably the country's leading researcher on the topic of Native Studies with his many contributions to the *Canadian Journal of Native Studies* as well as his books on the topic. In a key article, Price divided curriculum into categories of General, Arts, Preprofessional, Language and Research and examined the courses by category at several universities in 1982. This study will attempt to define similar categories and evaluate the four programs' offerings over the period of their existence. Price's 1978 research on Native Studies in Canada and the United States is also enlightening in terms of his analysis of the impetus for introducing the programs in Canada.

Journal articles also figure prominently in the study as there are several journals in both Canada and the United States which are dedicated to Native Studies and Native issues related to education. The best Canadian examples are the *Canadian Journal of Native Studies* and the *Canadian Journal of Native Education*, while in the United States, the *Wicazo Sa Review* and the *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* have both frequently published articles related to the education of American Indians. Although these articles do not address the development of Native Studies at the selected Canadian universities per se, the issues discussed in the articles can be applied to the Canadian examples studied to provide insight and comparison, and they were also incorporated into the list of interview questions asked by the researcher.

The value of studies conducted by First Nations groups was immeasurable. Not only does the research provide insights into the issues of concern to Native peoples, it also represents one of the influences on the design and development of Native Studies programs themselves. *Indian Control of Indian Education*, a policy paper of the National Indian Brotherhood, reveals information on key issues to be considered on the topic of Native education, primarily at the elementary through secondary level. Its indirect influence on the development of Native Studies programs (especially
due to its adoption by the Federal government), make it a primary source for this study. The same can be said for the follow-up paper produced by the Assembly of First Nations (AFN) in 1988, Tradition and Education: Towards a Vision of Our Future, in which the need for special programs to train First Nations people in the fields of socio-economic development, First Nations government, and administration are expressed.\(^5\) The recommendations of this report make it a primary source in determining the effects of First Nations demands on the development of Native Studies programs, and the level of satisfaction of First Nations people for the universities' efforts.

Other reports that can be categorized as primary sources include those by organizations such as the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada which express the issues of concern to the institutions themselves.\(^6\) Research conducted by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND) was also helpful in determining the level of success of Native Studies programs by providing statistics on attrition rates, employment, and enrolment. In addition, reports by provincial bodies were utilized in determining provincial concerns with university education in general, and with university education for First Nations in particular.

Research on Native Studies as a discipline in both Canada and the United States does not encompass all of the concerns of this study. Much has been written about the higher education needs of Natives, and many studies can be found concerning the effectiveness of the programs, but little has been written about the factors which determined the organization and objectives of these programs since their establishment. These programs do not exist in a vacuum, and many factors have influenced their development. It is hoped that this study will continue where others have left off, and start to fill the gap in the literature to answer the questions related to how and why Native Studies programs in Canada have evolved to their current state. It is hoped that this study will benefit the First Nations in reviewing how different Native Studies programs have responded to their needs. It is also hoped that the study will benefit the academic community in determining the environment most suitable for establishing Native Studies Programs and some of the best methods of creating a credible program. The study will also attempt to change the image of universities by demonstrating, using Native Studies as an example, that universities may once have been ivory
towers determining the educational needs of students and society from an academic perspective, but are becoming responsive to the needs of their constituents and encouraging representation of the public within all levels of university governing bodies and in the lecture halls. Each of the Native Studies programs examined have had unique experiences based on the times in which each program was established, their location, and the structure of their programs, yet they have all come to recognize the importance of First Nations involvement to ensure accessibility, accountability and excellence.
CHAPTER ONE – TRENT UNIVERSITY

Why would a small, five year old, liberal arts, undergraduate institution in Peterborough, Ontario be the first university in Canada to introduce a Native Studies program in 1969? According to two of the key figures in Natives Studies at Trent, "The initial programme was formulated in the late sixties, a period when criticism of social structures and efforts to assert human rights were creating a ferment in the United States and stirring social consciousness in Canada.\(^1\) Organizations like the American Indian Movement (AIM) in the United States and the National Indian Brotherhood (NIB) in Canada were forming and drawing attention to the issues affecting First Nations. This was a period when debate and introspection about the Canadian identity was challenging some of the assumptions arising from Canada’s colonial past.\(^2\) The newness of the University was another factor contributing to its willingness to create a new program. In addition, with Ojibway, Mississauga, Mohawk and Chippewa communities within a 70 mile radius, Peterborough’s Trent University was a likely choice for the first Native Studies program in Canada. Nonetheless, the sixties environment, the newness of the university and the proximity of so many Native communities alone were not enough to support such a unique innovation.

Credit for the origin of the Native Studies Program is attributed to various individuals at Trent. In his history of Trent, A.O.C. Cole indicates that in the spring of 1968 Kenneth Kidd, from Anthropology, gained the support of his colleagues to approach Tom Symons, the President of the University, with the idea of a separate college or institute which would offer an interdisciplinary program in Native Studies.\(^3\) Kidd himself supported this version of the program’s history stating, “In the Anthropology Department we did talk about these things...the idea gradually emerged that it might not be a bad idea to try and organize some kind of formal instruction at Trent for Native people....and it was after that that we had discussions with the President and he suggested that we form a committee to consider it.”\(^4\) Others, like Harvey McCue, who was on the original Working Committee on Native Studies, have a different explanation. According to McCue,

It was during my final year at Trent as an undergraduate...which was 1968. I had received an invitation from Tom Symons, then President of Trent, to discuss the possibilities around the involvement of more Native students at the University. We had several meetings, he and I, and gradually the concept of the studies or program of
studies which would attract Indian students and which would provide an education relevant to their interests emerged from our discussions."  

McCue indicates that unlike many of the Ethnic Studies programs such as Black Studies, Hispanic Studies and Native Studies that emerged at the same time in the United States and Canada, the Native Studies program at Trent did not develop in response to Native students, community leaders, or Native activists, but rather owed its origins to the discussions between Tom Symons and himself, which led directly to Indian-Eskimo Studies. Despite the importance of his own involvement, McCue credits Tom Symons with the initiative. He has stated, “Tom Symons was acutely aware of the problems confronting Native people in Canada in the mid and late sixties and he was determined, as far as I can tell, to do everything he could, within the limitations imposed by the University to ameliorate those conditions, and he freely made a very strong commitment to make a contribution.” This awareness could be attributed to Symons' tenure as President of the Indian-Eskimo Association. Overall, Native Studies at Trent owes its origins to "Ken Kidd, as the established academic, Harvey McCue, as the innovative thinker, and Tom Symons, who could make room...".

Tom Symons indicated that “(i)nterest at Trent in the possibility of establishing such a program goes back to the time of the University's foundation in 1964”, but it was not until March 20, 1969 that the Trent University Senate approved in principle the concept of an Indian-Eskimo Studies Program at Trent University, subject to the availability of the necessary financing. At Trent, the program was financed primarily with money from the University's base budget. According to Harvey McCue, “Tom (Symons) made the commitment to have anything that would emerge from our initial discussions as part of the University budget....Essentially it was absorbed by the existing university financial regime.” Hard funding was not available to all the Native Studies programs emerging in the period in both Canada and the United States. Marlene Castellano indicates, “Trent has differed from other programs and we're fiercely proud of this, that Trent Native Studies has never been funded by soft money. The core of the teaching program has always been from the core faculty budget. You teach a course, you get your income from fees and grants, just like anybody else.” From the beginning,
endowments and grants also helped with the development and growth of the program. Additional seed money was attained from the Donner Canadian Foundation in the amount of $204,000, as well as the Provincial Secretary's Indian Community Branch which added $15,000 and the Atkinson Foundation which contributed $5,000 in the first year.  

With financing in place, the establishment of the program advanced quickly under the guidance of Ken Kidd. The program's early design reflected its origins as part of the Anthropology Department. As an anthropologist, Ken Kidd had a particular vision of the Indian-Eskimo Studies Program. He said,

I had in mind an interdisciplinary program which would involve some anthropology, namely the survey of Indians of Canada...the geography of Canada, to emphasize the diversity of the cultural backgrounds, in the geographical sense of the word, and something about the history of the country, the progress of white acquisition of Canada, how it affected Native peoples, and Canadian economics.^

Kidd was a key figure in the development of the Indian-Eskimo Studies program, and his intentions were good, but he also embodied the assimilationist tendencies of the late sixties and early seventies. He thought that the "salvageable" aspects of Native life could be "blended with the useful elements of the EuroCanadian society to bring up, to develop a new type of society for the Native people, that would be satisfactory to them and compatible with contemporary Canadian life."^

Similarly, Kidd's vision of the role of Native Studies within the University also diverged from that of the growing number of Native people in the program. When confronted by students claiming that the department was designed to lure Native students into the University for the purpose of assimilating them, he answered, "Well, what did you expect? It is a Euro-Canadian institution, teaching by approved Euro-Canadian methods, approved Euro-Canadian courses, and you come expecting to learn these things, you're not expecting to learn Native culture at this University."^

Thus, in its early days, Indian-Eskimo Studies did little to go beyond the traditional university courses that looked at Native issues.

Significant changes to the program occurred in 1971 when Walter Currie, a Potawatami who had been advisor to the Ontario government on Native education, was hired to run the program. He
convinced Senate that to improve the status of Indian-Eskimo Studies the program should be made a department rather than leaving it as an interdisciplinary program within Anthropology. In 1972 the Native Studies Department emerged at Trent. In the same year, the department began to consider academic, cultural and applied development goals. A report describing the events that took place in this period indicated that a critical issue in the development of Native Studies at Trent was the appropriate mix between what was termed “conventional” academic courses, on one hand, and “culture” courses, on the other. Initially, the program focused on developing academic courses because it was considered politically unwise to reject the expectations and demands of the university, which, as an institution of higher learning, was turned to for direction of the novel and fledgling program. By 1974 the academic courses had increased, and the faculties’ concern had shifted to the need to expand and strengthen the cultural content in the departmental offerings. Although faculty had different perceptions of “cultural content”, there was a consensus that language instruction in an Indian dialect would acknowledge and legitimize the growing interest among Indians in preserving their language and culture. Many believe that the changes to the program in the direction of cultural exploration were the result of Aboriginal people beginning to teach in the program and taking over the position of Chair. Some believe this led the Department of Native Studies to:

...split, in a very public way, from the founder, who objected very strenuously to the bringing of Aboriginal culture into the University and using that as the basis for our program, and the use of Elders as instructors, and the use of traditional teaching in the classroom. That was not his original vision of the University, and of Native Studies. He wanted those very close links with Anthropology.

Thus, after only a few years, Native Studies at Trent turned from Anthropology and began to find its own niche as a separate discipline.

What Walter Currie had begun in 1972, was expanded upon by the succeeding Chairman, Joseph Couture, in the mid seventies. Until 1975, attempts to include a cultural component in Native Studies focussed primarily on incorporating cultural information into traditional courses. In 1975, experiential learning techniques were introduced to integrate knowledge presented in a
traditional Native cultural style. A departmental review indicated that experiential learning techniques were only one element of the changes taking place in this period. "In 1975...the introduction of the idea of bi-cultural education as a definition of Native Studies, and the affirmation of the Indian elder as the highest order of Indian thought and experience became operating assumptions..."

Incorporating a cultural component into the program was not a simple task. Language was recognized as a key means of transmitting culture, and thus the introduction of Ojibway Language Studies was the first initiative undertaken by the department. The department was only able to secure money for cultural development through a grant from a government agency for language studies. But, because the federal government would only make language grants to Indian bands themselves, an agreement was made with the Hiawatha band, just outside of Peterborough, and they applied for the grant for language and then transferred that money to Trent. Providing the courses was further complicated by the fact that the first Native faculty appointments went to urbanized Indians who had little experience with traditional ways and no command of Native languages. Without qualified instructors from among the faculty, the department was forced to go outside in search of a suitable candidate. The issue became whether a Native language instructor should have a background in linguistics, or be a native speaker. Castellano differentiates in the following manner,

Aboriginal languages, with the deep meanings that are imbedded in them, are lost with the more technological linguistic analysis. Linguistic analysis has its place in documenting the history and evolution of languages, and the construction of languages, but what Native Studies has taken on, as core to the language effort, is the interpretive dimension of language, of leading people into the deep meanings of world view.

This perspective led to the decision to hire an Ojibway instructor who had fluency in the language, but no skills in linguistic analysis. In 1974, Fred Wheatley became the first Native person with recognized alternative qualifications, specifically education in traditional culture, appointed to the department to teach Ojibway. Wheatley was followed shortly by Chief Jacob Thomas who, in addition to his role as Iroquois language instructor, acted as a Resident Elder at the university.
a report to the J.W. McConnel Foundation, which funded the initial Resident Elder position, the University wrote:

Chief Thomas' unique qualifications as a teacher in the oral Iroquois tradition, his status in Canada and the United States, as a knowledgeable ceremonialist and his accomplishments as an artist have added a cultural dimension to the Native studies programme...As well as providing interpretations and insights into Iroquois ceremonies for a variety of students, Chief Thomas has been a counsellor and model for many Native students seeking support in resolving questions about their own identity and goals.27

The idea of involving a Native counsellor in the Native Studies program at Trent came early with the acknowledgement that the success of Native students involved more than academic achievement, but rather the combination of social, emotional and cultural dimensions as well.28 The first Native counsellor was hired in 1974-75 with funding from the Indian Community Services branch of the Ontario Ministry of Culture and Recreation. The role of the Native Counsellor was to provide social counselling and academic support to Native students, liaise with university administrative systems and government administrative systems, and communicate with Indian Bands and with current or potential Trent students.29 When the provincial government withdrew funding in 1975-76, the counsellor's salary was paid from the Donner Trust funds. This was followed, from September 1976 to March 1978, by subsidies from the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, but in March 1978 it was determined that only one band had responded to the billing to cover counselling costs, creating arrears extending back to September 1976.30 University administrators did all that they could to try and gain support to allow for the continued presence of a Native counsellor. The President, Tom Nind, wrote letters to the Ontario Advisory Council on Multiculturalism in which he stated, "I cannot stress too forcibly the essential work that the counsellors perform both in assisting with academic difficulties and in helping the native students to adjust to a lifestyle at the university that is alien and unnatural to them."31 Despite efforts by all levels of the University, funding was eventually withdrawn in May 1978 and counselling services temporarily came to a halt.

Not everyone at Trent agreed that a Native counsellor was essential to the program. In the first
years after the services ended, some of the administration and faculty noted that the failure rate did not increase with the absence of a counsellor. Others felt that Native students needed counselling and guidance, but that having a formal Native counsellor was not the way to go about it. Marlene Castellano stated, "I think that if you try to institutionalize the seeking and giving of help, that you are going against the grain of culture and that you are going to shut out a lot of people who will simply not label themselves as, 'I am a needy student.' She felt that support was provided to students by means other than a Native counsellor. She says, "I would say that all of the professors in Native Studies, all of the time, have placed a very high value on being accessible to students, have had a non-authoritarian approach to relationships which have sort of raised the level of student contacts..." The current Chair of the Department, David Newhouse, continues to question the role of student services as building too much dependence and continuing the traditional relationship that has always existed. He believes the students should be helped, but that responsibility should remain with them for devising their own programs, for dealing with their own problems, and ultimately for their own success. Nonetheless, he adds that an Aboriginal Counsellor, separate from the other counsellors at the University, is necessary because "(w)e've tried to work with the counselling services here, but they are not good at dealing with people who exist outside the mainstream." Questions as to the effectiveness of an Aboriginal Counsellor may have existed, but it was the funding for the position that led to its demise and rebirth. Eventually Trent agreed to bear the cost for both the Aboriginal Counsellor and a Cultural Advisor as part of the commitment to Native Studies. Clearly, the availability of outside funding was a key determinant for the existence of the two positions. Varying levels of support for special services for Native students made the availability of an Aboriginal counsellor at Trent inconsistent.

Introducing culture into Native Studies led to more controversy over the appropriateness of teaching culture in a university setting. Marlene Castellano has said,

It is the job of the Elders in the longhouse to teach the oral tradition and to have that treated as sacred and authoritative. It is the job of the academic in Native Studies to take what is appropriate to be brought from the longhouse into the classroom and to reflect on that...I don't think that the university is the place to transmit sacred knowledge,
and to indoctrinate adherence to a sacred tradition...So, this is the role that I see for Native Studies with regard to sacred knowledge, not to bring it into the classroom and secularize it, but with full respect and agreement of the authentic teachers of sacred knowledge, to bring those glimpses which are appropriate to open the eyes of people to the fact that there is a corpus of sacred knowledge, there is secular knowledge or practical knowledge and philosophy, which is there and it's rooted in a sacred tradition, but if you want to get the full story, you've got to go to the longhouse to get that.  

This opinion is shared by the current Chair, David Newhouse, who stresses that Native Studies is a university program that focuses on the mind and not on the spiritual life of Aboriginal people which is something that must be taught by Elders. Overall, people involved in the Trent program believe that it has exposed students to culture and encouraged them to pursue further knowledge through Elders and the “longhouse”. There is evidence that the program has helped Native students get a firmer sense of identity and a number of students have reached out to the Native community as a complement to their academic experience. Including culture in the curriculum is now viewed as a necessity and David Newhouse says, “we could not do Native Studies these days without culture, and without looking at cultural premises, cultural expression...It has become very much the accepted way of doing Native Studies.”

Although the interest in incorporating cultural content into the Native Studies program has continued since the seventies, the program has expanded into other areas as well. According to a current Native Studies administrator, “...the communities are saying, we want people who can do specific jobs, and we expect your institution to produce them for us.” Trent attempted to respond to this need as early as 1972 when the Native Studies Brochure was stating, “A new phase in the development of Native Studies will commence with the introduction of an applied community programme.” Harvey McCue states, “There was an overwhelming commitment on the part of the core group of the department, from about the mid- to late seventies on, who strongly believed that the more applied, or in the words of a previous Chairman, Joe Couture, 'experiential', Native Studies became, the more relevant and successful it would be.” Interest in more practical education that would lead to jobs was not exclusive to Native Studies, as was evinced in the declining enrollment in arts and sciences faculties across the nation as students began to question the practical value
of a B.A. degree. For Native students, aware of the urgency of problems facing their communities, the question of relevance was even more critical.

The participation rates of Native students in post-secondary education continued to decline in the 1970s, and those students who did go to Trent expressed impatience with the irrelevance of strictly academic activities. Many pressed for the incorporation of a greater degree of community involvement in their program of studies. With many Native students expressing more interest in the practical than the theoretical and majoring in other disciplines, Native Studies made an effort to allow students to apply their knowledge and skills to the Native community by incorporating a practicum into the program. Trent was able to obtain a start-up grant from the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, and support for a three year period from the Malcolm Montgomery estate ($76,000), the J.W. McConnell Foundation ($30,000), the Gilbert Monture estate ($26,000), the Muttart Foundation ($10,000), and the Second Decade Fund ($5,000). The practicum was introduced in 1975 and consisted of theoretical instruction in methods of community service and research, complimented by a supervised fieldwork placement. Through its career development aspects, the practicum met the need for students to gain employable skills that would allow them to fit into the marketplace.

Initial response to the development of applied programs included both praise and scepticism. One academic responded:

One factor that impresses me is the possibility of linking a practical commercially viable, relevant training operation with a university studies program. The relationship may be somewhat uneasy at the beginning because universities do not have very much experience with such projects, and the university pattern and reward system will not fit in all respects.

In addition, as in the case of cultural courses, not everyone in the department was in agreement over the appropriateness of applied courses in a university setting. Some felt that the movement towards the applied necessarily detracted from the academic integrity of the program. Harvey McCue, "argued quite strongly that the importance of Native Studies at Trent was in the area of intellectual development and scholarship. I believed then that if there were practical needs that had
Trent University Courses

- Academic
- Cultural
- Applied
to be met, community colleges and perhaps other post-secondary institutions were better positioned, better able to provide those kinds of courses.\textsuperscript{52}

Nonetheless, the success of the practicum led to further efforts to add applied programs to Native Studies. In August 1980, the Donner Canadian Foundation approached Trent with an offer to fund a training program for Native administration and management.\textsuperscript{53} Initially Trent sought to establish a Native Training, Research and Development Institute as an incorporated, non-profit agency governed by a council representing the University and the Native community. Such an institute was primarily in response to Native leaders who were calling for a comprehensive long-term approach to Native training with Native involvement in the design and operation, and decentralized program delivery.\textsuperscript{54} The desire for training reflected the growing need in the 1980s for Native communities to cope with the increasing responsibilities of band control of local government.\textsuperscript{55} The result was the Anigawncigig Institute, a non-profit corporation associated with Trent University. In 1985, with seed money of $225,000 from each of the Donner Foundation and the Stauffer Estate, Trent added the Native Management and Economic Development Program to its own curriculum. The initial funding was followed shortly by $495,000 in 1987 from the federal government's Native Economic Development Program, as the program met a native community need.\textsuperscript{56} The main objective of the Native Management and Administration program was "educating students for particular jobs requiring special skills" especially in the area of economic and business development.\textsuperscript{57} This demonstrated the continued interest among First Nations communities for post-secondary programs that would lead to jobs for Native graduates, and for Native graduates prepared for jobs on the reserves.

The development of the Native Studies program involved more than just its course offerings and student services. The program had several objectives, the first of which, according to several of the early professors at Trent, was remedying the under representation of Native students in universities.\textsuperscript{58} A 1972 brochure on Native Studies at Trent indicated that, "(a)ctivity in Native Studies grew out of a concern of members of Trent to try to correct the imbalance in educational
In 1968 there were only 12 First Nations students in Grade 13 in Ontario and the dropout rate for native students in Ontario schools after Grade 8 was 97%. Concern about these numbers continued after the program was established. In 1974, Walter Currie cited statistics which showed there were only 54 Native students in Grade 13 in Ontario, but five times as many in Grade 12. With so few Native students completing grade 13 and qualifying for university, Currie concluded that the “department should investigate possible up-grading procedures to draw any students who do not now possess formal qualifications.” The response by the University was efforts to obtain funding for a Diploma Program described as “an affirmative action program that would open the door to students with a non-academic grade 12 or mature students...It's a two year modified program that develops skills for success in academics at the same time as you're taking real university subjects.” Trent was able to finance most of the costs with money from the Donner Foundation, the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, and the Indian Community Secretariat. However, the university was concerned that the grants provided by these agencies were short-term in nature and could not be counted upon for long-term support. The program was approved by the Ministry of Colleges and Universities on the understanding that no extra-formula support would be given because, “the activities in question, while commendable and admittedly essential to the type of program offered by Trent, were felt to be of a socio-cultural rather than purely educational nature.” Nevertheless, the Native Studies Diploma Program was approved by the Senate on May 24, 1974.

The goal of the Diploma Program was to “broaden access to Native Studies for students of Native ancestry” and it successfully accomplished that goal. Within two years the Diploma Program had increased Native student enrollment at Trent from fourteen in 1973-74 to sixty-five in 1975-76. Yet, although the Diploma Program had the desired effect of attracting Native students and encouraging them to pursue university studies, some felt that it was not up to university standards. Ken Kidd was quoted as saying, “It's designed really to train people of fairly elementary level, for functioning on reserves or in the communities...they can spend a couple of years in the
diploma course, where the competition isn't great. They only have to take three courses...they're not very hard courses at that...They're not rigorous, really." Others, like Harvey McCue, felt that introducing the Diploma Program was a mistake because it invited a large number of Native students into the University who really did not have the necessary academic training or background. In his opinion the University should have concentrated on recruiting, retaining and developing quality Native students rather than merely trying to increase the number of Native students. McCue felt that Trent Native students were in the vanguard of the development of communities and organizations, and that if the department did not demand and expect Native students to produce quality work, that young people's abilities, potential, and analytic strengths would be compromised, and that in turn would influence the growth and development of Native communities, leadership, and organizations.

Despite the negative responses to the Diploma Program, the overall impression of the various levels of offerings at Trent was quite positive. There was a perception that offering various levels of courses allowed students to progress. According to Kidd, "...many students have come in order to take the diploma course, and have graduated from that, and have then gone on to...a degree course....As a feeder to the degree courses, I think it has a very fine purpose." Trent continued to seek to increase the academic opportunities available to its students in Native Studies and the applied skills emphasis of the diploma and the practicum programs was balanced in 1978 with the establishment of an Honours program, so that the Department allowed for the variable academic and applied interests of Native and non-Native students. Eventually Trent offered Native students workshops and short non-credit courses through the Anigawincigig Institute, a three week pre-session seminar, the Diploma Program of two years, a three year undergraduate degree program in Native Studies, a four year honours degree program in Native Studies, and most recently a graduate program in Canadian Studies with a focus on Natives, allowing Native students to pursue a variety of levels of education.

Questions surrounding the effectiveness of the Native Studies program did not stop at issues
of design and development. Another concern was the ability to find appropriate administrators, faculty, and staff to run and operate the program. Ken Kidd described the early days of the program as follows, "Recruiting the faculty has been a difficult exercise. One of the reasons for that is that there's been a desire to have Native people as instructors, where possible, but finding Native people with the proper training and skills has not been easy. They just don't exist, or haven't." At that time, "proper" training and skills could more accurately described as "traditional" training and skills. Kidd added, "in 1970, the times were such that you still had to have paper qualifications. It was expected. And you were running a considerable risk, if you made appointments without these qualifications. Now it was becoming possible to do it, but it wasn't common. And we felt apprehensive about making such appointments." Kidd was willing to bring in First Nations people to participate in the program, but in an informal way. He said,

I, for one, felt right from the beginning, and I think you'll find in the minutes of the meetings, that there would be a need to bring in Native Elders to stay on campus for two or three weeks or a month, each year, to talk to students, and impart their knowledge of Native culture, to the students in an informal way. And, I didn't think that it was advisable to go beyond that point at that time because of the resistance of academia to, what they would consider, irregular appointments.

However, it did not take long for the University to accept that traditional academic criteria could not be met by the majority of Native educators. Since 1972 the department has been successful in persuading the university that instructors in the area of language instruction would lack the academic credentials normally associated with regular university appointments. It was recognized and accepted that some Native people possessed alternative qualifications which, within the Native tradition, were equally valid for the teaching of language and culture courses. Aside from the desire to involve First Nations in the teaching of culture and language, there was a firm commitment from President Symons from the outset that the usual academic qualifications would not be required in every case when potential Native faculty were considered. This exception was made because in Canada there were few Native faculty who possessed PhDs and long lists of publications, and it was recognized that if the University insisted on those kinds of requirements or conditions for the hiring of Native faculty, it was unlikely that the program would have any.
Those involved in the Native Studies program at Trent indicate that hiring Native faculty has always been important. Ken Kidd reflected that “All things being equal, I think the administration has tried to get Native people to staff the department, but where that hasn’t been possible, of course, they’ve taken white scholars, and I think it’s true that we’ve always had a Native person as Chairman of the Department.” Harvey McCue concurred, stating that Native staff was a priority at Native Studies, and from 1969 to 1983, Native faculty either represented 50% or higher in the program and I think by 1974-1975 there were eight or nine faculty in Native Studies and over 5 or 6 were Native. And the purpose was obvious, we were committed to providing students who took our courses with a unique Native perspective and that could only be provided by Native faculty.

The tradition of hiring Native faculty has continued, with the current Chairman explaining, “Right now we have six full-time faculty and there are three Aboriginal and three non-Aboriginal. We have a commitment from the University for three additional tenure-track faculty, and those will most likely be all Aboriginal faculty.”

This commitment first translated into hiring First Nations’ people, who lacked the qualifications normally considered necessary for university appointments, as “special sessional lecturers”. As such they were not eligible for the full range of university benefits such as pensions, insurance, medical and dental plans, special merit increments, and tenure. This continued in some cases until two individuals had been on the faculty for six and four years respectively. Identification of this problem quickly led Trent to begin hiring First Nations for tenure-track positions. According to Marlene Castellano, “Trent, as far as I know, is the only, certainly was the first, university which appoints faculty on the basis of education in oral tradition and language, and grants full faculty status and promotion options and research grants to teachers of Aboriginal language.” In the nineties, Trent even went so far as to articulate a set of criteria approved by the University Senate for the academic appointment of Elders, recognizing their traditional knowledge and using other Elders as their peer group.

The hiring of Native faculty and the recognition of Aboriginal knowledge, symbolized the general growth of First Nations involvement in the Native Studies program at Trent. Ken Kidd first
recognized the importance of First Nations involvement, stating,

I think this is a point at which Native Studies varies greatly from other disciplines, in that it does need the input from the Native community, which, ipso facto, is non-university. And I'm very happy that the University has been willing to accept this as a necessity on the part of the Department, and they have. And I think it should be expanded...I think there is a need to take care that standards are not lowered, but, at the same time, we must make cognizance of the fact that departments such as Native Studies, must draw on the knowledge and the experience of the Native community in imparting their learning to our students.\textsuperscript{83}

In 1968, members of the Working Group on Indian Studies consulted with Native representatives and organizations across Canada to determine the level of support among Native people.\textsuperscript{84} It was admirable that as early as the sixties academics recognized the importance of consulting with Native people, but consultation in this period did not hold much weight in terms of influence on the design of the program. According to Marlene Castellano,

What we would do now, in the 1990s, is requisite in participatory research. You take the inferences that you draw from your consultation and say, "this is what it means for program planning" and then you take the program plan back. That was not done...So, I would say, as between what was done in 1968 and what we expect as required in 1996, there has been a whole generation of change in terms of accountability.\textsuperscript{85}

Although Indian groups, Indian and Metis leaders, and non-Indian educators were all interviewed for input on the design of the program, according to Harvey McCue, “The outside influence in the development of Native Studies was really quite minimal. There was no real organized process to enable the external community, either Indian or non-Indian, to contribute to Native Studies.”\textsuperscript{86} Initially, programming was developed primarily by faculty members, some of whom were of First Nations descent, but with little input from the broader Native community. According to Harvey McCue, “(i)t was really a small group of very committed and dedicated instructors, deciding amongst ourselves, and from our own interests, and our own perceptions, what should be included in Native Studies, and consequently its outlook.”\textsuperscript{87} He added, “There were no real demands on the part of Native people to influence the design and development of the program.”\textsuperscript{88} As a result, the Native community was satisfied with its limited involvement and according to the Working Group, “it was widely appreciated that this University took the care to consult with the native people.”\textsuperscript{89}

Initially, the First Nations did not demand a substantial role in the development and design of
the program, although in some cases they requested it. In a "Progress Report on the Indian, Eskimo
and Metis Studies Program", the Working Committee wrote,

A significant result of these conversations with native leaders has been their voluntary
offer to establish official liaison with any committee which this University may decide to
set up to guide any program such as is being proposed...specifically Mr. Walter Dieter,
President of the National Indian Brotherhood of Canada, and Dr. Adam Cuthand,
President of the Metis Association of Canada.90

Ken Kidd responded by suggesting to the President of the University that a formal relationship in
the form of a special liaison committee with representatives of Native organizations, groups and
communities be established to allow for a two-way flow of information and an exchange of ideas
between them and the faculty.91 In the seventies, Harvey McCue “tried unsuccessfully to establish
a Council of Native Elders to contribute to the development of Native Studies, but for a variety of
reasons that wasn’t accepted by the other faculty in the department, and so the contributions of
Elders and spiritual leaders, certainly between ‘69 and ‘83, was quite minimal.”92 The issue
resurfaced in the early eighties in a Departmental Brief that suggested the establishment of a Native
Community Advisory Council as a means to more adequately receive the advice and guidance of
members of the Native community.93 The brief recommended that the advisory council draw on
Native people from diverse tribal backgrounds and constituencies including Native Elders,
representatives of Native Associations, local community leaders, and faculty from the other Native
Studies programs in Ontario. It was believed that the advisory council could assist the Department
by advising on current issues as they affected Native people; assisting in the development of a
program which accurately reflected Native values and culture and the social and political priorities
of the Native community; helping the Department successfully establish an integration of academic
and cultural components; participating in such events as symposia, conferences, and workshops;
and providing guidance to students in the area of Native identity, culture, political issues, and
survival.94 This proposal was in response to recognition that “…the alienation of native students from
the Departmental programme, as demonstrated in low achievement, high attrition, and poor
communication with staff, is symptomatic of more far-reaching alienation of the Department from
the native community at large.\textsuperscript{95}

The Department's legitimacy was weakened by its limited relationship with the Native communities because Native Studies was not understood or held in much esteem by the First Nations.\textsuperscript{96} It was determined that interaction between the Native Studies Department and Native communities was essential to ensure that the program would reflect Native perceptions and priorities, that it would relate to social needs, and that it would attract Native students.\textsuperscript{97} The realization of the importance of involving the Native community in the program eventually materialized in the form of the practicum in the mid-seventies. This method was chosen because it was believed that Native people wanted to be involved in the development of programs at the University, and that they also wanted to see the University involved in their community. The practicum had the desired effect of "altering the historical alienation of communities with their survival concerns from the university with its intellectual priorities."\textsuperscript{98} As students and faculty became more visibly involved in the community, the perception of Native Studies on the part of Native people in the community improved.\textsuperscript{99}

The success of the practicum may have been the first step in involving the Native community in the program, but the Native Management and Economic Development Program (NMEDP) was the biggest step. The NMEDP represented the first organizational program affiliation with the Native community. From the beginning, Native representatives were involved in all facets of decision making to ensure that the research and training were consistent with Native economic and cultural priorities.\textsuperscript{100} According to Marlene Castellano, the formal structures introduced by Trent in 1986 guaranteed the necessary accountability to ensure that the perspectives on management and economic development were authentic reflections of the Aboriginal reality.\textsuperscript{101} Lockhart and McCaskill suggest that the NMEDP at Trent "provides a model of partnership in the area of control over Native curriculum as a means of avoiding 'assimilation' and integration in the area of knowledge sharing between Native Studies and mainstream faculties and as a means of avoiding 'ghettoization'."\textsuperscript{102}
With the successful involvement of the Native community in the NMEDP, Trent continued to increase the representation of the First Nations in the University. In December 1993 the Trent University Senate unanimously resolved “that in the spirit of continued cooperation and collaboration, Aboriginal peoples and Trent University jointly establish the Trent Aboriginal Education Council (AEC) whose mission is to advance and further improve aboriginal education at Trent.” The AEC was modelled after the Council of Directors for the NMEDP and had representatives from the several nations, Friendship Centres, Metis Association, and Native Women’s organizations, along with three students, and seven Trent faculty and staff representatives. According to David Newhouse, the AEC became the main vehicle for Aboriginal input into academic planning, and its recommendations are given considerable weight by the University. He adds, “I can’t imagine the University, in its current state, doing something academically without the consent of the Council.” According to the Trent Aboriginal Education Council By-law #1, the Council was established to: “Oversee and assist in the design, development, implementation and evaluation of programs of study and research (which include Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal knowledge) created to address the educational needs of Aboriginal peoples.”

Native Studies students also played a significant role in the development of the program. From the beginning, the program was designed for both Native and non-Native students. Ken Kidd indicated that “The participation of white students has not been detrimental...it has taken some extra time on the part of faculty...We, just as much, need to teach white students these aspects of Indian life, as to teach the Native students.” According to Harvey McCue, “from the very outset, most of us in the department, developed our courses with Native and non-Native students in mind. We were not setting out to create an academic or intellectual ghetto...” At times, Native students suggested that there should be seminars composed exclusively of Native students to allow them to pursue their learning objectives without having to deal with the conflicts experienced in mixed seminars. Despite these requests, Trent continued to encourage both Native and non-Native students to take Native Studies courses, an effort that was enhanced by the University’s open
registration system. Early on, Ken Kidd recognized that "it's a very explosive issue, if you start setting up a racial deterrent for admission to a course...we talked that over, and we talked to the President, and we decided we must not, in any circumstances, raise any racial barriers, one way or the other."

This decision was not always met with enthusiasm by either the Native or the non-Native students in the programs. Non-Native students were asked to suspend judgement derived from their own socialization and consider alternative interpretations of events from a Native perspective. By examining the exploitative nature of much Indian-white contact in the past, non-Native students were presented with challenges to their values and self-perception. The resultant discomfort was frequently expressed in accusations of bias against instructors, criticism of academic standards, and suspicion of favouritism towards Native students. Harvey McCue agreed that in the early years such favouritism did occur. Yet, criticism of the program was not reserved to non-Native students. According to Castellano,

...we used to get it in the neck, both from Native students and from non-Native students. Native students for the first time getting a glimpse of academics, intellectual inquiry, history, from an Aboriginal point of view, and saying, 'we like this, and it doesn't go nearly far enough.' And, on the part of non-Native students saying, 'we don't like what's happening to our consciousness of ourselves and where we've come from, and we're having guilt trips laid on us.'

On the one hand, there was resistance among Native students to the validity of non-native perspectives, and what began as criticism of courses and instructors sometimes led Native students to drop out. On the other hand, non-Native students were not enrolling in Native Studies because, according to an evaluation by DIAND, "the general population of Trent has been noted to refer to Native Studies as "Negative Studies". In the latter case, the value of Indian culture was not being questioned so much as students wanted to maintain the value of the non-Native culture that they had large investments in perpetuating.

It is interesting that today non-Native students are more willing to accept that early contact with Canada's Native population was highly exploitative, and they take Native Studies courses which present non-Natives in a negative light nonetheless. The Chairman of the Native Studies
Department describes the perceptions of the current non-Native students in different terms. He says,

The non-Native students are quite positive, and a third of the University students take courses in Native Studies at some point in their university career...but, they want Native Studies to present Native people in a certain way, and get very upset when we deviate from that and they want us to reinforce the stereotypes that they have of Aboriginal people living in peace and harmony with nature, and having special spiritual power...they believe now in what I call the eco-savage.¹¹⁷

In terms of Native students’ perceptions, he adds, “I would say a good 80% of the Native students who come to Trent come here because of Native Studies, and want only to take Native Studies courses. They feel much validated by it, they feel that it’s a place where they can learn a bit about themselves, a bit about their own history, and a bit about their own culture.”¹¹⁸

The shift in the attitudes of non-Native students had a much more subtle influence on the development of Native Studies at Trent than the more obvious issue of funding. In the seventies, Trent University had a harder time convincing the federal and provincial governments of the importance of providing funding for Native Studies as a means of increasing the numbers of Native students represented in post-secondary institutions. President Nind wrote,

I have repeatedly tried to persuade Ontario’s Ministry of Colleges and Universities that a Department of Native Studies – if it hopes to attract and retain native students – is, by its very nature, more costly than other undergraduate arts and science departments. Obvious requirements include a specialized counselling service, language courses (bilingualism - French/English - is generously funded, yet the importance of their own languages to the native peoples is overlooked), and the need for “roots” (native elders on campus, the preservation of native history, dance and art, and so on).¹¹⁹

Yet, when the government did respond with funding, not everyone reacted favourably. According to Marlene Castellano, the Native student body was up in arms when the University received grants from Indian Affairs because they did not want Indian Affairs to assume the same dominant role as it played in band affairs.¹²⁰ Castellano indicated that the fiscal history of Native Studies shows that since the mid-seventies there were occasional government grants for research, or for something specific, but that as soon as Trent determined that it wanted to maintain a program or initiative, it was moved into the base budget.¹²¹ She noted that scarcely any university programs across the country had that degree of commitment from the university, “saying this is not a frill, it’s not an add-
on, it's not an option that we'll do as long as we've got soft money. This is a core function of the University and it is financed in the same way as any other core function is. In the eighties, Trent recognized that the capacity of provincial institutions to provide Natives with an appropriate education was severely limited by the lingering assumption that Native education was a federal responsibility. Thus, Trent functioned within the constraints of undergraduate arts and science formula funding, sought federal grants for the developmental stages of programs and initiatives, and secured private support from donors.

In the nineties, the priorities of the governments had shifted, as had the willingness of Trent to accept government funding. Thus, because the provincial government had an objective to attract more Aboriginal students to university and it was prepared to provide funding, the University was able to establish a modest target for increasing Aboriginal enrolment. As a result, in 1992, the Native Studies Program received a grant of $262,000 from the Ontario government to improve programs and services for Native students. This was the second largest grant in the system of colleges and universities and was a reflection of the government's priority with regard to educating the First Nations. The provincial government continued its commitment to improving First Nations education by developing a Native Education and Training Strategy (NETS). NETS' requirements for funding duplicate many of Trent's initiatives including: the participation of Aboriginal organizations in devising programs; and representation of Aboriginal peoples, organizations and communities on the decision-making councils to advise the senior administration of the university.

Funds from various ministries, private donors, endowments and grants have also allowed the Native Studies Department at Trent to expand into a variety of areas and develop a strong program. According to David Newhouse, the Department of Native Studies currently has an operating budget of close to $150,000.00, compared with a typical operating budget for a department of closer to $8,000.00.

The Native Studies Program at Trent emerged from the interests of the Anthropology Department, a Native student, and a supportive President. It was developed from a few academic
courses offered through the Anthropology Department, to an independent Native Studies Department offering a variety of levels of programming with a combination of academic, cultural and applied courses. The involvement of both Native faculty and the Native community increased over time until formal recognition of the non-academic qualifications of Native instructors and representation of the Native community in the governing of the University were in place. Trent constantly makes changes to its offerings to meet the needs of both Native and non-Native students, and with funding from various levels of government, private endowments, and its own base budget, hopefully it will continue to do so. Perhaps the most influential aspect of the Trent program was the intellectual, academic and financial support it received from successive senior administrators. “The unwavering commitment of Trent University to the Department of Native Studies has been and remains critical for the institutional legitimation of Native Studies as a distinctive and viable field of academic inquiry.” An anecdote from Marlene Castellano best defines the character of the Trent Native Studies program:

We wanted to have language taught as an expression of culture by someone who was proficient in the culture. We did not want linguistics as the principle approach to teaching language in Native Studies...and we had applications from people who had some linguistic background, and we had this application for an Ojibway Language Teacher position from Fred Wheatley, who was close to 60 at the time, who was an Elder in the fullest and finest sense of the word. And the interviews were done, not only within the Native Studies Department, but by the President (Tom Nind), and by someone else. And those of us in the Department, this was in 1975, we said, “We want Fred. How are we going to convince the academics on the selection committee that Fred is absolutely the only choice?” So, we got together the selection committee and Tom Nind’s first words were, “Well, as far as I’m concerned, there’s only one candidate -- that’s Fred Wheatley.” And this is just an indication of the kind of support that Native Studies has always had from Trent senior administration. And if you want to change the culture of a community like Trent....you not only need to have program planners, innovators like Harvey and Don McCaskill and myself, who were kind of a triumvirate, who were guiding the development, you need to have excellent representatives of Aboriginal knowledge, like Fred Wheatley, and you need to have people like Tom Symons and Tom Nind, President of the University, going out and making a statement, that this is clearly the way to go, and this is the Trent way to go.

Trent’s strength in all of these areas has made it one of the most respected Native Studies programs in the country.
CHAPTER TWO – SASKATCHEWAN INDIAN FEDERATED COLLEGE

The differences between the Native Studies Department at Trent and the Saskatchewan Indian Federated College (SIFC) with its own Indian Studies Department are substantial. Many factors made the SIFC a possibility. The initial plans for a federated college were an immediate response to the 1969 White Paper of the Federal Government, which advocated assimilation of the Native population and the end of special services for Native peoples in all areas including education. The White Paper and a memorandum of agreement to transfer control of all Indian education to the Provincial government received a strong negative response from Native peoples across Canada. While provincial Native leadership responded with Task Forces on Indian Education\(^1\), the National Indian Brotherhood (NIB) wrote a policy paper in 1972 entitled *Indian Control of Indian Education* in which NIB demanded that "Indian people have the direction and control of experimental programs conducted in their names by universities."\(^2\) On June 22, 1974 Jean Chretien said,

> I have given the National Indian Brotherhood my assurance that I and my Department are fully committed to realizing the educational goals for the Indian people which are set forth in the Brotherhood's proposal. The Department desires to work constructively with Indian communities on a *partnership* basis which encourages full, free and frank discussion and which places *major responsibility for educational decisions and directions in the hands of the Indian community concerned.*\(^3\)

The adoption of the policy paper by the federal government paved the way for the SIFC.

Another factor identified as having contributed to the successful creation of the College is the political unity of First Nations in Saskatchewan. Initially representing 68 reserves, the Federation of Saskatchewan Indians (FSI) later changed its name to the Federation of Saskatchewan Indian Nations (FSIN) which is currently the representative body for 72 First Nations' governments in Saskatchewan\(^4\), and it was this body that initiated discussion of establishing a Native College. According to the Assembly of First Nations (AFN), because there were no factions in their political base, they were able to stimulate the action needed to gain control over their College.\(^5\) Dr. Lloyd Barber, former President of the University of Regina, shared the opinion that the FSI and the solidarity of Saskatchewan Natives were the key to the creation of the SIFC. He says,

> ...the main influence was the determination of the leadership of the Indian people to gain
control of their own lives, and education was seen by them as a primary vehicle for achieving that. Pure and simple, without the determination of people like David Ahenekew, and Sol Sanderson, and a number of the other leaders, the Chiefs, women in the bands, parents, I don't think it would have happened.  

According to the current President of the SIFC, Eber Hampton, credit should be given to both the FSIN and Dr. Barber. He says the College owes its existence to, "the Federation of Saskatchewan Indian Nations, a very strong, well-organized Indian government, and President Lloyd Barber's very strong, innovative, visionary leadership."

Recognition of the important role played by Dr. Barber was shared by many. Professor Stonechild, who has been involved with Indian Studies at the SIFC for many years, says, "Lloyd Barber...was able to accommodate the Federation of Saskatchewan Indian Nations' plans through the federation model at Regina....Barber's strong support greatly facilitated cooperation by university officials." The AFN has stated,

Most Canadian universities have federated colleges and the agreement worked out between the SIFC and University of Regina was similar, but unique because it was the first time a university had established an arrangement that truly put the control into the hands of First Nations. An understanding and cooperative university President and Board were vital. Professor Dempsey, from the Saskatoon campus, adds, "you had some strong-willed individuals...Barber in particular, who saw the potential, the need, and that it was justifiable."

In addition, not unlike Trent, the University of Regina was a new institution when discussion of a Native Studies program began in 1975. The University only became autonomous from the University of Saskatchewan on July 1, 1974. Dr. Barber says,

...here, the institution was looking for new avenues of opportunity, trying to create a niche for itself, a reputation, so it was probably more willing to embrace something as radical as the idea of the Indian Federated College, than most, if not any, institution would have been...it would be easier to get some kind of new and innovative program in place, than it would be at some more established institution that was set in its ways.  

Although there was little delay by the University of Regina in federating the SIFC, the College's history long predates its relationship with that institution.

In November of 1969, briefs were presented to the government encouraging the development of Indian Culture Centres, and by July of 1972 the federal government gave the authority for initial
funding of five centres to a total of $1,335,000.³ Saskatchewan wanted to have one of them. The FSI had strong feelings about Indian control of Indian education and had already approached Dr. Barber, then Vice-President of the University of Saskatchewan, in the late sixties about some former construction residences for the Squaw Rapids Dam that they had been given, which they proposed to move to the campus as the foundation of a Cultural College.¹⁴ Barber was approached because of his history of involvement in Aboriginal activities in Canada, as an appointed member of the Northwest Territories Legislative Council, and as Indian Claims Commissioner for Canada. The FSI may also have felt that the University of Saskatchewan would be open for such a College because there was an Institute of Northern Studies and a member of the Education Faculty, an Oblate Father, Andre Renaud, who was one of the early pioneers in cross-cultural education, and had established the Northern Teacher Education Program, for teachers, though not necessarily of Native ancestry, who would be teaching in northern schools.¹⁵

Barber had the people in Physical Plan, Buildings and Grounds look at possibilities for locations, but the University of Saskatchewan did little to welcome the FSI. Almost coincidentally, the Anglican Church, which had Emmanuel College already on the campus, became interested in making space available in their buildings for the enterprise, and allowed the FSI to establish an office. They later made a residence facility available, and this became the home of the Saskatchewan Indian Cultural College.¹⁶ About the same time, the Dean of Social Work at the University of Saskatchewan established an Indian Social Work Program which operated together with the Cultural College.¹⁷ This led the FSI to make a formal application to the University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon Campus, to establish a federated college in 1974.¹⁸ They were turned down, and according to Barber there were no ostensible reasons, but rather academic arrogance, academic conservatism, and the attitude that, "These people are the same as everybody", or what he calls "the old assimilation model".¹⁹

Nonetheless, the FSI still had an ally in Lloyd Barber. When the two campuses of the University of Saskatchewan were split, making the Regina campus an independent university in 1974, Barber
agreed to take over as President the following year and almost immediately phoned David Ahenekew, who was head of the FSI, and invited him to bring the proposal for a federated college to the new University of Regina, claiming that it was ready for an innovative idea and, to a certain extent, a leap of faith. Barber said the College was accepted by the University of Regina because it was a smaller, more flexible institution still young enough to adapt to original ideas.

Thus, on May 17, 1976, the Saskatchewan Indian Federated College became a fully accredited Indian controlled post-secondary institution, academically and physically part of the University, yet financially and administratively independent, hiring its own faculty and staff, offering unique programs and with a personalized Student Services Department. The FSI insisted on the creation of a college pointing out to the University of Regina Council,

"...a Department or a section of the University, controlled exclusively by the University, is not sufficient to meet our needs. We would simply be submerged, as we have been so many times in the past, beneath the priorities which you and the society you represent consider important. We must retain our own distinct college and we must control it."

According to a former President of the College, Dr. Oliver Brass,

"Other universities that have Native Studies departments can't really claim to be offering unique education. Usually they offer courses about Indians almost in an anthropological mode. But to be actually taught by Indian scholars and to be subjected to Indian culture and to have a great deal of leeway within the Federation agreement, that's a lot more freedom than any other department in any university can ever have."

The Indian control characterizing the SIFC was certainly unique among Canadian universities, and although similar to the tribal colleges in the United States and the Native colleges in Canada, by offering university degrees, it stood alone.

Among the issues that the SIFC had to consider, was quality control. In the late seventies and early eighties, the poor record for the tribal colleges in the United States was becoming evident, and many were shutting down, while the quality of those that survived was seen as questionable. A considerable level of skepticism plagued the SIFC in the early years of development. Skepticism was evident, both within the university community and within Native communities. In its fledgling years, the SIFC was, in many instances, heavily handicapped with doubts about its ability. Some Native people believed that courses offered through the College were especially designed for Native
people and were, therefore, inferior. As a result, the SIFC was determined to make sure its standards were high. According to Barber,

There was concern that the standards wouldn't be high enough, and that this was a way for Indians to get a degree cheaply, that is, intellectually, academically cheaply. And their attitude was, 'if this is really going to succeed we're going to have to be better than everybody else not worse than everybody else.'

Barber added,

I can recall vividly when that subject came up at the Senate meeting, in May of '76, when the thing was approved. Some Senator asked that question, and David Ahenekew, who was, and is, a very eloquent orator in the historical tradition of Indian orators, just stood up, and it still almost brings tears to my eyes to think of the way he eloquently spoke and said, 'Our standards will be higher, sir.' I mean, it just, left everybody convinced.

It was clear that the Native leadership at the time felt that the College had to be better than established institutions for them to be confident that they had achieved their goals and objectives. According to Barber, if it were second rate, it would not satisfy the Natives themselves. Thus, to prove that it was meeting the standards of the University of Regina, initially a Bachelor of Arts Degree, with a major in Indian Studies, was granted by the University to those students of the College who satisfied the admission requirements of the University as well as the curriculum requirements for the Degree in Indian Studies. Evidence of the success of the SIFC to maintain academic standards was demonstrated by its accreditation in 1994 by the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada (AUCC), made up of 87 universities and colleges from every province.

It is difficult to assess the course offerings of the Indian Studies Program at the SIFC in the same manner as Trent because the College offers a variety of degrees, thus placing some of the academic, cultural and applied courses outside of the Indian Studies program itself. Aside from an Indian Studies Department, the SIFC has an Indian Languages, Literatures and Linguistics Department, as well as Indian Education, Science, English, and Indian Fine Arts Departments. In addition the SIFC has Schools of Business and Public Administration, and Social Work. Nonetheless, within the College, Indian Studies is the central structure, providing basic courses taken by all students of the College and often referred to as the "core" department of the SIFC.
Evolving as it did from a Cultural College offering courses in the areas of history, music, art and language, it is surprising that SIFC did not begin with a similar framework as the Cultural College, but in 1976 the Indian Studies Program, like Native Studies at Trent, was concerned with conforming to academic standards and thus began with four traditional academic courses and only one cultural course -- Introductory Cree. Yet, according to the SIFC calendar, “Culture is the heart and soul of a nation. Language conveys culture. Art documents culture.” In 1977, the Indian Languages Program was introduced within the Department of Indian Studies. Plans were to offer courses in all of the Indian languages spoken in Saskatchewan: Cree, Saulteaux (Ojibway), Dakota (Sioux), Assiniboine, and Chipewyan (Dene), expanding first upon the Cree 100 course already offered. In 1979 the SIFC began offering courses in Ojibway in addition to ten Cree courses which had been divided into two streams for speakers and non-speakers including Introductory, Intermediate and Advanced levels. In 1987 the University of Regina approved the Bachelor programs in Cree Linguistics and Ojibway Linguistics, the first university-accredited degrees in specific First Nations languages anywhere. Although SIFC currently specializes in Cree and Ojibway, it has fulfilled its goal of offering courses in each of the other languages of Saskatchewan. The importance of language to the Indian Studies Program is evinced by the requirement that to graduate with a major in Indian Studies students must take a minimum of three classes in one of the five major languages of Saskatchewan.

In terms of art, while Trent had merely discussed establishing a Centre for Canadian Native Art and various diplomas and degrees in Native Art, the situation as SIFC was quite different. With its origins as a Cultural College which had established an Indian Art Department in the Fall of 1972, by 1977 the Indian Art Department had come under the administration of the SIFC as part of the Indian Studies Program. By 1979, the University of Regina had approved the Bachelor of Arts degree in Indian Art, and the College now has a Faculty of Fine Arts offering a four year Bachelor of Arts (Indian Art or Indian Art History), or a Bachelor of Fine Arts (Indian Art).

The importance of culture within the Indian Studies program itself was made clear in the
original 1976 SIFC Calendar, which stated that Indian Studies was “designed to provide both Indian and non-Indian communities with a program of higher education leading to a B.A. degree in the area of Indian Culture.” Since then, although many of the cultural components have become separate programs, according to Professor Stonechild, within Indian Studies, “An emphasis on studying First Nations culture as a foundation to learning has always been uppermost in the program.” This is demonstrated by the Indian Studies courses on the culture and history of specific groups, in addition to courses on traditional foundations, the role of women, and Indian religious philosophy and experience. In 1993-94 Indian Studies expanded its cultural offerings substantially by altering its course entitled “Indian Culture and Personality” into seven separate courses addressing the individual culture and history of the Cree, Assiniboine, Saulteaux, Dakota, Inuit, and Metis and offering an additional course on “Topics in Cultural Heritage”.

As in the case of Trent, academics at the College do not try to teach all aspects of culture inside the classroom. The Indian Studies section of the current SIFC Calendar states that Indian Studies programs complement the knowledge and traditional teachings of the Elders. Competencies in the standard of western educational accomplishments are stressed as only one part of balanced personal development, and students are encouraged to seek cultural growth as a vital part of their education, within the broad based meaning of university higher education.

According to Dr. Hampton,

our academic departments vary to the extent of which the cultural component is strong within the department. Indian Studies is one of our departments that, in the past, to some extent, attempted to divide the academic and the cultural barriers, and stick to the academic and let the Elders deal with the culture. Other departments have said 'No, the cultural area is the foundation of the intellectual.' So they try to integrate the cultural and the intellectual together.

Professor Asikinack, the current Acting Chair of Indian Studies, says, "I usually tell my students that they can't find everything in books. They have to go out there and experience the culture."

Nevertheless, the SIFC has tried to bring the traditional cultures to the students by introducing Elders into the College. The 1984 Calendar reads,

The SIFC, in keeping with a philosophy of bicultural education, has appointed a Resident Elder to address the traditional needs of students. The Elder is concerned with the integration of concepts, relevant to the Indian Nations of Saskatchewan, in conventional
disciplines of the behavioural sciences and educational foundations. Also, the Elder is responsible for personal counselling in areas such as value clarification, interpersonal relationships, self-awareness, etc. Through special workshops, seminars and field trips the Elder provides the opportunity for traditional growth and development. Areas of significance include: drumming; singing and dancing; and participating in other ceremonial activities.49

The College has also recognized the importance of female Elders and in 1985 appointed a mother-grandmother at the Saskatoon campus and another at the Regina campus in 1986. The Elders on campus give support to the students and staff by sharing their traditions and applying traditional counselling techniques such as engaging in prayer using sweet grass and the pipe to find answers and resolutions.50

In terms of applied courses, SIFC is different from other universities offering Indian Studies as it has developed separate departments to offer certificates in Indian Health Studies, Indian Communications Arts, and a variety of pre-professional one and two year programs to prepare students for work in health care, journalism, and law. The Indian Studies program itself has also introduced several courses in economic planning and a Field Research Practicum, but because of the other offerings throughout the College, applied courses have remained limited. When asked about offering practical applied courses within the Indian Studies Department, Professor Asikinack said, “Not specifically in this department...we have other departments that do that practical need...other programs look at certificate courses which meet the more practical needs of the community and the more immediate short-term needs.”51 Professor Stonechild adds, “Practical courses tend to be offered through SIFC’s other degree programs, e.g. education, science, administration, social work, etc. Indian Studies does have some economic development and field research courses.”52 Finding a balance between the areas of academic, cultural and applied is as important to the SIFC as it is to Trent.

In an effort to meet the needs of its constituents, the SIFC has tried to make its courses available to students in their own communities. Distance education is an area that remains unexplored for the most part at Trent, because the university is close to many Native bands, and being in the southern part of Ontario, relies on Lakehead University, further north in the province,
and with a mandate to northern and Native learners, to reach out to Native communities outside of its immediate vicinity. But distance education has always been a key part of the SIFC. Many of the programs offered by the Cultural College were delivered off-campus in various provincial locations and it was expected that, if federated, the College would continue to offer a number of its programs as an extension service to off-campus locations. The planning documents of the SIFC stressed extension services as a crucial component of the College. They proposed that the unit be responsible for liaising with the Indian communities of Saskatchewan to determine their needs, design, or have designed, courses to meet those needs, and implement the courses when and where requested.

Statistics from the 1977 fall semester reveal that this was accomplished. Treaty Indian student enrollment in on-campus courses was 81 and off-campus enrolment was 275, revealing the early demand for service provided to Indian communities. Nineteen-ninety-four statistics indicate that 56% of the College's students are taught at the Regina campus, 26% at the Saskatoon campus, and 18% through the college extension program. According to Dr. Hampton, the College did a feasibility study six years ago for the establishment of a northern campus and the result was a recommendation for a Northern Operations Centre in Prince Albert. The College followed the recommendation and, in the last five years, has gone from five off-campus programs to 23 off-campus programs throughout Saskatchewan and has even delivered off-campus degree and certificate programs in Manitoba, Alberta and British Columbia. The commitment of the SIFC to its extension program can be credited to its being a part of the FSIN made up of 72 Chiefs representing 72 different reserves, and the SIFC, as an arm of the FSIN, has a mandate to offer courses on as many of those reserves as it can. Then again, it could be the realization that approximately half of the Native population of Saskatchewan lives in the north. Dr. Hampton explains extension services in terms of practicalities;

...last year almost a third of our students were off campus students taking classes in their own communities. A number of reasons. One, we get higher success rates for students if they take their university entrance program and their first year of university in their home community. And those students are doing well if they come on to campus in
Regina or Saskatoon to do their course work later on... Also, it's more cost effective in the sense that the bands and tribal councils are providing the classroom facilities and some student support and tutoring to the students. So that the cost for the College is usually the instructor and the instructor's travel and then the logistics of making the whole thing work. So, it's more cost effective. And then, the northern communities have been very strong in their need for higher education and wanting to have it closer to home than Regina. So, we've tried to answer that need by putting most of our off-campus programs in northern communities.62

According to Professor Asikinack, even the expense of instructors' travel can be avoided if the College can find an instructor among the adults in the community.63

While Professor Newhouse of Trent feels that teaching and learning are very intimate activities, and is not convinced that teaching can be accomplished through some of the new technologies becoming available64, SIFC has embraced new technology from the beginning. In 1981 SIFC began to provide university classes to students living in isolated communities via teleconferencing.65 More recently, the College began to utilize the Saskatchewan Communications Network (SCN), providing distance education via satellite to remote First Nations communities.66 In planning the construction of a new facility, the College plans to meet the challenge of extension services by providing a base of operations for the delivery of off-campus programs through satellite, video, telephone and computer technologies.67

The SIFC is unique in its efforts to reach out beyond its own province and even beyond its own country. Since 1983, the SIFC has entered into over a dozen international agreements with Indigenous People's institutions in South and Central America and Asia, and hosted indigenous students from around the world.68 SIFC has agreements with the University of Inner Mongolia, the Chinghai Institute of Nationalities, the Central Institute of Nationalities in Beijing, the South American Indian Council of Lima, Peru; Chile's Indigenous Institute of Mapuche, and the Navajo Indian-run Ganado College in Arizona.69 According to Dr. Hampton,

We're expanding international programs, that's very dependent on funding, because our Indian and Northern Affairs funding is not for international, so we've had grants from CIDA, for international students. We've had about 72 students go through our international program, Latin American indigenous students. This is the United Nations decade of indigenous people, whether or not we're able to make headway on that. We're working on it, we're forming a consortium with indigenous people in Central and South America. We're working on the partnership between ourselves, a Tribal College
in the U.S., and a group in Mexico. A three way partnership. So the international area we may expand.\textsuperscript{70}

Through its international relationships, the SIFC makes post-secondary education available to indigenous people from around the world who might otherwise not have such an opportunity.

Improving the enrolment of Native students at post-secondary institutions was as much an issue in Saskatchewan as it was in Ontario. In 1977, statistics revealed that "Of the more than 40,000 bachelor of arts (BA) degrees, 3,000 master of arts (MA) and 1,000 doctor of philosophy (PhD) degrees granted in the history of the University of Saskatchewan, only 20 BAs, a handful of MAs and no PhDs have gone to native students", and this is despite 15% of Saskatchewan's population being Indian or Metis.\textsuperscript{71} The SIFC recognized that contemporary Indian students faced greater hurdles to overcome in their desire for university training than their non-Indian counterparts and therefore the College needed to help students deficient in university entrance requirements and help students to improve reading, research and writing skills.\textsuperscript{72} The University Entrance Program (U.E.P.) had been aiding students to enter university mainstream in a number of forms since its inception in 1935 at the University of Saskatchewan. The U.E.P. began as a matriculation program when university entrance requirements were raised to Grade XII, later became an adult admission policy, and finally gave way to an open admissions policy in which students who do not meet the requirements for admission are offered a probationary period of study during which to qualify for admission to a faculty.\textsuperscript{73} The SIFC offers the U.E.P. in accordance with the rules and regulations of the University of Regina's Entrance Program requirements.\textsuperscript{74} Statistics from the mid-eighties reveal the importance of the U.E.P. for maintaining enrolment at the SIFC. In 1984, 85.6% of SIFC graduates began in the U.E.P.\textsuperscript{75}

In the case of the University of Regina, increasing the enrolment of Native students did not only benefit the First Nations. Dr. Barber admits that like a lot of new universities, initially the University of Regina did not have a great reputation and was not getting its share of students and it appeared that enrolment would continue to erode. He recognized that with approximately 70% of the Native population at the time under 15 years of age and with virtually zero participation rate in post-
secondary education, by federating the SIFC the University of Regina could reach an untapped market of Native students and ensure long-term enrolment growth.76

As for non-Native students, their numbers within SIFC's Indian Studies program are lower than in other Native Studies programs. This may be the result of a policy which encourages non-Natives to select classes in Indian Studies as electives for degrees other than the Indian Studies degree, or enroll in the Bachelor of Arts program in Indian Studies, but normally gives priority to students of Indian and Inuit ancestry for admission.77 Nonetheless, non-Native students from the University of Regina take courses at SIFC. According to Dr. Hampton,

We have an agreement with the University of Regina, that our students and their students can enroll back and forth. So that we have a very large enrollment of University of Regina students in some of our courses. Indian Studies course is a required course for Social Work majors, for example, at the University of Regina. They have to come and take an SIFC course. So there is a very strong function of the College, in terms of exposing non-First Nations people to a First Nation institution, as well as First Nations content. However, it is not the primary purpose of the College.78

Though 15% of the students enrolled at the College are non-Indian, Dr. Hampton believes that "we're not trying to be all things to all people...we ought to stick with our mission in terms of First Nations education and welcome everybody to participate, but not to dilute, the unique nature of the College..."79

The unique nature of the SIFC and the control maintained over it by Native peoples, make it very attractive to both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal students from across Canada. In 1984, approximately 20% of the on-campus enrollment was accounted for by out of province students.80

According to Professor Asikinack,

We try to...meet the needs of the community and of our constituency, which in this case is Indian people, firstly in this province and secondly in Canada, and thirdly in North America, in that order. And we have students from all across Canada right now, and we're starting to get students that want to come in and do our Masters program from the United States. So we've developed a good, credible, intellectual level process...we're trying to be reactive and to be a little bit proactive in meeting the needs of the constituents.81

The popularity of the College has meant that for the past six years there have been no efforts at recruitment. According to Dr. Hampton, "We essentially have almost twice as many students as we
are able to handle, in terms of our funding level.\textsuperscript{62}

Recruiting faculty members is another matter. The SIFC has always made every effort to ensure
that it has Native instructors and that overall its faculty members are the best qualified. In the early
years, finding qualified Native instructors was not always possible. According to Professor
Stonechild,

Hiring of native faculty has been a strong priority of Indian Studies, and those numbers
have increased over time...Native staff were hired to teach full time with a minimum B.A.
degree during the early years of the program. Staff who did not have the minimum B.A.
could act as classroom resource persons, but did not have faculty status. There were
very few natives available with advanced degrees in 1976 and no Saskatchewan First
Nations with a Ph.D.\textsuperscript{63}

Uncertain funding also made it extremely difficult to attract the seasoned academic people
necessary to establish a respectable academic presence at SIFC, but in response to the criticism
of the academic staff, the college sought senior academics from both Canada and the United
States. Many of these faculty members were highly recognized in their fields and their reputations
brought added credibility to the college.\textsuperscript{64} By 1984, the SIFC calendar boasted, “...the calibre of our
faculty (both Indian and non-Indian) is the best anywhere. For example, the College employs seven
of the approximately one dozen Indian people in Canada with Ph.D’s.”\textsuperscript{65} Even the Department of
Indian Affairs was impressed, writing “The SIFC has the most academically qualified Indian staff of
any organization in Canada.”\textsuperscript{66} What is most amazing, is that the SIFC was able to attract these
qualified Native academics when throughout the eighties, faculty were the lowest paid when
compared to other colleges and universities, tenure was non-existent, sabbaticals were non-
existent, the College had no pension plan for its employees, and teaching loads were substantially
higher than other institutions detracting from publications and research.\textsuperscript{67} Nonetheless, over the
years, Aboriginal staff has increased to 65%.\textsuperscript{68} According to Dr. Hampton, “...we’ve got twelve
different academic departments and most of them are very strong in terms of Native faculty and
content...we’ve got Indian faculty in all our departments. When I came five years ago, the majority
of department heads were non-Indian. Now the majority are Indian so, there’ve been some
changes.”\textsuperscript{69}
The federation agreement stipulates that teaching staff at the College must possess qualifications sufficiently high to be recognized as members of the appropriate faculties, because faculty at the SIFC hold academic rank in respective disciplines at both the College and the University of Regina. Thus, although academic appointments to and promotions within the College are made by the President of the College, approval of the President of the University must be secured. According to Dr. Barber, during his tenure as President of the University of Regina from 1976 to 1990, he never had to veto any...Now, in the case of people hired to teach Cree, or Saulteaux, or one of the languages, it was obvious to everybody that you're not going to go and find somebody with a PhD in Cree, you're not likely to find anybody with a Masters degree in Cree...So, when somebody was proposed to teach Cree, with a grade three education or a high school diploma, or whatever, there was very little argument, the question was, are they capable of teaching, because everybody knew that, there was nobody with credentials in Cree or Indian Studies, for that matter...There were a lot of them with academic qualifications, but none with credentials.

Dr. Hampton suggests that today,

Within the College, we try to look at what is supposed to be done by the faculty member, what they're teaching. We obviously don't want someone teaching Cree language that can't speak Cree language. There are no doctorate degrees available in Cree language anywhere in Canada. So, what we're looking for in a particular department, or particular faculty position, we have to be realistic in terms of the person's ability to teach and what they have to teach. The educational qualifications is a very, very, blunt instrument, in terms of determining either what a person knows, or what they're able to teach.

Dr. Hampton maintains that as an educational institution giving degrees, it is felt that it is good practise and good modelling for instructors to have degrees in advance of the one that they are teaching. Nonetheless, he stresses that degrees are no guarantees that the person is a good researcher, or a good teacher. According to Professor Asikinack, Indian Studies, as an academic program, is seeking academic degrees, but continues to look at the experience and knowledge of First Nations candidates.

Unlike Trent, SIFC does not have a policy in place for hiring instructors with traditional knowledge. Thus, although there are Elders teaching in the language department, they do not have academic rank or faculty appointments. Professor Stonechild indicated that "Elders are not recognized as faculty unless they have a minimum B.A. The Elders themselves did not want to have
faculty appointments because they viewed the nature of their knowledge and style of presentation as being fundamentally different. According to Dr. Hampton, in some cases Elders have been guest lecturers or instructors in courses in addition to co-teaching, but the primary role of the Elders at the College is an advisory role as part of senior management as well as being available for counselling and advice to students, faculty and staff. He adds that the focus of the Eurocentric educational system with its focus on credit hours, grading, bureaucracy and paper qualifications is inappropriate in terms of traditional culture.

The advisory role of the Elders at the SIFC is only one way in which First Nations are involved in the College. On the day that the federation of the SIFC was approved, Chief David Ahenakew said,

It must be remembered, however, that the mandate to develop the Cultural College and to negotiate this federation, came from the 68 chiefs of Saskatchewan. Those chiefs will retain the major role in giving the proposed federated college its direction. Our chiefs have directed that we must retain control of our college.

This was certainly not forgotten, but rather incorporated into the structure of the College. The structure of the SIFC (as seen in Figure 2) has the Federation of Saskatchewan Indian Nations, representing 72 First Nations' governments in Saskatchewan, at the top, followed by a Board of Directors consisting of ten elected Chiefs and two senators of the Federation of Saskatchewan Indian Nations. Below the Board of Governors is the President and then the Dean who is advised by a Dean's Council of Elders and beneath him are the Resident Elders. This First Nations representation assures that it is First Nations that control and direct the university. The very first SIFC Calendar in 1976 stated, "It is essential that the Indian people of Saskatchewan design, implement and manage their own educational environments..." According to Dr. Hampton, "...basic policy decisions are First Nations' policy decisions. So that, First Nations set the direction for the College." Former President, Dr. Oliver Brass, feels that with the political initiatives of the FSIN, an Indian University College that responds to its constituencies and not always necessarily or directly to the requirements of the academic community has emerged. He says, "Our first responsibility is to Indian people, and then we go on from there and try to mesh that together with
SIFC Administrative Structure Diagram

Figure 2
Dr. Hampton adds, "the most important set of standards, are First Nations standards for us to meet, and those are the most challenging and the most difficult, both to articulate the standards and to meet them. The western academic standards are relatively easy, they’re basically articulated, so we don’t have to worry about articulating the standards so much. And they’re basically discipline-based and credential, paper-based. Whereas, the standards of our communities are more narrow, I guess from my point of view, are more realistic, in terms of meeting actual needs, solving actual problems."

Within Indian Studies specifically, First Nations involvement is also important. According to Professor Asikinack, "..when we re-designed the program...we had some Indian Elders in looking and making sure, especially those particular parts of the program that dealt with tradition, was in fact appropriate and accurate." In the planning stages of the College, the FSI determined that To assure that the history, values, philosophy, beliefs and world view of the Indian people of Saskatchewan are accurately portrayed in the Indian Studies program, provisions have been made for a Dean’s Advisory Council of Indian Elders as Guest Lecturers. The Resident Elders will be available at all times to advise students and staff, initiate and conduct extra-curricular activities based on Indian tradition and to act as resource persons to the University community in general.

According to Professor Stonechild, First Nations were extensively consulted in meetings during the early stages of establishing Indian Studies. This involvement allowed the SIFC to boast in its first calendar that "The program of the College is unique in that it is the only Indian Studies B.A. in North America which is wholly under the jurisdiction of Indian people."

The SIFC is unique in other ways including its funding. Unlike Trent and many other programs, none of the funding for the Indian Studies program at the SIFC comes from the University of Regina’s base budget. In fact, under the terms of federation, SIFC had to secure its developmental, operational and capital funding from sources other than regular University funding.

The College receives funding from three sources. The federal government through the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND) currently provides funding based on the enrollment of status students amounting to approximately 85% of operating funds. Another 12% is obtained from the provincial government with the percentage calculated according to the number of Metis, non-aboriginals, and non-status Indians. The other source of revenue for the College is endowments which provide the remaining 3% of the operating budget.
This is not to say the SIFC obtains its funding with ease. Initially, the major difficulty in securing funding support for the Federated College was that it was a new concept that did not accommodate itself readily to existing policies and approaches of either level of government. With the College incorporated under provincial legislation, and federated with a provincial institution, the Federal Government considers it a post-secondary institution and has maintained, as a matter of policy, although not totally as a matter of practice, that its responsibility for Indians does not extend to post-secondary institutions. It further maintains that fiscal transfers for educational purposes have always been on the underlying assumption that the provinces will ensure adequate opportunities for Indian people. These facts all suggest that the College is a provincial responsibility. On the other hand, the province maintains that Natives are a federal responsibility. According to Dr. Barber, both were willing to contribute money, but neither were prepared to make a real commitment to supporting the College.

Eventually, the province agreed to provide $275,000 for the SIFC, but in doing so, the Minister of Municipal Affairs wrote, "The Province and your Federation consistently have held the position that treaty Indian education is and must be a federal responsibility. Funding has nevertheless been provided to develop and establish the basis for the College, pending conclusion of your negotiations with Ottawa." The Smith Report concluded that "It seems that the province would like the federal government to pay the entire cost for the operation of SIFC while the federal government is used to paying only the incremental costs (fees, etc.) for Native students at other universities and balks at paying the total cost at this particular college." Thus, the Indian Affairs Minister responded to the province's position by stating, "I deplore this decision and consider that it amounts to discriminatory treatment towards Indian people on the part of the provincial government." The federal government indicated that it was not party to the agreement between the SIFC and the University of Regina and that, as with other post-secondary institutions, DIAND contributed to the normal tuition and support costs of status Indian students enrolled at the College. It maintained that education was a constitutional responsibility of the provinces and that the Indian Affairs department
had neither the funds nor the authority to establish and operate post-secondary institutions such as the SIFC, because under the Established Programs Financing Act (EPFA) of 1977, the province accepted full financial responsibility for post-secondary education with an annual transfer of funds from the federal government which took into account population including Indian people. The federal government sited the Natives Studies program at Trent as not seeking reimbursement from the federal government and pointed out that the province had supported other federated colleges including Luther and Campion at the University of Regina and, by not providing financial support for the SIFC, was discriminating.\textsuperscript{116}

Perhaps what swayed the federal government was its commitment to the \textit{Indian Control of Indian Education} policy paper. Professor Stonechild of the SIFC has stated that there is no doubt that the document was influential. Stonechild believes the "SIFC was established at a time of government largesse and during a favourable political environment."\textsuperscript{117} James Dempsey, a former SIFC professor, attributes the government's willingness to finance the College to it being the first. As the current Director of the School of Native Studies at the University of Alberta, Dempsey says, "there's been rumblings of an Indian college in Alberta, I don't know what the likelihood of that getting off the ground, because I can see the federal government saying, "We got one, we don't need anymore." So, I think, very strong advantage of them being first."\textsuperscript{118}

In July of 1981, a Memorandum of Agreement on Tuition Services was signed between the College and the Government of Canada. Under this agreement, which remained in effect through the 1984/85 fiscal year, DIAND paid "inflated tuition" on behalf of registered Aboriginal and Inuit students. Funds resulting from this agreement, supplemented by funding from the Province of Saskatchewan under a comparable agreement for non-status Indians and non-Aboriginals, formed the funding base of the College.\textsuperscript{119} Yet, even with federal funding, the SIFC struggled to stay afloat. The College quickly accumulated a deficit as a result of receiving $146 per credit hour (in 1983) for Metis, non-status, and non-Indian students from the Government of Saskatchewan while operating on a per credit hour cost of $210.84. In addition, the College offered 18 off-campus classes and
only received funding for three from DIAND. Recognizing that the inflated tuition funding mechanism was an inappropriate, if not a temporary, method of funding the SIFC, Indian Affairs provided an operating grant to the College in the amount of $3,308,000 for the 1985/86 fiscal year. In addition, the college was allowed to charge tuition for all students in an amount comparable to the University of Regina. The one major restriction was that the operating grant was for the 1985/86 fiscal year only, and future provisions were dependent on the outcome of discussions between the federal and provincial governments. Unfortunately, DIAND did not provide an operating grant to SIFC for the 1986/87 year. As a result, the only authority under which funding could be provided to the College was the 1981 Memorandum of Agreement on Tuition Services. Under this mechanism, projected funding was only $2,200,000, and a deficit of $1,300,000 was forecast for the 1986/87 fiscal year. The only thing that saved the College that year was supplemental funding from DIAND to reduce the anticipated deficit. Finally, on September 16, 1988, the Federal Government signed a $4.7 million contribution agreement with the SIFC for the 1988-89 fiscal year with plans to pursue, in collaboration with the Government of Saskatchewan, a five-year agreement. Since that time, a five-year agreement was put in place, but in today's period of instability for post-secondary institutions in general, SIFC suffers the worst. The federal government now provides $4,926 per student compared with the average operating grant to non-aboriginal universities of $7,321 per student.

In the face of so many obstacles, the accomplishments of the SIFC are truly remarkable. After several years of unsuccessfully trying to convince the University of Saskatchewan to federate the Saskatchewan Indian Cultural College, the FSI turned to the newly created University of Regina and within a year the Saskatchewan Indian Federated College was established. The solidarity of the First Nations in Saskatchewan, along with a supportive President at the new University of Regina, allowed for the innovation, while the post-White Paper environment of the times made the federal government more willing to back such an endeavour. As a college, the SIFC is able to offer a variety of courses and degrees providing students with opportunities in the areas of traditional
academic disciplines, new cultural fields, and applied professional programs. Within Indian Studies itself, all three types of courses are also provided. Elders were involved in the College from the beginning as guest speakers and for cultural support. Native students are given every opportunity to enroll in the College through extensive distance education services and an open admission policy. Yet, concern for standards remain high at the College which has sought out and attracted many of the best qualified Indian academics in Canada and from the United States. The position of the FSIN atop the governing structure of the College, and the involvement of other elected Chiefs and Elders throughout at all other levels of the College's governing structure make the SIFC the only truly Indian-controlled institution examined. The SIFC is also the only program examined which relies primarily on federal money for its operation. This makes the College the most unstable, since none of its money comes from a university's base-budget in the form of hard funding. Nevertheless, despite its financial problems, the SIFC has developed a comprehensive program in Indian Studies which both compliments and is complimented by the College's other faculties, schools and departments. The College also continues seeking to expand its offerings in terms of courses and extension services. In addition, after 20 years of renting space from the University of Regina and having many of its offices housed in portables, the College has designed its own facility. It will be impossible to build without an aggressive fundraising campaign, therefore the College is a partner in the University of Regina's Vision 20/20 campaign. The College's portion is $6,000,000, but additional funding will be required. It is difficult not to believe that the College will overcome this obstacle as it has the many others it has faced in order to emerge as the unique institution that it is today. As Dr. Hampton says, "there's no policy basis for the existence of SIFC, no mechanism to ensure the continuation, but SIFC has continued for 20 years despite all these kinds of obstacles," and there is hope that it will continue to do so for many more years.
A 1981 report on the Trent program by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development indicated that the likelihood of the program being replicated in the eighties was minimal because: “The original stimulus (i.e. popularization of Native issues as a metaphor for individualistic self-actualization during the late sixties) has changed substantially.” In fact, a similar program did emerge in the eighties in Alberta. Yet, although the School of Native Studies at the University of Alberta was not established until 1988, in reality the movement in Alberta to start a Native Studies program began in the same period as that of Trent. Alberta has a long history of activism among its Aboriginal population. The Indian Association of Alberta was one of the most active organizations, publishing its “Red Paper” in June 1970 as a counter-policy proposal to the government White Paper of 1969. The Association’s concern with education was apparent in the “Red Paper” which stated, “The current arrangement for education is unacceptable because the Provincial and Federal Governments can make arrangements without consulting Indian tribal councils. Our education is not a welfare system. We have free education as a treaty right because we have paid in advance for our education by surrendering our lands.” In response, Alberta Education gave special attention to school governance in Native communities; inclusion of Native Studies in the K-12 curriculum came to public attention; and there was considerable increase in the teaching of Native languages in schools.

At the University of Alberta itself, the first interest in developing programs for Native students began as early as 1965 with a group of individuals from different faculties and disciplines, calling itself “Friends of the Indian”, approaching representatives of Native communities in Alberta to discuss ways in which the University could be of service. The “Friends of the Indian” organization only operated until 1971, but in the same year as its demise, the Graduate Students’ Association made a motion to the General Faculties Council (GC) executive urging the establishment of a committee for incorporation of a Native Studies program within the University. The motion was rejected on December 6, 1971. The reason given by University President Dr. Max Woman was that
it was "presumptuous of any university group to try and tell native people what to do." Nonetheless, in 1972 the University of Alberta Senate asked Dr. Joseph Couture, from the Indian Association of Alberta, to speak about the University's place in Native education, and he proposed that a Native college be established. And so began the long history of the Native Studies program at the University of Alberta.

The University of Alberta's involvement in promoting Native education began in earnest in the mid-seventies. The University cooperated in a joint venture with Blue Quills Native Education Council in the creation of Project Morning Star, a teacher education program which operated from 1975 until 1981. In 1975, the Office of the Advisor of Native Affairs was also established on campus, as the University of Alberta saw the need to attract more Native students. Besides providing a student support service, this office had the responsibility of serving the university community as a whole and was involved in exploring within the University and with Native groups in northern Alberta, the creation of courses and programs in Native Studies. On February 24, 1978, a University of Alberta Task Force on Native Students presented a report to the Senate which stated that in reviewing the Senate recommendation that "the University of Alberta consider proposals from native people to establish an affiliated Indian and Metis college which would be academically integrated with the University and located on the University of Alberta campus", it had determined that this college would be the most effective way of housing an academic program of teaching and research in Native Studies, developing and delivering courses and programs of interest to Native people and communities, both on and off campus, and providing support services for Native students. After continued discussion and consultation by various task forces and committees, in 1983, the establishment of a B.A. degree program in Native Studies was approved, but the college concept was not endorsed and the Native Studies Committee was encouraged to review its proposal and consider a less elaborate administrative and support vehicle for the academic program.

Thus, the recommendation was for a unit with more autonomy and visibility than a department, but something less than a full-fledged faculty. The Faculty of Arts recommended instead, a B.A.
Special (Native Studies) under its auspices. This recommendation was rejected and instead a School of Native Studies was chosen as the appropriate vehicle because of the multi-disciplinary nature of the proposed unit. The unit would not fit neatly into the Faculties of Arts or Education, and it was foreseen that the needs of the unit would cut across many Faculties. As a School, it would be run by a Director not a Dean, but the Director would report directly to the Vice President (Academic) and the School would operate much like a faculty. At that time it was also recommended that the service component be established separately from the academic unit. The choice of separating the academic unit from the services for Native students was based on the failure of programs, particularly in the United States, which had not defined the two areas. In 1984, the proposed School of Native Studies was approved by the GC and the Board of Governors, but it still remained for Advanced Education to approve the degree and provide the funding.

The Committee on Native Studies acknowledged some responsibility for the slow process of deliberation, describing its approach as one of cautious discussion and cautious action. One could say that was an understatement of grand proportions. The proposal to the Department of Advanced Education was the result of fourteen years of study and discussion. The Committee attributed the slowness to the major move that it represented for the University and the need for the University to make the move advisedly. Much like the University of Saskatchewan, the University of Alberta was a larger, established university with a good reputation to uphold, and thus, progress in adopting a Native Studies Program was much slower than at Trent or the University of Regina. According to Professor Dempsey, current Director of the School, "the U of A is considered to be one of the top three universities in Canada. It's one of the oldest universities in Canada, and change, even if it's additional change as opposed to real institutional change, takes time for people to accept." Professor Price, the former Director, adds, "historically this university took a long time to establish the Department of Anthropology, and so that shows you something about the kind of cautious, conservative nature of the institution."

According to a source, herein referred to as "A", there were many reasons for the delay, chief
of which was institutional inertia. A says, "The middle level regulatory bodies at the university control change at this university. Many people at this university were reluctant to commit the university to a course that they perceived as academically suspect. This delay was despite herculean, almost full time effort, between 1979 and 1985." Professor Dempsey adds that, "the wheels can move very slow. Even when there's strong desire." A indicates that this may not have anything to do with opposition, but that it can take "years of going through the committees and letting everyone have their say." Evidence of the kind of bureaucracy at the University of Alberta was demonstrated by the experience of the first Advisor on Native Affairs, Marilyn Buffalo MacDonald, who resigned in the spring of 1979, stating that she found it difficult to deal with the University's maze of bureaucracy and noting that, "it gets pretty political here". Even the Native Studies Committee was operating under a political framework with one of its members suggesting that "the unit should be elitist because academics only understand elitist concepts, they do not fully comprehend community needs." Another Committee member added, "that in situations of this sort compromise with one's opponents usually led to their bending over backwards to concede more than they otherwise would be willing to do."

Another explanation for the delay provided by A was the social climate in Alberta. A says that although Natives make up 5% of the population in the province, they are conceived of mostly in terms of social problems. According to A, the way that attitude is realized on campus is a kind of "presumably benign ignorance" and many academics share the opinion that Natives do not exist except as problems. To those academics, "Native Studies" is an anachronism, or a contradiction in terms. It appears that these attitudes are widespread in Alberta and on campus. A indicates that, "The posture of willful ignorance is the result of a very widespread, uncritically examined, racism." Lois Edge, the current Aboriginal Student Advisor, relates two specific examples of racism at the University:

one is a professor stating that there are no Metis people. The response of the students is that they had to leave. And there was considerable discussion as to how should we cope with this. If we speak directly to the professor, will we be penalized? How do we deal with this situation? Another situation, another example of a professor making a
comment, 'Aboriginal history? What history? There is no history. We came. We conquered. End of story.' And these are not isolated incidents. They're very common. In addition, the establishment of Native Studies was prolonged from 1972 to the late 1980s, because many Native people were only provisionally committed to the concept of the program at the University of Alberta as they waited to see how local developments, such as Cultural Colleges, would effect the university role since they felt that the principle of Indian/Metis control of tertiary education was fundamental. The final delaying influence, according to A, was inter-university rivalry because the provincial government wanted its four universities to specialize, and the University of Lethbridge already had a Department of Native Studies and the University of Calgary's efforts in the fields of education and social work were seen as meeting Native need in northern Alberta. It has been said that the University of Calgary even actively lobbied against any involvement by the University of Alberta in Native issues.

Despite all of these obstacles, the University gave its approval for the School, but approval of a bachelor's degree in Native Studies by Advanced Education, and agreement from the provincial government to fund the operations of the School continued the delays. At a meeting of the Native Studies Committee, members discussed the delay in any formal response from the government to the University request for authority to offer a B.A. degree in Native Studies. The slowdown in endorsement of the proposal was attributed to several senior bureaucrats reluctant to take any action because they believed accreditation of the degree and financing were absolutely inseparable. To show its good faith, the University of Alberta released some of its limited funds for an Acting Director to begin planning course offerings and to hire the first full-time staff. The Acting Director began hiring staff in July of 1986, the first courses in Cree and Native Issues were offered in the 1986/87 academic year, initial offerings for the degree itself were offered in the 1987/88 academic year, and ultimate approval of the degree by the Government of Alberta was finally confirmed in late 1988. The School of Native Studies' four year Bachelor of Arts program began accepting students in the fall of 1989.

The establishment of the School of Native Studies at the University of Alberta cannot be
attributed to a specific individual or group of individuals. Because of the long process, many people were involved, some burning out and others increasing and decreasing their involvement as the process continued. According to A, Dr. Joseph Couture, of the Indian Association of Alberta, made the strong submission to the University Senate in 1972, and Native students, as representatives of their communities, maintained the pressure and support for the development of a Native Studies program.\(^{30}\) Dr. Carl Urion, the Advisor on Native Affairs from 1982 to 1985, and Director of the Office of Native Student Services for 1986 and 1987, stated that Native organizations such as the Indian Association of Alberta, the Metis Association of Alberta, the Federation of Metis Settlements and the Dene Nation supported the Native Studies College proposal. But, he maintained, the University of Alberta Native Student Club was the most supportive advocate of Native Studies.\(^{31}\) A says, "It was a strong and continuing -- virtually constantly reconstituting -- coalition of Dene, Cree and Metis students who formed the core of support between the period of 1975 and 1984, working along with the Office of Native Student Services."\(^{32}\) Dr. Urion, was the author, to a large extent, of the Proposal for Native Studies because the initiative for the School came out of the Office of the Advisor on Native Affairs in co-operation and collaboration with other academic staff and scholars who were supportive of a program.\(^{33}\) A indicates that the students and Urion were joined by an informal coalition of professors, mostly from the social sciences and medicine, who were appointed to the GC Committee. A also gives credit to Dr. Myer Horowitz, President of the University in 1985, who pushed through the proposal for the establishment of the Office of Native Student Services in days, something A describes as "virtually unheard of in a bureaucracy like ours."\(^{34}\) More recently, the program also had the strong support of the Vice-President Academic, J. Peter Meekison, who indicated that, "The University of Alberta considers Native Studies to be one of its top priorities for new programs."\(^{35}\) Professor Dempsey explains that pressure for the program came from many. He says,

I think originally...there was no doubt that it came partly from public pressure...starting way back in the 70s...the pressure also came from inside the institution and that there was a lot of support from Anthropology and Political Science...lastly and definitely not least is the University had created the Native Student Services years earlier...to help
Native students adjust to campus life, as more students came to the U of A, pressure even from them to have courses that dealt with Native Studies was also added. So, I think a combination of things that were all happening, more or less at the same time.\textsuperscript{36}

The consensus of those involved in Native Studies as the University of Alberta is that the School owes its creation to public pressure from Natives and non-Natives, various faculty members, students, senior administrators, and the Office of the Advisor on Native Affairs, later to be called Native Student Services.\textsuperscript{37}

In the late eighties, when the School of Native Studies was finally up and operating, Native Studies programs had improved their reputation from their origins in the United States when, between 1970 and 1980, there were approximately 80 new programs in Native Studies instituted at various colleges and universities and almost all of those 80 American programs failed.\textsuperscript{38} According to Professor Dempsey, the fact that Native Studies programs at American tribal colleges were criticized for being "Mickey Mouse" was good because it led newer programs to make every effort to ensure that standards were higher.\textsuperscript{39} Price agrees that the School had the fortunate position of starting in the eighties, having learned from the experiences of the seventies, adding that courses were built from the ground up with First Nations concerns put to the fore.\textsuperscript{40} It was felt that it was "no longer necessary to address the exploration of Aboriginal cultures and the pursuit of academic excellence as contradictory goals."\textsuperscript{41} Cultural courses had become accepted by academia as legitimate, and there was less need to prove the academic integrity of the program by focusing on offering traditional academic courses. The Committee on Native Studies also pointed out that "One nearly universal limitation on the program in Canada is the focus on humanities and social science, probably because it has been cultural anthropology, history and law which have defined Aboriginal issues as subjects of study."\textsuperscript{42} The Committee wanted the School to have a mandate to include other courses connected with science, agriculture, land studies and education, therefore the program was designed to offer students an effective combination of liberal arts and applied studies.\textsuperscript{43} Professor Price indicates that the literature on Native Studies reveals a lot of academic programs in the United States where the focus is language and culture, but that surveys
of the communities indicated that they also had all sorts of practical needs. As a result, the program also sought to develop both the research and the community development skills of students through a series of courses and opportunities for practical experience. Thus, the School of Native Studies began with plans for a balance of academic, cultural and applied courses in the four areas of language and culture, land and resources, self-government, and community-based research and applied skills.

In the first area, language and culture, the authors of the Proposal for a School of Native Studies had the ambitious intention of offering Cree, Slavey, Chipewyan, and Inuktitut at the 100, 200 and 300 level. Although this has still not been accomplished, the importance of language within the School is emphasized by the requirement that each student take 6 credits in a Native language to obtain their degree. In considering a Native Studies Department, Native language was seen as the core, but there was less certainty as to the place of oral traditions, literature and other parts of Native culture within the Department. The proposal for the School indicated that the university was not the appropriate vehicle for transmission of Native tradition and that any attempt to do so would only trivialize it. It was felt that "The teaching of Indian religious values and beliefs should be left to Indians who transmit these to students in the natural and compatible setting of an Indian community." Nonetheless, there were still students demanding that 'culture and spirituality' be taught in the School. The President's Advisory Committee on Campus Review (PACCR) suggested that these demands were coming from students who had grown up in an urban setting, foster homes, acculturated or disorganized family situations, and others working to form a mature Aboriginal identity. Thus, according to Professor Dempsey, "...cultural studies, from a Native community, is very low priority. Unfortunately, with students it's a higher priority and so, this is where we're running into one of our controversies." The solution proposed was that "respected persons from the Nations served by the School should be sought to provide guidance as to appropriate cultural activities to be sponsored or housed by the School, thereby ensuring as much as possible that activities inserted into the cultural universe of Aboriginal people are validated by the
Professor Price indicates that, "the Elders were part and parcel of the program right from the start", explaining that, as a non-Native Director, he was sensitive and tried to bend over backwards to hire as many Native staff and involve the Native community as much as he could. Thus, in his second year as Director, and on the advice of Harold Cardinal and some others, Price developed a Committee of Elders. The Elders Committee of twelve to fifteen was used to help develop the program and develop procedures for the involvement of Elders working with the School in the courses. According to Professor Dempsey, Elders were never given any formal equivalence in terms of qualifications, but they suggested keeping belief systems out of the classroom and expressed their concerns about what the School should be dealing with and what it should not be dealing with in the cultural sense. It was determined that a program of Elders-in-Residence was the best means of involving Elders and, on a part-time basis, three Native Elders (2 men and 1 woman) were selected to be available as guest lecturers in all Native Studies classes, as well as offering advice to students and faculty. Native Student Services also recognizes the need for Elders to meet the cultural needs of students. The Director says, "I think there's a huge number of students who come looking for their identity and they go into Native Studies programs or they come to this office and they want to know. And so, we need to be able to provide some kind support for them in that search." In response, the Native Student Services Office introduced a cultural resource person in 1995 who came in one day a week to be available for students and invited students to his ceremonies.

Aside from the cultural components, the School has tried to respond to Native community representatives on the School Council who strongly emphasized the need to move beyond pure theory into a better balance of theory and practical or applied skills. This resulted in the School offering courses such as Management Issues in Native Communities, Community Development Processes, and Native Communication and Negotiation Strategies. According to Professor Price, "...our program, if you look at the course offerings, it's probably a little bit more applied oriented and
skills oriented than would be your straight Bachelor of Arts. Recently the PACCR Committee indicated that it had heard strong representations from the Aboriginal community "either criticizing the usefulness of a university degree for community purposes or making a bid for applied education." The response has been discussion of a cooperative education program that would make possible practical field placements in combination with the community-based research part of the program of study. In addition to the courses offered within the School of Native Studies, because of the size of the University of Alberta, many of the courses in the applied areas are offered outside the School, for example an Indigenous Law Program, a Native Health Care Career Program, and a new Graduate Program in First Nations Education. Students in Native Studies can also take minors in a variety of disciplines that is very difficult for other universities to match. In general it is felt that the University meets the needs of Aboriginal people who look to the University to help them acquire practical skills attainable through mainstream programs of study as well as extending and reflecting on unique understandings of Aboriginal history, language, culture, and the natural and social environments through Native Studies.

Providing the courses desired by students led to early plans to offer a B.A. degree at the general, special and honours level. The School is in the process of having an honours degree approved, but it is strongly felt that with more students in Native Studies obtaining undergraduate degrees, a graduate degree program in Native Studies at the University of Alberta is needed for the advanced training of much needed researchers, and for facilitating the kinds of research that Native communities are determining to be appropriate for their developing cultural social and political needs. According to Professor Price,

it takes a critical mass of faculty members to do certain things, and so for us, we feel that we can expand into an Honours program, but not yet into a Masters, because we don't feel that we have enough permanent faculty members...we feel that we're running hard now to keep the existing program going, as it were, that we'd be spread too thin and our quality would start to slip if we went too quickly into a Masters program.

Given the history of the program, Professor Dempsey questions whether a Masters program will be established during his lifetime.
At the other end of the scale, the University of Alberta has been providing a university transfer program for many years. The Coordinated University Transfer (CUT) was initiated and administered solely by the office of Native Student Services in 1984 to provide Aboriginal students with an alternative access route into the University of Alberta. The CUT program evolved into the Coordinated University Transfer Program (CUTP) in 1988, with higher entrance requirements in an attempt to lower attrition rates. The 1989/90 year saw a jump in the number of participants from 5 students the previous year to 31, and the desire to attract younger, more academically prepared students led to the lowering of the age limit for the program from 24 to 18 and only the more motivated and qualified students were admitted. Renamed the Transition Year Program (TYP), the program is currently a university credit access program administered by Native Student Services to students of Aboriginal ancestry. TYP provides study skills, personal support, counselling, smaller classes, and tutorials for all courses in the program, with enrollment limited to 95 students. Through TYP, Aboriginal students complete three full-term credit courses in their first year of studies and these courses later apply towards a degree, if and when, the student is admitted to a Faculty. According to A, the TYP has a dismal retention rate and a graduation rate of less than 10%. A elaborates that there is a 30% attrition from the TYP during the first year; another 30% at the end of the year; and another 30% attrition during the students’ first year in the established faculties, with only about 10% of the students continuing. Nonetheless, since its inception, this one year program has been the access route for approximately 70% of the University of Alberta’s Native student population.

Improving the overall enrollment of the University was not an issue as it had been at the University of Regina. In 1984, when the School of Native Studies was being approved, the University of Alberta was revising admission requirements and imposing faculty restrictions because of overcrowding on the campus. According to Professor Dempsey, at the time of the original proposal, Alberta was booming, so everyone had a job and fewer people were going to school, but by the time the School actually opened, the University of Alberta was experiencing enrollment
Yet, despite its high overall enrolments, Native students were conspicuously absent. The proposal for the School of Native Studies pointed out that "there were fewer Native students on this campus each year than could be counted on the fingers of one hand. Two hands would account for the total number of Native people who have ever been granted a degree from this institution." Overall, Alberta was not successful in educating its First Nations people. A registry, maintained by the Federal government and listing Treaty and Registered Indians who had completed post-secondary training, showed Alberta to lag dramatically behind the other regions of Canada. By establishing a School of Native Studies, planners hoped that enrolment of Native students would increase throughout the University. The Proposal for a School of Native Studies indicated that in nearly every university or college where a Native Studies program had been established, the effect had been realized in a dramatic increase of registrations by Native people in other faculties and units. This was credited to such a unit demonstrating that Native people's place in academia is not simply as objects of study, that Native issues have some pride of place, and that Native people are welcome. Professor Dempsey feels that remedying the under representation of Native students in the University was not so much a consideration for the School of Native Studies as it was a consideration for the University as a whole.

The combination of the transition programs and the effects of having a School of Native Studies were not enough to bring the Native student enrollment of the University up to 5%, which is comparable to the Aboriginal population in the province. This led the University of Alberta to implement the Aboriginal Student Policy on September 24, 1990. The policy outlined a framework within which the University would create an environment to encourage full access and participation of Aboriginal students in all Faculties. The objective is to meet a 5% Aboriginal quota in the total University enrollment. This amounts to preferential access for Aboriginal applicants to a defined number of places, provided they meet minimum admission standards and that they are ranked among themselves by the usual criteria. Reinhild Boehm, former Director of Native Student Services felt that the policy, "redresses a situation that has historically disfavoured native people,
Despite their small numbers, Native students have always been involved within the University of Alberta. The 1978 report of the Task Force on Native Students recommended that "Indian students should be encouraged by the university to form an active Indian Students' Association." The Aboriginal Student Council (ASC) was formed soon after to act as a peer support and advocacy group for any Aboriginal student on campus enrolled in any program. The ASC was viewed as "the Aboriginal Community on Campus" and with many of the Native students at the University being mature students, they were also leaders in their own communities. In the 1990-91 academic year, the students in Native Studies created a Native Studies Student Association (NSSA) which includes Native and non-Native degree students and other students registered in at least one Native Studies course. The formation of the Native Studies Student Association led to a conflict with the Aboriginal Student Council based on fear by the ASC that the NSSA would compete and splinter the voice of Native students on campus. This fear was increased by a suggestion by the Director of the School that the ASC give one of its two seats on the School Council to the NSSA. This controversy eventually resulted in each of the two groups receiving three seats, but not before the ASC sent a letter to the Vice-President requesting an external review of the School, indicating that the School was accountable to neither the School Council nor to the wider Aboriginal community and that more Native instructors were needed.

Representation of the Aboriginal population in the faculty of the School of Native Studies has been as much an issue at the University of Alberta, as it has at both Trent and SIFC. It was recognized by the 1978 Task Force that some Canadian and American universities were "compromising" academic standards to some degree to provide for teaching roles for Indian instructors who held less than the traditional, esteemed PhD. Nonetheless, it was expected that the staff would have both academic credentials and the experience of learning to understand, from Elders and Native leaders, a particular Indian, Metis or Inuit way of life. From the beginning, students raised questions concerning the qualifications and competence of non-Indian professors
and instructors to function as teachers in relation to Indian language and culture. The 1978 Task Force recommended that, "Indian instructors are best equipped to develop courses regarding Indian culture, history, education, etcetera, and such opportunities should be afforded them." As a result, it was determined that "Creative solutions will have to be found, such as long-term sessional appointments, team teaching, Elder-in-residence appointments etc." Thus, teachers in Native languages are considered for tenure and promotion based on the quality of the instructor's work and the possession of an advanced degree having equal importance. But, according to Price, there were some problems in locating and retaining Native instructors for the School. He says, "We couldn't always hold onto some of our best (Native) instructors. These people are much in demand. There are not too many in the area; they can name their ticket." Therefore, the School brought in Elders and used them as guest instructors in all of the classes.

Unfortunately, this was not satisfactory to the Aboriginal community which expressed concerns about the lack of permanent Aboriginal faculty members and a desire for at least a 50% ratio of Aboriginal instructors. The community also wanted to be more involved in the selection of the Director and the teaching staff based on its own criteria. When asked for their comments, the three Elders-in-Residence expressed disapproval of hiring "whites with papers" for culture workshops. The PACCR Committee recommended, that priority be given to the recruitment of Aboriginal persons to fill positions in the School of Native Studies, in accord with the University's commitment to achieving equitable representation of Aboriginal people among faculty and staff, to enhance the incorporation in academic life of perspectives derived from immersion in Aboriginal culture and community, and to provide role models for Aboriginal students aspiring to advanced academic achievement levels.

The Committee elaborated that, "Given the limited pool of Aboriginal candidates for faculty appointments who currently hold PhD qualifications, we recommend that the University recruit candidates who demonstrate scholarly promise and offer support and incentives for appointees to pursue professional development and higher degrees." The School responded by pointing out that such procedures were already in place and that the School made use of the Future Dean's Recruitment Fund for minorities to assist candidates and to encourage obtainment of a PhD.
Despite these incentives, it continues to be difficult for new programs to attract Native academics because of competition with other established programs, federal, provincial and band governments, and private enterprises.

Efforts to ensure the academic qualifications of the faculty of the School still continue to be important. Of the four academics currently in the program, one has a PhD, two have M.A.s, and only the Cree language professor has less than a high school diploma. For its most recent hiring, the School advertised for a minimum M.A., recognizing that there are few Native people with PhDs. Even with the sessionals, the School tries to find Native people with advanced degrees, whether at the Masters degree level, a law degree, or an M.B.A. Interestingly, concern about qualifications is not limited to among academics. One of the Native School Council members pointed out that there are people teaching Cree who have an Education degree, but that the Cree instructor at the School did not have any degree. In the case of the Cree language instructor, tenure was given on the basis that in the area that she works, she is very knowledgeable and her experience at Blue Quills College demonstrated her proven ability to teach.

Another factor at the University of Alberta is getting faculty numbers up to the point where the School can meet the needs of its constituents and students. Currently, required courses are offered every year, but other courses are often only available every other year, making it essential for students to plan ahead to take the courses they want. Initially, many courses were taught by the one full-time academic staff member, while the Director of the School offered a single course. The remainder of the courses were taught by part-time and sessional staff made up of graduate students from other programs, and people from other universities or businesses, all with the participation of three Elders. Most Native Studies departments at other Canadian universities have five or six faculty members, thus, the University of Alberta's program, even with the increase from two to three, and later four, faculty members, was operating under severe limitations. The PACCR Report indicated that, "the School of Native Studies with its current faculty complement and mode of operation is not viable as an autonomous academic unit, analogous to a Faculty, offering a
degree." Professor Dempsey points out that the ability of the School to provide courses in the four areas designated by the program depends on the full-time instructors. He says,

The first one was Emily Hunter, the Cree instructor, so the language took a boost over the other three right off. Then, Richard Price was hired so you have the political-legal going off. And then the community-based research has caught up with that. So, those are the three that are probably in the forefront. Then we hired Pat McCormick, so that gave another boost to the culture and language side and it's probably the one that's in the lead with community-based research second, political and legal third, and that's because we're working on the legal right now, and unfortunately the economic and resource management is fourth. Professor Price adds that in the language area, the School had tried to teach other languages, like Slavey or Inuktituk, but has not always had the continuity of instructors, as it has with Cree. He says that "each faculty member has to play their own strength and develop the courses they think they can best teach." Professor Dempsey indicated that the job advertisement for the most recent hiring was for all four areas and fitting into more than one of the areas was stressed. The decision to advertise that way was to allow the School to find the best person, regardless of a specific focus on any one of the four areas.

Throughout the many years of discussions about the School of Native Studies, there was long term and continuing consultation with the Indian Association of Alberta, several different Indian bands in Alberta, particularly those in Northern Alberta, with the Metis Association of Alberta, the Federation of Metis Settlements and the Dene Nation. At the February 28, 1977 meeting of the GFC, close co-operation and consultation with Native groups in developing Native Studies was suggested. The original Committee on Native Studies was made up of six individuals of whom one was a Native Elder. In December 1978, the Committee was expanded to 20 including five members of the Native community. Among the objectives listed in the proposal for a School of Native Studies was "to promote the inclusion of Native people in the study of Native people and Native issues." A summary proposal was produced and distributed to the Native and academic communities for response. Consultation was the watchword. As the proposal took shape, Native organizations and Native people who had worked to improve educational opportunities were consulted and asked for opinions and advice. Even the Elders were consulted at every important
There are two constituencies that the School must appeal to in general terms, the academic community of the university and the Native community. The interests of those constituencies are not opposed—the School of Native Studies is a vehicle for seeing the coincident needs of the two are met...ultimate responsibility is not only for academic integrity and academic excellence, but for ensuring that programs and courses are consistent with Native ethos and Native needs, and that the School does not perpetuate any one ethnocentric perspective.

When there were still plans for a College, a College Council was envisioned with the usual terms of reference and composition as those of other Faculties, but with provision for representation from the Native community. The membership of the Council was expected to be primarily Native so that, through the Council, Native organizations would have an active opportunity to shape and guide the development, growth and operation of the College. Although a College was never formed, in 1987 a School Council was established, consisting of members of the University community and the Native community and exercising all the powers, duties and functions of a faculty council. The Council is responsible for academic decision-making and consists of six Native Studies faculty or outside faculty competent in Native Studies, six permanent academic staff appointed by other faculties, six Native community members, six student members (three from the Native Studies Student Association and three from the Aboriginal Student Council), and ex-officio members include the Director of the School, the Registrar, the President, and the Dean of Student Services, while Elders-in-residence are invited to attend Council meetings.

The School Council provides for strong Native representation, but it still has some problems. The PACCR Committee expressed some concern with the School Council indicating that "Native Studies Council meetings are not held with the frequency of other Councils on campus, due to the time commitments and costs associated with bringing the Native community representatives to the University." This can be attributed to the fact that Council members come not only from across Alberta, but also from the Northwest Territories and the Yukon. Problems have also arisen as a result of the School's choice of representatives. According to Professor Price, when the School was trying to find School Council representatives, it often asked the Native community organizations to
nominate people who had an educational interest or had been to the University of Alberta to give that person a better chance to participate without becoming overwhelmed by professors, and to allow community representatives to have the most impact.\textsuperscript{127} The response of the Aboriginal community revealed that,

The aboriginal representative organizations are the only acknowledged bodies directly accountable to the communities thru elections and annual assemblies. It is therefore, vital that upon selection of aboriginal representatives, that the School recognize and respect this fact, and utilize these organizations for proper appointments, instead of grasping names out of thin air.\textsuperscript{128}

Along with the problems of selecting representatives, it was also felt that the precise role of the Aboriginal representatives on the Council needed further definition.\textsuperscript{129} The PACCR Report indicated that,

\begin{quote}
many Native organizations and communities, particularly in central and northern Alberta, want a much stronger relationship with the University. They see in it at least a partial solution to many problems facing them, individually and collectively. Many of the very highest expectations of the University in general and the School of Native Studies in particular derive from the Aboriginal population. Some of these expectations may be unrealistic, but most are grounded in practical realities and are directed to the University because of the existence of the School of Native Studies. One could say that the establishment of the Native Studies program represents the attainment of a benchmark for the Native community in an institution which they see as having, potentially, an essential contribution to their future.\textsuperscript{130}
\end{quote}

A says that the design of the program involved Elders and Native scholars, but that realization and institutionalization was controlled by University administration. A adds that a clear demonstration of this was the grand opening of the School -- a wine and cheese reception attended by several of the Elders -- who stood outside the building.\textsuperscript{131}

Aside from bringing First Nations into the School, as in the case of the SIFC, distance education was another important issue for the University of Alberta. According to the 1984 Proposal for a School of Native Studies, five Native communities had approached the University to request off-campus courses.\textsuperscript{132} Although the Division of Special Sessions was meeting the demands of these five Native communities, it was doing so only by severely straining its resources\textsuperscript{133}, and the proposal suggested that because of the high demand for off-campus activity, the position in the Faculty of Extension in the Indian Educational Services Unit be changed from part-time to full-time.\textsuperscript{134}
Professor Dempsey indicates that there are two positions regarding off-campus offerings, one, that everyone who is going to get a university degree should experience the university campus, and the other, that the university should not remain so elitist, demanding that students come to it, but that it should go to them. He says that other universities have taken the latter approach, among them Athabasca University and the University of Calgary, and now the University of Alberta has to compete and 'go with the times'.

According to Dempsey, in the last ten years, the University of Alberta has expanded off-campus and in some cases has done so with the aid of technology much like the SIFC. The University now offers courses at Maskwachees Cultural College in Hobberma, at the Yellowhead Tribal Council university program in Spruce Grove, at Blue Quills School operated by the Tribal Chiefs of Treaty 6; and in the Sunrise Project in Slave Lake and Grouard. The School of Native Studies is especially active in providing language courses. Professor Dempsey indicates that along with the four Native institutions, the School also brokers courses to Grand Prairie Community College, Athabasca University, and Mount Royal College, but because of the School's limited faculty, community members capable of teaching are sought and approved by the School and many are graduates of the Native Studies program. Among the aspirations of the School is to exist not only on the University campus, but in the Aboriginal communities throughout Alberta, the Yukon, and the Northwest Territories.

For the School of Native Studies, funding has been by far its biggest obstacle to development and growth. The belief in the importance of Native education may have been strong in the seventies, with the Minister of Advanced Manpower writing on April 3, 1978, "I can assure you that improving Native education in Alberta is one of my priorities." But the University of Lethbridge was first to establish a Native Studies Department in Alberta in the seventies and by the mid-eighties, when the School was on the verge of becoming a reality, provincial funding had dried up. Initially, because the School was independent from any other department or faculty and had no sponsoring unit, the University proposed to give its moral support, but required Advanced Education to sign the cheque. Vice-President R.G. Baldwin said in 1984,
Three years ago, a program would almost certainly have received a sympathetic hearing from government, but this might not be so today. However, the need for the program is more urgent than ever. This proposal would likely be classified under a special category. While other proposals would involve some university funding, this proposal would require full, special funding by government.\textsuperscript{141}

The proposal was presented deliberately as "subject to government funding" because the School did not belong to one particular University unit, nor could it be funded by readily identifiable vested interest groups. It was hoped that the Native Studies Program would receive funding according to previous government policy, special earmarked funds for five years and then the addition of such funding to the University's regular operating budget.\textsuperscript{142}

In terms of approaching the Department of Indian Affairs for funding, unlike the SIFC, the University of Alberta chose not to, because it was felt that by doing so, the School of Native Studies would be in competition with applications from the Bands and Cultural Colleges.\textsuperscript{143} Yet, according to Price,

The fact that from the 1970s onward, the federal government did start to assist the students more at the university, and you started to see the changes in demographics, like from the early 60s up to the 80s and 90s, there's been quite a dramatic increase and that I'm sure would give the university some assurance that there would be a number of First Nations people who wanted to attend and it might get funding to support them, and so on.\textsuperscript{144}

\textit{A} indicates that the seed money for the program was not taken from the First Nations or the federal government on principle because it was felt that the University had an obligation to address Native issues as a commitment within its mandate to serve Albertans, not as "extra."\textsuperscript{145}

Thus, while waiting for funding and approval from the Provincial Government, the University provided Budget Adjustment Fund monies to aid in the establishment of the School.\textsuperscript{146} By the time the four year B.A. program was approved by Advanced Education, the University of Alberta had committed $212,000 in hard dollars to the operation of the unit. By 1990, no further funding from the Budget Adjustment Fund was possible and the University indicated that it was essential for the School to obtain additional government funding.\textsuperscript{147} Unfortunately, approval by the provincial government for the degree was contingent upon the University maintaining its funding level at "at least" the level in place in the fall of 1988. As a testament to the University's commitment to the
program, the money was found and the School's base operating budget from the University for 1991-92 was $333,315. Additional money came from outside sources including $25,000 from Indian Affairs, applied to sessional instructor stipends; $10,000 from the Secretary of State, for curriculum development; and $6,400 from the Alberta Law Foundation for a course on Aboriginal Legal Issues. Although supplemental funds have added up to as much as 20% of the School's budget in a given year, they are tied to specific expenditures and are short-term in nature. Meanwhile, Alberta's Department of Advanced Education continues to state that there are no funds available due to budgetary constraints. Despite its commitment, the University does not want to add to the School's operating budget and give the impression to the provincial government that the University does not need additional funds for the School. Meanwhile, the provincial government indicates that jurisdictional wrangling, whereby provinces are extremely reluctant to act in an area which they consider to be a federal jurisdiction, continue in the field of Aboriginal post-secondary education.

According to Professor Dempsey, the provincial government feels that the School is part of the University which already receives funding, although he says unofficially support has increased with the creation of Aboriginal Affairs in the provincial government. He adds that the School is not eligible for federal money because it is not a Native-run institution like the SIFC or other Native colleges, and that with devolution to local control of education by the bands, First Nations leadership is spending its money on the educational needs of secondary and elementary school Native students and has nothing to spare for post-secondary education. While the different governments try to pass on the funding responsibility, the survival of the School of Native Studies hangs in the balance. Budgetary constraints for the University as a whole led, in 1991, to discussion of creating an administrative structure for the School within the Faculty of Arts. Professor Dempsey says that "...when the proposal came back in 1991, from the accountants, to put us back in the Faculty of Arts, the support that came from the Vice President, and academics was very strong not to make that decision based on money. Luckily it wasn't. It was rejected." Nonetheless, Dempsey feels that the School will always have to deal with the accountants saying, "You could save $200,000.00 a year
if you put the School in with the Faculty and Arts and make it a Department.\textsuperscript{155}

Although the integrity of the School was maintained by funds from the University, growth in faculty numbers and course offerings are impossible without additional monies. Even the renewal of some grants is questionable including the modest grant of $25,000 from Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC). As the principle agency distributing educational funding, INAC channels 80% to 90% to student support. Within the confines of tight budgets, redirection of funds from student support to institutional support is very unpopular with the Aboriginal community.\textsuperscript{156}

According to Professor Dempsey, as a separate School, Native Studies does not have to compete with other departments for its share of a faculty budget, but as the smallest in budget, support staff, academic staff, and student population per faculty, justifying increases is difficult. He says that in the last three years the University has undergone 12.75% cuts each year, but during those years the School actually got an increase, followed by a 3% cut, and then last year remained the same. He says that having a small budget has helped because it could not be cut any more, but that it has prevented growth.\textsuperscript{157} Dempsey adds, "...how the School was originally pictured in 1986 is not the way that it is ten years later. And really the number one reason for that change is financial. It's that they were living in a time when the province was increasing the budget every year, on that level we'd be five times more than we are today -- which we're not."\textsuperscript{158}

The School of Native Studies at the University of Alberta has long been plagued with obstacles. Although discussion of incorporating Native Studies into the University began in the early seventies, it was not until 1989 that students could enroll in a Bachelor of Arts program through the School of Native Studies. The slowdown has been attributed to a variety of factors, not the least of which were the hesitancy of the University to risk hurting its established reputation, the size of the University's bureaucracy, and the racism in Alberta and at the University. The School of Native Studies has also run into problems in hiring First Nations faculty. Although with Native Studies programs spreading across the country there are more Native people earning advanced degrees, the competition for First Nations with these qualifications has also increased, and it is more difficult for new programs
to attract Native faculty. The School has also had problems with finding resources to hire enough faculty. Designing a well-balanced program of academic, cultural and applied courses was relatively easy, but with its limited faculty, the School finds it difficult to offer all of these courses or to begin offering a Masters degree. As the program seeks to reach out further into the north, it has also become more costly and complicated to consult with Aboriginal Council members who come from as far afield as the Yukon and Northwest Territories. The struggle of the School to satisfy its First Nations constituents is compounded by the provincial government's unwillingness to provide additional funds to the University for the School and the overall cutbacks experienced by the institution. Despite these setbacks, the School provides a well-rounded academic degree with the support of Elders and input from the First Nations community. In addition, the School reaches out to the First Nations community by offering many courses through Native colleges and other organizations. At the same time, the University of Alberta continues to work towards increasing the enrollment of Aboriginal students throughout the institution.
Because the University of Northern British Columbia was established with First Nations Studies already embedded in its structure, the history of the program and the institution are inextricably tied together. When northern British Columbian communities first began to lobby the government for a new northern university, First Nations leaders worked in active partnership with other community leaders to form the Interior University Society which worked to build a public consensus in support of the venture. In describing the political history of the University, Margaret Anderson, the first Chair of First Nations Studies, says,

"The support by First Nations for establishing the University was very strong, and it was a political animal from the get-go. People knew right from the outset that they needed to have support across the north. They needed support that was politically potent, and the First Nations in northern B.C. had some of that. There was a concerted effort made by the people who were organizing the campaign to develop the University, to involve First Nations. And there was a very active response, so that there were (First Nations) people who were very active in the campaign to establish the institution."

The current Chair of First Nations Studies, Jim McDonald, adds "...the community groups and interest that led to the formation of the University included Aboriginal communities and Aboriginal interests and they were part of the lobbying for the University and part of the development of the University concept and they wanted to have First Nation Studies."

The Carrier Sekani Tribal Council (CSTC) was involved in the push for a northern university from the beginning and had very specific expectations of how the university would meet First Nations needs if it came into being. The CSTC foresaw a Faculty of Aboriginal Studies similar to that of the SIFC in the distant future, but it recognized the impossibility of such a faculty at the outset and initially recommended a School of Aboriginal Studies similar to the University of Alberta's. The Council felt that in order to inspire the respect and loyalty of First Nations people, an Aboriginal Studies component had to be seen as having a high profile stature and authority within the University. They envisioned strong linkages to First Nations community leaders and a high degree of autonomous control over its own policies, programs and resources. The CSTC felt that a School of Aboriginal Studies was the most viable vehicle for delivering university programs to the northern
Native population because it would have the freedom to design its own programs, obtain course accreditations from the university, acquire its own faculty, establish specialized programs at selected locations throughout the university service area, and enter into brokerage arrangements with the other institutions. Most importantly, the Council wanted it to be able to adopt a governance structure that would incorporate a healthy measure of direct participation by Native community representatives.\(^5\) The CSTC hoped that the creation of a northern university would provide "a rare chance to involve aboriginal leaders directly in making the policies and management decisions under which Native higher education will operate."\(^6\)

As the University of Northern British Columbia (UNBC) came closer to becoming a reality, an Implementation Planning Group (IPG) was formed and it defined the mission statement of the University as "to serve the citizens of Northern British Columbia. The University will play a leading role in the educational, cultural, social, and the economic life of the North."\(^7\) According to the I.P.G., it was impossible to fulfill that mission without including a strong, viable, program of Aboriginal Studies in the University.\(^7\) Thus, members of the I.P.G. toured the programs at two other institutions, SIFC and the University of Lethbridge, and determined that the structure of the Native American Studies department at the University of Lethbridge stood out as the preferable mode of organization as it allowed for better "two-way" communication and service between Aboriginal Studies and other disciplines.\(^8\) The first President of the University, Geoff Weller, agreed with this decision as he did not want First Nations Studies to be ghettoized into a separate unit. According to Margaret Anderson, "He wanted to insure that it would be something that would interact [with] and enliven the rest of the institution."\(^9\) An additional reason given for not adopting the proposal for the Faculty of Aboriginal Studies was that such a body was seen to be too prone to exotic and fragile funding arrangements outside of the core funding for UNBC which would render it financially vulnerable.\(^10\) In the end, when the Prince George Campus opened in September 1994, a First Nations Studies Department was in place and UNBC had an institutional mandate to promote First Nations knowledge and First Nations learning.\(^11\)
In terms of those individuals responsible for the establishment of the Department, the Interior University Society must be acknowledged for its recognition of the importance of involving the First Nations in the earliest stages of discussion. Margaret Anderson feels that the leadership among First Nations in northern British Columbia was very important and gives special credit to Chief Joseph Michell of the Carrier Sekani Tribal Council and Edward John, a lawyer and also a Chief of the CSTC.12 She feels that both "wanted to ensure that they were seen as founders of the institution and as partners in the institution."13 First Nations involvement was not limited to the Carrier and Sekani. Attached to the brief submitted to the British Columbia Cabinet on behalf of the Interior University Society on October 13, 1988, were letters of support from 12 bands and tribal organizations. This type of support from the regional First Nations added to the legitimacy of the brief and conveyed the collective desire of all northern British Columbians for a local university. Although there was support among senior administrators, this support was not the result of experience with First Nations, as it had been with both Tom Symons of Trent and Lloyd Barber of the University of Regina. According to Anderson, there was strong support from the President, but for the most part he did not have any specifics in mind.14 Among those with experience working with First Nations, Anderson credits Dennis Macknak, Director of Regional Operations, with having a good sense of perspective, and as one of the very first people at UNBC, having a hand in making sure things moved in the right direction.15 According to Anderson, one of the issues in the early years was that most of the people who went to work at UNBC knew little about northern British Columbia, knew less about First Nations in northern British Columbia, and in many cases, did not know anything about First Nations, so that there were some problems as people found their way to work with protocol.16 Nonetheless, an overall recognition of the importance of providing First Nations Studies and a willingness to involve First Nations in the institution pervaded the new University.

The development of UNBC with its First Nations mandate was also well timed to coincide with the concerns of the provincial government with the poor participation and completion rates of First
Nations students in post-secondary education. In the late eighties, the Ministry of Advanced Education had created a Provincial Advisory Committee on Post-Secondary Education for Native Learners. The statement to guide its activities and recommendations was as follows: "That British Columbia, with the free consultation and involvement of the First Nations, bring the participation and completion rates of the First Nations post-secondary learners to at least the national average by 1995, and that this process recognize and incorporate the unique cultural traditions of the First Nations' peoples." The Committee realized quickly that its original goal was too ambitious, and revised it to "reaching the national average by increasing native participation by 50% per year." The Advisory Committee recognized that the participation rate for all learners varied greatly from region to region and that in general, urban rates of participation are much higher than rural rates, while participation in British Columbia's north is about half the provincial average. In 1989, the participation rate for Native learners in post-secondary education in British Columbia, as a whole, was 15% of Native high school graduates, while in northern British Columbia the Native participation rate was 0.5% of Native high school graduates. Demographically, the Native population is more concentrated in the northern region of British Columbia than elsewhere. There are approximately 30,000 registered status Indians north of 100 Mile House, belonging to 56 Indian Bands in addition to substantial numbers of non-status and Metis people. Anderson adds, "one of the goals of establishing the University was to deal with the low rates of participation of First Nations people in the region that the University saw as its specific service area. And First Nations Studies was seen as a program that would contribute to that."

A Transition Year Program was one of the early recommendations for increasing First Nations students' participation, but such a program was not established when the University opened. As a result, the University quickly ran into problems with retention and experienced a very high attrition rate among first-year First Nations students. In response, the issue of a Transition Year Program resurfaced and in May 1995 the Senate supported in principle the idea of a transition program for First Nations students and directed the Senate Committee on Academic Policy and Planning to
develop a proposal. The University is now in the process of implementing what it calls the Northern Advancement Program which will make UNBC one of only three universities in Canada that will be running a first year studies-type of program, fully credited throughout the University, that will still allow students to complete their degree in any major in the University within four years. The program will begin in Fall 1997 and is designed to be more supportive to First Nations students with the objective of reducing attrition, but also to increase GPA rates and graduation rates for First Nations students. Like the University Entrance Program at the University of Regina/SIFC, the Northern Advancement Program is not reserved for First Nations students, but in the case of the UNBC program, it is reserved for students from a rural background. One explanation for this more open admission policy is that, as in the case of the University of Regina, UNBC is concerned with enrolment.

The development of special admission procedures and special entry criteria for First Nations applicants were also among the early recommendations for the program coming from the First Nations communities. This recommendation has persisted and in 1996 the First Nations Task Force Committee (FNTFC) suggested that UNBC establish a Program Access Policy to admit First Nations Students to programs based on their academic performance and not an artificial grade entry ceiling like the quota systems established for high demand programs at other universities. Essentially this policy would be similar to that of the University of Alberta, allowing First Nations students who met the minimum admission requirement into quota programs, but as of yet the policy has not been implemented.

Many of the First Nations students who enter the University enroll in the First Nations Studies Program. The long range goals of the program included developing offerings in First Nation cultures, First Nation languages, First Nation issues, and the theory and methodology of First Nations Studies. As a result, the program was designed with three streams: Aboriginal languages, cultures, and contemporary issues. According to Margaret Anderson, the choice of the three main streams was intended to allow "some of the courses to be taught from other parts of the
institution, so Politics would have a First Nations politics course, and History and Geography and Natural Resources, and so on, would each have courses that they would bring into the mix and their programs would similarly include courses from First Nations Studies. Anderson says the program could have been conceptualized many other ways, but that languages and cultures were chosen as streams because those were the priorities that people expressed very loudly in parts of the region, and contemporary issues was chosen because land claims, politics, government, and justice, are crucial issues and creating a stream is a mechanism for the program to be able to contribute to developing the discourse about them.

Two central tasks in the UNBC First Nations Studies mandate are the development of specific cultural and linguistic courses for each of the different First Nation groups within the UNBC area. The University calendar indicates that courses at various levels are available each semester in one of the languages of the First Nations of northern British Columbia. Among those languages, Haisla, Tsimshian, Nisga'a, Gitksanimx, Haida, Tlingit, Wet'suwet'en, Carrier, Sekani, Beaver, Kaska, Slavey, Tahlitan, Ts'ilhquot'in, or other Athabascan language, or Shushwap are listed. Many of these languages have not yet been offered, or are only available to students in the regions. Nevertheless, as a program, it is felt that growth must be towards offering multiple course listings for several cultures and languages in order to service the region in the manner appropriate to the mandate. In particular, it is felt that the nature of language and cultural courses is such that they can only be taught culture by culture and language by language. For this reason, in Prince George, where there is demand for Carrier and Cree language and culture, that is the focus of the language and culture offerings, while in the northwest, where there is demand for Tsimshian, Nisga'a, Gitskan, and Haisla, the University has tried to comply by offering courses in those languages, and some cultural courses, regionally.

Originally, aside from language and culture courses (including courses on languages, culture, history, and philosophy), the CSTC also recommended that courses be offered in social science and human services (including health education and social work), and government and public
administration (including politics, economics and management). The First Nations were concerned with the development of self-governing Native communities which they felt created a growing demand for Native professionals in education, social services, administration, and business. For them, the social issues, community development needs, and environmental concerns of northern First Nations needed to be priority concerns of the University. Although First Nations Studies has not attempted to incorporate courses in all of these areas, Anderson says,

The University’s education with a First Nations perspective is broader than the First Nations Studies program or the courses that would be called FNST. We don’t just offer undergraduate education, certainly Social Work and Nursing and graduate education all see First Nations perspectives as crucial to what they’re doing, because they’re trying to develop programs that work in northern B.C. specifically.

In other areas, the University has tried to respond to First Nations requests for more applied offerings. The I.P.G. recommended that professional and applied programs make provision for meaningful involvement with the native communities including cooperative education in Native communities. Within First Nations Studies, special emphasis is placed on creating opportunities for UNBC students to learn from and about the First Nations of the north including courses taught in First Nations communities, internships, and community-based research projects for graduate students.

The Aboriginal Programs Branch of the Ministry of Education, Skills and Training, seemed to be attuned to the interests of the First Nations, suggesting that new programs are required in order to prepare Aboriginal people with the occupational competencies and skills needed for today’s labour market. Programs offered in post-secondary institutions must extend beyond the traditional social science and public administration focus to areas such as technology and commerce, natural resources and environmental science, and rural health. In addition, theme units relevant to the history, culture, and social experience of Aboriginal people should be integrated into programming that is flexibly structured and provides students with entry and exit options which lead from certificate, to diploma and baccalaureate degrees.

The northern First Nations were also requesting that courses be developed to allow for progressive credentials, e.g. Certificate Level — Diploma Level — Degree Level — Masters Level. Initially the University was even more ambitious, planning teaching projects for First Nations Studies which included development from certificate and diploma programs up to a PhD. Although the PhD
remains a long-term goal, unlike most of the other universities examined, UNBC's First Nations Studies did begin by offering an M.A. program from day one. In this respect, it is unique because although the SiFC provides graduate studies in Indian Studies, and Languages, Literatures and Linguistics, both are Special Case. Trent also offers a special M.A. with a focus on Native Studies through its Canadian Studies program, but only UNBC has a Masters program firmly established within First Nations Studies.

According to the Status Report of the Office of First Nations, "Since the First Nations education philosophy is one that is based on holistic learning, healing and personal development are indistinguishable from the learning process. Emphasis is placed on developing student support networks for personal growth as well as to help students deal with personal issues that impede their academic success." From the beginning, the CSTC recommended that Student Counselling and Personal Guidance Service be adapted to the needs of Native students and involve both professional counsellors and Native Elders. The I.P.G. followed this idea through by suggesting that the "Elders Program" of the SiFC be used as a model for the inclusion of selected Elders to be resident on the campuses of the University on a rotating basis to allow a sense of continuity between the First Nations communities and the University. Today, the University does provide an Elders-in-Residence program through which several Elders and spiritual people are available on an on-call basis for students who need individual attention. Elders and healers also conduct pre-programmed Talking Circles, and other spiritual and cultural activities such as Smudging and Sweat Lodges which take place throughout each week. Although the University of Northern British Columbia Planning Committee placed a strong emphasis on the service of First Nations people as a crucial element for the success of UNBC, it was never intended that First Nations Studies would take on those responsibilities. Margaret Anderson indicates that for Native and non-Native students alike, we need a lot of support services and there are some very specific needs for First Nations students, so they should be specifically organized to deliver those. My sense early on was that we had the academic program and the other programs which would do the academic things, and then the other part of the job would do support services, would do transition years, and counselling, and writing skills and all of those things, and negotiate with the communities and develop and
increase our presence.51

According to Anderson, in the beginning the lines between the First Nations Studies Program and the services for First Nations students were blurred, as the Chair of the academic program and the Coordinator/Director of the service program were at times the same person. Fortunately, now there is a separate Chair of First Nations Studies and a Director of First Nations Programming.52

Interestingly, as a program, UNBC's First Nations Studies is most similar to the program at Trent University, and like Trent's early Indian-Eskimo Studies program, First Nations Studies is chaired by the same person as the Anthropology Department who devotes half his time to each. In other ways, First Nations Studies is similar to the School of Native Studies at the University of Alberta in that, although a full, established complement of 6 faculty was identified as necessary in the inaugural UNBC faculty teaching model, the First Nations Studies teaching faculty stands at only 3.5 full time professors.53 In addition to its full time faculty, UNBC relies heavily on a series of appointments on the co-instructional model. This model creates a co-operative relationship between the University and community-based cultural or language experts, allowing the program to appoint, for example, a native speaker to co-teach language courses with a linguist. The model is developmental, training the community expert in university teaching and curriculum at the same time that the linguist is assisted in curriculum development. The model will allow the program to develop courses in certain languages and their associated cultures to a degree that instruction can be shifted more fully to the First Nation co-instructor. To accomplish this, the University aims to develop adequate curriculum in each course and develop the skills of the First Nation instructor for the requirements of university context, viewing this as a matter of articulating First Nation teaching with university requirement.54

From the beginning the Native community felt that universities reflected a fundamental bias toward educational qualifications and that the community-based characteristics of collaborative decision making, empowerment and relevance were fundamentally at odds with this concept of hierarchy.55 The CSTC felt that,
To ensure the cultural authenticity of Aboriginal Studies, credentials for instructors in some courses will have to be based more on aboriginal cultural knowledge and experience than on formal academic training. This will require flexible accreditation of Native instructors and direct participation of First Nations representatives in the recruitment, screening and selection of instructors.\footnote{56}

The First Nations Task Force Committee responded by suggesting that programs need to be able to hire First Nations people who do not have a PhD to teach as regular, tenure stream faculty.\footnote{57} It further suggested that community people should be hired in a consistent manner that recognizes their expertise, even though that expertise lays outside of the traditional academic pattern.\footnote{58}

According to Anderson, the conditions of appointment provide a procedure through which First Nations instructors who do not have the traditional credentials can be given tenure-stream appointments, but this policy does not apply to co-instructors.\footnote{59} Nonetheless, she says that for faculty positions particularly, it is very difficult to transcend credentials and find a way to evaluate knowledge that is independent of credentialism. She adds that universities are much better geared to deal with credentials than with knowledge, but that the program and the faculty have done very well with working with the Nisga’a in terms of recognizing the expertise that people have to teach language and culture. With the Tsimshian and the Haisla, who did not put people forward as having all the skills they needed, but preferred the co-instruction model, the co-instructors are getting closer to the point where they will be able to teach the first level courses on their own.\footnote{60} Yet, in terms of finding qualified Native staff who already possess advanced degrees, UNBC is having the same problem as the University of Alberta. Anderson says it is difficult to attract Native scholars “because people who have talent and expertise are hugely pressured to do a dozen different jobs.”\footnote{61} Most of the First Nations instructors involved in the program at UNBC teach language and culture courses in the regions, with only one of the four on-campus faculty members being of Aboriginal descent.

At UNBC, the problems of hiring First Nations extends beyond the First Nations Studies Department and into the University as a whole due to its mandate. The number one recommendation of the First Nations Task Force Committee to the Planning Committee was “The University develop and implement a proactive recruitment policy and action plan to address the
hiring of First Nations people to Faculty, staff and administration positions within UNBC. In the past, the University has had some problems differentiating between employing people with First Nations ancestry and faculty members with a research interest in First Nations. Margaret Anderson says the University has hired people with excellent interests, expertise, and experience working with First Nations, but not enough faculty members have been hired who are of First Nations descent.

According to Anderson, hiring people of First Nations descent is an issue for First Nations Studies, but the University as a whole has been lax in hiring First Nations employees. The recommendations of the follow-up committee established at a First Nations forum included the promotion of hiring Native people in all fields and that in recognition of a severe under-representation of First Nations employees, the Human Resources department devise ways to correct this. The First Nations Task Force recommended that the University's goal should be to hire faculty and staff who can best serve the northern community and therefore its hiring practices should incorporate a goal to ensure that roughly 10% of the faculty and staff are of First Nations decent.

The University now has a goal of developing, by July 1, 1997, a plan, policy framework, and implementation schedule to support hiring of First Nations people to faculty, staff, and administrative positions. This position is supported by the provincial government which feels "Institutional hiring practices must also reflect a sensitivity to employment equity for Aboriginal people within the institution."

When discussions of the establishment of a university in northern British Columbia began, the necessity of addressing the needs of the widest possible cross-section of northern communities with a special focus on First Nations was key. Thus, the initial discussion group included a respected leader from the First Nations of the region. As the discussions proceeded and the new University came closer to becoming a reality, Aboriginal representation on the early governing bodies continued and there were three First Nations on the first Interim Governing Council. But problems arose given that the three First Nations representatives were all very high profile people involved in a variety of projects. Thus, there were few meetings attended by all three and many when none
of them were there. Anderson stresses that they were trying valiantly to participate and that in some cases it was the immense distances that prevented attendance. Although expenses were paid by the University's Board, the time lost for members trying to run their own business, or trying to make a living, due to the extra day of travel each way, made it difficult for them to attend meetings. She adds that it was a busy period, with summits and land claims cases requiring members to travel to Ottawa, Victoria, or elsewhere and making it difficult for them to monitor the process at UNBC. According to Anderson, "...this was way beyond just ordinary volunteer work, in terms of somebody with that kind of a schedule."  

Early on, the CSTC feared that, "A Division of Aboriginal Studies administered as any other division within the Faculty of Arts and Sciences will be appropriated by non-Native academicians and bureaucrats, and will be irrelevant to the goals and aspirations of northern B.C. First Nations."  

According to Doug Brown, who sat in on meetings as a representative of the CSTC, that is exactly what happened. He says,

When UNBC began hiring staff many of those, including myself, who had been active in its creation receded into the background. There wasn't (sic.) many structured opportunities for the UNBC newcomers and founders to dialogue as equals...Agendas were driven by the personal preferences of imported academics, even though the formal mechanism of consultation meetings were present.

Although Margaret Anderson would deny that the program ignores the goals and aspirations of northern First Nations, she does admit that she alone designed much of the program, stating ironically,

I would have to say that I did most of the writing of the program and structures and you still find it in the documents, and what I knew was that there needed to be a really strong First Nations ownership and control, and that you needed to find a mechanism for First Nations knowledge to be taught in the University. So, I think those two things come through, and they were certainly part of submissions from everywhere, I didn't invent them out of the blue, they were taught to me for a long time by people.

Although her experience with First Nations taught Anderson the importance of First Nations ownership and control, because First Nations Studies was designed by a non-Aboriginal academic, some of the First Nations in the region feel that they had little ownership or control over the program. According to Anderson, there was no context in which to weigh reports and recommendations by
First Nations because so much development was done without going through the Senate process, in which people would have been given the documentation. She says the program was developed in an environment of "hurry up and write some curriculum for the next meeting because the calendar copy has to be at the printers." She recognizes that, "people tried very hard to listen, but you always listen with your old ears." In this way, Anderson's experiences doing extensive research in Hartley Bay among the Tsimshian and her work with First Nations in Ontario, gave her a good sense of what the issues were for Native people, but, for the most part, the First Nations surrounding UNBC had little input into the design of the First Nations Studies program.

This is not to say that UNBC did not consult with the First Nations. Prior to the opening of the University, fora were organized to seek input and direction from the Native community with regards to First Nations Program delivery at UNBC. According to Margaret Anderson, the first of the First Nations fora was unsuccessful because many Native representatives did not come prepared to direct the University, but rather to find out what was going on. They were not the political leadership that had been involved at the formative stages, but rather the education coordinators, who felt that they were not decision-makers, but had to go back and check with their Elders. She says "things were so rapidly developing at the University, that it was very difficult to continue to have meetings and not come up with any sort of decisions and plans..." At subsequent meetings, recommendations included a consultation process with representatives of the tribal organizations and bands, the maximization of a sense of ownership and participation through input from First Nation people, that there be some aspect of control of the Aboriginal Studies program by the First Nations in collaboration with UNBC, and that the First Nations leadership be encouraged to state the types of policies and services that will be necessary and what will be meaningful to the First Nations community needs. Unfortunately, by this point the University had gone ahead with much of the planning, and the Native community responded to the fora with a clear message that "First Nations people no longer wish to be involved in consultation with UNBC unless such consultation results in perceivably agreed upon outcomes and mechanisms for collaboration on initiatives of
importance to First Nations people. These sentiments demonstrate the changes that have taken place since 1968 when the Native community around Trent was pleased merely to be consulted, regardless of the outcomes.

According to Anderson, as a means of making the fora go away, a Task Force on First Nations was formed. Deborah Poff, Vice-President Academic and Chair of the First Nations Task Force, indicates that discussions revolved around “ensuring that the task force would not merely be another consultation where opinions were asked but actions did not follow.” One of the main focuses of early discussions by the Task Force was the question of representation. While twenty-two people were asked to serve, members argued that representation had to come from First Nations communities. There was discussion about the difficulty of inclusivity since UNBC is located in the territories of 16 tribal councils and 77 bands, and constituent groups define themselves differently (e.g. Bands, rural/urban, non-treaty/treaty), and all of them wish to be represented in discussions around First Nations issues in curriculum and research at UNBC. Mechanisms for communication between communities and the university and mechanisms for getting First Nations recommendations on the internal agenda of the internal committees of UNBC were other major issues surrounding the unhappiness of the First Nations.

The inability of the Task Force to satisfy the First Nations in terms of both representation and accomplishments led to the raising of a Senate motion in 1994, “That given the serious difficulties in UNBC’s relations with First Nations communities; that Senate establish a committee with substantial extra-university representation from First Nations communities across the regions.” This motion was withdrawn, and replaced by a motion “That Senate request that the Office of the Vice President Academic establish appropriate mechanisms as soon as possible to address issues of UNBC’s short and long term relationships with the First Nations students and the First Nations Communities; and that the Vice President Academic report monthly to Senate on this matter.” The Senate approved the proposal to create a Senate Standing Committee on First Nations (SCFNo) in June 1995. A call for nominations was sent to tribal councils, friendship centres and other First
Nations groups and five representatives were selected to the Senate Committee in November of 1995. These included representatives from: The West Moberley First Nations, Wilp Wilxg'oskwhil Nisga'a, North Coast Tribal Council, Carrier Sekani Tribal Council, and the Nechako Fraser Junction Metis Association. The other membership consisted of the Vice President Academic, seven faculty, and one student from the First Nations Student Association. The mandate of the Senate Committee is to look at all academic issues related to program delivery to First Nations students.

In addition to the new Senate Committee on First Nations, the University has general Regional Advisory Councils in each of its three sub regions which include First Nations, as well as an independent First Nations advisory body, the Northeast First Nations Regional Advisory Committee. With the passage of the University of Northern British Columbia Act, the involvement of the First Nations community was also assured through the named seat on the Interim Governing Council and on both the Board of Governors and Senate when formed. According to Jim McDonald, having a First Nations person on the Board of Governors is a legislated requirement, because the government was responding to community lobbying. The University has responded to community lobbying by vowing to increase representation of First Nations peoples on University Committees.

Perhaps because of the growth and progress of Native Studies programs over the past two decades, the expectations of the Native communities around UNBC are higher than other programs have experienced in the past and this has led to the failure of fora, task forces, and advisory councils to satisfy the First Nations in northern British Columbia. Yet, Anderson points out that the response to UNBC differs with the different First Nations depending on their interest and participation. She says that the Carrier-Sekani still feel that there needs to be work done on insuring governance, partially because the University is physically in their region and because they have been consulted a great deal with frustrating results. The CSTC had built up high expectations of the University from the beginning. An early letter from Chief Edward John stated, "the Tribal Council strongly supports the creation of a university in north central British Columbia...our support,
However, in not entirely unconditional." He then listed more than three pages of expectations on behalf of his people.\textsuperscript{97} Anderson says that, in general, the Carrier-Sekani and the Prince George Friendship Centre have high expectations because of their proximity and consultation.\textsuperscript{98} She adds that UNBC's constituents include a very diverse group of First Nations with very different histories and different agendas.\textsuperscript{99} She illustrates this by pointing out the Nisga'a interest in creating a Nisga'a-controlled institution, whereas others would have been happy with a sense of control.\textsuperscript{100}

The Nisga'a approached UNBC early, stating that they had qualified people in the Nass Valley who could realize meaningful programs by working along with UNBC.\textsuperscript{101} The difficulty for adults with children to relocate to attend university or college outside of the Nass Valley contributed to the desire of the Nisga'a to establish a facility within their own community.\textsuperscript{102} Yet, the Nisga'a estimated that approximately 200 Nisga'a students were attending post-secondary institutes outside the Nass, indicating the potential registrants for such a facility.\textsuperscript{103} In 1993 a protocol was signed between UNBC and the Wilp Wilx'o'skwhl Nisga'a (WWN), as the new facility was named. The protocol stated "UNBC will work to establish and maintain the autonomy and credibility of WWN as a post-secondary educational institution mandated to serve the Nisga'a Nation. WWN will work to support UNBC in developing a sensitive and effective relationship with Aboriginal people and First Nations around the world."\textsuperscript{104} UNBC agreed to offer the B.A. degree in First Nations Studies with a Nisga'a emphasis and in the fall of 1994 an undergraduate degree program in Nisga'a Studies began at the WWN with 138 students. The WWN and UNBC plan to offer a full set of courses for undergraduate programs in Nisga'a Studies and Linguistics (within First Nations Studies), Anthropology and Archaeology, and First Nations History, to allow students to attend full time in the Nass Valley.\textsuperscript{105} The Wilp Wilx'o'skwhl Nisga'a, operates primarily out of a renovated church in New Aiyansh, but delivers courses in all of the Nisga'a communities, as well as delivering both language and culture courses in relation to demand in Vancouver, Prince Rupert and Terrace.\textsuperscript{106} The WWN is the final authority on all Nisga'a curriculum and research and must approve all Nisga'a curriculum and research undertaken by UNBC faculty or students.\textsuperscript{107} Thus, the WWN has a curriculum committee
to work with the First Nations Studies Program Chair to develop courses in Nisga’a language and
culture in accordance with Nisga’a and western principles of scholarly integrity. It should also be
noted that the WWN exists to do more than offer UNBC degrees. It also articulates with the
Northwest Community College, the Open Learning Agency, and other institutions. It is a house of
higher learning which includes UNBC courses.

In the late 1980s, the conception of UNBC included an important mandate to contribute to the
interests and needs of people in northern British Columbia, and particularly serve Aboriginal people
in the area. Also, one of UNBC’s proposals was decentralized studies. These recommendations
came from both the First Nations community and the provincial government. According to the
CSTC, “Regionalized program delivery will help to emphasize the importance of Aboriginal Studies,
provide a sensitive response to local priorities, and make programs accessible to First Nations
communities.” In addition, among the recommendations coming out of the First Nations Fora was
community-based education, or on-reserve programs. The Provincial Advisory Committee on
Post-Secondary Education for Native Learners also encouraged participation in remote and isolated
areas through distance education/outreach programs in remote communities. Thus, the first
courses, course descriptions and course numbers, were created in response to a request from the
Gitskan, near Hazelton, who had been delivering their own teacher training program for language
teachers, and indicated that they wanted accreditation. Although the group in question ended up
proceeding independently from UNBC, the University organized a set of courses, of which First
Nations Language 101 and Culture 101 were the first. UNBC developed those courses so that First
Nations could add their own knowledge and deliver them locally, and they were well-received by the
communities.

When all the First Nations in the north were contacted in July of 1992 and invited to discuss how
UNBC could work as their partner, it was expected that several Nations would want to pursue a
partnership, but only the Nisga’a responded. Anderson attributes the lack of interest by others
to very specific reasons. In the case of the Carrier-Sekani, she believes they saw UNBC as their
university because it was so close. For the Gitskan, she believes they were too involved in the Delgamuukw land claims case, while for the Tsimshian, she thinks that because Tsimshian educators play a central role in the northwest Tribal Council Education Centre, which delivers education through Simon Fraser University, there was less interest. According to Anderson, while First Nations Studies is not a program that responds to the needs of all of the First Nations, the Nisga'a protocol is a symbol that the University is willing to work with the aspirations of the First Nations. Anderson adds that most of what the program is doing is through partnerships with the First Nations who actually deliver the courses in their home communities. She says the protocol with the Nisga'a is probably the most fully developed example, but First Nations Studies also offers Haisla language in Kitimat Village, and Tsimshian language in Prince Rupert. The province continues to support these endeavours and encourages increased activity in regional course offerings and further work with First Nations communities.

The major restriction on the University's desire to expand on its regional offerings to First Nations communities, or in First Nations Studies, is financial. Even in the case of the Nisga'a protocol, it was not passed until the eleventh hour, the year before the University opened, not because people did not want the Nisga'a to be able to exercise their ownership and control and deliver education in their communities, but because people felt that there were not enough resources. Anderson says there were many "people who came in all creative and full of ideas and things they wanted to do, who inevitably found that there weren't enough resources to do what they felt was absolutely essential and crucial to their own particular area of interest, and who therefore, just simply didn't place as high a priority on things like the agreement with the Nisga'as." In the end, the University committed $375,000 to the WWN in each year of its operation, but costs increased in relation to the number of students from approximately $600,000 in 1994/95 to over $600,000 in 1995/96 and it was predicted that the program would require over $700,000 in 1996/97. Fortunately, in addition to the money provided by the University, the WWN receives $250,000 from the provincial Ministry of Education, Skills and Training through Nisga'a Economic
Enterprises Inc., the Federal government's Indian Studies Support Program (ISSP) provides some funding, along with the Ministry of Aboriginal Affairs and Northwest Community College. Nonetheless, UNBC is in the process of exploring the possibility of affiliation with the WVN as an autonomous, Aboriginal post-secondary institution so that it can be funded under the terms and conditions of the British Columbia government policy for Aboriginal Post-Secondary Institutions, and this is the model that the University hopes to use for any further work with community-based accredited facilities.

First Nations Studies itself is funded through the University's base budget. Yet, according to Anderson, one of the problems that arose was people saying, 'the Indians can raise money separately for that', or 'the government will give us money for that', leading some people to believe that it did not need to be a part of the base budget. Anderson says there is no large pool of money set aside in the Federal government for First Nations education that universities can access. She says most of the money is in the ISSP and that is largely sent to First Nations-controlled institutions, so the Nisga'a get some, but the University does not. She says a very small proportion goes to British Columbia relative to the percentage of people from British Columbia who are of First Nations descent. She adds that the large amount that goes to the SIFC was intended as a one time, or seed money grant, but that the College would like that to become base funding, while the other Nations that do not have any degree of control over the SIFC resist, demanding that their own institutions be given their share of the funds. In the federal context, she says funding is mostly for pilot projects, or short term funding, not base budget. In the provincial context, as in Alberta, it is felt that First Nations are a federal responsibility, and therefore the province has resisted targeting funding to First Nations directly, and their funding all goes through institutions, like colleges and universities. The province has set among its objectives, "the securing of Federal Government commitment to maintain financial contributions for post-secondary education and training for Aboriginal people."

Yet, recently the provincial government has taken a stronger position on education for First
Nations. A draft of the new policy framework for the Ministry of Education, Skills and Training states, "Funding will be provided to projects, on a matching dollar basis, that create opportunities for Aboriginal learners to participate in bridging or transition programs..." In addition, the policy indicates that institutions will be required to demonstrate a commitment to increasing access for Aboriginal people by allocating resources within the institution's base budget. Although this will not increase the provincial budget allocation to the University, it should benefit First Nations Studies by ensuring that the program is given its share of the base budget. In the most recent budget allocation, the Ministry requested that UNBC apply $700,000 of the 1996-97 funding to develop innovative and cost effective approaches to regional, Aboriginal and other identified institutional priorities including expanded service to First Nations in northern British Columbia. Several First Nations and Aboriginal organizations have also stated they would be willing to look at providing their own funding for First Nations Studies program development and delivery, should the province fail to do so. Some examples include the Nisga'a contribution through the WWN, the Prince George Native Learning Centre has indicated that it would fund Cree courses, the Tsimshian Tribal Council has funded culture courses, and the CSTC has provided logistic support, which has a significant but hidden funding cost. UNBC has also sought external financial support for activities such as the introduction of the Northern Advancement Program and a First Nations Co-operative Work Program, but the University has made a verbal commitment that the programs will continue after a two or three year pilot phase subject to a favourable program evaluation.

Nonetheless, according to Jim McDonald, current Chair of First Nations Studies, reductions in the budget, have translated into less money for community-oriented travel, both going out to the communities and bringing people from the communities into the classroom, and a decrease in the number of sessionals in the program. In general, McDonald feels that First Nations Studies has had relatively more cuts than other departments which prevent the program from doing some of the things that were originally intended and that he feels the program should be doing. Both Anderson and McDonald point out that the program was intended to have many more faculty than
it ended up with. According to Anderson, when she first arrived she was told to draft a hiring plan for eight people.\textsuperscript{138} Today the program has only three and a half. Both feel that not enough resources have been provided to build the program, but they also recognize that this is in the context of the University experiencing cutbacks generally.\textsuperscript{139} This is reflected in the request to the First Nations Task Force Committee to develop "an ambitious strategy that reflects the financial constraints under which the university currently operates."\textsuperscript{140}

As the newest of the universities examined, UNBC has the furthest to go in meeting its commitment to the Aboriginal community. Nevertheless, it has the foundations of a strong First Nations Studies program in place as well as a separate Office of First Nations Programming. With the implementation of its Northern Advancement Program, recruitment and retention of First Nations students should improve. With Aboriginal co-instructors gaining the qualifications needed to take over providing courses, First Nations Studies will soon increase its Aboriginal representation on faculty. With First Nations representation assured on its regional advisory committees, Board of Governors and the Senate, as well as a Senate Standing Committee on First Nations in place and plans to ensure First Nations representation on many more committees, UNBC will soon have Native people on all of its governing bodies. The WWN represents the willingness of UNBC to reach out to the community, and the University's mandate to serve First Nations throughout the north is further met by its activities in other communities. Financially, the new university struggles and this translates into limited resources for First Nations Studies, but the willingness of the University to fulfill its mandate to the First Nations is demonstrated by its motto, 'En cha Huna', a saying of Carrier Elders, with a direct translation 'he/she has life'. The saying would be used by an Elder when reminding somebody, critical of another, that the person was a living being, with a voice and a viewpoint. The motto encapsulates much of the spirit of academic freedom, of respect for others, and the willingness to recognize different perspectives.\textsuperscript{141}
CONCLUSION

Among the components which differentiate these four programs are the times they were established, their location, and their structure. Trent encountered few obstacles in establishing its program in 1969 during a period of protest by Native activists and revolution within the academy. The President of the University, who was familiar with Native issues, through his involvement with the Indian-Eskimo Association, supported the efforts of many well-intentioned academics who wanted to do something about the "Indian problem". The result was the creation of Indian-Eskimo Studies which, as a part of the Anthropology Department, allowed for a conservative "solution". The federal government's White Paper of 1969, with its plan to transfer control over education to the provinces, received an angry response from the First Nations and was soon withdrawn, but it led the Federation of Saskatchewan Indians to formulate an ambitious plan to establish a Native-controlled college affiliated with a university. The established university in the province was unwilling to take a chance with such an innovative proposal, and the FSI was forced to turn to the newer, more receptive University of Regina with a supportive President like his counterpart at Trent. Yet, it was difficult to find a niche for the SIFC because, as a degree-granting college administered by a Native organization, it neither fit neatly into the departmental mold of preceding Native Studies programs, nor could it be classified among the Native colleges offering diplomas and certificates.

The two newer Native Studies programs examined both faced their own obstacles. Establishing a Native Studies program at the University of Alberta required overcoming the most impediments. As one of the oldest universities in Canada, the University of Alberta was decidedly conservative and, in the 1970s, when the suggestion of a Native Studies program was first raised, was reluctant to rush into establishing a relatively untested program. Internal and external politics, along with multiple layers of bureaucracy and an atmosphere of muted racism in the University and the province, undermined the urgency of the situation and prolonged the establishment of a Native Studies program for fourteen years. When the University finally did recognize the need for a program, the desire of the Native community for a college similar to the SIFC was challenged by
conservative members of the academic community who recommended a department within the Faculty of Arts and Science similar to that which had eventually emerged at Trent. A compromise was reached, and the School of Native Studies was established with autonomy similar to a Faculty, but a Director rather than a Dean. Finally, it was not difficult to convince the public and later the early administrators at UNBC of the importance of having a First Nations Studies Program at the new university situated among many Native communities. In the late 1980s, Native Studies had also been accepted within academia as a respected discipline, and the provincial government had post-secondary education for Native learners high on its agenda, leading UNBC to incorporate a program into its initial plans. But, in an era of financial restraint and fear of cutbacks, the newest university in Canada, and one of the smallest, was reluctant to be too ambitious in its planning, and thus designed neither a Department, a College, nor a School, but rather a Program of First Nations Studies.

Although the influences and structures of the programs differ, these aspects have little affect on the success of the programs. The key factor which determines the success of a Native Studies program is the ability of the institution to respond to the needs and desires of the First Nations. Within the four programs examined, changes to the curriculum to incorporate cultural and applied courses have been in response to the interests of the Native community. Altering hiring practices to allow Elders and other Natives without PhDs to teach has been another effort to respond to Native constituents. Attracting Native students to post-secondary institutions has also required the institutions in question to make changes, including the provision of bridging programs and the implementation of affirmative action policies. Finally, meeting the needs of Native people has required First Nations representation throughout the institutions' governing structures.

The changes to the curriculum of Native Studies is characteristic of all of the programs examined. In the late sixties and early seventies, administrators of Native Studies programs allowed their course offerings to be dictated by academics from the more established disciplines. Thus, the programs initially focused on developing traditional academic courses because it was considered
politically unwise to reject the expectations and demands of the university. The result was a Native Studies curriculum based on traditional courses such as Anthropology and History which focused on Native peoples. It was only later that Native Studies began to shift its attention to its Native constituents who were demanding that cultural courses be provided to reflect their concern with the decreasing use of Native languages. By the late seventies, cultural courses had become accepted as legitimate and there was less need to prove the academic integrity of the program by focusing on offering traditional academic courses. At the same time, Arts and Science Faculties across Canada were experiencing declining enrolment as students began to demand applied courses to prepare them for the job market. Native Studies responded by offering practicums, field research and courses in Business, Administration, Negotiation Strategies, etc. Today, each of the Native Studies programs studied try to balance academic, cultural and applied course offerings.

With the introduction of culture to the curriculum, the need for appropriate conveyors of culture also emerged. As a result, each of the universities examined have Elders acting as cultural advisors, either within the Native Studies programs or through Native student services facilities. Trent was the first in the mid-seventies to introduce both a resident Elder and a Native counsellor. At that time, there was some scepticism as to the effectiveness of either, and it was a struggle to fund the positions. Nevertheless, the importance of having Elders to work with staff and students was recognized by succeeding programs, and SIFC began in 1976 with Resident Elders in place, and their numbers and involvement have only increased over time.

In the planning stages of the University of Alberta and the University of Northern British Columbia, the involvement of Elders was considered a requirement for student success and a requirement for credibility within the Native community. In 1991, the Canadian Journal of Native Education was able to report that in the case of universities with Native Studies, "...elders are usually involved in some consultative role in shaping the priorities and ethos of the institution, and are generally regarded as the culture-bearers with regard to the practice and transmission of traditional values, beliefs, knowledge, skills, and customs." The acceptance of Elders as a necessary part
of any Native Studies programs has meant that the four programs examined are fairly equal at this level.

While Native Studies programs have been involving Elders as counsellors and guest lecturers since the early seventies, hiring Native faculty to teach in the programs was not as easy to accomplish. It was the general consensus that "far too few Native students have contact with Native faculty who are attuned to their culture and who can serve as models of educational achievement."\(^2\) Unfortunately, there were few Natives with advanced degrees available in the seventies, and in the early days at Trent, a faculty member indicated that "times were such that you still had to have paper qualifications...and you were running a considerable risk if you made appointments without these qualifications."\(^3\) Nonetheless, it was soon recognized that instructors in the area of language would lack the academic credentials normally associated with regular university appointments. Therefore, Native language instructors were hired at Trent as "special sessional lecturers". When the SIFC emerged on the scene in 1976, standards were still an issue, but there continued to be very few Native scholars available. Nevertheless, the SIFC had the most success in attracting Native faculty with PhDs and was able to require that faculty have the minimum of a B.A. and staff who could not meet those standards acted as classroom resource people, but did not have faculty status. Even today, in the area of language, although in many cases the classes are taught by Elders, they are given neither academic rank nor recognized as faculty unless they have a B.A. Clearly the SIFC does not want the academic integrity of its programs questioned.

Newer programs have experienced the greatest difficulty in attracting Natives with advanced degrees. The School of Native Studies at the University of Alberta recognizes that these people are much in demand and, as a result, gives appointments to Aboriginal candidates without PhDs and encourages them to pursue professional development, while in the area of language, tenured faculty have been hired without any degrees. Overall, the School of Native Studies has not had the success of the SIFC in attracting Native instructors with traditional academic credentials, and the same can be said of UNBC. As a result, UNBC has also used Natives without academic
qualifications through a series of appointments on the co-instructional model, with plans to eventually shift instruction more fully to the First Nations co-instructor. Among the programs examined, the SIFC has been the most successful at attracting Native scholars with advanced degrees, while Trent has gone the furthest to accept Native faculty with alternative qualifications by articulating a set of criteria in the 1990s for the academic appointment of Elders, recognizing their traditional/indigenous knowledge and using other Elders as their peer group in assessment. For each of the programs, every effort is being made to balance First Nations teaching with university requirements.

Representation of Native students in Native Studies programs is as important as Native faculty representation, but equally important has been the need to attract Native students to universities in general. Offering a Native Studies program is seen as a way of making universities more attractive to Native students by demonstrating that the place of Native people in academia is not simply as objects of study, that Native issues have some pride of place, and that Native people are welcome. Although the programs have had some success in attracting more Native students to universities, First Nations’ enrolment is still not representative of provincial Native populations. The response by the universities in question has been the introduction of alternative access routes for Native students who may not otherwise meet the minimum requirements for admission. At Trent, a Diploma Program was introduced to prepare students for entrance into the university. At the SIFC, the University Entrance Program was already in place at the University of Regina when the College became federated, and at the University of Alberta, a Transition Year Program was also introduced prior to the opening of the School of Native Studies. Although UNBC functioned for several years without an alternative access route, it plans to introduce the Northern Advancement Program in September 1997.

The above initiatives demonstrate that much has been done for the First Nations, but reveals little about the opportunities afforded them to participate in making decisions about their education. The four institutions examined, have each recognized that credibility within the Native community
requires involvement of that community, and have thus attempted to involve First Nations in their Native Studies programs and throughout their university's governing bodies. For Trent, it took several years, with the establishment of a Council of Elders first suggested in the 1970s, resurfacing in the eighties in a proposal for a Native Community Advisory Council, but only fully implemented in 1993 when Trent established the Trent Aboriginal Education Council (AEC). Today, the AEC is the main vehicle for Aboriginal input into the design, development, implementation and evaluation of programs of study and research. On the contrary, at SIFC, First Nations have always controlled the College through the Board of Governors consisting of ten elected Chiefs and two senators of the Federation of Saskatchewan Indian Nations. In terms of governance by First Nations, the SIFC has been the most successful. According to the current President of the College, Dr. Eber Hampton, "basic policy decisions are First Nations policy decisions, so that First Nations set the direction for the College."*

Credibility among the First Nations has also been important to the newer programs. Like the SIFC, the School of Native Studies has institutionalized Native representation in its governing body. The School Council is responsible for academic decision-making, and representation on the Council allows for approximately half of the governing body to be Native. With regard to the institutional involvement of First Nations, the Office of Native Student Services and the Aboriginal Student Council ensure that the Native community is included. UNBC learned from the experience of its predecessors, and solicited input from the Native community from the beginning, initially with First Nations Consultation Fora, later with a First Nations Task Force and finally with a Senate Standing Committee on First Nations. In addition, the University has different Regional Advisory Councils which include First Nations, as well as Native seats on both the Board of Governors and the Senate. Although UNBC has been the least successful in this area, it continues to make every effort to improve. Currently, First Nations involvement in Native Studies has signalled a shift in the acceptance of cooperative curriculum development as a model versus an exception5 and hopefully this acceptance will soon transcend all levels of university decision making.
Concomitant with bringing the First Nations community into the universities has been the outreach by the universities into the First Nations community. Distance education has been explored by most Native Studies programs. Trent is one of the exceptions. Trent has limited off-campus offerings because the University is situated near several First Nations communities, and can rely on the many other universities in Ontario to reach out to the Native communities outside of its immediate vicinity. On the other hand, distance education has always been an integral part of SIFC because, as an arm of the FSIN, it has a responsibility to reach out to as many of Saskatchewan's 72 reserves as possible. With a second campus in Saskatoon and an office of Extension and Northern Operations in Prince Albert, the College has a presence throughout Saskatchewan and even offers classes in Manitoba, Alberta and British Columbia making it the most successful of the four programs in this area. Similarly, the School of Native Studies at the University of Alberta offers courses at First Nations Colleges throughout Alberta as well as brokering Native Studies courses to non-Aboriginal post-secondary institutions in the province. At UNBC, distance education is a mandate of the institution as a whole and First Nations Studies has been very active in this area. The program has reached out through partnerships with First Nations, allowing them to deliver the courses in their home communities, but given the number of bands within its region and their widespread locations, UNBC faces a challenge in responding to the needs of its many constituents. Each of the programs believes that availing First Nations students of the opportunity to take university credit courses from their own communities has contributed to the increased participation and success of Native students in post-secondary education.

While First Nations involvement is the key factor in determining the success of any Native Studies program, limited funding is the major deterrent to achieving success because it restricts the ability of the programs to provide the necessary elements in terms of accessibility, accountability, and excellence. Not surprisingly, in the area of funding, the programs once again differ. As the first, Trent benefitted from generous donors and a responsive government. With the adoption of the National Indian Brotherhood's Indian Control of Indian Education in the early seventies, the FSI
pressed the federal government to put its money where its mouth was, but the SIFC's dependence on soft funding from the federal government make it the most unstable. The School of Native Studies at the University of Alberta is a close second, as it struggles to convince the provincial government to provide additional funding to the University to finance the School. UNBC, as the newest program, emerging in a time of cutbacks to Canadian universities, is also experiencing difficulty in getting the funding needed to provide the program that was initially envisioned. The response of the various governments to funding issues have been predictably contradictory. Both UNBC and Trent have the advantage of provincial governments which support efforts to increase Native enrollment in post-secondary education, but only in the latter case did this translate into increased funding. In general, despite the verbal support for efforts to increase educational opportunities for the First Nations, the financing of Native Studies programs is the cause of debate between the federal and provincial governments. The federal government insists that the responsibility for the post-secondary education of Natives resides with the province through legislation regarding public post-secondary education and training. The provinces have tended to respond with their own position that they are not responsible for Native education because Natives are a federal responsibility. In the end, universities are pressured to use money from their base budgets to support Native Studies programs without necessarily receiving supplements to that budget. In times of financial restraint and cutbacks throughout universities, this places Native Studies programs in a precarious position. As for outside sources, Trent has been the most successful in procuring endowments and grants, while the other programs attribute only a small portion of their funding to these sources. Thus, most Native Studies programs struggle on with insufficient funding and uncertainty as to their financial futures.

The future was equally uncertain in 1972, when the Indian Control of Indian Education policy paper of the National Indian Brotherhood recommended the introduction of Indian Studies programs, Aboriginal language courses, Native professors and counsellors, flexible entrance requirements, and representation on governing bodies of institutions of higher learning. Yet, today it appears that
these recommendations have finally come to fruition. Each of the Native Studies programs examined have had unique experiences based on the times they were established, their location, and the structure of their programs, yet they have all come to recognize the importance of First Nations involvement to ensure accessibility, accountability, and excellence. Canadian universities are gradually realizing that to be a fully credible institution within Native communities, mainstream society, and the university at large, in terms of both Western academic and traditional Native knowledge systems, it is critical that they not see credibility in one of these areas as more important than another. In the case of Native Studies, Canadian universities are no longer the "germ-free sterilized environment" that Harold Cardinal identified in the late sixties. Evidence of the changes to the previously elitist institutions is apparent in the attempts by Native Studies programs to make university education accessible to Native students through transition year programs and affirmative action. In addition, Native Studies involves members of the Native community in the development and delivery of programs through recognition of indigenous knowledge as equivalent to academic credentials, or the hiring of First Nations as instructors and co-instructors. By requiring representation of First Nations on Boards of Governors, Senates, Councils and Committees, universities are also making First Nations an integral part of post-secondary education and discontinuing what Foucault terms "the indignity of speaking for others." Aside from welcoming the Native community into the university, the university is also reaching out to the communities by offering distance education courses and collaborating with local agencies to offer programs. According to Paul Axelrod and John Reid, "Those who see the university as merely an ivory tower, somehow levitating above the hard realities of Canadian society, will be surprised at how directly and powerfully the world has impinged upon university life." It is hoped that this study demonstrates that Native Studies programs are attempting to respond to the needs of First Nations communities and descending from the ivory tower.
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