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**CONFRONTING FIRST NATIONS CULTURAL GENOCIDE:
SHOWCASING PERSPECTIVE OF CREE ELDERS FOR
IDENTITY AND LEADERSHIP RENEWAL**

by

Phyllis S. A. Cardinal

**A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Education**

University of San Diego

1998

Dissertation Committee

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ABSTRACT

Confronting First Nations Cultural Genocide: Showcasing Perspective of Cree Elders for Identity and Leadership Renewal

The purpose of this study was to gain insight on the effects of cultural genocide through the lens of selected Cree elders in Alberta, Canada. The study enlisted the elders' perspective on the legacy of cultural genocide, and its residue. This process enabled the elders to offer views about Cree identity, and suggest a leadership perspective for continued cultural renewal.

The study applied a Lockean theory to the attack on Natural Law to explain the genocide. The study also explained the way Locke's ideas may have contributed to the earlier federal policies that have subordinated the Cree, and to the subordination of Cree Natural Law.

This ethnographic study limited itself to the views of six Cree elders from the geographical boundaries of the Tribal Chiefs Institute in the Canadian province of Alberta. The study addressed historical data as well, and analyzed current Canadian Federal Government policies affecting First Nations and cultural renewal.

Data from the six interviews were compiled and analyzed on the basis of three themes: (a) Cree Natural Law; (b) education; and leadership. In general the first theme, Cree Natural Law, portrays the cultural foundation of the Cree people. The perspectives of the six elders found that the values of the Cree people were essential to

the development of self as a contributing factor to the collective development of a community. The second theme, education, provided insights on the way that European education systems affected the Cree people both on an individual basis and collectively as a nation. Further, it explained the current educational needs of the Cree. The third theme, leadership, offered views about how Natural Law and education has provided direction for cultural renewal of the Cree people. Altogether, the themes suggested the Cree Natural Law continues to provide renewal of cultural identity for the Cree people through its leadership model of collaboration, consensus, and vision.

DEDICATION

The memories and teachings of my late mother Josephine L'Hirondelle (nee Pasquayak) are still fresh in my mind. It was her example as a mother, grandmother, and teacher of children that has guided me thus far. The spirit of determination and strength she has shown me, long after her passing, is a legacy that I hope to give to my children. Most importantly, my mother, as a Cree woman, faced the adversity showcased in these elders' stories. Thus, I dedicate this project to her memory.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I never dreamed that I would ever complete a project like this — it would have been near impossible if I did not have the support of my family. Their patience, understanding, and unity as a family guided and helped me to focus on an end product. A special thank you is extended to my husband Ernie, my son Mark, and my daughters Neva and Deanna.

I would also like to acknowledge the elders for giving me the opportunity to search and formulate their rich and vibrant stories. Without their cooperation and direction, this project would have not been possible.

Addition, I would like to especially acknowledge my dissertation chair, Dr. M. J. Abascal-Hildebrand; her tireless energy, guidance, direction, and most importantly her gentle patience with me, was a blessing. Also, I cannot forget Dr. Raymond Latta and Dr. Johanna Hunsaker whose knowledge, guidance, and faith were a major support.

Finally, I extend acknowledgement as well to the Tribal Chiefs Institute, and the Saddle Lake Chief and Council for their moral and financial support.

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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM

Statement of the Problem

All over the world, First Nation peoples have been and are being systematically destroyed in the name of development. Languages are being eradicated, family relationships are being stretched and broken, traditional values are belittled, and, as a last resort, genocide is being practiced. (Dunstan, cited in Suzuki & Kundston, 1993, p. 233)

One hundred and twenty-one years have passed since the British Crown officially proclaimed Canada as its own. In the wake of colonizing yet another country, the colonizers bequeathed a history of lingering tears, devastation, and havoc on the cultural foundation of First Nations people of Canada. Once a powerful set of nations, the desecrated image of First Nations, according to Herbert Marx (1973), depicts cultural traits of despondence, laziness, drunkenness, and disorderliness.

First Nation people faced, and continue to face, enormous social problems. They hold the highest incarceration rate in all of Canada. First Nations represent 50% of federally incarcerated inmates. Another shocking claim is that, as a group, they have the highest unemployment rate. According to the Department of Indian Affairs (1980), 40% of First Nations are unemployed, compared to 7% of other Canadians. Furthermore, First Nations members hold extremely high rates of alcoholism and suicide.

The importance of revisiting the historical impact of colonization is that it challenges all Canadians to examine the experience of cultural genocide of First Nations people in Canada. It also enables a return to native values as the foundation for cultural and leadership renewal. Genocide of other peoples receives headline status around the world as documents and testimonies emerge which authenticate the atrocities of cultural clashes between nations and cultures in conflict. Probably the most infamous case of genocide is the Holocaust; droves of Jewish and other victims came forward to attest to the barbaric and sadistic treatment of their people. Similarly, other instances include the Apartheid policy in South Africa, and the internment in Canada of the Japanese people during the Second World War. In fact, according to Southam News in 1988, Canada offered a public apology to the Japanese people and offered restitution by offering three hundred million dollars for past wrongs. However, colonization and genocide of First Nations has not received as much notoriety; its qualifying conditions challenge us to revisit the impact of the colonization of the Americas, which resulted in the genocide of First Nation's societies.

Background of the Problem

History has demonstrated to the world that the act of conquering countries and cultural groups is synonymous with the driving force to gain power and control for wealth and status. As having been noted by Marx (1973), the conquerors felt compelled to promote and then validate the extermination of First Nations. Undeniably, whole nations were annihilated in Canada as if it were the sport to hunt human prey. The Beothuk First Nations are among such wholesale fatalities. Furthermore, other

measures were employed on First Nations, as Marx informs us of the notion of genocide of First Nations confirms that "the invaders sought to Christianize them or forcibly detribalize them" (p. 24).

Moreover, James Cox (1991) expounds on the use of education as another method of genocide. Cox explains that by introducing education as a tool to remove the Indian from the Indian, indoctrinating the conquerors' values and lifestyles could annihilate First Nations' cultural cohesion. Haig-Brown (1993) affirms this notion of cultural oppression in the address to the Province of Canada Report of 1847. The report recommended "that the First Nations remain under the control of Crown . . . efforts be made to Christianize the Indians and settle them into communities be continued" (p. 32).

Peter Moon (1996) speaks of the educational experiences of First Nations peoples whose horror stories affirm the reality of government policy and the 120-year attempt at cultural genocide.

The rising voice of First Nations peoples across Canada in the 1990s echoes the pain from the atrocious deeds inflicted on seven generations. The media, the people themselves and even some of the religious denominations now acknowledge these deeply embedded accounts of grave adversity. Likewise, First Nation leaders and scholars point to the value of unfolding individual experiences to investigate the policies of the federal government, and to substantiate factors in cultural genocide.

According to the elders, First Nation tribal systems, prior to European Christian influence, were comprised of one belief system. Additionally, the strength of the

cultural framework has survived the colonial onslaught of the Europeans through the belief in the ancient teachings. Suzuki and Knudtson (1992) give credence to this viewpoint as they speak to First Nation people evading European repression. This can be attributed to prayer and spiritual beliefs being synonymous with the nature of the land. Today, however, most First Nation reserves are now comprised of members belonging to various religious denominations. The impact of these phenomena questions the foundational make-up of cultural significance within First Nation communities. In some of the more current religious factions, denouncing the traditional lifestyle has fractured First Nation's communities. It is contradictory that, from a significant collective society, the indoctrination of individualism at the spiritual, political, and economical base affects the framework and structure of First Nation communities. This is clarified upon examination of the economic conditions in First Nations communities. Short-term, federally funded projects are designed to appease the demands of First Nations leaders as a temporary relief. Frideres' (1988) perspective suggests that a two-tier system exists for economic development of reserve systems. His sobering assessment clearly delineates economic growth and development against that of the exploitation of reserve resources designed for the benefit of Euro-Canadians.

Similar to the enigma of economic disparity, there exists a division of political unity among First Nations. Currently, there are a number of political organizations funded by the federal government that do not engage the resources of First Nations collectively. Rather, it appears that government strategy keeps these organizations in

abeyance by negotiating for operational funds. This strategy has created a division, which refutes a notion of coalition and advocates a Machiavellian approach to leadership (Machiavelli, 1986).

Purpose of the Study

The extent of the blueprint of the historical atrocities inflicted on First Nations people raises questions as to how a nation can revive a culture amidst turmoil. Raising past hurts is significant because it allows a people to acknowledge and process its wounds by looking inwardly, to call on the spirit of determination, and as a prescription to assist with the restoration process. Therefore, the purpose of the study was to foreground the strength of tribal collaboration; the elders as people of wisdom and collateral researchers; and to acknowledge the strength of First Nations' values. Enhancing the value of self-governance and responsibility for their own actions and thought can release persons from the bonds of internal and external slavery. The need is to break free of the injustices and begin a vision quest among First Nations peoples, especially the elders to reconstruct pathways of reliance from self to collective determination.

For this reason, the study sought to draw on the wisdom of the elders to recall and reawaken the powerful infrastructure of First Nations' cultural values, traditions and beliefs. Dr. David Suzuki, a world-renowned scientist, speaks to and honors the elders' knowledge. He affirms the view that elders not only offer life experiences, but they are also gifted with an innate knowing that provides guidance and direction

(Suzuki & Knudtson, 1992). It is through their knowledge of Natural Law by evoking their memories, which has created a discerning consciousness of cultural significance.

Amidst the turmoil and confusion that First Nations are encountering today, its leadership continues to struggle with the colonial systems that are embedded within the service systems; even those provided at the grass roots level. The challenge is: moving beyond the turmoil and confusion of the colonialistic systems; strategizing common ground of tribal systems; and assembling the knowledge base of the elders, thus providing direction for renewal (Weisbord, 1992).

This study had two purposes: to examine the historical documents of events leading up to and including the colonization process of First Nations; and to interview First Nations elders to re-establish and provide direction for the cultural foundation of First Nations. The validation of cultural teachings, as it has presented itself, has envisioned a nation of renewal and leadership for future generations.

Research Questions

To validate First Nations cultural history, I proposed an ethnographic study with the Cree elders of the Treaty 6 area to explore the influence of genocide on contemporary First Nations life, and to direct the framework of the research. A map of the Treaty 6 geographical boundaries is shown in Appendix A. The cultural significance in referring to the elders for guidance and direction is in keeping with, and respect for, the Natural Law of First Nations cultural framework. The researcher focused on three research questions:

1. How can the investigation via the oral tradition of First Nations assist in the regeneration of cultural value systems of First Nations?
2. How can a renewal of Natural Laws influence education practice and thus leadership models of First Nations?
3. How can this regeneration be utilized in the leadership models of First Nations?

The researcher provided questions that guided the elders to respond to the three research questions. These are available in Appendix B.

Assumption(s) of the Study

The literature reviewed in this study indicates that the act of cultural genocide, through government policy and action, is a direct link to the loss of cultural identity of First Nations people. Specifically, the prevailing circumstances on First Nations reserves mirror the disparity of social, psychological, and economic elements of a nation. Secondly, it is assumed that the cultural knowing of the Cree elders will validate the phenomena of cultural genocide as well as provide direction for renewal. Thirdly, it is presupposed that utilizing education as a vehicle for cultural renewal will provide the framework First Nation leadership model.

Delimitations of the Study

I adjusted my ethnographic lens to a specific region in Canada, one that is closely bound to personal experiences and geography. As a result, the study examines and provides insight to current social situations with the Treaty 6 area as an

ethnographic journey. The narrative of First Nations elders as designated by the Tribal Chiefs Institute provides the framework of the study. The elders are represented by three generations of First Nations, including three decades ranging from 42 to 76 years of age. Based on respect to my Cree tribe and discussions with some of the First Nations leaders, I proposed exploring the social conditions they suggested as a feasible topic for study. In addition, documents within the archives of the federal and provincial museums were a part of the data review and collection.

Limitations of the Study

The current availability of historical documents from a First Nations perspective is limited. This may be attributed to the oral tradition of First Nations, whose practice is to channel knowledge and history through sharing stories and memories. Thus, the study reliability depends upon the memories of elders as defined in the proposed narratives of three generations of First Nations.

Specific Terminology

Genocide: The concept of genocide for this study is based on the definition noted by Celia Haig-Brown (1993) in her book, Resistance and Renewal: "A two-fold process which colonizers utilized for the purpose of: 1. seizing land, murder and segregation; this is called intentional genocide. 2. Introduction of disease; this is defined as unintentional genocide" (p. 15).

Elders: Within the life cycle of First Nations, this particular stage in life encompasses the gathering and synthesizing of knowledge to be transmitted through direct and indirect teachings.

Colonization: The process of setting up colonies on behalf of the Crown of England for the purpose of establishing land rights and re-establishing European populations.

Policy: Laws of British systems that directly affected the culture and lifestyles of First Nations people.

Natural Law: The traditions, beliefs, and values of First Nations people that direct a world view perspective reflecting the basic values of caring, sharing, respect, and determination.

Vision quest: An individual who would take solitude for the purpose of reflection and spiritual guidance.

Treaty 6: The First Nations of Canada and the British Crown signed an agreement for the purpose of sharing the land. Specifically, Treaty 6 was signed in 1876 at Ft. Pitt. Reserve lands and provisions for First Nations was a part of the agreement.

Traditional offering: The protocol used when asking First Nation elders for knowledge and guidance; tobacco and a gift are offered as a sign of respect.

Organization of the Study

Chapter I contained the statement of the problem of cultural genocide, the background of the problem, the importance and purpose of the study, and the research

questions guiding the study. The key terms used within the study were identified as specific terminology to assist in understanding the terms used by the elder participants.

Chapter II includes a review of the literature on the Lockean Theory of Law of Nature and examination of the First Nations perspective of Natural Law.

Chapter III includes the methodological overviews, research design, data collection, componential data analysis, and summary. The focus in the chapter addresses the protocol established in the approach and establishment of the relationship between the researcher and the participants.

Chapter IV includes the presentation and analysis of the finding, personal profiles of the participant, and the dialogic analysis according to the research questions of this study. A metaanalysis which addresses the perspectives of the elders for cultural, educational, and leadership renewal concludes the chapter.

Chapter V includes a summary, conclusions, and implications. This study concludes with recommendations for further research, which address the perspective of the Cree elders for leadership renewal.

The appendices include maps of the Canadian treaties and Alberta Reserves, a sample of the consent form, guiding questions, and documents from the collection of participant Peter.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Introduction

There are two conflicting narratives that depict First Nations in relation to British colonization. The narrative legacy of British influence mirrors a Canadian vision of the discovery of new lands and the home of the “strong” and “free.” Further, the settlement romanticized a new frontier of unclaimed land; resources for the taking and establishment of settlements for those displaced from the motherland.

On one hand, if one were to examine the notion of the impact of settlement in Canada from a First Nations perspective, a contentious view and experience may bring to light “old” philosophy of European influence and its effects. The oral tradition of tribal systems speaks to the global view, while John Locke’s theory of Individualism presents a conflicting world view. Specifically, the notion of virtues and values is addressed from an individualistic perspective and is compared to the First Nations communal well being. In his The Second Treatise on Civil Government (1986), Locke outlines the principles of civil government. He states that the foundation of government is built on a paternalistic structure which forms a ruling class. This paternalistic power structure laid the foundation for establishing governmental status in Canada and the means to deal with those whom they considered an inferior race of man.

On the other hand, when examining the world view of First Nations, the structure of First Nations in Canada is based on a collectivist model with a maternalistic decision-making process. This particular notion of First Nations government is definitive in most Eastern Canadian tribal system. However, in the western provinces, the notion of maternalistic governance has yet to be fully acknowledged because of the European influence in government structure. According to the women elders, the men did hold positions of status; nonetheless, the women influenced decisions within the tribal system.

Historical Framework

In order to understand the notion of cultural genocide, a review of significant historical and contemporary events between the European immigrants and First Nations are highlighted to substantiate the assault on the traditional lifestyle of First Nation people. Specifically, the highlights focus on and signify policy implementation which was detrimental to the changing lifestyle of First Nations within the geographical boundaries of Treaty 6. In addition, a map identifying the Treaty 6 boundaries is included in Appendix A.

1. Royal Proclamation Act of 1763 — proclaimed the inherent right of First Nations to be recognized as a sovereign nation.
2. British North America Act — claimed Canada as British land.
3. In 1857, an act was passed by the Province of Canada to encourage the gradual civilization of Indian Tribes.

4. Signing of Treaty 6 of 1867 — surrender of land as agreement for the settlement for European settlers.

5. A network of residential schools began in 1849.

6. The Department of Indian Affairs instituted a pass system. A sample of this pass is provided in Appendix C.

7. First Indian residential school opened in Saddle Lake, Alberta, Canada.

Sundances and other traditional ceremonies were outlawed in 1885. Children as young as the age of four were taken from families and placed in residential schools. The school was relocated to a site near the town of St. Paul, Alberta, Canada.

8. Indian agent offices were opened on Treaty 6 reserve lands during the early 1900s. Indian agents distributed food rations, and agricultural tools on a monthly basis. They also monitored and managed the movement of First Nation peoples and ensured the Indians followed government policy.

9. Assimilation of Indian students by attending provincial schools was initiated in the mid-1950s.

10. In 1967, First Nation people were allowed to vote, and permitted to purchase and enter establishments that served alcohol.

11. Relocation Grants were distributed to First Nations as as incentive for assimilation during the 1970s by the Department of Indian Affairs.

12. The members within the geographical boundaries of the Northeastern Alberta reserves (Appendix D) staged a sit-in demanding that the Blue Quills

Residential School be given to the First Nation reserves so as to administer their own educational system. The Blue Quills Residential School was taken over in 1970.

13. The "White Paper" proposed by the Federal Government of 1969 suggested that an assimilation process for all First Nations be initiated countrywide.

14. The "Red Paper" countered the White Paper. This document was developed by the First Nations.

15. The Meech Lake Accord in 1989 was stopped by a First Nations political leader. The Accord would have absorbed the treaty rights of First Nations into the mainstream Canada.

16. The Anglican Church extends apologies to First Nations for the Residential School experiences in 1996.

17. In 1998, the Canadian government offers \$350,000,000 as restitution for the detrimental experiences encountered while attending residential schools.

As recently as 1996, the Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples in Canada (Canada, Minister of Supply & Services, 1996) highlighted the injustices served to First Nation and other aboriginal peoples in Canada.

First Nations Cultural Framework

The "Natural Law" of First Nations people is the guide of collective governance. To illustrate this notion, Notzke (1987) suggests that sharing, a value of First Nations, began with the co-operative use of land. Likewise, other types of governance included the sharing of decisions that affected First Nations societies. Natural Law emphasized other values of equal importance: respect for all living things to include self and others,

knowledge and wisdom, and determinism. These values are unchanged despite the onslaught of European indoctrination of Manifest Destiny and the implementation of Locke's individualistic governance, even in contemporary circumstances.

According to Spradley (1979), culture is the knowledge a group of people use to demonstrate common experiences and behavior. Spradley claims that a researcher can understand culture only when the realization of different perspectives are apparent. As a First Nations researcher, the validity of my First Nations perspective may strengthen the report of the genocide's effect via European indoctrination.

To discuss the cultural framework of First Nations culture, it is important to establish a visual picture of the value system that extends to a world view of self and the other. Unlike our European brothers and sisters linear thought, the teachings and education of the young are circular in fashion. To illustrate this notion, the following model (Figure 1) as described by Peter O'Cheise (1990), depicts the view and cycle of a person who is born into a First Nations culture. In this particular case, the model of Natural Law demonstrated is that of the Cree Nation. There may be some differences among bands in the design and perspectives of the graph; however, the value systems throughout First Nations are universal.

It is on the premise of value systems that First Nations people lived a life which demonstrated a unique lifestyle. This encompassed a journey of self via an ethical aim through praxis for the purpose of a collective need for community (Ricoeur, 1992). The stage of development symbolizes that the passing from one stage to another is indicative of renewal and celebration of each phase. In First Nations societies, the

generation and regeneration of value systems are embedded into the structure of the family and the extended family systems. To illustrate the value system, the sharing concept is one that is highly respected and practiced among First Nations people. An alternative First Nation view by European settlers and government officials advocated that the First Nation peoples were incapable of making sound decisions for themselves. So the Department of Indian Affairs, under the guise of the Canadian Constitution of 1867, established power over the lands and First Nations of Canada. This resulted in government orders to halt religious and cultural practices of First Nations. It also initiated the policy of the Indian Act. This legislation allowed full jurisdiction over the First Nations and lands within the boundaries of Canada. Frideres (1988) characterizes his views on the Indian Act by stating that it was "originally designed to protect the Native population and to ensure assimilation, it structured inequality, poverty, and under-achievement among Natives, but it has seriously encroached upon the personal freedom, morale and well-being of Native people" (p. 37).

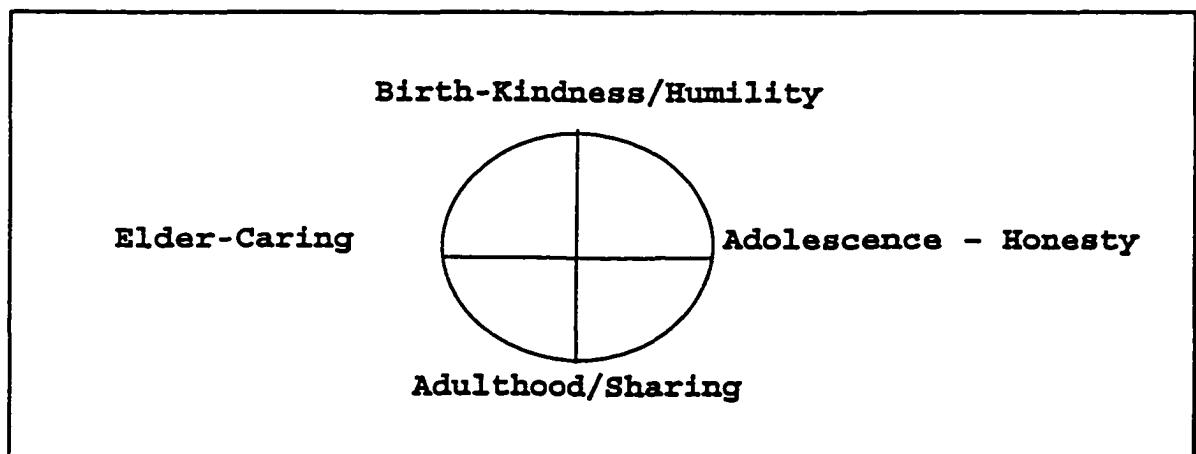


Figure 1. Cree Natural Law.

Historical-Political Context of Cultural Genocide

There were numerous attempts to annihilate First Nations people, either directly or indirectly. Because the strategy was unsuccessful, alternative European action implemented new initiatives to bring subservience to First Nations people. Whitehead's (cited in Haig-Brown, 1993) notion of European settlement underscored a detailed perspective: "Every means should therefore be taken to bring the nomad tribes to abandon their wandering life and to build houses, cultivate fields and practice the elementary crafts of civilized life" (p. 33).

The most significant and successful strategy was based on educational and missionary approaches. Since the 1600s, education and religious indoctrination underwent numerous transitions under the direction of the British government and, later, the Government of Canada. The informal traditional style of learning of the First Nations person was converted to the missionary formal structure of Christianity under three directives: the mission school, residential school, and the provincial school system.

Let us consider the conflicting notion of the law of nature and how the British Government incorporates its natural law from the viewpoint of government philosophy.

According to the Lockean theory of political power, there are 15 qualifiers that determine the nature of man. These determinants dictate the power structure of government representatives specifically; man is master of his fate. However, there are limitations within the framework to express freedom and liberty. While man has the right to express his freedom of economic rights and equality, he is still likely to be a

subject. Locke (1986) clarifies equality as being subject to self and ultimately to the “lord and master” (p. 9). Interestingly enough, while man has the right to freedom, health and equality, the State of Nature decrees man’s loyalty of one sovereign master.

Equally important, Locke discusses justification of dominance by stating that any man who threatens the Law of Nature is subject to punishment. It grants the right of man to administer punishment to those who defer from living within the structure of the Nature of Law and ultimately to guard and protect a sovereign nationhood.

Likewise, Locke advocates that, in order for man to administer the Law of Nature, it must be under the guise of the commonwealth of nations. Action for justice served is also ratified and allocated to those in power.

In essence, the Lockean Theory of the Law of Nature advocates that civil government is the solution to the governance of man. Locke states that the organization of all communities of man under one system of governance is the innate desire of all men. It is under this framework that the conflict with the “Law of Nature” and “Natural Law” occurs between the British system of governance with that of the First Nations global view of the world.

The case of the Beothuk First Nations of Newfoundland, where an entire nation of people was exterminated, demonstrates the Lockean theory of the Law of Nature. Specifically, the explorers systematically executed, with the aid of the Beothuk natural enemies — the Mohawk Nation — those that threatened their right to freedom of property. The Beothuk tribes, by contrast, were exercising “Natural Law” by sharing and accepting gifts from visitors to their community.

Communication back to the Motherland alerted the government of the landbase and abundance of natural resources for the taking. Conflicting with First Nations "Natural Law," European squatters assumed authority whether by Manifest Destiny or by their own views of the "Law of Nature."

de Tocqueville (1990) contributes to this phenomenon as he broadens the misunderstanding of the Law of Nature and the disappearance of whole nations. From his observations, he speaks to the conditions that First Nations face with the invasion of European settlements. The expansion of North American frontier witnessed not only growing European settlements but also the disappearance of subsistence on which First Nations lived. European thought was that, without such subsistence, the First Nations would perish or succumb to new ways. Thus, this movement of coercion to live a mutated lifestyle prompted the initial step to poverty and slavery of First Nations within their own homeland. de Tocqueville's impression of this notion is that the onus of the collapse of First Nations livelihood rests not on the shoulders of European influence; rather, that it rests with famine as a separate entity.

Locke's Law of Nature came to fruition with the legislation of the Canadian Constitution and the Indian Act of 1876. This legislation gave a stamp of approval for cultural genocide. Since then, the Indian Act has seen revisions that, according to Champagne (1994) affected the governmental structure by establishing a bureaucracy to control the affairs of its wards. The bondage constituted establishing "land reserves" to confine First Nations in designated land lots. Additionally, children were severed from family ties and their cultural roots; the First Nation language was prohibited; and gross

injustice of exploiting the land and resources became government policy. The First Nation removal included clearing the land for establishing settlements for European immigrants and paving the way for the railway into western Canada. Treaties with First Nations delivered and caged First Nations people across the nation to ensure that the Law of Nature was indoctrinated in the Canadian society and supplanted in the doctrine taught to the children of First Nations families. Likewise, the collective style of cultural significance was dismembered to eradicate any trace of a society that countered an individualistic form of society. The Euro-Canadians strategy to annihilate the First Nations people began in earnest through governmental or military force.

The Canadian government and its paternalistic approach resulted in seven generations of cultural genocide that nearly exterminated the First Nations cultural foundation.

The reign of terror resulted in the maiming of First Nations cultural framework, including psychological, physical, social, and spiritual casualties. In the wake of 120 years of government domination, the backlash resulted in generations of high suicides, high unemployment rates, substandard education programs, and other social inequities. Likewise, policy driven institutions sanctioned spiritual apathy, alcoholism and drug addictions, and deprivation of cultural identity. The incarceration of First Nations, extending from First Nation reserves to penal institutes, sorely boasts the highest ranking in all of Canada.

Institutionalization of Genocide

The prescription of genocide continues into the 21st century. The government remains insistent in disguising its purpose as it offers programs predestined for failure. Policy directives suppress the freedom of cultural expression and teachings, and encourage neo-colonization within all institutionalized structures. For example, First Nations are educated in provincial systems that continue to produce new forms of the Lockean theory of Individualism. Locust (1996) challenges us to consider the education system that misrepresents the ability of First Nation children who are administered aptitude tests. Locust suggests that these achievement tests are designed for children from the dominant society. In her view, the disadvantage of such tests is their focus on verbal ability from other cultural constructs and thus administered in a second language and culture alien to First Nations children. She further claims that the First Nation cultures provide the means for mastering nonverbal learning styles. York (1990) suggests that in the Cree culture, children are taught not to maintain eye contact as a means for respect, but to listen and reflect.

Similarly, tribal government systems also mirror British systems. These efforts are approved and sanctioned government policy through the directives of the First Nation Act. In Champagne's (1994) book, First Nation America: Portrait of the Peoples, he provides a sobering assessment of the current situation of Canadian First Nations political systems. He explains that the current state of affairs is unchanging, in spite of the meek attempt by the Canadian government to devolutionalize federal administrative agencies. Champagne suggests that "the straitjacket of the Indian Act

remains a thorn in the side of First Nation bands that seek greater control over their own social, economic, and political development" (p. 339). The challenges First Nations leaders have faced also challenge us to consider the current status of First Nations as they consider self-government as a means to re-establishing collective governance. Self-government or any other suggestion initiated by the federal government should signal caution to First Nation leaders as they enter into deliberation in the political arena with federal representatives. Acceptance of self-government legislation may result in yet another ruse of dominance. In 1992, the Charlottetown Accord pointed at weaving the inherent right of self-government of First Nations into the fabric of the Canadian Constitution. Likewise, First Nation leaders expressed their anxiety over the proposed terms included in the self-government document, specifically the "peace, order and good government restrictions on First Nation government authority" (Champagne, 1994, p. 368).

Joel Spring (1997) focuses on the phenomena of domination of minorities in the Americas. He presents the historical data for the rationale of the subjugation of people of color. The purpose established by government representatives was to coerce and manipulate policies that preserve the Euro-American philosophy of supremacy.

The common thread that Spring weaves throughout his book accentuates "Manifest Destiny" of British colonizers establishing the American Constitution. The deculturalization, as established through religious doctrines, empowered Euro-Americans to control minority peoples contrived to achieve total integration into the American system of governance and lifestyle. The underlying motivation for creating

systems of enculturation was to attain lands and resources in the name of progress and to create an Americanized society. To illustrate this point, Spring (1997) states that "faint-hearted efforts by colonists to 'civilize' First Nation Americans were replaced by a major effort of the U.S. government to use deculturalization policies as a means to gaining First Nation lands" (p. 10).

From the early 1800s to the 1950s, colonizers enforced similar acts with other minority groups such as the Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, African and Asian Americans to continue the scheme for deculturalization. Subsequent to the conquered nations succumbing to American rule, the government tactic to Americanize the minority nations was to establish vocational residential schools and/or segregated schools similar to those instituted for the First Nation American tribes. The fundamental principles of such schools involved prohibiting First Nation languages, segregation from family ties, and the use of dominant culture in the curriculum and in the textbooks. Government directives prohibited First Nation cultural practices and utilized non-First Nation teachers to teach the indoctrination. What appeared to be a helping service was, in actuality, an "attempt to help . . . accompanied by an attitude of moral and cultural superiority" (Spring, 1997, p. 42).

Spring's snapshot view of the forced policies implemented by government officials is exemplified by the stories of Isabelle Knockwood, a First Nation woman. Her stories evoke memories of horrendous practices and conditions that prevailed in residential schools.

Throughout both Father Mackey's and Father Collin's regimes the biggest crime was running away. They were brought back in a cop car by the Royal Canadian

Mounted Police. The boys' heads were shaved and they were kept in the dark closet, sometimes for several days and nights. They were strapped and fed only dry bread and water. In one case, the boys were tied to a chair and left there for two days. (Knockwood, 1992, cited in Spring, 1997, p. 86)

Spring (1997) addresses segregated schools as another method of indoctrination to control and impinge upon the education of minorities. Spring contends that the culture and values of the dominant society were enforced by never including the language of the suppressed societies in the curriculum. "Educators argued that learning English was essential to assimilation and the creation of a unified nation. In addition, language was considered related to values and culture" (p. 85).

From the 1960s, minority resistance to the deculturalization movement gave rise to national acknowledgment that earlier attempts to assimilate had failed. As a result, government officials masked attempts to appease minorities by offering superficially attractive grants to First Nations. The Relocation Policy initiated by the Department of Indian Affairs "encouraged" tribes of people to relocate to urban areas by offering attractive furniture allowances. The result: many of the First Nations were led to believe that living away from their homeland would bring self-sufficiency and independence. Statistics demonstrate an increase in social assistance, dependency on social programs, alcohol-related problems, and increased occupancy in penal institutes. The Royal Commission Report on Aboriginal People (Canada, Minister of Supply and Services, 1996) states: "The risk of illness and premature death are significantly higher among Aboriginal people than among other Canadians . . . and . . . poverty and ill health go hand in hand, and Aboriginal People are among the poorest in Canada" (p. 72).

The challenge to counter government tactics compelled activists of minority nations to share a common goal and interest by lobbying for a bilingual and multicultural education system. According to Spring (1997), there was an increased demand for self-determination to be incorporated into federal policy. To illustrate this proceeding, Spring refers to a 1961 Task Force Report on Indian Affairs which states: "To insure the success of our endeavor we must solicit the collaboration of those whom we hope to benefit-the First Nations themselves . . . equal citizenship, maximum self-sufficiency, and full participation in American life" (p. 101). First Nations leaders and lobbyists have spent considerable time and effort demanding similar conditions in Canada in an effort to demonstrate and exercise an aboriginal right for self-determination and sovereignty. In 1969, a Report on the Condition of First Nation Education revealed the deplorable conditions and policies First Nation Americans encountered. The atrocities incurred in procuring First Nation lands were also recognized in the report's manifesto. In contrast to the American report, the Government of Canada 1969 White Paper proposed that First Nations rights be blended in with the rest of Canadian society. These efforts were approved and sanctioned through government policy, coupled with the directives of the Indian Act.

Spring's historical review and evidence of suppression of minorities helps other ethnographers advocate support and the need to provide the perspective of minorities. As a First Nation's researcher, I find it is difficult to gather documents which provide direction and data which reflect the perspective of a cultural foundation of First Nations. This may be attributed to the substandard educational patterns and systems,

resulting in the lack of graduate students of First Nations. However, recent researchers recognize the growing need to gather the stories of First Nations people. These stories will re-establish a cultural framework from which future studies and programs can be implemented.

Finally, Spring's (1997) work on the enforcement of deculturalization "invites" collaboration between the Canadian and the American First Nations to consolidate efforts in challenging federal policy. His work also supports the pursuit of further study on the genocide of First Nations.

Despite the havoc and despair experienced by First Nations, the voices of the elders across Canada continue to speak of hope, determination, and vision for First Nation's people. They express the need to revitalize cultural strengths, and education as instrumental in the struggle to the survival of a nationhood. While there have been some attempts to follow the direction of the elders, they have only scratched the surface. As a nation, I feel we should not be appeased with what the government has provided.

Harold Cardinal's (1969) book, The Unjust Society, speaks to the strength of the elders. To paraphrase Cardinal, the solid foundational doctrine of the elders will provide the guidance in making virtuous leadership decisions which reflect the tribal beliefs in "natural law."

Leadership Imperatives

From Martin Chemers' (cited in Kellerman, 1984) perspective, the notion of "leadership is social phenomenon" which involves "the social, economic and cultural

characteristics of the society in which the organization is embedded" (p. 91). However, the attempt to examine leadership from a cultural viewpoint remains to be firmly ingrained in any specific theory. Chemers explains that researchers determined the examination of cross-cultural study on leadership models is limited.

There are, however, contemporary leadership systems established on First Nation reserves which mirror the policies of the Department of Indian Affairs and an autocratic style of European leadership. This act of imposed legislative leadership in First Nation communities, through the administrative arm of the federal government, reaffirms the position that collaboration in developing First Nations communities may be discouraged. Thus, according to Paulo Friere (1977), the federal government would need to divide and rule to maintain control of native groups. He says that the oppressed will stay oppressed by various means which isolate the people and initiate bureaucracies, and through manipulation by giving the impression that the natives are being helped. (Friere, 1990, p. 122)

To inspire a renewal of First Nation's culture, examination through the lens of the elders was pursued. According to ancient teachings of First Nations, the essence of life's existence is primary to raising and nurturing the young — a social phenomenon. According to the cultural framework of the First Nations people, each child is taught lessons through narration or by observation. The sum and substance of the teachings embrace the pursuit of living in harmony, as expressed by Nobel Prize-winning biologist George Wald (cited in Suzuki & Knudtson, 1992): "The past few years made us aware as we have never been before of the depth of kinship among all living

organisms So life is akin, and our kinship is much closer than we had every imagined" (p. 48).

Furthermore, the heart of First Nation's perspectives and views of the world are in pursuit of collective organization and leadership. First Nation's societies systematized kinship honors life and leads to the maintenance of the tribe.

Summary

The chronicles of Canadian historical documents speak to the exploration of the primitive wilds of Canada and the abundance of natural resources ready for the taking. In the process of establishing settlement in Canada, the First Nations people were subdued by coercion, force, and deliberate segregation. The narrative of First Nations elders validates this phenomenon. The colonization process involved the deployment of European philosophy and governance through direct governmental acts of genocide.

This act of cultural genocide is exemplified in the legislated acts and policies that have been implemented from the early 1600s to the present day. In the past, the government initiated a pass system; and federal policy identified First Nations as second class citizens and prohibited cultural ceremonies. The Canadian government now has acknowledged and somewhat apologized for the wrong doings of the past.

Despite the horrific legacy of European dominance, the wisdom of the elders offers hope and enlightenment for the renewal of cultural strength and determination. The elders suggest that government implemented European education has deferred the educational process of Natural Law of First Nation people. However, there is a need for Natural Law to be construed as a renewed act for First Nation leadership. The

elders further submit that the framework of cultural teachings is imperative for whole communities to relearn their values and traditions as a process of healing and rejuvenation of a cultural nation. In order to suggest this renewal, a model of traditional First Nations leadership, in balance with education, must be anchored with the teachings of Natural Law.

Chapter III contains the process and approach the researcher established with the six elder participants in this study.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

Methodological Overview

Whatever ever the approach, ethnography is always more than description. Ethnography is also a way of generalizing. This way differs from the standard scientific model, however, and in some ways is closer to the arts. . . . As in good literature, so in good ethnography the message comes not through explicit statement of generalities but as concrete portrayal. (Peacock, cited in Walcott, 1995, p. 170)

The First Nations peoples narratives were the focus of this study. Through the review of historical documents and subsequent interviews as a case study, a qualitative approach was employed in discussing the affects of colonial education, perspectives of Cree Natural Law, and the elder perspective on the renewal of First Nation leadership.

The nature of the study lent itself to an ethnographic approach. Spradley (1979) affirms the theory of such a study to describe a culture. To understand the notion of cultural genocide and its effects, First Nations lived experiences and oral knowledge of their history were documented, adding to the rich learning experience of the reader. Wolcott (1995) confirms this idea by stating: "The story must transcend its own modest origins. The case remains particular, its implications broad" (p. 8). Therefore, the power of the narrative serves two purposes: it provides information, but more importantly, identifies the power of resiliency of First Nations cultural foundation. Strauss and Corbin (1990) also speak to the descriptive analysis approach as a method, which

involves “weaving descriptions, speakers’ words, fieldnote quotations and their own interpretations into a rich and believable descriptive narrative” (p. 22).

Validity and Reliability

Despite the fact that Ratcliff (cited in Merriam, 1980) warns that there is “no universal way of guaranteeing validity” (p. 167), a First Nations researcher as a case study worker may enrich “the internal judgements made by those he studies, or who are close to the situation, are often more significant than the judgements of outsiders.” (Walker, cited in Merriam, 1980, p. 45).

Swisher (1986) indicates the cultural conduct and knowledge of a First Nations researcher, increases the validity of the findings, adding authenticity to the research. In fact, Swisher states: “The importance of minority researchers conducting research about the groups of which they are members has been stressed and encouraged by the educational research community” (p. 185).

Merriam (1980) acknowledges the fact that the human instrument can be capable of providing reliability in the process of gathering data of personal narratives.

Research Design

A case study is appropriate for this study as discussed by Merriam (1980). She explains that a case study is a process which “can be defined as an intensive, holistic description and analysis of a single entity, phenomenon, or social unit” (pp. 15-16). Examination of the cultural genocide phenomenon from each interview and processing identifiable themes will collectively determine commonalities.

Further to this, Merriam also affirms the notion that qualitative research “assumes that there are multiple realities — that the world is not an objective thing out there but a function of personal interaction and perception” (p. 16). According to Strauss and Corbin (1990), qualitative research is a means to examine the lives, stories, and behavior of a person. They also address the inquiry of social organizations, social movements, and interactional relationships. The researcher’s anticipation of the case research methodology is to examine the cause and effect of the phenomenon of cultural genocide. Based upon these guidelines, I began the interview process thanking them for giving their time and knowledge by participating in this study. At this time, I also provided my offering to each of the participants. A handshake was exchanged at the onset and at the end of each interview. This type of protocol, which reflects respect for one another, agreement, or an expression of happiness in seeing someone, is a common practice among the Cree people. Having completed the initial traditional protocol, I began with a general question asking them to tell me about their background, specifically their families. This was a method of breaking the ice and ensuring that a comfort level was achieved. Furthermore, I asked four to five guiding questions to continue the interview process. The questions were open-ended with the intent of summoning stories concerning their experiences living in reserves as well as each elder’s perspective for renewal in leadership models. The questions were designed to be explorative in nature, which would elicit perspectives and provide the opportunity to voice their thoughts and direction for the purpose of this study.

I evaluated, analyzed and interpreted the contents of each of the six participants’ interviews, coding the transcripts and creating personal profiles of each participant to narrate the findings. All of the six participants were given access to their transcripts to

edit, add further information, and validate the information taken from the interviews. Each of the participants was involved in the analysis of their data to edit, and validate according to the reliability of this study (Merriam, 1980).

Data Collection

I collected data from two interviews with each of the six participants over an 8-week period. Each of the interviews was approximately 90 to 100 minutes in duration. The interviews were audiotaped with each participant's permission. In one interview, a Cree translator was used in the interview process, as the researcher's Cree language skills are limited. The participant agreed to this procedure. I took extensive field notes observing nonverbal behavior during each of the interviews. These field notes were compiled with the typed transcripts at the end of each session (Wolcott, 1995).

Entry to the Population

As a First Nations member, I approached the Director of the Tribal Chiefs Institute seeking permission to conduct an ethnographic case study with the elders.

There are seven First Nation Bands which are part of the Cree Nation in North-eastern Alberta. The location of Treaty 6 in Alberta can be viewed in Appendix A. Protocol calls for permission to enter into the communities via the Tribal Chiefs Education Institute. The North Eastern Alberta contingency of First Nations advocates education and encourages members to pursue individual educational aims.

The Director of the Tribal Chiefs Institute provided possible names of people I might approach that would participate in this study. I traveled to each of their homes to make this request, and I provided a copy of the abstract as well as verbally explained the

purpose of the study. In addition, I also provided a copy of the guiding questions (Appendix B) so each of the participants would have opportunity to reflect on the type of questions they could anticipate if they agreed to participate in this study.

Selection of Site/Subjects

In his book, The Ethnographic Interview, Spradley (1979) details advantages of “small, traditional societies” (p. 47), utilizing informants as enculturated; specifically those who speak their First Nation tongue. Wolcott (1995) suggests that fieldwork provides an opportunity for inquiry as data gathering and living the experience. Identifying Northeastern Alberta elders of respect with the assistance of the Tribal Chiefs Association helped me identify key informants. Elders chosen as informants were selected based on the status of respect and their knowledge of First Nations history and culture.

Secondly, I anticipated that the elders would provide additional names with similar experiences unique to historical significance. Each of the participants agreed to be a part of this study; thus, the need to seek other participants was not necessary.

The setting of each of the interviews was established through the pleasure, comfort and convenience of each of the participants. For the most part, each of the interviews was conducted within the privacy of their homes. In one instance, one of the participants expressed a desire to visit my home. During these interviews, refreshments and a meal were provided. This action is in keeping with the protocol and traditional Cree practice in receiving visitors to your home. Each of the interviews was designed to establish a good comfort level for each of the participants. All were suitably private without interruptions. I requested permission to audiotape the interviews, and had extra tapes, batteries, and

recorder to ensure ease of data collection. I provided opportunity for refreshments and generally attempted to be sensitive to the needs of each of the elders.

Protection of Subjects

The cultures of First Nation people have been the object of study that is attributable to an impassive response to non-First Nation ethnographers. As a result, the Tribal Chiefs Institute mandates that researchers must present their study proposal for approval. This is affirmed by Swisher and Brown (1980) who state that tribal councils and First Nations people are reluctant to respond, or may offer ambiguous information as a means to deter further questioning. Further, Swisher and Brown affirm the notion that a trust relationship is offered more freely and supported to First Nations ethnographers. My intent in conducting this study is to extend the knowledge of our elders both in providing direction and their effort to address issues that are painful.

However, with the assistance and direction that the elders and leaders of First Nation's communities provide, I will establish a tone for this study. The ethical approaches used will embrace the honor and respect of First Nations traditional way of knowing. Additionally, my research will correspond with the Ethical Guideline for Practitioners (1988), as suggested by the United States National Association of Practicing Anthropologists (Fluehr-Lobban, 1991):

1. Honor and respect the knowledge of the informants in this study.
2. Provide proper remuneration according to tribal customs.
3. Respect the guidelines and policy of the Tribal Chiefs Institute in the selection of the informants.

4. Provide a comfortable and relaxed setting for the informants in acknowledgment of their age and concept of time. Collection of data via the narrative of elders is an endeavor that demands attentive skills by the researcher.

5. I will provide to the best of my ability, clear and concise interpretation of their knowledge to honor and respect the perceptions of First Nations people. Furthermore, the data will be provided to the informants for their approval and validation.

6. I acknowledge their contribution if they so wish or protection of their identity if they prefer to remain anonymous.

7. I will maintain dignity and honor on behalf of First Nations people in presenting the study.

8. Three generations of the aged ranging from 42 to 77 years of age were selected for the purpose of the study. I proposed to interview six participants. In addition, the protection of the participants were in keeping within the guidelines established by the University of San Diego Human Subjects guidelines.

I ensured each of the participant's anonymity, identity, and confidentiality of their responses. I provided a signed consent form (Appendix D) for each participant and concealed their identity to ensure there was no jeopardy of exposure. For coding purposes, I used a pseudonym for each of the participants. Materials and transcripts were coded and maintained in my home and secured in a locked filing cabinet. I destroyed the audiotapes once the transcriptions were completed. The transcripts will also be destroyed upon conclusion of this research project.

I provided the opportunity for each of the participants to review their transcripts and to reflect on my analysis of the narratives. All of the participants edited, added, and validated the transcripts and analysis.

In keeping with the guidelines of the Committee on the Protection of Human Subjects, I provided the opportunity for each of the participants to withdraw from the study upon request. I felt comfortable there was no persuasion placed upon each of the participants to be involved in the study.

I also felt comfortable in being able to meet the needs of my participants. A comfort level, a willingness to assist to provide guidance, and the notable humility and kindness in each of the participants was evident throughout the process of the interviews. I expressed to each of the participants they could shorten the interview time if they felt fatigue. Each of the participants were focused and expressed that they were comfortable and did not need to rest. A trust relationship was established between myself and the participants, as each of them was very candid and purposeful in responding to the questions. I felt the interview process was a positive experience for both the participant and this researcher.

Approach to Data Analysis

Spradley's (1979) work describes componential analysis as a systematic search for meanings that is associated with cultural symbols. This approach to investigating cultural genocide from a First Nations perspective requires the ability to interpret situations, symbols, and events identifying significant cultural attributes. This type of inquiry, according to Spradley leads to identifying semantic relationships resulting from the initial

investigative questioning and response. Simply, this method of data analysis results in additional relationships (contrasts) for the purpose of this study. Mapping additional relationships entails establishing paradigms from contrasts, symbols, and leadership perspectives of the informants' narratives.

On that account, the study followed the steps Spradley (1979) has outlined in his book, The Ethnographic Interview. The summary of steps Spradley suggests include: (a) selection of a contrast set for analysis; (b) taking inventory of all contrasts previously discovered; (c) preparation of a paradigm worksheet; (d) identify dimensions of contrast which have binary values; (e) combine closely related dimensions of contrast into ones with multiple values; (f) prepare contrast questions to elicit missing attributes and new dimensions of contrast; (g) conduct an interview to elicit needed data, and (h) prepare a completed paradigm.

This approach to data analysis addressed two purposes: establish domains and paradigms to understanding the implications of cultural genocide; and, secondly, illuminate the leadership imperatives the elders avow for the renewal of cultural significance.

Utilizing the three research questions, the process was analyzed according to how it clustered. The clusters formed by the coding led to the following themes concerning cultural genocide: identification of the values and beliefs of Cree Natural Law; the affects of European educational systems, and the elders' perspective for leadership renewal.

The coding followed a series of steps. The first analytical step was to read each of the transcripts for a sense of wholistic perspectives as expressed by the six participants. At this point, I developed tentative assumptions about the content of the first interviews

conducted. At the time of the second interview, I provided these assumptions to each of the participants for their review and validation.

Subsequently, I reviewed the text by highlighting compelling passages which addressed the themes identified by the research questions of this study. These themes included the identification of Cree Natural Law; the affects of European educational systems, and the reflections of the elders for leadership renewal. I included their narratives in response to the research questions. Thus, the three research questions framed the structure of the data analysis and presentation of the findings.

Finally, the relationships between the three themes of Natural Law, education, and leadership renewal were vital in the development of First Nations leadership models. In Chapter IV, I will address how these themes were instrumental and connected for the purpose of leadership renewal.

Background of the Researcher

I am a Cree woman of the Saddle Lake First Nation in Canada. I have worked for and with First Nations communities for over 21 years in the educational field. During this time I have observed and experienced the contentment of cultural knowing and the pains of social injustices. In my own way, I have tried to support First Nations communities by offering my services for the benefit of the community. My desire to extend support and insight to the First Nations dilemma draws from the experience of teaching and administering programs that do not meet the needs of First Nations. To pursue direction in proving the education experience meaningful, I sought guidance from community leaders. The initial direction I received was to focus on the dependency tribal members have on

institutionalized systems. My experiences include holding positions from teacher's aide, teacher, administrator, director, and consultant; all of which have been with First Nations schools. My involvement with educational services included developing policy, establishing school systems, consulting for school evaluation purposes, and developing curriculum resources unique to First Nations culture. I have also provided and facilitated workshops and seminars in First Nations board training, mastery learning, team building, and cultural sensitivity workshops. I also have expertise in evaluating teachers and programs.

My formal training includes a Bachelor of Education degree from the University of Alberta; a Graduate Diploma in Intercultural Education, University of Alberta; and a Master of Arts in Education from San Diego State University. My life's training included my parents, my brother, the people of Saddle Lake, the other First Nations reserves with whom I have worked, and the elders of each community. I view this particular aspect of my life's training as incomplete, as my childhood was spent living away from the reserve.

Summary

The explicit intent of ethnographic studies is to provide a better understanding of a culture. Essentially, the researcher must live and breathe the experiences of the native to understand the cultural ways from the perspective of First Nation peoples. This application of observation entails learning the relationship of cultural symbols and cultural protocol. Spradley (1979) points out ethnography means "learning from people" (p. 3). Thus far, the majority of research studies conducted on Cree First Nations conform to the lens of non-First Nation anthropologists. In order to prepare an accurate analysis of a cultural phenomenon, the preference of living and understanding the Cree culture from a

First Nations perspective will demonstrate an accurate depiction of cultural genocide. Furthermore, as a First Nations researcher, the authenticity of my research suggests the relationship established with the Cree elders will strengthen the validity of the data collected. The uniqueness of this study results from the rich and descriptive first-person narrative of their experiences. Additionally, each of the participants became co-researcher and author as they reviewed, edited, and offered new insights to the notion of Natural Law and renewal for First Nations leadership.

In addition, Eisler (1995), in her interpretation of reality, summarizes the importance of the narrative in myth and symbol in the resurgence of the craving for the meaning for life. The elders affirm this notion in their story.

Furthermore, the in-depth ethnographic approach to documenting the knowledge and wisdom of the elders provides new insight to a scarce field of study of Cree First Nations. It also provides opportunity for other researchers to further study the phenomena of cultural genocide as the renewal of traditional leadership models evolve.

Chapter IV contains the results and findings of this study.

CHAPTER IV

PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA

Introduction

The results of the research involved interviewing six aboriginal elders: three male participants and three female participants. The selection of the participants was based upon advisement and recommendation of the Education Director of the Tribal Chiefs Institute. The researcher approached each of the participants in the manner that reflects the cultural protocol of the Cree Nation from which each of the participants agreed to share their life's experience in the research study.

All participants are Cree elders whose ages range from 42 to 77 years of age. A pseudonym was used to protect their identity. The participants are members of the Tribal Chiefs Institute. Membership is as affiliation with the six Cree First Nations in Northeastern Alberta, of which their membership is based upon a shared educational affiliation with the Tribal Chiefs Institute.

Approach to Elder Participants

Each of the participants was asked the guiding questions as outlined in Appendix B. The format of this chapter will address individual personal responses due to the importance of each individual narrative. The cross-analysis will draw similarities and differences of experiences and cultural knowledge. The male and female participants

responded to the questions by sharing their personal experiences through their narratives.

Each of the participants was asked to reflect on their personal experiences while living on the reserve, with a focus on the application of Natural Law, their educational experiences, and their perspectives for leadership in First Nation communities. The need for reflection and guidance for cultural renewal was the focus and interest of all of the elders. Using Spradley's (1979) guide for ethnographic study, I utilized descriptive questions as being most effective and informative. The elders preferred to respond to descriptive questions to illustrate the experiences they revealed. Essentially, these questions allowed me to delve further into specific instances each of the participants expressed as significant in maintaining or changing their lifestyle. Additionally, it was deemed important to further explain the reason for the study to each of the elders. Once explained, a comfort level was established.

The reviews through the Cree translation of the data directed me to focus on similarities of experiences and knowledge as a base for establishing domains and cultural themes. Thus, a pattern of cultural similarities and experiences was analyzed to collectively reflect their stories. Accordingly, the notion of respect, caring, sharing, and vision were symbols used to establish the three themes addressed in this chapter. The relationship that all elders shared resulted in establishing a general definition of Natural Law. Specifically, the elders suggested that through a learned protocol of Cree Laws, the traditional foundation of the family structure as a Cree community is

established. This learned Cree protocol is extended to the tribal governance as collective governance.

Personal Profiles

These profiles were written in collaboration between the researchers and the participants. The profiles were established through a relationship established through a First Nation protocol specifically by providing an offering and requesting their knowledge and insight for the study. Since the history of First Nations is an oral history, the opportunity to document their stories is unique and special in completing this study. The elders provided in-depth stories which provided insight, guidance, and direction for leadership renewal.

Matthew

Matthew is the fourth oldest of a family of thirteen. He was born and raised on a Cree reserve in Northeastern Alberta, where he had attended school on and off the reserve. Matthew spent three years of his educational life residing in a residential school. This is his story.

"We didn't have the commodities of what other people had like electricity, or telephone; we had a lamp, fire, stove, and basically . . . we didn't have the materialistic stuff."

Matthew expanded, however, on what the family did have: "Our home was the loving and caring." He further explained that "we were kind of isolated on the reserve because we had a big family."

In order to maintain a livelihood, the family worked together. "We did everything ourselves . . . for example . . . my brother and I would go chop wood, get the water and performed certain chores. We would be up at 4:30; snares rabbits and haul water for the day as our contribution to feeding the family. After our chores were done, we would then be sent to school." This routine continued until he reached ninth grade. He was then sent to a residential school.

Matthew reflected on his educational experience attending schools in both provincial and residential educational systems:

When I think back to those times, there were 36 [aboriginal] of us that started in grade one and there was only myself that graduated. Most of the First Nation students that were attending school in [town] were put into this special classroom and other kids would refer to it as a dumb class. I can imagine how those students felt when they were in that classroom. My first experience in school was fear. I was afraid because I didn't know that this was a foreign language that I was going into and I felt that I wasn't meant to be in this place.

Despite the fact that Matthew initially experienced language difficulties, he attributes his success of being a whole person to the love and support he received from his parents.

When I transferred to a residential school, and it was a completely different atmosphere because that's one of the reasons why I believe in some formal structure in our lives . . . that we need to be able to follow something to make us work as human beings in this world. I believe that under structure you become who you are. We did face racial remarks but my parents' words of encouragement was key in helping us to stay in school. We were told not to retaliate.

Matthews' school experience extended to establishing a place for himself in school through his music. He felt that this was a bridge to his acceptance in the

non-First Nation world. He also attributed his success in education to the values and beliefs taught to him by his parents and grandparent.

The Cree way of thinking is a phenomena that is identified as "Natural Law."

Matthew speaks to the notion of Natural Law as a way of life for First Nations people.

I did not realize that I was living the Cree Natural Law; I was fortunate to have a grandmother who took care of us in the spring when my parents would go out to work in the sugar beets. I look back at what my grandmother taught me. She taught me a lot of things like respect, respect for the land. I think that if we respect Mother Earth then we respect women because they represent the same thing.

Matthew expounded on this comparative notion of Mother Earth and women by stating that the similarity of the land and women is that each gives life — a gift from the Creator that deserves respect and honor. Matthew further gave examples of this notion of respect.

She taught me all of those things like when she was picking roots. I saw her put tobacco in the ground and she would pray. I asked her why she would do that. My grandmother's reply to me was when you take something out of this land; you have to put something back. As an adult, I now think back on all of the things she taught me, these values were the Natural Laws of our people.

Matthew subsequently describes the values as an elder's teaching tool for the youth of Cree family communities.

My grandmother taught me the principle of honesty. She taught me that we need to be honest with ourselves first. This lesson of honesty became clearer as I spent time with the elders in the mountains. Under the elders' teachings they identified these as the disciplines that we have within ourselves as human beings because it is a spirit and those spirits work for you. If you have the spirit of caring and honesty, then they develop you into a human being. We have a function and a gift that we have to offer to other peoples.

The elders' teaching through stories was another component that is fresh in Matthew's recollection of lessons.

The other thing that amazes me today is that at night, my grandmother would tell us stories and legends. When I came to an older age, I found out that these legends or stories were spiritual teachings, like the teachings of our values that are integrated in our stories. What amazed me the most was when I was talking to this elder, he used the analogy of story as a teaching tool. Think when your parents and grandparents used to tell you stories at night to your children, your children become more content because it is the spirit of that story that is protecting you at night and you feel more comfortable and calm.

At this point, Matthew speaks to the value of determination as another attribute of the "Natural Laws" of the Cree people. His portrayal of determination is drawn upon the symbol of the rock. According to Matthew, he uses the symbol of the rock as a value of determination. "We come across a lot of challenges, and it is those challenges that each of us have to be determined in anything that we do. We challenge anything that relates to education, social, economic, and cultural issues that we have in our First Nation communities."

Matthew concludes his thoughts and reflections on the notion of "Natural Law" by stating that, as a First Nations community, we have to be strong. "Our elders say that we are a common people. We are never to develop a system that downgrades anyone else but one that promotes equality. This applies to our white brothers and sisters and their belief system. We must become aware of our self in respect to what we do in life and to transfer this teaching to our children."

Matthew then brings to light the difference in the teachings as he addresses the teachings that were forced upon First Nations people through the indoctrination of various religious denominations and the influence of government policies. "We became dysfunctional because we adapted to a different way of life. For example, once we

belong to a religious denomination, we had to abandon our use of religious ceremonies.

We were taught that our ceremonies were paganistic." Further to this Matthew adds:

Our communities are impacted by the use of drugs and alcohol. This is destroying our children. Prior to the arrival of the European, our society did not have this. I believe that this is something we have to look back at. Where did we lose all of this? I also believe that it challenges us to go back to our way of life, back to our values and principles that were established by our elders, grandfathers, and grandmothers in the past.

In addressing the aftermath of federally conducted policy, Matthew believes First Nations leaders must bear in mind the past of their people. He further emphasizes the fact that First Nation leaders must get in touch with their roots to understand what the First Nation people were prior to any external influences. "If we are to have influence with what is happening in the future for our children, then we have to revive what we lost. I am talking about reviving those values we had as a nation."

Matthew deliberates on tribal leadership as a hierarchical method that does not work for the people. His response to this notion is that First Nation leaders must revisit their cultural roots as a means for direction. He states that these values challenge the people to perform — to take responsibility for the different roles each has to play within the community. Matthew believes the colonial way of governance is neither functional nor reflective of the First Nations "Natural Law." He affirms his belief by stating: "We dropped most of our values because of money and the power struggle that we have in our communities." Matthew articulates his beliefs that the Cree "Natural Law" gave direction to administer First Nation's way of disciplining, governance, teaching, and handling their own problems.

This notion of Cree thought was illustrated in a comparative example in the rearing of a child using the resources of "Mother Earth" in a natural way of caring and nurturing a child. Matthew expounded on the belief that elders, through direction, can raise a child utilizing Mother Nature's ingredients. For example, a mother would use the moss from the earth rather than using a modern type of diaper. It signified kindness for the child. "In order for the child to be nurtured, we must provide water and the necessary tools for the child to grow in a positive way. That is our responsibility as a member of First Nations community."

Matthew also addresses the notion of celebration as an integral part of the Cree way of living. One of the most significant celebrations is the woman's entrance into puberty. It signifies the celebration of life and its continuance by honoring the young women. The young women attain the respect and honor of being a woman.

We don't have that type of celebration any more in our communities. People don't realize the importance of celebration for this child who has become a young lady. We have lost our traditional values that we once celebrated; we need to teach our young to understand those meanings of who they are and to celebrate those teachings and values in our ceremonies.

Matthew believes the Cree values can work in any modern setting, whether in a job or in a classroom. He claims that the First Nations children are learning different values that conflict with the Cree values and beliefs. He believes that the acceptance of other norms and values should be replaced with the teachings of Mother Earth. This is exemplified as Matthew contends that the current educational system is stressed on the individual. "As you grow up, everything is based on the self. Whereas the Cree

traditional teachings is based on equality. The impact of the individualist teachings has made our communities competitive rather than working as a group."

Matthew provides a more finite example as he suggests the leadership in Cree communities is hierarchical and does not provide direction for the people. He believes a revamping of the tribal systems should reflect the values of the Cree and not necessarily the colonialist perspective of the federal government. He cites an example of collective leadership he had an opportunity to study in British Columbia. He points out this particular clan system is based on a collaborative model in which all members are active in production, decision-making, and addressing issues in a common arena.

This foundation of collaboration is unique to the First Nations people and is based upon the language of the people. Matthew suggests that, through speaking the First Nation language, communication is a means of feeling the spirit of the people and is of significance in a thriving community. Matthew advocates that the First Nation languages are alive in thought and action. For example, "in the Cree language, there are animate and inanimate language patterns. The pipe, which is used in our ceremonies, is alive because it is the belief of the Cree that the rock is alive. The rock brings the spirit of strength, while the pipe brings the spirit of honesty." Matthew further explained that the sweetgrass, which is also used in ceremonies, represents the symbol of kindness. He stresses his belief the Cree language is important in providing meaning and significance in the teachings of the Cree as well as in daily usage. "I think that when you know your own feelings and emotions from the language, it provides a good

relationship with all people within the community. It provides better communication, especially when talking and listening to the elders."

Matthew undeniably emphasizes his appreciation of being able to speak the Cree language and its significance in his own life. He uses the Cree language in prayer; in speaking with his people, the Cree elders; and as a sign of appreciation for being given the language as a part of his cultural identity.

The Cree language was almost lost, according to Matthew. He attributes this near loss to government programs to assimilate aboriginal people. However, he also states it is the responsibility of First Nation leadership to ensure its revival. According to Matthew, the leadership of First Nations has the responsibility to guide and direct the people to survive. He voices concern that traditional leadership must have the qualities the elders identify as imperative to maintaining a healthy and prosperous community through the daily practice of "Natural Law." Matthew believes that all First Nation leaders should have a vision for the people. This vision gives the guidance and direction the people expect from their leaders. Vision, according to Matthew, provides initiative and determination as a method of staying focused on the task needed to guide the people of his community. He magnifies this train of thought by providing an occurrence within a classroom setting. "As an educator, you have within you a belief that you are going to provide excellence in teaching. Your vision is to provide the best possible education. As an educator, you believe that your students will benefit from your knowledge. The spirit of belief is fundamental to the educational growth of the children entrusted to you."

The point Matthew emphasizes about First Nation communities and its leadership is the need to revive the cultural values and beliefs. He fears that if First Nation communities accept the federal system of governance, rather than the traditional way of the Cree people, the inevitable acculturation will be the fate of all Cree Nations. His hope is that open and honest discussion be the agenda and the guiding principles for revival of a cultural Cree Nation.

Peter

Peter is a Cree elder who lived most of his 76 years on reserve land. He served time in the war defending his country and, since then, spread his knowledge to communities throughout this province and in other territories. His story is an extension of the stories and teachings of his elders and parents.

We knew the war was going to be over as they talked about unconditional surrender of Germany . . . that's what the First Nation Act is, it's unconditional surrender . . . the Government of Canada [the winners] told the First Nations what they should be and what they should do . . . that's surrender. (Peter, October 1997)

Prior to introduction of the welfare system, Peter speaks of the livelihood aboriginal people have adopted as a means for survival. Peter's reflection includes the manual labor necessary to provide for his family.

"We had to do everything ourselves. We had to go out and trap muskrats and beavers." Peter indicated that in order to survive, access to natural resources was essential to living. He further explained it was absolutely necessary for families to work together, as each had his or her responsibility to the family. For the most part, the male would provide the large game, while the women's responsibilities included

tending to small game, roots, and berries as a supplement to the family meal. Peter's perception of this way of life was healthy. "During this time of my life, I saw no one go hungry . . . we looked after each other."

As a young man, Peter recalls the Indian Affairs agent as instrumental in bringing change to the First Nations way of living. This agent taught agricultural skills to the residents of the reserve. "He showed how you could put in a garden, use walking plows for your garden and to plant wheat." New staples were also introduced to the aboriginal peoples. According to Peter, "the First Nations didn't know how to make bannock [unleavened bread]. Today, bannock is a contemporary food supplement served in most First Nation homes. A local store manager of the Hudson Bay Company taught this skill to the First Nations near Frog Lake, Alberta."

Peter also defined issues regarding the boundaries of reserve life, which affected the mobility of his people. He referred to the restrictive movement that the federal government had imposed upon aboriginal people living on reserves. Peter speaks to his experience of obtaining a pass to go off the reserve. Special permission had to be granted by the First Nation Agent. Usually this permit (Appendix C) was allotted to an individual for a short period of absence from the reserve. Peter explains:

If we were to sell any of our grown products, we had to get permission to do so, and we were only allowed to sell so much. We were also warned that if we didn't return to our reserve by a certain time, we would go to jail. I believe that this government distrust came from the results of the Riel Rebellion. The government of Canada did not trust us. We were also not allowed to meet in large groups; we would be threatened or punished if we did. For the most part, the people obeyed the First Nation agent [see Appendix F].

Peter recalls his school experience as a young man being very limited. He attended the Blue Quills Residential School which was located on the Saddle Lake Reserve. This school was later relocated to its present location near St. Paul, Alberta. The Oblate Fathers administered the school with the assistance of the Grey nuns. "The general educational program designed for First Nations students included learning agricultural skills. I believe that it had two reasons why they tried to educate us, to drive our culture away from us and also to control us."

The routine pick-up of students began in the fall. Most students did not see their family until school was dismissed by June of the following year. They were issued uniform clothing and assigned a number. "As students," Peter recalls, "we were not allowed to speak amongst each other, especially in their First Nation tongue nor to anyone of the opposite sex. If a student was caught speaking his or her own language, severe discipline would be the order of the day." Peter's most vivid recollection attending residential school was milking cows and tending the garden. Peter says that he didn't have formal schooling on a regular basis. "We milked cattle a lot but we never had milk for porridge, we had dry porridge. Yet we milked sometimes 26 cows twice a day."

Peter's formal education involved sitting in class on Friday. "We would just sit around there, the priests would say that we went to school, in fact I made it up to grade six and I don't know how I made it. I guess they had to write something down to satisfy the government. All I remember is breaking land, picking roots and rocks and preparing the land for gardens and fields."

Peter also addresses the regimental structure of residential school as a process to learn prayer. In fact, Peter relates his schooling experience as "the first thing when you get up is to go to church and pray, have breakfast and pray and after breakfast you pray again."

Yet, by the time Peter reached the age of 76, he still holds close to his heart the traditional teachings of his ancestors. "My mentor," Peter says, "guided me to give thanks for each new day." Peter's theory to life and 'Natural Law' is that the Creator has provided for all mankind. He further explained that the choices we make with the many gifts we receive are up to each and every one of us. "He [the Creator] meant you have to do the footwork to get something yourself, it won't come to you." Peter stresses the importance of giving thanks for the many blessings one might receive "such as being able to walk, think for yourself clearly."

Yet according to Peter, this is not always the case. He cited people in his community who receive social assistance as becoming too dependent upon government assistance. Peter recalls a time during his life when work was instrumental to the well-being of people who worked for a living. "There was no welfare at the time; we used to work." Peter emphasized that families built their own homes and worked for their own survival.

Times changed on the reserve, and the welfare system was instrumental in changing the thought patterns of the people. Peter speaks strongly to these issues:

Before, we didn't have electricity or running water. As a community we survived on \$36,000.00 per year, in 1976 the sum jumped to \$9,000,000.00 per year. All of a sudden it changed everything . . . it changed ideas, your way of

survival . . . it was thrown away whatever you knew about working for yourself . . . you became a new guy, a new mind and new everything.

When we stopped getting gas money, then full welfare; now, everybody is getting it [welfare], even the school kids. So it kind of, I guess if you get welfare, you are a second class citizen. Who are you when you get welfare for nothing? Things like that change the mind. Now young people think they don't have to work. You try to put them to work, they won't work.

In retrospect, the effect of welfare has also touched the women as they vie for more money by bearing more children. The honor of reaching puberty has taken on new meaning. Peter's response is, "yeah, some of them have babies, they want to increase that welfare and that's their way."

Peter carried through his thoughts and experiences of his 76 years in reflecting on the change in young people today. For example, he speaks of the lack of discipline and respect for parents. Peter says:

Perhaps that this can be attributed to the government intervention of policy and laws. Our youth are very much aware of the Young Offenders Act in Alberta . . . the willow, our disciplining stick, is not acceptable among the non-First Nation society. This willow kept us in check with our manners and our beliefs. Our parents did not have to use it that often; as children we respected what our parents, elders, and grandparents used to say. In fact, today, if we were to use it, it would be called child abuse.

Communication with the young people has also changed. Peter recalls during his time of youth, everyone spoke Cree. The impact of education, television, radio, and modern technology has changed First Nation communication patterns. Peter's concern extends to expression of his knowledge and teachings can be better communicated in his Cree language than in the English language. "Talking Cree . . . you have the feeling of your culture, your own feelings, values . . . you know them better. You

talk English, you are talking in a different language, and then you seem to forget everything."

During Peter's youth, his experience extended to visiting other families for two or three days at a time. He expressed the openness of families through the extension of sharing what they had with each other. He also stressed the fact that everyone knew each other and got along better than today.

The First Nations people would work for a horse, food, and some kind of equipment as they labored for the local farmers and ranchers. As times changed, so did the social dynamics. Peter's people no long had to rely on horses for transportation. "Nowadays, people have their own vehicles . . . the non-First Nation must be jealous . . . because not long ago we had them under control . . . it's kind of strange to see the non-First Nation reaction, because in their mind is to control."

Peter identifies assimilation as another key component of change for his people. "At the very first assimilation was in place, and it's coming to it now. Maybe that's why we are fighting amongst ourselves so much on the reserves." At the time of this interview, there was an onslaught of local protests throughout the Province of Alberta. Each group of people was proclaiming mismanagement of reserve funds by local politicians and, therefore, demanding a forensic audit.

Peter clarifies this by stating "they are not working for the people, they are working for the Indian Affairs. They don't know that because it's assimilation . . . they are going to get into it more. I guess someday there won't be any reserve. . . . I

don't know how far yet [reserves will exist] as people [aboriginal] continue to fight amongst each other."

Additionally, Peter spoke to change from the non-First Nation education system. Despite the fact that his people know more about technology, the culture has been forgotten in the teachings. He illustrates this through his narrative on leadership. "Through education, you learn all those things . . . but then we lost our culture at the same time, our language, so we aren't winning anywhere."

Peter's definition of good leadership is based upon good standing in the community. He cites a good marriage, honesty, and wisdom as virtues necessary for leadership. He further states that leaders were selected on that basis as they involved themselves in the lives of their members. Their responsibilities included assurance that members were looked after in a time of need, as well as providing advisement for personal problems. Peter also stresses that leaders were not paid an annual salary. Rather, they were paid on a per-meeting basis. Moreover, Peter emphasizes that contemporary tribal elections place into positions members without knowledge or experience on what leadership entails. He also stated that, during his term as a young man, a leader was chosen based on the values of the people. It was through the values and beliefs of the people that the leadership would listen to the people. The current leadership style of First Nations is based on individuality, rather than a collective effort. Peter suggests that for change to occur among First Nation leadership structures, the system must do away with monetary incentives. He believes it is money that drives people to run for office. He compares the extensive listing of candidates to that

of a federal election with everyone vying for a moneymaking position. Peter's position of women's roles in politics is also very definitive. It reflects the "Natural Law" of order in that it is only the elder women who have gained and earned the reputation of positive role modeling who would be permitted to offer advice to the leadership. "Only some older women could speak . . . to tell us stories. Those were the only ones that could tell the Council they were wrong."

Peter revisits the traditional ways of the Cree Nations as a means to recapture the essence of 'Natural Law.' He counters the residential way of controlling aboriginal youth and the immediate-felt loss of freedom by explaining that young people are searching for direction and vision for a better community. The barriers, according to Peter, come from the loss of freedom to use the mind to make those choices for the betterment of the community. Peter's advice to the young is: "Young people lost the value of honesty . . . not only from stealing, but to be honest with your everyday life. The value of freedom within ourselves to do things, the beliefs were temporarily taken away by the government, but somehow they are still there if you look for them, if you want them."

This notion is exemplified as Peter reverts back to the memories of boarding school. "We were told we have to go to church every day . . . sometimes they [priests] would come to the sundances and chase the young people away . . . but we would hide in the bushes until the priests went away. The priests tried to control them but some of us weren't controlled."

Peter, an elder and spiritual guide, now conducts fasts and other ceremonies where the churches are now active participants. Peter attributes this change as a positive one, whereby different religions can now celebrate life in a manner that is respected by all parties. Recently, Peter attended a conference where the Protestant Church extended apologies to First Nation people for the wrong inflicted upon them during the era of boarding schools. He sees hope in his local community where the members themselves are discussing and planning a healing center for the youth.

Peter's parting advice to the First Nations community is that people need to develop the gifts of the Creator — the greatest gift of them all is love. This gift, according to Peter, is to develop love into everyday life with the children, family, yourself, and all the people with whom you work.

"The elders say everything that you develop with love will come in life — respect, trust, caring for you, your family, and the community. That is what we have to do."

Silas

Silas is a 77-year-old male elder who lived the majority of his life on a reserve as a farmer, family man, and ranch hand. His father and grandfather raised him. Silas' experiences extend from living off the land to being part of new changes for the Cree Nation in Northeastern Alberta.

"I lived most of my life on the reserve while living with my father and grandfather because my mother died at an early age." As a result, his extended family took

over the responsibility of helping to raise him and his brothers. "The major influences in my life came from the teachings of the older people [elders] and from my family."

Silas' memories of his young days were that of a good life. "We had everything to eat . . . we had cattle and horses, we used to milk cows and make a living out of it. We also use to farm, plant our own gardens, and pick berries. We did this to prepare for the fall."

Silas' training came at the early age of nine. He recalls learning how to make his weapons for hunting and trapping small game. This practice of hunting was in preparation for him to become a proficient hunter and provider for his family, as well as learning how to farm their land on the reserve. Silas' memories of spending time with his extended family are good ones. "We didn't have any toys, but our hunting practice became our entertainment."

According to Silas, this kind of work helped prepare him to work later outside of the reserve. He, in fact, worked for local farmers and ranchers in the local area. "We always found work if we wanted it. Most often, we would get food for the work we did or sometimes a wagon, horse, or some kind of farm equipment." His way of traditional life changed when, at the age of eleven, he was sent away to boarding school. Silas did not care for boarding school, as he encountered experiences that did not sit well with his training from his father and grandfather. He ran away. When asked why, Silas' response was that the discipline was very much different from that to which he was accustomed. Often, he would go hungry at school, so he would take potatoes from the garden while working there. If caught, the punishment was to get a

strap. "They had those belts from the thrashing machines cut up and then they would strap you anywhere with them." Silas remembers shame and a lonely hurt from these memories. This caused him to miss home and, as a result, he ran away from school. "They sent me back the next year, and I ran away again for the same reason . . . they beat me for taking food . . . I was hungry."

The push to send Silas to school came to a halt, as his father needed him to help with the farm work at home.

Life changed for Silas after his father died. He learned that hard work was necessary if he was going to survive on his own. His father's legacy of a farm and house was shared with his brothers. "We didn't have much money, but we had enough to live on. We had our own cattle and house."

A part of Silas' livelihood consisted of selling market-ready cattle to buyers off the reserve. To do this required a permit from the First Nation Agent. According to Silas, a full report had to be submitted detailing the whereabouts and the price of the cattle to be sold, and the time he was expected to return. He remembers a permit could be extended as long as three months with the condition that this person checked in with the First Nation Agent. Permission also could be obtained if a person wanted to leave the reserve to work. Again, a three-month stay was permitted upon approval of the First Nation Agent. Silas recalls that "it was felt like living in a fish bowl; they [First Nation Agents] watched and monitored everything that you did." Silas spoke to his experiences having to report possession of a gun. "It was like they didn't trust you . . . and if you didn't report back, they threatened that you would get into trouble." Silas'

clarified this statement by voicing concern there was the threat of a jail term if you did not report what you had, where you were going, or if you did not report back in time. Silas' fear of reprisal and possible jail term always had him back on time to the reserve.

Still and all, there were regulations that were followed and respected by the people of Silas' community of First Nation people. Silas spoke to the strict traditional unwritten laws established by his ancestors. In particular, if a member chose to do something that would hurt the community, the Chief and his Council would go and speak to "you and to your parents . . . usually that was enough, and then that person would act properly. For instance, if a woman left a home, the Chief, an elder, would go and get that woman and return her home. It was their job to maintain the laws of the people."

Essentially, the role and the responsibility of the leaders were to adhere to and ensure that the laws of the people were observed. Basically, the teaching of the Cree elders was that of respect. "We were told all kind of things in how to survive, how to work and, most importantly, we were taught to respect the people, children, our friends, and to respect our spouses." Silas reiterated that he never forgot those vital lessons from family and elders. To this end, "I still follow those; I respect the people. We have to respect everything that we have, our way of living."

Likewise, Silas addressed the issue on the importance of speaking the Cree language as fundamental to the culture and identity of Cree people. As has been noted,

the Cree language “enables us to understand one another, to be able to teach our values in the true sense of the word.”

Silas also addressed the importance of tribal leaders in playing an active role in the affairs of its members. Silas is of the opinion that it is the responsibility of not only the family and the community, but also the leadership in taking an active role to promote and maintain the Cree language.

On this same basis, Silas imparts the traditional traits of leadership he felt were essential qualities necessary for the present day leadership. “

The whole community observed honesty, trustworthiness, a hard worker and, most importantly, the person’s acceptable conduct in the community. This resulted in the whole community coming together to meet with that person. A consensus was reached by the community to elect that person as chief. This person was usually in this position for a lifetime.

Silas could not recall if a leader was ever replaced during this era of tribal leadership. However, time did bring transformation of the tribal structure to the present day organization under the semblance of the Indian Act.

A shift in the lifestyle of First Nations people came about with government-funded programs. Silas addresses this concern by stating: “We had to work in order to survive . . . nowadays, everything is given for free and they do not work.” Silas clarifies by illustrating current situations in his home community. All of the young people are “receiving family allowance and, later, other services like Social Services.” Silas strongly advocates the need to do away with social programs and the need to initiate work programs which give dignity for the working person.

Silas is convinced that education has brought both positive and negative change to First Nations people. In 1969, the members of the six services drew support to take over the First Nation Residential School located near St. Paul. Silas was an active participant as “being a full supporter of education, I was there for the people. In fact, I spent all of my money helping to feed the people at the Blue Quills sit-in. We felt that we could run our own affairs without interference from the church. They told us that we couldn’t do it, but we did it for the young people. After 26 years, we have many graduates.”

At the close of the interview, Silas reflects on leadership and the change that has come about in his community. He advises we must care for one another in the decisions made at that political level. Decisions should be made with the young people in mind. At the same time, Silas’ memories of the “lickings is that you never forget; you are lucky you weren’t there, it might have made you a different person.”

Mary

The next aboriginal account is focused on a 56-year-old woman who lived the majority of her life on the reserve. Mary, like all the participants, offers a wealth of experiences and insight to the “way of life on the reserve.” Her upbringing is a blend of the community’s Christian influence and the traditional teachings of her grandmother. Being the oldest of a large family, Mary’s memories include the added responsibility of helping with the younger siblings’ teachings under the guidance of her mother and grandmother.

Mary's experience living on the reserve was primarily guided from learning her grandmother's teachings. "We were a very close-knit family," Mary recalls. In addition to living with her brothers and sisters, she also lodged with her grandmother. Mary attributes this living arrangement to the traditional beliefs of her people. According to Cree philosophy, the responsibility of raising a family leaned toward the maternal side of the family. This arrangement was based on the respect for the woman and the added responsibility of raising children. This resulted in her mother maintaining close ties with Mary's grandmother, coupled with the guided maternal influence in the raising of children. Mary fondly recalls the many hours spent with her grandmother as the good days.

"My grandmother would spend hours and hours teaching us how to do household duties. We learned how to cook and clean. Most importantly, she taught us and guided us to love one another."

Mary is unsure this type of teaching was from Christian influence or from the teachings of her mother and grandmother, but clearly states: "We were told we would live a long life if we didn't talk back to our parents. I learnt this from my grandmother and mother and it is being passed on to my family."

With this in mind, Mary also expressed specific examples on the teachings given her and her brothers and sisters about family protocol. "The other thing, is we were told not to argue ever or even to tease our brothers. We weren't allowed to tease our brothers. There was a lot of respect between the sisters and brothers." Mary contrasts her family structural protocol to the present: "It is so different now in what I

see from my times." Mary credits the change to many factors, including the fact that young people are not following the same kind of discipline she had as a young girl.

The values and beliefs to which Mary adheres include a strong sense of love for other people. In fact, her whole upbringing was based on "to be good-hearted, help other people and love other people . . . we were told to be friendly and to talk to them." Mary also stressed the fact that her parents and grandmother directed her to have a cheerful and helpful personality. She was expected to greet the general population, and especially the elders, with a handshake. Mary rationalizes this teaching by astute observation of her parents' and grandparents' actions and the words of advice that echoed in her home on a daily basis. "You children must treat others as you would like to be treated." Mary reminisces about how she was taught values at home. "We were taught like what a mother would do with the girls and the boys. Sometimes my dad would be part of the teaching, and then some of us girls would teach the younger in what they were supposed to be doing."

Mary also addresses collaboration as a method of family decision-making processes. She recalls having many family meetings to discuss the responsibility of each child. "My parents instilled a sense of cooperation and respect."

Mary's parents spent many hours completing their own family commitments of tending to farm responsibilities by volunteering their time with community functions.

I remember my grandmother kept us a lot in the evening. We hardly seen our parents, as they were now involved in the community. Both of my parents were involved in our reserve leadership as councilmen/councilwomen. They used to help people, whether they were without food, giving advice, or just simply to visit. My parents often spoke of the need that people like to be talked to, and also to be available to listen.

"For this purpose, my parents and other council [members] never received pay for this. I believe that the values of the Cree people were considered very important. My parents liked to share what they had with other members in the community."

Mary spoke about her educational experience as a positive one. She attended the day school on her reserve, which at that time was administered by a religious order and provided schooling up to a grade eight education. Mary's daily routine for ten years was to walk to the local day school with her brothers and sisters. Mary continued on for two more years beyond grade eight, up to the required age of sixteen, as her love for school did not diminish. In fact, her mother was not mindful of the circumstances surrounding Mary's intention of becoming the teacher's assistant.

Her most favorite memories were those that involved music and song. "I was always involved in any activity in school; and we were all into music, so that fit well with me, as my parents always involved me [in] something like that. I loved to sing and dance as a child . . . we did all kind[s] of activities with my dad . . . he encouraged us to do these things." Other satisfying memories were of the positive behaviors of all the students. "I enjoyed going to school. It was nice, everybody got along. The teacher had so many grades in one classroom, and she handled it well. The students didn't misbehave or anything." On the other hand, Mary recalls that the teachers discouraged the students from speaking their First Nation tongue. "I remember this one teacher telling us not to be talking in Cree, but we would still whisper it in soft tones so that the teacher could not hear; and always outside of the classroom." In retrospect, Mary speaks of those fond memories as a model which she has tried to follow in

promoting and maintaining her Cree language. Mary explained the importance of retaining the Cree language which could be done through story and song. Undeniably, Mary affirmed the notion the Cree values and tradition are important to the Cree nation: "In order for a person to fully understand the way of our Cree life, to begin to understand the Cree language is a step towards this." On an even more positive note, Mary strongly advocates that sharing the language with non-First Nation people is essential in bridging the communication gap that exists between them. "I believe that the language is coming back to us. I am so proud too, it seems like we are sharing. It is our turn to teach them . . . they [non-First Nation] have been teaching us all these years. We should have done it a long time ago; things would work out well. We would be able to communicate with them and they would have understood us better." Mary makes a point to address the shunting of traditional ceremony. "Our traditional ceremonies were opposed by the missionaries. . . . we were not allowed to practice our Cree way of life for a long time." However, optimism is also part of Mary's hope for a better future for the aboriginal youth as she proudly speaks of the young people. "I can see changes coming, like some things coming back with the young people, like having their own drummers, and for the young boys helping in traditional feasts." As a result, she has made it her life's mission to pass this knowledge onto the young people.

Theresa

Theresa is a 77-year-old Cree elder who was born and raised in the house and lands where she currently lives. As Theresa reminisced about her younger years, she vividly recalls the teachings of her parents and grandparents. "Their rules and

discipline were very, very strong — you had to listen; and that's how everything else was. We were taught [how to behave]."

Theresa recalls two symbols which were used as disciplining tools: the owl and the lake. These two objects maintained control of the children's behavior, as Theresa recollects. "My mother used to say there's something in the lake that will take you away . . . so all we did was run down there to get water . . . we never stayed to play there." The owl was the other symbol Theresa remembers as something to fear. "Discipline was, they used the water and the owl, we had no choice but to listen . . . but when I think of those days, it was a better way of life."

Theresa speaks of her childhood with kindly memories, as she recalls the joy in playing and entertaining herself outside. She especially remembers being called in when darkness came about and the time came for stories to be told by the elders. "We would sit there on the floor listening to the elders; and then the next night, they would ask us what we remembered . . . it was something like life value stories."

Particular aspects of Theresa's teachings were definitively centered on sibling protocol. For example, Theresa stated there was a great amount of respect taught and demonstrated between brothers and sisters. She emphasized the fact there was little communication between the sexes, and absolutely no wrestling was to occur. "Nowadays, I see the young pushing and fighting each other . . . I did not go through that in life, the way it is now; what a change."

In contrast, Theresa carefully thought about the current state of young people's behavior. "Where did we go wrong? We missed something down the line there . . . somehow we lost our traditional ways of teaching the younger children."

Theresa subscribes to the movement of children away from home as instrumental to the change in the behavior of the young people. She strongly suggests the residential school experience is causal to the lack of discipline and lack of respect that the youth have for themselves and others around them. "They almost brainwashed me into believing that my culture and traditions were a sin, as we were taught. Even the schools surrounding us still teach our children those things, that we shouldn't respect our culture."

Theresa reiterates her concern that the young people are caught in a technological web with little direction or guidance in the cultural ways of the Cree people. She stresses the fact that life during her time was peaceful. "What a beautiful life we had back then; where you respected each other, loved one another, and cared for each other . . . we pushed that aside."

Theresa's analogy of respect was visually demonstrated as she displayed her five fingers with each of them representing respect, love, caring, sharing, and patience (Figure 2). It is these values of "Natural Law" that were given to her by her parents and grandparents, and from which she as great-great-grandmother passes on to the young people. In particular, she advises parents that children now need the five-finger teaching beyond their teens. She emphasizes learning is not restricted to the young

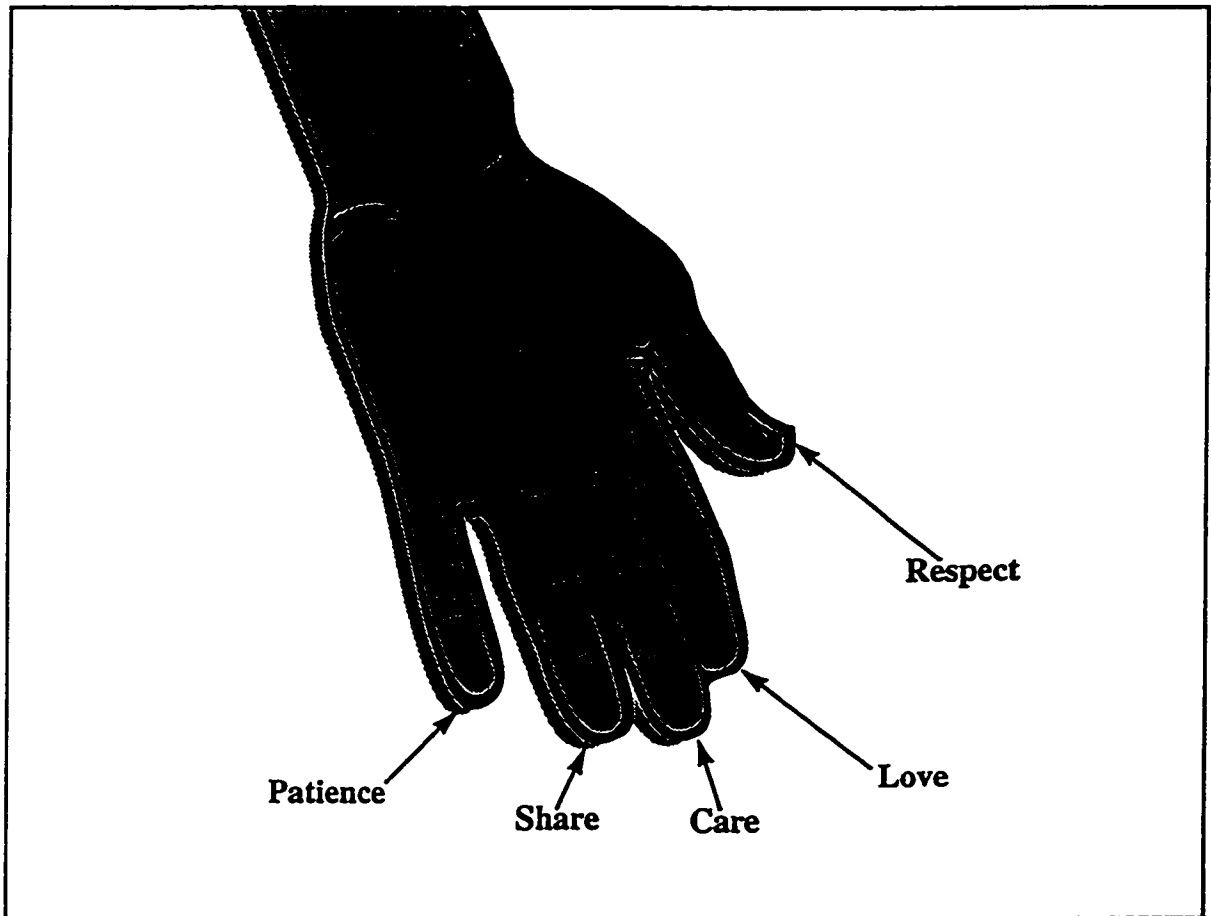


Figure 2. Natural law of the Cree people as defined by the Cree elders.

years. She contends that, even at the age of 77, she is still actively learning as she interacts with people of all ages.

Theresa uses a comparative analysis of Cree and Christian thought on the people who have passed on as a lesson for the young people. To illustrate this point, Theresa speaks of the spirits that are alive during the Halloween festivities. She says the young people do not know the significance of this night, a night to acknowledge those loved ones who have died. From the Christian perspective, Theresa states these spirits would be recognized as saints — those who have passed on before us. Theresa feels it is important for all people to know the traditions and beliefs of the Cree as sequential to giving thanks to the Creator for the many blessings we as mankind have received.

Theresa's diverse educational experiences began as a young girl. At that time, a day school was in operation on the reserve "where late Harry Steinhauer was the teacher there . . . we had fun, and we played together." A shift in the education services came about with the First Nation agent. Theresa recalls: "Then one day, this Cree-speaking First Nation Agent came with a police dressed in red to take us away to school in Edmonton. The First Nation Agent told my parents that if I wasn't let, this police would take me."

Fear of reprisal or imprisonment sent Theresa to a First Nation residential school at the tender age of seven. Amidst the flurry of registering children into this school, came the cleansing ritual of each child. Theresa remembers the teachers cutting off her braids. "You can't wear those braids anymore. You are going to learn to be a civilized Indian, you savages, and all kinds of ugly names." She fervently remembers

hanging onto her braid as a last bid to retain her identity. Further incidents are still fresh in Theresa's mind, as she remembers trying to speak her native language in school. "They used to hit our knuckles with a ruler, all over. Our ears were pulled . . . how could we learn in a few days the English language?" Theresa echoes the pain that she felt while in school and long after she became a mother herself. "We were punished so much on account of our tradition, we weren't even allowed to talk about it."

Theresa addresses the issue of traditional ceremonies as a subject to avoid or else face the consequence of "getting a licking, sent to bed without supper . . . all these things we had to go through." It wasn't until many years later and experiencing some hard lessons that Theresa forgave these people as she sees change coming about. "They are trying to learn our way of life. They are studying the Cree language and our traditional way of life." Theresa adds that there were positive aspects of residential school including the domestic skills she learned. However, she adds, "all at the expense of little education."

Ironically, the non-First Nation people are learning the traditional way of the Cree, when not so long ago, insurmountable numbers of children were severely punished for it. Theresa rationalizes this phenomenon by stating: "One thing I can see, they are seeing our way of life is better then theirs . . . I will just say that to be honest."

Equally important, Theresa expounds on the current issues young people face today with the challenges of technology, economics, drugs, and alcohol. Theresa

attributes these social problems to so many parents and grandparents losing control of their lives from the residential and reserve life. "Enabling," she says, "is a term that not many of our people understand, as we feed the young money in substitution for our love and caring. Our young see and want money and material things like our white brothers and sisters; that is not what they are hungry for."

Likewise, the Social Services program available in the reserve is equally responsible for enabling the members of First Nation communities. Theresa vehemently speaks of the detriment of her people in direct contrast to the laws of her people. "There is so much welfare that's free money . . . long time ago we worked for our living." She adds: "It has taken away what we cherish, which is sharing what we had with one another . . . now we have to buy from one another."

With this in mind, Theresa vocalizes the importance of the Cree language as fundamental to the culture and its unique significance and meaning to the lives of her people. According to Theresa, the Cree language speaks to all living things with reverence and respect through the elders.

The spirit of collaboration was also a fundamental aspect of the Cree way of life. Theresa raises the notion of leadership as a collective decision-making process. In the selection of leaders, she relates the process in selecting a leader in her community.

Our people used to come together and speak of possible candidates for the position of chief. They would select a man who would represent the qualities of a good person, one who would think of all the people, not just his family. This person selected also had to show he was kind, caring, loving, and patient. Provided this person showed these qualities, then he would be a lifetime chief.

Theresa states money has spoiled our leadership today; “when you get paid, you are a servant of somebody, and the department is paying our leadership. This money makes them a servant for the department.”

Theresa chastises the leadership for their greediness for money, while advising they have forgotten an important value of prayer. “You remember that saying of families that pray together stay together . . . our leadership used to do this in their homes. I remember that.”

On the whole, Theresa advises “despite the differences that people may have in their beliefs, we share our beliefs. We don’t condemn anyone, we just respect that person. The people need to know themselves, who they are, and to respect the tradition.”

Esther

Despite the effort to break down our family systems by the government, our grandparents and elders continue to teach the ceremonies to all of the people to continually maintain our culture. This keeps us strong as we search for those answers in our everyday life as a Cree nation in efforts to be strong and be united as a people. The time will come for that. (Esther, December, 1997)

Esther, a 42-year-old aboriginal woman, was born and raised on a First Nation reserve. She is the oldest of nine children. Raised by her grandmother in the traditional sense of the Cree Nation, she offers her experience having lived in both the First Nation and non-First Nation worlds.

Esther’s perception of the traditional way of the Cree is based upon the teachings of her maternal grandmother. From the age of nine, she was taken under the wing of her grandmother to live. During the years, her extended family taught her the

Cree way of life. Esther's recollections of her early years with her grandmother were memories of "her being my teacher." Since she was the oldest, some of the responsibility of helping her grandmother fell on Esther's shoulders. Additionally, Esther's grandmother exposed her to the traditional ceremonies; all the while giving guidance that the significance of the meaning behind the ceremonies would be more meaningful as age and experience were added to Esther's life. An example of her grandmother's teachings was the focusing on the approach of elders. "She taught us how to respect the elders — whenever you see an elder, never pass them. Or, no matter how a person looks or is dressed, always be there to help."

Esther calls to mind the hard work that her grandmother endured so she and her brothers could eat. "Often," says Esther, "my grandmother would go and clean up homes; baby-sit by raising the teacher's children and returning with milk, cream, or something else, just in order for us to live."

Esther's grandmother saw the need for her grandchildren to attend school, as exposure to the European lifestyle was a tool her grandmother felt was necessary. Esther's first exposure to school was gentle. She remembers her grade one class filled with students of her own race in a multigrade one-room schoolhouse. Esther especially has cherished memories of students speaking her First Nation tongue. According to Esther, the initial start by being able to speak her language, coupled with her grandmother's guidance, developed a confidence in herself as a Cree woman.

Shock set in as Esther changed schools to attend off reserve. "I think that shock had to do with not being able to speak my language . . . that was the only way I was

able to understand and learn." Esther attributes not being able to speak nor understand English fluently to not being exposed to any racial experiences. Determination to learn English without malice supported Esther's vision to master the language, all the while maintaining her own Cree language. Esther's fundamental educational experiences were firmly anchored to the traditional training she received from home. She recalls, appreciatively, the time she spent with her grandparents. "My brothers would spend much of their time learning how to farm with my grandfather. On the other hand, my grandmother would take us berrypicking in preparation for the winter. We would camp for a few days, while my grandmother would prepare meat for the winter. She taught us about the natural resources around us, just natural kind of things." Esther explains that "the winter months were spent listening to stories of her grandparents when they were not in school."

The following significant chain of events Esther explained occurred while her parents separated. Esther's desire for her parents to be united was in vain. However, this did not deter her and her brother from seeking the love of their father. The short time she and her brother spent with their father, Esther says, "was in preparation for their father to make arrangement[s] for them to live at a residential school." Esther's father died shortly after. Esther reflects on the residential experience as a positive one, as she views her father's final action with due respect. The regimental structure of the school was obscured as Esther found new families in addition to her immediate family. "It was strict, [a] strict structured environment where your time was always doing something; there was never idle time."

"I was compensated with gaining "surrogate" parents [who] turned into lifelong friends." Esther broadens her experience of residential school by stating: "School itself was a tool to condition our people from the traditional lifestyle of our people." Further to this, Esther adamantly states: "The values and beliefs of other cultural groups are universal . . . we acknowledge the gifts of the Creator always to give something back." You can see this as Esther explains the ceremonial ritual of taking from nature "to build homes and always giving back to Mother Earth. If you took something, we used it for something."

Esther saw that formal education was the key to becoming independent, while raising a family and being able to offer her services for the young people. Her traditional teachings guided her to become a teacher herself, but of both worlds. Esther introduces the term "experiential learning" as fundamental to her parents' and grandparents' influence on her, and how she provides teachable moments for her students. "I believe that learning and practicing that knowledge should be exciting." As a result, Esther does not hesitate to take risks for the benefit of the students she teaches. Essentially, Esther believes: "There is a reason for everything that we do and that should apply in the classroom."

Equally important, Esther addresses the notion of roles and responsibilities according to the Cree "Natural Law." She explains her teachings include the notion of one's own life cycle. To illustrate this notion, Esther states that each human being's development begins as a child and progresses to being a teenager, adult, parent, and grandparent. Esther speaks to the phenomena of young girls becoming mothers at an

early age, resulting in their missing the teen-questioning state of their life. Likewise, Jung, an adult psychologist, speaks to this as an escalating stage of development that must be fully developed prior to entering into a new stage of development and added responsibilities.

In retrospect, Esther addresses discipline as a part of her development. Her experiences with her upbringing were not harsh, but rather she viewed as guidance. "Every moment was guidance; it would be told to you in a calm way in my Cree language." Esther suggests that through the retention of the Cree language and culture through documentation, preservation of the Cree way of life will be available for the youth of the Cree nation.

Esther proposes the responsibility of the leadership should include promoting and supporting such endeavors. Since they are the leaders and representatives of the Cree nation, the wishes of the people should be met. She further stresses that contemporary aboriginal governments have adapted their systems to that of the federal government. Today, this system of government does not reflect the traditional lifestyle of the Cree people. Esther used the First Nation Act as an example of this type of colonial system. Likewise, Esther suggests that all people are leaders in their own right by the guidance and direction of the Cree "Natural Law"; and "that everyone has a responsibility and a gift to share with the people." The teachings of the elders and the leaders guided the people to survive. From Esther's own personal journey to attain further education, she attributes her success in education to the spirit of belief that people had in her and her abilities. Despite her achievement in the academic world,

she believes that everyone is equal. The practice of job titles is inconsequential to the notion of collaboration and a shared vision for the community. Esther stresses that “shared and equal roles and responsibilities is a direct link to collective decision-making processes and the practice of the Cree Natural Law.” Within the classroom setting, Esther shares with her students the value of respect as all encompassing of the Cree “Natural Law.” An acronym defines the values of the Cree Nation:

- R Taking responsibility for your actions
- E Believing that all races are equal
- S Believing in a higher spiritual power
- P Having patience within yourself, others, and your environment
- E Empathetic by walking in another’s shoes
- C Compassionate
- T Speaking the truth and being honest with yourself

Basically, Esther says, “we need to be caring, to have a part in leadership, and to give from your heart.”

Meta-Analysis

An ethnographic study, according to Spradley (1979), is a rich source of qualitative data that offers new awareness into the cultures and experience of others. Spradley asserts that ethnography is a study not only of lived culture, but is also a study of languages and dialogue. In the ethnographic study of the cultural genocide of the Cree people as viewed by the Cree elders, the dialogic exchange that I experienced

with these elders gave me a new insightful awareness of living in reserve conditions. Their personal stories framed the content and context of this research study.

Natural Law

Firstly, the common thread woven throughout the six participants' stories confirms that their knowledge of Natural Law is significant to the survival of a cultural foundation. Matthew, Peter, and Esther echo the teachings of Natural Law as a discipline in the development of "self." Matthew states: "We are all equal, no matter who we are, to respect our white brothers and sisters and to become self-aware of what we are doing in life, and the responsibility is ours to pass this knowledge onto our children." Likewise Peter states that "we must give thanks for what we have and that everything we need is provided for us, but we must work for it in a good and honest way." Esther and Theresa expound on the notion of Natural Law by asserting that the cultural values and teachings of the Cree people are universal, and that equality in and amongst the human race is essential to practicing Natural Law.

Equally important, Mary and Theresa stress that self-discipline is vital to the development of self. They further emphasize that respect is practiced from a very young age, coupled with learning cultural protocol as fundamental in the development of "self." This "self" is defined as a cultural community in which all members are equal and vital to the maintenance of a cultural grouping. Therefore, the Cree elders suggest the importance of Natural Law be articulated in lessons and practical application of learning cultural ways of a distinct group of people. Accordingly, Ricoeur's (1992) perspective suggests that "respect owed to persons is, on the moral plane, in the same

relation to autonomy as solicitude is to the aim of the good life on the ethical plane” (p. 219).

Education

Secondly, all of the Cree elders condemned colonial education as profoundly significant in bringing catastrophic change to the Cree people. For example, Peter, Theresa, and Silas’ recollection of their educational experiences summon harsh, abusive memories of residential schools designed for First Nation children. You can see this as Theresa recalls: “Those professional people expected me to talk English when I didn’t understand what was yes, . . . so we got punished for talking in our language. They used to hit our knuckles with a ruler, all over, and our ears were pulled.” Similarly, Silas speaks to his experiences that resulted in his running away because of being punished for wanting more to eat. The elders also suggest that the removal from their parents and family resulted in the loss of family connections.

The residential experience tyrannized parents and children alike in being separated for 10 months of the year. Great distances and the lack of transportation resulted in family separation and lack of continuity in family structures and teachings. The design by government policy to eradicate a cultural foundation contributes to the notion of deliberate destruction of Cree families. This is supported in similar experiences, such as that of Isabelle Knockwood. The same point is made by Cox (1991) as he submits that education was used as a tool to remove the Indian from the Indian. The process of indoctrination by teaching European values and lifestyles would annihilate First Nations cultural solidarity. On the other hand, Matthew, Esther, and Mary

viewed their educational experiences in a more positive light by the mere fact that change in federal education policy encouraged assimilation. This resulted in the opportunity of attending school and living at home. Matthew speaks of the importance of family as significant to the success of the student. Esther and Mary also suggest that the foundation of family values and practices are what motivated them to challenge the educational system.

Moreover, Esther concludes the consequence to attending provincial schools was that “the school itself was a tool to condition our people [away] from the original life style of the Cree people.” The Cree elders suggest that the devastating social and economic conditions on their respective reserves could be attributed to education, which dictates learning a culture not conducive to the values of the Cree People. Ricoeur, Stewart, and Bien (1974) challenge us to consider why First Nations did not embrace the tools provided by the colonizer. Rather, these tools were initially cast aside. Ricoeur et al. further state: “One even sees tribes wither away near an industry because this industry cannot be integrated into the collection of values, which vitally constitute this group” (p. 279). Government intervention on traditional lifestyles came through religious indoctrination and education systems. Despite this calamity of wrongdoing, the elders speak of education as the key to cultural renewal (Figure 3). Matthew calls for renewal: “A belief that this change happened for reasons; and it challenges us to go back to the Cree way of life, to the values and principles that were established by the Cree ancestors.” In support of Matthew’s insight on the effects of colonial education, decrees that the importance of educational renewal opens further

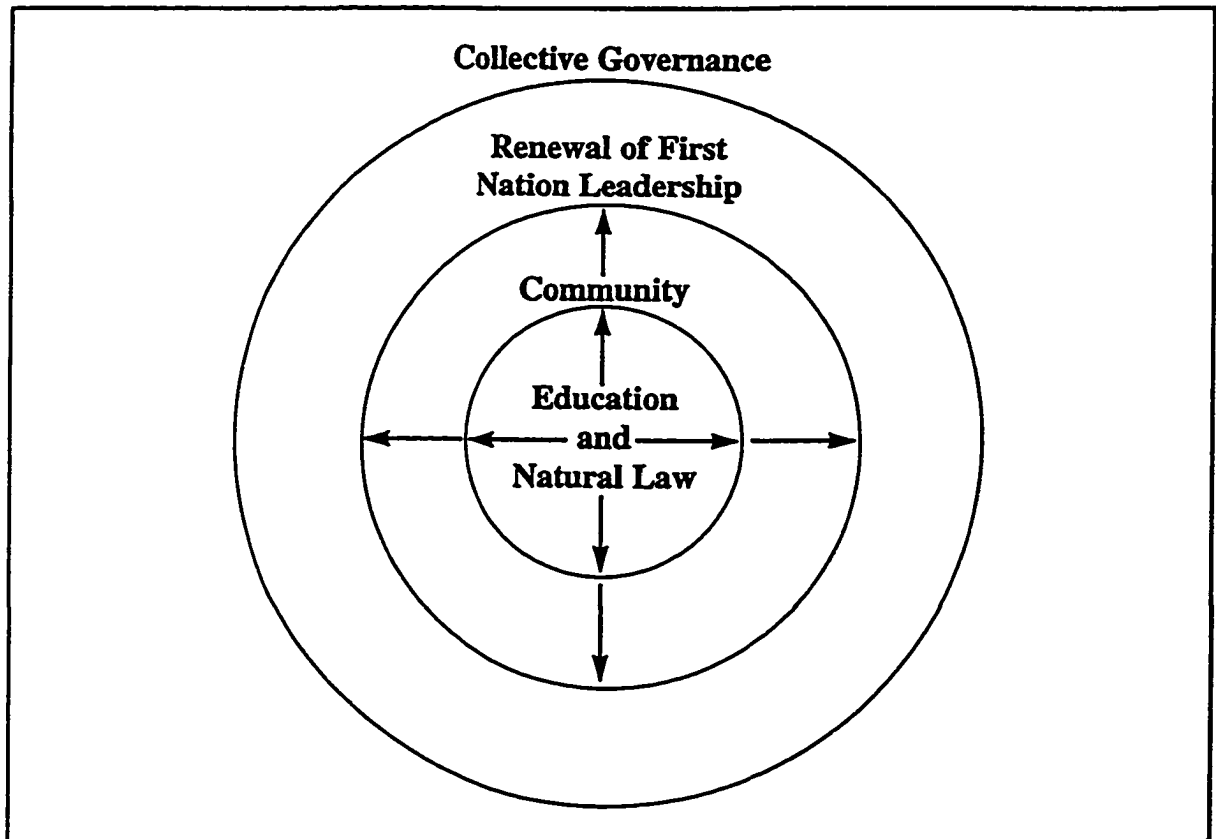


Figure 3. Education, leadership, and Natural Law as described by the Cree elders.

inquiry of cultural genocide as a basis for the promotion of Cree ideals. Current education systems that are operational on or off reserve dictate the philosophy and beliefs of European thought. Despite any effort to address First Nation issues, the control and mandate still rest with a paternalistic structure of government policy. Action to remediate and initiate cultural renewal rests with First Nation leadership by promoting traditional models that reflect the notion of collaboration and consensus in education. This action also dictates that leadership must be visionary and focused to the needs of their members in efforts to regain an identity as a distinct nation.

Leadership

Thirdly, the data collected provided insight into the connection between education and the traditional leadership models of Cree First Nations. Theresa refers to traditional Cree leadership as a time when men were selected based upon definitive values that reflect honesty, integrity, determination, and vision (Figure 4). All of the elders addressed traditional leadership having vision as an essential tool in guiding and giving direction for the community. According to Peter and Silas, leaders in Cree communities led by example. This implied that leaders exemplify trust, respect, and vision for the people. Leaders also circulated within the community as a means of keeping order, addressing needs, and listening to tribal member concerns. To paraphrase Peter, leaders gave to his community as a whole. Peter emphasized the notion of individuality was not considered virtuous of leaders. Rather, this person and his councilmen considered and made collaborative decisions based on the general well-being of the entire community. According to the Cree elders, leaders do not practice

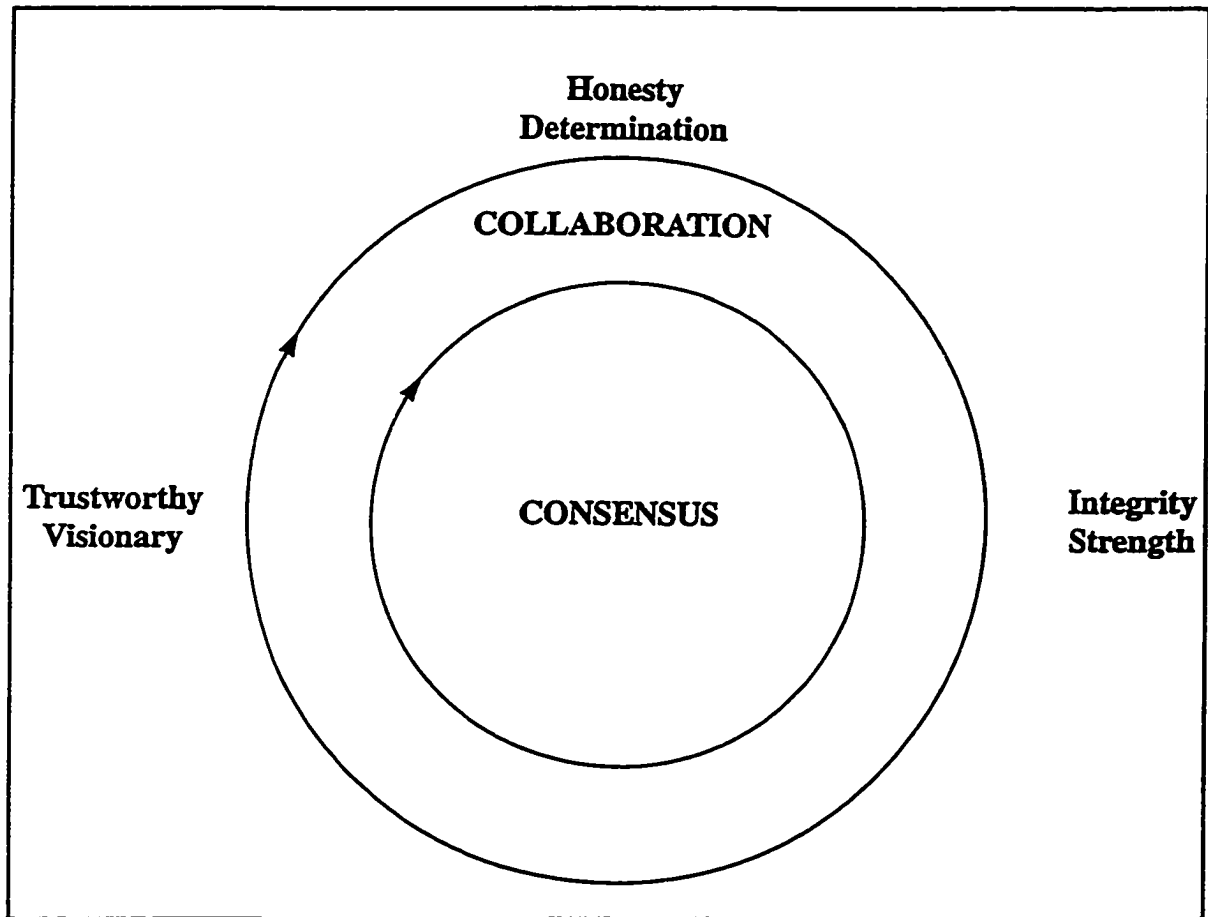


Figure 4. Selection of First Nation leadership as described by the Cree elders.

the traditional ways of the Cree people. The elders' perspective on contemporary leadership in Cree First Nation communities mirrors the fundamental practices of the Federal Government. To illustrate this notion, Theresa drew a parallel to the ruination of Cree leadership with the acceptance of money. She attributed the degradation of leadership as being subservient to the federal government: "When you get paid you are a servant of somebody, and the [federal] department is paying them and so they [federal government] can do anything, make them [First Nations] sign any agreement."

Peter and Theresa also argue about the importance of returning to respecting the central role of Cree women in leadership. Despite the fact women did not hold leadership positions, their roles were considered to be critical to the well-being of the community. The selection of women as advisors to the Chief and Council was based upon a healthy home environment. Similar to the selection of chief and council, the women had to manage their home life and the children as dictated by the Natural Laws of the people. At this point, it is important to note that the experiences and knowledge of the elders are based on oral history and knowledge. The teachings of the Cree culture, lifestyle, and governance are channeled through the legacy of historical data that is not found in historical documents. The consensus of thought and knowledge by the elders reflect one that is of conformity in thought and corresponding information.

Matthew and Esther explain that the traditional teachings are imbedded in the lessons and experiences to which each child is exposed within the structure of Cree families. The elders contend that governance within the tribal system be initiated with an individualistic approach of self-governance. They affirm that approach is essential

to collective participation within the community framework. The elders acknowledge that knowledge and the application of values and principles may contribute to each tribal member's purpose and responsibility to the well-being of the community.

Ricoeur (1992) has written extensively on the journey of self via an ethical aim. He proposes that celebration and renewal are necessary for the community.

If First Nations people were to celebrate the renewal of a collective lifestyle, the elders have identified a need to address the issue of reform. This notion of reform would signal the First Nation leadership to respond to the First Nation members. Reform also would suggest that a collaborative effort is necessary towards rebuilding the vision of the community. This would imply that reinitiating the concepts of Natural Law would be instrumental in the educational and leadership reform for First Nation communities. Additionally, the ties that bind First Nation leadership to the federal government systems would need to be severed for the purpose of cultural renewal. The challenge is overwhelming, but not impossible. As a nation, the strength of the Cree people lies within its membership. Matthew states: "Membership should hold accountable the decisions and action of its tribal leadership." Frances Lappe Moore and Martin Paul Dubois (1994) accentuate this notion as they suggest it "demands more than a change in culture-in people's expectations of government and of themselves" (p. 170).

Summary

The data reveal and broaden understanding about the significance of education about the Cree perspective of Natural Law, as envisioned by the Cree elders. They suggest this is necessary in order for the Cree people to once again be interdependent.

There is an urgency to renew and apply the values and principles of the Cree teachings. They feel the core of traditional teachings is a pathway to re-establishing their cultural identity as a nation. They also suggest that renewal be based upon the spirit of belief that the Cree leadership must come to grips with the reality of contemporary society by seeking vision for their tribal members. In essence, the elders also propose that the Cree people work in collaboration as strategy for strengthening the values of honesty, caring, respect, and determination of a community.

Basically, the elders suggest that relearning the principles of Natural Law are aptitudes that will re-regulate their cultural foundation. Finally, the elders suggest that education about Natural Law will serve as a focal point for leadership renewal. While it is realized there are no ready-made answers to a tumultuous problem imbedded within the framework of Canadian life, there is a call for reform to the systems that have affected the lives of First Nation people. Although the Canadian government has offered some restitution to amending this concern, much thought and insight to the cultural framework of First Nations should be heeded. The elders offer their guidance and direction towards this healing process.

Chapter V contains a summary of the study, implications of cultural renewal through education, and the recommendation addressing leadership renewal.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, IMPLICATIONS, AND RECOMMENDATION

Summary

The research focus of this study was to examine the historical and political influences that devastated the cultural foundation of Cree First Nations in Alberta, Canada. Additionally, the study was to search for direction from Cree elders' knowledge of the principles of Natural Law as a base for cultural renewal.

It is important to note that the intention for conducting this study has two purposes; firstly, as a First Nations researcher who was raised in a nonaboriginal environment, I felt it was imperative to acknowledge and apply the knowledge of the elders for the purpose of personal growth. Secondly, the opportunity to work with the elders by virtue of listening, synthesizing, and applying their knowledge for the benefit of the future generations was instrumental in completing this project.

Six Cree elders, three of whom are female and three male, were interviewed in an ethnographic study to explore the fundamental teachings of the Cree Nation. The dominant themes of the questions posed to each of them focused on definitive responses to: identifying the notion of Natural Law, the effects of government influences through colonial education, and offering counsel for the renewal of the Cree cultural foundation from a leadership perspective.

The resulting narratives showed the six Cree elders experienced cultural genocide at the hands of British colonizers. This has implications of long-term effects on the lifestyle of Cree First Nations. The Cree elders affirm that, despite the fact they feel the federal government is directly responsible for genocidal effects seven generations have endured, the Natural Laws of the Cree people has sustained, guided, and directed them to a level of reconciliation with the ethical self as a community. This notion is supported in Ricoeur's (1992) analogy of the development of self as a community. He suggests that the journey of human development may be for the purpose of a collective need for community as a journey. Additionally, the Cree elders addressed the need to restore and enfold the model of Natural Law as a foundation in the renewal of Cree communities through the restructuring of leadership and education. Finally, the Cree elders advocate that vision, collaboration, and consensus are fundamental to the cultural renewal of the Cree nation.

Implications

In order to initiate a renewal of leadership, the principles of Natural Law through education must be considered in the reform of First Nation community structures. This would imply that current structures which fall under the scrutiny of the Federal Government would be changed to align these systems with the principles of Natural Law. To illustrate this notion, current educational systems in local communities reflect the hierarchical structure that is a legacy of colonial thought. Students and parents respond to the program standards that promote an individualistic approach to livelihood. Likewise, the current education systems of education on reserve reflect the

curriculum standards established and mandated through provincial and federal governmental policy. The elders echoed their concern that the colonial education systems have not changed, improved lifestyles, nor addressed First Nations cultural diversity. However, they advocate the importance of education as being the pivotal point to a renewal of Natural Law in reviving the fundamentals of First Nation leadership.

Natural Law

The Cree elders who participated in this study spoke at length about the importance and significance of cultural values, beliefs, and traditions that are unique to their people. They re-examined their own values and beliefs by offering personal stories that portrayed specific values. At this point, as a First Nations researcher, it was important to differentiate and use their stories in the application of knowledge and information. For example, Theresa spoke of self-discipline through the teachings of her parents and grandparents. She offered an illustration of listening to family law by speaking to boundaries that were established by the significant elders in her life. Her humorous recollections suggested owls and other like experiences led her to adhere to established time frames within the family structure. Likewise, Matthew's recollection included the teachings offered by his grandmother. His memories of her teachings were grounded in learning through application the respect for natural surroundings. Other similar teachings that Matthew proposed came from women elders who offered guidance, direction, and knowledge of the role and responsibility of women. Matthew's perspective of women's role in the community should be examined in the restructuring of community planning.

Peter's formulative view of Natural Law was compressed to one word — Love. He explained the changes that affected First Nation communities were impacted by technology, federal policy, and the desire for a better life. While Peter viewed these changes as fractionally detrimental, he clarified this view by stating there is a need to create balance with what is provided to communities. The work ethic, the desire to provide for families, and the spirit of giving and sharing are basic ingredients for a balanced life. Peter advocated that leadership in First Nation communities must work for the people as an act of love; "giving from the heart" (Peter, 1997). He also suggested that planning and decisions results from total community involvement and participation.

Esther and Mary expressed the need to revisit the family structures as imperative to developing healthy communities. They recognized that, while First Nation communities experience high instances of social and economic disparity, it is attributed to a lack of cultural foundations. They suggest that Cree families should have the opportunity to address these concerns through the application of Natural Law. They subsequently emphasize the need to implement these Laws as foundation to community infrastructure.

Education

The Cree elders view the indoctrination of European values through the implementation of education systems as systematic cultural genocide. The Cree elders acknowledged that cultural foundations were crumbling as the social conditions prevailed with the context of their respective communities. Victims themselves of

residential schools, the Cree elders were initiated into a system that taught them shame and humiliation. Often scorned and punished for speaking their native tongue, the children of this era learned one of two survival strategies. Children would either learn techniques to mask their knowledge of the language and culture, or they would attempt to shed their cultural base and ultimately assume the characteristics of the European lifestyle. The long-term effects resulted in the gradual destruction of First Nation families. The solidarity of families wasted away as young boys and girls lost contact with mothers, fathers, and other extended family cultural influences. Most significantly, the Cree families forgot how to be families.

As recently as February 1998, the Canadian Government offered \$350,000,000 as restitution for the surviving victims of residential school across Canada. Even at this particular crossroad in history, First Nation communities are at unrest and confusion. The Government of Canada has offered little apology, nor have government officials considered the plight of First Nations as an escalating and perpetual dilemma. History has repeated itself. In 1996, the Canadian Government offered \$300,000,000 to the Inuit people for relocating entire tribal clans from their homeland. This resulted in whole tribes being moved to barren lands, without homes or a means for providing families with food. It became necessary for these clans to scavenge for food. According to Aubrey (1996) of the Southam News, the government acknowledged the "pain, suffering and hardship, the exiles underwent because of the botched move." Still and all, this particular group of people was left without an apology.

In 1969, action was taken to regain control of their Cree First Nation children's lives. People challenged the government to assume responsibility for their children's education. Since that time, the six Cree communities within the geographical region of the Tribal Chief Institute have taken full responsibility, but not without assuming the error of omission by the federal government. First Nations continue to face huge concerns of lack of parent support and involvement, drugs and alcohol in the schools, poor attendance, and low student achievement. What does this imply? As First Nation communities continue to struggle with the provincial curriculum, to addressing and answering to Indian Affairs directives, change will be ever so slow, if at all. Despite this lack of resolution, change has come about. There is an increase in the number of university graduates and other technical expertise. These people have challenged and successfully completed provincial standards and are ready to offer their expertise within the boundaries of First Nation communities. The challenge lies with utilizing the Cree philosophy and principles, which are in conflict with the European ideals and beliefs.

Leadership

In support of Chemers' (1984) view on cross-cultural examination of leadership, the Cree elders do indeed suggest that the notion of leadership could be imbedded within the framework of Natural Law. To illustrate this point, the elders allude to governance of self as a stepping stone to governance of an entire community. This is further explained as they speak of each member of any cultural group as a contributing member of a particular community. The elders conjecture that knowledge and practical

application of Natural Law is fundamental to the restoration of self-governance in First Nation communities.

The reality of First Nations governance is a direct reflection of the policies of the Federal Government of Canada. All decisions made at the local political level are sanctioned by the Department of Indian Affairs whose decision-making processes are imbedded within the constructs of the Indian Act. The concern raised by the elders is that control of decision-making no longer belongs to the community. Rather, the Federal Government makes the choice for them. First Nation leaderships have become the administrative arm of the Department of Indian Affairs. Despite this, the elders concur that traditional practices may offer alternative solutions to renewal of leadership of First Nations.

Ricoeur et al. (1974) challenge us to consider alternative choices of leadership for First Nation governance as they propose there are two levels of ethics guiding the tasks at the political level to building healthy communities. Ricoeur et al. suggest the "health of a community rests on the justness of the relations between conviction and responsibility" (p. 287). They further offer that, in order for leadership to take action, tensions must be kept in the foreground. They caution political leaders may be subjected to sinking to a Machiavellian level of governance. They add that group pressures can promote responsible choices.

The perspective of the Cree elders involves revisiting the vision of the communities. They suggest this vision can be done through prayer. It also suggests that the spiritual aspect of vision is a concept that was forgotten. Theresa addressed this

concept by stating: "Our leadership used to pray together as they went out and worked with the people . . . they have forgotten how" (Theresa, 1997).

Secondly, the elders suggest that the spirit of collaboration is essential to the renewal of First Nations leadership. They clarify this by explaining that amidst the busy schedule of community politicians, they have forgotten to speak and listen to their membership. Open communication, which addresses common concerns, was suggested by all of the elders. Cardinal (1969) reaffirms this notion as he submits that the elders will provide the guidance in making virtuous decisions that reflect the tribal beliefs in Natural Law.

Finally, on a global perspective, the elders assert the responsibility of the environment is under the direction of First Nations. They convey that the sacredness of the global community and its natural resources are held in sacred trust with all First Nations. The elders offer their knowledge, guidance, and direction to all that will listen.

This is the first role of the indigenous peoples in the survival of the planet, the Earth. Our elders tell us we have to do more than save what is left of our traditional homelands. We need to contribute to an overall change of mind . . . so that human-kind can begin to initiate strategies which will preserve and sustain the environment that all cultures and nations share. (Ruby Dunston, Lytton Indian Band)

Recommendations

The wisdom of the elders within the context of this study provided insightful and motivational thought to the notion of renewal of Cree cultural foundations. Their narratives raise a number of unanswered inquiries to where one might search for

concrete answers. The elders are adept in providing knowledge and information; however, they leave you to process these experiences and apply this information for your own learning. Consequently, because the research of First Nations is relatively new, the opportunity to learn from the elders is opportune. They offer their wisdom and guidance to explore the “natural” world of thought in a practical and insightful manner. Thus, to offer recommendations based on their knowledge is based upon renewal of not only First Nations, but for the global community as well. As we enter into a new millennium, it is appropriate to suggest future studies utilizing the application of collaboration in designing leadership models. Essentially, as mankind, we have learned to hoard our knowledge and wisdom — the time to share by learning how to share is a step to renewal of leadership.

For this reason, Ricoeur et al. (1974) make the point that the challenge for renewal of leadership lies with balancing the technological, cultural, and historical values. They submit that retaining the roots of the past as a learning tool, and being to be able to reinterpret, is a means of organizing ourselves for renewal.

Specific recommendations are:

1. Establish search conferences that focus on the vision of the community.

Weisbord's (1992) Discovering Common Ground suggests solution through collaboration and consensus is fundamental to a visionary exercise.

2. Establish through consensus a mandate for First Nation community services that will provide opportunity for cultural awareness. It is suggested that the philosophy and practice of Natural Law be implemented in all community services.

3. Cree communities re-examine the need for social programs. It is suggested that alternative methods for economic ventures be considered in community planning.
4. Provide leadership workshops and models of leadership that incorporate the Cree Natural Law.
5. Re-structure educational systems reflecting the principles of Natural Law.
6. Elicit the wisdom of the elders for guidance and direction. Formulate an elder women's counsel as an integral component of tribal governance. An emphasis is suggested to place their concentration on children's issues. These issues may include programs that address disciplinary actions, teaching traditional values, educational programs offered at the local level, children's advocacy, and family practices.
7. Conduct on-going healing workshops.

Conclusions

In conclusion, this study, made through the eyes of the elders, advocates addressing the past to initiate reconciliation of blunders brought about by colonial influences. The relationship between First Nation people and the Government of Canada has been one of dominated and dominator. This has resulted in First Nations people learning how to be dependent upon government handouts. The once interdependent Cree Nation has fallen to its knees as the spirit of determination, respect, caring, and sharing were shamelessly ridiculed. Over 120 years of subjugation has left seven generations as victims of cultural genocide. In order to come to terms with the past, the Government of Canada, in collaboration with First Nations, must reach a consensus

to resolve and address the casualties of genocidal warfare. This would imply that equity and justice must be served.

Furthermore, the elders call for a renewal of a cultural base that is thousands of years old. They caution that if renewal is not the vision of leadership, cultural foundations could falter under the current educational systems. They remind us, as a people, strength comes from within — the governance of self — which reflects the values of caring, sharing, knowledge, and determination as a distinct people. They strongly believe that, under the guidance of Natural Law, systems which reflect these beliefs will bring a renewed and stronger system of cultural identity for their communities. They are of the opinion that the governance of self through the teachings of Natural Law will bring a strong collective community of First Nation people.

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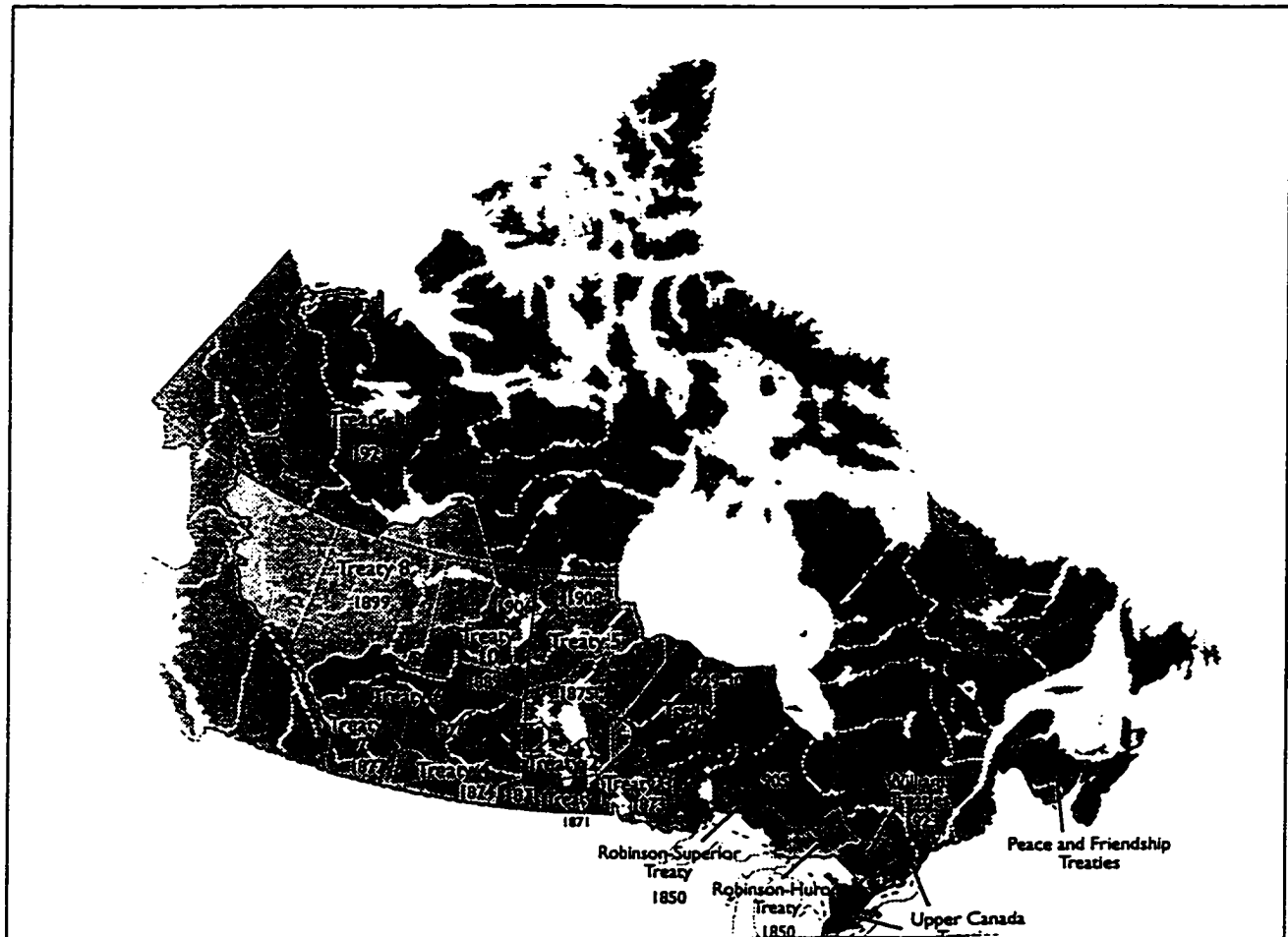
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APPENDIX A

MAP OF CANADIAN TREATIES

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APPENDIX B

GUIDING QUESTIONS

GUIDING QUESTIONS

The interviews are going to be minimally structured with open-ended questions. The questions will serve as a guide to the narrative that the participants will respond to in respect to their life's experiences and insights to First Nations culture, affects of genocide and the direction given for cultural renewal.

1. Describe your experience living on the reserve.
2. Describe your experience attending school.
3. Describe the Cree 'Natural Law'.
4. What effect, if any, did non-First Nations have on the lifestyles of the Cree Nation?
5. What is the traditional way of raising children?
6. How/why is the Cree language important to the culture of the Cree Nation?
7. What style of leadership did the Cree Nation follow from a traditional point of view?
8. What are the values/belief systems of the Cree Nation?
9. Are the values/beliefs practiced today? If so, in what way?

APPENDIX C

PERMIT FORMS FROM THE COLLECTION

OF ELDER PETER

Department of Indian Affairs

Battleford Agency.

March 31 1947

No. 234

J. L. [unclear]

is hereby permitted to be absent from his Reserve for Thirty days
days from date hereof. Trapping

and is yes permitted to carry a gun.

For Indian Agent.

No. 15662

Agency

No. [unclear] Reserve

Feb. 28 1947

is hereby permitted to sell Thirty One Cattle

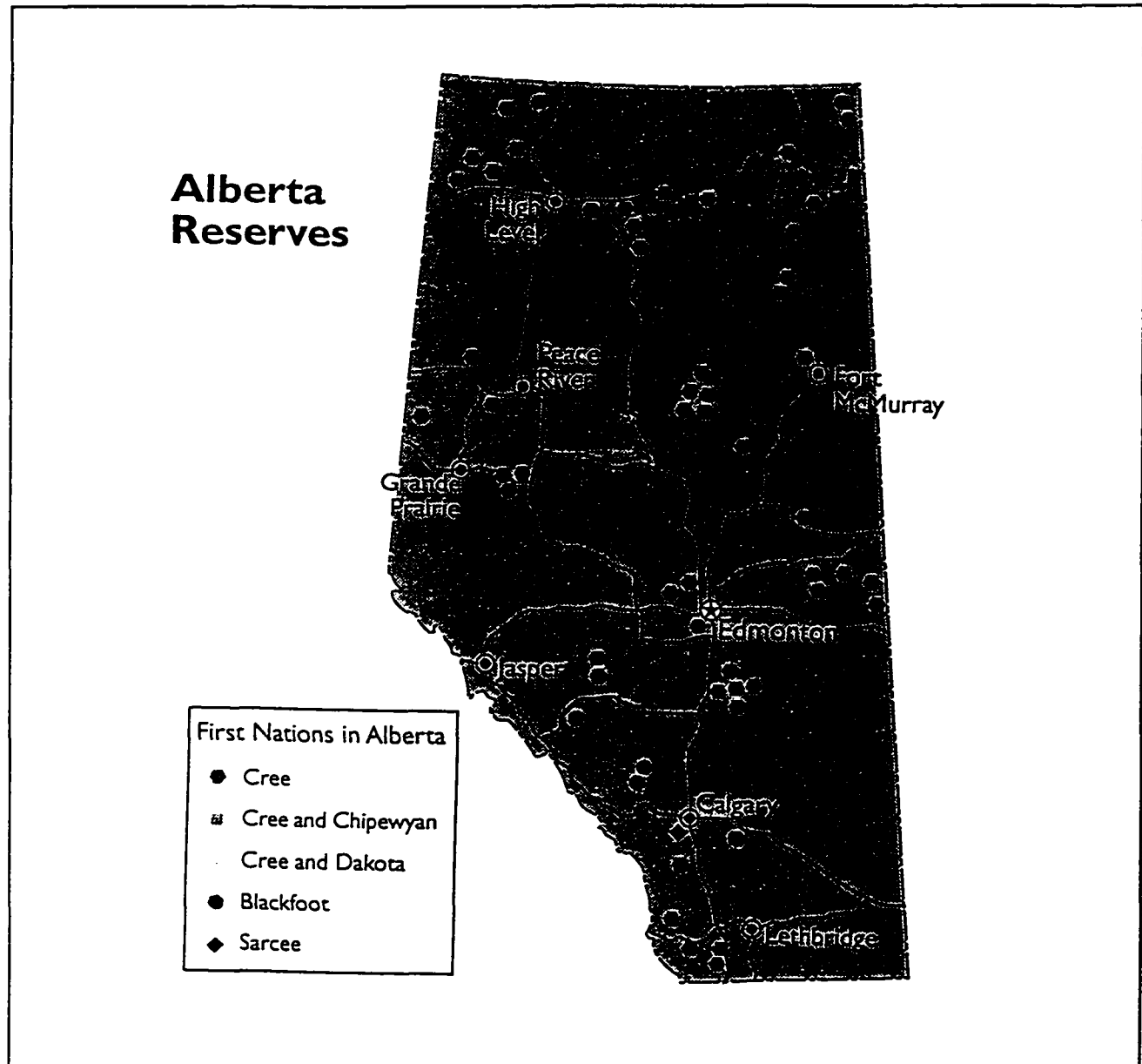
Any Allegations or
 Evidence to this Permit
 render it null and void.

FOR BEARER TO HOLD THIS PERMIT

APPENDIX D

MAP OF ALBERTA RESERVES

MAP OF ALBERTA RESERVES



APPENDIX E

CONSENT FORM

University of San Diego
CONSENT TO ACT AS A RESEARCH SUBJECT

Phyllis Cardinal, a doctoral candidate in the School of Education of the University of San Diego, is conducting a research study on the subject of "First Nations Cultural Genocide: Perspective of Cree Elders for Identity Renewal". Since I have been selected to participate in this study, I understand that I will be interviewed for the purpose of examining the concept of cultural genocide of Cree First Nations. I further understand that I will be sharing my stories, personal experiences and knowledge from a Cree elder's perspective.

This data collection will take about 3 interviews of 1 to 2 hours over a 2-month period. Participation in the study should not involve any added risks or discomforts to me except for the possible minor fatigue. My participation in this study is entirely voluntary. I understand I may refuse to participate or withdraw at any time without jeopardy. I understand I may refuse to participate or withdraw at any time without jeopardy to my health or medical needs. I understand that the interview session will be audiotaped, and I have a right to reviews and edit the interview transcripts within 10 days of each designated interview.

I understand my research records will be kept completely confidential. My identity will not be disclosed without consent as required by law. I further understand that to preserve my identity, a pseudonym, as approved by myself will be used in any publication from the results of this study. Phyllis Cardinal has explained to me that my name was referred by the Director of Tribal Chiefs and that my interviews records will be kept confidential from the referring organization personnel.

There are no other agreements, written or verbal, related to this study beyond that expressed on this consent form. I have received a copy of this consent document and "The Experimental Subject's Bill of RIGHTS."

I, the undersigned, understand the above explanations and on that basis, I give consent to my voluntary participation in this research.

Signature of Subject

Date

Signature of Witness

Date

Signature of Researcher

Date

APPENDIX F

CIRCULAR LETTER FROM THE COLLECTION

OF ELDER PETER

CIRCULAR

OTTAWA, 15th December 1921.

Sir. -

It is observed with alarm that the holding of dances by the Indians on their reserves is on the increase, and that these practices tend to disorganize the efforts which the Department is putting forth to make them self-supporting.

I have, therefore, to direct you to use your utmost endeavours to dissuade the Indians from excessive indulgence in the practice of dancing. You should suppress any dances which cause waste of time, interfere with the occupations of the Indians, unsettle them for serious work, injure their health or encourage them in sloth and idleness. You should also dissuade, and, if possible, prevent them from leaving their reserves for the purpose of attending fairs, exhibitions, etc., when their absence would result in their own farming and other interests being neglected. It is realized that reasonable amusement and recreation should be enjoyed by Indians, but they should not be allowed to dissipate their energies and abandon themselves to demoralizing amusements. By the use of tact and firmness, you can obtain control and keep it, and this obstacle to continued progress will then disappear.

The rooms, halls or other places in which Indians congregate should be under constant inspection. They should be scrubbed, fumigated, cleansed or disinfected to prevent the dissemination of disease. The Indians should be instructed to regard to the matter of proper ventilation and the avoidance of over-crowding rooms where public assemblies are being held, and proper arrangement should be made for the shelter of their horses and ponies. The Agent will avail himself of the services of the medical attendant of his agency in the connection.

Except where further information is desired, there will be no necessity to acknowledge the receipt of this circular.

Yours very truly,

Duncan Elliott

Thos. Graham, Esq.