

First Nations Students in Social Work Training; The Social
Organization of Indigenization

by


Cynthia Marie Jamieson
B.S.W., University of Victoria, 1991


A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the
Requirements for the Degree of

MASTER OF SOCIAL WORK
in the faculty of


Human and Social Development
University of Victoria

We accept this thesis as conforming
to the required standard


Dr. Brian Wharf, Supervisor (Faculty of Human and Social
Development)


Dr. Marie Campbell, Outside Member (Faculty of Human and Social
Development)


Dr. Leslie Brown, School Member (School of Social Work)


Dr. Caroliné Attridge, External Examiner (School of Nursing-
Retired)

© CYNTHIA MARIE JAMIESON, 1997

University of Victoria

All rights reserved. This thesis may not be produced in whole or
in part, by photocopy or other means, without the permission of
the author.

Supervisor: Dr. Brian Wharf

ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the issue of the social organization of indigenization of the experience of First Nations students in a mainstream social work training program. The experience of the students is organized according to the academic and professional standards of social work training and practice in various processes which marginalize or silence their cultural experience within a mainstream learning setting. The students seem to be required to make major adaptations to indigenizing processes in order to obtain academic success with subsequent impact to their comfort and well-being. The problematic aspect of this experience has implications for First Nations who seek autonomy and empowerment in implementing social services which are effective and relevant in a cultural and community context.

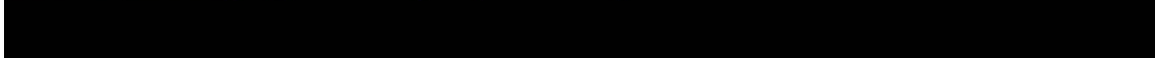
A qualitative ethnographic methodology was utilized in planning the research design and in obtaining and analysing data for the inquiry. In-depth interviews with five students were conducted, transcribed and analysed. Data information was organized and written according to my conceptual framework or standpoint as I understand the problematic of the issue. I have developed this inquiry partly from my experience as a First Nations social work student and this is acknowledged.

The First Nations students participating in this inquiry often found that mainstream training did not prepare them for social work practice in their own communities. Mainstream educators who attempted to provide cultural relevancy often lacked the skills and resources to do so. These findings are important in considering planning and implementing social work training and practice for First Nations, particularly in light of the timely and urgent nature of the issue of autonomy in child welfare.

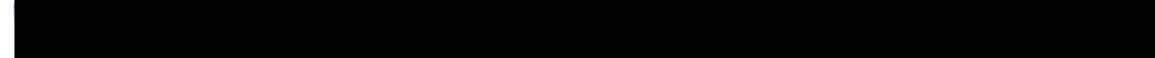
Examiners:



Dr. Brian Wharf, Supervisor (Faculty of Human and Social Development)



Dr. Marie Campbell, Outside Member (Faculty of Human and Social Development)



Dr. Leslie Brown, School Member (School of Social Work)



Dr. Caroline Attridge, External Examiner (School of Nursing-Retired)

Table of Contents

	Page
Abstract	ii
Table of Contents	iii
Acknowledgements	v
Chapter	
1 Introduction	1
2 Review Of Relevant Literature	5
Marginalizing	6
Mainstreaming	16
Silencing	25
Student Adaptations	31
3 The Research Methodology	41
The Research Question	41
Conceptual Framework/The Problematic of First Nations Social Services	42
Methodology	44
Research Design	45
Use of Qualitative Methods	46
The Interview Process	50
Data Analysis	54
Summary	56
4 Findings	57
Marginalizing	59
Mainstreaming	70

	Silencing	84
5	Analysis and Implications	104
	Student Adaptations	104
	Implications of Indigenization	127
6	Conclusions and Recommendations	141
	Summary of Findings	141
	Recommendations	143
	Appendix	149
	Bibliography	150

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I learned a lot more in completing this project than I thought I would. In this sense, it was a true adventure of discovery for me, the spirit of which I hope will accompany me on future research endeavors.

This project explored many issues which are close to me and this has been a time of some healing and resolution for me as I reflect on my own experience. I hope other First Nations students will experience a similar healing of painful or difficult memories of their learning journeys along the mainstream path.

I wish to thank my teachers and members of my research committee who guided, challenged and supported.

I am grateful for my classroom companions and colleagues in the helping community for debate and support. Especially those who stood by me in the struggle for academic freedom for all.

I am grateful to the First Nations students who participated in the interviews for the study and told their stories. I respect that this was sometimes difficult. All participated hoping to improve circumstances for future students. I hope I honour your words, your experience, in my work.

I am grateful to Elizabeth for the inspiration she left.

I am grateful to my family for their understanding and support. They have been generous in sharing me with this project. Also to my brother Alex for his vision and leadership.

Special thanks to my hairdresser for the teasing and the encouragement to "just say it" instead of using fancy schmancy words, for making me feel beautiful and for believing in Cole Porter too.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This thesis explores the experience of First Nations students in social work training and examines how that experience is socially organized by processes which construct an indigenized training experience. Haveman defines indigenization as a process wherein policies for First Nations are rooted in and reflect dominant perspectives (Haveman 1985, pg.1-16). This term is central to my topic in exploring the experience of First Nations students who are attending social work training in a mainstream program. The term Indigenization is utilized to describe circumstances wherein First Nations are not only colonized but are also perpetuating of oppressive processes. In this sense, they become the oppressors.

I have chosen this research topic because of my standpoint. I was a First Nations student in a mainstream social work training program. This first hand knowledge has been of great assistance both in understanding the learning experience of other First Nations students and in organizing and implementing the research. Details of my personal experience are addressed with the presentation of data. I have experienced problems similar to those reported by some of the students participating in this inquiry. I believe this personal knowledge gave me some insights and understanding of the struggles others have faced. There were times when I struggled with balancing my own experience

with those shared by the students in their stories. I struggled with acknowledging my own experience while trying not to drown out their voices.

What I felt and observed as a First Nations student led me to critically examine the social work training processes which I felt had an impact on myself and other students. Yet, previous to this research, I had only general impressions; I had no specific information or theoretical framework with which to make sense of my experience or to explore its implications for my practice. I recognized that many First Nations would prefer a more optimal balance between cultural and mainstream content and process in their training than what currently is available. Yet students are, or perceive themselves as powerless to achieve such a balance as they are dependent on mainstream funders and accreditors in attaining 'credible' professional training. Students are indigenized in mainstream training which lacks the empowering and culturally relevant aspects to promote autonomous and culturally appropriate information and skill building necessary for practice in First Nations communities.

This thesis attempts to provide a framework for exploring how student experience is indigenized, for connecting indigenization in training to external processes and for considering the impact of indigenized training on First Nations social services, particularly in the area of takeovers in child welfare. Knowledge gained from this

research can assist in moving First Nations training beyond a dependence on mainstream institutions and resources.

The objectives of the research were to explore the experience of First Nations students (from the standpoint of their stories) and then to consider their experience in light of academic and state policies and practices. I connected their experience to external processes which played a part in constructing it as indigenized.

Chapter two of this thesis describes the relevant literature related to social work training and First Nations students, particularly in terms of processes of indigenized training. The specific adaptations students make in assimilating to mainstream training are also explored in this chapter.

Chapter three explains the research methodology and its appropriateness for the research question and the subjects involved. It also outlines the interview process used in obtaining data from students.

Chapter four presents the information gathered through interviews with social work students.

In Chapter five I analyze the data from the findings and literature. I discuss some implications of indigenized training. Important connections between the experience of students and the policies of funders and educators are also discussed in this chapter. The conclusion at the close of this chapter summarizes major observations emerging from the

research and identifies areas for optimism, continuing concerns and unresolved issues.

This inquiry was begun approximately five years ago. Since that time some changes have admittedly taken place in the training curriculum which could have improved circumstances for First Nations students though it is difficult to say whether these would be significant enough in scope to effectively alter the seemingly indigenizing nature of the program.

It is my hope that this thesis will truly speak to the needs of First Nations in our developing truly empowering, effective, and culturally relevant training as a base for First Nations practice models. In addition, I hope this work will provide some critical dialogue on policies and processes which continue to perpetuate colonialist (neo-colonialist) training processes and to hinder the development of First Nations social work training and practice.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELEVANT LITERATURE

This section discusses relevant theories from the current scholarly literature addressing issues associated with the research topic. Some of the sources address First Nations student experience in mainstream training more generally. Nonetheless, they are useful in understanding and articulating the experience of First Nations in social work training. Although some aspects of what students in this study have experienced are likely particular to social work there may be commonalities in the experience of all First Nations post-secondary students, especially among those pursuing professional education in preparation for self-government.

Professional social work training is an important priority in First Nations professionalization, because "self-government is fast approaching" (Beaty and Chiste 1986, pg.11). Large numbers of First Nations are clients of the state social service system. A desire to reduce First Nations clientele or offload this expensive federal responsibility through policies promoting limited self-government makes social service takeovers one of the primary professional development areas First Nations are encouraged to pursue (Angus 1991, pgs.12-33). At the same time First Nations themselves are motivated to implement their own social work programs, partially out of eagerness to

institute more culturally relevant child welfare practices (Pace and Smith 1990, pg.110).

This urgency, as well as the historically assimilative nature of social work, leads to special pressures and issues for First Nations students.

Haveman defined indigenization as the development and implementation of policies for First Nations which are rooted in, and so continue to reflect, dominant perspectives (Haveman 1985, pg.1-16). Other sources also address the processes of indigenized training and highlight the need for further research about these processes and their impact on student experience. There is a need to address the inherent difficulties with retaining and graduating students (Beaty and Chiste 1986, pg.6). Informed ways of overcoming barriers to more culturally relevant and empowering training for First Nations must be found.

Some of the literature examines the training experience of students of colour who are not First Nations. Again, I found these sources useful in developing my conceptual framework. My use of such sources, however, is not intended to suggest that the experience of students consulted in my inquiry is generalizable to all First Nations post-secondary students or students of colour.

MARGINALIZING

"Marginalizing" is defined here as processes which allow or facilitate limited cultural content and decision-

making opportunities for students but do so from within a mainstream framework. While allowing some benefits to students, marginalizing processes may also tokenize those students' participation and culture.

In recent years, social work educators have begun to grapple with the issues involved in integrating racial and ethnic content into their curricula in response to concerns raised by oppressed groups. Chestang notes that debates in the U.S. in the 1960s revolved around the question of whether "African-American" content in colleges and universities was substantial enough to be "...viewed as a legitimate area of scholarly inquiry, (Chestang 1993, pg.1)." Despite Chestang's view that the profession seeks to help and understand people in "various contexts", he notes that such inclusion should be linked to a theoretical basis or a "professional purpose." (Chestang 1993, pgs. 2,3). This view suggests that such content has little value of itself in mainstream professional training, reflecting a belief by social work educators that minority content should be included only where it can be accommodated within a mainstream framework.

Chestang notes that while the American Council on Social Work Education - the U.S. accrediting body equivalent to the CASSW (Canadian Association of Schools of Social Work) - has developed guidelines to infuse minority/ethnic content, further strategies are needed to ensure continued progress (Chestang 1993, pg.3). The situation appears

similar to that of CASSW guidelines and Canadian difficulties in including cultural content in mainstream social work curricula.

Though Chestang advises that educators devise an organizing structure through which to link minority content with general course content (Chestang 1993, pg.6) he fails to address the potential for marginalization of minority information and students' needs. Any such content will be dependent on ability or skill of educators to relate that content to the mainstream curricula. Mainstream educators, rather than members of the minorities themselves, will determine what cultural content is relevant.

This process excludes meaningful minority involvement in determining program content and may overlook those things most relevant to the needs of minority students and their communities.

Nagpaul describes similar marginalizing occurring in India. American mainstream theory is so pervasive in that country's local social work training programs that indigenous issues and topics become tokenized. Nagpaul reports no "serious attempt" in fifty years to incorporate Indian culture and field experience in the social work curricula. Even study material for courses on Indian society and social structure is predominantly American (Nagpaul 1993, pgs.212,213).

A 1964 United Nations study highlighted the "limited applicability" of the American model and suggested promoting

indigenous methods and materials. Since then there have been several attempts in India to move in that direction, including working groups, conferences, and the establishment of a training centre to produce teaching materials based on regional needs and socioeconomic conditions (Nagpaul 1993, pg.216). Although many reports and recommendations have been produced, however, "no concrete plan" has emerged to replace the US model or actually produce indigenous study materials. Nagpaul suggests that belief in the supremacy of the U.S. model, lack of resources and financial dependency on US social work interests are the key factors motivating the continued promotion of American social work training in India and throughout the world (Nagpaul 1993, pgs.216,217). Nagpaul's concern is that regional trainers and indigenous agencies are themselves reconstructing these marginalizing processes because of their dependency on external resources (Nagpaul 1993, pgs.216,217).

Though there appears to be some "cultural content" in Indian social work programs, it is presented within a primarily mainstream framework. Recommendations for the development of indigenous skills and knowledge, and the indigenous topics which are presented, appear to function primarily to appease the cultural sensitivity requirements of accreditors, funders and human rights observers (Nagpaul 1993, pgs.216,217).

Jones notes how token gestures such as guidelines for greater Black participation and empowerment through contact

with the profession are part of the white system, serving to fulfil the mainstream need to address inequity. Such token measures:

... mask the fact that it is the disempowering effects of social work that need to be challenged and that not allowing people to be partners in the care of their children is an indication of inequality rather than an attempt to redress it. The commitment to empowerment is both fragile and transparent - we have done nothing more than intellectualize the term and build it in to our professional jargon (Jones 1993, pg.79).

Jones acknowledges, however, that some efforts to include persons of colour in decision-making within the profession have been more than token measures. She describes a New Zealand program that addresses social inequality and racist social work practices and attempts to return power to tribal communities (Jones 1993, pg.80). Similar experience in Canada shows that such "progressive" efforts often become marginalized within a white or mainstream framework, despite sometimes well-intentioned policy makers (Morrisette, Morrisette and MacKenzie 1993, pgs.101,102).

Kolb addresses a similar marginalizing of minority women. In the U.S. the curriculum policies of the Council on Social Work Education (CSWE) specifically mandate educators to provide content on women and minorities. The experience of women of colour, however, is marginalized into

a "chapter or two" within a white, middle-class curriculum base (Kolb 1993, pg.99).

Gary and Gary describe similar marginalizing of the social work training needs of Blacks in the U.S. Despite many early contributions in training, practice and professional standards development Blacks are mostly missing in discussions of the history of social work (Gary and Gary 1994, pgs.67,68).

Black professionals criticized the way social work training programs developed for blacks were usually more limited than those for whites. Apprenticeships and short term courses or conferences lasting only a few days per year - methods "discarded" by whites and revived for Blacks in the 1920s - covered a variety of topics but made it "impossible" for blacks to adequately learn the profession. (Gary and Gary 1994, pgs.70,71,72).

Such early training models for Black students resemble the distance education programs now attended by many First Nations social work students who wish to continue working and serving their communities while taking professional training. Several programs implement this model. While the model meets some needs, it is arguable it may mirror problems similar to those of early training models for Blacks.

Gary and Gary note that the Atlanta School of Social Work was instituted in 1930 to provide a forum for including Black content and experience. Courses addressing Black

community issues, housing problems and other concerns were provided alongside traditional courses (Gary and Gary 1994, pgs.74,75). The authors do not discuss any problems associated with the potential for marginalizing of Black content within a program which also offered "traditional" (mainstream) content. Yet, it is possible that Black content was marginalized in the past in a way similar to the marginalization of women and minorities in more contemporary curricula.

Morrisette et al stress the need for culturally relevant developments in social work training and practice in Canada, noting that efforts to adapt professional training and practice to the needs of First Nations are limited in scope (Morrisette, Morrisette and McKenzie 1993, pgs.92,93). While changes are being made in training and practice:

... these have had to operate within the larger framework of conventional policies and practices; thus they are often met with resistance and misunderstanding (Morrisette, Morrisette and McKenzie 1993, pgs.101,102,103).

The authors point out that Canadian social work training is based primarily on content relevant to dominant (mainstream) culture. Distinct cultural content receives little attention and is only "selectively introduced". This practice encourages practice based on dominant theories and

models inappropriate for First Nations practice, while devaluing traditional knowledge and healing practices:

Such limited attention leads to a devaluation of this content in much the same way as Aboriginal culture has been historically devalued. It can be argued that some of this is understandable in that this knowledge is still being clarified and organized within the Aboriginal community. However, in view of the increased participation of Aboriginal students in social work education and consistent claims from the larger Aboriginal community about its different reality and traditions, it is more difficult to understand why social work education has not been more proactive in its approach to this issue (Morrisette, Morrisette and McKenzie 1993, pg.105).

Yet in the context of training for First Nations, isn't this what First Nations expressed a need for? Both cultural and mainstream professional content to better prepare them for self- government in social services? Many suggest educators are only providing what has been asked for by First Nations themselves (Brown 1992, pg.46; Feehan and Hannis 1993, pg.2).

The continuing problem seems to be the inability to strike the correct balance of mainstream and cultural without watering down mainstream information or tokenizing cultural aspects.

Ahmed describes the ignorance of educators in including race- related or anti-racist literature in the UK. Reading lists were "frantically" updated before accreditation visits

in order to meet curriculum requirements, but instructors were usually "blissfully ignorant" on the issues and often did not refer to them in class. Without internal mechanisms to foster educator awareness such content is often not included despite policies requiring it (Ahmed 1990, pg.15).

The same tokenizing effect arises in First Nations 'partnership' in decision-making and planning for relevant social work training. First Nations students and community members may have an "advisory" voice in planning for and making recommendations to training programs (Pace and Smith 1990, pg.115) but this voice can become tokenized.

Educators may try to demonstrate their commitment to First Nations involvement by instituting advisory boards, holding consultative workshops and hiring non-tenured instructors, but these efforts may remain marginal.

First Nations express a need for achieving accredited professional training, however. They do not want to seem less trained professionally (Castellano et al 1986, pg.15). Inadequate or marginal professional training seems as problematic as marginal cultural content. While it is difficult to strike a balance between professional training and cultural content without sacrificing one or the other, some argue it can be done with positive benefits (Brown 1992, pg.46) (Hannis 1993, pg.50). Many agree there are expectations for educators to "integrate the social work perspective within a Native context" despite the difficulties in "standing between" two historically

antagonistic and contradictory ways of thinking (Colorado 1993, pg.67). A major difficulty is the lack of infrastructure for doing so in a way both respectful and effective:

If we had wanted to use Western social work methods to assimilate Native people into an uncritical acceptance of a foreign model of social work, we had a huge infrastructure from which to work. But there is no infrastructure for linking and translating bicultural knowledge and converting such scientific knowledge into action (Colorado 1993, pg.75).

Castellano et al suggest there is a continuum between training programs with greater or lesser degrees of cultural content and First Nations participation. All accredited training must provide core professional mainstream content, yet a greater degree of cultural content and First Nations participation in planning will be less marginalizing of First Nations (Castellano 1986, pgs.15,16).

It seems difficult for educators to circumvent the marginalizing aspects which accompany mainstream professional training, even when they are able and willing to provide more cultural and egalitarian training. Part of the difficulty is in meeting the differing needs of various groups, such as tribal councils, funders, First Nations students, community members and university administrations. All have vested interests in social work training for First

Nations but may differ in their visions for how best this is achieved (Zapf 1993, pgs.33,34). Colorado notes that First Nations students themselves differ in levels of cultural content preferred because of "identity conflict" (Colorado 1993, pg.72).

MAINSTREAMING

In this section information from the literature is discussed which helps to reveal how First Nations social work students are pressured to assimilate or come to believe that assimilation to mainstream ways means academic success. The concept of mainstreaming assists in understanding how cultural content is constructed as oppositional to mainstream, professional content. Inclusion of only marginal cultural content, or none at all, is justified by presenting that content as detracting from the mainstream. The term mainstreaming is used here to indicate circumstances whereby mainstream curriculum content is presented while cultural content is excluded. Chestang found that "...minority content detracted from the limited time available to teach the primary focus of a course (Chestang 1997, pgs.1,2). Further, he suggests that many social work students resent devoting attention to "racial and ethnic minority" content. He believes such content infusion is necessary and is possible if work is done to relate it to mainstream content. He believes provision should be made for a structure for infusion and that infusion must be

integrated throughout the curriculum (Chestang 1993, pgs.1,2).

In India, social work educators are challenging the conventional practice of "unilaterally transferring Western social work theory and practice methods" to local training programs and calling for indigenous professional development (Segal 1993, pg.61).

Skill development in health care education and community work, for example, may be more relevant to local Indian communities than the casework and family service focus prevalent in mainstream Western social work curricula (Segal 1993, pgs.63,65). As Segal notes:

... the values of social workers in each country must reflect some combination of their own national culture's values and those of the profession, and in such a way that their behaviors and attitudes are sensitive to the problems, needs and values of their respective client groups (Segal 1993, pg.63).

Segal suggests that though some social work students are assimilated into Western ways before entering training, this assimilation is reinforced by Western training methods which lead students to identify more with Western ways than "... with those of the indigenous populations they serve (Segal 1993, pg.61)." As discussed later, such concerns echo those of First Nations students interviewed who fear

that assimilation to mainstream professional and academic ways will alienate them from their own communities.

Others state that the assimilationist nature of social work education in Canada means that graduates are not prepared to work in "different ethnic communities." Mainstream educators need to be aware of their role as "socialization agents" and of how they impose their ways of teaching and learning on others (Blum 1987, pgs.89,90).

As Nagpaul states, this primacy of mainstream voices over indigenous ones is ethnocentric:

... US social work education is highly ethnocentric, and its essential elements are inappropriate for India and other developing societies where not only social structures and social problems are different but even human needs, beliefs, myths, values, traditions, goals, roles and the aspirations of people are so divergent that new strategies and solutions need to be developed (Nagpaul 1993, pg.215).

Jones agrees, suggesting that mainstreaming is a form of racism. Writing about the stigmatizing nature of social work in the United Kingdom, Jones notes that as professionals focus on the pathologies and dysfunctions of Black families and individuals issues of poverty and inequality are neglected. There is more focus on procedures than services in this system, which tends to stigmatize Blacks. Professionals prefer to address the "failing

individual" rather than the social circumstances producing poverty, unemployment and other ills (Jones 1993, pgs.77,78).

Even alternative practice models such as the ecological model continue to emphasize the "individualized" approach (Morrissette, Morrissette and McKenzie 1993, pg.92). Helping alternatives are still too entrenched in dominant views and conventions to adequately address gender, class or culture-based issues. Though feminists have had some success in challenging the mainstream "androcentric" nature of social work, its ethnocentric nature receives little attention (Morrissette, Morrissette and McKenzie 1993, pg.92). This concern over the lack of more empowering practice paradigms matches Segal's and Nagpaul's observations on the prevalence of individualist paradigms in social work training.

Mainstreaming depoliticizes training and practice issues. There is an inherent hesitancy to critique the profession and its mainstream training processes on racial, cultural or similar grounds. Mainstream voices dominate in discussions of curricula and paradigms for training.

As Morrissette et al note,

... the individual is continuously bombarded with the values and practices of the dominant culture, and these influences do not encourage a strong identification with traditional culture (Morrissette, Morrissette and McKenzie 1993, pg.95).

As discussed in a later chapter, the social work training experience of First Nations students discourages the cultural in favour of the mainstream. The adoption of mainstream skills and knowledge is necessary to succeed in a mainstream program. Such a "monocultural paradigm" leads to a "loss of cultural vision" (Colorado 1993, pg.71).

Theorists suggest this mainstream domination perpetuates circumstances of oppression for First Nations (Colorado 1993, pg.71) (Hannis 1993, pg.49). Further, as Zapf notes, students who identify strongly with their traditional culture may have difficulty achieving academic success with curricula not particularly relevant to their own community situations (Zapf 1993, pg.97).

The varying levels of cultural identification among social work practitioners and consumers also have implications for assessment and intervention.

Sensitivity must be used in traditional helping and healing with a First Nations consumer who does not strongly identify with traditional culture. This does not mean that culture should not have some part to play. Some feel that while traditional or conventional skills can be used to address crisis situations for First Nations, issues of esteem and powerlessness must also be addressed. Exposure to traditional culture can provide identity validation (Morrisette, Morrisette and McKenzie 1993, pgs.95,96,97,98).

First Nations practice models, emphasizing participation, empowerment, group and community development,

advocacy and political action from a First Nations perspective (Morrisette, Morrisette and McKenzie 1993, pg.98) are not typically available in mainstream social work training. First Nations theorists share concerns with those of other nations that mainstreaming leaves little room for the indigenous content necessary to prepare students to either empower indigenous consumers or offer effective helping interventions. Morrisette et al note:

Course content needs to reflect the growth of Aboriginal practice and perspectives on needs in these communities. In addition, the actual instruction of such course content needs to be undertaken by Aboriginal people. Frequently, the essence of Aboriginal knowledge and understanding based on an oral tradition has been misrepresented, and cultural traditions and sensitivities have been violated. Claims to validity, credibility, and principles of social justice dictate that Aboriginal people be primarily responsible for the development and delivery of Aboriginal social work content. The increased involvement of Aboriginal instructors in social work education will require changes to conventional approaches to staffing, particularly if elders and traditional medicine people are to be included (Morrisette, Morrisette and McKenzie 1993, pg.105).

Others suggest that the historical oppression of First Nations and other groups by helping institutions is perpetuated by dominant society's values of individualism and professionalization. Alternative helping approaches may, along with cultural material, be more suitable than current

mainstream approaches in providing a training format relevant to the needs of First Nations students and their communities. Radical approaches call for changes in the helping services that emphasize collectivism, mutual aid, and similar techniques as alternatives to the clinical therapeutic approaches which stigmatize and disempower First Nations and other communities (Wineman 1984, pgs.132,133).

Similarly, feminist social work may also provide perspectives better suited to First Nations training needs. The feminist model is outside of the "dominant" (mainstream) perspective and promotes non-hierarchical helping relations. It encourages focus on race and gender inequities rather than stigmatizing consumers as dysfunctional (Nes and Iadicola 1989, pgs.19,20).

Feehan describes one program's focus on Band community needs assessments and the personal growth and responsibility of First Nations students and community members in taking responsibility for child welfare services (Feehan 1993, pgs.11,12,13). However, she does not describe any curriculum content which addresses the power and resource issues facing First Nations attempting social services administration and dependent on dictates of external funding and accreditation sources.

Depoliticization and clinical therapeutic approaches to Band empowerment seem to be encouraged by such curricula. Such approaches pathologize First Nations, affecting students' identity and esteem and do not prepare them to

empower their communities. The program described by Feehan does address some preparations for autonomy though not in a realistic way given the difficult circumstances facing those seeking self-government.

Aboriginal practice models for social work would address cultural differences like the value of interdependence as opposed to competitive, individualized values (Morrisette, Morrisette and McKenzie 1993, pg.93). Further, the stigmatization inherent in mainstream training could be reduced through raising "Aboriginal consciousness about colonialism" and its processes and effects, as some suggest (Morrisette, Morrisette and McKenzie 1993, pg.93).

Morrisette et al state that we must go beyond simple structural analysis of relations between First Nations and the dominant society and prescriptions for cultural sensitivity. Developing an aboriginal practice model demands ongoing action. Educators must recognize the need to reconceptualize training to accommodate culturally appropriate practice through a dialogue of "mutual respect" and "appreciation of diversity". The challenge for First Nations is to become more aware of the dichotomy between traditional and mainstream world views and promote change in their practice (Morrisette, Morrisette and McKenzie 1993, pgs.106,107). Colorado recommends that traditional cultural approaches to helping be explored within an "egalitarian" training format (Colorado 1993, pgs.75,76). Similarly, Brown suggests that recognition and accommodation of "Aboriginal

perspectives" as a basis for future training could provide an alternative to current assimilative training practices (Brown 1992, pg.46).

Recommendations to address mainstreaming through cultural or alternative content go a long way in addressing the need for First Nations voices, experience and empowerment in social work training and practice. However, they do not resolve the barriers which have thus far prevented their implementation.

Kolb addresses the need for revaluing the experience of minority women in social work curricula. She suggests that teaching feminist principles re-politicizes the profession by encouraging the examination of power relations in practice to affirm and empower minority women in a male-oriented society. She also recommends consideration of minority experience, as well as female experience, in order to address the dual consciousness of minority women (Kolb 1993, pgs.102,103,104). Yet she and other theorists (Hannis 1993, pgs.50,51) (Colorado 1993, pg.75) fail to adequately address how minority students, educators and community members can work to implement more empowering and relevant content with limited resources while avoiding backlash, criminalizing and silencing by mainstream educators who may feel threatened by such change.

Problems may also arise in evaluation procedures used by mainstream educators to grade cultural and mainstream

academic progress if students' "language, culture and context" are unfamiliar (Zapf 1993, pg.37).

SILENCING

This term is used to describe processes which silence critique of social work training programs or requests for action. Critique is sometimes deflected through criminalizing of First Nations students. "Criminalizing" is accomplished by shifting attention from the problems with the program itself to individual or ethnic group issues, a "blame the victim" process which discredits First Nations' concerns by labelling their views or behaviors as undesirable. I use the term "criminalizing" to describe a pejorative or punitive process in training experience. Use of the term does not imply legal processes but is used to indicate circumstances where students are perceived to be perpetuating some wrongdoing or unruliness.

First Nations voices may also be silenced in determining the framework for their own training and practice as their voices are largely absent from the curriculum, and mainstream views of their issues and experiences are promoted to the exclusion of their own. Jones implies that critical examination of current social work processes is not welcomed by mainstream educators. Examining anti-racist issues in child protection in the U.K., Jones notes that educators and practitioners prefer "handy hints on working in a 'culturally-sensitive' way"

(Jones 1993, pg.76). Yet rather than avoiding critical examination or seeking easy answers with platitudes on cultural sensitivity, Jones insists that the social work profession must accept:

... our responsibility to evaluate critically and intervene in the system of which we have become a part (Jones 1993, pg.76).

Jones notes that a "professional vacuum" is constructed by practitioners and professional regulations which silence Black communities, preventing their participation in planning for child protection. This silencing relegates families and communities to accepting agency views. Any disagreement or anger is used to reinforce agency constructions of parents as pathological and dysfunctional, and justifies the institutionalization of racism into service processes which are inappropriate and disempowering (Jones 1993, pg.77). Failure to address issues of poverty and inequality and how these factors affect families' abilities to protect their children means the profession itself becomes a tool for perpetuating inequality (Jones 1993, pg.77).

Mainstream entry standards for social work training can also be a form of silencing through a gatekeeping process. Zapf expresses his concern for the way in which academic standards can prevent experienced lay helpers from entering

the profession if they lack accredited training opportunities (Zapf 1993, pg.38).

Sponsoring agencies or funding sources may also play a role in this gatekeeping process. One program acknowledged the involvement of sponsoring agencies and employers in admitting students where academic achievement was not "the only criteria" for entry as employer and funder needs were influential (Pace and Smith 1990, pgs.113,114). Balancing student needs against those of government funders, academy standards or community interests has the potential to leave some student's needs overlooked or overshadowed.

Rather than silencing women and minorities by failing to address oppression, educators must allow students and consumers to speak to their experiences in their own voices, some assert (Kolb 1993, pgs.100,101).

Many argue similarly that social work educators should encourage and participate in critical examination of mainstream training and its impact on First Nations. In addressing "academic genocide," Churchill asserts that "New Agers" professing to assist First Nations need to re-examine their own privilege and ways of perpetuating oppression through mainstream academia (Churchill 1988, pgs.64,65). Colorado adds that educators must "look closely" at the "shadow side" of their work and acknowledge the limits of Western (mainstream) social work practice and education with regards to First Nations (Colorado 1983, pg.75).

Students are silenced from critiquing training programs through criminalizing, as noted above. Blum suggests educators need to be more sensitive to ethnic students' difficulties with mainstream social work training and not label such students as deficient or troublemakers (Blum 1987, pgs.90,91). Such sensitivity depends on the educators' ability to examine their own power issues and perceptions regarding ethnic students. Others agree that support resources are required and suggest that:

To attribute the problem of poor academic performance to "poor motivational factor" or "difficult situation" is like blaming the victim of rape for being a women It is obvious from our study that Indian students did not create the "difficult situation" on campus - for they are the victims of being isolated and explicitly or implicitly targeted for hostility (Lin et al 1988, pg.14).

Huffman notes that racism may be an important barrier to academic success for First Nations, although it receives little attention (Huffman 1991, pg.25). Kirkness et al agree that to focus on student achievement and difficulty tends to put the onus for change on students rather than educators. They call this a form of "institutionalized discrimination" because trainers perpetuate the same policies and practices as other institutions which have historically produced abysmal results for First Nations students. The practice must be examined to avoid focusing on student retention

rates instead of problems with the training itself (Kirkness et al 1991, pgs.3,4).

Unclear policy guidelines and resources, and the stigmatization of First Nations means students having difficulty with racism or backlash have little support to draw on. Students may fear being perceived as 'troublemakers' if they speak out. One observer noted students were hesitant to clarify reports of racist incidents (Huffman 1991, pg.30).

Students can be self-silencing, in effect, to avoid further discomfort in an environment they already perceive as hostile and unsupportive.

Trask describes attempts to silence her critique of university programs in Hawaii. She felt harassed because her views about the academic treatment of indigenous people at university were perceived as a threat. As a faculty member, she faced "oppressive and exploitative conditions", "racism" from other faculty and the "university as a whole", "daily petty harassments" and attempts to prevent written and verbal expression of her political views (Trask 1993, pg.203). Both her employability and well-being were affected.

Though Trask was an educator rather than a student, and does not address social work specifically, the silencing and criminalizing processes she describes are similar enough to be compared with the experience of First Nations social work students. Her "radical" views and efforts to end the

harassment embarrassed her department. She found that policies for tenure, hiring, course assignments and similar issues were manipulated by faculty and administrators to silence her and to hinder her continued participation in the department (Trask 1993, pgs.213-220).

Others note that academic and government policies to counter discrimination and harassment against minorities have been ineffective. Social work trainers need to make further changes to accommodate diversity and prevent silencing in order to ensure minority students access to professional training. The Canadian Association of Schools of Social Work provides guidelines to counter discrimination and to promote cultural content, but these are similarly not enforced (O'Neil and Yelaja 1991, pgs.169,170,171,172,176,177).

The prevalence of mainstream voices also serve to silence First Nations. If cultural content is presented exclusively by mainstream voices First Nations issues and experience may be "misrepresented" and "distorted" as academics appropriate that experience and assert themselves as the experts (Churchill 1988, pg.51). It should be of particular concern that there is a minority of First Nations voices in social work curriculum materials on First Nations, particularly regarding practice in First Nations communities.

Policies of academic and professional standards prevent more First Nations from serving since most lack the

mainstream qualifications which are required. However, a commonly noted irony is that the principle of academic freedom serves to justify the tendency of mainstream academics to say what they like about First Nations. An elder is quoted as saying:

It's funny that everytime a non-Indian wants to say something about Indians, no matter how outlandish or inaccurate, they start to talk about academic freedom. But every time an Indian applies for a faculty job, all they can talk about are "academic standards." I guess I'll be forgiven for saying it seems to me somebody's talking out of both sides of their mouth here. And I don't mind saying that I think this situation has a lot to do with why so few Indians ever get to teach in the universities ... (Churchill 1988, pg.56) .

STUDENT ADAPTATIONS

This section addresses the ways First Nations students may adapt to and cope with indigenizing training processes and mainstream academic demands to complete their training.

Though many literature sources describe the circumstances of student adaptation to professional social work training, there are few specific examples of students' adaptive behaviours. The literature discusses this issue more generally, in terms of the impressions of trainers and researchers.

Theorists argue that training becomes a "professional culture" requiring students to make adaptations which impact on their initial cultural orientation. Segal suggests:

...although national culture has a significant impact on the individual, the effects of a professional culture that cuts across national boundaries may be evidenced in that individual's behavior, attitudes and personality (Segal 1993, pg.69) .

Blum suggests that one difficult identity issue for ethnic students is the worry that they are 'selling out' to mainstream as they become professionals (Blum 1987, pg.92). This can hamper their effectiveness, leading to a fear they will not be "accepted by their own communities" (Blum 1987, pg.92).

There is also the issue of the extra work involved in studying both mainstream and cultural content. Gary and Gary report that early American Black social work students, though able to attend programs dealing with Black experience and issues, were also required to take "traditional" (mainstream) training to be perceived as effective and well-trained social workers. They do not discuss the extra study load this may have imposed (Gary and Gary 1994, pgs.74,75).

Similarly, Morrisette et al promote "culturally relevant" social work training for First Nations but do not discuss the potentially heavier work load. However, they do

note that adaptation and assimilation to the mainstream result in the erosion of students' identity and sense of well-being. Students may also internalize the devaluation of their own culture (Morrissette, Morrissette and McKenzie 1993, pg.93).

Others discuss the devaluing and internalizing consequences of assimilation more generally (Wineman 1984, pg.132). These effects are likely relevant in a training context as well.

Some suggest culture can serve as a source of "strength and empowerment" to provide a sense of belonging and shape healthy self-identity for First Nations. Healing can begin by reframing culture in a way which re-values its potential (Morrissette, Morrissette and McKenzie 1993, pg.95). However, Morrissette et al. warn of the need to consider the potential for "internal conflict" as non-traditional (culturally) First Nations social workers struggle to sort out their sometimes competing identifications with the mainstream and with traditional ways and values (Morrissette, Morrissette and McKenzie 1993, pgs.96,98). Others also suggest that while all students become socialized through professional social work training, ethnic students have a larger burden as they must cope with changes in cultural identification as well (Blum 1987, pg.92).

From her perspective as an educator, Colorado observes how identity issues affected her experience in social work training with First Nations students. Domination by

mainstream culture resulted in identity diffusion, self-hate, and students devaluing their own culture. Students internalized the mainstream devaluing of First Nations and came to question the value of traditional cultural content in their training. She found that she herself had internalized the mainstream paradigm and tended to teach as if she were a "Western person", and not from a "Native mind" (Colorado 1993, pgs.71,72).

The multiplicity of demands from academy and community also complicate achieving and utilising cultural identification as a positive resource. Minority women, for example, face many expectations and potential negative effects on their self-esteem if they cannot perform all of their many roles well (Kolb 1993, pgs.100,101).

A similar multiplicity appears to effect First Nations social work students, many of whom are women balancing the competing expectations of family, community, academy and employers. Minority women suffer "dual consciousness" and allegiance anxiety as they walk in the two worlds of mainstream and minority and balance loyalties to minority and gender groups.

Kolb observes that demeaning and disempowering stereotypes and treatment minority women experience in the social work profession, and society generally, means they must craft more affirming personal and racial self-definitions by revaluing devalued characteristics as positive ones. For example, dependency on others and

community centredness can be thought of as involvement in relationships rather than as co-dependency, which stigmatizes (Kolb 1993, pgs.102,103,104).

One study suggests perceptions of racism and hostility isolate First Nations students and hinder academic performance. Aside from factors like poverty or poor academic preparation, perceiving the post-secondary environment as hostile was reported as the most significant factor in low academic performance. The perception and/or reality of hostility saps motivation, leading to high drop-out rates (Lin et al 1988, pgs.9,10,12).

Others suggest that First Nations students must face personal healing and development issues (Feehan and Hannis 1993, pgs.3,4) as well as cope with inadequate academic preparation to meet post-secondary demands (Zapf 1993, pg.97) (Macias 1988, pg.43). Assimilation to mainstream social work training raises more than just identity issues. It demands students adjust their study and learning styles to accommodate mainstream content and processes. Success depends on fluency in mainstream academic writing styles and professional jargon (Macias 1988, pg.45). One program found academic and language difficulties as well as lack of family and community support to be common causes of students being dismissed from training, especially where working students could not get assistance with case-loads (Pace and Smith 1990, pg.114).

The literature also suggests that pressures to assimilate lead to a high burnout rate. Blum notes that ethnic students are most likely of all to suffer "burnout":

... before they even enter the employment force because they are bombarded by inequity constantly - at home, at work, in school and in society. Their educational program must provide some basic tools to help them confront and educate other service providers (Blum 1987, pgs.91,92).

Inequities associated with mainstream training thus intensify the already difficult circumstances facing students.

It is estimated only 20% of First Nations will finish secondary school and fewer attend and complete university (Elliot and Fleras 1992, pgs.164,165).

Ironically, inclusion of cultural content can impose further burdens on students who may become responsible for providing that part of the curriculum.

Faculty may play the role of "content experts" and leave cultural expertise to the students, though students themselves experience varying familiarity and identification with their own cultural traditions. Also, educators may want to avoid patronizing First Nations by "speaking on their culture" and feel unable to provide cultural content. (Feehan and Hannis 1993, pg.9). Student involvement may also be seen as necessary where educators feel pressure to

provide cultural elements they are unfamiliar with while also adapting and delivering mainstream professional content for First Nations, as one educator observed of a distance training format (Zapf 1993, pg.40).

Blum also warns educators could feel threatened by the role reversal that occurs when ethnic students have greater knowledge about helping in "ethnic communities" (Blum 1987, pg.91).

The tendency to lean on First Nations students is also apparent in provision of spiritual content, where students commonly initiate spiritual practices and events facilitated by "non- directive" instructors (Feehan 1993, pg.24).

Feehan notes that "[T]he richness of our course content is continually enhanced as Aboriginal students contribute their unique perspectives" (Feehan 1993, pg.29).

Lister believes educators should not rely on "ethnic students" to provide "ethnocultural content", but should instead present such information systematically within the curriculum in order to meet the needs of all students (Lister 1987, pg.35). Others suggest providing both a mainstream and a cultural trainer, but question whether students would feel "split" by this dichotomy and end up lacking proficiency in either area (Zapf 1993, pg.99). Feehan and Hannis suggest that to address First Nations social work students' needs, a program should provide "culturally sensitive", "reciprocal" instructors; elements of personal growth and development; and a mix of

professional and cultural content (Feehan and Hannis 1993, pgs.3,7,8).

How this mix is to be organized in a way which does not tokenize the cultural or make extra work for students is not resolved in the literature. Regardless of the difficulties associated with inclusion of cultural content, most agree that cultural content and student supports which are provided respectfully can provide positive benefits. Such features can make the learning environment more comfortable, the curriculum more meaningful and, to some extent, provide affirmation and support in coping with the many roles and expectations students face. Colorado further suggests that cultural awareness should be accompanied by political awareness to help heal the impact of genocide by empowering and destigmatizing, and in "... restoring spirit and identity in the aboriginal classroom with classroom exercises exploring cultural identity issues of students (Colorado 1993, pgs.81,83,84)."

As Feehan notes, instructors need to enhance their cultural awareness, be open to experiential teaching and learning methods and revise course content to reflect First Nations experience (Feehan 1993, pgs.9,10). Course design and content should be modified on an on-going basis to meet the needs of "ethnic students" and learning styles must be considered (Lister 1987, pg.35). Some suggest that circles, small group discussions, relevant First Nations case studies and facilitating cooperative and experiential-based learning

are of most benefit to students (Pace and Smith 1990, pgs.114,115).

Several sources also suggest that instructors must be able to serve as support persons and advisors to First Nations students to make training respectful and relevant (Zapf 1993, pgs.39,40; Blum 1987, pg.90). An American study states that lack of faculty support is a primary factor in the failure of First Nations post- secondary students to succeed academically (Hoover and Jacobs 1992, pgs.22,28). However, there is not always agreement on the best ways to offer support which is appropriate and respectful, resources are commonly lacking, and others argue it is inappropriate to focus exclusively on meeting students' needs because the interests of diverse stakeholders, e.g. sponsoring agencies, communities, and schools of social work, must also be met (Pace and Smith 1990, pg.113).

A recent CASSW report also discusses the importance of support services for students from disadvantaged groups and the need to involve the community in student admissions (O'Neil and Yelaja 1991, pgs.180,181). Peer group support among students has also been reported as a potentially beneficial means of coping with campus racism, lack of cultural relevancy in curricula, and the demands of assimilation or academic expectation (Huffman 1991, pgs.31,32).

The literature suggests some students have found their culture to be a positive resource in academic survival.

Some have overcome barriers of "cultural discontinuity" and "inadequate" academic preparation by utilizing their cultural strengths as well as developing new study habits (Macias 1988, pg.43). Utilizing cultural learning styles to associate new information with previous experience has also been helpful. Practical knowledge and experience gained previously through their roles as community helpers, for example, has helped some students make sense of and organize mainstream theory. This makes mainstream material more "comprehensible" and more easily remembered (Macias 1988, pg.48). Others suggest resources such as english-as-a-second-language training, study skills courses, and time and stress management workshops, along with counselling supports, would be useful (Pace and Smith 1990, pgs.114,115).

In summary, the literature reveals that First Nations social work students cope with a multiplicity of issues. Extra work and worry, oppressive life circumstances, isolation, and lack of affirmation and support saps them of the motivation required to complete their training and prepare for culturally relevant practice. Most agree that training programs could do more to address the many issues facing students. However, current recommendations fail to resolve issues related to the nature of the training itself which can hinder academic success and effective, empowered training.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The Research Question

The research question asks how the external processes of government and educational policy and practice influence the experience of First Nations social work students. How is local indigenization structured and socially organized by external indigenization? This question is meaningful in considering the potential implications of indigenized training for social work in First Nations communities.

This research provides a systematic review of the issues and barriers involved in developing culturally relevant social work training and practice. Knowledge gained from such study is an important step toward empowering First Nations to determine our own plans and structures for training.

It is important to me that First Nations voices be the dominant ones in discussion of First Nations issues, especially with respect to moves toward autonomy. Thus I have begun the study from the standpoint of my own experience and that of the participating students (students refers to First Nations social work students unless otherwise indicated). I have also tried to use extensive literature from First Nations sources and from other persons of colour or oppressed groups, such as feminists.

The research question and methodology chosen reflect my own conceptual framework, which has evolved through both

an examination of the relevant literature and my personal experience. This framework is based on my concern about how systems of social organization such as indigenized training recreate mainstream training values and ways and assimilate, rather than empower, First Nations. I am particularly concerned about the impact such training has on the practice of indigenized students. My framework conceptualizes these problematic aspects of social work training and served as a starting point for my inquiry into student experience. The framework also guided me in constructing a practical research design which is discussed below.

**Conceptual Framework: The Problematic of First Nations
Social Services**

I am beginning from the assumption that students are indigenized as they assimilate to and reproduce the practices of mainstream training. The subjective experience of First Nations is devalued within the dominant mainstream discourse. Cultural content and student participation are marginalized, and treatment of First Nations tends to stigmatize by focusing on dysfunction rather than the oppressive circumstances underlying that dysfunction. I have observed that student criticism of this reality and requests for change are silenced. Moreover, students may be personally blamed for difficulties encountered in training as attention is

directed toward their perceived inability to adapt and away from problems with the training itself.

It is my belief that indigenization constructs First Nations students and practitioners as outreach agents of mainstream social work. Trained to administer services according to mainstream ways and accountable to mainstream sources, students of mainstream training can perpetuate the dominant social work ideology with its inherent devaluing and oppression of First Nations. In essence, First Nations social workers are schooled to take on the work of assimilation so politically expedient for both state and academy.

The research issue is pertinent as I believe the indigenization of service takeovers-- the transfer of service administration to First Nations-- would see First Nations as the 'handmaidens' of their own assimilation and oppression, benefiting the political and economic interests of mainstream government and academics. Indigenization may prevent truly effective service development and re-create the phenomenon of social control through social work which is a prevalent circumstance in First Nations communities.

For services to be culturally and community driven, and thus relevant and effective, First Nations students and practitioners must escape the dominant mainstream framework by examining its operations and affirming their own voices and perspectives. This research undertakes such an examination.

Methodology

This thesis uses qualitative, ethnographic methodology, sometimes utilized by feminist researchers, to explore the experience of social work students. I explore their experiences from their standpoint and my conceptual framework that First Nations students are indigenized in training. The study explores the experience of students to see how it is indigenized by training processes. Information gathered from the location of student experience is analysed in connection with external social structures and institutions which influenced and constructed it as indigenized.

My intent in examining student experience is to understand *how* indigenization occurs. Thus I have chosen a qualitative ethnographic methodology. It is assumed as part of my conceptual framework that indigenization does occur; I do not attempt to prove this. Nor do I quantify the data to determine the incidence of different forms of indigenization or attempt to produce a comprehensive list of those processes. The methodology does not seek to provide findings which are generalizable according to a traditional positivist paradigm, though others sharing similar experiences may 'recognize' aspects of their experience in the students' stories.

Given the research question and its implications for empowering First Nations communities in developing culturally appropriate social services, this methodology is

appropriate since it encourages examination of power dynamics in research relationships. The method is also effective in encouraging critical awareness of social determinants of indigenization by examining the social organization of student experience. It validates the experiential informational approach used by many First Nations and, as with transformational models, deconstructs power relations which tend to be obscured by the dominant discourse. Because of the consideration of power relations in research, I believe qualitative ethnography offers greater opportunities for eventual transformation of oppressive experience and the reconstruction of accounts more authentic to local experience. In contrast, dominant research methodologies that fail to address issues of power may obscure, silence or ignore the standpoint of First Nations and their attempts to explore the exploitation and assimilation which promote disempowerment.

Research Design

Student experience was gathered through interviews with five First Nations undergraduate students in a mainstream social work program. Some connections were made from the information provided to external mainstream policies in government and academy to explore some of the ways social relations are organized by dominant institutions. From themes observed in the literature and knowledge of my own experience, I identified four major

categories of indigenized student experience: marginalizing, mainstreaming, silencing and adaptation. These categories served to focus the inquiry, to explore local examples of indigenized training. The information provided by the interviews was then analyzed alongside the dialogue presented in the literature to explore some potential implications of indigenized training and connections with external social structures.

The student interviews were used to inquire how practices of assimilation organize social relations of knowledge production and control in ways which promote dominant interests and re-create dominant discourse.

In a sense, the training site became the medium, or mechanism, through which state policies indigenize students. The training site connects external structures with local as educators rely on external funding and policy in development of training for First Nations. The training site operates as an extension of government, as do students when they assimilate to indigenized training.

Use of Qualitative Methods

As noted above, this research employs qualitative ethnographic methods to reveal how indigenization occurs. The goal, as expressed by the feminists who developed the methodology, is to explore women's experience in their own terms and to connect that experience with the social

structures which organize it. Inherent in the methodology is a vision of its emancipatory role: the potential to raise critical awareness about women's lives and inform action in the women's movement.

Qualitative feminist research methods have evolved in response to critical claims made against traditional quantitative methods and their use in social research. These claims include sexist and/or elitist research topic selection and bias; an absence of topics important to women; exploitative relationships between researcher and researched; a misleading belief in the myth of objectivity; the overgeneralization of findings, such as applying male theory to female experience; and inappropriate data dissemination and utilization, i.e. to promote patriarchal interests. Alternative empirical methods have been developed to address these problematic issues and to affirm the subjective experience of women (Jaytarene and Stewart 1991, pgs.85,86). Similarly, I am concerned that more positivist quantitative methods generate similar problems in research into First Nations experience.

In a qualitative ethnographic approach, validity is gauged by how well the findings reflect the actual subjective experience of the research subjects as subjects give voice to their lived experience. Those with insider knowledge of similar experiences will recognize these stories as valid. Respondents describe their world as they experience it. No standardized pre-existing categories

regulate the researcher's contact with respondents, though the researcher does acknowledge her beginning conceptual framework.

My conceptual framework served as a working guide in organizing inquiry and reporting of data according to my research question of how student experience is indigenized. The framework categories of mainstreaming, silencing, etc., were developed from the standpoint of student experience as known through literature, personal experience and early examination of information from interviews. These categories come from the standpoint of experience and were not developed prior to inquiry on experience.

Findings of qualitative research may be more valid and accurate than those produced by quantitative positivist approaches because of the difference in organizing experiential information (Jaytarene and Stewart 1991, pgs.85,86). Feminist qualitative ethnography goes on to connect this experience to structures which determine women's particular experience. The method is not limited to subjective accounts as other feminist methods are, though it begins there. Data from interviews, documentary analysis or participant observation is connected to social structures external to, but influencing of, particular local experience. For example, the method may be used to explain how housework is organized by the western, capitalist and patriarchal values of social institutions. Actual local experience, rather than conventional

sociological theory, is the starting point. The social relations organizing local experience are explored from that standpoint. This allows examination of how phenomena are organized as a complex of social relations beyond the experience of any one individual. The every day experience of subjects is the entry point for inquiry into the social determinants of our lives (Smith 1987, pgs.147-154).

Credibility of findings is a suggested criterion for evaluating truth value (validity) in qualitative feminist research exploring subjective experience. Credible accounts are those faithful to the descriptions and interpretations of events and circumstances provided by subjects. Credibility is also indicated by others' recognition of those experiences (as discussed above). Quantitative positivist values for generalizability and representativeness are not expressed through such inquiry. Subjects are not randomly selected but chosen because they can illuminate a phenomenon. This type of sampling is said to be theoretical rather than random. Further, repetition of phenomena is not as valued. While qualitative research may focus on the commonality of experience the preference is to concentrate on examining the experience itself rather than measuring its regularity (Sandelowski 1986, pgs.29-33).

Feminist qualitative methods reject the myth of objectivity and validate the 'reflexive' relationship of researcher and researched as actors in a social world.

There is acknowledgement that people are part of the world they observe and experience, and that research interpretations of experience involve participation in and observation of the world. This alternative paradigm seeks to acknowledge the "subjectivity inherent in all forms of knowledge and inquiry" as another valid form of truth (Maguire 1987, pgs.14,15).

To incorporate this acknowledgement into my study plan I structured time for critical awareness and reflection on my own theoretical assumptions regarding student experience and determining structures. I have tried to address these assumptions and to be aware of, and examine, how my theoretical framework has guided the research design.

The Interview Process

The process to acquire interview data was conducted in accordance with guidelines of the research methodology utilized. The method recommends focusing on subject experience. Interview questions (see appendix for the content and format of the interview questions) were designed to reveal the daily training experiences of students in training as these are described by students themselves. During the process of planning and conducting the interviews I was aware that though I wanted to obtain student views on their experience, I also needed to acknowledge my own experiences as a student and my own theoretical ideas about the issues explored. This

reflection process is suggested by the methodology as a reflexive epistemological approach encouraging awareness of how a researcher frames an empirical inquiry and is alternative to positivist practice of constructing a sense of personal distance and objectivity. I resolved this issue as I included elements of my own experience in research findings as an acknowledgement of my experience and framework for research.

The questions served as an opening for the interviews and were used as open-ended interview questions. At the same time, however, my consistent refocusing on the actual experiences of the students, their activities, feelings, interactions, etc. did shape the process and information according to my research needs. The dialectical nature of the questioning led me to want both an open-ended and a directed interview process.

Utilizing this interview style, I had concerns about obtaining the information I needed for the study as well as the information on their experience from the student's standpoint. I was also concerned about treating subjects with respect, equalizing research power processes, and ensuring comfort level. These were important issues to balance according to the methodology chosen and my own knowledge of First Nation sensitivity to the history of appropriation of experience by social scientists. I designed and redesigned the research questions with these issues in mind and in consultation with my research

committee. I struggled with the implications of these concerns and admit to some unresolved questions regarding the correct utilization of this type of standpoint methodology.

The identity of students participating in the study was kept confidential. Confidentiality was difficult in a social work program with a small First Nations component where everybody knew everybody and what they were up to. It was like trying to keep confidentiality of clients in a rural community where everyone can see clients going to a helping office. Attaining names of potential subjects was difficult in this situation.

I had concerns about interviewed students being seen with me. It was important that students not be faulted for participating in the research. I worried my inquiry may be regarded as an attack or negative evaluation of the program and those involved in its implementation.

I enlisted the aid of internal students and faculty who could suggest students in a discreet way. First Nations students participating in the interviews had recently completed (within two years) or were close to completing their training at a social work program in a university in B.C.. One of the students had left the program without finishing.

Five students participated in the interviews. Four students were female and one was male, reflecting the gender balance in the program. The majority of the

students of this group had relocated from rural areas in order to attend the program, and were without their usual support network of friends and family.

Two of the students had relocated from other urban centres but were also without usual supports. While spending some adult years in urban centres for purposes of training and employment, they had also spent much time in rural locations, usually on reservations. Only one of the students in the group interviewed was categorized as having Indian status as according to Department Of Indian Affairs categories.

All but two of the students were parents of one or more young children and carried family caregiving responsibilities in addition to their student work.

All students of the group were usually engaged in part-time or contract employment to supplement student grants monies from DIA, or student loans as in the case of the non-status student.

The time for interviews was scheduled according to student availability. Interviews typically took two to three hours long for each participant. Students set the times and availability according to their timetable and may schedule two shorter interview periods as opposed to one long period.

Interview information was audiotaped and transcribed. Transcribed information was reviewed, analysed and organized. This stage was a complicated and lengthy

procedure as I made sense of the stories of students and linked them to information gathered from the literature review as well as information from a review of relevant academic and government policies.

There seemed an underground feeling to the interviewing phase. A limitation of the study is that I didn't explore in-depth how this feeling came to be perceived by myself or the students. For example, how did we become aware of the potential controversy of the study or the need for secrecy? What information was given that the study would not be welcome by program staff and how was this information relayed? In retrospect, I think exploration of the specifics of this type of social interaction in the program would have greatly enhanced the data attained about the social processes of the program as they related to the research question. Due to time and resource restrictions, however, I needed to limit the amount of data gathered to allow sufficient time for analysis and presentation.

Data Analysis

The data from the interviews was written up and analysed through my conceptual framework. Findings of my observations of the students' experiences and the social relations from which that experience emerged were reported.

I analysed data through paying attention to the social context in which the learning took place. Smith

suggested this method looks at: "...the actual social processes and practices organizing people's everyday experience from the standpoint in the everyday world (Smith 1987, pg.115)." The researcher attempts to make visible the ruling relations of social contexts and the meanings people make of them in their day-to-day experience.

My analysis, consequently, focused on the social context which generates an indigenized experience and the way students make sense of and act within that context. Students adopt social behaviors according to their own interpretation of the social context in which learning takes place. Beginning with the students' everyday experience, I examined the rules and social relations at work in their learning environment in order to understand the genesis of that experience.

My analysis was conducted through considering information from the interview data from the perspective of my conceptual framework to examine and record examples of indigenized experience and reveal how indigenization occurred in student experience.

I reviewed the information from interviews and conceptually connected to information from the literature review and the review of policies where a conceptual fit was perceived.

Summary

The methodology of descriptive qualitative ethnography was used to explore the experience of First Nations students in social work training and to analyse how the experience was organized by structures re-creating social relations of oppression. Interviews and relevant literature were used to provide the information for this exploration.

The methodology is especially appropriate where research involves oppressed persons. It allows for the re-valuing of the subjective experience of the oppressed and provides a method for explaining how oppression is socially organized. In the context of First Nations and social work training, it is an effective tool for exploring how the social organization of oppression benefits the same dominant mainstream interests who impose a mainstream training structure on First Nations students.

Interviews were conducted to reveal student's meaning on their experience. Information from interviews, relevant literature and policies was analysed in building an understanding of both student experience and indigenizing processes. Analysis of the information was shaped by my conceptual framework.

CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS

In this chapter I report on the data gathered by interviews with First Nations students. This information reveals the training experiences of the students interviewed in terms of the connection of the experiences to the ways indigenization processes occurred through interactions, policies and behaviors adapted by students to deal with indigenizing processes. In interactions with educators, the First Nations students received messages through discussions, social behaviors, gestures, and so on, about expectations of acculturation to the training program. Training policies direct further messages to the students, both in terms of the rules of assignments, participation, etc. and in the ways educators manipulate policies to justify their actions related to the program and to enforce desired behavior in students. The students have adopted adaptive behaviors in order to meet the expectations of educators as well as to develop ways of coping with and making sense of their experience.

The experience of the students of the inquiry is ordered here in categories which organize the information from the interviews and the review of relevant literature. This ordering does not imply that all student of the study experience the same processes categorized or that the

experience of one First Nations student is the experience of all. Through categorizing the information I seek to present the information in an understandable way and not to suggest generalization of findings, as in more positivist approaches do. The information is intended to reveal the ways indigenization occurs in the experience of the students not to prove its existence (as indicated in an earlier section) or measure its degree of occurrence.

The content of the research questions focussed on activities, processes and interactions associated with time spent in training. Studying, participating in committees, interactions with other students, faculty members or administrative persons, resources needed for studying, how assignments were conducted, how practica experience was obtained, how evaluation procedures occurred, current social support networks, etc. A limitation of the research is that there was not a lot of information gathered about activities associated with family and community. Students interviewed restricted most of the information shared to activities directly associated with the training program. I think more information about community and family interactions and supports or lack of supports would have been helpful in understanding the whole training experience. It is possible that academic work has mostly consumed them, that other things like family and community become secondary.

Student experiences are reported in the following categories: Marginalizing, Mainstreaming, Silencing and Student Adaptations.

This chapter deals with the first three categories as educators' actions in organizing indigenization are explored in the context of the students' experiences. The following chapter focusses on the students' adaptations, analysing adaptive behaviors in their coping with the experiences associated with the first three categories and considers important implications of training adaptations.

MARGINALIZING

Marginalizing here, refers to instances where the students in the study have experienced their needs, culture, issues and concerns, etc. marginalized by the educators of the program. Tokenizing student or community input into practica, programs and policies, and decision-making procedures, are examples of how this marginalizing occurred as a standard practice of oppressive social relations within the context of the training experience of the students. Gestures which appear to address students' needs or concerns, but only in a marginal way, as a fringe component or add-on are another example. Behavioral or documentary gestures (through policy on cultural content or institution of an advisory committee) which are offered in statement but not followed up on procedurally, or are offered to quell concerns but not to thoroughly address concerns. Ahmed has

described similar "posturing" in the lack of enforcement of racial content guidelines in the UK (Ahmed 1990, pg.15).

Special articles on First Nations which are not a part of the core curricula and First Nations advisory committees whose recommendations are ignored are typical manifestations of the type of marginalizing processes referred to here. Processes which marginalize First Nations students of the program also train them to regard First Nations content and participation as an extra, a fringe component, and/or a secondary sidedish to the main course of white professional and academic social work practice and theory. In other words, the white stuff is the 'meat and potatoes' of social work training and practice and the Indian stuff is an addition that we will get to if we have time and resources but is not important or basic enough as a mainstay of the training meal.

A student described a main approach to marginalizing of First Nations students by educators, through tokenizing of student recommendations after the solicitation of those recommendations.

Confusing committee decision-making powers were organized:

Sometimes they would implement them[recommendations] sometimes they wouldn't, it was more advisory. Actually, it was only advisory. I had no power to say. This wasn't really made clear. There was one issue that came up ... the faculty/student council agreed to it but then it went somewhere else, another committee I

didn't even know about. I guess it was the faculty council, we had no power there in that council.

Student participation on committees was also tokenized through committee membership composition whereby students were maintained as a minority component of committees. This is partially explained by the fact that First Nations students were a minority group in the program, but is not the whole story, since even on the First Nations Advisory Committee, the majority of membership was composed of by faculty members and/or administrative personnel. Faculty members were constructed as the main voice on all committees since they comprised the majority of membership on all committees. Educators provided the major decision-making voice and First Nations students represented a small token voice within this structure, even on their own committee:

The majority of people on both councils were faculty. Especially the faculty/student council.

Marginalizing through tokenizing of participation was accompanied by gestures to justify First Nations student and community participation as educators endeavoured to present a version of events to show cultural sensitivity and First Nations leadership in program planning, implementation and evaluation. This version was presented through regular progress reports and meetings to funders, accreditors (CASSW), students and community members (ie- local bands) in order to justify the program and account for funds spent and

activities undertaken. (I am aware of these practices through attending such meetings as a student representative.) First Nations representation on steering committees and the solicitation of First Nations input and participation was organized to construct this version, despite its problematic nature, and to contradict potential conflicting versions by First Nations.

More than symbolic change is necessary, however, in providing decision-making power to "minority groups" (O'Neil and Yelaja 1991, pgs.171,172).

First Nations art was emblazoned on School mugs, brochures and the student handbook. A special pamphlet for First Nations advertised cultural content and support services for First Nations. A First Nations content course offering, ostensibly designed to meet the needs of First Nations preparing for practice in their own communities, was added to the university calendar. (The course did provide First Nations content but in a way which was marginalized within the mainstream curriculum.) These gestures provide further examples of marginalizing the actual training experience while constructing a culturally sensitive appearance of the training experience.

One student commented on the way reports and accounts of the First Nations program at the School were manipulated to justify its implementation, and continued sponsorship by funders:

Using Native students, it's tokenism but its also, I would say, misappropriation of funds. They're giving the funders ... the impression that Native people would have more say over how the money's gonna be spent, in fact that was the reason for having the committee [the advisory committee]. But, the end result was that they just spent it as they saw fit, regardless of the input that we had. In fact I think they had it all spent even before they formed the committee. Most of it.

Marginalizing seemingly occurred through tokenizing of cultural content as well. In the following section on mainstreaming, a student discusses the professors unwillingness to explore First Nations issues in course agenda or assignments. The implicit message (through this refusal) may be that Indian stuff is supposed to stay in the Indian course as a marginal aspect of the program and not as a core element to all the courses, "infiltrated" throughout the overall curriculum. First Nations students have been responsible for doing much of the work of cultural infiltration, an adaptation they make in acting as resources as well as a students of the program. The students' experience was marginalized as their expectations for cultural content were not met by educators who tokenized the inclusion of cultural content. It is argued that greater cultural sensitivity and curricula content would ensure greater student success as well as impact positively on students well-being (Kirkness and Barnhardt 1991, pgs.8,11,12).

One student suggested that educators were more open to negotiate with students on ways to make assignments more culturally relevant if the students were able to do the work of ensuring assignments would still be "congruent" with the mainstream focus and information called for by the assignment. If time was spent explaining how cultural information would be associated with mainstream curricula, the cultural information would be more acceptable, according to the student. Marginalization of cultural content in assignments is partly organized through pressure to students to provide the extra time, energy and resources necessary to add a cultural component in content or format, if they insisted on a cultural component. The work of "convincing" a professor to negotiate and accept a cultural component, as a student described, is added to the work of actually doing the assignment and the pressure of other assignments, along with community and family obligations. Students are not forced but seem to feel pressured into a culturally limited and mainly mainstream way of doing things. They have learned that there is not always time for culture in a mainstream way of operating.

Marginalizing also seems to be organized through processes which trivialize and tokenize cultural information through the hiring of educators who are unfamiliar with a "First Nations analysis" as discussed later. Educators who are First Nations illiterate have trivialized and tokenized First Nations issues or the input of First Nations students

in the curriculum, even at times when they have solicited the input as discussed below in the example where an educator argued with a First Nations student's input. The example showed how the educator tokenized and stereotyped First Nations leaders and organizations and argued with First Nations input despite the fact that without that input, misinformation and stereotyping would have been the only perspective presented to the class. The student's input and experience appeared to be devalued, as other students have reported experiencing upon giving input, and her cultural knowledge denied though it was the only First Nations source of information on a First Nations topic in the class that day. Information from the literature supports the tendency of the devaluation of cultural content, and the stigmatizing treatment of information on First Nations (Morrisette et al 1993, pgs.93,94).

Cultural information is marginalized in the curriculum and seems further marginalized and tokenized where input is brought by First Nations. This operated to contradict the School's own equity policy (according to recent mission and goal statements of this committee) which stated that educators at the School must have an awareness of First Nations issues. It seems that sometimes students were used to enforce this policy rule through expectations of their participation on hiring committees and their vigilance in monitoring cultural awareness. Rules on cultural awareness were not enforced by educators in professional development

and hiring processes, according to student stories. For example, educators directed to receive cultural awareness training did not seem to be monitored to ensure they did so. Encouraging student work on awareness did not mean that the students' recommendations on educator awareness or complaints about individual educator's lack of awareness were accepted or acted upon by the School. Even the rules instituted to prevent marginalization may have been marginalized as they did not appear to be enforced.

Other programs for First Nations social work training also report a commitment to cultural awareness in implementing training policies (Pace and Smith 1990, pg.112). Such information indicates that cultural inclusion is a common and reasonable expectation by students.

Fieldwork practica opportunities in First Nations organizations were sometimes limited in providing the students experience in the specific practice areas which interested them. If they accepted a practicum placement in a mainstream organization, they may be doing so at the cost of a cultural context in which to apply their skill development. Professional mainstream skills are competing with cultural needs and if students find the cultural work onerous they may opt for a strictly professional mainstream focus in practica.

A student interviewed could not recall **any** times during practica when she was able to apply cultural aspects to a practice setting, or even any ideas or plans she considered

for doing so. She suggested she was concentrating strictly on "policy" evaluation and development and was unable to initiate or recommend any culturally based ways of working. In my thinking, the two are not necessarily contradictory, but the student may have felt the cultural was as unwelcome in a mainstream practica setting as it seemed to her that is was at the mainstream School, as discussed below. The student may have also felt developing skill in a specialized area (policy) was more valuable in a mainstream profession, than more culturally based practice areas would be.

A marginalizing of culture occurs in this way as mainstream skill development outweighs the cultural in increasing employability, much in the same way that academic and professional jargon overshadows the token cultural offerings of the curriculum. Others also note the necessity of formal training for meeting funder guidelines in hiring for self-government positions (Pace and Smith 1990, pg.110).

Marginalizing of culture in curricula is also revealed in the experience of one student who felt more comfortable and "safer" writing the Indian stuff in her assignments when she knew a First Nations educator would be grading her assignment. She felt cultural aspects were welcomed more by this educator than they would be by mainstream educators and would thus involve less work and worry. Though there may have been more work involved in producing the cultural in an assignment, this student chose to do so for a First Nations educator, indicating she felt less likely to be marginalized

or "stereotyped", as she described it. There were "just some things she didn't have to explain" in her papers for the First Nations educator which she would have to explain for the mainstream educators. This example indicates much of the extra work of producing the cultural, for the students, is in translating cultural information to a mainstream grader who may not share the same knowledge or ways of knowing.

Comfort level and the decrease in required work energy enabled some students to use the First Nations educator as a beneficial resource in their training. One student interviewed had a negative experience with a different First Nations educator at the School, as discussed in the section on adaptations and internalization. It may be that this educator was not as beneficial a resource because she did not use the same cultural components and ways of learning. Since she seemed to be "the same" as the mainstream educators, perhaps the student had perceived her to be as unwelcoming of culture as mainstream educators were perceived to be. Students, at least those in this inquiry, may have found a First Nations educator open to First Nations culture and values and actively implementing these elements, to be more of a positive learning resource than a First Nations educator who appears to be operating solely in mainstream training styles.

One student remarked that while cultural content meant work, at least some of the mainstream trainers were making

space for cultural content. They may be open to leaving space for the First Nations students to discuss cultural issues in the class, for example. Though this meant the students were responsible for the cultural work, it was a positive experience in one way, as she felt some trainers acknowledged her cultural information and there was some space made, if not a lot of space. The student recalled:

And there was also an invitation [by the instructor] to take a look at that we're not always talking about the same thing, or the same issues don't always apply to everybody. We were talking about families and what happened to your bedroom when you left home ... and we just stopped the class, we said "Listen, this doesn't pertain to us. We didn't have our own bedrooms". And it was very open and meaningful.

There were occasions, according to some students interviewed, when their experience and input was welcomed. Although only marginal cultural information was allowed, this had some positive benefit for First Nations students in affirming their different experience. Positive benefit also occurred when such discussions were managed respectfully and meaningfully, as the trainer in the above example seems to indicate.

Student stories suggest they felt they needed to make a choice between competing goals of mainstream skill development and cultural content in their training.

Academic demands and expectations compete with cultural content in circumstances of limited time and resources for the students interviewed.

Student stories also indicate that though First Nations program elements were marginalized within the mainstream focus of the training program, some students found aspects like a First Nations course and a First Nations trainer to be a beneficial but limited part of their experience.

MAINSTREAMING

This section is about how the students of the study experienced receiving messages equating academic success with acculturation and assimilation into the mainstream. It also explores how procedures were constructed to facilitate this process.

This process is well described by Castellano, as formal mainstream training in her examination of social work training and First Nations students' needs (Castellano 1986, pg.15). It is used here to describe the ways in which First Nations students are acculturated into the mainstream social structures of the white/mainstream academic environment. The term also describes processes whereby First Nations content is organized from within a mainstream structure and the problems associated with this practice.

Mainstreaming is like assimilation but it is a more fashionable term. Not so ugly and therefore twice as

deadly. The basic meaning and practice are the same, however.

Mainstreaming happens when First Nations students attend mainstream academic programs, are dislocated from their former setting and thrust into an alien and potentially hostile one. They are given messages that success in this new setting means being able to adapt to it in order to survive and in order to speak, behave, write, dress, etc. as those who are mainstreamers. Failure to assimilate into the new setting and to acquire the skills, knowledge, and practices of the mainstreamers means academic failure. (It may mean professional failure and perhaps economic disadvantage in the long run for First Nations students unable to adapt to mainstream practice structures.)

A long time ago this process could have been used to describe a First Nations childhood experience at a residential school. Its this eerily familiar feeling about this process of indigenization, that we have been here before, that makes it evident that historical colonialist practices are reconstructed through new age practices of indigenization.

When First Nations students take study skills courses, english as a second language, or struggle to use professional/academic jargon they are adapting to a mainstream environment because they know that they will not attain academic success unless they do.

One student discussed the problem of lack of appropriate cultural content despite the School implying a specialty in First Nations practice as an aspect of the training, according to information from interviews and the special brochure targeted to First Nations recruits. The university calendar at this time also indicated the program's intention to "strengthen" its program for Native Social Workers. Despite apparent efforts by the program educators to recruit more First Nations students with solicitations and promises of cultural content and support resources for students, the student notes:

... there was only one course, that you didn't have to take [not core at the time of the interview], that had to do with Native people. I think some of the other courses touched on it slightly. If it had been my intention to solely work in a Native community, I wouldn't choose that school unless things changed...

The student acknowledged he had acquired professional social work knowledge and skills, but he found they were completely inappropriate in the context of a First Nations community. He believed he was working to acquire skills which were almost entirely irrelevant except for the acquisition of mainstream academic and professional credibility:

It's totally different ... I got a lot of knowledge that was more general and more in theory, I think. A lot of social policy things. Having gone to individual

communities and having worked in one recently, and trying to do community development, I realized that none of this stuff, almost, had any relevance at all! One of the things that I realized, that other people realized too, was in empowering a community, they have to be able to organize, to hold meetings and stuff. I don't think we learned too much about how to empower communities...

The student found that the curriculum did not focus on community development or empowerment skills and theories. These are two topics covered by mainstream social work theory which may have been more readily applicable in a First Nations practice context. Radical social work approaches that encourage empowerment based helping processes are more relevant for First Nations and other groups (Carniol 1990, pg.14) (Wineman 1984, pgs.74,133). The student is recounting, in a sense, his frustration at having tried out the curriculum and found it vividly lacking in preparing him for First Nations social work. His frustration could likely also be connected to the factors of the double-duty, the time-consuming politicking of participation in the School committees, and the other aspects of work and adaptations the students are required to do in order to complete the program. After all this work and struggle, he ended up with skills and theories he had to fight for and he found them completely inappropriate.

One student found cultural content was lacking in terms of format and process for evaluating academic assignments. Instead of working to apply First Nations issues to his

assignments he found himself working to improve mainstream/academic writing skills. He believed the First Nations students were at a disadvantage when it came to mainstream grading procedures for academic work mainly requiring english and writing skills. Because First Nations students are often ill-prepared academically (Hoover and Jacobs 1992, pgs.22,28) they may have to do extra work or acquire tutors or study skills to produce assignments in mainstream academic and professional language. There seems some anxiety around passing assignments which no doubt all post-secondary students can relate to, but First Nations students have to acquire fluency in an academic and professional language which they may also resent, which may be inappropriate for them and is learned in a format they are uncomfortable with. Post-secondary language is alien to them:

You know it was all pretty academic. I didn't go to high school. In fact I don't know how I ever passed the english test there. I just found it very dry reading and kinda boring stuff. I don't think I learn good that way. I think I learn if there is more interaction.

So students found culture was absent in curriculum content as well as process of writing, reading, research, spending time in the library, and lecture-style discussions. Not only were the theories and skills perceived as inappropriate, but the ways that First Nations students were

expected to learn them were also uncomfortable. This point is also discussed in the literature review as research has indicated First Nations students benefit from some learning about issues relevant to them and in learning styles they prefer, such as group discussions, circles, or the use of experiential knowledge (Pace and Smith 1990, pgs.114,115).

One student recalled in an interview, that she was more comfortable doing oral presentations to the class than she was in doing written assignments. Her discomfort and lack of proficiency in writing skills was such that she hired another student to do writing for her. Also, when she worked on a group assignment the work could be divided so that she concentrated on research, leaving the writing work to others in the group. It was extra work for her to organize her assignments around her lack of proficiency in writing.

She thought that she and other First Nations students received lower grades from the mainstream educators because assignments based on mainstream theories and cases lacked relevancy for them and also because mainstream grading measured proficiency in mainstream learning ways more than it measured learning or practice proficiency. She felt she was at a disadvantage. Mainstream trainers evaluated her assignments with comments noting the "inability to answer the question", or problems with mainstream grammar and spelling more than with comments on ideas or meaning, she suggested. The training did not appear to be a meaningful

learning process according to her own cultural framework of learning style. The training did not make sense and seemed invalid to her.

A student interviewed reported that among the First Nations students, there was a general perception that recommendations regarding more culturally relevant learning options in terms of format and content were unwelcome by educators:

There was a situation in the communications class. I had mentioned on a couple of occasions that the curriculum was geared more towards, you know middle class styles of communication. You know, like white people communication style. And, I suffered some backlash. Like I really feel that I had been gotten back by the two professors who were teaching that class ... just for voicing my opinion about that. I think it was at a faculty/student council meeting and they were asking for feedback, I gave it and I suffered because of it.

Another student's experience suggests that white/mainstream educators may have been "uncomfortable" with cultural content because of their lack of knowledge about First Nations history and issues. This could help in understanding how educators were perceived by the students as unwelcoming of discussions of cultural content in format and process. Another aspect of this lack of cultural awareness is that students felt they had no assistance in learning about cultural issues, requiring them to take added time to seek out culturally aware resource persons for

preparing assignments, since they could not depend on mainstream educators to assist them with this.

Mainstreaming of the curriculum was partly organized by this discomfort which left students somewhat disadvantaged as well, in terms of mainstream educators grading cultural content in assignments:

I think they felt almost, a lack of knowledge, you know, where they couldn't respond, but yet they're marking my paper. Probably the only place to get a race analysis is the Introduction to First Nations Issues [a course title], and then, I mean, it's supposed to be 'infiltrated', or whatever, into the other courses but because the instructors are all non-Native, I think they really view that as being not their territory. They may overstep a boundary if they think they're the expert on race analysis or something. Do you know what I mean? I don't think they know how to do a race analysis.

Educators may have mainstreamed curricula out of discomfort with how to approach race issues appropriately as well as lack of knowledge about race analyses. Similar lack of awareness was also cited in the literature (Ahmed 1990, pg.15) as generating a climate of lack of cultural content and anti-racism awareness in the UK. Educators are instructed by policy directives to provide this content but lacked know-how to do so and seemed unwilling or unable to acquire know-how and resources to do so. This issue differs from situations where cultural content is marginalized and some cultural content is explored. In mainstreaming

processes, students experience educators as unwilling or unable to provide **any** cultural content.

Lack of relevant social work information regarding First Nations was apparent. Especially lacking was information of this type by a First Nations voice. This voice was usually absent from "lectures, reading lists", etc. as a student suggested. When asked about the names of First Nations authors or researchers, none of the students interviewed could remember the specific name of a First Nations author used for course readings, including readings from the First Nations "course". Mainstreaming occurred by omission of First Nations voices and presentation of white ones, suggesting that white/mainstream professionals and/or educators are the expert voice on social work practice in a First Nations context. As discussed earlier, the First Nations course dealt with First Nations history and policy issues and this did seem useful to students (mainstream and First Nations), but the shortage (described above) of First Nations professional, academic and community voices regarding social work practice issues meant this information was regarded as secondary to the main voice of white/mainstream practice knowledge. Curriculum mainstreaming seemed to have a disempowering impact for some of the students and, as discussed in the literature (Hill 1992, pgs.12,15), is a common mainstreaming process. This practice was a potentially confusing message for students. They have been asked to provide a First Nations perspective

and have also been given the message that the perspective is unnecessary other than in a marginal way. Further, they are told in curriculum and evaluation processes that First Nations perspective must be placed within a mainstream framework and must give way to mainstream perspectives if there is any conflicting information or processes. A student remarks:

There was a lack of research, First Nations research ... as much as she [the First Nations professor] used First Nations authors when we were talking about specific land claims or things like that, I guess there wasn't a whole lot of specific social work literature written by First Nations people.

Another student commenting on the School's curriculum being inappropriate in terms of cultural content, also felt the educators would not welcome criticism of the content but did not hesitate in offering her feedback of the curriculum on evaluation forms or during class discussions. She told educators that the curriculum "did not reflect us", First Nations people, at all, but did not see any revisions made by educators according to input by First Nations students. One example given was when she commented on the 'planned-change process' theory and its lack of relevance in a First Nations setting where you "really need to get to know the client better, and their own plan" for such theories to be applicable. Another time the student found a text for a course lacked relevance for First Nations people except for

"maybe two pages, and that was it!" She informed educators that assignments based on this information were not relevant for her and also that they did not prepare mainstream students for practice with First Nations clients.

One student did acknowledge that the acquisition of mainstream social work skills and theories was useful, enhancing her practice competence. Yet she also expressed concern that theory should be more "politicized" to prevent stigmatizing of First Nations communities as "dysfunctional", through constructing them as clients. She pointed out that many external forces operate to determine circumstances in First Nations communities and these should also be examined in training theory. Theories used were just looking at these communities as having something wrong with them, according to her. The pathologizing of First Nations with social work theory and practice prescriptions is also discussed by radical social work theorists who also call for approaches based on community or societal factors as opposed to approaches which suggest the individual is the problem (Carniol 1990, pg.7,12).

The experience of another student reveals that part of learning about learning in a mainstream way, for the students interviewed, was learning that mental energy is more valued than is emotional energy. To react with angry, emotional words, as when challenging another student's "racist" comments, to blow up about a committee issue, etc. is not regarded by educators as being as valid as an

intellectual response. However, this perception did not seem to apply to educators who themselves "blow-up" or become emotional; Educators who did so were described as participating in passionate academic debate, First Nations students were described as "explosive", it seemed. Mainstreaming of learning may have occurred for some students who acculturated to the mainstream paradigm of personal distance and 'objectivity' in discussions and assignments. First Nations students commonly value opportunities to use their personal experience or engage in topics which have some direct relevance for their communities, as evinced in the literature as well as the interviews of this inquiry. In mainstream training, however, students may have been required to adopt mainstream ways of expressing themselves as distant from the topics or issues they talked or wrote about. Though one student told of opportunities to use experiential information and more personal forms of expression with the First Nations educator, for the most part she felt the message at the School was: "This is not the appropriate forum for this type of expression." The student was unable to articulate the specific behaviors by educators to relate this message. I am uncertain if her adoption of more impersonal, objective and intellectual behaviors, was self-generated to achieve a greater comfort level at the School or if there was some particular implicit message given her by trainers about the forms of expression appropriate at the School.

Mainstream students of the class seemed to be more specific and explicit than educators in instructing the First Nations student in this example about leaving her emotions at the door during class time. She recalled that the time she "blew-up" and reacted angrily to a "racist/sexist" male student, that:

A few students said, you know, "Good for you, for saying something like that", that kind of thing. But, there was definitely a group of students who didn't like to rock the boat on anything ... they would just sort of want to talk about, you know, "If we're going to speak with each other we need to be respectful and we shouldn't be raising our voices". It was like, you want me to be a 'good girl' and I don't want to be a 'good girl' so don't tell me how to act! You know, this type of discussion. So it became pretty factional.

She found that alliances were drawn among the students and though she was in a minority "faction" there was some support from other First Nations and mainstream students. She perceived the students in the faction defending the male student as giving the message that emotional expression was more disrespectful than comments which were likely to be perceived as sexist or racist, as those made by the male student. Interestingly, the mainstream student faction seemed to consider expressions of anger to be more rude or offensive than racism.

The anti-anger class members gave a similar response to poor, gay/lesbian, or disabled students who expressed anger

who perceiving their experience to be omitted, trivialized, stereotyped or stigmatized, according to the student who related this exchange. So, this mainstreaming process may be something First Nations students shared with other students of difference, students from minority or disadvantaged groups who may also struggle with adopting mainstream learning styles and rules.

Mainstreaming occurred in many ways, including labelling by educators of the types and amounts of First Nations information within the curriculum. Labelling also occurred in the planning and official description of the First Nations part of the training program. White/mainstream educators became the expert voice on First Nations and their needs and experience while First Nations voices were omitted or silenced. This issue is particularly relevant in terms of lack of First Nations voices regarding social work practice. Many students felt culturally unprepared as mainstream skills seemed inappropriate for practice in a First Nations context.

Though some First Nations students of the interviews were asked to, or felt obligated to provide cultural input or to challenge "racist or sexist remarks", they report their experience and objections were invalidated and their knowledge denied by mainstream educators and students. Educators may have felt students criticized their ability to present cultural content or felt uncomfortable doing so, and

this could have prevented them from including the cultural more.

Doing well on assignments meant becoming more fluent in a mainstream and professional language. Many of the students were "ill-prepared" academically to meet the requirements of academic expectations. This was extra work again, for students to develop mainstream language and training/practice ways. There was little room for First Nations cultural aspects within this overwhelming "sea of mainstream". Academic success equated with assimilation to mainstream training and there was limited resources and time for students to develop their own cultural learning.

Some felt stigmatized by a mainstream labelling of First Nations as dysfunctional in curriculum materials and discussions. An alternative perspective could have focussed on oppression and societal factors leading to issues in First Nations communities. This way of constructing cultural content felt disempowering to the students.

SILENCING

The term Silencing is used here to describe processes whereby educators and funders maintain, perpetuate and enforce power over First Nations students in terms of speaking on training issues and inclusion of culture in curricula. These processes are engaged in to promote a mainstream voice over a First Nations one through silencing of voices which would challenge existing training processes.

With regards to this inquiry, I am concerned with silencing as it relates to student experience around participation in the classroom as well as committee and policy making structures of the training program. First Nations students experienced their participation in discussions, assignments, and social and committee interactions as organized and controlled by educators and administrators as well as by actions of other students.

Educators construct policy on participation through maintenance and use of student records and control of student activity. Admission procedures, grading of assignments and evaluation processes, as well as outright silencing through expulsion or threats of bureaucratic action, may be further examples of processes which silence those features of First Nations participation in the program which trainers/funders perceive as inconvenient or disruptive. Students unwilling or unable to adapt or participate to the satisfaction of educators/funders have felt criminalized. Students who have voiced criticisms, concerns, or requests for action, in relation to training can also criminalized through the above processes. Criminalizing can be utilized to silence First Nations voices and involvement by discrediting or censuring critical students, labelling them as troublemakers.

One student reported a form of silencing in the limiting of voting rights of First Nations students in the

student council. First Nations students did not have a vote on the faculty/student council of the program:

There was a seat for us ... a non-voting seat.

The students were also silenced, their participation limited by omissions of information relevant on their issues of expressed concerns around having a say, curriculum content, and so on. Students were not informed of committee or policy processes which may allow them the opportunity to have a say:

I wasn't told about the First Nations advisory committee. I wasn't invited to be on it. I had to just sort of find out about it and wanted to be on it ... there were no Native students on it.

Another student also reported that she was not informed of committee meetings or issues and felt uncomfortable going to meetings when she had no background information on the issues. But, she also admitted she "didn't ask about it either" as she felt she lacked time and energy to participate meaningfully, especially with committee meetings scheduled on the "busiest day" in terms of classes, for the committee she thought about attending.

Students were silenced in terms of how they were allowed to participate and through gatekeeping by educators of what issues were listed on agendas. As one student notes:

Sometimes they would ask us for recommendations. Sometimes I just had to sort of 'impose' myself. For example, if there was all non-native people involved in the hiring of a Native person. Even though there were Native people available [to participate in the hiring process] to help out. Things like that. And those things would be going on and then I would speak up...

Students were sometimes silenced by not receiving messages that they would have a voice in the School, even if that voice was a token or marginal one, other than the voice asked for by educators such as in the case of asking First Nations to be a classroom resource. Sometimes students were simply not told how committee processes worked and their participation was sabotaged in a sense through this omission, they seemed isolated from the committee process. As an earlier example illustrates, when one committee (Faculty/Student Council) "adopted" an issue brought by a First Nations student, the issue was then put before another committee (Faculty Council) where the First Nations students had no voice, not even an advisory one.

Silencing as a means of maintaining and reconstructing existing power relations, with First Nations students holding only marginal or token power, was also achieved through committee composition wherein student representation was made marginal by maintaining a majority composition of faculty members, as an earlier quotation revealed.

Silencing was also achieved by committee composition of First Nations community representatives whom educators knew would "back up" their agenda and not create controversy, as one student suggested. This composition may have meant the students loss of a potential ally in a community representative. Another student pointed out that First Nations community representatives were "not very active" in the advisory committee, not participating in or attending meetings. No outreach was conducted to find more active members or to find members who actively connected with students or other members of the local First Nations community. It was reported that the primary "inactive" committee rep held her place on the committee for a number of years despite her inactivity, maybe because of it. An inactive committee made bureaucratic ruling easier for educators who could still justify decisions with First Nations 'input' by a relatively inactive First Nations membership. Students interviewed had the impression that the committee itself was tokenized, not just some of its members. They felt the committee acted as a convenient vehicle to "rubber- stamp" decisions and actions of educators while still providing the appearance of a First Nations voice in program leadership.

A student spoke to the issue of silencing preventing more participation of First Nations students on committees as worries about backlash affecting their program completion also prevented greater participation:

I think we asked almost all of the Native students to be on the First Nations Advisory Committee. Most of them didn't because it would take up too much of their time. But again the power relationship [affected participation] ... they were beholden to some of the other people on the committee for grades ... just getting through school ... and it doesn't take much, you know it could be very subtle things, to actually oust someone out of school, I think. Especially if it's [the backlash] continuous and long term. And it's hard to prove that stuff.

One student related his experience of silencing through harassment stemming from his participation on committees at the School. He reported he pursued harassment charges against some of the educators, despite a warning to him by a senior administrator that he would be expelled if he did so. Though, the harassment panel did not find enough evidence to find the educators guilty of harassment they did find the entire department guilty of racism through tokenizing of the student's participation. The hearing panel recommended an external First Nations committee examine the School's First Nations committee processes and advise changes. The university president unilaterally overturned the recommendations of the panel, according to the student's report. Accountability to those in power instead of to students may be constructed in this structure.

Educators involved in this experience appeared to participate in maintaining existing power relations of silencing by supporting educators who silence and tokenize

First Nations students and/or students who request change or critique their programs. Processes to alleviate harassment against oppressed groups remain accountable to the mainstream dominant structure and are organized from within this framework. These processes do not seem to be policy structures which make educators more accountable to those they are intended to serve and are of limited benefit to First Nations students seeking to resolve harassment issues.

Trask also found departmental and university policy more serving of mainstream dominant structures as they did not act to alleviate harassment by mainstream faculty and administration (Trask 1993, pgs.214-218).

The students of the study said, with regard to backlash, they had few recourses or means to defend themselves if they participated in a way that educators may perceive as 'shit disturbing'. Procedures to prevent harassment were themselves silencing and harassing.

Criminalizing processes occurred as a form of silencing, for those First Nations students who did raise concerns in committee meetings. Criminalizing apparently occurred even when the input of First Nations students was solicited by educators, as in the earlier example wherein the student spoke out on curriculum issues of the communication class. How could students trust the participation process or the white/mainstream educators who could "get back" at a student for offering recommendations when the recommendations had been asked for?

Educators did not appear to want input from students which would require revision of their curriculum or format and involve extra work and resources to implement such input.

Criminalizing would take the form of backlash in grading (some felt), verbal censure (yelling, accusing, labelling as a trouble-maker), or implicit or explicit threat of bureaucratic censure through expulsion, committee restructuring, and harassment. One student discusses how he was harassed after giving input concerning lack of cultural content in curricula:

In class later, in grades. In policies ... I wasn't able to get an extension on an assignment most of the other First Nations students were able to get.

Criminalizing and backlash may have sometimes operated through selective use of policy to punish some students and reward others. Ones who kept silent and were not "too red" (as I recall a student in one of my classes putting it), not very active in committees or working to make change in the First Nations program, were sometimes more facilitated in completing the program. These students may be told they didn't need to take certain prerequisites, would not have to complete all assignments, and could easily obtain lengthy extensions on submission of assignments. I remember the case of one First Nations student who missed most of her

classes, was excused from completing many assignments and was commonly granted extensions to finish her work, and so on. At one point, I recall she had taken over two years to complete an assignment, which was an extremely lengthy extension for a small research paper. These 'breaks' occurred despite departmental and university regulations around assignments, course prerequisites, etc.

Meetings were held about the First Nations students' course work, and educators conferred with each other about their progress in different courses and their behavior in practica and at committee meetings. In this practice, educators could encourage the department to apply policy leniently for some students and more harshly for others. Educators organized together in order to silence or to facilitate the students.

A student who was vocally critical of the curriculum and the committee processes had policies applied to him more stringently than they were to other First Nations students. I remember the educators applied every policy they could find against this student in terms of fees, late assignments, etc., at the same time they were applying similar policies more leniently for another student. As a temporary contract support person for First Nations students, I was privileged to hear their complaints or grateful comments on the application of training policies.

First Nations students who supported the student with the harassment case also felt subject to backlash and

harassment. One student said she was told by a faculty member that if she "got involved" in the harassment case, as a witness or support person for the student bringing charges, that it would be the "end of her career".

It is difficult to prove harassment, especially if many in the department are involved in the construction of a version of events more aligned to their defense. For example, a secretary, or a junior administrator, even a First Nations student or contract worker, may be hesitant to testify against a tenured faculty member. Students sometimes felt anti-harassment policies coordinated by mainstream educators was no option for them. It seems First Nations students who were critical of the program curricula or training environment were less likely to get breaks or to be supported. Yet, this does not also imply that students who were silent were not also subject to racism, only that this did not usually take the form of criminalizing or ongoing and systematic harassment.

Since the First Nations students were a minority in the School and, as one interviewee noted, were "mostly just out for themselves", mutual support and alliance building were difficult. Lack of time and fear of backlash could have also impacted on this circumstance. Lack of mutual support was a problem both for attaining support and for community building. This lack was also a problem in terms of the lack of ability to gain some empowerment in policy and

committee activities with a strong, united First Nations voice.

Administrators seemed as likely to give silencing messages as faculty members as reported by one student:

I think there was only one professor and maybe one admin. or secretary person who I felt stayed fairly objective in my dealings with the School and the community. I felt all the other ones were not happy with some of the things I'd been trying to do. There was a lot of subtle retribution ... and big ones too. Cold shoulders, big time. Not being as available for questions, like, after class [as they were before]. Just not being as friendly. Not being as understanding with extensions. Even, I think, being graded less on papers, things like grammar, which wasn't graded before was all of a sudden being graded.

Another student interviewed reported witnessing an incident whereby "subtle" processes occurred in the criminalizing of another student (a different 'harassed' student than the one mentioned above):

It was so subtle you couldn't even talk about it or describe it. It was like, just people sort of staying away from him. Or making more criticisms about him. It was so twisted it was hard to define. Because of the stress, he made a mistake, and it got built up into this big thing.

She seemed familiar enough with processes of backlash and ostracization to identify it's occurrence but because of the subtlety of the processes, could not articulate more specific descriptions of actions. Lack of familiarity with

harassment behaviors and recourses may reflect once again how difficult it is to resolve or prevent such social processes.

Another student also found any silencing incidents of backlash or racist type comments to be usually "very subtle". Other than a comment on some First Nations being "renegades", she experienced only subtle forms of racism:

A lot of it was very subtle though so there wasn't really anything that was said other than for that incident there was nothing that was really said. It was really just very subtle stuff, like being treated differently, and that came from the students moreso than it did from the instructors, although some of the instructors did some bizarre things. Like, First Nations students got really marked low. So, and you don't really know what that's about, you just know you got a lower mark than anybody else and so did the rest of the people [First Nations students]. There was that kind of thing. On the day that I graduated, I was dressed in traditional [First Nations] dress and the women who sat beside me turned and just said, the look on her face was just: Ugggh! And, I thought, I've been sitting in class with you for the past two years and if you can't accept me as an equal to you with the same education, how are you going to treat people, you know, who come in off the street, who are First Nations? Things like this. Or an attitude which was really condescending. But, you couldn't really put your finger on it, it's like, is it me? Is this guy having a bad day, or what?

Silencing may have also occurred in the institution's procedures intended to alleviate incidents like harassment, as I have earlier outlined. As the program was embedded within an existing structure of social relations and thus

perpetuating the same customs of assimilation, silencing, etc., so too was the anti-harassment policy and program embedded within an existing social structure, managed by white/mainstream educators and administrators. Though the student experiencing harassment accessed these resources in an attempt to seek a solution to the backlash problem, he found the solution itself to be problematic and perpetuating backlash. Ultimately, silencing prevents some from finishing their programs. The student reveals:

I guess I was questioning the School again on what was happening and we had a hearing and it culminated, I guess, in the School being criticized by the committee, unanimously, for sort of inherent racism, basically. I don't know ... you know, after that happened I'm out of school they're continuing on, I don't know if anything has changed. So the message there is, don't say anything, just go ahead and do what they say and keep your head down and join the system, otherwise don't become part of the system. So I'm not part of it, I guess.

The harassment hearing had no impact on addressing the issues of backlash and did not protect the student from further incidents. This process had a negative impact on his professional future as he did not know "what to tell potential employers" in explaining why he had not finished his degree, he said.

Elliot and Fleras discuss circumstances of poverty and lack of economic opportunity to First Nations without educational credentials (Elliot and Fleras 1992,

pgs.164,165). Students have said they fear that speaking out could lead to failure in their training program, generating conditions of economic uncertainty if they face the employment market without a degree.

Though educators seemingly sought to silence critique of the local training program, they supported criticism of other institutions' treatment of First Nations, at times. Their concern about criticism of mainstream institutions and oppression of First Nations seemed centred around their concern for their own program's appearance and survival. A student mentioned that the student council was "pretty political" and members (white and First Nations) participated in a blockade of local development on First Nations territory claimed by a local band. She found, however, that political tension in the School was generally "intense" in terms of being anti-First Nations following the Oka crisis. The tension again was mostly stemming from mainstream students rather than educators, in her perception:

I think the one that really hit home for me was there was a comment made that they [the warriors] were "just a bunch of renegade Indians" and they had been talking about the vehicles, when they were taking the women and the children and the elders out, and the stoning. That had come up in Indians". It was a way of putting us in our places. A couple of us got up and walked out and we said "Listen, you know, these are our kids who have to watch this and see them throwing sticks and stones". Yeah, it created a lot of tension in class.

I remember from my own experience in classes of the program that a joke was made around the time of the Oka conflict to the effect that the difference between white and First Nations communities was that First Nations communities had barbed wire around them.

I believe First Nations students were given implicit messages that sometimes social action against oppression is okay and sometimes it isn't and that the white/mainstream members of the program will decide what is and isn't okay in the behavior of First Nations.

Another student described a somewhat different experience where there was not so much a silencing of issues in curriculum and class discussion as there was a large degree of "ignorance" regarding race issues, as well as other issues. This ignorance did not silence so much as discourage such discussions. "Ignorant" discussions were often perceived as worse than no discussion at all by because they were unpleasant. She felt that mainstream educators sometimes made space for class discussions on racism and sexism, etc. but that mainstream students and educators lacked knowledge about these issues to bring to a meaningful discussion. The issues were not silenced but were handled in a way she found "disturbing":

... I found, though the issues of racism, sexism, homophobia, all the 'isms', were really focussed on, that's where you get to hear people's ignorance as well. A lot of racist, homophobic, sexist comments come up from different people ... that somehow people just know better ... I was surprised at the level of ignorance around the issues, not just from class members but from faculty and staff of the School ... and I went through a period, the first semester, I guess, at the School, having my bubble burst where I was on the one hand excited to be writing personal input in my writing, but being exposed to people with these ignorant ideas and attitudes was really disturbing because I assumed that people at the School would not have this, I mean this level of consciousness where people with intelligence are racist. The first thing that really blew my mind was a sexist comment from a male student of the class and it created a lot of tension and that tension carried on for two years. I mean, he was the kind of person who would say things like there's just as much violence against men in our society. That kind of shit! And he made comments about "I don't get why we have to take 354", which is the First Nations course. So there was his comments and then there was the reaction from the class which was wanting some kind of confrontation and discussion and dialogue about this, but the inability, really, of the faculty, I mean, to facilitate that kind of discussion ... It just seemed to me this gleefulness from a faculty member, "Oh, good, a confrontation, I didn't think it would come this quickly". You know? Like, don't "oh good" me, do something about it, facilitate it! A lot of people felt unsafe.

The student felt frustrated in being unable to "get on" with the learning when those in control were unable to prevent or process these types of disruptions in a way which enabled her (and others) to feel safe in class. Though she was critical of the male student, this student did not seem

to openly criticize the educators and may have avoided the backlash, others reported experiencing.

The difficulty of attempting to break the silence on power issues in social work curricula from within a dominant mainstream framework is also reported by scholars in the literature (Colorado 1993, pg.67). Issues on culture, race, or gender were sometimes allowed, but were embedded in a dominant, mainstream structure and managed by dominant, mainstream educators/facilitators. The issues seemed to be presented or allowed to emerge in ways which were described as confusing, disruptive or offensive. This type of inclusion did not alleviate isms or silencing at all but seemed to perpetuate and to reenact these, through allowing harassing comments and behavior. Most stakeholders (students, educators, CASSW) would agree that discussions around oppressed groups could raise classroom cultural sensitivity. Yet, when these discussions themselves perpetuate silencing, they become ineffective in achieving the desired goal. The problematic here may be the organizing cultural information within a dominant structure perpetuating the oppressive relations and interactions which are an inherent part of the dominant structure (ie- The Mainstream School). The student in this example was left to do the work of confronting the racist-sexist student when the instructor did not:

He would make smartass comments and I would just react emotionally and I would get angry ... we were talking about violence against women in relationships and the Attorney General's policy ... and he [the male student] made a comment that "there's not as much violence against women if you were to really look at it", and I said "Well why is it I'm afraid of walking on this campus at night 'cause I'm afraid of being attacked?" And, he said that "In reality there's never been anybody raped at [the university], maybe once a few years ago, but, the fact of the matter is there's all this false information that women should be afraid at night when in fact no one has ever reported being raped up here". And I just looked and I said "It's because nobody fucking reports it! People don't report being raped 'cause they get blamed and they get dragged reading, and I can't believe you're taking the course", and that kind of stuff. The prof just sort of didn't know what to do with it and he just said "Well maybe we can get back to what we were taking about", kind of stuff. So you're left with feeling like you've been really assaulted and everybody just sort of wants to get back to what we were doing before.

The student felt her perception of reality, her experience, and her impressions of the literature on the topic were denied and called false or unreal. She reacted in a hurt and angry way which she later felt guilty about. The educator was unable or unwilling to facilitate this confrontation in a constructive way. In a sense these types of tension filled and unsafe explorations of gender, race or culture issues discouraged students from participating in or initiating further discussions along these lines out of fear of being attacked or told the discussions or personal

experience are invalid. Such experiences could have a silencing effect on many students of the class but I think it is especially silencing for First Nations students who may already feel their experience and perspective of the curricula have been marginalized in general throughout the curriculum. The student said she tried to keep from "getting involved" in future discussions along these lines though she would meet with other women from the class, out of school, to discuss gender and race issues.

Yet, not participating in uncomfortable or disturbing discussions may not be an option, if students are pressured to respond, as discussed in the example where students were used as resource persons,

I think this type of mishandling of discussions on race, gender, etc. is unfortunate, as these discussions are important to have if social work programs are to meet accreditation policy in incorporating these elements into curricula.

Silencing from educators prevented a greater degree of participation from First Nations students in class and on committees. Sometimes students also appeared to be self-silencing in not participating, because of feeling unsafe as discussed above, but also because of time and energy constraints. It should also be remembered that the structure of the overall training experience partly generated time and energy constraints because of the

adaptations First Nations students were required to make to succeed in a mainstream program.

CHAPTER FIVE

ANALYSIS AND IMPLICATIONS

STUDENT ADAPTATIONS

This section focusses on the adaptations made by the First Nations students interviewed for this inquiry.

Adaptations were made in academic, emotional, social and economic areas and enabled students to attend the mainstream training program.

The term student adaptations refers to the various ways the First Nations students of the study have adapted to the training environment and process. These adaptations become the ways that First Nations internalize indigenized. The students are indigenized to become marginalized First Nations professionals of a white/mainstream profession as they learn assimilation to the training program is the only means of being considered credible or successful by mainstream educators.

The students may adapt in ways they are aware or unaware of. They may be reacting to subtle, implicit messages of the need to adapt. Some messages may be self-generating, as when a student voluntarily begins to censure his/her own comments in class out of a worry that s/he may be perceived as radical or weird, or displaying any other behaviors undesirable in First Nations according to messages they have received.

Students are sometimes aware of consciously engineering self- adaptations and can articulate the adaptations made

and the reasons why. Sometimes the students seem unable to articulate specific behaviors they have adopted.

Some adaptations were made to cope with the mainstream academic demands of the program. Students also attempt to raise their comfort level to survive in a mainstream program.

Whether due to a need to avoid backlash or to adapt to mainstream learning ways, these adaptations represent the actual processes through which the students assimilated to the mainstream program of the School in order to achieve academic success. Even attempts to produce some cultural components in the program are assimilative as they are organized by mainstream educators in a mainstream structure. Marginal cultural components do not turn a mainstream program into a First Nations one. Instead, marginal culture makes a fringe place in the borders of the mainstream where students can make the mainstream bearable. I think students sometimes make a conscious decision to adapt in order to remain in the program, despite its imperfections.

I think the students I have talked to are aware they are changing in order to stay in the program and successfully complete it. From my training experience, I know the feeling of constant self-assessment and how the constant need for self-vigilance and adaptation impacted on esteem, and self-image and sense of cultural identity.

First Nations students tried to pass as mainstream, trying harder than other students of the program by doing

double-duty of learning and teaching on culture in class discussions and in study-groups. The students did the extra work of finding alternate resources or ideas which relate more to their own traditions or experience. Some students took the extra time to strategize and provide input to make changes, to build alliances and to organize with other students in the same boat. Some took the risks of experiencing identity crisis, defending cultural/alternative content in their assignments and curriculum. On an emotional level, they sometimes felt like 'sell-outs', or became depressed, discouraged or stressed out. Students sometimes internalized oppressive behavior on occasion, towards themselves or each other. Some withdrew and self-isolated, some drew strength from culture and community. These are all examples of some of the adaptations that First Nations students in the study have made. These types of adaptations differ from those of the mainstreaming category. The students are not just acculturating in terms of academic adaptations but are also adapting in political and community involvement styles, manner of personal dress and self-image, ways of speaking and relating, in terms of identity issues, and in terms of personal ability to endure.

Adaptation is occurring on more than a training level but is also infiltrating other levels of student experience.

The students in the study are not just adapting to a mainstream training environment, they are also adapting to an environment of indigenization in First Nations social

services which they will be facing upon entering or returning to professional practice. This aspect is more fully discussed in the following chapter.

One student discussed how his participation in committee work distracted from academic success. He risked being regarded as radical but also gained a greater comfort level through opportunities to work towards change:

The First Nations Advisory Committee was probably a key activity. It took a lot of time and energy. Also the other things ... things outside of the School, like the Coffeehouse and 'shit disturbing' and all that.

Interestingly, the student did not seem to define these adaptive activities as an intrinsic part of his training experience, and has perceived them as being "outside" of the School. He seemed to regard these activities as unimportant to the institution and as an extra or marginal feature, taking time away from academic studies:

Politicking and community development things were time consuming as well. Attending meetings. Talking to people.

Students needed to do the work of making a place for themselves in this foreign setting. One student recounts how the First Nations advisor's office (a resource person contracted for a brief time) was used by the First Nations students to hang out in, connect with others:

The advisor had an office there and that was kind of good. Like it was a place to get away and you know, sweetgrass in there and a patio ... a place to meet with other Native students. Otherwise there really wasn't a place. You're just sucked into a sea of mainstream there.

Without a sense of a place in the School, students could become isolated and withdrawn, within a mainstream environment. Politics is associated with some aspects of this isolation, as in the case of a situation of backlash, but another aspect seems to be the lack of cultural familiarity or comfort associated with attending a white/mainstream institution. A lack of cultural connectedness or cultural validation was often felt. These students were foreigners in this institution, after all.

The concept of isolation in mainstream is also discussed in the literature (Huffman 1991, pg.31) (Lin et al 1988, pg.13).

A student interviewed commented on the lack of relationships with others in the School, particularly noticeable for her since she attended classes as well as performing a contract position on-site and spent much time at the School:

I mean, I get along well with everybody and I think people like me and accept me but it's not like I've, sort of, gone beyond that superficial relationship and made any meaningful bonds or whatever. You know, I can't see it ever moving beyond that. It's not like I go out of my way to

say, you know, do you wanna go for lunch. So I think there's two parts to it. They don't go out of their way to get to know me and I don't go out of my way to get to know them.

There seemed to be two 'camps' in the school and each side exhibited behavior to perpetuate the segregation process of the environment. Because the First Nations students were a minority, the impact was more isolating for them. In a sense the students were isolated and at the same time could have acted in ways which were self-isolating out of habit, expectation, discomfort, etc. Students seemed to be adjusting to a social environment which organized isolating boundaries for whites and First Nations:

It tends to feel a little, you know, lonely here at times. It's isolating in a way ... there's this, I can't describe it, other than just sort of being annoyed with Native people, in a way. But there's a disconnection, it's because you're a Native person I think! That's there. You know? When the other Native student [co-worker] left it that doesn't seem to be the case with the non-Native faculty. Or it's there but it's minimal or something.

A student reported he spent a lot of time acting as a resource for the School, in classes and on committees, as one of the only First Nations students. The First Nations students were often doing a type of 'double-duty' in their work as students as well as their work as resource persons on First Nations issues. It seems that if resources or political will was not present to hire resource persons or

for educators to find relevant articles, etc, the students were used to fill this void so that the School could say they offered cultural content and also fostered First Nations experiential participation. A student states:

It seems that, being one of the only Native people, and maybe one of the more aware Native people in the classes, I would be the "Native professional" in the class. And so, people would be coming to me, including teachers, asking, you know, about Native issues. How to be politically correct with Native people, or just come right out and ask why we have such a high welfare rate. Not all of them. A lot of them just, well, didn't care. They knew they weren't getting culturally appropriate training to link with Native people. I think they were just concerned with getting in and getting out. But a lot of them were concerned that they weren't getting it, 'cause I think they knew there was a good chance they would be working with Native people. There is a large percentage of Natives on welfare, and in social programs, 60%, I think.

The student describes the concern felt by many students of the program. He felt required to fill a role as a resource person because he perceived the issue of cultural content to be vital based on his knowledge and experience of First Nations issues and because of expectations by educators. The student may have also felt pressured to fill this void because of the lack of cultural content, as a responsibility to his own communities. These fellow students were potential future social workers in First Nations communities. Could he come to this training place

to help his people (as most First Nations students do) and then not help his people by assisting future workers (who are not First Nations) with cultural information? To turn his back on this situation and just pay attention to his own training would be unlikely for him, feeling, as he and others did, great concern for potential problems from lack of cultural content in the training.

First Nations were not forced per se to fill this void. Because of marginalizing of First Nations and mainstreaming of the program curricula, if First Nations content was to be infiltrated throughout the curriculum, the First Nations students felt obligated or pressured to fill the role of resource person out of educators' unwillingness or inability to fill this void themselves:

I think the students and faculty look to us to put in this perspective, this missing perspective. I don't always feel like it's my place to do that. What if I don't wanna speak that day? What if I don't wanna talk about ... you know. 'Cause it sort of ends up being personalized in a way. You know, that ... I'm expected, well, maybe not expected ... that it's assumed that as a Native student, you know, that I'd be the best person to put that race analysis in there.

This student felt 'on-the-spot' to act as an unpaid resource person in and out of classes. She was often approached by faculty and mainstream/white students who also wondered: "where was this race analysis" advertised in the School's brochures. She felt it was a lot of work to

provide this education and awareness because of the "general naivete" and lack of awareness on First Nations issues. Yet, while it may be true that lack of cultural content was a complaint of "all students", "Native **and** non-Native", it seems that only First Nations students were subject to backlash as a result of such complaints (as is explored in the earlier section on silencing).

The student of this example pointed out that First Nations students may not themselves have a "race analysis" despite the expectation that because of their race and culture, they will have "this real spiritual, mystical way". This factor was discussed in the section on mainstreaming. Analysis, analysis, who has got the analysis? The mainstream students and educators romanticized First Nations culture, were generally unaware of race issues, and expected the First Nations students to provide cultural content. These processes left the First Nations students with a lack of resources in terms of increasing their own knowledge of race issues or applications of social work theory to First Nations communities. It also left a void for the School in general.

Expectations that First Nations will provide their own cultural content seem common (Pace and Smith 1990, pg.116) (Kirkness and Barnhardt 1991, pgs.8,11,12).

One student reported it was not just an implicit feeling or omission of cultural information leading to her role as a resource person on First Nations issues, but

sometimes actual directives by educators to fill this role. She described an example of one interaction with a faculty member:

She too was right out there with "I don't have a First Nations analysis so I'm gonna have to depend on the First Nations students in the class to bring the cultural perspective into this, and I'll leave that up to you to do that as you see fit". We told her we were not comfortable with being given that role and that it was unfair. She said she was sorry and wouldn't call on us for that. But she did it again to [another First Nations student]. Saying "Well I'll have to consult with my 'cultural advisor' here", and [the other student] as a joke said "you gonna pay me to be your advisor?".

She became uncomfortable and hesitant to participate in further class discussions on First Nations though she felt that was the "expectation". So there were not many discussions along these lines and when there were it was "worse" because of the tokenizing and stereotyping, as discussed in an earlier section.

This student questioned educators about the lack of active community involvement on the part of the representative who was not very active on the advisory committee, and about the lack of resources or services to assist the First Nations students of the program to form a group to assist them in dealing with some of their issues. She was told the community and the students had to be the ones to take the initiative as it had to "come from them".

Apart from being silencing in terms of quelling critique of the program, such statements revealed an explicit message that the First Nations students were responsible for much of the resources and implementation of the program. This expectation was not just a vague feeling the students had but a directive existing in the words, actions and omissions of educators. Further, the message delivered an expectation that students and community members rather than the educators were accountable for the cultural success of the program.

Double-duty in acting as a resource person as well as a learner sometimes meant addressing difficult and complex issues which mainstream educators and students were unfamiliar with. Being a resource may have meant extra work and potential conflict. A topic may be controversial or a mainstream student or educator may disagree with a First Nations student's input, despite having solicited the input. Opening up personal experience or participating in controversial discussions was often disturbing for students, as discussed earlier. This tension added to the energy drain and discomfort for some:

I had one incident with an instructor in fourth year and we were talking about human service organizations and she asked people in the class who had experience with First Nations human service organizations to talk about that. And two non-Native students who had done a practicum at the Friendship Centre started talking about the fact that they didn't see any difference between

the way things were run at the Friendship Centre, organizationally and bla bla bla. And [the instructor] was like "So, what is the difference then? Is there a difference?" and putting it out that there is no difference. I said "Well, I'd like to ask you who funds the Friendship Centre programs and where the policies come from and the fact that a white male is the Director of the Friendship Centre. To me this is not a First Nations human service organization." And she said "Then you have someone like George Erasmus. Now here you have a man in a three-piece suit, very articulate, and he's talking about the Royal Commission work. Now how is he specifically traditional? How is he First Nations?" I said "Well, compared to what? Would you like to have him up there `talkin' like dis' and wearing buckskin?" And she said "You know I didn't mean it that way." ... After class I talked to another First Nations woman who was in the class. We talked about being tired of having profs who were hired with no First Nations analysis. And, I mean, I was on the hiring committee for one of these profs and their comment [then] on a First Nations analysis was that because they were not First Nations they couldn't have one.

The aspect of double-duty work for First Nations students has strong implications for their own academic success and sense of well-being. There is a danger of burnout for First Nations students dealing with a foreign, potentially hostile environment, as noted in the literature review. On top of this extra work and energy expansion, these students also deal with the extra work of providing their own (and others) cultural content as well as the extra work of circumnavigating complex social dynamics. As a student earlier reported, he was responsible for raising and

monitoring his own issues and concerns, and those of other First Nations students.

One student, however, suggested that the double-duty role of acting as resource person and student had positive elements for her. She found it helped her to "develop her own First Nations analysis", as she had to be ready to articulate and defend her perspective.

Anxiety or worry about how you are perceived, potential backlash from educators who perceive you as a troublemaker and finding yourself suddenly a political opponent to someone grading your next assignment are potential emotional energy drains.

A student commented on the atmosphere of tension generated by culture based conflict:

You have to be more formal. Especially in communications. If you don't have it written, and have a copy somewhere, and even try to get a witness in the room, than things just start to reverse. Things that were said just weren't said all of a sudden. Things that were done weren't done. I think I did withdraw. Basically, I almost resigned myself that I'd be very lucky to graduate or even finish out the year.

The work of strategizing for your academic survival, defending against accusations or the emotional drain of the chilly climate was accompanied by self-questioning of his own perception of events. He wondered if he was being paranoid.

The student who recounted his experience of backlash, also had other issues to deal with in the surrounding First Nations community. He was involved in a human rights case and in planning social and educational events for the area. The workload of the training program as well as the drain on his time and well-being from the backlash contributed to his leaving the program shortly following the incidents he reported.

Internalizing disempowering mainstream communication processes was another issue the students adapted to. First Nations students, instructors or resource persons can internalize mainstream ways of treating First Nations and perpetuate the same or similar silencing and marginalizing ways to other First Nations. This factor makes it difficult to generate a climate of mutual support.

Though First Nations professionals were a minority at the School, there was one First Nations professor, intended to provide more cultural content and support for the students. Unfortunately, this was not always the case. A student interviewed reported:

I didn't find the Native professor that much different than any of the other professors. In fact, towards the end, she was worse, I felt. She be making yourself open to personal attacks. As well as some of the other subtle things I mentioned before [cold shoulder, etc.].

Another student found her experience with a First Nations professor (a different individual at this point) to be helpful as a support person and a friendly presence in an alien place. She valued the cultural familiarity, validation (discussed above) which she shared with the instructor, raising her comfort level:

I think for me it's maybe made a big difference, having a First Nations person on the faculty and as a faculty advisor. Because, uh, it's reassuring in a way. You know ... it feels more comfortable knowing that there is another Native person. I don't know, maybe it's something about having a connection with that person, I wouldn't have with the non-Native faculty.

A feeling of support and some shared awareness seemed vital in terms of providing this student with appropriate resources for alliance and affirmation. She felt more comfortable about approaching this person for assistance or moments of companionship, than she did with mainstream educators.

Another student also spoke of the value of a supportive First Nations educator. For this student it was not just the value of the support and affirmation she felt she received from the association that was important. She also received a context of learning which seemed more conducive to a positive, comfortable and effective training environment for her ways of learning. Theorists have recommended, as noted in the literature, the revaluing of

experiential information and things like a classroom discussion format arranged in a more circular fashion. The use of First Nations learning styles increases comfort for First Nations students. The student interviewed notes:

It was sort of the first time in my experience in just a really different educational experience and I liked it. It took me awhile to get into it ... some of that with the other profs but it was with the Native prof that I really felt the safest in talking about really core issues of my life. I could talk about coming from a violent, alcoholic the judgement that other non-Native profs would I was the most comfortable writing papers for her because she just seemed to me to be the person that would understand what I was writing about.

Students reported feeling disappointed there were not more First Nations faculty members and resource persons at the School, especially when they felt the program had advertised a strength in the area of First Nations perspectives and resources. One noted:

It's a sad statement when you get to university and you have one or two First Nations instructors where they say they have a First Nations curriculum, you have to wonder why First Nations people aren't teaching more courses.

Interestingly, this student has gone on to be an instructor at a "First Nations college" which offered distance social work courses connected to the School examined in this inquiry. She mentioned that First Nations educators were still a minority at the college program even

though the college describes itself as a First Nations learning centre.

The program did provide occasional opportunities for the students to connect. A First Nations graduation ceremony was regarded by one student as an important ritual of celebration and acknowledgement, as well as providing an opportunity of togetherness for the students.

One student had found the other First Nations students were a helpful support system and in fact her group had "strong bonds":

We started off as ten and then ended up as six. We had very strong bonds between us. In fact the rest of the class used to call us "Native Row". Where one First Nations person would come and sit, the whole row would be all of a sudden a row of First Nations. There was a lot of support in the classroom, we usually hung around together outside of the classroom, like, for coffee breaks and things. The rest of the group formed a study group but I didn't [because of scheduling problems].

Non-Native faculty who appeared comfortable in the company of First Nations, in being able to "joke about things" for example, were also mentioned as potential allies or supports, though these were also a minority.

Some students seemed to feel set-up for failure by the training program because of the paucity of cultural content and support resources which they perceived there to be. It is commonly known that success rates for First Nations in social work or other post-secondary training are lower than

for any other ethnic group (Tate and Schwartz 1993, pg.21) (Lin et al 1988, pg.8).

One student suggested that recreation and nature provided positive benefits for her in terms of rejuvenating her energy - a walk on the beach, going out for dinner, so on. Pressure she felt from the School and the community had sometimes prevented her from pursuing this type of activity:

It's taken me four years to figure out that I haven't done enough of that. Like, I didn't do it consistently for myself. Because I strive to do really well and as a result I push and push and push myself to keep my grades up and my studying. I needed to make this time necessary too. Take time out, you know, once a week. Just for myself. Not for school, not for my daughter. I was constantly giving out to other people ... family, friends, school, work.

Part-time work was usually necessary to supplement economic resources for students. First Nations students who worked part-time at the School were also able to get to know mainstream educators better:

I got to know the frustration level [felt by the First Nations professor], and was the student used on all the hiring committees, got to experience some of the relationships with faculty so I was more interested in working at contract positions.

Some of the students interviewed discussed the need to perform well academically. One student said she "had" to

graduate with honours, she "had to do better" than most other students to prove First Nations could do as well as mainstream students. Another student noted:

It's like a will to succeed, to do really well. To contradict that thought ... what are you doing here you're just a stupid idiot. I didn't do that well when I first came back, I had to work at it.

Cultural identity issues are another area of adaptation and adjustment for some students. Historically, there is a mistrust of social workers among First Nations people, as well as a mistrust of education. These two mainstream institutions have served as tools of assimilation of First Nations through residential schools, massive apprehension rates of First Nations children, and so on. When First Nations students themselves "cross the threshold" and become social work professionals, they need to resolve identity issues of becoming a 'sell-out' or 'traitor' to the culture. I believe, from reflection on my own experience, that First Nations students entering professional social work training, are given conflicting messages from funders, educators and their own community members about the desirability of First Nations professionals providing social services for our own communities. While messages are given that First Nations professionals are needed, messages are also given to indicate the belief that professionalism changes us in a way which renders us incapable of connecting with our own communities in the same way.

A student described her thinking on this issue:

The event that I really remember [at the School] is a social work convention and that stood out for me because it had to do with becoming a social worker. I spent most of my time hating social workers when I was a kid, so going across that threshold, that doorway, and all of a sudden I became one of them. It was a real sense of betrayal to me in one way, but in another way it took me 11 years to get where I was ... I did cross over one of those barriers I had put up and now I had become one of them.

Opportunities for reaffirming cultural identity, connecting with others of the same culture, and occasions for cultural activities and events may be important to First Nations students because of tensions related to cultural identity. Such opportunities helped to make a cultural place in a mainstream one much in the way that cultural information and relevant topics in the curricula, despite their marginality, provided students an oasis of familiarity.

This finding on the importance of some cultural familiarity is consistent with studies where students reported cultural connectedness as a spiritual and identity affirming positive resource in their post-secondary training (Pace and Smith 1990, pgs.114,115).

Some adaptations were relatively subtle and/or primarily symbolic. One student noted she had started to wear less jewellery and dress more mainstream as she noticed

mainstream participants style of dress and presentation were different from her own. She tried to use more jargon in her discussions. She wanted to avoid being labelled as a "stereotype" by becoming more like those who perpetuated derogative stereotypes. She felt she would become a smaller target. She did not feel she was becoming mainstream, she just felt safer. But, in needing to feel safe she had adopted more of the appearance of a mainstream person. If she returns to a First Nations organization at some point, will her clients feel safe around her if she appears or acts more like a mainstream than a First Nations person, she wondered.

Students needed to make many adaptations to attend and complete their training program at the School impacting on their health and social and economic well-being.

For academic survival and success, students needed to assimilate to difficult and demanding circumstances.

The students seemed to have to make their own place in finding a space and comfort level which enabled them to continue participating in the School.

Internal processing work seemed to involve strategizing, self-questioning of perception, cultural identity issues, esteem and achievement, for example, and was a form of extra self-reflection work for students.

Positive supports for students included opportunities for cultural validation, as mentioned, as well as opportunities to use First Nations learning 'styles' and to

explore First Nations issues in an appropriate way. Program resources provided some social and cultural supports, though minimally. Recreation resources and positive involvement with local First Nations communities are two such examples.

Training experience for the students of the inquiry was problematic in terms of identity and emotional aspects as the findings indicate. That the students took training in a way which prepares them as indigenized professionals is a also problematic feature of preparations for self-government in a political sense. Though some aspects of student experiences were positive, the training program, as a replay of indigenized processes organized by external society and reorganized by internal training processes, generated a perceived need to adapt to cope with and overcome the negative impact of indigenizing processes. If the program is structured according to existing federal policy and societal custom to oppress, assimilate and silence First Nation, then students felt required to assimilate in order to achieve academic success and to assist their communities in social service takeovers within the overall mainstream training/practice structure.

The students were trained to be a marginal feature of a white/mainstream profession, funded and regulated by mainstream state and academia. Their training experience prepares them to serve as First Nations 'outreach' offices of a white/mainstream social services structure when they

enter later practice settings where policies also construct mainstream dominance.

Ng outlines a similar mainstreaming process in a study on an advocacy UI office structured through funding rules to function as an outreach office to government, recreating government policy and more accountable to them than to the immigrant women they intended to serve (Ng 1987, pgs.270-272).

The implications for training for indigenization are discussed in greater detail in the following section as are the ways local training and funding structures are embedded within external mainstream policies.

THE IMPLICATIONS OF INDIGENIZATION

This section analyses the implications of indigenized training for First Nations students in social work. This section also explores connections between the local training program with external structures based primarily on federal funding policies for First Nations and the agenda of limited self-government constructed by government. Data for this analysis of externally constructed indigenization and its connections to the program is compiled from relevant literature and policy analysis associated with the organization of First Nations self-government programs, including social services, by mainstream agencies. This information is also considered in light of findings from the literature. Federal funding agencies, and some provincial supply most extra monies associated with training and practice in First Nations social work. Accredited social workers, which are necessary to meet funders' guidelines, must receive training from an accredited institution. CASSW approves the School's accreditation standing and is the organization the School is accountable to. Accountability to students and community members is a secondary consideration in terms of priorities in program success.

It is important to understand how the structures instituted by the School's training program and its impact to First Nations students do not exist in isolation but are interdependent with external policy and custom which structure the nature of social relations between

white/mainstream and First Nations people in Canada. Policies, curriculum, bureaucratic procedures, and social interactions which take place in the local training program of the School are embedded in external mainstream policies, etc. These are re-creations of policies and processes which construct relations of indigenization as the experience of educators is also organized by external mainstream dominant structures. They are expressions of the same social structure which has constructed the history of oppression, colonialization and ultimately indigenization, which has impacted on First Nations since early colonialist times.

The School is constructed as an 'outreach' of the external mainstream as the First Nations students are constructed as 'outreach' workers of a mainstream profession and discuss implications for practice in First Nations organizations and communities.

I believe that First Nations students trained in an indigenized form of mainstream social work are being prepared for eventual indigenized social work practice in their communities. With federal policy of limited self-government (Elliot and Fleras 1992, pg.168), social service takeovers will structure First Nations social workers in ways which will reconstruct indigenization within their communities and this is somewhat facilitated by indigenizing training of those who will do the work of implementing social service programs in the era of limited self-government. Standards and processes of accountability and

credibility will be awarded by mainstream government or professional representative in practice, where it was previously awarded by mainstream educators in training. Students of indigenized training who become indigenized practitioners will reconstruct a practice base organized by mainstream policies and procedures. The various expressions of indigenization: Marginalizing, mainstreaming, silencing and assimilative adaptations, will colour the implementation of services by indigenized workers.

This possibility is evident in reports by First Nations consultants who suggest that white/mainstream institutions are reconstructed in their communities by First Nations professionals trained in white/mainstream programs (Haveman 1985 pgs.1-16).

This is not to say that First Nations social workers will necessarily intend to treat other First Nations (community members, clients) in ways entirely identical to how they were treated by mainstream trainers. I am suggesting that indigenized practice structures will resemble indigenized training structures in mainstreaming processes organizing relations. Workers will be aware that assimilation to mainstream is equal to practice success in achieving funding and approval for continued service implementation; Just as assimilation to mainstream equalled academic success in achieving training funding and approval (grades, etc.) to continue in training.

One implication for training for indigenized practice is the construction of accountability by mainstream funders and professionals instead of community members and service consumers.

First Nations indigenized workers have learned that they must account for their progress to mainstream supervisors as they did to mainstream educators. Indigenized First Nations become accountable to mainstream government representatives who have power over accreditation of training and funding of services. A training example of this process is where a student is required to prepare an assignment for a mainstream trainer who evaluates the assignment. A practice example would be where a worker prepares a progress report or service evaluation in line with the agenda of funders and not necessarily according to the needs of the community.

In this accountability process, the needs of the community are secondary to the agenda set by funders or professional and academic associations (ie- B.C. Association of Social Workers, the Ministry of Children and Families, or the Canadian Association of Schools of Social Work).

The limitations of time and resources can impact on workers in the same way it did to students to the detriment of cultural, health and identity needs of First Nations. If overworked underresourced workers (Assembly of First Nations 1991) have as many time limits as they did when they were students, they will likely experience the same inabilities

to include cultural, community directed or effective elements in their professional work as they experienced with their academic work. Accountability to, and assimilation with, mainstream evaluators again takes primacy over culture and community voices in the success of programs.

Culture and community needs are reconstructed as secondary to mainstream ways and values.

Mainstreaming means there is potential of further loss of cultural values and traditional helping knowledge and skills based on First Nations styles of helping and healing. As one student noted, adoption of mainstream skills will not assist First Nations in appropriate service implementation if loss of traditional cultural values and resources have initiated social and economic problems in our communities. Replenishment of traditions, not continued subjugation, is necessary for culturally appropriate and empowered healing.

More traditional helping and healing styles will be constructed as secondary to mainstream ones, they will not matter as much as more acceptable, credible mainstream ways in planning, evaluation and reporting of programs.

This mainstreaming in practice may mean construction of helping ways which are inappropriate and ineffective in First Nations communities. Adoption of mainstream professional skills will still be the expectation of mainstream evaluators. This process will not provide cultural connectedness and identity affirmation and familiarity which community members and workers may need to

implement a practice base suitable to cultural content in self-directed social services.

The lack of cultural content in our own services also suggests the potential for disempowering messages reconstructed in our services. First Nations workers and administrators will lack sufficient resources and support for soliciting community input and direction and ability to act on input as trainers did in organizing student input in training. Funding and professional guidelines will serve as a pre-existing agenda and philosophy for practice, preceding community or consumer input or expressed needs, as educators' agendas pre-existed solicitation of student input into the training program. In this outreach structure of practice, First Nations workers will be seen as the oppressors and perpetuators of mainstream agendas and replace community hostility to government funders and professional helpers.

This indigenized approach to training in preparation for limited self-government is confusing for First Nations who are being told they must develop mainstream professional training and skills to run their own services. To top it off, the continued underfunding and lack of support for students still seeking training further confuses the situation. Thus my contention is that First Nations communities are being sabotaged in their ability to construct their own version of practice.

External policies help to promote training which indigenizes First Nations students in ways similar to those they will experience in an indigenized practice context as the training program does not exist in isolation from the external mainstream funding and policy structure both educators and First Nations are dependent on for sponsorship. Indigenized training, then, is an extension of external indigenized mainstream/First Nations social relations as evidenced in federal and provincial policy and its connection to First Nations sites of training and practice.

Until these relations become more respectful, appropriate and empowering in mainstream government and society, we cannot expect them to do so in a mainstream training site. Some may suggest training institutions can lead the way in making changes in power relations but it needs to be remembered that they are only a microcosm of the general mainstream society and are also influenced and organized by structures of that society. Limitations on the cultural and a limited voice in determining our own training and practice policies will continue. There will no doubt be some benefits associated with obtaining First Nations social workers over mainstream ones, but mainstream ways will still prevail. Indigenized social work training resembles indigenized practice and prepares First Nations students for such, this may not be a conscious intention (though it may be) yet it promotes a similar marginalizing of culture and

First Nations voice as the same external mainstream institutions construct many aspects of both sites through funding policy guidelines.

Practice within this reconstruction of indigenization may perpetuate ineffective and disempowering helping ways instead of promoting traditional helping knowledge and skills.

Limits on time and resources will continue to impact on workers, contributing to the self-silencing of First Nations culture and community context.

Educators need to be more accountable to First Nations in constructing a program which, though a mainstream one, can provide some benefits for students.

Accountability to First Nations may be difficult for educators whose own experience is organized by policy and funding structures.

The indigenized training program which impacts on students and future practice issues in First Nations communities is grounded in the School's connections with external mainstream structures which themselves promote indigenization in social relations between white/mainstream and First Nations cultures.

This is not to suggest that educators are entirely void of responsibility for recreating oppressive structures within the training environment. They may sometimes be consciously intending to be racist or harassing or silencing of First Nations students. Usually, educators are only

replaying structures which are so embedded within their own customs and attitudes they take them for granted until they are challenged to examine their own processes in the reconstruction of indigenization.

Hooks suggests critical self-examination is difficult as awareness of "dominant structures" becomes obscured through participation in and acceptance of dominant structures (Hooks 1988, pgs.103-106).

The School's genuine initial intention may have been to provide a valuable and appropriate program to empower First Nations in takeover of their own services, and it could have developed their program with cultural sensitivity and assisting First Nations communities in meeting their own needs. Unfortunately, predeterminate structures to reconstruct social relations of marginalizing of culture and silencing of alternative voices have made the program an indigenized parody of cultural sensitivity and empowerment instead.

One of the major places of connection with external mainstream structures is the accreditation procedures the School participates in to receive external approval by funders and professional associations for their program. Although we have seen how the School was able to justify the appearance of cultural sensitivity, despite the marginalizing and tokenizing of this feature, it is required to undertake an accountability process according to external mainstream policy making structures which themselves

marginalize First Nations social services needs. Accountability is structured as pre-marginalized in this way.

First Nations culture and service needs are marginalized by funders and accreditors as a fringe or token element of First Nations practice within the general structure of mainstream social services. In a sense, the School is also trained to marginalize and mainstream First Nations. The School is ruled by documents produced by funders and accreditors dictating training behavior just as students are ruled by documents of academic and professional policy. The efforts of educators to implement the cultural will be indigenized by external institutions where success is also equated to ability to assimilate to mainstream rules. Funders and accreditors also structure culture and empowerment in a marginal way within a mainstream framework. Attempts to produce cultural sensitivity in any way other than marginal will not be rewarded or perhaps acknowledged. Educators are accountable for a marginal program, in-line with a limited model of self-government. Extra work to improve the quality of a marginal program feature is not necessarily acknowledged by funders, especially.

With limited time and resources, educators may not perceive any relevant content other than marginal to be worthwhile or affordable (Tate and Schwartz 1993, pg.29).

Another connection is the fear by senior administrators within the academic structure (ie- the university) of the

"lowering" of academic standards through the allowance of too much cultural content in curricula (Pace and Smith 1990, pg.116).

Traditional cultural information and lack of mainstream english is felt to be less credible than mainstream academic standards.

Since First Nations voices are not perceived by mainstream state and academy to be as primary as mainstream professional skill development, the importance of the continuation of mainstream curricula as the main course will be assumed.

External mainstream attitudes in the funding of post-secondary institutes also trains educators to criminalize critical First Nations instead of using limited time and resources to make changes to training programs. The School receives a relatively small percentage of its overall funding to provide a First Nations element to its training program. It can only provide a marginal cultural element based on this funding structure. The program's survival depends on its success and critical voices must be silenced so critical students become the problem, not the program.

As funding cuts to First Nations post-secondary and self-government implementation worsen, it seems limits in time and resources will continue to affect trainers the ability to provide an effective program of quality in any other than a marginal way.

Another area of connection to external structures is in policies guiding educators in instituting cultural sensitivity and First Nations input, are structured in ways too vague and general to be very helpful in developing and evaluating producing the cultural as an element in mainstream training. Some suggest Schools of Social Work need to clarify exactly how they will resolve "multicultural issues" (O'Neil and Yelaja 1991, pgs.168,169). Culture remains a vague and marginal element within a mainstream training structure. Educators need more specific guidelines in producing cultural information and processes.

Likewise are human rights policies of academy equally vague in providing specific directives to ensure respectful and empowering procedures to alleviate things like racism or backlash harassment. Such policies are not enforced (O'Neil and Yelaja 1991, pg.170) (Ahmed 1990, pg.15).

Ignorance and lack of a First Nations analysis and awareness of oppressive social relations is another connective area. Like most members of mainstream society, mainstream educators can be ignorant of issues and history of First Nations oppression within mainstream society and its institutions. Without sufficient resources to develop better awareness, educators will continue to reconstruct means of producing culture or dealing with First Nations in ways which are not sensitive, appropriate or relevant. A tendency in mainstream society to construct First Nations as a population of dysfunctional clients in attitudes and

curriculum materials, contributes to the habit of educators to invalidate First Nations own experience and voice in their issues. Promoting white/mainstream experts on First Nations is a longstanding academic and professional tradition of white/mainstream society.

Provincial policy mirrors federal policy in the funding and support of training programs or organizations which align with the agenda of limited self-government with all of the disempowering and marginalizing aspects associated with this model. A recent conversation with a First Nations social work trainer (February 18, 1996) revealed her concerns with the then provincial Ministry of Social Services policy directives to support currently employed mainstream workers as opposed to investing in supporting First Nations seeking training. Also, Ministry reports suggest its support for a model of limited autonomy for First Nations social work services (Community Panel Report 1992, pg.35). Again, funders appear to call the shots in the indigenization of First Nations social work as mainstreamed First Nations practice is reconstructed.

Indigenized training experiences are structured by mainstream educators and funders. Training programs do not exist in isolation from but as an extension of external mainstream policies and processes which indigenize First Nations in their efforts to achieve self-determination and the necessary resources to support this development.

Most stakeholders would probably agree that some cultural based training is better than none, however. Educators who are reconstructing marginal cultural content and contributing to the reconstruction of marginal and limited self-government may be facilitating the only accredited training that would be allowed by external mainstream state and academy restrictions. Achieving mainstream training may be the only way to enable First Nations to implement funded services.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

After having spent more time in systematic and explorative review of the data gathered and analysed for this report, I became more optimistic about potential positive elements in the experiences of First Nations moving towards more autonomous and relevant services, however. I am still concerned about the negative aspects of indigenized training and practice but I am also now more convinced there are some benefits in movements towards autonomy that may be less than ideal. I believe that while students are indigenized in their training, they are also attaining these benefits:

- First Nations are getting some opportunities to 'practice' their leadership abilities with limited autonomy;
- First Nations students have turned a difficult experience into some positive benefit, in developing their abilities to organize and network with each other, and with community members;
- Though cultural content and First Nations input is usually marginalized, if it is present at all, limited amounts of cultural content and empowering processes can be beneficial to students. (This is obviously the case only where such content and in-

put are facilitated in a way which is respectful), and;

- There is some commitment, by educators, to providing support re-sources to assist students in coping and achieving academic success. Though, this too appears to be limited.

I think much reflection and activity is still required to address and resolve the various problems associated with indigenized training:

- Disempowering and tokenizing treatment of First Nations participation in decision making processes for training content and format;
- Little or no culturally relevant content in curricula;
- Cultural content presented inappropriately or the burden of its provision is placed on the students themselves, making a situation where students perform double-duty in acting as both student and resource person;
- Extra work for students in translating cultural information into a mainstream training language as well as the work of becoming more fluent in mainstream training language;
- Lack of resources for support persons to provide affirmation and support for cultural identification as well as for cultural content;

- Lack of adequate resources for First Nations to develop their own training and practice structures which would not be reliant on external mainstream sources for funding and accreditation;
- The construction of cultural information as oppositional to mainstream training information;
- Inability of mainstream educators to provide more cultural content or a more relevant learning process because of their own lack of skills and resources;
- Indigenized training/practice structures accountability to mainstream educators and funders instead of to First Nations communities.

RECOMMENDATIONS

A major issue remains unresolved in terms of the question of whether mainstream training can ever effectively accommodate the needs of First Nations as we move towards greater autonomy in social services implementation. Though this may be so in an ideal sense, it may still be possible for mainstream educators to provide programs with enhanced cultural information and processes.

I recommend that critical examination of the issues of indigenized training occur as a major step in future planning for First Nations social work training and practice. Actions proceeding without such reflection will

not effectively and appropriately address or resolve these problematic features.

A less marginalized training experience for First Nations students, which could help in preparing them for more empowered and culturally relevant practice, would require many elements.

A First Nations perspective must be expanded, especially on social work practice (not just policy) issues. Such a perspective could best occur through First Nations voices in materials and resource persons. Training formats should also be more consistent with First Nations learning 'styles'. Discussion circles, group and oral assignments, and acknowledgement of the value of experiential information and topics relevant to First Nations communities needs to be developed.

Along with more First Nations educators and resource people, space should be made in the curriculum and grading process for affirming and validating the cultural with an appropriate and respectful handling of things like traditional helping and healing in discussions and assignments. The cultural should not be constructed as oppositional to mainstream, and so students should be given some extra time and academic credit to acknowledge their extra work in finding culturally relevant materials, justifying and translating them to educators, and showing

their relevance in relation to mainstream skills or theories being learned, in the production of their assignments.

Educators must raise their awareness and comfort level in dealing with First Nations experience and issues, especially if they will be moderating and cultural or race based discussions. Mechanisms to insure professional development areas in cultural sensitivity training must be implemented. The development of cultural awareness needs to be enforced by educators and not just discussed as a token philosophy or left to First Nations persons to act as unpaid resource persons to fill the cultural void left by a lack of awareness or familiarity.

The School should support First Nations students more. Those students accepted into the program who are academically unprepared to meet its requirements must be facilitated in obtaining writing and english skills training. A First Nations Advisor should be provided to assist the students in resolving academic or other issues which emerge. This resource person could also provide cultural affirmation and validity for students as well as advise on development and monitoring of supports.

Initiatives impacting on First Nations students must be made accountable to First Nations students, community members and educators. They should have a say on planning and evaluating the program. How their input will be used (advisory or decision-making) should be specified prior to solicitation of input. Further, an independent advisory

committee composed of First Nations educators and practitioners should be established periodically in order to review training processes and content and provide recommendations regarding improvements to these.

Another option may be to increase support to First Nations communities in establishing their own independent training and accreditation processes. Because First Nations are dependent on mainstream structures for funding for such options (and dependent on mainstream structures for accreditation at this time), they will also be subject to indigenizing practices and must be mindful of the same issues regarding mainstreaming of training.

I acknowledge that the School is primarily a mainstream training program and that all students must expect a primarily mainstream focus and format. I do not expect the program discussed in this inquiry to suddenly become a First Nations one. I think it is reasonable, however, to recommend that the marginal First Nations element of the program be enhanced and made more adequate and effective in meeting needs of First Nations students. Though First Nations culture and voices are but a marginal feature, they can be a marginal feature of quality and provide some benefit to students, as findings have indicated.

Assimilation may still be equal to academic success in a mainstream institute and society. Effective and relevant elements of culture and empowerment can facilitate greater degrees of success for First Nations students, raises their

comfort level and is more respectful. These elements need to be achieved by structuring respect and relevancy to ensure opportunities for culturally appropriate study and empowerment of First Nations voices.

I initiated this research project with a conceptual framework involving my own experience of indigenization and from research information focussing on exploring and revealing how indigenized social work training is socially organized by processes informed by funding and accreditation policies promoting limited autonomy and cultural relevancy within a mainstream training framework.

My main concern was the problematic implication that indigenized training was an expression of and potential perpetuator of indigenized practice. This phenomena could perpetuate existing difficulties attaining effective and empowered services. Indigenized services would recreate the same problems in inappropriate service delivery that we have now, as they would perpetuate the same oppressive policies. This training issue seemed urgent to me because of recent developments in moves to transfer some social work responsibilities to First Nations communities, especially related to more culturally relevant child welfare practices.

Upon interviewing the students, I quickly developed an equal sense of urgency for the needs of First Nations students in social work training. I was concerned with the negative aspects of their experience.

Through examination of relevant literature and interviews by students sharing their experiences, I hoped to explore and describe the various ways indigenization occurred as a socially organized part of the training experiences of students. I have thus observed and recorded some main categories of indigenizing processes (marginalizing, mainstreaming, silencing) which were common themes in the information gathered from the primary and secondary data. I have also reported on specific adaptations reported by students in coping with indigenized training.

The details provided from systematic exploration of the data expanded my own knowledge of the issues according to my beginning conceptual framework. The information also suggested new parts of the story of the experiences of the students, new themes or processes of indigenizing which I was previously unaware of. I learned more about the specific ways local training was embedded in and influenced by government and academic structures.

I believe this information is useful in critical examination of issues in First Nations social work training and practice. I believe that it can better inform future action to address current barriers to effective and empowered cultural relevancy.

APPENDIX:

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. Describe your social worktraining experience in terms of:
 - key events, describe these and how you felt about them;
 - key persons, involved in your training;
 - major activities, in how you spent your time, such as discussions, student life, studying, etc.

2. In your opinion was the training curriculum relevant to you as a First Nations student? Especially in light of the following:
 - input from First Nations authors;
 - fieldwork practicum opportunities offering skill development important to a First Nations context;
 - relevant assignments, process or content encouraging a balance of mainstream theory with a cultural context.

3. Did you ever suggest curriculum revisions to strengthen the area of First Nations content? If so, were there any negative reactions from:
 - your peer group;
 - instructors or administrators?

4. What was your experience being evaluated in class and practicum?

5. What are your opinions regarding First Nations control of child welfare? For example:
 - First Nations should have control and child welfare should not just be transferred to provincial authority, or;
 - Cultural aspects in social services are okay in terms of traditions but not in the area of political self-determination.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Ahmed, Shama (1990). Anti-Racist Education; A Shame and a Sham. In **Social Work Today**. September 1990. London. p.15.
- Angus, Murray (1991). **And the Last Shall Be First; Native Policy in an Era of Cutbacks**. Toronto: NC Press Limited.
- Assembly of First Nations (1991). Taking Responsibility for the Rights of Our Children. Unpublished Report from the Leadership Conference on First Nations Child Welfare. September 25-27, 1991. Winnipeg, Manitoba.
- Beaty, Jeanna and Chiste, Katherine (1986). University Preparation for Native American Students: Theory and Application. In **Journal of American Indian Education**. Vol.33.1. p.p. 21-31.
- Blum, Esther (1987). Ethnically Sensitive Field Instruction: A Necessity in a Multicultural Society. In Bogo, M. and Vayda, E. (Eds). **The Practice of Field Instruction in Social Work**. Toronto: Toronto Press.
- Brown, Leslie A. (1992). Social Work Education for Aboriginal Communities. In **The Canadian Journal of Higher Education**. Vol.xxii.3. p.p. 46-56.
- Carniol, Ben (1990). **Case Critical; Challenging Social Work in Canada, 2nd Edt.** Toronto: Between The Lines Press.
- Castellano, Marlene, Stalwick, Harvey and Wien, Fred (1986). Native Social Work Education in Canada; Issues and Adaptations. In **Canadian Social Work Review**. p.p. 166-184.
- Chestang, Leon W. (1993). Infusion of Minority Content in the Curriculum. In Pearson, D. (Ed). **Perspectives on Equity and Social Justice in Social Work**. Alexandria: Council on Social Work Education.
- Churchill, Ward (1988). Sam Hill's Mother Earth: Colonialism, Genocide and the Expropriation of Indigenous Spiritual Tradition in Contemporary

- Academia. In **American Indian Culture and Research Journal**. Vol.12.3. p.p. 49-67.
- Colorado, Pam (1993). Coherence: A Process of Social Work Education With Aboriginal Students. In Feehan, K and Hannis, D. (Eds). **From Strength to Strength; Social Work Education and Aboriginal People**. Edmonton: Grant MacEwan Community College.
- Colorado, Pam (1993). Who Are You?; How the Aboriginal Classroom Sparks Fundamental Issues In Human Development. In Feehan, K. and Hannis, D. (Eds). **From Strength to Strength; Social Work Education and Aboriginal People**. Edmonton: Grant MacEwan Community College.
- Community Panel on Family and Children's Services (1992). Report of the Aboriginal Committee on the Legislation Review in British Columbia.
- Elliot, Jean Leonard and Fleras, Augie (1992). **Unequal Relations; An Introduction to Race and Ethnic Dynamics in Canada**. Scarborough: Prentice Hall Canada Inc.
- Feehan, Kay (1993). Cherishing The Sacred. In Feehan, K. and Hannis, D. (Eds.). **From Strength to Strength; Social Work Education and Aboriginal People**. Edmonton: Grant MacEwan Community College.
- Feehan, Kay and Hannis, David (1993). Introduction. In **From Strength to Strength; Social Work Education and Aboriginal People**. Edmonton: Grant MacEwan Community College.
- Feehan, Kay (1993). Visions and Values. In Feehan, K. and Hannis, D. (Eds.). **From Strength to Strength: Social Work Education and Aboriginal People**. Edmonton: Grant MacEwan Community College.
- Gary, Robenia Baker and Gary, Lawrence E. (1994). The History of Social Work Education for Black People 1900-1930. In **Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare**. Vol.xxi.1. p.p.67-81.
- Hannis, David (1993). Liberation or Assimilation; What are Educators Trying to Do? In Feehan, K. and Hannis, D. (Eds.). **From Strength to Strength; Social Work**

Education and Aboriginal People. Edmonton: Grant MacEwan Community College.

- Haveman, Paul (1985). The Indigenization of Social Control in Canada. An Unpublished Expanded Version of a Paper Presented at the International Commission of Folk Law and Legal Pluralism. with International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences. August 19-23, 1983. Vancouver, Canada.
- Hill, Richard (1992). One Part Per Million; White Appropriation and Native Voices. In **Fuse Magazine**. Vol.15.3. p.p. 12-15. Toronto, Ontario.
- Hooks, Bell (1987). **Talking Back; Thinking Feminist, Thinking Black**. Toronto: Between The Lines Press.
- Hoover, John J. and Jacobs, Cecelia C. (1992). A Survey of American Indian College Students; Perceptions Toward Their Study Skills/College Life. In **Journal Of American Indian Education**. Vol.32.1. p.p.21-29.
- Huffman, Terry E. (1991). The Experiences, Perceptions and Consequences of Campus Racism Among Northern Plains Indians. In **Journal of American Indian Education**. Vol.30.2. p.p. 25-34.
- Jaytarene, Toby and Stewart, Abigail (1991). Quantitative and Qualitative Methods in the Social Sciences; Current Feminist Issues and Practical Strategies. In Cook, C. et al (Eds.). **Beyond Methodology; Feminist Scholarship as Lived Research**. Indiana University Press.
- Jones, Adele (1993). Anti-Racist Child Protection. In **Race and Class; A Journal for Black and Third World Liberation**. Vol.35.2. p.p.75-85.
- Kirkness, Verna J. and Barnhardt, Ray (1991). First Nations and Higher Education: The Four Rs - Respect, Relevance, Reciprocity, Responsibility. In **Journal of American Indian Education**. Vol.30.3. p.p.1-15.
- Lin, Ruey-Lin, LaCounte, Deborah and Eder, Jeanne (1988). A Study of Native American Students in a Predominantly White College. In **Journal of American Indian Education**. Vol.27.3. p.p.8-15.

- Segal, Uma S. (1993). Cross-Cultural Values, Social Work Students and Personality. In **International Social Work**. Vol.36. p.p.61-73.
- Smith, Dorothy E. (1987). **The Everyday World as Problematic; A Feminist Sociology**. Northwestern University Press.
- Tate, Donald S. and Schwartz, Charles L. (1993). Increasing the Retention of American Indian Students in Professional Programs in Higher Education. In **Journal of American Indian Education**. Vol.33.1. p.p.21-31.
- Trask, Haunani-Kay (1993). **From a Native Daughter; Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai'i**. Maine: Common Courage Press.
- Wineman, Steven (1984). **The Politics of Human Services; Radical Alternatives to the Welfare State**. Buffalo: Black Rose Books.
- Zapf, Michael Kim (1993). Methods Instruction as a Two-Way Process. In Feehan, K. and Hannis, D. (Eds.). **From Strength to Strength; Social Work Education and Aboriginal People**. Edmonton: Grant MacEwan Community College.
- Zapf, Michael Kim (1993). Who is the Client?; Contracts and Social Work Outreach in Native Communities. In Feehan, K. and Hannis, D. (Eds.). **From Strength to Strength; Social Work Education and Aboriginal People**. Edmonton: Grant MacEwan Community College.

VITA

Surname:Jamieson

Given Names:Cynthia Marie

Place of Birth:Brantford, Ontario

Date of Birth:September 16, 1959

Educational Institutions Attended:

Trent University	1977 to 1979
	1982 to 1984
University Of Victoria	1989 to 1997

Degrees Awarded:

B.S.W. Honours	University of Victoria 1991
----------------	-----------------------------

Publications:

Brown, Leslie, Jamieson, Cindy and Kovach, Margaret (1995)
Feminism and First Nations: Conflict or Concert. In **The
Canadian Review of Social Policy**. No. 35, p.p. 68-77.

PARTIAL COPYRIGHT LICENSE

I hereby grant the right to lend my thesis to users of the University of Victoria Library, and to make single copies only for such users or in response to a request from the Library of any other university, or similar institution, on its behalf or for one of its users. I further agree that permission for extensive copying of this thesis for scholarly purposes may be granted by me or a member of the University designated by me. It is understood that copying or publication of this thesis for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.

Title of Thesis: First Nations Students in Social Work Training; The Social Organization of Indigenization

Author: 

Cynthia Marie Jamieson

September 10, 1997