ADMINISTRATIVE CONTROL AT SIX NATIONS, 1960-2005

INHERENT ACTS OF SELF-DETERMINATION: ADMINISTRATIVE CONTROL OF ELEMENTARY EDUCATION AT SIX NATIONS, 1960-2005

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IN COLLABORATION WITH ELDERS OF THE SIX NATIONS OF THE GRAND RIVER TERRITORY

A Thesis Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree Master of Arts in History

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Descriptive Note

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Lay Abstract

I collaborate with Elders of the Six Nations of the Grand River Territory – mainly former vice-principals and principals – to share their stories about elementary school administration of the community's day schools of the 1960s, 70s, and 80s, and of the larger consolidated schools of the 1990s and early 2000s. By engaging in storywork with the Elders, their stories reveal that as Indigenous organizations like the National Indian Brotherhood/Assembly of First Nations (NIB/AFN) warned First Nations communities about mistaking administrative control, or *delegated authority* as it framed it, as real, local control over their children's education, vice-principals and principals in Six Nations reframed it as inherent acts of self-determination and sovereignty over education. Their stories provide an alternative way of knowing and understanding administrative control in First Nations schools.

Abstract

I collaborate with Elders of the Six Nations of the Grand River Territory – mainly former vice-principals and principals – to share their stories about elementary school administration of the community's day schools of the 1960s, 70s, and 80s, and of the larger consolidated schools thereafter. By engaging in storywork with them, their stories reveal that as Indigenous organizations like the National Indian Brotherhood/Assembly of First Nations (NIB/AFN) warned First Nations about mistaking administrative control, or *delegated authority* as it framed it, as real, local control over their children's education, vice-principals and principals in Six Nations reframed it as inherent acts of self-determination and sovereignty over education. Drawing on Audra Simpson's nested sovereignty, and Glen Sean Coulthard's self-recognition to produce a more accurate representation of administrative control in the community, I argue that vice-principals and principals in Six Nations did not mistake their practice as *delegated authority* but instead – as inherently sovereign actors – went through a process of negotiating self-determination and sovereignty within the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development Canada's (DIAND) educational framework to upset its *status quo* of First Nations only managing educational programs and services. If sovereignty is understood to be a process, rather than a destination as Robert Allen Warrior suggests, then vice-principals and principals exercising administrative control on a daily basis in their schools should be recognized as inherently self-determining and sovereign. By sharing their stories, they reveal that they possess the authority to determine the definition and character of administrative control at the local level. The argument's implication being that there are alternative ways of knowing and understanding administrative control in First Nations schools, rather than the national discourse that evolved in the decades following the NIB's *Indian Control of Indian Education*.

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This project really is a culmination of all of my academic and professional experience up to this point, so there are a lot of people who deserve recognition for what they have done for me prior to this work's conception and long after its completion.

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List of Abbreviations

AANDC	Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada
AFN	Assembly of First Nations
CEP	Community Education Project
DIAND	Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development
ECG	Emily C. General Elementary School
ICIE	*Indian Control of Indian Education*
ILT/ILTO	I.L. Thomas/I.L. Thomas Odadrihonyanita Elementary School
INAC	Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada
ISNEAWG	Six Nations Education Authority Working Group
JCH	JC Hill Elementary School
LLTF	Lifelong Learning Task Force
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
NIB	National Indian Brotherhood
OMSK	Oliver M. Smith-Kawenni:io Elementary School
PSC	Parent Steering Committee
SNEB	Six Nations Education Board
SNEC	Six Nations Education Commission
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission

Introduction: Administrative Control, Self-determination and Sovereignty as Process

> If our struggle is anything, it is the struggle for sovereignty, and if sovereignty is anything, it is a way of life. That way of life is not a matter of defining a political ideology or having a detached discussion about the unifying structures and essences of American Indian traditions. It is a decision - a decision we make in our minds, in our hearts, and in our bodies - to be sovereign and to find out what that means in the process.[1]
>
> – Robert Allen Warrior, *Tribal Secrets: Recovering American Indian Intellectual Tradtions,* 1994
>
> We didn't want administrative control only.[2]
>
> – Julia Candlish, Education Manager for the Lifelong Learning Task Force, 2019

I am a teacher by calling and trade. One of our best professional practices is using what is known as backward design.[3] It is the first thing teachers do before teaching a lesson. They look at the curriculum and its learning expectations for the grade and subject and then they design their lessons to include resources (the content itself as well as materials for activities), instructional methods (how they are going to teach the content), and assessment tools (for example, checklists or rubrics) to track students' progress and evaluate their knowledge. For example, as a grade two teacher, I looked to the Ontario English curriculum for reading expectations before teaching a lesson on reading comprehension or fluency. This design process provides teaching direction for the teacher and learning direction for the students. It ensures that teachers accurately communicate students' progress to parents come report card time. It creates a straight line between goals, processes and outcomes. I use backward design in the Indigenous history and pedagogy courses that I teach at Brock University. And, as you will come to find out as you read this thesis, I include pieces of my lived experience in this work as the researcher and storyteller of my community's history. I am situated in this history having been an elementary school student and teacher in the system myself.

I include backward design here, because I want to use it to frame the way this story is told or at least introduced. I want to situate my conclusions about this history that I am writing in the beginning, so you as the reader know what to expect along the way. This story is about administration of elementary schools in Six Nations from the 1960s to the mid-2000s with connections to contemporary education. It is research written with and for my Indigenous community for its benefit, so practical applications to the contemporary context must be included. Written otherwise, this project would closely resemble research performed on Indigenous peoples in the past, which is far from my intent or that of the six Elders who decided to share their stories to create this history.[4] To be clear, these are their stories first and foremost. They belong to them. They belong to the Six Nations community. My intent is to take those stories and share them in the best way I know how, while still meeting the academic requirements of the history department at McMaster University.

So, what are my conclusions about these stories and this history? Based on what the administrators shared with me (we also have to consider what is not shared), the primary evidence including newspaper articles, reports and policy documents, the secondary literature on First Nations control of education, and theories of Indigenous sovereignty drawn from the works of Audra Simpson and Glen Sean Coulthard, it is clear that while administrative control of First Nations elementary education became increasingly associated with maintaining the *status quo* of the federal Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development Canada (DIAND) following the adoption in principle of the National Indian Brotherhood's (NIB) publication of *Indian Control of Indian Education* (*ICIE*) in 1972, administrators in Six Nations – through their practices as Haudenosaunee people – reframed administrative control not to perpetuate the *status quo*, but to do something quite different. Whether they understood it at the time or not, their daily practices ranging from engaging with students as they entered the school to developing policy or implementing new school initiatives, are acts of inherent self-determination and sovereignty. This may seem unclear now, but this is also a reflection of backward design. Teachers may understand the end goal by looking at the curriculum, but, in the beginning, it is unclear how they are going to arrive there. This is where the process needs to be developed; that is, resources, instructional methods, and assessment tools. Or in this case, the history of the Six Nations education system alongside developments in First Nations education more broadly (resources), Indigenous research methodologies and methods (instructional methods), and theories of Indigenous sovereignty (assessment tools).

I have chosen to begin with the words of Robert Allen Warrior because of his emphasis on sovereignty as process which is essential to understanding administrative control in Six Nations. It is one of my favourite quotes from anyone Indigenous, although I do have some favourites from Harold Cardinal's, *The Unjust Society*, where he has a few choice words to describe the mandarins at Indian Affairs, but more about that later. These words come from Warrior's book, *Tribal Secrets*: *Reclaiming American Indian Intellectual Traditions.* In it, he proposes a process-centred understanding of sovereignty by interpreting the works of Indigenous intellectuals Vine Deloria Jr. and John Joseph Mathews. In his analysis of Deloria's, *We Talk, You Listen: New Tribes, New Turf*, Warrior explains that author's understanding of sovereignty as process by stating:

> The path to sovereignty… is the path to freedom. That freedom, though, is not one that can be immediately defined and lived. Rather, the challenge is to articulate what sort of freedom as it "emerge[s]" through the experiences of the groups to exercise the sovereignty which they recognize in themselves. Through this process-centered definition of sovereignty, Deloria is able to avoid making a declaration as to what contemporary American Indian communities are or are not. Instead, Deloria recognizes that American Indians have to go through a process of building community and that process will define the future.[5]

This process of articulating and expressing sovereignty – and indeed recognizing it in the moment or upon reflection – is precisely what Six Nations administrators did as they developed their practice and the community's education system over time. It is a process that emerges through their experiences. It is a process of building community and self-determination. Whether consciously or not, administrators in Six Nations made the decision – in their minds, bodies, and

hearts – to be sovereign, and as their stories will show, their actions reframed administrative control at the local level quite differently from what emerged into the 1970s at the national level.

Warrior's proposition of sovereignty as process is also relevant to the different processes that overlap in this history of administrative control at Six Nations. These processes roughly fit into the Four Roots that I use to conceptualize and organize this work. Much like the roots of a tree, at times they run parallel, at times they intersect or overlap, diverge, and at times they create a braid to give the tree life. These Four Roots of this history and its telling do the same thing. They give life to a story that has otherwise been left unexamined – at least in an academic sense. But what happens to roots over time? They grow. They change. They go through a process of development. The roots of this history are processes as well. And, by this I mean I also go through a process of negotiation as I listen to stories, research the history, and decide how to present them in a way that is meaningful to the Elders and my community.

My use of the Root metaphor that organizes this research is grounded in the imagery of the Great Tree of Peace which symbolizes the Great Law and the founding of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy. We teach children in our community that if anyone wants to practice 'a Good Mind and a Good Heart,' they need only to follow the Roots of the Tree to its source. There they can find shelter under its branches and find peace within the Confederacy. Similarly, for those who might find peace following the Great Tree's roots, I hope community members might uncover a new understanding of the administration of their children's schools by presenting this history along cultural lines. The First Root begins with the history of Six Nations as a community. This includes the development of the local education system that also connects to the larger history of residential and day schools in Canada. The Second Root involves the history of First Nations control of education. This includes the processes of defining control at the local and national levels. These two roots are closely related, but also distinct in a sense because of the divergent ways that the NIB framed administrative control nationally, and the ways in which administrators reframed it locally. The Third Root applies Indigenous research methodologies, methods, and theories to make sense of this history while the Fourth Root negotiates my place in this history as both researcher and community member.

Root One: Historiography of Six Nations, Local and National Education

So, if I am to begin this process, the recent work of Susan Hill is the most appropriate to describe the history of the Six Nations community, because of her connection to and understanding of it. In, *The Clay we are Made of: Haudenosaunee Land Tenure on the Grand River,* Hill places Haudenosaunee wisdom, like the Creation Story, the Great Law, and ceremonies at the centre of her examination of the peoples' connection to their traditional territories in upstate New York and in her description of their move to Grand River following the American Revolutionary War. I am not a speaker myself, but this connection is best explained through Hill's use of the language. "One of the Kanyen'keha (Mohawk) words for clan is Otara," she notes, "when one asks another what clan they belong to, the question literally translates to "what clay are you made of?"[6] This comes from the Creation Story where Shonkwaia'tison, the Creator, breathes life into the first man and woman after molding them from clay.[7] The Haudenosaunee literally come from Mother Earth. Hill's use of language provides a glimpse into the Haudenosaunee

worldview where people do not own the land as in a Western sense, but they are of the land and in relationship to it.

It is important to understand this connection to land evoked here, because it is the basis of traditional education for the Haudenosaunee and Indigenous peoples across Turtle Island. According to Eber Hampton's definition of traditional Indigenous education, each Nation had its own forms of education that generally included "oral histories, teaching stories, ceremonies, apprenticeships, learning games, formal instruction, tutoring, and tag-along teaching."[8] Through them, Indigenous children learned by seeing and doing. As Gregory Cajete eloquently writes in *Look to the Mountain: An Ecology of Indigenous Education*, education for Indigenous peoples was a "process that unfolded through mutual respect, reciprocal relationships between one's social group and the natural world. This relationship involved… *participation* in community life. It was essentially a communally integrated expression of environmental education."[9] They used knowledge for everyday living. This also meant acquiring specific skills like "hunting, fishing, trapping, and agriculture necessary within a particular environment."[10] He argues that, "Education, in this context, then became education for life's sake."[11] No separation existed between education and living. Haudenosaunee children needed to learn to survive in their natural environment. This meant learning and living in close relationship with the natural cycles of plants, animals, and the natural environment.

These traditional processes of teaching and learning never really went away but were instead displaced and suppressed by Western educational institutions, particularly residential schools. In *Decolonizing Education: Nourishing the Learning Spirit*, Marie Battiste refers to this process as "cognitive imperialism." She argues that, "Cognitive imperialism is about whitewashing the mind as a result of forced assimilation, English education, Eurocentric humanities and sciences, and living in a Eurocentric context complete with media, books, laws, and values."[12] As J.R. Miller and John S. Milloy have shown in their respective works on residential schools, Indigenous children learned very little in them, apart from religious doctrine and manual or domestic labour. These schools alienated them from their languages and cultures and brought mental, emotional, physical, and sexual abuse.[13] Elizabeth Graham's work provides a similar conclusion in her comparison of Mount Elgin residential school and the Mohawk Institute in her, *The Mush Hole: Life at Two Indian Residential Schools*.[14] In 2008, the federal government established the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) to conduct a comprehensive examination into the history of residential schools. For six years, the TRC travelled across Canada to hear from Indigenous peoples who had been taken from their families as children in what former National Chief of the Assembly of First Nations (AFN) and residential school survivor, Phil Fontaine, called an "experiment in assimilation."[15] In 2015, the TRC published its final report. It shows clearly that survivors, families, and subsequent generations continue to suffer trauma from those schools.[16] Cognitive imperialism is alive and well today as Indigenous students navigate public elementary, secondary and post-secondary education systems that continue to tell them what they know and value does not matter.[17]

As we move forward into the post-TRC era, I have seen first-hand the increased awareness of this history at the post-secondary level both as a graduate student at two universities and as a sessional instructor at one. In many cases, students experience an initial shock when they learn about the history of residential schools.[18] The history often acts as a springboard for them

to dive deeper into other areas of Indigenous and Canadian history. This is of course owed in large part to the survivors of residential schools who decided to share their stories. In my classes I see a pattern where non-Indigenous students often see Indigenous history as one of residential schools. I believe, undoubtedly, that the TRC has led to positive change in governmental, judicial, and educational institutions, however with a few exceptions, Indian day schools have been left largely unexamined. Indeed, much Indigenous education exists beyond the residential school experience and outside the relationship with the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development Canada.

Histories are emerging that redress this gap in the story; they move beyond the residential school experience to reveal the larger picture of Indigenous education. Helen Raptis's, *What We Learned: Two Generations Reflect on Tsimshian Education and the Day Schools*, written by her with members of the Tsimshian Nation, shows how people's educational experiences changed as they integrated away from Indian day schools into public education, as well as the legacies that resulted from the shift. The first generation that Raptis interviewed attended a local, Indian day school while the second generation integrated into Port Essington Elementary School in the public education system in British Columbia. Raptis' work is important because she captures the untold experience of Indigenous students in Indian day schools. The Elders provided a personal voice by sharing their stories. This is more in line with oral traditions than other Indian day school histories that relied upon Departmental records and policies.[19]

Some of this Indian day school history has been written by educators and local historians who have documented the history of education in their community of Six Nations. Sometime after her retirement in the 1940s, for example, long-time community educator Julia Jamieson wrote a brief history of the education system between 1784 to 1924.[20] In it, she paid homage to her father, Augustus Jamieson, who was instrumental in developing its education system earlier in the twentieth century. In 1987, the Woodland Cultural Centre in Brantford published a history of Six Nations education by Keith Jamieson and another by Olive Moses, Doris Henhawk, and Lloyd King.[21] These community histories have much in common beyond their attention to its various day schools. The authors rely upon Departmental records, which is reflected in the way the histories are written. They focus on describing the education system, particularly in the first half of the twentieth century. They include things like school construction, teacher appointments, the adoption of the Ontario curriculum, changes in centralized leadership and the teachers' organization. These works began the important process of recording local histories of the education system in Six Nations.

In his 1985 dissertation, Abate Wori Abate used developments in local control at that time, mainly *Indian Control of Indian Education* policy, to move beyond describing the education system to examine local perceptions of control over it more closely. He partly relies upon Departmental records to tell the history of education as well as interviews with community members, including teachers, administrators, band councillors and Confederacy leaders to reveal and examine local control. As an outsider, he noted that the community, in general, showed hospitality towards him as he stayed at Six Nations to complete his research.[22] He also pulled on national developments in education, mainly the views and actions of the NIB and provincial Indigenous organizations, as context to developments in Six Nations. This produced a mix of educational history and praxis.[23] While he concluded that community members felt that they had *de*

facto control over education, his work did not really define local control, nor did it clearly identify what the education system ought to look like based on the information and opinions provided by the community members he interviewed.[24]

More recently, Alison Norman has used the lens of gender to explore the nature of education in Six Nations in her two case studies of the experiences of Indigenous female teachers in nineteenth century Indian day schools in Six Nations and Tyendinaga, and at Six Nations in the twentieth century.[25] Hers is a significant change in the approach and writing of Indigenous educational history in the community, especially given the centrality of female leadership in Haudenosaunee culture. Norman determined that although female teachers like Emily C. General faced restrictions from the federal government, they showed in different ways that community educators improved the education system.

My work with the administrators from my community looks to build on both local educational histories and broader national ones, especially in terms of timeframes and professional focus. Community educators and local historians set the groundwork for Six Nations educational history. They described the development of the system in roughly a one-hundred-year period beginning in the late nineteenth century. Alongside this history, academics like J.R. Miller and John S. Milloy uncovered the history of residential schools. Alison Norman's work is unique in that it provides an intersection between these two histories. One of the subjects of her case studies, Susan Hardie, was a Mohawk teacher who had a fifty-year teaching career beginning in the 1880s at the Mohawk Institute. She moved the narrative about Haudenosaunee teachers forward along gendered lines. Much like Miller, Milloy, and Graham, who shed light on the student experience in residential schools, Helen Raptis did the same for former students of the Tsimshian Nation who attended Indian day school. My collaboration with the Elders who had been administrators at Six Nations expands on the existing body of research by focusing on the latter half of the twentieth century. I pick up where Abate Wori Abate ended his examination of local control of education in the decade after *ICIE*. And perhaps my greatest addition to this body of work is how I focus upon and draw from the lived experiences of community members who worked first as teachers, then as vice-principals and principals within the education system to develop change and to create a better and more meaningful education for Haudenosaunee children.

Root Two: First Nations Control of Education - Defining Control

Defining control in Six Nations is a process of applying national developments in Indigenous education alongside emerging discourses in the academic literature, but unlike most First Nations communities that have chosen local control through any one of the Department's devolution options, Six Nations remains a federally-operated school system to this day.[26] The Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development Canada (now Indigenous Services) administers educational programs and services for First Nations in Canada. Consequently, the criticisms of the general direction of education – that is, First Nations control as local control – found in the academic literature are not entirely applicable here. The literature is useful, however, because it provides a cautionary tale to the Six Nations community about what local control of the education system might look like, complete with its accompanying problems. The literature is also useful, because of what I mentioned earlier; this history is one of processes and overlapping and in-

tersecting roots. Although education in Six Nations is federally-operated, the history of its education system, and examinations into local control are undoubtedly linked to larger national developments in Indigenous education and the academic literature.

In the years immediately following the Second World War, the Canadian general public became more concerned with human rights issues and as a result the federal government began to reconsider its First Nations education policy. As Jerry P. White and Julie Peters have shown, by the 1950s, the federal government recognized that residential schools were failing to both educate and assimilate Indigenous children. Between 1950 and 1970, the Department instead opted to enter into tuition agreements with the provinces and territories to have First Nations children educated in provincial schools. By 1960, 25% of First Nations children attended public schools. Indian Affairs favoured what became known as 'integration' over residential school assimilation, but the effects were also disastrous. By 1967, 94% of First Nations children did not complete grade 12. In comparison, only 12% of their Canadian peers fared the same.[27] Like assimilation, clearly integration was not working. An alternative was needed – a local one.

The story of the Blue Quills Residential School is the best place to begin this process of examining First Nations definitions of control over education, because it led to fundamental changes in federal education policy. In the late 1960s, the Department operated this school in northeastern Alberta to deliver education to Saddle Lake and the neighbouring First Nations communities. As Dianne Persson has shown in her extensive research on its 1969 sit-in, the Saddle Lake School Committee increasingly pressured the Department for more First Nations representation and employment in the school. Amidst the backdrop of the infamous *White Paper* policy of that year, the Department informed the committee that it intended to shut down the school the following year. Faced with what Harold Cardinal called, "a thinly disguised programme of extermination through assimilation," the school committee led by Stanley Redcrow and other community members staged a sit-in to pressure the Department into transferring control of the institution to a proposed local education authority.[28] After a series of negotiations with the Department, Blue Quills school officially opened September 1, 1970 under Indigenous administration. Saddle Lake became the first community to do so and remains the quintessential example of Indigenous parents gaining control over their children's education.[29]

The Blue Quills sit-in marked a critical point of departure from past federal policies of assimilation and integration towards local, First Nations control. After it, many other First Nations communities sought greater self-determination over one of their most important institutions of transferring community and cultural values – education. In what has become the foundation of First Nations education in Canada, the National Indian Brotherhood called for fundamental changes to federal policy when it published *Indian Control of Indian Education* in 1972. In it, the NIB did not want assimilation or integration. It wanted children to be empowered by an education rooted in Indigenous values that would "reinforce their Indian identity."[30] The NIB wanted First Nations communities to control their education systems. It called for active parental involvement through local education authorities that would control funding and decision-making over programs and services. At the core of the document, the NIB wanted local education systems that honoured Indigenous cultures and languages, while preparing children for work and life in the Canadian economy. The following year, the Department adopted this concept in principle, and started to devolve administration of some educational programs and services to First

Nations communities. Initially, some of these communities saw this as an advancement towards gaining full control of education, but since then many have criticized the Department for only transferring management of educational programs and services, and not the political and financial authority to make decisions to address local needs.

Although the Department agreed to *ICIE* in principle, it had a markedly different vision of local control compared to that of the NIB and First Nations communities. This became evident as early as 1975, when the Department published a series of e-circulars to guide the devolution of educational programs and services to communities it deemed ready. *Programme Circular E.4* outlined the Department's interpretation of local control of education, which described how First Nations might participate in the direction and management of the community's education services. It also stipulated the extent of local control and authority which a community might exercise over these services.[31] First Nations communities could participate in a limited way; they could manage, but not direct.

Margaret S. Ward examined the implementation of this First Nations education policy in the mid-1970s and revealed that the Treasury Board held ultimate authority over financial decisions, which further restricted local control as the people of First Nations envisioned it.[32] According to the *E.4 Circular*, the Minister of Indian Affairs delegated responsibility to First Nations communities for them to manage educational programs and services, but did not give them control of capital planning.[33] Any resolutions proposed at the local level remained subject to the Minister's approval. Financial control lay with the Treasury Board of Canada, which allocated funds from Canadian tax dollars. At the Board, financial accountability for the public purse took precedence over providing the necessary funds to support the transition to local control over education. The Department's preference for fiscal restraint undermined a Nation's ability to deliver the programs and services it deemed necessary for its children's education.[34] Ultimately, the Department envisioned local control as community participation in the management of educational programs and services subject to the Minister's and Treasury Board's approval.

Tensions remained because the NIB had not clearly articulated what it meant by control of education. Yes, it outlined core principles of parental involvement, protection of culture and language, and local control, but what did the organization mean by control in an operational sense? This is something that was later clarified in 1988 when the Assembly of First Nations (AFN, formerly the NIB) published, *Tradition and Education: Towards a Vision of Our Future. A Declaration of First Nations Jurisdiction Over Education*, when it dropped the word 'control' in favour of 'jurisdiction' (which I discuss in Chapter Two). But, before the AFN did that, Barman *et. al.* published their two-volume, *Indian Education in Canada,* which created a framework for defining control. These authors categorized five areas of control: political, financial, administrative, curriculum, and personnel. I examine this work in detail because these areas inform my analysis of administrative control in Six Nations. They help explain why political and financial control became increasingly associated with self-determination and sovereignty, while administrative control did not. This point segues nicely into my discussion found in my Third Root, where I reframe local definitions and practices of administrative control as self-determination and sovereignty.

As Barman *et. al.* have pointed out, at the centre of defining Indian control are interpretations of jurisdiction and authority over education. Political and financial control are the two areas

most closely associated with self-determination, because the federal government ultimately retains legal and financial responsibility for First Nations education through various means: Treaty, the *Indian Act*, and Treasury Board. To Barman *et. al.*, First Nations people could obtain political control from the federal government through a transfer of power to local education authorities.[35] Without it, they ended up managing Departmental educational programs and services without any real decision-making power or authority, or in other words, maintaining the education *status quo*. Control also meant having, in the words of these authors, "mastery of the administration of schools and programmes serving children."[36] Local administrators – principals and vice-principals – could determine the direction and implementation of resources and services at the school level. They could have the decision-making authority over personnel, to hire faculty and staff. Finally, they could control curriculum content, which Barman *et. al.* argue is most important, because it ensures that a community's cultural values can be transferred from one generation to the next.

Although Barman *et. al.* nicely separate and categorize these areas of control, they emphasize the different ways that they are contingent upon each other while they can also be implemented independently. Under the right circumstances, Indigenous communities could make decisions and allocate funds without being subject to Departmental oversight. This meant greater self-determination in education. Take administrative control, for example: administration of programs and services could be entirely restricted by Departmental decision-making or financial authority but could also function without its oversight. This is important when we consider how the Department failed to establish any managerial framework to operate, assess and evaluate the administration of Indian day schools.[37] Without any comprehensive oversight, principals in Six Nations schools concluded that they had a lot of control over their administrative practice. They were more or less able to practice as they pleased. So, why is administrative control viewed negatively in relation to political and financial control by educators, leaders, and academics alike? How, and why did this happen? I will answer these questions in Chapter Two as I explain in detail how these processes developed throughout the 1970s and early 80s.

Root Three: Indigenous Research Methodologies, Methods and Theories of Sovereignty

If the first two Roots are the content in my backward design, then Indigenous research methodologies and methods are my instructional methods, and theories of sovereignty are my assessment tools. In the same way that teachers use instructional methods to deliver content, I draw on Indigenous methodologies and use methods to share administrators' stories and tell this history. I use theories of sovereignty to not necessarily assess this history, but more so to make sense of it in the larger context of Indigenous self-determination and sovereignty. As I completed my research, they formed an iterative process where the literature on Indigenous research informed my understanding of theories of sovereignty, and vice versa. I examined Indigenous research methodologies and methods first, drawing on the works of Linda Smith, Jo-Ann Archibald, and Shawn Wilson. As I looked to make sense of administrative control in Six Nations and where it fit into larger discourses on self-determination in education and sovereignty more broadly, I turned to the works of Audra Simpson and Glen Sean Coulthard. However, I present them here, not in that order, but in a way that shows the iterative process that emerged as

I concluded that administrative control, and school principals' practices in general, are inherent acts of self-determination and sovereignty.

Like many Indigenous academics, I ground my understanding of my research in Linda Tuhiwai Smith's, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, particularly her proposition of twenty-five decolonizing research projects. Her project of 'reframing' informs both the methodological approach to the research and my understanding of principals' practices. Smith says, "Reframing is about taking much greater control over the ways in which indigenous [*sic*] issues and social problems are discussed and handled."[38] The discussion of administrative control needs to be reframed especially given the fact that principals in Six Nations felt they had a lot of control over their practice and were able to pursue local initiatives largely unimpeded by the Department. But as we will see, exercising administrative control is a complex process of negotiating and making sense of working within a federal educational structure. But, as Smith makes perfectly clear, "The framing of an issue is about making decisions about its parameters, about what is in the foreground, what is in the background, and what shadings or complexities exist within the frame."[39] Of course there are limitations, restrictions, and barriers around administrative practice, just like there are in any career, but the key here is understanding how school principals reframe administrative control locally while its definition and connotation develop quite differently nationally.

Reframing, in the words of Smith, is also about "the way indigenous people write or engage with theories and accounts of what it means to be indigenous," so because of the inextricable link between education and self-determination I use Audra Simpson's concept of 'nested sovereignty' to explain why administrative control is an inherent act of sovereignty.[40] In her, *Mohawk Interruptus: Political Life Across the Borders of Settler States*, Simpson examines Mohawk ironworkers from Kahnawà:ke and their ideas and expressions of sovereignty as they cross the international border between the United States and Canada. Her work outlines the concept of 'nested sovereignty,' where sovereignties exist within sovereignties. "Like Indigenous bodies," she writes, "Indigenous sovereignties and political orders prevail within and apart from settler governance."[41] Nested sovereignty calls into question the absolute sovereignty of the nation state. Simpson also asserts that Indigenous peoples seeking recognition of their sovereignty from the nation state have an alternative to the *status quo*. That alternative is refusal. Refusal raises the question of legitimacy for those who are usually in a position of bestowing recognition.[42] If Indigenous peoples refuse recognition from the nation-state, then the state has no authority to determine their sovereignty. And, finally, she asserts that settler-colonialism is an ongoing, everyday process for Indigenous peoples. The process of colonization is not settled, over, or done as Western knowledge suggests.[43] Under these circumstances, multiple sovereignties cannot exist fully or equally, so Indigenous peoples must strategize and position their sovereignty in relation to, or in opposition to the perceived, absolute sovereignty of the nation-state. Nested sovereignty is an ongoing process of adapting, articulating, and expressing inherent sovereignty in different ways and in various contexts. I agree with Simpson that Indigenous peoples are inherently sovereign. They can question the legitimacy of the nation state and its authority to recognize Indigenous sovereignty altogether. Whether the person is a Mohawk ironworker from Kahnawà:ke crossing the border, or a Haudenosaunee school principal from Six Nations exercising adminis-

trative control, s/he is inherently sovereign and should be recognized as such by the people with the authority to do so. In this case, Haudenosaunee people.

Like Audra Simpson's refusal to be recognized by the settler-state, Glen Sean Coulthard addresses the idea of self-recognition in his, *Red Skin, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition.* He asserts that Indigenous activists and organizations operating within the settler-state recognition-based approach to reconciling Indigenous nationhood serve to reaffirm the power imbalance between Indigenous peoples and the Canadian state. Therefore, they must advocate for self-recognition based on Indigenous cultural values and a 'turning away' from Canadian definitions of Indigenous nationhood. Coulthard builds his analysis from the experiences of post-colonial theorist Frantz Fanon's, *Black Skin, White Masks*, to apply it to the Canadian context. He cites Fanon's call to action: "Since the Other was reluctant to recognize me, there was only one answer: *to make myself known*."[44] Through self-affirmation of the unique traditions, values, and achievements of Black people, Fanon experienced the self-worth, dignity and respect that was denied him by the dominant society. This is important when we extend this approach to understanding self-reaffirming practices of Haudenosaunee school principals. In this instance, DIAND can be seen as the Other that refuses to recognize First Nations visions for control over education. In the process of seeking greater control the AFN has Othered our understanding of administrative control. Being denied recognition of administrative control, Haudenosaunee principals must turn away from external definitions of it to internal ones. Through self-affirmation of their own definitions, perceptions, and practices of administrative control, principals in Six Nations can recognize themselves according to what matters most to them.

This project pulls together reports, policy papers, community newspapers, secondary literature on the history of Indigenous education, as well as contemporary discussions of local control and devolution policy, with its focal point being the stories and experiences of community Elders. I do this to move beyond the larger discourse on Departmental failures, community struggles, and real control towards a recognition of the ways in which local school principals exercise administrative control and navigate the tensions in a changing education system under Departmental political and financial authority.[45] For this, it is important that I introduce the Elders who kindly participated in this project and shared their knowledge, opinions, and experiences as educators and administrators in the community.[46]

Six Elders from Six Nations shared their stories with me for this project. Five of them worked in administration, either as teacher/administrator, vice-principal, or principal. The other Elder, in addition to teaching, worked in administrative positions outside of the elementary school system but has actively been involved in examinations of local control of education in the community. Two Elders kindly allowed for their names to be used: my grandfather, Ed Staats, who was long-time administrator of schools Nos. 1, 3, and 8; and Ivan Thomas, who was long-time administrator of No. 11 school. Ed and Ivan explain what it was like to be administrators in the numbered schools during their careers that spanned from the 1960s into the 1990s. Four other Elders interviewed for this project chose to remain anonymous and pseudonyms are used to protect their identities. Their teaching careers began mostly in the 1970s and they continued to work in education in various forms. Together, 6Ned, WB, HAWKEYE, and S2 explain what it was like to be administrators into the consolidated school era of the later 1990s. They tell a narrative of how administrative control changed over time depending upon centralized leadership, communi-

ty engagement, and Departmental education policy and practices. In combination, their stories situate administrative control in temporal context. This is important as administrative control is a process in transition and any analysis of it needs to critically consider changes over time.

Above all else, this work is intended to benefit my community. That is why it was important to me that I did the research the right way – in an Indigenous way – so to speak. This meant following Indigenous research methodologies and protocols for working *with* – not *on* –Indigenous peoples. I turned primarily to the works of Jo-Ann Archibald and Shawn Wilson to ensure that I conducted my work with community Elders in a respectful manner.

Jo-Ann Archibald's, *Indigenous Storywork: Educating the Heart, Mind, Body and Spirit* informs my approach. She worked with Coast Salish and Stó:lō Elders to learn about the core of Indigenous stories and storytelling. She learned about the principles, practices, and ethical uses of stories, particularly in an educational context, integrating the foundational 4 R's – respect, relevance, reciprocity, and responsibility – of Indigenous post-secondary education as proposed by Verna J. Kirkness and Ray Barnhardt. In this, Archibald creates a framework for what she terms, *storywork*, to guide educators, academics, and researchers looking to respectively engage with Indigenous Elders and their stories.[47]

Archibald provides ethical guidelines for the use of stories and story-ownership that are essential to the research conducted for this project. According to her, it is important that researchers obtain permission to enter a cultural territory.[48] Although I am an insider to the Six Nations community, I needed to obtain its permission to conduct research with community Elders. So, in addition to receiving ethics clearance from McMaster Research Ethics Board, I sought and received clearance from Six Nations Council Research Ethics Committee. Archibald also points out the importance of respecting cultural protocol.[49] This includes adhering to proper protocol when contacting community members and properly consulting them on matters that affect them. As a former student of the elementary school system and former employee of Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada (AANDC), I already knew many of the teachers and administrators in the community, so speaking to community Elders about education was sometimes an informal process. When I did not know an Elder, I introduced myself to the best of my knowledge according to custom. To build a trusting relationship, I spoke about my relations and connection to Six Nations and hoped to be accepted as someone looking to do research that would benefit the community.

As I established a trusting relationship with each Elder, I spoke to them informally about their experiences as administrators. The project took shape through that consultation.[50] Archibald stresses the importance of responsibly handling and verifying information.[51] This meant my going over interview transcripts with the Elders to ensure their accurate representation. I gave them the opportunity to add, change, correct, or remove any stories or facts as they saw fit. Our semi-structured interviews ranged from sixty to ninety minutes.[52] I transcribed the recordings and conducted follow-up interviews to give them time to read what they had said to ensure they were represented accurately.[53] In the follow-up, I spent time to ask specific questions about their definitions, perceptions, and practices of administrative control.[54] I also gave them a summary of the ways in which their stories were used in my final project. And finally, I followed Archibald's suggestion about the importance of moving beyond intellectual property rights towards reciprocity.[55] For Indigenous peoples, gift-giving has always been an important part of

building and maintaining relationships. To respect this custom, I shared a personal gift with each Elder to honour their knowledge, stories, and contributions to the project.

So, although I am the author of this project the knowledge presented here belongs to the Elders who kindly shared it with me. It also belongs to all the relations that have contributed to the lived experiences of these Elders. As an extension of these relations, the community at large is where these stories belong. My understanding and treatment of this knowledge is informed by Opaskwayak Cree scholar, Shawn Wilson. In his, *Research is Ceremony: Indigenous Research Methods*, Wilson presents an Indigenous research paradigm based on the two principles of relationally and relational accountability. In essence, all things are in relation to one another, even knowledge. That means that knowledge, and the relationships that lead to the creation, preservation, transmission, and sharing of knowledge needs to be respected. In presenting the knowledge that the Elders shared with me, I have a responsibility to ensure that their stories are well respected and well represented. In this way, I am accountable to them, all their relations, and the whole community. Beyond that, I hope that their stories and the way that I present them here will add to the collective memory of the people in Six Nations.[56]

Root Four: Self-in-Relation - Negotiating my Place in this History

My research into administrative control of Indigenous education began long before I entered the MA program in history at McMaster University; it is a culmination of my lived experiences as a teacher in my home community of Six Nations, my graduate studies in both administration and leadership in education, and Indigenous history and sovereignty. I want to use this space to explain how this project evolved over time. This way, I will be able to provide much needed context for the way that I interpreted and shared the Elders' stories.

I think that the best way to start would be with my identity statement, so I can establish my Self-in-Relation to the community, Elders, and the project in general. According to Fyre Jean Graveline, Self-in-Relation is part of a tribal worldview and is important to Indigenous identity formation. It is a way for a person to know him- or herself, his or her family line, nation, and responsibilities to all relations.[57] It is a way for me to show my connection and relationship to the community. It also builds in accountability for the way that I share the Elders' stories. I want to do good work on their behalf. Ivan told me to do good work. Hopefully, this helps ensure that I do. But, enough about the process. Let us get to the identity statement.

Education is part of my family history. My mother continues to work as an educational assistant at my former elementary school, Emily C. General, in Six Nations. Looking back, I thought it was nice when she came down the hall to bring me sandwiches for lunch, even though I did get heckled for it in grade eight. My father grew up in the community and owns a successful construction business there. He went to the Ontario College of Art and Design in Toronto, which was no small feat at the time for a young Mohawk man. My grandfather, Ed Staats, who is a participant in this project is well-respected in the community as a long-time teacher and administrator. His career spanned over thirty years from the 1960s to 1990s. As for me, I think it was around grade ten when I realized I wanted to be an elementary school teacher. I knew I wanted to come back to teach future generations in my community. I figured education was the best way to have a positive impact on the people around me.

I moved to Hamilton, Ontario to complete my undergraduate and Bachelor of Education degrees and returned to Six Nations to begin teaching in 2012. I look back fondly on my time working as a primary teacher at Jamieson Elementary in the village of Ohsweken. I worked with an amazing educational assistant, Mel Burning, who helped me through my first two years of teaching. Wanda Davis, who moved into administration at Oliver M. Smith-Kawenni:io Elementary, was an excellent mentor for me. The kids were absolutely great as well. I loved seeing them grow as learners and as compassionate little people. They are all in high school now. I cannot believe it was that long ago.

Working with educators and children from my community was a great experience for me; it was what I had set out to do from my time as a high school student at Hagersville Secondary School, but working as an employee for Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada (AANDC) changed the way I viewed the education system. There were certain policies and practices that I thought could be improved, mainly hiring and remuneration. It was common for community educators to experience difficulty navigating the Department's hiring processes, and the Public Service Pay System, Phoenix, was a constant issue. I know teachers who went months without getting paid for their work. I was one of them. I thought: "There has to be a better way to do things around here, so that: people get rewarded with job stability for committing their time and effort to children in the community, and so they get paid for their work." I did not want what happened to me, and other educators to happen to community members looking to move into education. I needed to know about administration of the education system to change things. I needed to know about *Indian Control of Indian Education*.

In 2016, I returned to Brock University where I had done my BEd to study administration and leadership in education at the master's level. I met a lot of great people from different professional backgrounds. Some of my colleagues were fresh out of teachers' college. Others were administrators at the university, police officers, or in health-related fields. There were excellent professors too. Dr. Coral Mitchell did an amazing job at preparing a lot of us for our first class in graduate studies. Dr. Denise Armstrong had the greatest impact on a lot of us as educators and as people. My cohort of colleagues often referred to them as the fairy godmothers of the program.

During my time at Jamieson Elementary I heard many conversations about the community taking over control of the education system from the Department, so I researched building an effective band-controlled school during my graduate studies at Brock. I figured that by doing so I would be prepared to help the community build and operate the new system if, and when that moment came. This is where I first learned about the Blue Quills Residential School sit-in and the NIB and its publication of *Indian Control of Indian Education*. I also learned about the recurrent issues that faced First Nations communities that assumed local control. These issues mainly concerned decision-making authority (political control) and financial requirements for programs and services (financial control). I applied what I had learned by designing an educational framework based on the Haudenosaunee Great Law and Tree of Peace to proffer a solution for my community, an idea that I adapted and drew from in the introduction in this work. Looking back, it was a good and mindful start for my first foray into local control of education. I still had a long way to go.

Armed with my MEd degree in educational administration and leadership, I intended to return to Six Nations to begin my path into administration, but other opportunities presented

themselves. I was fortunate to land a position as a sessional instructor teaching Indigenous history for the Tecumseh Centre for Aboriginal Research and Education in the Faculty of Education at Brock University. I thought that my first-year teaching grade two had been a trial by fire, but this was something else entirely. I have never read so much, so fast, and in such a short period of time in my life. It was difficult at first, but I benefited so much from the experience. Teaching Indigenous history changed me in many ways. I felt like a veil had been lifted exposing me to so much of a history that I did not know. That new knowledge changed who I was as a First Nations person. I also discovered my passion for teaching young adults. I could not return to elementary school teaching after such an enlightening and rewarding experience teaching at the post-secondary level. All the while, however, I felt myself slowly drifting away from my community and the positive influence I wanted to have in it. I needed to find a different way to fulfill my responsibilities to the community and to my relations.

I knew in my heart that I wanted to work as a university professor after completing my first year as a sessional instructor in 2018, but I felt that I needed to complete original research to prepare me well for a PhD program. I had originally thought that by completing a one year, course-based MEd that I would be able to return to work as quickly as possible, but my path had changed. I returned to graduate school for a second master's degree in the history department at McMaster. I wanted to develop the research skills I would need later in my doctoral studies, but I also wanted to research something that would benefit my community. I knew I wanted to do something with *ICIE* and administrative practice in Six Nations. I also knew that I wanted to use Indigenous research methodologies to ensure I completed the research the right way – an Indigenous way.

At McMaster, my research ideas evolved as I gained new knowledge about educational history in my Indigenous history courses. The Blue Quills Residential School sit-in had always fascinated me. I found it so inspiring that Saddle Lake community members used direct-action to gain local control of their school. I wanted to see how local developments at Blue Quills connected with larger provincial and national developments in education through the Indian Association of Alberta (IAA), and the National Indian Brotherhood. I wanted to see if there were connections in leadership at all levels of organization – local, provincial, and national. As I uncovered the relationship between local, provincial, and national Indigenous leadership, I started to ask similar questions regarding education in Six Nations. How did the Six Nations education system develop post-*ICIE*? Did *ICIE* principles of parental responsibility and local control change education in Six Nations? Did Six Nations try to recover control? Why are the schools still federally operated? What did this mean for local principals, their administrative practice, and changes over time? These were the questions I had as I moved into the consultation process with Elders from the community.

I wanted to ensure that I worked in consultation with community members according to Indigenous research protocols. I understood the many criticisms that First Nations have of academics who enter their communities, extract knowledge, and (re)present it out of context or without people's permission. I think about the ways in which Vine Deloria Jr, Harold Cardinal, and Audra Simpson, the last of which I rely on for my understanding of Haudenosaunee sovereignty, criticized anthropologists for such practices. I wanted to focus on the school administrators of Six Nations and what mattered most to them. They told me stories about their careers, and I

shaped the project around them. Some, like Ed Staats and Ivan Thomas, were administrators mostly during the one- and two-room numbered school era. Others, like HAWKEYE and S2, worked elsewhere before returning to Six Nations. WB started as a language teacher, and 6Ned had extensive knowledge about local control of education. By listening to their stories, I also realized that administrative practice evolved over time, so I needed to include some element of change in the project.

As I completed the consultation process and first round of interviews with administrators, I started wondering where the project fit into larger discourses of Indigenous history or contemporary issues. Again, I wanted the project to be useful to my community, but I felt the Elders' stories could be extended to a broader audience. What I was really asking was: How am I going to share these stories so that they are not shelved as another criticism of local control? How is administrative control in Six Nations an example of – or connected in a universal way to – Indigenous history or contemporary issues? This is where examinations of Indigenous articulations and expressions of sovereignty in my history of Indigenous manifestos course taught by Dr. Allan Downey helped shape the project into its present form.

The main lesson that I took away from that course and from Dr. Downey's mentorship is that there is not one archetypical form of sovereignty for Indigenous peoples; they make sense of and express their sovereignty in a myriad of different ways. This is where I was first exposed to Audra Simpson's concept of nested sovereignty. I liked the idea of Mohawk ironworkers from Kahnawake being inherently sovereign before, especially during, and after crossing the international boundary between Canada and the United States. I thought there was something there in applying it to the work of Haudenosaunee administrators in Six Nations. Although the teachers and school administrators of Six Nations worked for the Department, they never stopped being Haudenosaunee, so their administrative practice was inherently an act of sovereignty just by their being. Nested sovereignty helped to reframe principals' practice and administrative control.

In that course I also examined Glen Sean Coulthard's concept of self-recognition. I liked the idea of Indigenous peoples seeking recognition of their sovereignty from themselves as opposed to the settler state. Self-recognition helped make sense of what administrators were saying about having control over their administrative practice, which appeared to contradict what was being written in the literature on First Nations control of education. I knew there was something there in focusing on the Elders' stories and lived experiences and defining administrative control according to their perceptions, definitions, and practices. If administrators felt that they had a lot of control over their practice, then what did control really mean to them? How did they define it and were they able to practice according to that definition? Who did they feel they were most accountable or responsible to, and did that matter in defining administrative control? These were the questions I asked as I thought about recognizing community definitions and practices of administrative control.

Over the course of my research, I had plenty of conversations with my supervisor Dr. Nancy Bouchier. It seems so long ago when I first approached her with my idea about looking at administrative practice in Six Nations. I remember seeing her for the first time since completing my undergraduate degree in 2010. She was just as kind and welcoming as I remembered her. We enjoyed our regular meetings over chai tea lattes in Westdale which then evolved into weekly Zoom calls during the pandemic due to the coronavirus. One of our conversations in particular

really helped bring the project together. It was when we were talking about Linda Smith's idea of reframing in Indigenous research. It is a process of reframing different theories to solve problems in a way that is meaningful to Indigenous peoples. At that stage in the research, I really had a problem. How was I going to make sense of the contradictions between what principals were saying about administrative control in my community and the larger discourse on administrative control that represented it as maintaining the Department's *status quo*? Yes, reframing nested sovereignty and self-recognition were part of the solution, but it was a question Dr. Bouchier asked in one of our weekly Zoom calls that I think helped to bring everything together. This is not verbatim, but she asked something along the lines of: How were principals, through their everyday practice, reframing administrative control as self-determination even as it was becoming increasingly associated with maintaining the *status* quo in larger discourses on jurisdiction over Indigenous education? This was a key question for me, because it helped bring together the principals' stories and theories of sovereignty in an organic way rather than having me apply them after the fact. Presented this way I could see that principals at Six Nations might live nested sovereignty and self-recognition in their everyday practice even if they did not see it that way at the time.

As I moved into the final stages of preparing for my thesis defence, I realized that I had to acknowledge the contemporary context in which I presented this history – mainly against the backdrop of the federal Indian day school settlement, and the discovery of unmarked graves of Indigenous children at residential schools in British Columbia and Saskatchewan. I do not want to silence these violent histories. Administrators used corporal punishment in Indian day schools that have had lasting effects on former students. As I focused on principals and their administrative practice in this history, the student experience is not presented here. It is, however, an important history that needs to be examined in collaboration with Indigenous communities if they so choose.

So, this is the journey I took to arrive at this representation of administrative control in my community. It is important that you, the reader, understand where I came from and how I arrived here. I cannot be separated from the community or the work presented here. I am part of it. Someone with different experiences within the Six Nations community or inside the academy may have a different understanding of administrative control and represent it in another way. That is to be expected because of the differences in our lived experiences. This is my understanding of it, and it is based, first and foremost, in the Elders' stories, reframing, nested sovereignty and self-recognition.

Outline of Thesis

These Four Roots – the historiography on Indigenous education, definitions of control, Indigenous research methodologies, and my place in this history – along with my use of backward design, provide the general structure for how I share the Elders' stories and the history of education in Six Nations. Administrative control is a complex process that has emerged over time through the lived experiences of school principals, so there are some difficulties in presenting the history in a strict chronological sense. Ultimately, I am sharing a story, so I must take on a storyteller's role. Some themes are more evident at certain points of this story, while others are

shared across all parts. Some overlap and intersect, while others diverge. It is important to remember the Tree of Peace imagery as this storytelling process unfolds.

In Chapter Two, "Ed and Ivan: Administration of the Numbered School System and the Essential Role of Centralized Leadership," I examine administrative control primarily from 1960 to 1984. This includes a description of the developing school system in Six Nations alongside broader national developments in Indigenous education. I rely on the stories of Ed Staats and Ivan Thomas to explain what it was like to be administrators during the one- and two-room numbered school era. It was clear in the interviews with Ed and Ivan, as well as with the other administrators, that the Director or Superintendent of schools played a crucial role in exercising administrative control over the system, so the centralized leadership of Dr. J.C. Hill, Harvey Longboat, and Ed Caffin will be discussed in this section. The point of this chapter is that administrative control is contingent upon the leadership of a principal's immediate supervisor.

I examine administrative control between 1985 to 1994 in Chapter Three, "Administration of the Numbered School System and Community Engagement as Control." In it, I focus upon my discussions about the deteriorating conditions of the numbered schools with Ed and Ivan, and share their stories about the community boycott that happened in 1989. Stories from the other Elders are present too. 6Ned, for example, shares her experience working on the Community Education Project beginning in 1988. HAWKEYE and S2 share their stories about the uncertainty in the education system as the transition to local control fell through in 1994. Departmental neglect of school conditions and the resulting community boycott led to instability in the education system, but it is important to understand that where local principals faced restrictions from the Department of Indian Affairs – mainly termination – parents, teachers, administrators, and local leadership joined in solidarity to pressure DIAND to deliver the schools their children deserved. This is why I argue in this Chapter that administrative control is also contingent upon the degree of community engagement.

In Chapter Four, "Administration in the Consolidated School Era: HAWKEYE, S2 and WB - Inherent Acts of Self-determination," I examine administrative control primarily between 1995 to 2005, although Elders interviewed for this project continued to work as principals after that date. During this time, newer and larger consolidated schools were constructed leading to changes in the ways in which principals administered their schools. Ed and Ivan moved into retirement and long-time administrative positions that were previously held by men were now held by women. The Department eliminated the Superintendent position after the boycott and moved centralized leadership of the education system to the regional offices in Toronto. This left local principals to develop a contemporary education system, more or less in its infancy, without the centralized leadership needed to make it happen. Without a comprehensive Departmental education system, HAWKEYE, S2, and WB pursued local initiatives to exercise administrative control over their schools.

In the concluding Chapter, "Definitions, Perceptions and Practices - Nested Sovereignty, Self-Recognition and Reframing Administrative Control as Inherent Acts of Self-determination," I critically examine the Elders' definitions, perceptions, and practices of administrative control. All the Elders had different definitions of administrative control, but each determined that they had a high degree of it over their careers despite political and financial limitations from the Department. I use nested sovereignty and self-recognition to make sense of these differences. Final-

ly, I return to the Elders' stories for future implications for administrative practice in Six Nations and to provide an opportunity for the Elders to share what matters most to them.

Chapter 2: Ed and Ivan - Administration of the Numbered School System and the Essential Role of Centralized Leadership

> Indian Affairs knew that they could not control Dr. Hill and Mr. Longboat like maybe they could other principals or whomever at other reserves, because they couldn't – they didn't. Our district superintendents stood up to them and Indian Affairs would back down.[58]
>
> – Ed Staats on the relationship between the Department and community leadership in the 1970s and 1980s.

> I said, 'I'm not in favour of that' (laughter). Well, he says, 'That's part of your job.' And I said, 'Well, okay we'll put it up. See what happens.' Heck, the first night – the first night – somebody took it down, like the local neighbourhood.[59]
>
> – Ivan Thomas on Dr. Hill telling him to hang the Canadian flag at No. 11 School and the community's response in the 1960s.

I chose these words from Ed Staats and Ivan Thomas because together they provide an indication of what it was like to be a school administrator in Six Nations during the 1970s and 80s, revealing the complexity of their positions and the important role that centralized leadership played in restricting or supporting administrative control. As Ed shared his stories with me, it became clear that the Superintendent of Six Nations schools, Dr. Joseph C. Hill, provided direction to him and other principals. Dr. Hill mentored him and, according to his definition of control, made him feel like he had a high degree of it. As a traditionalist and follower of the Confederacy Council of Chiefs, Ivan, while respecting Dr. Hill's leadership in the numbered school era, shared stories that reveal the tensions that he felt working for the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development Canada (DIAND). In this instance, Ivan objected to raising the Canadian flag at his school, because he did not recognize the sovereignty of that nation state, but he conceded to Dr. Hill's direction as his superior, and in turn, to the Departmental restrictions on his administrative practice. This reveals how administrative control is of course not without its limitations; principals went through a process of negotiating it when faced with circumstances like the ones Ivan experienced. It also indicates the important role that the community plays in supporting administrative control. That is something I examine in more detail in Chapter Three.

Keeping backward design in mind, it is important to clearly state where Ed and Ivan's stories, and my examination of the education system in the 1960s through 80s is headed. I found that in Six Nations, Ed and Ivan did not maintain DIAND's *status quo* as outlined in its 1975 *E-Circular* series that provided a limited vision of First Nations political and financial control over education. They worked, in their own ways, to exercise administrative control over their respective schools. Ed and Ivan, along with other school administrators engaged in system-wide planning through the community's teachers' and principals' organizations. This was contingent on the Department's general lack of oversight or intrusion into the daily administration of the numbered

schools. District superintendents like J.C. Hill, Ed Caffin, and Harvey Longboat all played an essential role in the power dynamic between DIAND and local administrators, because they could either act as an insulator to – or messenger of – the Department when it came to ignoring or implementing direction from above. I examine First Nations education policy and reports during this time in combination with Ed and Ivan's stories about the system in Six Nations, and I conclude that the district superintendent in the centralized leadership position can restrict and support local principals as they practice in their schools and reframe administrative control as being inherently self-determining.

Now that we have the end goal in mind, and in keeping with my backward design, I need to outline the Content, Instructional Methods, and Assessment Tools that I use along the way to come to this conclusion. I use the work of Susan Hill, Abate Wori Abate, local historians, and of course Ed and Ivan's lived experiences to describe the development of the Six Nations education system after the 1951 revisions to the *Indian Act*. Regarding Content, I examine the policies and reports on First Nations education throughout the 1960s and early 1980s, in the context of the secondary literature on local control to illustrate how and why administrative control became associated with maintaining the Department's *status quo*. Listening to the stories of Ed and Ivan's lived experiences – the Instructional Method – shows that administrative practice was something quite different in Six Nations. And finally, my Assessment draws upon ideas of 'nested sovereignty' and 'self-recognition' to conclude that Ed and Ivan's administrative practice as it was supported by Dr. Hill's (and subsequent Superintendents like Ed Caffin and Harvey Longboat) centralized leadership disrupted the Department's *status quo* of First Nations communities simply managing federal programs and services.

The Early History of Six Nations Day Schools

The sovereignty-affirming practices of teacher-administrators Ed Staats and Ivan Thomas happened as part of a long history of contestation over education in Six Nations. Its former one- and two-room schoolhouses date back to before the consolidation of the Reserve into its present boundaries in 1847. Initially, the British Crown granted six miles on either side of the Grand River from its mouth to its source to the Haudenosaunee for their assistance as allies in the American Revolutionary War. Between 1783 and 1849, the Haudenosaunee and their allies established twenty-six different settlements along the river between Brantford and Dunnville near Lake Erie.[60] Abate indicates that as early as 1785 the community had a new school capable of housing sixty students built near present-day Brantford, but it closed due to the onset of the War of 1812.[61] By 1819, another short-lived school existed in present-day Tuscarora Township to house roughly thirty students, but it closed after 1825 due to poor attendance.[62] Despite these closures, Julia Jamieson notes that education in Six Nations continued; by 1836, the New England Company (NEC) received three land grants to establish day schools in Oneida, Onondaga, and Delaware Townships.[63] In 1830, the Confederacy Council of Chiefs also established its own school – the Thomas School – and maintained complete control over its operation.[64] The community continued to develop and by 1900 it had twelve day schools serving the community's families and children with each school tersely named by number (e.g., No. 1 School, etc.). A residential school, the Mohawk Institute, also stood in nearby Brantford.[65]

By 1877, the NEC built and continued to reluctantly manage nine of the community's numbered day schools. It looked to pressure the Confederacy Council into sharing the financial burden of their operation and threatened to withdraw its financial support, but the Council maintained that the NEC had an obligation to the community in exchange for lands surrendered or leased.[66] Bolstered by its own operation of the Thomas School, the Council proposed that it assume control of two of the Company's schools, as well as a third one operated by the Wesleyan Methodists, but the Canadian Sub-Committee of the NEC rejected the motion, calling the Confederacy Council "inexperienced," despite its having controlled the Thomas School for nearly half a century. This decision wreaked of paternalism, but the compromise – the creation of a local school board – ensured that the Council's three representatives equaled the number of those from the NEC, albeit the Company kept the overall management of the Board. The following year, the Council equaled the NEC's $1500 contribution towards school maintenance.[67] The NEC eventually withdrew its contributions in 1897, and no longer had any involvement in Six Nations after 1899.[68] The Wesleyan Methodists also left, rendering the Council responsible for financing all school maintenance. The Confederacy Council lobbied the Department to reorganize the School Board to better reflect its growing responsibility in the system. In 1901, it reluctantly accepted a new structure wherein it retained three representatives, while the Department maintained four.[69]

Although this move meant that the Confederacy Council committed to financing an emergent education system that was ultimately the responsibility of the NEC and DIAND, it was now in a position to advocate for greater control over the curriculum being taught in its schools. Abate notes that since the 1880s the Department prescribed a curriculum that did not extend beyond basic reading, writing, math, and drawing.[70] Local Indian agents believed that ordinary farm work and house work should be taught because "Indians were unable to absorb more knowledge."[71] This led Jamieson to conclude that: "The development and growth of Indian education has been stunted by the attitude or opinion of the government officials that Indians are suppose to remain in a primitive state."[72] Six Nations representatives on the School Board believed in the educational promise of the community's children, so they petitioned the Department in 1906 to adopt the Ontario curriculum.[73] Their effort succeeded, as noted by Jamieson who recalled the eventual transformation of the curriculum between 1908 and 1918.[74] Community School Board representatives proved themselves capable of exercising local control over the provincial curriculum. They also showed that Haudenosaunee children were just as – or perhaps even more – capable of learning as other children in the province.

From the 1880s to the early 1920s, the community improved its control over all areas of education while operating under the overall management of the NEC and then the Department.[75] As the NEC looked to absolve itself of its obligations to the community, Six Nations increased its political and financial control of education there through its local School Board. This led to increased administrative control as community members advocated for further curricular and personnel control. The end result – the Department adopting the Ontario curriculum and requiring teachers to be certified – led Abate to conclude that by 1924, "the Confederacy Chiefs had achieved most of what they sought – adoption of the Ontario programme of studies, inspection of the schools by the County Inspector, and acquisition of better qualified teachers."[76] He did note, however, that the community failed to remove Departmental representatives from their School

Board. Of this situation Alison Norman comments that, "local control over schooling was likely more important to the community than the fact that the Department was involved."[77] Clearly increased local control over the system was not without its limitations and complexities.

Significant changes in the community's leadership offset the earlier gains in curricular and personnel control. In 1924, the federal government and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) ousted the Confederacy Council and replaced it with the elected band council system.[78] The change in leadership had negative consequences for the School Board. It continued operations until it formally dissolved in 1933, when the Department assumed full administration and management over the day schools in Six Nations.[79] Since then, Ivan Thomas observed that the community has never recovered control over education in the same way that it had when the school board operated before 1924.[80] This continues to divide the community along traditional and elective council lines and consequently affects any proposals related to jurisdiction over the local school system.

Post-war, pre-*ICIE* Teaching and Administration of the Numbered Schools

Despite the dissolution of the School Board, local leadership in Six Nations looked to improve the education system after the Second World War. In 1946, local educator, Dr. Joseph C. Hill, became supervising principal of all Six Nations schools; he looked to increase curricular and personnel control by developing Haudenosaunee curriculum and hiring teachers from the community. It is in this post-war, pre-*Indian Control of Indian Education* (*ICIE*) era that Ed and Ivan started their careers as teachers and moved into school administration. As the critical point of intersection between the Department and the community, centralized leadership played an important role in local principals exercising administrative control over their schools.

Changes in leadership coincided with physical improvements to the schools in order to address the growing student population. By the early 1950s, many of Six Nation's numbered schools constructed in the early 1900s needed repairs and upgrades for them to become safe and healthy places for children. The Department had old buildings renovated to extend their lifespan; Schools No. 5, 7, and 8, for example, benefitted from new brick exteriors and indoor plumbing, replacing old wood stoves with oil ones and providing indoor toilets.[81] The day schools needed to accommodate an increasingly growing number of students which had risen from an 18% daily attendance rate in 1903 (188 students out of 470) to 66% (387 out of 586) by 1915.[82] In contrast, the Mohawk Institute in nearby Brantford accommodated 185 students in 1955, with most of its students coming from northern communities that did not have day schools. By the time that the Institute closed in 1970, only twenty-five students from Six Nations attended it.[83] By the fall of 1951, the schools were severely overcrowded causing Dr. Hill to make arrangements to bus grade seven and eight students from across the reserve to the Dining Hall in Ohsweken.[84] It was a temporary measure as the Department completed construction on a new central school that housed four classrooms in 1953. The building of its replacement, now known as J.C. Hill Elementary School, began in 1963. It had six classrooms and a gymnasium. In 1970, an addition of four more classrooms was added, including a library, education office, staff rooms and washrooms. By 1976 its facilities included rooms for home economics and design and technology reflecting its breadth of curricular offerings.[85]

As supervising principal, Hill believed that Haudenosaunee children learned best from community members, so he actively recruited promising local people to become teachers.[86] Understanding the unique socio-cultural needs of local children, Haudenosaunee teachers in Six Nations had similar experiences that helped them to relate more easily to their students. Indeed, issues of economic necessity, which many in the community felt, contributed greatly to Ivan's decision to enter the teaching profession. He recalled, "I didn't have a job at the time," when Hill encouraged him to go into teaching around 1955. "I didn't really know what I was going to do after grade twelve. And, then he appeared at the door."[87] Ivan understood that many parents faced economic difficulties trying to provide for themselves and their children.[88] Ed said that Dr. Hill recruited him, too, following his progress through his days in elementary and secondary school, sharing that Hill felt that he would be "excellent to work in the education process" at Six Nations.[89] Ed felt that his own athletic background and coaching ability might help Haudenosaunee children looking for opportunities outside of their community. Over the course of his career, Ed took students to hockey, softball, and cross-country tournaments. He recalled that, "Our teams always did very well… You see we never had opportunities like this when we were in school here."[90] To Ed, sport might provide students with opportunities that the reserve potentially could not.[91]

As the fourth-born of eight children, Ivan thought that teaching his younger siblings was a "good thing," so with Dr. Hill's encouragement, he started training to become a teacher. He figured he could turn his enjoyment for teaching them into a "good thing" for other children in the community. He completed the program at Hamilton Teachers' College at McMaster University's campus in the late 1950s, but it was not the easiest experience. "Well, it was a hard time," he said. "I'm telling you that first winter attending the Teachers' College… I did not have a vehicle. I lost my vehicle, because I could not make the payments." He continued, "I had to bum rides from friends and relatives… Yeah, that was quite an experience. To get home I'd get rides with someone – some non-Natives – to Caledonia, and then I had to look for rides from Caledonia back home… Yeah, that wasn't easy. But, hey, I roughed it out anyway."[92]

Ivan's determination to 'rough it out' clearly shows his conviction to complete his teacher training. He was in a difficult situation. Without a vehicle, he could easily have given up and quit the program. Getting from Six Nations to Hamilton and back was not an easy task. However, he knew that he enjoyed teaching from his experiences with his siblings. He also thought that his becoming a teacher could be a good thing for other children in the community. Admittedly, he faced limited job prospects, because he was unsure of what he was going to do after high school. For him unemployment was not an option, because he needed to help his mom take care of the family. Driven by the complexity of all these factors, Ivan stood firm and "roughed it out," completing the program that was so essential to his career teaching children in the community.

As is the case with most teachers, Ivan and Ed both had some striking stories to share from the beginning of their careers in the early 1960s that reveal their experiences dealing with the many challenges that they faced. Ivan taught at several of the schools, including Nos. 9, 10, 1, 2, old Central, and the old army barracks where he and my grandfather hunted rats after the students had gone home at the end of the day.[93] Despite some of the improvements made to the numbered schools in the early 1950s, they remained a safety hazard for the students. Regarding the old army barracks, "The building was poorly constructed," Ivan recalled. "It had a big door at

one end. It would always swing open. I remember one time a girl had a hold of that door, it swung open and slammed her against the wall. We had to take her to the hospital."[94] When he told me this story, I could only imagine the reactions of everyone involved: student, parents, and Ivan himself. His story reminds me of something that happened in my own class in my first-year teaching grade two. When I was not looking - and to my own mortification – one of my students decided to cut another student's long, beautiful hair into bangs. Really short bangs. The series of embarrassing parent phone calls that ensued made me consider early retirement, but the parents on both sides were very understanding and cooperative. I have always wondered whether those parents cut me some slack because I was community member. Perhaps. Himself also a community member, Ed had landed his first major teaching assignment at No. 9 School out of somewhat extraordinary circumstances.[95] He did not go through a rigorous hiring process. He did not have to complete a difficult interview. Apparently, the former teacher could no longer fulfill his teaching responsibilities very late – in April – of the 1962-3 school year: he had been literally chased off by a parent wielding a yard stick.[96] As a result, Dr. Hill asked Ed to fill in and finish the school year. Whether teaching in the 1960s or in the 2010s, it appears that nobody is immune to the old adage, 'trial by fire.'

Apart from chasing down rats together and putting various 'little fires' out here and there, as teacher-administrators Ivan and Ed were responsible for keeping their schools well-run and sufficiently heated.[97] An old pot-bellied stove heated the former army barracks, which Ivan had to tender throughout each cold winter day.[98] Similarly, at No. 9 School, Ed maintained its wood stove fire after the janitorial staff left for the day. He used this situation as an opportunity to teach some of the grade six boys a lesson in responsibility. Ed taught them how to keep it alight and well-controlled, with only two logs thrown on it at a time. He told their parents about his plan, and when one of them expressed concerns about safety, Ed expressed his trust in the boys. Even so, he often checked on the fire during recess to ensure that they did not overload the stove and burn the place down by accident. His teaching the grade six boys how to load the wood stove may not seem like much, but it was important for three reasons: it taught them about responsibility, they learned a skill transferable to home or outdoor life which aligned with traditional forms of education where children learned by seeing and doing, and it allowed Ed to focus upon managing his other classroom responsibilities.

Ivan moved to Old No. 11 School as teacher-administrator in 1963. Built in 1904, the school sat at the northeast corner of the reserve near the intersection of Sixth Line and Cayuga Roads. As Ivan pointed out, Old No. 11 stood on traditional grounds so-to-speak, because of the concentration of Longhouse-attending families in the area whose children went to the school. This two-room schoolhouse had several large, skinny windows on either side of the classrooms. Like School No. 9, it had a large gable roof adorned with a school bell over its main entrance. The school was known as Old No. 11, because a more modern, two classroom, brick building known as No. 11 School was built around 1957 on the same property.[99] As teacher-administrator of both buildings, Ivan spent his career helping children of the traditional families in the area.[100]

Ivan split his responsibilities between teaching grade six and exercising administrative control over his school as its part-time administrator. In the first few years, the Department restricted his administrative practice by not providing him any release time from teaching. After that, the Department granted him one half-day per week to tend to his administrative duties. Yet

Ivan made the situation work. He performed classroom visitations to check in on the students and see how the teachers were doing. He ordered any supplies that were needed. He also spent this time addressing any problematic student behaviours and did what he could to manage bullying. He found that by spending time with the students at recess playing sports like lacrosse, football, or baseball, he could build closer relationships with them and avoid behavioural issues before they could be acted out.[101]

Ed also experienced success both in and outside the classroom. In his second-year teaching at No. 9 School, he found that the parents really started to welcome him into the school community. He taught thirty students between grades one through six at the old school built sometime between 1878 and 1903 at the corner of Cayuga and Second Line Roads.[102] Ed recalled that the parents would often come in and ask about ways in which they could help him along in his teaching duties. He said, "Sometimes, two or three would come. And so, I could give them maybe the grade ones to hear them read, or the grade threes to check their math or something like that, while I would be working with maybe the four, fives, and sixes."[103] Eventually, one of the student's grandmothers started coming into the school every Friday to bring Ed a full dinner complete with dessert and all.[104] He felt that being at the school was an excellent setting for him. The community's support was very important to him and his development as an educator.

Ed taught in New Credit the following year and then moved into a teacher-administrator position in 1966 at No. 3 School, where he relied on Dr. Hill and the School Principals' Association for support.[105] Hill, now in his new position as Superintendent of Six Nations Schools, led the Association. He ensured that new administrators like Ed practised in a way that aligned with his vision for the education system. Ed recalled that early on, Dr. Hill visited him regularly to check his day book and teach lessons for him to help him develop new teaching strategies to meet the needs of the community's children.[106] He said that Dr. Hill also provided direction to other principals to help them "come out of the direction they were going" and "come back into line" with the other principals and his leadership.[107] That being said, Ed felt that the principals shared a sense of collaboration. "There were a couple older principals there," he recalled, "and they were always willing to help us as much as they could."[108] Collaboration at these meetings ensured that the education system had some sense of cohesion despite the numbered schools catering to between thirty and fifty children in a relatively small area within the community at large. Open communication at these principals' meetings helped the system's development in the consolidated school era as well, making a positive impact that lasts into contemporary times.[109]

From the NIB's *Indian Control of Indian Education* to the AFN's *Tradition and Education: Towards a Vision of our Future*: Changing Definitions of Control

In Chapter One, I briefly touched on the evolving definition of *Indian Control of Indian Education* in the 1970s as the National Indian Brotherhood (NIB) and DIAND held contested visions for local control. The NIB provided some detail about the responsibilities of a proposed education authority, but its principles of parental responsibility and local control did not define what 'control' meant in an operational sense. Indeed, former director of education for the NIB, Verna J. Kirkness declared, "[what] haunts me to this day is that we did not draft legislation for

the policy."[110] On the other hand, the Department, as evidenced by its *E-Circular* series, defined control as a delegation of managerial and administrative duties over federal education programs and services. The dispute over local control – and its definition – continued into the 1980s as administration in Six Nations developed both alongside and separate from *ICIE*.

As Margaret Ward has shown, one of the fundamental barriers to transferring local control over education to First Nations communities lay in the hierarchical language of the *Indian Act*. The Minister retained political authority to enter into transfer agreements with federal/provincial jurisdictions and church denominations, but not directly with First Nations communities. Through a Joint Committee with the federal government, the NIB proposed changes to the *Act* in 1977 and 1978 to allow the Minister to deal directly with First Nations. However, the NIB ended its talks with the Cabinet Committee in April 1978, because the government failed to act on any of its recommendations. "The meetings had degenerated into time wasting gab sessions," according to NIB president Noel Starblanket.[111]

Faced with growing dissatisfaction from First Nations communities over its handling of the transition to local control, the federal government looked to take stock of its education system into the early 1980s. The Department recognized deficiencies in its educational policy in its 1982 report, *Indian Education Paper: Phase 1.* It spotlighted four areas of concern: educational quality, local control, management, and funding. In terms of quality, it concluded that both federally operated and band-controlled schools had many problems. They lacked support for curriculum standards. School buildings were poorly constructed and maintained. Staff suffered from difficult working conditions with little to no centralized or Departmental supervision. They also lacked student support services like special education programs, school counsellors, and ancillary services including student lunches and snack programs.[112]

Other problems also plagued the system. In terms of local control, the report stated that, "The failure to establish the necessary operating framework and to provide adequate resources has impeded the development of the Department's policy of local control… If local control is to be implemented successfully the Department will have to develop a systematic approach to transferring programs in a way which will be seen to support the departmental objective of local control."[113] In other words, moving to transfer management of programs and services to Nations without the necessary operational framework in place to make the transition successful stood as a huge problem. The report came to a similar conclusion regarding problems with its educational management framework: "At no time has the Federal government developed the institutional framework to enable it to deliver comprehensive educational services to Indians."[114]

Many of the essential elements of a comprehensive education system just did not exist. The Department's education branch lacked a centralized curriculum and many other things, for example, systematic student evaluation, administrative services, professional and policy development, project planning, and library services.[115] Deficiencies in funding compounded the situation. On almost every front the system lacked something, leading the Department to conclude, "No clearly identifiable guiding principle concerning the funding of Indian education has been discernible to this point in time."[116] Given that more than one-half of status First Nations children attended some form of public or private school by 1982, clearly the Department favoured public school integration where the responsibility for educating Indigenous children could be offloaded to the provinces through tuition payment agreements. While the public education system

benefitted from increased funds, Indigenous children on reserve received an education from the Department that was categorically skeletal at best, and arguably non-existent in an operational and managerial sense.

The federal government's report, while critical of its own work, did not satisfy Six Nations band council. In its 1983 response to *Indian Education Paper: Phase 1*, council refused to assume financial control over the system as offered by the Department through its devolution policy. As a rejection to the thinly disguised financial burden, it countered with a series of requests including: hiring three new teachers and four additional school counsellors, as well as parity in language teacher salaries. Council also requested provincial parity in library budgets, reinstatement of an adequate education budget, better school facilities and improved transportation. Clearly, the general lack of a Departmental managerial framework translated into unfulfilled educational needs in the community.[117]

Nor did the Department's report satisfy the Assembly of First Nations (AFN, formerly the NIB). Based upon its own questions regarding jurisdiction, management, control, and evaluation, the AFN conducted its own three-year study on Indigenous education which it began in 1984. It gathered research on *ICIE* policy, evaluated its impact on education, and examined jurisdiction over education. It recommended policy and legislation improvements to support the nation-to-nation relationship between First Nations and the Canadian government. In its report, *Tradition and Education: Towards a Vision of Our Future. A Declaration of First Nations' Jurisdiction over Education*, published in 1988, the AFN concluded that First Nations had little jurisdiction over educational programs; and while they participated in the management of previously developed federal educational programs, they lacked real decision-making power due to delegated authority from the Department. First Nations schools were widely underfunded because the Department prioritized its obligations to fulfill master tuition agreements with provincial education systems.[118] As a result, the AFN made a series of declarations to improve education. It argued that Indigenous peoples had an inherent right to self-government and a treaty right to education. It called for the Department to end paternalistic practices and recognize First Nations jurisdiction over education. And it declared that while management of education ultimately needed to be in the hands of First Nations peoples, the Department needed to properly resource programs and services to ensure quality education for Indigenous peoples.[119]

By dropping the ill-defined 'control' in favour of 'jurisdiction' over education in *Tradition and Education*, the AFN projected community desires for greater political and financial control over education. Reflecting on the 1978 breakdown of the NIB/Joint Committee, Kirkness imagined how differently the implementation of *ICIE* could have been had they succeeded in changing the *Indian Act* at that time.[120] This time around, the AFN demanded change; it demanded control. In defining control as local jurisdiction, the organization declared, "First Nations or their delegated education authorities have jurisdiction over education policies, management methods and approaches, curriculum standards and program quality, delivery of services, and above all, determining the actual total education resource requirements, including capital and operational requirements."[121] It, along with First Nations communities, refused the Department's 1970s vision of control. The AFN did not want stipulations or limitations. It did not want participation or management. It wanted First Nations communities to be able to direct their own education systems.

In defining and demanding jurisdiction over education, the AFN also warned First Nations against mistaking *delegated authority* with real control. To it, this meant not mistaking administrative control with political and financial control – the areas that really mattered most to self-determination. The Assembly criticized the Department for delegating very limited decision-making powers to First Nations while retaining total control over the determination and allocation of resources needed to establish, manage, and operate local First Nations schools. In its warning against *delegated authority*, the AFN stated:

> Accepting delegated authority as a substitute for local jurisdiction can be dangerous for a First Nation. Under delegated authority, a First Nation education authority must comply with federal directives or be subject to reprisals and loss of resources. Loss of resources can cause the local First Nation system to falter and fail. Inadequate and unstable federal resourcing jeopardises the stable operation of the school and weakens parental support and confidence in the First Nation education authority.[122]

This warning reflected First Nations communities' desires for self-determination in education; it was a culmination of their experiences throughout the 1970s and 1980s. The Department's vision for control morphed their experiences into maintaining its educational programs and service – the *status quo* – while retaining the political and financial authority that they so desired.

To categorize administrative control in Six Nations as delegated authority at this time would be to misrepresent Ivan and Ed's lived experiences. This is through no fault of the AFN in *Tradition and Education*, because while it spoke to the experiences of many First Nations communities, it just did not do so for Six Nations. While the NIB and AFN framed local control nationally, school principals and centralized leadership in the community reframed it quite differently. They were not mistaking it. They were adapting it, making it work within the federal system. However, the AFN's proclamation that First Nations control over education is local control has endured into contemporary times. Without adequate support from the Department, this vision has resulted in isolated communities having trouble meeting their educational needs.[123] Within the last decade many First Nations communities have shared their successes in assuming local control, but the ideology that administrative control is not real control endures.[124]

J.C. Hill, Ed Caffin, and Harvey Longboat: Insulator or Messenger? Centralized Leadership and Administrative Control

While *Indian Control of Indian Education* created a monumental shift in First Nations education policy into the 1970s and 1980s, albeit with implementation problems, it did not have the same effect in Six Nations as it did in other places – at least in the beginning. By 1972, Dr. Hill had already made progress in administrative, personnel and curricular control. The Department retained political and financial control, but without an institutional or management framework to oversee the administration of Six Nations schools, strong centralized leadership – most notably that of Dr. Hill – empowered or at least permitted local principals to run their schools as they pleased. Indeed, Ed noted that the Department rarely sent people to the community; they preferred to stay in Toronto.[125] In my conversations with Ed and Ivan, it became clear that as Superintendent, Dr. Hill played two important roles as either insulator or messenger. His successors in Ed Caffin and later Harvey Longboat did the same. Depending on the role they adopted, they

could insulate local principals from directives from Indian Affairs, or they could "deliver the message," as Ivan called it and limit their administrative control. In any case, Indian Affairs could not control Dr. Hill and Harvey, as Ed made clear, but given the Department's evaluation of its own system in 1982, did it have the power to, or did it even care?

In his early days teaching at No. 9 School, Ed felt that Dr. Hill was a great leader, mentor, and motivator. As Superintendent, Hill was responsible for evaluating teaching staff under his supervision. He visited Ed once or twice a month to assess, evaluate and provide feedback on his performance. Ed said that during his visits Dr. Hill would say, "Show me your day plans. Which one of them would you like me to teach today to give you ideas as to how to teach the students?"[126] This is something he greatly appreciated, because it allowed him to observe Dr. Hill using different instructional methods with the students. He learned that he did not always have to express things verbally to the students but could engage in conversation and questioning with them. Ed joked that sometimes other educators referred to him as Dr. Hill's pet, but he did not mind, because of the good foundation of professional practices that J.C. helped him develop.

Ivan felt that Dr. Hill was an excellent leader for the community, but sometimes Hill's directions created tensions between his own traditional beliefs and the Department's educational practices. Ivan is part of the traditional Longhouse community in Six Nations. His mother was a Faith Keeper and a Clan Mother. At one point in time, Ivan's mother considered recommending him as a Chief to the Confederacy Council. As a Longhouse member, Ivan does not recognize the elected band council as the legitimate political leadership of the community. He recognizes the Confederacy Council of Chiefs. It may seem to be a contradiction working for the Department of Indian Affairs, given his traditional beliefs, but Ivan managed the tensions between his beliefs and practices to educate children in the community. I quote our conversation at length to unpack this seeming contradiction:

> **Jesse**: I am interested in that tension there – being a traditionalist and working with Indian Affairs. How did you work around that? How did you justify working for the Department given your values?
> **Ivan**: Well it wasn't easy I tell you that. When I taught it was more difficult, say when I taught in old No. 9 School. Mr. Hill said I had to do the Lord's Prayer and sing Oh Canada. You know, every morning before classes started. I didn't think that was right, but he said, "Well, that's part of your job." So I did it for two years at No. 9 School. But, when I got to No. 11 School which was traditional grounds, you know, I didn't do it anymore. We just went directly into classes. He even asked me to put up the Canadian flag at No. 11 School. And I said, "I'm not in favour of that" (laughter). Well he said, "That's part of your job." And I said, "Well, okay. We'll put it up. See what happens." Heck, the first night – the first night – somebody in the local neighbourhood took it down. So he didn't ask me to put it back up again after that.
> **Jesse**: Okay.
> **Ivan**: Yeah, but it was nice teaching at No. 11 School, because most of the people there were Longhouse people, you know. They supported me in many ways.
> **Jesse**: And is No. 11 your community – that region?

Ivan: I taught there for thirty-one years at No. 11. So that was good. Most of my teaching career was at No. 11 School. I only taught for one year at the new school. I started in 1963 at No. 11, and retired in 1994.
Jesse: In that instance where you conceded and you put the Canadian flag up and then it was taken down, did Dr. Hill pursue any repercussions for you, or reprimand you at all?
Ivan: No, he didn't. He just let it go by. He didn't even get me another flag to put up (laughter).
Jesse: Okay (laughter).[127]

Dr. Hill's insistence that Ivan hang the Canadian flag was not only an imposition into the way he wanted to administer his school, but its symbolism imposed the idea of the state's sovereignty onto the traditional grounds of the Six Nations community. He opposed hanging the flag but acquiesced to Hill's direction as his superior. In reality, the Department issued the directive and Hill just delivered the message. This would not be the first time he would do such a thing, but this was not a battle Ivan had to pursue. Besides, community members shared his view and removed the flag themselves anyway. Where the Department limited Ivan's administrative control, the community assisted him. He continued to teach and administer No. 11 School his way despite the restrictions. "I didn't tell Indian Affairs everything I did (laughter)," he said. "In terms of control over curriculum, I had a lot of control."[128] In fact, Ivan remarked that he was responsible for ensuring that children practised a good mind and good heart while continuing to learn Haudenosaunee culture and language.[129]

Ivan's outspoken opposition to the 1969 *White Paper* had implications for his employment with the Department, however. While Indigenous organizations and First Nations communities rallied against the proposed government policy, Ivan looked to connect electricity to his home in Six Nations. The electrical hookup needed to be approved through band council, but as a Longhouse member he did not feel it was necessary to seek its approval. He did not recognize the authority of band council and was vocal outside the classroom about the way officials treated Longhouse people:

Ivan: I wrote publicly in the papers… Well I guess that didn't go too well with Indian Affairs. So they sent J.C. Hill down to No. 11 School. It was around 1969, I think. He said he was delivering the message. The message was that if I did not change my ways I would lose my job. I asked him, "Are you serious?" Up until that time I thought he was a great man, you know. Well, then he said, "I'm only delivering the message." Well I said, "That's not a very good message."
Jesse: What was your response to the message?
Ivan: Well I said, "I'm going to have to think about it." I said, "I'm not really sure what I'm going to do." Remember Emily General? She had the same problem. She refused to sign the oath, and she lost her job.
Jesse: Mmhmm. Yeah.
Ivan: Well, I signed the oath, but this was something else. We'll get to that later (laughter). So, I took what Joe Hill said to me home to my wife and I asked her, "What are we going to do?" Well she said, "We need the money." We had three kids. Well she said, "I'll write the letters from now on."
Jesse: Okay.

> **Ivan**: So, that's what we did. She wrote the letters from then on, and Indian Affairs accepted that. So, that went by and I remained in my position.
> **Jesse**: I think it's interesting that you did that. It is a strategy to voice your opinions while working around what Indian Affairs would try to do to control you as your employer. So, I think it's really interesting that you and your wife would do something like that.[130]

Despite the Department's threats to terminate him, Ivan strategized with his wife to ensure that he was still able to express his values of sovereignty as a Haudenosaunee person and educator. Drawing inspiration from Emily C. General, who refused to make an oath of allegiance to the Crown under the 1947 Civil Service Act and permanently lost her job as a teacher, Ivan refused to be silenced by the Department. Instead, his wife continued to write letters in opposition to the *White Paper* and the band council, while he continued to instill a strong sense of Haudenosaunee identity in children at No. 11 School. His resolve, or his wife's for that matter, did not end there. Ivan refused to go through band council to have electricity connected to his home and instead used a generator until 1981. He stood by the integrity of the Confederacy Council, while still working as a Department employee.

In this instance, Dr. Hill acted as messenger and was unable to insulate Ivan from the Department's threats to terminate him. While he may have understood Ivan's beliefs and actions, or potentially seen justification in them, it was still his responsibility to warn Ivan about being so outspoken against the band council and the Department that employed him. Hill could not ignore his responsibility because it would have led to consequences for him. Ultimately, he was responsible for supervising the principals below him, and if he could not manage them, he could have faced termination himself. With the message delivered, the responsibility for action or inaction shifted to Ivan. Unfortunately, Hill passed away in 1980, so there is no way of knowing his perspective of how he negotiated administrative control as the Superintendent of the system. Questions arise as to what strategies he used himself as insulator or messenger or how he negotiated his own sovereignty as a Haudenosaunee person and educator.

As insulator, Dr. Hill and his leadership empowered Ed as an administrator and pushed him to become a leader in the education system. Ed used the feedback from Dr. Hill during his monthly visits to No. 9 School and found that he had success by following his advice. This is what Ed had to say about his professional relationship with Hill:

> Dr. Hill was one of the staff that I looked to as more than a father. Like I said, he would come and ask what he could do for me. As our relationship grew in that way, I knew that he was looking for more than what I was doing. One day he came to me and said, "Now, within a couple of years I want you to have started your principals' courses during the summer." And he said, "Because, I can see you have the ability to work with other staff, other principals, the district superintendent, and the people. I've already heard good comments about your ability to work with the children and to become a part of the community." And so I felt, well, if he's looking at it that way then now I have more of a responsibility, not just to the class, but to the parents, grandparents, to my superintendent, my district superintendent and so on, so that made me want to be the best teacher and eventually principal that I could be.[131]

While Hill delivered messages from the Department at times, Ed indicated that he took care of much of the direction coming from Indian Affairs, so that their relationship was more so one of mentorship and respect, rather than restricting administrative control.[132]

Ed Caffin replaced Dr. Hill as Superintendent sometime in the mid-1970s, but he had difficulty managing the education system as an outsider. He had experience teaching and working as an administrator in First Nations communities in northern Ontario, so he was at least knowledgeable of the unique socio-cultural issues Haudenosaunee faced in Six Nations. Ed and Ivan discussed his leadership briefly in our interviews, but never to the same extent as they did about Dr. Hill or Harvey Longboat.

Despite his being Superintendent for a brief period in the 1970s and early 80s, Caffin, at least initially, worked with the community to help develop the system. In fact, both Ed and Ivan spoke fondly about his leadership. "He was a good man," Ivan said, "He was responsible for making No. 12 School. He had a point of meeting with the people to understand them. I had a lot of respect for him."[133] Indeed, Ivan made a point of emphasizing how compassionate Caffin was when his son tragically passed away in a car accident in 1983. He supported him in mourning. "I don't think any other supervisor would have done that," Ivan said.[134] Ed recalled Caffin being "a good guy," but mentioned that he, "did not want to take the bull by the horns and say, 'This is what has to be done.'"[135] Perhaps, Ed's comment is an indication of how valuable Dr. Hill's strong leadership was to him and the community at large.[136]

Band council replaced Ed Caffin with Harvey Longboat as Superintendent sometime after 1983, marking a return to local leadership from the community.[137] Longboat's leadership will be examined more fully in Chapter Three as the focus shifts to the 1980s, but Ed and Ivan both indicate that he acted mostly as an insulator to the community. Ivan felt that he always had good relations with Longboat because he also was a traditionalist:

> I never had any run-ins with him or anything like that. He used to come around and do classroom visitations. Maybe once a year we had to hand in our goals and objectives, and then he'd come around and sit in the back of the room, and evaluate your teaching skills. And, I guess he looked at your objectives sheet and decided whether they were good or bad (laughter). But, I never received any bad reports from him, so he always seemed to be a pretty good fellow. Of course, he was Longhouse, you know that. That was a good thing too.[138]

Ed also had good things to say about Harvey Longboat, especially the similarities in his leadership style to Dr. Hill's:

> Mr. Longboat was a good superintendent. He was a superintendent who had community at heart in a different way than Dr. Hill did. Dr. Hill would come up and say, 'Here is what I addressed with Indian Affairs. Here was their response.' Positive or negative, he always told us. Mr. Longboat was just a little bit different: 'I went to Toronto. I addressed the situation.' But very seldom would he tell us the outcome of the meeting. He wouldn't tell us as a whole… He would come to the principal and address it with them.[139]

Although Mr. Longboat's leadership is briefly described here, administrative control apparently improved when centralized leadership came from the community. Both Hill and Longboat understood community and children's needs. They worked to develop culturally relevant Hau-

denosaunee curriculum. Both emphasized the importance of language and developing a positive cultural identity. They also insulated the education system and principals from directives from Indian Affairs that did not have the community's interests at heart. Indeed, 6Ned indicated that Ed Caffin's vision for Six Nations did not align with the community's desire to integrate more culture and language into the education system.[140]

Maintaining or Disrupting the *Status Quo?*

My answer to the question of whether or not local principals maintained or disrupted the Department's *status quo*, however, has not been fully answered quite yet. Ed and Ivan's stories indicate that centralized leadership insulated them from the Department and at least permitted them to exercise administrative control as they pleased. By working with parents at No. 9 and No. 3, Ed built a sense of school community and was able to meet the needs of the children in those schools. He took pride in helping them complete grade six and move on to the Central School in Ohsweken. He also became a leader in the Principals' Association to help provide overall direction to the education system. As a traditionalist, Ivan flagged the importance of Haudenosaunee sovereignty to him as a person and administrator. Indeed, he was willing to be terminated to stand by the integrity of the Confederacy Council of Chiefs. He used curriculum control as teacher-administrator at No. 11 School to ensure that children of traditional families learned and practised Haudenosaunee culture and language. So, in a way, both men disrupted the Department's *status quo* in the decade or so following *ICIE*.

That being said, administrative control in Six Nations had a long way to go, especially considering how the Department shifted its practice from ignoring Six Nations throughout the 1960s, 70s, and early 80s to pressuring band council into assuming local control in the mid-80s. Meanwhile, the numbered schools continued to deteriorate. Remember, most were constructed in the early 1900s and by 1983, band council had already requested better facilities. As we will see in Chapter Three, the community had had enough; it would use direct-action to pressure the Department into fulfilling its obligations to Haudenosaunee children in Six Nations. Meanwhile, band council seriously considered its first attempt at recovering local control, as 6Ned began her work on the Community Education Project. If the Department could not control Hill and Longboat, as Ed suggests, it definitely could not control Haudenosaunee parents as they boycotted the numbered schools.

Chapter 3: Administration of the Numbered School System and Community Engagement as Control

> Indian Affairs called a public meeting on the Reserve… one of the teachers who was rather aggressive took the microphone and started discussing the lack of support from Indian Affairs for finances to build new schools. Finally, the district superintendent out of Toronto called her by name and said, 'Go and sit down. You have said enough. If you do not sit down you will not have a job tomorrow morning.' So, you know what she did? She turned around and went and sat down. But, that was the staff. Parents got up to support her when they could get the microphone. Now, Indian Affairs couldn't say to them, 'Go and sit down' (laughter).[141]
>
> – Ed Staats, on parents supporting local educators as the community became increasingly frustrated with the Department's failure to fix or replace the deteriorating numbered schools.
>
> Take control of what?[142]
>
> – 6Ned, on the community's response to the Department pressuring it to inherit its underfunded and physically failing education system.

These words from Ed Staats and 6Ned together provide an indication of the direction coming from the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development Canada into the mid-1980s regarding First Nations education and the community's strong-willed response to protect its local system. As we saw in Chapter Two, the ability of principals to exercise a high degree of control over their administrative practice lay contingent upon the Superintendent's own ability to insulate them from Departmental pressures that may or may not have had the community's best interests at heart. The fact that the federal government was missing many of the essential components of a comprehensive education system – while inhibiting the development of important policy and second-tier services at Six Nations – did not hurt Ed and Ivan's general sense of autonomy in their schools. In any case, either DIAND appeared to be not looking, or perhaps it did not care to look.

The Department started looking a little harder in the mid-1980s, however, when it pressured Six Nations band council – not the Confederacy Council of Chiefs – into taking on its underfunded and physically-failing education system. What options did it really have? It could pour millions of dollars into developing a federal education system, albeit at the expense of Treasury Board and the public purse. Or it could neglect educational matters to such a degree that First Nations communities would have no other choice but to save the sinking ship, or in this case, their asbestos-filled, cookie-cutter colonial-style schoolhouses. From my conversations with 6Ned, she revealed that it did not matter whether she had evidence from the Department about its chosen policy, the proof was in the conditions of the schools. "It was horrible," she said, "It was

just horrible."[143] How could DIAND pressure Six Nations into assuming control? According to 6Ned, there was really nothing to take control of, leaving her to ask, "Take control of what?"[144]

A lot happened between 1985 and 1994 in the Six Nation's community schools: Asbestos was found in some of the numbered schools, band council seriously considered assuming local control in the Community Education Project (CEP), and parents refused to send their children to school in a boycott that began the 1989 school year. Centralized leadership, either indirectly with Bill Montour as the band council Chief or directly with Harvey Longboat as Superintendent, played an important role in supporting principals, but the community itself had the greatest influence over administrative control at this time. The Department used familiar tactics by threatening local educators with termination if they spoke publicly about the condition of the schools, or in support of the community boycott, so school principals like Ed and Ivan needed to carefully consider their course of action. They asserted administrative control over their schools by reporting their bad conditions to the local health and safety committee, as well as to Harvey Longboat. But the Department responded with silence and inaction, choosing to ignore the community. Frustrated and with no feasible option for recourse, school principals turned to local parents for support. DIAND could not ignore them or tell them to 'go sit down.' "They had to listen to them," Ed said, "They had to listen."[145]

So, with backward design in mind, my conclusion for this part of the community's story is that: Where the Department greatly restricted administrative control by threatening school principals with termination, ignoring them, or by pressuring the band council into assuming control of the system, parents and families protected them by taking direct action, boycotting the schools, and taking part in the CEP. In this process, they revealed that administrative control is contingent on something that Barman *et al.* did not consider – the idea of *community engagement* as control – and therefore the community's role in supporting administrative control is examined here more closely.

My Content, Instructional Methods, and Assessment are like that found in Chapter Two, with some small differences. My Content includes documenting and an examining the conditions of the numbered schools leading up to the boycott, the boycott itself, and the Community Education Project that 6Ned, one of the educators interviewed, worked on and completed between 1988 and 1994. As my Instructional Methods, I draw upon newspaper articles and other primary sources coming out of the CEP including updates, summaries, and reports, as well as the secondary literature coming out of the Lifelong Learning Task Force (LLTF) about research on local control. I use the stories of Ed, Ivan, 6Ned and S2 to enrich this information by adding voices from the community. My Assessment Tool for this Chapter expands on the five areas of control Barman *et al*. outlined in 1987 (viz., political, financial, administrative, curriculum and personnel control) to include community engagement as another area of control. This more accurately reflects the fact that First Nations communities can refuse the inadequate options the Department offers under its political and financial framework, seeking instead recourse through direct-action. It also recognizes the inherent power of the Six Nations community to assert its power over its education system.

Post-*ICIE* Teaching and Administration in the Numbered Schools

Around the time the National Indian Brotherhood (NIB) published *Indian Control of Indian Education* (*ICIE*), Dr. Hill had already established *de facto* control over the education system in Six Nations, leading Abate to conclude in 1985 that the community had not "expressed any desire to assume control of their education."[146] But this did not mean that new opportunities were not being developed. In 1970, Hill had approached 6Ned to ask her whether she would be interested in becoming a casual supply teacher. "I'll set up a training program with senior teachers in the community," he said.[147] She agreed. On reflection, she said that she had a good experience in the training program: "I got to teach in virtually all of the numbered schools… so I became very familiar with the conditions."[148] 6Ned got to know many of the children in the entire community. She also was trained by the community's best teachers and school administrators: "I got to train with all of the icons," she said, "like Ivan Thomas, Oliver Smith and your grandfather, Eddie Staats was one of my trainers."[149] By the time *ICIE* came out and really started pushing for more First Nations peoples in First Nations schools, Six Nations already had a fair amount of local people teaching there.[150] In fact, the next generation of local teachers were already on the horizon like 6Ned and two others, S2 and HAWKEYE, who came a few years later.

In Chapter Two, I mentioned that *ICIE* did not have the same system-wide effect in Six Nations as it did nationally in the 1970s, at least in the beginning, but in 1972 the Department created a student counsellor position there in which 6Ned became involved. As a social counsellor, she was responsible for attendance and ensuring that students actually attended nearby high schools like Brantford Collegiate Institute, for example. 6Ned was not particularly fond of tracking student attendance, but she found the few years that she spent in that position helped her because it gave her a glimpse into the lived experiences of her students and their families. "It was good for me," she recalled, "I got to go into homes and talk to families. I got to see how people lived and I wasn't really aware of the level of poverty that existed in the community. So it was a good eye-opener for me and what kids were dealing with, ya know, in trying to go to school."[151] Perhaps, this was the best way for her to start her career because it helped her better understand the unique socio-cultural issues facing Haudenosaunee children and families; something that Hill had been emphasizing since the 1950s.

New training programs, known as Indian Teacher Education Programs (ITEPs), emerged out of *ICIE,* one of which ran out of Hamilton's Teachers' College, created with input from the Six Nations community and funded by the Department. According to 6Ned, many people from the community 'got their starts' as teachers there in the mid- to late-1970s. S2 was one of them. Already having completed courses for her undergraduate degree, 6Ned remembers having to retake some courses in the teacher education program: "They made me take things like Psych 101 again (laughter). There were no exceptions. It was horrifically boring, but I did it (laughter)."[152] She was also fortunate to learn from other well-respected administrators in the community who have since passed: "Charlie Thomas (Ivan's brother) was one of the lead teachers," she said, "Brenda Davis was from the community and would come in. They would come in once or twice a week and we did practice teaching with them on campus. And, so our lessons were observed like that."[153] Harvey Longboat supported the program and pushed for getting people trained and then brought back into the community.[154] The community was so heavily involved with the de-

velopment, instruction, and actual enrolment into the ITEP at Hamilton's Teacher's College into the late 1970s, that from 6Ned's story, one might think that it was a local Six Nations program, not an *ICIE* or a Departmental one.

S2 did not comment on her training experience, but she did find inspiration from one of the ITEP's mentors and educational leaders in the community, Brenda Davis. "I probably started playing school when I was about five," she said, "so that was kind of my dream as a child to become a teacher." When S2 was a student at one of the numbered schools, she idolized her phys. ed. teacher, Brenda Davis, and wanted to teach just like her, so that is what she did. S2 taught phys. ed. for ten years – to grade seven and eight boys no less – so by the time she moved into administration she knew nobody could embarrass her. "It was kind of funny and interesting," she said, "'cause the boys would try and stump me and embarrass me. Ya know, like the questions they'd ask in health or the things they would do in class. I said, 'You can't embarrass me… I have four kids, so there's nothing you can say that is going to embarrass me!'"[155]

S2 had one particularly memorable story that stood out to me, so I cite her words at length:

> **S2:** "I'll tell ya this one story. I'd pretty well do the same thing when we were in the gym. It was basketball and I had a couple racks of balls out, and they'd shoot around, and then I'd tell them to put their balls on the stage or in the rack. We'd do some stretches, some drills, and play some games. So, pretty much the same thing. We'd vary it, but that was basically the lesson for the hour or so we were there. So the one time, this one class I'd say, 'Put your balls on the stage' (laughter)."
> **Jesse:** (laughter).
> **S2:** And the boys… they look at each other and go, then they go to the stage and they grab their crotches, and they pretend to put their balls up on the stage (laughter).
> **Jesse:** (laughter).
> **S2:** And, then they'd look for my reaction. Oh, I just laughed. It was so funny (laughter).
> **Jesse:** (laughter).[156]

I loved S2's story so much, because of how unexpected it was and because of how welcoming it was as a light-hearted reflection on what it is like working with Haudenosaunee children from the community. In all my infinite wisdom as a teenager I made the exact same joke with my friends and acted it out in the same way at Emily C. General Elementary School in the early 2000s. It would appear it is a sense of humour I inherited from previous generations of adolescence from the community and it has since been passed down. As a teacher, I probably would have responded in the same way as S2. What else can you do in that situation? Those are the moments that form a connection between student and teacher and definitely keep the latter young at heart.

While S2 started teaching physical education into the mid-1970s, Ed started taking on more responsibility as teacher-administrator at No. 3 School as his class sizes approached fifty students.[157] At the three-room schoolhouse located at the intersection of First Line and Mohawk Roads, one of his teaching staff threatened to quit due to the overwhelming class sizes. "If I can't get outta here, I am going to retire," she said.[158] Ed was able to prevent her from retiring, but she had to be moved to a different school to find success. Upon reflection, he commended his staff for their dedication: "Having a class size like that wasn't for everyone," he said, "I was fortunate

that the staff that I had were strong and tough, I might say, and did what was expected of them pretty well daily."[159] With class sizes that large, the question at that point was not really a matter of the teachers' abilities, albeit Ed had positive things to say about his staff, it was a question as to why they got that big and where were the additional support staff? Ed found that he constantly needed additional support staff like educational assistants and tutor escorts to do his job well.[160] Having more would have helped students who needed accommodations. They also could have supported teachers, like the one at No. 3, so that they would not be overburdened by too many students. The situation was not lost on band council in their requests to the Department in 1983.

At No. 3 and eventually at No. 8 Schools, as the Department provided him with administrative release time, Ed looked to implement some of the positive leadership habits he learned from Dr. Hill. Referring to supporting his teachers, Ed said, "There were always times that I would make time for them. If I had the music teacher come in, I would go to one of the classrooms and say, 'May I sit in this morning and see what's going on or would you like me to look at your plans and help you with a lesson?'[161] So, much in the same way that Hill supported him, Ed went around to teachers' classrooms to help them. He felt that the teachers were always very welcoming and responded positively to his direction.

In the post-*ICIE* decade the education system in Six Nations appeared to improve in many ways for many reasons. For example, in this period Ed and Ivan became more experienced as administrators and leaders. The community's heavy engagement in the ITEP at Hamilton's Teacher's College also helped tremendously. A new generation of teachers like 6Ned, S2, and HAWKEYE started their careers in the community. However, physical problems with the numbered school buildings could no longer be ignored. The early twentieth century schoolhouses desperately needed repairs or replacement. With finances committed elsewhere, the Department did not, or could not, fulfill its obligations. The schools were in a terrible state and local school administrators and parents alike were running out of options.

"It was horrible. It was just horrible." The Deteriorating Conditions of the Numbered Schools, 1985-1989

Without access to Departmental records or Six Nations band council archives due to COVID-19 restrictions, it is difficult to assert exactly how and why the Department allowed the numbered schools to deteriorate the way that they did by the 1980s. Based on reports published by the Department and the Assembly of First Nations in the 1980s, the secondary literature, and the opinions and stories of administrators in Six Nations, it appears the Department did not want to invest in Indigenous education more broadly, and even if it had wanted to invest in educational facilities, it lacked the financial resources to do so.[162] Either explicitly through their words, or implicitly through their actions, DIAND officials indicated they did not want to administer educational services any longer.[163] Instead, they opted to neglect their obligations to the Six Nations community.

The conditions of the numbered schools had always been an issue for teachers and children in the community. Ed was a student at No. 7 School located at the intersection of First Line and Chiefswood Roads in the 1940s. He had this to say about his school building that had been constructed in 1906:

> I can still remember when I was going to No. 7 School. It was a two-room school. The senior room was grades four, five, six, seven and eight, and the primary grades in another setting. Even there we had to assist the principal/teacher to look after things. We had to draw water. I can still remember going out in the winter time to pump water. Every student had to bring a cup from home. They were responsible for that. Then later on you just pushed the tap and water came out (laughter). And that took years.[164]

6Ned attended No. 6 School located at the intersection of Fourth Line and Cayuga Roads sometime in the 1960s and had this to share about the building built in the late nineteenth century and known colloquially as 'the pumpkin' because of its rounded roof: "I remember going to No. 6 School," she said, "and my friend having to stuff newspapers into the cracks, so that snow wouldn't come into the class room."[165] My father told me that if there was one thing he remembered about going to No. 3 School in the early 1970s is that the building was cold constantly. It would appear that the schools' conditions created a normalized experience of inherent hardships for Haudenosaunee children across generations. Not necessarily one of hardships between students, although conflicts would obviously arise, but a mutual experience of substandard conditions that, despite efforts to integrate relevant curriculum and hire local teachers, normalized school as a place that was cold and unsanitary.[166]

The conditions at Ivan's school, Old No. 11, were no exception; they were unsafe, and possibly even dangerous. According to Ivan, the stairwell was especially dangerous: "There was a door in Old No. 11 that led down to the basement, but once you opened that door there was no stairwell…If a kid opened that door somehow – of course they use to try to have it locked all the time – but, you know, some kids are strong. They could have rammed that door open easily."[167] One can only imagine the resulting injury from a fall into the basement would be much worse than the injuries sustained by the student who was sent to the hospital after the door slammed into her at the old army barracks. A missing stairwell was just one of many problems at the school. It had cracks in the foundation and the basement constantly flooded – sometimes with snakes and rats.[168] 6Ned did not work at the school, but it found a way into our conversations: "You've probably heard of the floating rat story at No. 11," she asked, "The basement flooded and there were rats floating in it. It was horrible. It was just horrible."[169] Upon reflection on the events leading up to the boycott, Ivan concluded that the school "should have been condemned a long time ago."[170] The situation raised questions as to whether or not the conditions would have been acceptable off-reserve.[171] Surely, it was not unreasonable to expect stairways to have stairs.

The deteriorating conditions of the buildings that people could plainly see were compounded by other dangers, for example the discovery of exposed and unsafe cancer-causing asbestos found in No. 11 and many of the other schools. Darcy Henton of the *Toronto Star* indicated that the Department knew about asbestos as early as 1985, but according to Ed the asbestos was a problem well before then.[172]

> **Ed**: One day on my yard duty at No. 3 School I saw a board flapping in the wind, so I went over to look at it. It was loose and I did not want any of the kids running into it, so I pulled it off and found asbestos. I let my superintendent know what I had found right away. I knew it was asbestos, because I had worked construction some summer months. His first question was, "How do you know it's asbestos?" And I told him, "I have worked in situations where we had to put on suits to address asbestos situations in con-

> struction. I know asbestos when I see asbestos – the different forms of it." And so he came down and said, "I'll look after it." And that was his expression that I really took to heart: "I'll look after it." I never had to call him a second time, and the other principals voiced the same thing if they found something that wasn't what it should be.
> **Jesse**: Who was the superintendent then?
> **Ed**: Dr. Hill
> **Jesse**: Dr. Hill. Okay.
> **Ed**: Yes. So with identifying certain situations, we didn't just let it sit. We took that situation to our superintendent and, in turn, he addressed it for us.

Ed's story provides a timeframe for when asbestos was found in at least one of the numbered schools because he identifies Dr. Hill as the Superintendent during this incident. Ed moved to No. 3 School in 1966 and according to Abate, Hill was Superintendent until at least 1972, so Ed likely found asbestos sometime between 1966 and 1972. What remains unknown however is whether Hill notified the Department. Without that information, we cannot tell for certain that DIAND knew about the asbestos before 1985 and removed or secured it at that time, or if Hill took care of it himself, because as Ed said, he did not have to call him about it again.

Ivan expressed concern for teachers who worked under the asbestos conditions at Old No. 11 School and told how the Department allowed the schools to fall into disrepair. My grandfather revealed how he reported concerns to Dr. Hill, but I wanted to know what Ivan did leading up to the boycott, so I asked him about his identifying, securing and/or removing asbestos. Old No. 11 School "was full of asbestos," he said, "I don't know if any teachers suffered by working under those conditions. Maybe there are some that suffered from working under the asbestos."[173] I asked him, "Whenever you noticed there was something that needed to be repaired… what was the process to take care of that? What did you do?" Ivan replied:

> Well, you had to report it to the district superintendent. Maintenance needed to be paid for by Indian Affairs, but they must not have received the funds required to get the schools back to satisfactory conditions. I think the janitors were controlled by the band council, but it wouldn't be their job to fix it. It was their job to clean the schools, you know.[174]

Ivan's response is especially telling about one of the fundamental flaws with the Six Nations education system at the time: DIAND employed principals, teachers, and maintenance workers, while Six Nations band council employed educational assistants and janitorial staff. So, somewhere along the communication lines between Superintendent Harvey Longboat, the Department and its maintenance staff, the need to repair the schools or secure asbestos were either miscommunicated or incorrectly assigned to janitorial staff employed by band council. In any case, by obscuring the fact that band council janitorial staff were not responsible for fixing the schools – and that its own maintenance staff were – the Department reneged on its obligations to Haudenosaunee children and parents in the community to ensure that the schools were safe.

As the schools continued to receive few repairs into the late 1980s, regional managers could rely upon the Department's hierarchical and bureaucratic structure to obfuscate matters and contain their response to administrators' concerns about the conditions of the schools. As the liaison between the education system and regional managers, Harvey Longboat brought the concerns of school principals to the Department, but how it responded is unknown. What is known,

however is that it neglected the community. Ed and Ivan did not have access to DIAND information. So, no matter the number of times they brought their concerns to Longboat, and regardless of how many times he delivered their message, those officials in the Department with the decision-making authority to act did not do so.[175] One can only imagine Longboat's frustration as he tried navigating the Department's political structure trying to get the decrepit schools fixed. Nearly twenty years after writing *The Unjust Society*, the words of Cardinal resonate here: "the real tanners of hides for the Buckskin Curtain" – the mandarins working in DIAND as Cardinal called them - remained "perpetually virtually unknown." In Six Nations they continued to retain the political and financial authority to send Haudenosaunee children to schools that others deemed to be unacceptable, even dangerous all the while leaving it unknown as to who was or was not doing what, and whether anyone was even there to do it.[176] Nobody from the community could see through the Department's bureaucracy for clear answers. Nobody could see behind the Buckskin Curtain.

With few options available to him, Ed turned to parents of schools Nos. 1, 3, and 8 to help add pressure to get the school buildings repaired. I asked him how the community became involved in the school situation with DIAND. He said:

> Well, oft times we would have two or three parents come to the school, and they would ask if there was anything I wanted them to look after for me. And there were times when I would say, 'Well, I would appreciate it if you took the situation to my superintendent and let him look after it. Tell them you've been at the school. We've chatted. You've seen the conditions and you know that's not what it should be.'[177]

Ed's getting parents involved was a way for him to work outside of the Department's reporting structure and assert administrative control over his schools, while avoiding repercussions from his superiors. As subordinates within the larger DIAND organizational structure, Ed and Harvey Longboat risked termination if they tried pressuring their superordinates; their employment stood on the line and the Department was not accountable to them. However, the Department could not place the same restrictions on parents and community members since they were not its employees. Choosing to ignore parents and the community indefinitely was not a wise option, as it turned out.

In the spring of 1989, community pressure continued to mount on the Department. By that time, educators formed a special health and safety committee led by J.C. Hill Elementary School teacher Audrey Powless-Bomberry. It aimed to address the growing list of incomplete repairs and reports of exposed asbestos. Their data showed the problems plaguing the schools. A writer for the committee amassed, for example, the number of school buildings deemed to be fire traps.[178] Many classroom windows were inoperable, potentially sealing the children inside during a crisis.[179] The committee showed that five schools had asbestos covered pipes that children could easily get their hands on.[180] The Department did not allocate enough money to adequately repair all of the schools. Its budget of $191,000 was $60,000 short of what the committee had requested.[181] Without the necessary funds, the schools continued to deteriorate.

By August of 1989, the community ran out of patience for the Department's inaction. At the end of the month, it authorized work to begin on repairs after five long months of nothing being done.[182] This was unacceptable to parents who knew how bad the conditions were in the schools. The Department's scheduling of the repairs over a span of two months meant that chil-

dren would have to attend unsafe schools while the work was being done. Parents were also frustrated by Departmental delays in building three new consolidated schools to replace the old numbered ones. It had scheduled the opening of the first school to open for the fall at a cost of 5.7 million, but then delayed it by some 3 years, to finally have an opening in November 1992.[183] Local administrators reached a dead-end; the health and safety committee could not move things any faster, and parents were out of options. The community responded with direct-action to protect what mattered most to them – their children.

“We’ll have to take action to bring them to their knees.” The Community Boycott, August 1989 - November 1989

At the start of the 1989 school year, members of the Six Nations community staged a ten-week boycott to demand that the Department complete outstanding repairs on their schools, remove or safely secure asbestos, and deliver the new schools as promised. To get Haudenosaunee children back into the schools, DIAND agreed to some of the community’s demands, like ensuring it would have a new school built for the 1991 school year. It resisted others however, opting to remediate the problem by safely securing the asbestos in some of the numbered schools instead of fully removing it as demanded by some parents. In most cases, the numbered schools were too old and in such a terrible state that the Department decided to bulldoze them and place students in portable classrooms as an interim measure. As 6Ned noted, this was a time of great change and instability – especially for the 1,200 children held back by their families from going to the schools for their own protection. They may not have realized it at the time, but by protecting their children and demanding safe schools, parents, families, and other community members helped develop the education system that exists in Six Nations today. For the principals of the late 1980s who found themselves stonewalled by the Department and who held little administrative control over the maintenance of their schools, the community emerged as an important ally and an essential part of the education system. In the process, community engagement emerged as a new form of control that helped support principals who had exhausted all options within the Department’s problematic political and financial framework.

The Boycott began simply enough, with Chief Councillor Bill Montour calling for a meeting on August 31, 1989 to hear from the community to see whether people supported a plan for a proposed boycott. At the meeting, with roughly one hundred people attending, he announced the idea of children not returning to their schools until the Department fixed the health and safety problems that plagued them.[184] “Our children will not go to school in these conditions,” he asserted. “It’s time the government learned we mean business.”[185] The Chief Councillor of the nearby Mississaugas of the Credit First Nation echoed similar remarks: “It’s a shame the children have to be part of a political game and pawns shuffled about… but I think it’s the only option,” he said. “Only a boycott will make the Department of Indian Affairs meet its commitment. We’ll have to take action to bring them to their knees.”[186] Ozzie Staats, a local painter who worked on the schools and who was the father of a young girl who attended No. 1 School refused to send her to “that rotten building.”[187] In fact, Ivan attributed Ozzie to being the one who “opened the can of worms” on the conditions of the schools.[188] The Department had

outstanding repairs scheduled to be completed by October 30, but until then parents would keep their children out of the schools.

At the August 31 meeting, parents expressed their concerns about how their children would receive an education during the months-long boycott, but Harvey Longboat reassured them that teachers would adapt to the new circumstances.[189] Some teachers sent home learning packages for their students.[190] Ed recalled that at Schools Nos. 1, 3, and 8, that parents did whatever they could to teach children in the home. Sometimes, two or three children learned together at one home and alternated around to others.[191] Ivan said that he had to be creative to ensure that the children received some form of education at No. 11 School: "We weren't able to use the brick building or Old No. 11 School," he said, "We just used portables. We just alternated our classes. Some kids went one day, and the next day the other bunch went. That went on for three months, I think. Indian Affairs didn't play a very good role in that situation."[192] Although the learning environment was not ideal, parents, teachers, and administrators worked together to ensure the community's children were able to learn for the time being. The Department's lack of facilities at No. 11 did not help an already exhausting situation.

While educators tried to deliver some form of modified education to students, the Department restricted them from speaking publicly in support of the community boycott. On October 23, Indian Affairs southern district manager Ray Martin made this directive clear to teachers at a morning briefing session at the Woodland Cultural Centre in Brantford. He told them that they had to consult him before speaking, negative or positively, to the media about the boycott.[193] This was particularly difficult for health and safety committee chairperson, Audrey Powless-Bomberry, who needed to report to the media about the conditions of the schools. She asked Martin, "Am I suppose to lie to them?" Hers was not an easy situation to be in. As employees of the public service, teachers and administrators had to follow the Department's code of ethics. This included restrictions on their speaking negatively about their employer. Parents and community members could possibly perceive educators who remained silent as not providing authentic support for the boycott. Alternatively, educators who spoke publicly risked termination from the Department. Educators had to think carefully about the costs and consequences of their action or inaction.

The Department did not shy away from enforcing the public service code of ethics that restricted educators from speaking publicly about the boycott. At a public meeting in October, four DIAND officials came to the community to hear concerns about the schools. The meeting was particularly memorable, because a teacher from the community spoke publicly in support of the boycott and criticized the Department for letting the schools deteriorate. Ed attended the meeting and recalled the incident: "The community organized an open meeting at our largest school, J.C. Hill School… There were maybe three or four from Indian Affairs. One of the teachers felt that yes, I'm from the community, I'm going to say what I feel like. She was told to sit down or she would not have a job tomorrow morning."[194] Faced with the threat of termination, the teacher sat down.

The Department's threats did not work on community members, however. Ed talked about what happened after the teacher sat down at the meeting:

> They couldn't do that with the community members. They had to hear them. They had to hear the community members. Most of the voicing of concerns was done by ladies. I can

> still remember three or four Clan Mothers taking the microphone and addressing all the situations to Indian Affairs. The big thing was that most of the schools were found with asbestos. That was the big concern.[195]

The actions of the Clan Mothers reveal why community engagement was so important to protecting teachers and to the success of the boycott. The Department could always enforce personnel control over teachers and school principals by threatening them with termination. As DIAND employees, they had to consider the importance of their employment to provide for their families. Widespread community support did not deter the Department from pressuring teachers back to work. In fact, nearly twenty parents picketing out front of New Credit Elementary School barred six teachers from entering the building mid-October. Educators needed parents; they needed the Clan Mothers. Without the community's support, it would be difficult to foresee the boycott being successful.

Despite the Department's attempts to silence them, community educators found ways to express their support for the boycott. On October 27, Chief Montour went to Ottawa to discuss possible solutions to end the boycott with Minister of Indian Affairs, Pierre Cadieux. While he was away, approximately 150 people from Six Nations staged a demonstration outside the Department's regional office in downtown Brantford. Some demonstrators "wore white cloths over their mouths to symbolize the government's 'gag order' that prevented teachers from talking to media."[196] In recalling this Ivan pointed to the similarities between the demonstrators and mask-wearing protocols in place nowadays due to the coronavirus: "A lot of the teachers were walking around with, you know, this thing with COVID, they had masks on, because they were told not to speak. So, they wore masks. That was quite a thing too."[197] One high school counsellor from the community, Steve Hill, defied the Department's order and urged people out front of the Federal Building to fight together against it.[198] The Department later fired him for behaviour "in violation of the Code of Ethics and departmental policies and procedures."[199] Hill later said, "If a community member can't speak about what's happening in their community, then something is wrong."[200] For him, choosing to support his community came at a high cost. The Department terminated him, but before it could he stood with the community to assert control over the education system. Other educators protected their identities by covering their faces but were keen to use symbolism in the process.

At the October 27 meeting, Chief Montour secured a number of concessions from the Department to end the boycott. He presented DIAND's agreement to a small group of educators and parents at a meeting at J.C. Hill Elementary on October 30. Minister Cadieux agreed to finance the opening of a new, consolidated school in October 1991.[201] The Department agreed to an independent evaluation of the education system in Six Nations and Credit First Nation. It also agreed to provide additional funding for community research into recovering control of education and authorize an independent study into asbestos conditions in the schools.[202] With these things in place, Chief Montour intended to end the community boycott on November 13.

Chief Montour secured agreements from the Department, yet the boycott did not end. On November 13, approximately half of the community's 1,200 children returned to school. The parents of the other half kept their children at home until an independent asbestos study assured them that the schools were safe. The Department had deemed some schools safe, but J.C. Hill Elementary and No. 11 School remained closed. Meanwhile, parents continued their picket lines

in front of some of the schools that opened, like No. 8 where Ed was principal. He recalled the situation well, saying that he would not "pit his teachers against the group of parents on the picket line."[203] At one point, a community police officer approached him to asked him to get his staff to return to work. But Ed refused, because he felt it was important that principals supported teachers and the community.[204] Some parents refused to send their children to school until late into November.[205] As a result, children missed between ten and twelve weeks of school depending on when they returned.

Upon personal reflection, the boycott was so much more than protecting the community's children, securing new schools, or asserting control over education. It was a struggle for sovereignty; it was a decision that parents, families, teachers and administrators made in their minds, hearts, and bodies to be sovereign and to find out what that meant in the process. Different people contributed to the process in their own ways. Chief Montour worked with the Department to get it to commit to building the three new schools it promised as early as 1985. Harvey Longboat supported parents, teachers, and administrators as they adapted the school year to changing circumstances. Ed and Ivan supported their teachers and the parents who stood at the picket lines. But, most importantly, the community refused to be ignored by the Department any longer, demanding that it fulfill its obligations to them. Its all-too-familiar tactics of retaining political, financial, and especially personnel control - by threatening to terminate, and indeed terminating local educators – did not work because the community was engaged in a struggle for sovereignty, and, in the words of Robert Allen Warrior, "if sovereignty is anything, it is a way of life."[206] So, I am not going to make an evaluation on the successes and failures of the boycott because how can you make a determination about the success or failure of an evolving process? What I will say, is that I am proud that my community had its own 'Blue Quills Residential School sit-in' type of direct-action event. I was born in March of 1989, and to think my community would take a stand and assert its sovereignty over education six months later makes me proud to be a Six Nations community member. It makes me proud to be Haudenosaunee.

Recovering Control of Education: 6Ned and the Community Education Project, 1988-1994

In 1989, the boycott garnered widespread coverage from local newspapers in Brantford, Hamilton and Toronto, but some in Six Nations already knew well that years earlier Chief Montour and the band council had started to seriously consider recovering control of the education system.[207] By the mid-1980s, DIAND increasingly pressured it to assume control of education, but the council refused because it was well aware of the problems that other First Nations communities experienced when transitioning to local control. A year earlier Chief Montour had authorized the Community Education Project (CEP) to conduct research into Six Nations control of education. As the band council continued its discussions with the Department into the early 1990s, it established an interim Six Nations Education Board (SNEB) to oversee the transition to local control. However, the project shut down in 1994. The CEP determined that the Department was unable – or perhaps unwilling – to transfer the political and financial control necessary for the community to determine the direction that it wanted to take with education. The community had not overcome the internal divisions that resulted from the Department's imposition of the elected band council system in 1924 when it ousted the Confederacy Council of Chiefs. For

many traditional families, including Ivan's, acquiescing to the Department's political and financial authority over education was not an option since it implied a recognition of DIAND's authority over Haudenosaunee sovereignty.

By August, 1987, band council needed to design an education plan, because the Department made it clear that if it did not assume local control by its 1991 transition date, "somebody else would."[208] On August 23, it nevertheless rejected the Department's devolution plan in its *Statement on Education*, because of its concern that DIAND would not adequately fund education or transfer political control over the system.[209] If the Department chose to impose local control on the band council, the community needed to be prepared for it. So, band council initiated the Community Education Project in September 1988 to, "consult with the people of Grand River and develop a Comprehensive Education Plan for the community."[210] As a result, 6Ned formally began her work on the CEP.

The CEP included as many community members as possible to ensure that it accurately represented the people and their vision for education. Chief Montour approached community member and educator Rebecca Jamieson to lead the project. Its Project Steering Committee (PSC) collaborated with band council, the Confederacy Council of Chiefs, teachers, administrators, and Elders to identify educational needs. The PSC did this through a series of questionnaires, surveys, and community meetings. This data led it to conclude that the community had a clear vision for what it wanted from an education system. Unsurprisingly, this vision aligned with the National Indian Brotherhood's vision outlined in *Indian Control of Indian Education (ICIE)*.[211] In it, the NIB articulated its philosophy of Indigenous education grounded in parental engagement, local culture, and language as a means to prepare students for work in the Canadian economy. Similarly, the CEP determined that the Six Nations community wanted to control its own education system, including providing its choice in matters of culture and language, and enabling its students to make the decision of whether to work within the community or elsewhere.[212] According to 6Ned, since then nothing has changed in the community's vision; it has actually grown stronger over time.[213]

The CEP revealed the community's concerns over securing legal and funding arrangements from the Department to sustain the education system. The community did not want administrative control. It wanted political and financial control. It was also concerned over how to undertake negotiations with the Department. This stemmed from the federal government's ousting of the Confederacy Council of Chiefs and replacing it with the elected band council back in 1924. As Ivan's story shows, many traditional families did not recognize the elected band council, so any negotiations or agreements between it and the Department would not represent traditional families that followed the leadership of the Confederacy Council.[214] Questions also arose over how the community would ratify the negotiations and decisions, if any, of both the elected band council and the Confederacy Council with the Department.

The CEP made a series of recommendations to address such concerns. It recommended that the community form a governing educational body empowered by Six Nations law with the decision-making authority to design and deliver programs and services.[215] In this way, political control would come from the community, not the Department of Indian Affairs. The CEP also recommended that the federal government recognize its financial obligations to adequately fund the education authority, its decisions, programs, and services. The community needed financial

control to deliver a quality education to students.[216] For negotiations, it suggested that the Confederacy Council enter into a treaty-based education agreement to maintain the nation-to-nation relationship between the Haudenosaunee and the Canadian government.[217] In such a case, the elected band council would assume an administrative role of programs and services, but the decision-making authority would remain with the Confederacy. Regarding community ratification of decisions, the CEP recommended that a series of meetings be conducted to inform the community and to receive feedback from it before moving forward with ratification from both the elected band council and Confederacy Council.[218] Clearly the community faced complex issues. The recommendations were just as complex. The CEP aimed to take into consideration both governance structures of the community as it tried to envision an education system that would satisfy all families.

The CEP presented its findings and recommendations in June 1991 and moved forward with interim measures for recovering control of education into 1992 and 1993. One of these interim measures involved getting the proposed education authority – the Six Nations Education Board (SNEB) – up and running. In one of its recommendations, the CEP suggested that the band council and the Confederacy Council work closely to establish the character, mandate, roles and responsibilities of the education authority in Six Nations law.[219] By August 1993, the CEP had drafted the constitution and policies for the SNEB.[220] In that year, the board continued to meet "to receive training, information, and to develop the final plans for a locally controlled education system by September 1994."[221]

Between 1988 and 1994 the CEP had engaged in a comprehensive community awareness and consultation campaign, but despite its efforts, implementing the transition to local control through the SNEB ran into opposition from traditional families – particularly in the proposed School B catchment of the reserve (No. 11 territory).[222] Its parent-steering committee raised concerns about SNEB's relationship with band council and the Department of Indian Affairs. In June 1993 Cheryl Clause, the chairperson of the committee, wrote to Alan Raslack, manager of program services, outlining the concerns held by the parents of children from School B. Traditional families which followed the Confederacy Council of Chiefs feared that they would not be accurately represented on the proposed board. They also were concerned over the lack of guaranteed long-term and adequate funding, the possibility of future taxation to maintain the system, and the uncertain legal character of SNEB.[223] Recognizing an education authority that operated within the Department's band council governance structure was unacceptable to them since it threatened the sovereignty of the Confederacy Council and the parents' traditional beliefs. School B parents wanted their own independent board to be run by traditional families operating educational programs and services at their school.[224]

The Six Nations Education Board had intended to assume local control in 1994, but this did not materialize due to internal and external pressures. The community could not overcome internal divisions along political lines. Traditional School B parents did not want an education authority subject to Departmental oversight. They wanted an independent education board that could deliver a quality education for their children based in traditional values, culture, and language. Externally, the Department would not commit to the recommendations set forth by the CEP – mainly a commitment to sufficient funding and a treaty-based education agreement that protected the sovereignty of the Confederacy Council. Concerned with fiscal restraint, the De-

partment would not commit to any long-term funding agreements to adequately fund education. With this stalemate, the Department maintained the operation of educational programs and services in 1994. The SNEB attempted to restructure and revive the move to local control in 1995, but it lost momentum as it became increasingly clearer that the Department would not, or could not, provide the funding necessary for its success.

Although the community did not assume local control of education in 1994, the CEP established a community vision for the education system. Through her work on the CEP, 6Ned determined that her community had a clear vision of its educational needs in 1991, and that vision has not changed up into the present. Of this she said:

> Looking back now, I think the most significant thing that came out of the Community Education Project is that we have a good sense of what matters to the community in terms of education. The whole consensus has maintained itself, if not strengthened, in terms of parents wanting their children to have a quality education… They want them to know about themselves, their peoples, their history. They want them, if they choose, to learn their language and be able to do so – to function from that mindset if that's how they choose to live. And to have choice in terms of how they decide to live and contribute to the community. That has not changed… I think it has only strengthened.[225]

6Ned's reflection about the CEP helping to strengthen the vision of education is particularly true when applied to the Lifelong Learning Task Force (LLTF) and its work on recovering local control. It continued and built off the work of the CEP, expanding its vision beyond elementary education to include early childhood education, post-secondary, and adult education. Today the vision remains the same – building a world-class education system based in local culture and language.

The CEP thus spotlighted fundamental issues in recovering control while the dual-governance structure of the Confederacy Council and elected band council inextricably linked education and sovereignty together. The Department's devolution education policy only exasperated the problem. Developing an education system within its educational structure sacrificed the sovereignty of the Confederacy Council and beliefs of traditional families. Developing an education system outside of the Department's structure was not feasible. The community relied on Departmental funding for educational programs and services. At present, this fundamental problem endures. The Lifelong Learning Task Force hopes to address it by creating an apolitical education system outside of the Department's current administrative structure.

One legacy of the CEP is the clear message that the community does not want administrative control subject to Departmental oversight. It wants political and financial control. This continues the stance repeatedly taken by the National Indian Brotherhood/Assembly of First Nations. So, what does this mean for principals and administrative control when local control fell through in 1994? The same question must be asked of principals during that time as it was of Ed and Ivan during the numbered schools era: Are they maintaining the *status quo* of the Department or are they exercising administrative control to upset it and change the education system? We need to hear stories from HAWKEYE, S2, and WB to answer that question.

Another legacy of the community boycott is a little more concrete. The Department demolished many of the numbered schools in September 1989. Some of them simply were too unsafe to repair or save. None of the numbered schools remain standing today, which is somewhat

bittersweet considering how much time Ed and Ivan spent working at Schools Nos. 1, 3, 8, and No. 11, respectively. The deterioration of the schools marked a need for – and hastened – change. A need for something that reflected community values. From the demolition of the numbered schools came the birth in 1991 of Six Nation's contemporary school system. School C became Emily C. General School (ECG) as agreed to by the Department. School B - I.L. Thomas (ILT) School - opened in 1994, and Oliver M. Smith-Kawenni:io School (OMSK) opened in 1995. The physical structures of these schools are vastly different from the colonial cookie-cutter style of the numbered schools.[226] ECG is shaped like a turtle rattle, ILT like a turtle, and OMSK like an eagle. They all reflect in some way the community's determination to have a school system representative of and incorporating Indigenous culture.

"They had to listen to them. They had to listen." Community Engagement as Control

As I listened to Ivan and Ed's stories about the boycott, particularly the way that the Department greatly restricted their practice by ignoring principals, Harvey Longboat, and the community, as well as threatening termination, and indeed terminating employees, it became increasingly clear that community engagement is an essential component of exercising administrative control – especially so when the community must take action outside of DIAND's political and financial framework to create change. Community engagement is an area of control that Barman *et. al.* did not consider when they created their framework for education that focused on political, financial, administrative, curricular and personnel control. This is not a criticism of this work because the way that it framed Indigenous control at the time was contingent upon operating within the Department's structure, not outside it like what parents and educators did at Six Nations in the fall of 1989. I adapt their framework here to include community engagement as control because it is, in my estimation, the most reasonable way to explain the alternatives once administrative control reaches its limits under the Department. I think back to Fanon's call to action about the Other in *Black Skin, White Masks*. Like the Other who was reluctant to recognize him, the Other – the Department, in this case – was reluctant to recognize the Six Nations community. To parents of Haudenosaunee children in the numbered schools, there was only one answer: *to make themselves known*. This meant boycotting the conditions of the schools and in the process defending administrative control and self-determination over education against seemingly insurmountable Departmental barriers.

There are a variety of instances where community engagement revealed that self-determination, and indeed sovereignty over education is achievable within the Department's system, especially if we consider sovereignty as a community-building process like Deloria expressed in *We Talk, You Listen: New Tribes, New Turf.* "The path to sovereignty… is the path to freedom," he says. "That freedom, though, is not one that can be immediately defined and lived. Rather, the challenge is to articulate what sort of freedom as it 'emerge[s]' through the experiences of the groups to exercise the sovereignty which they recognize in themselves."[227] The counterargument may be that the community has never recovered control, so how can there be sovereignty or freedom? That is true to a degree if we look at sovereignty as an end, rather than a process, in which the community is still engaged. The Lifelong Learning Task Force continues its work today on developing a comprehensive early childhood to adult learning education system. Com-

munity engagement as control is simply a recognition of the lived experiences of community members who defended administrative control (sovereignty) over their children's education, and they continue to do so today.

Just by their being, Haudenosaunee people are inherently sovereign, so community members defending administrative control is an inherent act of self-determination. This includes individual expressions like Ivan's wife writing letters criticizing the *White Paper* policy to protect his employment, or Ed refusing to send his teachers across the picket lines and back to work. It includes Clan Mothers speaking out in defence of teachers at community meetings, or parents taking turns having children taught in their homes during the boycott. It also includes community members supporting Chief Bill Montour in his talks with Minister Cadieux by demonstrating out front of the Departmental regional office in Brantford. And, of course, it is centred on the community standing in solidarity to define the future of their children's education.

In fact, it cannot be overstated how community engagement effectively changed the education system in Six Nations. In terms of physical structures, it led to the construction of new schools that reflected community values. In terms of articulating and expressing sovereignty, the community determined what the education system should look like, not the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development Canada. Included in that community vision were modern schools fitted with sanitary washroom facilities, new gymnasiums, and libraries that equaled those off reserve and, in some cases, surpassed them.[228]

Chapter 4: Administration in the Consolidated School Era: HAWKEYE, S2 and WB - Inherent Acts of Self-determination

> When we came together I think we did our best to work as a team, but it just seemed like, at the time, that as soon as we left the meeting and went back everybody did their own kind of thing. That pulling together and centralizing kind of thing, which I think we all had hoped we would have more direct leadership – strength and coming together and doing things. And, I think that the principals wanted that, but at the time, it didn't seem like someone above us, the Director, they just said, ya know, 'You're doing fine over here. You're doing fine over here.' And, they weren't.[229]
>
> – HAWKEYE on the difficulties experienced at the new schools as the Department transitioned away from centralized community leadership to site-based management.
>
> When I was becoming an administrator, I kind of looked around and thought, 'There are things we can change here.' And, one of our things was when we have the ceremonies… I thought about it and I thought, ya know there are things we need to do to recognize who we are. There's nothing out there to say within the schools, this is who we are.[230]
>
> – WB on getting the Department to recognize Midwinter Ceremony as a holiday at her school.

I choose these words from HAWKEYE and WB because together they reveal both the difficulties that the new, consolidated school system and its administrators were about to face once the move to local control fell through in 1994, as well as the many opportunities that emerged to develop and change the system to better reflect community values. As we saw in Chapter Three, administrative control lay contingent upon community engagement to defend it against the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development's barriers, especially regarding the termination of teachers. In the consolidated system, the Department removed local leadership that was so important to supporting a school system and its administrators during the numbered school era of the 1970s and 1980s. It would not be unreasonable to see this as a move by the Department to punish or at least contain expressions of self-determination like what we saw in the community boycott and demonstration outside its regional office in Brantford in 1989.[231] The mandarins at DIAND – a department with a documented history of fiscal restraint over assuring the provision of high quality First Nations programs and services – surely would not have been pleased with the nearly $940,000 expenditure to the Community Education Project that amounted to Six Nations refusing to sacrifice its sovereignty in exchange for an education system lacking political and financial control.[232] In any case, without strong, local centralized leadership, administrators like HAWKEYE, S2, and WB had to adapt their practice to the challenges of a new system where student enrolment increased from approximately thirty to fifty students in the one-room schools to between 250 and 300 students in the consolidated ones. This

also meant going from managing two or three teachers to managing dozens of them, including teaching and support staff.

Based on the administrators' stories and lived experiences, it appears that the Department's site-based management system, as it was called, really did not change much in terms of their being able to run their schools as they saw fit, much like what Ivan and Ed did in the 1970s and 1980s. But, as HAWKEYE noted, without centralized leadership or direction there was a disconnect between each school community. Without the likes of Dr. Hill or Harvey Longboat, school direction fell to administrators in the new schools. As we shall see, while this burdened local principals, it also presented them with opportunities to develop, change, and shape the new system through school initiatives like WB's getting the Department to recognize Midwinter Ceremonies as a holiday at her school. So, I return to backward design to conclude that in this part of the story, roughly 1994 to 2005, local principals exercised administrative control, and, in turn, sovereignty over the system, by pursuing initiatives at the school level to address their community's emerging educational needs.

To get to this conclusion, I once again turn to backward design and draw upon my Content, Instructional Methods, and Assessment Tools to lay out my case. For my Content, I examine the administration of the new schools including transitions from male to female leadership, factors that challenged or supported administrators and their school-based initiatives, and the community's second formal exploration into recovering local control in the Six Nations Education Commission (SNEC). As Instructional Methods, I rely upon local education reports, including the 2001 Bomcor evaluation of the system, as well as ones emerging out of the work completed by the Lifelong Learning Task Force.[233] Again, the administrators' stories and lived experiences are especially important in this Chapter since they are the ones who are reflecting upon their careers and really determining what administrative control meant and looked like to them at the time and on reflection. Finally, my Assessment Tools turn back to Audra Simpson's idea of nested sovereignty because the administrators did not maintain the Department's *status quo*. They developed the system – albeit a chronically underfunded one – by exercising administrative control and in the process gained sovereignty over it by pursing initiatives at the school level.

Administration of the New Schools after the Community Education Project (CEP)

The physical composition of the school system changed dramatically after the community boycott of 1989 with old schools being closed, new ones being built, and with school amalgamations. Before then, Six Nations had twelve schools, including the one at New Credit (now Credit First Nation). Out of the twelve numbered schools, Nos. 2, 4, and 9 no longer existed, leaving the remaining numbered schools still in operation.[234] The other two schools, Jamieson Elementary and J.C. Hill Elementary existed in the village of Ohsweken.[235] After the boycott, six schools remained, including the one in New Credit, with Nos. 5, 8, and 11 Schools temporarily used alongside portable classrooms as the community awaited the construction of its three new schools that DIAND had promised back in November 1989.

This situation changed after the opening of the new consolidated schools in the 1990s. Three new schools – Emily C. General Elementary (ECG), I.L. Thomas Elementary (ILT), and Oliver M. Smith-Kawenni:io Elementary (OMSK) – ensured sufficient classroom space for stu-

dents from kindergarten to grade eight. In 1991, ECG absorbed the student population of No. 5 School. In 1994, ILT absorbed the student populations of Nos. 6, 10, and 11 Schools, while in 1995, OMSK did the same for Nos. 1, 3 and 8 Schools. During this time, the Mississaugas of the Credit First Nation transitioned to local control, so the New Credit School no longer fell under federal administration in the same way that Six Nations schools did.[236] By 1995, then, Six Nations had five elementary schools – ECG, ILT, OMSK, Jamieson, and J.C. Hill – all under federal administration.

Unlike the numbered schools that drew inspiration from neighbouring off-reserve communities and thus reflected a generic design, the new schools reflected cultural values and symbols of the community. This was important, because it reclaimed educational space as an inherently cultural space for the community.[237] Take the architecture of ILT, for example. The turtle is an important cultural symbol for the Haudenosaunee. In the Creation Story, the continent of North America formed on the back of a turtle, a creature that is also a part of the clan system. ILT is shaped like a turtle to symbolize its significance in Haudenosaunee culture. The front facade of OMSK is adorned with another important cultural symbol, with its large brick image of the Great Tree of Peace. Amongst other things, the Tree is a symbol of the founding of the five Nations that comprised the original Haudenosaunee Confederacy. The schools also reflect contemporary cultural values. Take ECG's design for example. It is shaped like a turtle rattle but it also has large blue beams jutting out from its front evoking the high steel work of Haudenosaunee ironworkers who helped construct many skyscrapers in the United States and Canada.[238] In Six Nations, and particularly in the Mohawk community at Kahnawake, ironworking is a symbol of Indigenous masculinity and a man's ability to provide for his family.[239] The school's design both incorporates and reflects local pride in ironworking.

Before I move forward, I have to reflect once again on my position as a community member in this history. As the move to local control fell through in 1994, I entered ECG as a kindergarten student. Theresa Freeman was my teacher. Little did I know then that local control had just fallen through and that prominent school administrators had just moved into and out of different positions. Later on, when I worked as a teacher at ECG, Ms. Freeman explained to me that the year I entered kindergarten was her first-year teaching. It is generally understood that first-year teaching is a 'trial by fire,' akin to being 'thrown to the wolves,' because teacher's college can never fully prepare a new teacher for what teaching is actually like. I joked with her saying, "No wonder why I don't know anything, you had no clue what you were doing back then." She shrugged it off with good humour, saying, "Yeah, pretty much." She has since passed on, but I can vividly remember some of the activities that she had us do back then, one of which was to take the class's stuffed animal home for an evening and complete a journal entry on what we did together. I insisted to my Dad that it had to go everywhere with me, so it wound up on the back of my goalie net at hockey practice later that evening. He must have thought me insane. I did not think anything of it. I think it is safe to say that Ms. Freeman did a great job. It still amazes me that I worked with her as a colleague after being a student in her very first class.

Transition to Female Leadership

In the mid-1990s, female vice-principals and principals started to replace retiring male administrators like Ivan and Ed, who had begun their teaching careers in the 1950s and 1960s. After working as a principal elsewhere, HAWKEYE returned to Six Nations to work as an administrator in 1994. During the summer, she prepared for a vice-principalship at one of the new schools, but when the transition to local control fell through, she was reassigned to another one.[240] S2 also prepared for the transition and moved into a vice-principalship at a new school. Ivan retired in 1994 just as the builders completed the construction on ILT Elementary. His long-time vice-principal, Larry Lewis, had been poised to replace him, but unfortunately, he passed away tragically. "We planted a tree in his honour at I.L. Thomas," Ivan said.[241] WB moved into administration around this time. By 1995, there were thus at least five women working as vice-principals or principals in the three consolidated schools. This marked a major change in the gender of school leaders from Ivan's thirty-one-year tenure as principal of No. 11 School, and Ed's approximately thirty years in the Nos. 1, 3, and 8 School communities.

This shift made much sense, since in traditional Haudenosaunee society, women held great respect for the responsibilities that they took on as creators of life, as caretakers of Mother Earth, and importantly as leaders in the community. These values are traced to the Creation Story, the Great Law, and the founding of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy. In the Creation Story, Mature Flower gives birth to Mother Earth. Mother Earth, in turn, gives birth to twins, one of whom is the Creator.[242] Without women, life would not exist. The Great Law also connects women to the Earth, giving them responsibility for clearing, planting, and harvesting food, mainly the Three Sisters crops – corn, beans, and squash.[243] The Great Law established women as Clan Mothers as leaders of their families. Clans and family kinship are traced through the matrilineal line. Moreover, Clan Mothers appoint Chiefs to represent the people. They hold the power to remove Chiefs if they do not act on behalf of the community. As Faithkeepers, women are responsible for preparing certain aspects of the Condolence Ceremony, particularly food preparation. According to Susan Hill, "female Faithkeepers [were] absolutely essential for the perpetuation of the Confederacy system and critical to a properly functioning Haundeosaunee Government."[244]

As a Longhouse traditionalist herself, WB relied on her knowledge of Haudenosaunee culture and language to fulfill the need for language teachers in the community in the late 1980s.[245] "They were looking for language teachers," she said. "I needed to bring back my language, to myself actually… I came from the group where everybody around us was fluent, and so I thought I had lost it, but apparently I didn't."[246] So, she applied and started working as a second language teacher before moving into immersion. At a time when there was little to no language curriculum or support for it, WB relied on her knowledge of ceremonies to guide her. "You pretty much made your own," she said about the curriculum. "From year to year, for me… we did it with the ceremonial calendar… nobody ever said anything to us."[247]

Despite the community's need for language teachers, WB revealed that DIAND did not always treat some of them respectfully. As we saw from Ed and Ivan, evaluating teaching staff and providing them with feedback is an administrator's fundamental responsibility. We saw how Dr. Hill's mentorship pushed Ed to be the best educator he could possibly be. Teachers need to

know how they are doing and how they can improve. In the end, the children are the ones who benefit from this process. However, the administrators at WB's schools never evaluated her. "I wasn't evaluated," she said. In our conversations, I discovered that because the band council employed language teachers (in addition to janitorial staff), some administrators felt that it was not their responsibility as DIAND employees to evaluate their performance. Yet this approach, while not stepping on jurisdictional toes, had its own problems. According to WB, not being evaluated left her feeling "like an outsider."[248] Surely, it compounded feelings of isolation as she worked to develop language curriculum without much support.

Feeling like an outsider did not deter WB from using her experience as a language teacher to pursue improving the system as an administrator in the mid-90s. "I looked around and could see things that I really wasn't happy with," she said.[249] When an administrative position opened up at one of the new schools, she applied for it. "Fortunately, for me I got it. Fortunately, or unfortunately (laughter)," she joked. "I did get the position."[250] She made sure to change things to include teacher evaluations. "I evaluated everybody," she said. "I saw it as, to me, who's benefitting? The kids."[251] She saw providing teachers with feedback as being just part of the job. It was a way to improve their teaching practice while ensuring that Haudenosaunee children received the support that they needed at school.

Being surrounded by women who fulfilled their leadership duties as Clan Mothers and Faithkeepers helped shape WB's educational philosophy as an administrator. She used the lessons that her mother taught her about the Confederacy Council of Chiefs and the People to put the needs of Haudenosaunee children first. In her portfolio she kept a diagram of an inverted triangle that located Confederacy Chiefs at the bottom layer, with Clan Mothers located between them, and the Faithkeepers, with the village or People at the top layer. WB said that her mother taught her that "the People are on the backs of the Confederacy Chiefs," meaning that the Chiefs' message needed to go through the women first to ensure that it meets the needs of the People. The message flowed upwards, not downwards as in DIAND's operational structure. WB adapted the inverted pyramid, placing herself at the bottom and her students at the top to illustrate who mattered most in her schools – the children. This grounded her administrative practice in her mother's leadership, wisdom, and cultural understandings.[252] In the process, it also made WB's leadership style inherently Haudenosaunee.

As men moved into retirement, they helped prepare new administrators who replaced them. The process was similar to what experienced principals did for Ivan and Ed as teacher-administrators at their principals' organization in the 1960s and 70s. Ed offered his assistance to the administrators at OMSK shortly after it opened and absorbed the student populations of Nos. 1, 3, and 8 Schools. "When they would request my presence, I would go," he said. "I really appreciated being able to give some input that way."[253] Ed recalled that it was not uncommon for Judy Rueben, his niece who worked as an administrator there, to call him to ask him questions now and then. He even returned on a few occasions to be a judge in a variety of different types of school competitions.[254]

As women moved into administrative positions in the new schools, they brought with them a tradition of Haudenosaunee female leadership. Since at least 1987, the community looked to build an education system that was inherently Haudenosaunee in character through the Community Education Project. A return to female leadership aligned with this new vision. This was

especially important to WB, because of her traditional background and her active involvement in the Longhouse community. Beyond that, it was important for both male and female students to see women in leadership positions. I note a case in point; S2 spoke how Brenda Davis had inspired her to become a physical education teacher. Importantly, female students saw themselves represented in leadership positions in their schools, which reinforced positive images of Haudenosaunee women as leaders.[255]

Administrative Control over Local Initiatives

Female administrators changed the composition of leadership in their schools, but they also changed administrative control and what it looked like in a system where the Department eliminated centralized leadership. Following the boycott of 1989, the Department got rid of its Superintendent position. Instead, it began a site-based management approach where administrators controlled their individual schools. Principals met at district meetings to communicate a sense of overall direction and cohesion to the system, but in essence, individual principals managed their schools independently of each other. But site-based management was a double-edged sword, so to speak. Principals and vice-principals lacked the centralized leadership that they needed to improve the whole education system.[256] This created an environment where some schools struggled, while others performed better, depending on their leadership.[257] The Department also lacked policies needed for the day-to-day operation of the schools. As a result, principals developed their own policies and took on initiatives to improve the community's education system that otherwise should have been developed by the Department. Under these less-than-ideal circumstances, administrative control actually improved as the Department pulled away to leave principals more or less to their own devices.

HAWKEYE, S2, and WB built their administrative practice around their initial motivations for moving into school leadership. As an administrator working outside Six Nations, HAWKEYE was always interested in mentoring and mentorship. Throughout her career, she looked for new ways to support teachers.[258] She did this by designing and writing operational policy for her schools. For example, she wrote beginning of the year procedures to ensure that teachers and administrators knew when and where to submit certain documentation.[259] This way, they needed only to consult a manual on their desk to get the answers that they needed. S2 followed a similar path in policy design and implementation. As a teacher, she realized that the Department lacked procedures to ensure the safety of staff and students in the schools. As a result, she began to research and develop a Safe Schools policy in her graduate studies and later a policy to address behavioural and discipline concerns at her school. And finally, WB relied on her traditional background and knowledge of Haudenosaunee culture and language to inform her practice. In one of her initiatives, she approached the Department to have Midwinter Ceremony recognized as a holiday. She also developed a special education program that built upon Haudenosaunee values of respecting the unique gifts of each child.

In some instances, administrative control improved due to Departmental inefficiencies, while at the same time burdening administrators with responsibilities that ultimately should have been overseen by Departmental staff. This was an especially glaring problem regarding the importance of district policy design and implementation. To many, it seemed that little had been

done since 1982, when the Department published *Indian Education Paper: Phase 1*. It had concluded that, "At no time ha[d] the Federal government developed the institutional framework to enable it to deliver comprehensive educational services to Indians."[260] When she moved into administration at Six Nations in the mid-1990s, HAWKEYE said that she had few operational policies to turn to.[261] Similarly, S2 said, "there was nothing."[262] Without standardized policy, administrators relied upon their own experience or intuition to make decisions. This left them personally exposed should anything go terribly wrong in their schools, whether it be a student medical emergency, a threatening or violent visitor, or fire, for example. S2 used two scenarios of students pulling a fire alarm when there was no fire to illustrate her point. She said she could not discipline a kindergartener for pulling a fire alarm falsely the same way she could a grade eight student. There was no policy for her to follow, so she made her decision on what she felt was best for the student.[263] This meant explaining to a kindergartener why pulling that fire alarm is wrong, but to a grade eight student it might warrant a loss of privileges or a police officer visit to the school. In any case, administrators felt supported when they could rely upon policy to back their decisions, but this was not the case into the mid- to late-1990s.

The lack of policy also made room for innovation, however, as happened at WB's school. She had approached Alan Raslack, manager of program services at DIAND, to have Midwinter Ceremony recognized as a cultural holiday at her school during the school term. This eight-day Longhouse ceremony happens every year in the second week of January.[264] WB found that many traditional families from her school attended Longhouse during Midwinter Ceremony. This meant that sometimes fifty students out of approximately three hundred actually attended school.[265] Since some of her teaching staff were Clan Mothers and Faithkeepers, WB felt that the time would be better spent "gaining more cultural knowledge" by everyone being able to attend the Ceremony.[266] To her, the school had little to show "who we are" as Haudenosaunee people. She thought, "there are things we need to do to recognize who we are."[267] Getting time off for Midwinter Ceremony was one way to ensure that her school remained culturally connected to its broader community.

WB found support in the school community and from Alan Raslack, so getting Midwinters into the calendar year was not a difficult task. She knew by the school absences that most parents, teachers, and staff supported observing Midwinters. After Harvey Longboat's retirement, Raslack became the centralized leadership for the education system. For years, Dr. Hill and Longboat had insulated the school system from the Department, but new leadership meant shifting or new priorities. I was interested in finding out how WB interacted with the Department, so I asked her about the process working with Raslack:

> **Jesse:** Can you tell me a little more about the process working with Alan Raslack to get Midwinters observed?
>
> **WB:** He laid out the groundwork I would have to do. I had to get every staff member to sign that they would like that to happen. Everybody had to sign a sheet with their own hand. The majority did it. I think we only had one or two…and then it went to him and he approved it. So, we came back to school a week early. And then, we adjusted our calendar.[268]

In this instance, her interaction with the Department via Raslack was a positive one. WB brought the initiative to him in her first year as administrator. The following year, the school observed

Midwinter as a cultural holiday. Staff and students returned to school a week early from summer vacation to compensate for the week missed in January.

The ways that principals interacted with the Department to pursue local initiatives shows the complexity in administrative control at Six Nations. Administrators seemed to make the best that they could do out of the Department's site-based management structure. On one hand, they said that they needed centralized leadership to give the system direction.[269] On the other hand, with little Departmental oversight, principals pursued local initiatives to improve the system. In some instances, it was a difficult process to navigate. HAWKEYE and S2 developed policy in addition to their day-to-day responsibilities at school and to the community. They were overburdened with work that the Department should have developed, but both HAWKEYE and S2 knew that their work benefitted the community. WB had a positive experience getting the Department to recognize Midwinters as a cultural holiday. She had the support from her school community, and Raslack. So, in a way, site-based management both restricted and improved administrative control depending on the principal and the local initiative that they pursued.

Navigating the Department's Educational Structure: Principals' Perceptions of Administrative Control (Areas with the Most/Least Control)

Over the course of my consultations, conversations, and follow-up interviews with the Elders who had been administrators, it became clear that exercising administrative control was a complex process of navigating challenges due to Departmental policy or procedures. Also, the Department's lack of oversight created an environment where they had greater freedom to exercise administrative control and pursue local initiatives. However, examining administrative control by only investigating principals and the local initiatives that they pursued is one-dimensional, and does not fully reveal its complexity. To create a more comprehensive take on administrative control, I switched to more of an analytical, researcher role in my follow-up interviews by asking specific questions about aspects of administration over which these Elders who had been principals felt that they had the most and least control. This was different from the initial interview where I played more of a listener role and heard their stories about their time as administrators. In these conversations, administrative control emerged as being more complex, as principals sometimes agreed on areas in which they had the most and least control, but they sometimes contradicted each other. This is not to say that one administrator is correct in their experience and the other is incorrect. It just goes to show that the Elders had different experiences and perceptions of administrative control in their schools. This was also dependent on their own definitions of administrative control and how they were able to practice according to that definition, which I examine more fully in Chapter Five.

Broadly speaking, principals felt they had the most control over relationships with people within their school communities.[270] Mainly, this meant interactions with parents and teachers happening in different contexts. For example, Ed found that he had the most control over parent-teacher relationships, but he also emphasized his control over teacher evaluations and curriculum implementation.[271] My conversations with Ivan were different, and circulated more around discussions about sovereignty, but he also spoke about his control over teacher evaluations.[272] That principals felt that they had the most control over teacher evaluations makes sense, given that

they conduct them one-on-one with individual teachers and had little oversight from the Department. In them, the principal and teacher set an agreed upon date where the principal sat in on a lesson and evaluated the teacher's performance in light of the teacher's personal goals and the school's general goals for the year. The principal provided feedback to the teacher on strengths and areas for improvement and submitted the evaluation to the Department. If the principal expressed no concerns, the teacher generally kept his or her position. To WB, teacher evaluations were a standard procedure that were just one part of the job.[273] To HAWKEYE, they provided an opportunity to mentor teaching staff and develop their leadership skills.[274]

Principals' perceptions of hiring new teachers – in actuality, personnel control according to Barman *et.al.* – reveal the contentious relationship between administrative and personnel control, especially as some administrators, like S2, felt they had the most control over hiring while others did not.[275] She explained her reasoning in our first conversation:

> **Jesse:** Where do you feel you had the most control over the school as an administrator, and that could be any component or aspect of administration? Where did you have the most control?
>
> **S2:** I probably had the most control over hiring. When I first started you would go in as principal of the school and everybody was already hired. But, as the years went on I pretty much volunteered for every hiring committee, because if you needed a new teacher you needed to know what kind of skills they had, and that was the best way to do that.

Initially, S2 did not have control over who was in her school, but over the course of her career she worked to change that. Through our conversations, it became evident that she wanted to ensure that the people who worked in her school were passionate about teaching.[276] She said, "If we were hiring a Native or non-Native teacher, we wanted them to know about our people, and how special we are with our language and culture."[277] To ensure this, she volunteered on as many hiring committees as possible. This allowed for her to be at the initial point of contact between the teacher and the community to see whether the candidate cared about Haudenosaunee children. So, in S2's experience, she took an area of limited administrative control, and changed it into an area in which she felt she had the most control. The temporal setting of administrative practice also needs to be taken into consideration in examining control over hiring processes. As administrator in the old days of No. 11 School, Ivan said that the Department just assigned teachers to his school, so he had no control over which teachers worked for him.[278] However, this situation changed after he retired in 1994. At that time, S2 moved into administration in the community, and worked to gain greater control over who was in her school.

The aspect of administration that principals felt they had the most control over can be juxtaposed against the area of practice in which they felt they had the least control. Different circumstances either promoted or limited their administrative control, so examining both in conjunction creates a more accurate representation of principals and their practice. All of the Elders I spoke to pointed to the limitations that they felt existed in areas of political and financial control. In the areas where they felt they had the most control, they basically carried on unimpeded by the Department. Take, for example, the daily operation of the schools, evaluating teachers, and to a lesser degree, hiring processes. All of them talked, at one point or another, about funding and how it affected their practice as administrators. Lack of funding also tied, more broadly, into areas of the education system that were outside the roles and responsibilities of principals, but nev-

ertheless made an impact upon their work in the schools. So, the principals spoke about system-wide funding issues as well. As a result, administrative control must be examined in relation to larger system-wide problems affecting schools – particularly financial control.

First Nations schools were, and continue to be, chronically underfunded by the federal government. In 1982, the Department determined "funding of Indian and federal schools [was] inferior to provincial funding levels… despite the relatively greater cost of meeting the special demographic, social and economic circumstances of most Indian communities."[279] In actuality, First Nations communities needed more money per student due to the relative remoteness of many reserve communities and lack of educational resources. In 1988, the Assembly of First Nations criticized the federal government for its funding structure, calling on it to make multi-year funding agreements with First Nations, so they could design and implement long-range plans for their schools.[280] At the end of every fiscal year, usually in March, the Department asked that administrators submit nominal rolls (student enrolments) for the following year to secure funding for their schools. This practice meant that already limited funding fluctuated year to year, leaving little room for long-range planning.[281] Nominal roll data from the Department indicates that in 1996, First Nations students, on average, received $5,544 in funding compared to public school children who received $6,376 across Canada.[282] However, Bomcor Associates determined in 2001, that children in Six Nations received $4,780 compared to public schools in Ontario that received $6,512 per student – a difference of $1,732, or roughly a quarter less funding.[283]

The funding shortfall was not lost on the Elders, who discussed how finances limited their administrative practice.[284] Its effect manifested itself in different ways, particularly regarding teacher and student level resources, as well as system-wide programs and services. Ed did not speak about funding directly, but he mentioned that he had the least control over aspects of education that depended on an increase in financial resources. For him, he had the least control over student access to educational assistants, special education programs, teaching, and student materials – in other words, classroom materials.[285] For Ivan, funding appeared to be a little more complex of a problem:

> **Jesse:** Was there ever an issue where you felt the school was underfunded and you weren't able to do your job properly?
>
> **Ivan:** Well, you always looked for more money (laughter) no matter how much you got. But, it seemed like funding was no problem, really.

Ivan clarified his position in our follow-up conversation: "Funding was always a problem," he said, "like for getting textbooks and teacher assistants. The allotment never seemed to go far enough. School trips – we were limited with what they provided us. We just made the best of what we got, I guess."[286]

S2 echoed a similar sentiment regarding textbooks: "There were so many things that weren't in our control," she said, "for example, textbook budgets. The textbook budget did not increase from the time I started teaching to the time I retired as a principal. It did not change. It got worse, because of inflation."[287] However, she did describe a way around textbook budget limitations:

> We weren't able to get what we wanted when we wanted, so it was difficult. You had to prioritize, but there was a saving grace. At the end of the fiscal year, and most of our bosses were able to do this, they took money from other departments when they had a

> surplus… And, that was basically how we were able to maintain. So, even though the budgets never increased most years, at the end of the fiscal year in the middle of March, we had our purchase orders ready to go and that's how we survived.[288]

On the other hand, WB felt she had enough money for textbooks, and textbook budgets did not affect her practice.[289]

Although S2 felt she was able to 'survive' on fiscal surpluses, she clearly indicated that a lack of funding negatively affected access to system-wide services like psychological testing (psych. ed. testing) for students to formally identify their learning exceptionalities.[290] This testing helps educators accommodate students and modify their education program, known as an Individual Education Plan, to address their unique learning needs. "Some years we wouldn't have access to testing," S2 said. Sometimes, her school went four or five years without the testing.[291] The Department provided access to maybe one or two tests a year, so, like S2 said, students went years without being tested.

Based upon their experiences, most principals expressed that they wanted improved financial control over teacher and student level resources like textbooks, and system-wide programs and services like psych. ed. testing, access to casual supply teachers, and educational assistants. Little to no financial control over these aspects of education hindered their practice and administrative control. Take, S2's experience, for example, if she had increased access to financial resources for psych. ed. testing, she would have been able to get students with learning exceptionalities tested and identified. Without it, she could not. She described the process as "growing pains as far as funding goes."[292] She simply endured the lack of financial resources. However, she 'survived' financial limitations by receiving Departmental surpluses at the end of the fiscal year. Similarly, Ivan 'made the best' of what he got. It shows that financial control restricted administrative control in certain circumstances, but it also shows that administrators managed limited resources to exercise it. This is not to say that additional funding was not needed, because it clearly was – textbook budgets not increasing in over thirty years is a problem – but administrators still found a way to manage limited resources in a developing school system. It is important that they are recognized for their work despite the limitations.

A Second Look at Local Control: Six Nations Education Commission (SNEC), 2001-2005

Although the Community Education Project shut down in 1994 and the transition to local control fell through due to community concerns over political and financial control, educators developed, in many ways, a *de facto* vision of cultural education in Six Nations. In consultation with community steering committees, Six Nations architect Brian Porter designed the physical spaces of the new, consolidated schools to symbolize Haudenosaunee culture. Students, parents, and educators saw themselves represented in the buildings around them. Female administrators moved into leadership positions in their schools, thus underlining in a contemporary sense, Haudenosaunee traditions that valued women as leaders in the community. Although the Department retained financial control over the system, these women pursued local initiatives to improve their schools and the whole educational system at Six Nations. They also worked around financial limitations to exercise administrative control. Meanwhile, recovering control over education remained an undercurrent in community education circles into the later 1990s.

In 2000, the Auditor General of Canada criticized the Department of Indian Affairs for its mismanagement of Indigenous education, prompting Six Nations band council to reexamine recovering local control of education. In his report, Denis Desautels stated that Indian Affairs Canada could not demonstrate that it met its stated objective to assist First Nations students living on reserve in achieving their educational needs and aspirations.[293] On-reserve First Nations students had very low graduation rates. Roughly half of them dropped out before receiving their diplomas.[294] The auditor general estimated that it would take twenty years to close the educational attainment gap between First Nations and other Canadians.[295] Given the national picture of Indigenous education, Six Nations band council initiated a formal evaluation of its elementary education to identify community needs and provide recommendations for improvement.

To do this, band council contracted the evaluation of its school system to Bomcor Associates, while also establishing an Education Steering Committee consisting of home and school representatives, one principal, one Department employee, and two community members to oversee the operation, and to consult in the organization of the evaluation process.[296] For its research Bomcor interviewed administrators, teachers, support staff, parents, the band council, and Indian Affairs employees. It aimed to assess and evaluate seven aspects of the education system including: management, program delivery, curriculum resources, school climate, facilities and furnishings, communications, and community involvement. Its final report, *Six Nations Comprehensive Elementary School Evaluation*, published in December 2001, found fundamental problems in the education system, particularly regarding its overall management.

In its criticism of the Department's site-based management structure, the report reiterated many of the managerial problems that DIAND had identified in its own system back in 1982. For one, it identified two sets of employees accountable to different organizations within the same system. The band council employed educational assistants and janitorial staff. For a time, this included language teachers.[297] Meanwhile, Indian Affairs employed administrators and teachers. This created accountability issues as band council employees found themselves working in an environment where they were not the formal responsibility of the Department or school administrators. The report concluded that Six Nations possessed no formal education system because the community lacked a regular organizational structure, board-level governance, and school-based objectives. The Six Nations Education Board dissolved after it was unable to maintain any momentum into the mid-90s. It also lacked operational policies, some of which HAWKEYE and 2S developed locally. Without a Superintendent of schools, Six Nations lacked centralized leadership in matters of education.[298] The report was a scathing indictment of the Department, which had failed to fulfill its educational obligations to Six Nations children. Over nearly two decades it oscillated between ignoring the community as had been the case before the boycott, then pressuring it into assuming local control (and in the process leaving unanswered questions about the motivations behind its funding of the CEP), and then it turned to ignore the community yet again through site-based management.

The Bomcor report made a series of recommendations designed to improve the education system at Six Nations where the Department had seemingly failed, with an underlying premise that the community would recover local control – this time on its own terms. It recommended that the band council establish an interim education authority to facilitate educational revitalization. In other words, revamp a new articulation of the former SNEB. It also suggested that the

band council develop a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) to identify the roles and responsibilities of both the band council and the education authority. It maintained that Indian Affairs needed to fund the education authority and reinstate the superintendency. Finally, it recommended that the band council facilitate a process to decide on how to recover control of education. In many ways, it was the Community Education Project, a decade later.

By March 2002, the band council responded by forming the Interim Six Nations Education Authority Working Group (ISNEAWG). Linda Staats, councillor responsible for the education portfolio, brought together members of the Secondary Education Research Project (SERP), who had been working on developing a locally controlled high school system since at least 1997, and members of the Community Education Project. Together they would, "carry out the research necessary, develop a comprehensive plan and make recommendations for quality education for Six Nations through local authority and control."[299] By June, Claudine VanEvery-Albert, owner of TEWATATIS Education Consultants and an experienced community educator earned the contract to conduct the initial phase of research into recovering control. She reviewed previous research into community control, including work completed by the CEP and Six Nations Education Board. She also assessed and evaluated the experiences of other First Nations communities that had transitioned to local control, identifying the issues that they experienced. Much like the CEP, she used surveys, questionnaires, and meetings to consult with community members, and listen to their opinions about local control. Based on her research, on October 7, 2002, ISNEAWG proposed five options to the band council regarding directions for change in the Six Nations education system. The community could opt for: an incorporated group to run the system; or, be controlled by the band council; or, fall under community control through the Six Nations Education Authority; or, it could leave education under the jurisdiction of the Department; or, finally, it could maintain *status-quo* (do nothing).[300] The band council considered ISNEAWG's recommendations and responded by establishing the Six Nations Education Commission (SNEC) in December to become the formal body to facilitate the transition of education to local control.

The SNEC, chaired by Deneen Montour, and co-ordinated by Claudine VanEvery-Albert, took on two important roles to assist in the negotiations between band council and the Department, and to develop essential components of the Six Nations Education Authority. This included creating its constitution, by-laws, financial policies, operations manual, and board of directors, as well as establishing a transition plan for assuming control by 2005. During this time, HAWKEYE moved out of administration and worked on policy for SNEC. "I worked for the Six Nations Education Commission as a curriculum writer," she said. "I remember, I wrote 132 day policies that would affect the schools on a day-to-day basis, so that they had something they hadn't really had before. They had policies that would support you as a teacher and guide you."[301] Her work with SNEC aligned nicely with the way she valued mentoring. By that point, she was an experienced writer of operational policy. SNEC also had other educators working on policy development as well, for example, Terry-Lynn Brant developed personnel policy, while Frank Miller created culture and language policy. Upon reflection, HAWKEYE said, "Under Claudine VanEvery-Albert, we did great work."[302]

Much like the CEP, however, the SNEC was not immune to internal divisions in the community. The proposed Six Nations Education Authority (SNEA) would report to the band council, reigniting dissent from traditional families who did not recognize its authority. The dual

organizational structure of the education system created other problems, especially for HAWK-EYE who looked to complete her work on policy development:

> I don't know how much of this came from the supervisors at Indian Affairs, or the grass-roots teachers, I have no idea, but a big wall was put up between us. We did not have the freedom of going into the schools and working with teachers or administrators, which you think would be a good thing if we're looking to take over education, or getting input on different policies, or procedures… Each time we had to get written permission to go into the schools.[303]

Even though she was from the community and had worked as a federal employee for years, now, as a band employee working for SNEC, HAWKEYE experienced resistance from a system she helped to develop. Based upon her experience as an administrator, she is probably correct in her assumption that the metaphorical wall – or rather, the Buckskin Curtain – she ran into through sign-ins, and written permission came from centralized leadership at the Department. It is unclear where the directive came from, but A. Luanne Martin indicated in her report, *Six Nations Path to Educational Freedom*, that Kathy Knott, director of federal schools at the time, would not meet with SNEC until Six Nations assumed control of education. The situation is complicated further when we consider that WB recalled having a positive working relationship with Kathy Knott over the course of her career.[304] Perhaps, in this instance, much like Dr. Hill, or Harvey Longboat before her, Kathy Knott simply delivered the message from the Department.[305]

The transition to local control and administration of education through the Six Nations Education Authority relied upon band council securing adequate funding from the Department, which was no easy task. In June 2005, SNEC estimated total elementary, secondary, and head office operational costs for September 2006 to be approximately $19,741,000.[306] The Department estimated costs at $17,220,000.[307] However, it only protected funds allocated for nominal roll (student enrolments), staff salaries, grants, special education, and program improvement until June 2007. After that, the Department gave no assurances that it would adequately fund the education system under community control. Secondary tuition payments to Grand Erie District School Board also siphoned off $4.6 million of the budget, thus re-emphasizing the need for a fully funded high school in the community.[308] Education money needed to stay in the community for local control to work. Despite ongoing communications between SNEC, band council, and the Department throughout 2003 and 2004, Indian Affairs terminated the project in February 2005.

The SNEC experienced the same fundamental problems of political and financial control as had the CEP. The proposed Six Nations Education Authority ultimately answered to the band council and worked within the Department's devolution policy. This alienated traditional families who followed the Confederacy Council of Chiefs. Although the Department contended that it fulfilled its responsibilities to fund SNEC and its transition plan, the band council could not commit to a financial plan that did not ensure adequate funding levels beyond 2007. The Department's vision for local control still did not align with the community's vision, and the same fundamental problems remained unsolved even after SNEC shut down. The Lifelong Learning Task Force continues to try to find solutions to these fundamental problems of political and financial control. To it, self-determination and sovereignty over education lay outside the Department's educational structure, not within it.

Administrative Control as Inherent Acts of Self-determination

Administrative control in Six Nations has evolved over time as teacher-administrators and principals worked in the community's numbered and consolidated schools. In their own ways, Ivan and Ed exercised administrative control over their schools to help their teaching staff and students. To Ed, emphasizing sport was important in providing opportunities for Haudenosaunee children. His goal was to ensure that students were prepared for grades seven and eight at J.C. Hill Elementary. Ivan assured me that without his leadership in the traditional No. 11 School community, the children would not have had the strong cultural and language background they needed to be sure of their Haudenosaunee identity. During the numbered school era, Dr. Hill and Harvey Longboat's leadership insulated and supported Ed and Ivan, thus ensuring that they were able to exercise administrative control over their schools. When it reached its limits before and during the community boycott, parents and families defended administrative control and self-determination over the education system. The situation changed thereafter once the Department repackaged its educational policy as site-based management and left local principals with little support or direction. The schools had changed, and so had the leadership. They worked within the Department's site-based management structure to improve their schools and develop the new system. While the community looked towards self-determination and sovereignty over the education system through the Six Nations Education Commission, local principals were already doing it in their own schools. As Haudenosaunee women, they were – and are – already inherently sovereign. Despite the limitations of the Department's site-based management *status quo*, by exercising administrative control and pursuing local initiatives, these women reclaimed sovereignty over their individual schools within Indian Affairs, not outside it.

Conclusion: Definitions, Perceptions and Practices - Nested Sovereignty, Self-Recognition and Reframing Administrative Control as Inherent Acts of Self-determination

> *Coming to know the past* has been part of the critical pedagogy of decolonization. To hold alternative histories is to hold alternative knowledges. The pedagogical implication of this access to alternative knowledges is that they can form the basis of alternative ways of doing things. Transforming our colonized views of our own history (as written by the West), however, requires us to revisit site by site, our history under Western eyes. This in turn requires a theory or approach which helps us to engage with, understand and then act upon history.[309]
>
> – Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*

> Yeah, I signed the oath. It didn't change anything. A piece of paper doesn't affect or change who I am.[310]
>
> – WB on signing the oath of allegiance to the Crown as a Public Service Employee

Linda Smith's words begin this Chapter because they perfectly encapsulate the entire methodological process and understanding of this project from its conception, through my collaboration with community Elders and interpretation of their stories, to the final praxis of it all – sharing important lessons from their lived experiences on administration of elementary education in Six Nations in contemporary times. Smith's words that coming to know the past means transforming our colonized views of our own history by revisiting it 'site by site' are fitting here because of the way administrative control evolved over time in Six Nations from one of insulation to site-based management. As we have seen, whether it be Ivan and Ed exercising administrative control throughout the numbered school era of the 1960s, 70s, and 80s, or HAWKEYE, S2, and WB into the consolidated era of the mid-90s and beyond, the Department employed an educational strategy that created barriers to their practice in some instances, mainly financial, but more or less ignored them or left them to their own devices to run their schools as they saw fit. Administrative control was a site-by-site practice, so I needed to revisit the Elders' stories and lived experiences site by site, school by school to create a more comprehensive understanding of it. While it has been argued that this is not real control, but delegated authority that maintained the Department's *status quo*, the words and experiences of principals at Six Nations prove otherwise.

I chose WB's words here because they exemplify reframing, nested sovereignty, and self-recognition in practice – the theories I have used to interpret the principals' lived experiences as inherent acts of self-determination and sovereignty – and why local definitions, perceptions, and practices of administrative control provide the impetus for engaging with, understanding, and acting upon history as suggested by Smith. The key piece here is that the Department did not determine what administrative control was, or is for that matter, nor did the National Indian Brotherhood or Assembly of First Nations. Local Haudenosaunee principals did and continue to do so, so I must turn to them to understand administrative control as they reframed it.

In my conversations with the Elders, perhaps WB articulated Warrior's process-centred expression of sovereignty most effectively. While Emily C. General refused to sign the oath and the Department subsequently fired her in 1948, and while Ivan suffered repercussions in the Longhouse community later for signing it, it had no bearing on WB, her administrative practice, or who she was as a Haudenosaunee woman. Her words stuck with me: "It didn't change anything," she said. "A piece of paper doesn't affect or change who I am." In my estimation, neither should working within the Department's educational framework, and here is why: WB's insightful reflection was Audra Simpson's idea of nested sovereignty in practice and should be recognized as such. WB was, and is, inherently sovereign as a Haudenosaunee woman. Like Simpson's Mohawk ironworkers who were sovereign before, especially during, and after crossing the Canadian American border in her, *Mohawk Interruptus*, so too was WB as she signed the oath. Her signing it did not acquiesce to the authority of the Department or the Canadian settler-state for that matter, rather it expressed Haudenosaunee sovereignty as she saw it. WB continued to draw upon her cultural knowledge and language to exercise a distinctively Haudenosaunee brand of administrative control in her schools.[311] By extension, the inherently sovereign Haudenosaunee principals at Six Nations – their definitions, perceptions, and practices of administrative control – need to be recognized for what they are according to them, not according to the historical processes that developed throughout the 1970s, 80s and 90s to define administrative control as delegated authority. Only by reaffirming their practices as inherent acts of self-determination and sovereignty over education can we engage with, understand, and then act upon the history of administrative control in Six Nations to change perceptions of it and improve it.

In this final Chapter, I return once again to backward design to conclude that in reflecting upon their careers – particularly regarding their definitions, perceptions, and practices of administrative control – the principals whom I spoke to determined that they had a high degree of sovereignty despite the political and financial limitations of the Department's educational framework. As inherently sovereign Haudenosaunee people, they reframed administrative control site by site and school by school. So, if we are to *know the past* of Six Nations educational history and 'know alternative knowledges,' we must listen to the stories of these Elders to recognize and reaffirm their administrative practices for what they are - inherent acts of self-determination and sovereignty.

To come to this conclusion, I draw upon my Content, Instructional Methods and Assessment Tools once again. As my Content, I examine the administrators' definitions, perceptions, and practices of administrative control by asking them to define it, determine while they practiced according to their definition, and whether or not their perceptions of responsibility and accountability had any bearing on that determination. The principals reflect upon their administrative practice in this Chapter, so I draw upon their stories as my Instructional Methods. Because the principals exercised administrative control site by site and school by school, their voices are essential to define it at a local level. These local, Haudenosaunee principals – not the Department or NIB/AFN – are the ones whose views matter here. And, finally, my Assessment Tools fully reframe nested sovereignty and self-recognition to determine that Haudenosaunee principals, whether they knew it or not at the time, practiced inherent acts of self-determination when they exercised administrative control over their schools and, as much as they could within the

Department's educational framework, when they fulfilled their responsibilities to students, parents, and the community at large at Six Nations.

Principals' Reflections: Definitions, Perceptions and Practices of Administrative Control

In the previous Chapter, the Elders I interviewed shared stories about how they exercised administrative control over their schools by pursuing local initiatives while navigating the Department's site-based management framework that placed political and financial limitations on their practice. They did this while also improving their autonomy in the absence of a local, centralized leadership figure controlling them. They shared what they did as principals with stories that revealed how they reframed administrative control on the ground at their schools. If their actions reveal that administrative control was not delegated authority as the AFN defined it, then questions remain as to how they defined it themselves. My follow-up conversations with them centred on finding the answers to two important questions: How did these principals define administrative control, and were they able to practice according to that definition? As they reflected upon their lived experiences, it became clear that defining administrative control at the local level was just as complex as defining it nationally as seen throughout the 1970s and 1980s. Some administrators spoke to control over the system in a political and financial way, while others focused on their experience of it through their individual roles as principals. They each acknowledged the complexity of defining and exercising administrative control – or control over the education system for that matter – but they all concluded that they had authority over their schools to run them according to their own personal definitions of it.

Each of the principals interpreted control over their administrative practice quite differently, which was something reflected in their definitions that included, in some instances, a focus on the day-to-day operations of their schools, as well as other areas of control as outlined by Barman *et.al.,* including control over political, financial, curricular and personnel matters. I asked them how they defined 'control' over their administrative practice.[312] In answering this question Ed focused upon Dr. Hill's leadership when he defined it. He said, "His tutorship, easy-going demeanour, and genuine concern for his staff made it relatively easy to accept 'control' as a teacher and principal in the education process."[313] In other words, Ed easily accepted directives from superiors like Hill and Harvey Longboat.[314] HAWKEYE focused on leadership style and the day-to-day operations of her school, while also identifying that Indian Affairs was ultimately responsible for her employment:

> It comes down to leadership style. It comes down to confidence, knowledge, skills, and experience. On an operational basis, I control the day-to-day operations of the school. Evaluation of teachers is on me, not Indian Affairs. Home and School is on me. Discipline is on me. I collected information, and called the Director. Ultimately, my employer is Indian Affairs. They would assign budgets, and it was my responsibility to look after them. They can close the schools. They determined snow days. Some of this changed later in my career.[315]

S2's definition tied more so into curricular control, especially as provincial standardized testing like EQAO increasingly became a measure of the quality of education in Six Nations. "If we have control, we are able to listen to the parents, community, and kids to see what they want,"

she said. "A lot of it has been done with language and culture, making the curriculum our own. Our history and our values."[316] To S2, control meant ensuring that the curricular content the students were to learn was distinctively Haudenosaunee in nature. In working from this definition, WB focused on community input as a form of political control over the system. To her, control meant creating a board that was apolitical to make decisions that were in the best interest of the People. She emphasized the importance of their accountability to the community, which meant including members outside of education. "Everybody ignores us old folk," she joked. "You need to have an Elder on the board."[317] Ivan provided the most comprehensive definition of control over administration by expanding it to all areas of control. Like Ed, to him control meant following the directives of the Director of Indian Affairs (Superintendent or Regional Manager). It also included his control over remuneration and hiring processes, curriculum, evaluation of staff, and educational programs, including counsellors, teaching assistants, and special education teachers. He also emphasized the importance of his controlling the money to fund the system.[318]

Defining administrative control became even more complex as principals reflected upon their ability to practice according to their definitions when the Department imposed upon the daily operation of the schools. Ed did not elaborate on this point beyond saying that it was easy to accept control from local superiors like Dr. Hill and Harvey Longboat. HAWKEYE indicated that she practiced according to her day-to-day operational definition, but she critiqued the Department's 'office-oriented' structure for being detached from the educational context in Six Nations. "Sometimes, there were boundaries set. There were limits set," she said. "If something came out of Toronto and they said they needed this information right away – nothing to do with the day-to-day operation of the school – I had to get it in." She continued, "There was an instance about getting things in for bonuses. My priority was the 325 kids, not numbers that had nothing to do with operating the school." There were also instances when HAWKEYE wanted to attend webinar training the Department offered, but it was during instructional time when it worked for the 'Mandarins' in Toronto, rather than after three o'clock when it worked for local educators.[319] So, yes, HAWKEYE was able to practice according to her definition of control, but she also needed to check her e-mails regularly to meet the demands from Indian Affairs.

For the principals who spoke to curricular control, their responses supported Barman *et.al.*'s conclusion that administrative control and curriculum are tied closely together and can influence one another. As we have seen, curriculum in Six Nations changed over time from one in the 1880s where farm and house work were taught because "Indians were unable to absorb more knowledge," through the adoption of the Ontario provincial curriculum in the early twentieth century and EQAO standardized testing in the mid-2000s.[320] Reflecting upon the changing curriculum, S2 responded "Yes, and no" to the question about whether she was able to exercise administrative control via the curriculum. "We had to follow government rules," she said. "It might have been easier when I first started in the 70s. We could pretty much do what we wanted. There was increased accountability to parents with EQAO, so language and culture may have taken the back burner. More teachers were teaching to the test. We were more accountable in reading and math." To her, the EQAO testing that evaluated the reading, writing, and math scores of children from Six Nations and compared them against all other elementary schools in Ontario entailed a compromise between her teaching students who they are as Haudenosaunee children, against striving to achieve educational testing results that maintained parity with schools across

the province. This led to a decrease in administrative control via curriculum when the focus shifted from teaching content to preparing students for standardized tests. She acknowledged, however, that increased accountability in reading, writing and math were a "good thing" for the students. S2's response suggests that Indigenous educators must collaborate with the province to ensure a balance between providing culture and language in the Ontario curriculum and a teacher's accountability to ensure that their students acquire the skill levels required in reading, writing and math subjects.[321]

For principals from the Longhouse tradition, definitions of administrative control included political and financial aspects, which disconnected how they defined control from their daily practice. Their responses revealed that they negotiated Haudenosaunee sovereignty quite differently over the course of their careers. Ivan, for example, found it more difficult to negotiate his personal beliefs rather than exercise administrative control over No. 11 School. His swearing allegiance to the Crown as a Public Service employee made him ineligible to become a Chief of the Confederacy Council. He also did not agree with the way that the federal government's code of ethics barred him from speaking publicly in support of the community boycott or limited his ability to criticize the band council's authority in matters of education. "I tried my best to live under those conditions," he said. "I guess the two months off in summer helped out a lot," he joked. "I was able to choose what I read or what I heard. I tried my best to live a life where I stayed away from the band council and their system."[322] Alternatively, for WB, no contradictions lay between her traditional beliefs and her ability to work for Indian Affairs. "Was self-determination and sovereignty in the foreground of your thoughts as an administrator," I asked, "or did you think about the job as a way to do what's best for the community?" "I didn't think either way really," she replied. "I guess for me it was, okay, this is what I'm going into, how do I make it work for me?" She relied on her cultural knowledge and language to make the system work for her, not the other way around. WB's response reveals that although principals in Six Nations worked with the Department, its political and financial limitations did not always influence their work or their personal understandings of it. Just as Simpson suggests, sovereignties can exist within sovereignties. Administrative control as self-determination can exist within the Department's education system, it is not negated by it. It simply comes down to school principals negotiating that process and defining it according to their lived experiences and understandings. It is a decision they make in their hearts, in their minds, and in their bodies to be sovereign and find out what that means along the way.

Reframing Administrative Control as a Responsibility to Community

In addition to reframing administrative control as they lived it, upon reflection, the principals reframed their understanding of it to mean their fulfilling a responsibility to the Six Nations community. This approach shifts the power dynamic fundamentally away from principals negotiating administrative control and self-determination within the federal education system, to their doing so with students, parents, and the community at large. Their answers to my questions reveal that although they worked within the federal system and lacked political and financial control, the Department's limitations did not matter if they could support students, parents, and teachers on a daily basis in their schools. Fulfilling their obligations to the Department, like

completing budgets, nominal roll, or reports, were simply a by-product of exercising administrative control and self-determination in their schools.

To come to this conclusion, I asked the five principals who they felt most accountable or responsible to in their schools. Initially, I intended to ask only about accountability, but HAWKEYE made it clear that there was a distinct difference between accountability to the Department and responsibility to the community. "There is a close line between accountability and responsibility," she said. "I was accountable to my employer (Indian Affairs) for the things they gave me to do. I was accountable for completing teacher evaluations. I had an obligation to them for information they asked for." She maintained that that was the way things should be. Alternatively, the idea of responsibility meant answering to the community for the things she did in her school every day. "I have to be responsible to parents, students, staff and the community," she said.[323]

Due to HAWKEYE's differentiation between ideas of accountability and responsibility, I asked the four other principals who they felt the most accountable and responsible to, and whether a difference exists between the two notions, but they indicated that there really was not. Despite this, their responses revealed that to them accountability entailed their fulfilling financial obligations to the Department, while responsibility meant their fulfilling a moral obligation to parents, students, staff, and community. "I had to be accountable mostly to the parents, the community, and then the District Superintendent of Education, and then Indian Affairs, I guess," Ivan said.[324] Similarly, S2 said, "I was accountable to the children, parents and community."[325] WB felt most accountable to parents, students, and her school communities, while acknowledging that she did not necessarily feel accountable to the Department. "We had the Ontario curriculum, and everything was provided for us," she said. To her, the situation was akin to 'Here are the materials. Do what you want with them.'[326] WB did, however, acknowledge her financial obligation to the Department: "You had to do your special education reports," she said. "You had to do your nominal roll. You couldn't just not do them, because that was how you got your money… They were just reports. I didn't see it as anything other than that." To her, accountability to the Department just entailed fulfilling her responsibility to the community. She summed up her relationship with the Department quite matter of factly: "Any job you're in, you do have to report to someone (laughter)."[327] Reporting to the Department did not really matter. The school and students needed money after all.

Yet just as administrative control evolved over time, so too did the way at least one principal perceived accountability.[328] S2 had defined administrative control closely in relation to curricular control, especially EQAO, so her understanding of accountability also lay tied into it. "I was accountable to my supervisor for EQAO scores," she said. "There were a handful of parents who paid attention to scores."[329] The administration of provincial, standardized testing into the 2000s, however, changed this. Before then, teachers and administrators could operate more independently from Ontario standards and could adapt the provincial curriculum to their local contexts. She did, however, say that Six Nations was, "in our own little world, because education was such a small component of the federal government."[330] Her response reflected the Department's site-based management framework where principals and individual schools had no centralized leadership. Lack of oversight meant more autonomy for principals to operate their schools as they pleased, but EQAO did change that to a degree.

This integrating of the Elders' perceptions of administrative control as their professional responsibility to the community provides an excellent example of Linda Smith's idea of reframing in action to offer new insight into articulating processes of self-determination in education. As I state in my Introduction Chapter, Smith explains that, "The framing of an issue is about making decisions about its parameters, about what is in the foreground, what is in the background, and what shadings or complexities exist within the frame."[331] By now, it should be clear that the principals' exercising of administrative control in Six Nations schools has had certain political and financial parameters set around it, but their perceptions and stories reveal that fulfilling obligations to the Department were not a high priority for them; they stood in the background, being less important, and sometimes not there at all. To them the well-being of the community stood first and foremost in the foreground as an issue of high importance in their work in education at Six Nations. So, ideas of framing administrative control must focus upon the principals and their ability to fulfill what they saw as their moral obligations to parents, students, and staff day in and day out.

Reframing administrative control as a responsibility to the community fundamentally shifts the analysis away from a focus upon the Department and its limitations to the way principals articulate and express sovereignty over their practice and schools. It makes room for different ways of understanding administrative control. Certainly, in the time frame examined in this project, roughly 1960 to 2005, self-determination in education evolved to mean full political and financial control at the local level; sovereignty over education as a destination, not a process. By framing the issue as a destination leaves little room for different (and local) understandings of administrative control as self-determination in its own right. As Warrior says, "The path to sovereignty… is the path to freedom."[332] Certainly there are different theories to help explain that path and make sense of sovereignty in an educational context.

Nested Sovereignty and Self-Recognition

As the Elders' stories have shown, administrative control is more than delegated authority as suggested by the AFN in *Tradition and Education* in 1988; it is a complex process of negotiating definitions, practices, and perceptions within the Department of Indian Affairs educational framework. Administrative control, in Six Nations at least, was not about principals maintaining the Department's *status quo*, but about their exercising self-determination and, in turn, sovereignty over education through their daily practice. The Department's devolution policy left little room for the local control that many First Nations sought in the three decades following the NIB's *Indian Control of Indian Education* of 1972. The Six Nations band council looked to recover control on two separate occasions between 1988 to 1994 with the Community Education Project, and between 2001 to 2005 with the Six Nations Education Commission. But the Department's vision for First Nations education where it retained political and financial control did not align with the community's vision for control over its own education system. As a result, Six Nations has never recovered local control of education, and it continues to explore solutions through the Lifelong Learning Task Force that lay outside of the Department's devolution framework. In this apparent gridlock, listening to the lived experiences and stories of Elders from the community must determine what administrative control means in a local sense, and in the

process, explain why that despite working for the federal government, administrators felt that they had control over their schools. Audra Simpson's idea, nested sovereignty, explains how and why their actions were inherently self-determining and sovereign, despite their not having political and financial control over the system. Glen Sean Coulthard's idea of self-recognition provides a validation of their actions as such. Sovereignties can exist within sovereignties, just as administrative control as self-determination can exist within the context of federally run education.

In Simpson's conception of nested sovereignty, she fundamentally calls into question the legitimacy of the sovereignty of the settler-state, which when applied to an educational context challenges the way the NIB/AFN have interpreted administrative control as delegated authority and not self-determination. I quote her words at length here, because of their centrality to my interpretation of stories of the Elders interviewed for this research and their lived experiences of administrative control as inherent acts of self-determination. In her assertion that "sovereignty may exist within sovereignty," Simpson states:

> One does not entirely negate the other, but they necessarily stand in terrific tension and pose serious jurisdictional and normative challenges to each other: Whose citizen are you? What authority do you answer to? One challenges the very legitimacy of the other. As Indigenous nations are enframed by settler states that call themselves nations and appear to have a monopoly on institutional and military power, this is a significant assertion. There is more than one *political* show in town… Like Indigenous bodies, Indigenous sovereignties and Indigenous political orders prevail within and apart from settler governance. This form of "nested sovereignty" has implications for the sturdiness of nation-states over all…[333]

At the core of her understanding of Indigenous sovereignty lays the idea that Indigenous peoples are inherently sovereign, regardless of the way the nation state tries to frame its own sovereignty or sovereignty over Indigenous peoples. If sovereignty is understood as a given, then it fundamentally changes the way that administrative control is interpreted.

Administrative control as self-determination and inherent sovereignty over education stands in terrific tension to the way it evolved and came to be categorized as maintaining the Department's *status quo* in the three decades following *ICIE.* The prevailing sentiment expressed in the literature is: How could it be self-determination and sovereignty without political and financial control? With nested sovereignty in hand, I counter by asking: How can it not be self-determination and sovereignty if Haudenosaunee school principals are inherently sovereign actors? Nested sovereignty challenges the underlying assumption that self-determination, and indeed sovereignty over education, can only exist if a First Nations community assumes local political and financial control. In an educational context, the Department may appear to have a monopoly on political and financial control, but the way that principals at Six Nations navigated its framework revealed that its monopoly did not necessarily have an effect on administrative control over their schools. Clearly, at Six Nations, the Department had limited success – if one could call it that – in welding its political and financial authority to dominate the community. It did not work during the numbered school era, when Superintendents like Dr. Hill and Harvey Longboat insulated teacher-administrators like Ed and Ivan. It certainly did not work when the Department ignored administrators' calls to get the schools fixed and the community responded by boycotting

them. And, switching to a site-based management strategy in the consolidated school era left local principals without the leadership that they needed, but it also left them more or less autonomous in their own schools. Just as there is more than one political show in town in Simpson's idea of nested sovereignty, there certainly is another way to understanding administrative control other than the way it has evolved and been treated in the literature on Indigenous education.

Simpson's second assertion in the idea of nested sovereignty – that Indigenous Nations have an alternative to seeking recognition of their sovereignty from the settler-state and that alternative is their refusal to accept it altogether – also has implications for the way that administrative control can be understood as self-determination and sovereignty in Six Nations. She asserts that: "Refusal comes with the requirement of having one's political sovereignty acknowledged and upheld, and raises the question of legitimacy for those who are in the position of recognizing: What is their authority to do so? Where does it come from? Who are they to do so?"[334] For some of the principals, particularly those who held the Longhouse tradition, they lived Simpson's refusal both inside and outside of their schools, expressing it in different ways. In this process, they challenged or ignored recognizing the political and financial authority of the Department. For Ivan, this meant actively negotiating Haundeosaunee sovereignty as a school principal within the federal system. In 1969 he wrote letters (which his wife subsequently took up writing) criticizing the federal government and its *White Paper* policy. He defended the integrity of the Confederacy Council of Chiefs by refusing to go through the band council to get electricity to his home. Ivan ensured that the children in the No. 11 School community received an education based in Haudenosaunee culture and language. By contrast, for WB working for the Department was neither here nor there. Signing the oath of allegiance to the Crown had no bearing on who she saw herself as a Haudenosaunee woman, or how she conducted herself as a school principal. She was inherently Haudenosaunee. She was inherently sovereign.

Turning inward to local definitions as articulated by Elders in their stories about their lived experiences helps us to reframe things and better understand the Six Nations community's struggle for political and financial control over its educational system. This way, administrative control can be recognized for what it actually has been in the community since Dr. Hill started exercising it in the 1950s – well before the political discourse between the NIB/AFN and DIAND morphed it into delegated authority. Indeed, Abate concluded in his 1985 study that the community had *de facto* control over its education system, so how could administrative control not be self-determination and sovereignty over education? Refusal means challenging the authority of the Department, or the AFN for that matter, in defining administrative control in Six Nations. They do not have the authority to do so. Ivan put it bluntly, stating that the NIB did not speak for the Confederacy Council. Local principals do – the ones who actually exercised administrative control and helped develop the contemporary education system.

To Simpson, the idea of refusal also extends to the way Indigenous peoples write about sovereignty. As writers of their own stories and histories, Indigenous peoples can refuse dominant discourses about the way their peoples are represented or misrepresented. They can also change them. To Simpson, this means disrupting the hegemonic power and cultural misrepresentation of Haudenosaunee people in anthropology and ethnographic research. For me, this means disrupting the Othering of Haudenosaunee school principals by misrepresenting administrative

control as delegated authority rather than the self-determination and sovereignty that it ought to be – and, in fact, actually is. This more accurate representation is not something that I applied to the data after the fact. As the Elders have shown, it existed well before and apart from what evolved nationally into the 1970s, 80s, and 90s.

I extend Simpson's idea of nested sovereignty to Glen Sean Coulthard's concept of self-recognition to acknowledge that the authority to define and accurately represent administrative control lies with the Six Nations community itself. The Department has a long history of limiting local political and financial control by imposing its educational framework onto the community. This is probably most evident by the way that the federal government and the RCMP ousted the Confederacy Council in 1924, which subsequently led to the dissolution of the community's school board in 1934. The Minister of Indian Affairs retained political control over education through *Indian Act* stipulations that restricted people at Six Nations from dealing directly with the Minister rather than through the band council, an education authority, or a religious denomination. The Canadian Treasury Board retained control over education finances, so Six Nations could not secure long-term financial commitments from the Department to meet its local needs. On two separate occasions in the CEP and SNEC, it did not satisfy community needs for increased political and financial control over the education system at Six Nations. Meanwhile, administrative control continued – and continues – to be defined externally as delegated authority. Self-recognition provides a theoretical alternative to the century-long gridlock of seeking political and financial recognition from a Department that has only reaffirmed the power imbalance, and consequently, has led to misrepresenting the reality of administrative control at Six Nations.

Self-recognition is not about concluding that the community does not need political and financial control to exercise self-determination and sovereignty over its education system. It is instead about recognizing the culturally affirming inherent acts of self-determination that principals exercise as sovereign actors within the Department's federal education system. As Simpson asserts, one does not negate the other. They are in perfect tension with each other. What self-recognition does, however, is disrupt the power imbalance that exists between the Department and the community as it seeks increased political and financial control. It instead turns inwards to local school principals, and rightfully recognizes the authority that they inherently possess to define and shape administrative control according to Haudenosaunee values. This history recognizes their actions to develop the education system in Six Nations.

As we have seen, administrative control at Six Nations evolved over time and school principals defined and expressed it in different ways in a variety of contexts. In the numbered school era, when Ivan and Ed moved into teacher-administrator positions in the 1960s and 70s, local centralized leadership through the likes of Dr. Hill either insulated them from the Department or delivered its messages. This insulation created an environment where administrators managed to run their schools independently. Ivan ensured that the children of traditional families in the No. 11 School community received an education rooted in culture and language that was so important to them. Ed used Hill's mentorship to support the strong teaching staff in schools Nos. 1, 3, and 8. The parents in these schools also showed great support for their leadership. *De facto* control over the education system emerged at this time, and arguably strong centralized leadership ensured that local administrators could exercise administrative control and self-determination in their schools.

The tumultuous years of the deteriorating numbered schools, the community boycott, and the Community Education Project, all reveal that community engagement was essential to defending administrative control, especially when the Department shifted from ignoring the community to trying to pressure it into assuming local control. Six Nations community members must be recognized for the way that they exercised sovereignty over the education system by protecting Haudenosaunee children. When the Department ignored requests, or when it simply did not have the authority to allocate funds to fix the numbered schools, administrators like Ed and Ivan turned to parents for support. Community members supported educators when the Department threatened to terminate their employment if they spoke publicly about the horrible condition of the schools. Teachers and administrators supported parents on the picket lines, and in Ed's case, he refused to send his teachers back to work when local police asked him to do so. Over 150 community members stood in solidarity with Chief Montour as he entered into discussion with the Department as they demonstrated out in front of its regional offices in Brantford. And, finally, through the CEP, the community of Six Nations determined what it wanted out of its education system, and how it should look.

Into the consolidated school era, administrative control changed yet again, as the Department removed local, centralized leadership, and shifted towards a site-based management framework. Female principals emerged and warrant recognition for the way that they exercised administrative control and helped to develop the emergent contemporary school system. Both HAWKEYE and S2 pursued local policy development initiatives that aimed to ensure that administrators had operational and Safe Schools policies to guide their practice. During this era WB approached the Department to have Midwinter Ceremony recognized as a holiday at one school and developed a special education program at another. The principals of the day acknowledged the externally imposed limitations that impinged upon their administrative practice, especially in a financial sense. However, they made a bad system work for their individual schools, which is remarkable considering that in the nearly two decades after publishing its *Indian Education: Phase 1* in 1982, the Department had done little to develop a comprehensive education system, one that could support principals and deliver the high quality of education that Haudenosaunee, and all Indigenous children, so richly deserved.

Finally, local principals, with their definitions, practices, and perceptions of administrative control need to be recognized as a legitimate authority in articulating and expressing self-determination and sovereignty over education in Six Nations. In so doing, this fundamentally changes how administrative control ought to be perceived and represented. Hauenosaunee principals were not passive employees, simply subject to the Department's educational agenda. Why not give local administrators a little more credit as the architects of local education? They lived and worked through the numbered school era. They lived and worked through the community boycott and the transition between old and new schools. They lived and worked through site-based management with little support. They clearly indicated they had a responsibility to community, but does the community also not have a responsibility to trust in the stories and lived experiences that these Elders share, to reveal what self-determination and sovereignty look like within the federal education system?

Acting Upon History: Elders' Stories and Administrative Control Praxis

In the introduction I wrote at length about the way Jo-Ann Archibald's storywork methodology informed the way that I conducted the research with community Elders who had been school administrators, especially the way I interacted with them and handled their stories. I collaborated with them to shape the project, and in the follow-up interview I largely focused upon critically examining their definitions, perceptions, and practices of administrative control. The Elders helped answer some very research-specific questions that I had, but I wanted to ensure I reciprocated the relationship by providing each of them with an opportunity to speak generally to the administration of Six Nations schools. I asked them: What is something our readers need to know about administration of elementary schools in Six Nations to create an understanding within the community? I framed the question in such a way so that it was largely open to the Elders for them to share anything that they did not get to speak about or perhaps reemphasize important pieces of their story that had come up in our conversations. This was also part of a larger process of my making the research relevant to community by having them share some sort of lesson or piece of wisdom from their experiences that could be applied moving forward with school administration.

Ed responded to the question by reflecting upon his career as an educator in the community. "Over the years, the Six Nations education system has produced outstanding teaching personnel, principals, lawyers, doctors, nurses," he said, "and most of all supportive parents who understand the value of a good education for their children." He also expressed gratitude for his being able to work in his own community for over thirty years: "I was fortunate to have taught for twenty-five years and was a principal for ten years. It was a very rewarding career having worked the entire time with my people of Six Nations."[335] Ed's response reflects the high praise he gave the community over the course of our conversations. He was proud of his teaching staff at all of the schools he worked at, especially No. 3, where class enrolments reached more than fifty students in some years. He especially praised the parents of No. 9 School for supporting him early on in his career – including his occasionally being gifted dinners from a student's grandmother, complete with dessert. He also spoke of his proud support of parents, teachers, and other administrators during the community boycott. Ed's responses indicate that mutual respect between principals, teachers, parents, and community supports school administrators in Six Nations.

Haudenosaunee sovereignty is a central issue to Ivan, so he took the opportunity to reemphasize how he defended the integrity of the Confederacy Council of Chiefs by refusing to recognize band council authority. From 1969 to 1981, a period of twelve years, Ivan used a gas generator to provide electricity to his home, because he did not feel it necessary or right to go through the band council to get permission for a hookup. "I made my dilemma public in the local media," he said. "This is when Joe Hill [Dr. Hill] came out and told me if I didn't stop publicly condemning the band council I would lose my job. It was a very stressful situation."[336] This was when his wife started writing letters in his place to ensure that he defended Haudenosaunee sovereignty while keeping his job as a DIAND employee.[337] Ivan's response shows how school principals must negotiate how to express their ideas and opinions on Haudenosaunee sovereign-

ty, especially if they choose to express them publicly, to ensure that they are able to continue fulfilling their responsibilities to the community's school children.

The female principals that I spoke to provided practical advice for other administrators looking to work with Haudenosaunee children, parents, and staff in the community. To S2, administrators needed to really care about what they were doing in the school and community. "Probably, the most important characteristic for an administrator or a teacher is the quality of caring," she said. "If you're in there for the money, you're not gonna' last long." She continued by saying, "If you put the effort into being in a good place, and having a good mind, and making decisions based on what's best for the kids, then that's gonna' carry you a long ways."[338] S2 recommended that administrators and teachers take the time to get to know the community, including its culture and language, as well as the different services available to support the community's children. Like S2, my conversations with WB made it clear to me that making decisions based on what was best for the students stood as a core value driving her administrative practice. She offered her advice to administrators by succinctly stating: "You need to have strong ideals, and you can never waiver from them."[339] Perhaps she best exemplified this advice in her own practice by relying upon her cultural knowledge and language to create a framework for Haudenosaunee administration that put the interests of children first. Her signing the oath of allegiance to the Crown was a non-issue because of her unwavering ideals. To HAWKEYE, community input was important to informing the decisions she made, but she asked that the teaching profession also be respected. "Allow professionals to make the decisions and support them as much as possible," she said. "Yes, you can question, but allow the professional people to make those decisions."[340] She recommended that administrators build a strong team, as well as a good relationship with the vice-principal to build sustainable initiatives and culture at their schools.[341]

I return to Linda Smith's words from the beginning of this Chapter as I conclude this history with perhaps a lesson or two that I have learned over the course of completing this project. By listening to the Elders' stories and lived experiences and *coming to know the past* of my community, it really has been an exercise in decolonizing Haudenosaunee educational history for me and hopefully for others. In coming to know the past of my community, I simply found too many unanswered questions that did not make sense of what actually happened on the ground. Why was local control considered good and administrative control so bad? Why did administrators feel like they had control, but they were underfunded? Administrative control cannot be delegated authority if principals initiate local change… is that right? The struggle for control over First Nations education, to me at least, has always been framed to mean greater self-determination. I wonder: Was that a colonized history in itself? Was there too much power placed on the colonial relationship between First Nations and the federal government, and not enough on First Nations people themselves in defining what administrative control meant to them? The way that education developed in Six Nations simply did not fit. Was its history an alternative one, and, if so, should it mean an alternative way of doing things? Reframing, nested sovereignty, and self-recognition were my alternative ways of doing things to explain what Haudenosaunee principals aspired to and did. Changing the underlying assumption that sovereignty would come with increased political and financial control to one where sovereignty was inherent, and, in turn, was a process of negotiation – rather than an end goal – answered those questions.

Well, what can be done with this history? How can Haudenosaunee at Six Nations – and other Indigenous peoples for that matter – act on it? I think the important thing here is first to understand where this community came from and how much it has been able to achieve despite being consistently hamstrung by the Department. From the time Dr. Hill became Supervisory Principal in 1946 to the time Bomcor Associates published its scathing report of Indian Affairs mismanagement of education in Six Nations, the Department did little to develop the system – instead, opting to ignore the community or pressure it into inheriting its problems. The contemporary school system is roughly only twenty-five years old and has been perpetually underfunded. No operational policy existed in the mid-1990s. Textbook budgets did not increase in thirty years. It is not surprising that Bomcor determined that Haudenosaunee children struggled academically in 2001. This finding coincides with how all on-reserve First Nations children continue to underperform in relation to their off-reserve and Canadian peers.[342] It is in this environment that Haudenosaunee principals designed policy, took on local initiatives, mentored other educators, created community wide teacher and principal organizations, and integrated culture and language into their schools. So, I encourage the readers – whether they be Haudenosaunee teachers, administrators, parents, other Indigenous educators, or whoever was interested enough to pick up this history – to recognize my community Elders for exercising administrative control over their schools and continuing the process of sovereignty over First Nations education. By doing so, hopefully the readers might uncover an alternative way of understanding administrative control of education in Six Nations, and in the process act upon it to improve education for Indigenous children.

Appendix A: Elders' Vignettes

Ivan Thomas

Ivan is Deer Clan of the Onondaga Nation. He is from Six Nations and has lived in the community for eighty years. As a child, he attended No. 11 School and enjoyed playing softball against students from the other numbered day schools. As a student at No. 11, Ivan had to do things that he would later change as an administrator like recite the Lord's Prayer and sing the national anthem. As the fourth-born of eight children, he enjoyed teaching his younger siblings, so he decided to become a teacher in the community after Dr. J.C. Hill recruited him in the 1950s. After graduating from Hamilton Teachers' College, Ivan started working at No. 9 School. After a few years he moved to No. 11 School in 1963 to become teacher-administrator. He worked there for thirty-one years, and retired in 1994. In recognition of his dedication to the No. 11 School community, I.L. Thomas Elementary School is named after him. He remained involved in the ILT steering committee and was later inducted into the Ontario Lacrosse Hall of fame in 1997.

Ed Staats

Ed is my grandfather. He is Turtle Clan of the Mohawk Nation. He is from Six Nations and has lived in the community for eighty years. As a child, he attended No. 7 School where access to clean drinking water was difficult. Students brought their own cups to school and used an outdoor water pump rain or shine. Like Ivan, Dr. J.C. Hill recruited Ed to teach in the community. Ed started his teaching career at No. 9 School in the spring of 1963 after a parent chased off the former teacher with a yard stick. He believed he could use sport as a way to help Six Nations children see a world beyond the reserve, so he travelled to other reserves as a baseball and cross-country running coach. Ed looked to Dr. Hill as a mentor and used his leadership to push himself to become the best educator possible. In the 1980s, he became full-time principal of Nos. 1, 3, and 8 Schools and commented that he was proud of the strong teaching staff from the community. Ed stood by parents and teachers during the community boycott in 1989, famously being pictured in a local newspaper refusing to send his staff across the picket line. He retired in the late 1990s and felt honoured to have worked as an educator in the community for over thirty years.

6Ned

6Ned is from Six Nations and has lived in the community for sixty years. As a child, she attended one of the day schools on the reserve where students did not learn about their culture or language. This is something that she worked to change later on as an educator. Like Ed and Ivan, Dr. J.C. Hill recruited 6Ned to teach in the community. In the training program Dr. Hill developed, 6Ned learned from experienced educators like Ed and Ivan to become a supply teacher. After Indian Affairs accepted *Indian Control of Education* in principle in 1973, 6Ned became a school counsellor and through that experience she became more aware of the social and econom-

ic barriers families faced as their children pursued an education. After years of teaching in Six Nations, she used her experience to help the community prepare for the transition to local control of education through her work on the Community Education Project. She helped determine the community's vision for local control of education that had Haudenosaunee culture and language at its core.

HAWKEYE

HAWKEYE is Turtle Clan of the Mohawk Nation. She is from Six Nations and has lived in the community for most of her life. She recalled the old smell of No. 2 School where she attended as a child. There were limited teaching positions available to HAWKEYE as she looked to begin her career in the community, so she worked elsewhere. She gained experience first as a teacher, then vice-principal, and finally principal before returning to the community in the mid-1990s. To her, mentorship was very important. She helped design operational policies for the schools she worked in to ensure administrators had the support they needed on a daily basis. HAWKEYE also supported her teaching staff by identifying their leadership qualities and helping to develop them. She later worked on developing policies for the Six Nations Education Commission as the community looked into recovering local control of education in the early 2000s. Apart from education, HAWKEYE volunteered regularly in the community.

S2

S2 is Bear Clan of the Mohawk Nation. She is from Six Nations and has lived in the community for the majority of her life. As a child, she attended No. 2 School where she enjoyed playing softball and soccer. Her favourite teacher, Brenda Davis, inspired S2 to become a physical education teacher just like her. S2 began teaching boys' physical education where she recalled having a lot of fun, especially when the boys joked or tried to embarrass her. She later moved into administration in the 1980s and worked as a principal into the consolidated school era of the mid-1990s. Like HAWKEYE, she helped develop local policies for administrators to ensure they had the support they needed on a daily basis. She developed Safe Schools policy to protect students and staff. Up to that point, administrators relied on their gut, or intuition to justify their decisions. S2 worked throughout her career to gain greater personnel control over her schools. She wanted to ensure that the people who taught in Six Nations understood the special qualities and cultural distinctiveness of the community's Haudenosaunee children. Apart from education, she coached softball and participated on different sports committees. She also volunteered at the Elders' Lodge in the village.

WB

WB is Bear Clan of the Mohawk Nation. She is from Six Nations and has lived in the community for her entire life. As a child, she attended No. 12 School where a Minister regularly visited to speak about the Bible. Despite this, she remembered how dedicated her teacher was, often walking to the school if she was unable to drive. Being from a traditional Longhouse fami-

ly where her parents spoke multiple Haudenosaunee languages, WB moved into teaching to ensure she maintained the language. As a language teacher in the 1980s, WB relied on her traditional background to develop culture and language curriculum based on Haudenosaunee ceremonies. This was at a time when there was little support for Haudenosaunee culture, language, and curriculum in the community's numbered schools. As she moved into administration into the 1990s, WB looked to make her school more distinctively Haudenosaunee by getting Indian Affairs to recognize Midwinter Ceremony as a holiday in her school. She also designed a framework for her administrative practice that put the children first based on the value that "the People are on the backs of the Confederacy Chiefs." Apart from education, she continues to be actively involved in the traditional Longhouse community.

Appendix B: Six Nations Numbered Schools

No. 1 School. Built in 1912 and located at the intersection of First Line and Mohawk Roads. Along with Schools Nos. 3 and 8, Ed was full-time principal of No. 1 into the 1980s. Courtesy of Oliver M. Smith-Kawenni:io Elementary School.

No. 2 Central School. Built in 1904 and located near the intersection of Fourth Line and Chiefswood Roads. It opened under the control of the Confederacy Council of Chiefs. The school was a replica of one from nearby Mt. Pleasant. It had four classrooms, two in the basement and two on the main floor. The school was torn down in the early 1960s due to safety concerns over its foundation. Courtesy of Oliver M. Smith-Kawenni:io Elementary School.

No. 3 School. Built in 1912 and located at the intersection of First Line and Mohawk Roads. Ed became teacher-administrator of the three-room schoolhouse in 1966 and later full-time principal into the 1980s. It is the school where Ed found exposed asbestos after examining an exterior loose board during one of his yard duties. My father attended the school as a child in the 1970s. Courtesy of Oliver M. Smith-Kawenni:io Elementary School.

No. 4 School. Built in 1911 and located at the intersection of Fifth Line and Seneca Roads. It closed down in the early 1980s and was demolished sometime before 1987. Courtesy of Oliver M. Smith-Kawenni:io Elementary School.

No. 5 School. Built in 1915 and located on Third Line Road between Tuscarora and Onondaga Roads. Children can be seen playing on the opposite side of the fence and near the front entrance. It was later updated with an exterior brick facade and indoor plumbing in the 1950s. ECG absorbed the school population when it opened in 1991. Courtesy of Oliver M. Smith-Kawenni:io Elementary School.

No. 6 School. Built sometime between 1878 and 1903 and located at the intersection of Fourth Line and Cayuga Roads. The school was known colloquially as 'the pumpkin' because of its rounded roof. As a student, 6Ned remembered a friend stuffing newspapers into the floorboards to keep the snow from coming into the school. Courtesy of Oliver M. Smith-Kawenni:io Elementary School.

No. 7 School. Built in 1906 and located at the intersection of First Line and Chiefswood Roads. As a student at the two-room schoolhouse in the 1940s, Ed recalled having to bring his own cup to drink from the school's water pump. It was later updated with an exterior brick facade and in-door plumbing in the 1950s. Had the community not boycotted the numbered schools in 1989, I would have attended No. 7 as a kindergarten student in 1994. Courtesy of Oliver M. Smith-Kawenni:io Elementary School.

No. 8 School. Built sometime between 1878 and 1903 and located at the intersection of Second Line and Seneca Roads. It was later replaced with a modern brick building in the 1950s. Courtesy of Oliver M. Smith-Kawenni:io Elementary School.

No. 9 School. Built sometime between 1878 and 1903 and located at the intersection of Second Line and Cayuga Roads. Ivan started his teaching career here in 1958 where Dr. Hill required the students to sing the Lord's Prayer every morning. Ed started his teaching career here near the end of the 1962-63 school year when the former teacher did not return after being chased off by an angry parent wielding a yard stick. It is also where Ed received Friday dinners complete with dessert from one of the student's grandmothers. The school closed in 1985. Courtesy of Oliver M. Smith-Kawenni:io Elementary School.

No. 10 School. Built in 1914 and located at the intersection of Fifth Line and Tuscarora Roads. A closer look reveals how the children decorated the school windows with turtles. A subtle way to reflect Haudenosaunee cultural symbols in the otherwise standardized construction of the numbered schools built in the early 20th century. Courtesy of Oliver M. Smith-Kawenni:io Elementary School.

Old No. 11 School. Built in 1904 and located in the northeast corner of the reserve at the intersection of Sixth Line and Cayuga Roads. Ivan started working as teacher-administrator in 1963 and remained here until his retirement in 1994. After a member of one of the traditional families removed the Canadian flag from the school, Ivan did not have to replace it as per Dr. Hill's initial request. A two-room, brick building was built in 1957 on the same property. Children from the No. 11 school community attended ILT when it opened in 1994. Courtesy of Oliver M. Smith-Kawenni:io Elementary School.

Appendix C: Six Nations Consolidated Schools

J.C. Hill Elementary School. Pictured from the north main entry into the school. Located in the village of Ohsweken near the intersection of Fourth Line and Chiefswood Roads. Originally opening as the new Central School in 1962, the school was officially renamed in 1965 after former Superintendent Joseph C. Hill in recognition of his work in the community. Serving grade seven and eight students, the school initially had six classrooms and a gymnasium that were later expanded in 1970 to include four additional classrooms and a library. Classrooms for home economics and design and technology were added in 1976. Photograph by author, June, 2021.

J.C. Hill Elementary School. Sign and emblem located at the north main entrance into the school. Photograph by author, June, 2021.

Jamieson Elementary School. Pictured from the south entrance into the school. Located near the intersection of Fourth Line and Chiefswood Roads. Built in 1977, the school is named after Julia L. Jamieson, writer of *Echoes of the Past*, and her siblings Nora, Mary, and Andrew who were longtime educators in the community. I began my career as a primary teacher here in 2012. Photograph by author, June, 2021.

Jamieson Elementary School. East facade. The Ohsweken watertower can be seen to the left. Photograph by author, June, 2021.

Jamieson Elementary School. Sign and emblem located at the east entrance into the school. Photograph by author, June, 2021.

Emily C. General Elementary School. Front facade of the school pictured from the northeast. Located near the intersection of Fourth Line and Onondaga Roads, the school absorbed the student population of No. 5 School when it opened in 1991. It is named after longtime educator, Emily C. General, who famously refused to sign the oath of allegiance to the Crown as a federal employee and was fired in 1948. I entered kindergarten in 1994 and graduated grade eight in 2002. The school is shaped like a turtle rattle, but as a student, I always thought it was an arrowhead. The horizontal lines represent layers of the earth. As a primary student, sometimes we would use the lines to track who could throw a ball the highest against the school. In the mid-2010s, I taught computers/media literacy and grade seven on two separate long-term occasional engagements. Photograph by author, June, 2021.

Emily C. General Elementary School. Front facade of the school pictured from the southeast. Photograph by author, June, 2021.

Emily C. General Elementary School. Sign and emblem located at the east entrance into the school. Photograph by author, June, 2021.

Emily C. General Elementary School. Front entrance. The blue beams running along the front of the school were designed to represent the high steel Haudenosaunee ironworkers used to build skyscrapers in Canada and the United States. School administrators and teachers always told us to stay off of them, but they were just too enticing. Students were always climbing on them, but I do not remember anyone ever getting hurt too seriously. Photograph by author, June, 2021.

I. L. Thomas Elementary School. Front facade pictured from the northwest entrance into the school. Located near the intersection of Fifth Line and Cayuga Roads, it absorbed the student populations of Nos. 6, 10, and 11 Schools when it officially opened in 1994. It is named after longtime educator and one of the Elders who participated in this project, Ivan Thomas. It is shaped like a turtle which is an important symbol in Haudenosaunee culture as the land base for North America (Turtle Island) and as a clan. Photograph by author, June, 2021.

I.L. Thomas Elementary School. Back entrance pictured from the east parking lot. Photograph by author, June, 2021.

I.L. Thomas Elementary School. Front entrance designed to look like the open mouth of a turtle. The two circular skylights represent the eyes. Photograph by author, June, 2021.

I.L. Thomas Elementary School. Sign and emblem located at the entrance into the school. Photograph by author, June, 2021.

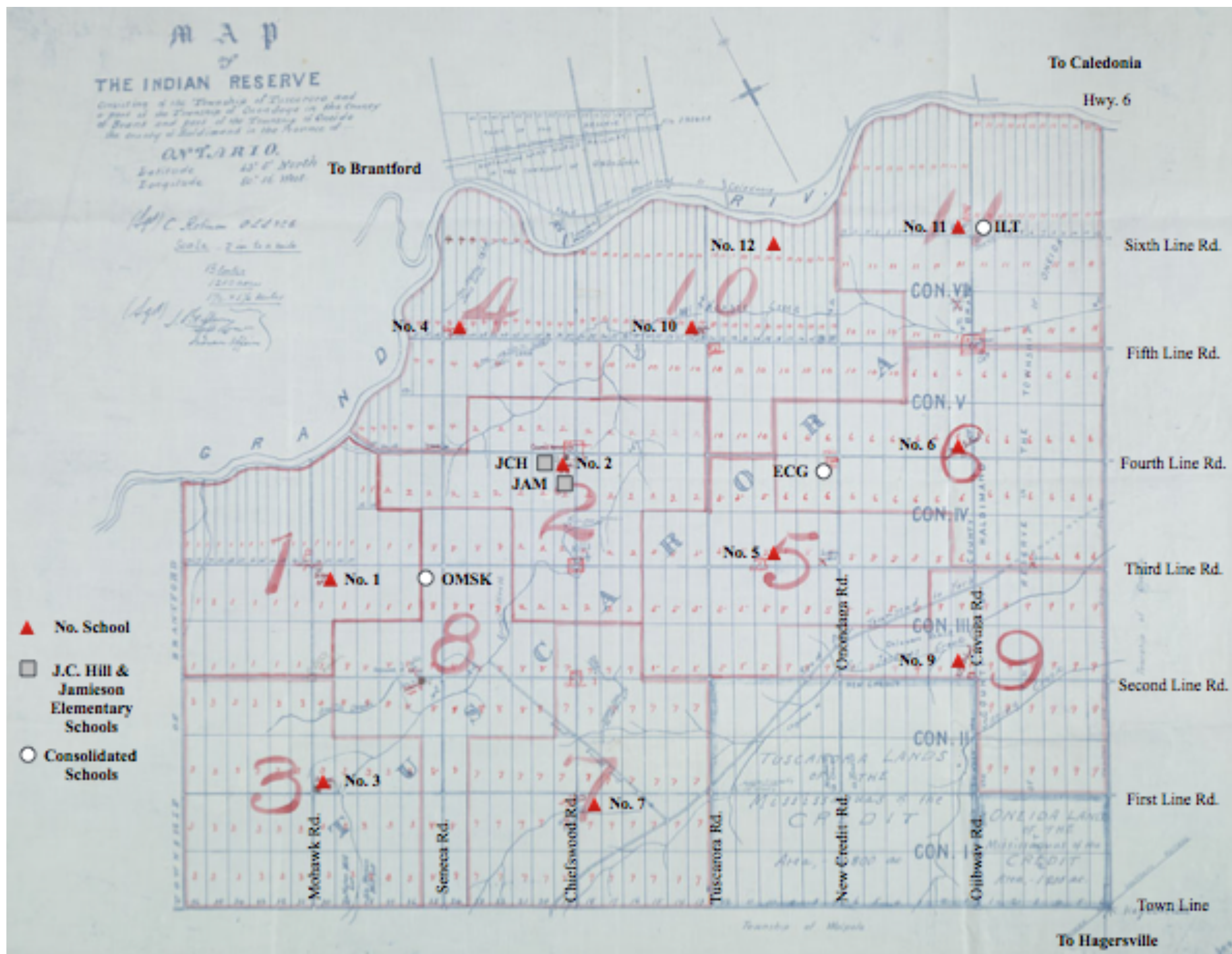
I.L. Thomas Elementary School. Placard dedicated to Ivan for his commitment to students and his contributions to the community. Photograph by author, June, 2021.

Oliver M. Smith-Kawenni:io Elementary School. Front facade pictured from the north entrance into the school. Located near the intersection of Third Line and Seneca Roads, it absorbed the student populations of Nos. 1, 3, and 8 Schools when it officially opened in 1995. It is named after longtime educator, Oliver. M. Smith, who was a mentor to Ed as a teacher-administrator. The school is shaped like an eagle which is an important symbol in Haudenosaunee culture as it is said that the eagle watches over the Confederacy and the Great Peace. The eagle warns against any threats to the Haudenosaunee and is revered as an animal that flies close to the Skyworld and the Creator. Photograph by author, June, 2021.

Oliver M. Smith-Kawenni:io Elementary School. The north facade brickwork depicts the eagle atop the Tree of Peace with its Four White Roots spreading to the four directions with hatchets and war clubs buried beneath. In our stories of the founding of the Five Nations League, it is said that the warring Haudenosaunee Nations cast their war clubs beneath the Tree of Peace as a promise to never take them up again against one another. It shows commitment to practicing a good mind and a good heart. The Four White Roots spread to the four directions so that any Nation wishing to take shelter under the Great Peace only need to follow them to its source and find shelter under the Great Tree. I draw on the same symbolism in organizing the introduction of this history into Four Roots. Notice the alternating brickwork at the Roots' edges; they are representative of strings commonly found on the ends of Wampum Belts that record the history of the Haudenosaunee. It is a clear indication that OMSK as a physical space is a Haudenosaunee school. Photograph by author, June, 2021.

Oliver M. Smith-Kawenni:io Elementary School. Sign and emblem located at the north main entrance into the school. Photograph by author, June, 2021.

Appendix D: Map of the Locations of all Six Nations Schools



Adapted from Library and Archives Canada, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Six Nations Reserve No. 40. Map of the Indian Reserve consisting of the township of Tuscarora and a part of the township of Onondaga in the county of Brant and part of the township of Oneida in the county of Haldimand in the province of Ontario, 1899, C. Robinson, RG10M 78903/78, March 16, 2021. The original map shows the student catchment areas for the numbered schools.

Appendix E: Chronology of Educational Developments in Six Nations and Nationally

1878

- Six Nations forms a school board under the supervision of the New England Company. The Board consists of three representatives each of the New England Company and Six Nations Confederacy Council, one Methodist representative, and the Superintendent representing the Department.

1884

- The Six Nations school curriculum consists mainly of farm and household work. Indian agents believe Haudenosaunee children are incapable of learning academic subjects.

1903

- Six Nations School Board manages eight schools (Nos. 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10); Wesleyan Methodists manage three schools (Stone Ridge, Red Line, and New Credit); the Confederacy Council of Chiefs manages one school (Thomas School).

1904-1915

- Schools No. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 10, and 11 are rebuilt with proper ventilation and lighting.

1906

- Six Nations school board appeals to the Department to adopt the Ontario curriculum and hire qualified teachers.

1908-1918

- Six Nations School Board slowly adopts the Ontario curriculum.

1924

- The federal government replaces the Confederacy Council of Chiefs with the elected band council. The Department no longer recognizes the Confederacy as the legitimate governing body of Six Nations.

1934

- Six Nations School Board dissolves.

1946

- The Department assumes full control of the direction and administration of educational programs and services for all Indian day schools.
- Joseph C. Hill becomes supervising principal of elementary schools in Six Nations.

1958

- Ivan Thomas begins his teaching career around this time at No. 9 School.

1963
- Ed Staats begins teaching at No. 9 School.
- Ivan moves into teaching-administration at No. 11 School. He remains there for the rest of his career.

1965
- Ed teaches for one year in Credit First Nation.

1966
- J.C. Hill becomes district superintendent of Six Nations schools.
- Ed becomes teacher-administrator at No. 3 School.

1969
- The federal government presents its *Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy* (*The White Paper*) that threatens to dissolve the Department of Indian Affairs, repeal the *Indian Act*, abrogate treaties, and eliminate the special status of First Nations peoples.

1970
- The Indian Association of Alberta presents *Citizen's Plus* (*The Red Paper*) as a counter to the Department's *White Paper* policy. The IAA calls on the federal government to honour its treaty obligations including education.
- Saddle Lake community members stage a sit-in at Blue Quills Residential School in Alberta. After a series of negotiations, the Department agrees to transfer control of Blue Quills. It opens in September as the first federally-operated school under First Nations administration.
- 6Ned begins working as a supply teacher in Six Nations around this time.

1972
- The National Indian Brotherhood presents *Indian Control of Indian Education* and calls for greater parental involvement and local control of education.
- 6Ned begins working as a school counsellor around this time. Her position is part of a joint initiative that emerged out of *ICIE*.

1973
- The Department adopts *ICIE* in principle and begins devolving administration of educational programs and services to First Nations communities.

1975
- The NIB criticizes the Department's E-circular series for its emphasis on transferring administration of educational programs and services without incurring additional costs. The NIB seeks financial control of educational budgets for First Nations communities to adequately fund the transition to local control.
- Ed Caffin becomes superintendent of Six Nations schools around this time.

- S2 begins her teaching career in Six Nations.

1979
- HAWKEYE begins her teaching career.

1982
- The federal government evaluates its education system in *Indian Education Phase 1* and determines that at no time had it "developed the institutional framework to enable it to deliver comprehensive education services to Indians."
- 6Ned continues teaching in Six Nations.
- Harvey Longboat replaces Ed Caffin as superintendent of Six Nations schools into the 1980s.

1985
- The Department is aware of exposed cancer-causing asbestos in the numbered schools.

1987
- Barman *et.al.* publish, *Indian Education in Canada: Volume 2. The Challenge* and outline five areas of First Nations control of education: political, financial, administrative, curriculum and personnel.
- The Department informs Six Nations band council it is "getting out of education" and sets 1991 as the transfer date to local control of education.
- WB begins her teaching career as a language teacher in Six Nations.

1988
- The Assembly of First Nations presents *Tradition and Education: Towards a Vision of Our Future. A Declaration of First Nations Jurisdiction Over Education* and calls for the federal government to recognize the sovereignty of Indigenous nations particularly regarding to self-determination and control of education. The AFN clarifies 'control' over education to mean 'jurisdiction' "over education policies, management methods and approaches, curriculum standards and program quality, delivery of services, and above all, determining the actual total education requirements, including capital and operational requirements." It also warns First Nations about 'delegated authority.'
- 6Ned begins work on the Community Education Project to consult the community on a vision for the education system.

1989
- The Department fails to ensure conditions are safe for students to return to school. It also fails to open a new, consolidated school for this year as promised. The community boycotts the school year from September to November until the Department ensures the schools are safe and commits to building new schools.
- Harvey Longboat is demoted as superintendent of Six Nations schools. The position is eliminated into the 1990s. Alan Raslack becomes manager of program services in Six Nations.
- I am born in March of this year, just six months before the community boycott.

1991
- Emily C. General Elementary School opens for its inaugural school year.
- 6Ned presents her research findings in the Community Education Project. Band council begins preparations for recovering control of education. Work continues throughout 1992-1994.

1994
- I.L.Thomas Odadrihonyanita Elementary School opens for its inaugural school year. It is named after long-time administrator of No. 11 School, Ivan Thomas; Ivan retires the same year.
- The Community Education Project shuts down. The move to local control falls through due to disagreements over governance structures and funding requirements. Education at Six Nations remains under Departmental control.
- HAWKEYE and S2 return to Six Nations as administrators.
- I enter ECG as a kindergarten student.

1995
- Oliver M. Smith-Kawenni:io Elementary School opens for its inaugural school year.
- WB moves into administration around this time.
- Ed retires around this time.

1999
- Linda Tuhiwai Smith publishes *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples.* She proffers 'reframing' as one of twenty-five projects to decolonize Indigenous research.

2000
- The Auditor General of Canada publishes a report criticizing the Department for failing to assist First Nations students living on reserve in achieving their educational needs and aspirations. The Auditor General estimated it would take twenty years to close the educational attainment gap between First Nations on reserve and the Canadian public.

2001
- Six Nations band council contracts Bomberry Corporation to complete a comprehensive evaluation of the education system in response to the Auditor General's criticisms of the Department. Bomcor Associates conclude that there are fundamental problems with the management of educational programs and services and recommend re-examining the transfer to local control.

2002
- Six Nations band council initiates the Six Nations Education Commission to research and prepare for local control. SNEC, band council, and the Department set 2005 as the transfer date. Work continues throughout 2002-2004. HAWKEYE helps develop policy for SNEC.
- I graduate from ECG as a grade eight student. I begin high school at Hagersville Secondary School in nearby Hagersville.

2005

- The Department terminates the transfer to local control because of disagreements with the band council over funding requirements for education. Education at Six Nations remains under Departmental control.
- WB retires shortly afterwards.
- HAWKEYE and S2 continue as administrators into the 2010s.
- I graduate from high school. in 2006 and begin my undergraduate degree in history and sociology at McMaster University in Hamilton.

2014

- The federal government introduces Bill C-33: First Nations Control of First Nations Education Act. The Act intends to create comprehensive education law for First Nations education. First Nations communities criticize the Act for increasing Departmental oversight and regulation without addressing local needs for increased political and financial control.
- Audra Simpson publishes *Mohawk Interruptus*: *Political Life Across the Borders of Settler States*. She uses nested sovereignty to determine that Mohawk ironworkers from Kahnawake are inherently sovereign before, especially during, and after crossing the international border between Canada and the United States.
- Glen Sean Coulthard publishes *Red Skins, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition.* He criticizes organizations that have sought recognition of Indigenous sovereignty from the settler state and instead proffers self-recognition. Indigenous peoples need to recognize their own sovereignty through culturally reaffirming actions.

2016

- Six Nations band council initiates the Lifelong Learning Task Force to re-examine recovering control over education.

Notes

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[1] Robert Allen Warrior, *Tribal Secrets: Recovering American Indian Intellectual Traditions* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995), 123.

[2] "Six Nations visions for a world class education system," *Two Row Times*, April 10, 2019. I use Julia's words here because they are evocative of the prevailing ideology around First Nations education that evolved nationally in the 1970s and continues into the present. First Nations communities want increased political and financial control over their education systems, not administration of federal programs and services. This is juxtaposed against the ways in which Haudenosaunee principals exercised administrative control locally. I would like to express my gratitude to Julia for assisting me in the early stages of my research into the Six Nations education system. She met with me and provided important documents from the Community Education Project that were essential to the telling of this story.

[3] On backward design, see Grant Wiggins and Jay McTighe, *Understanding by Design*, 2nd ed. (Alexandria, VA: Association for Supervision and Curriculum, 2005), 13-34. The year I attended Brock University's teacher education program, professors emphasized backward design, but Universal Design for Learning (UDL) is the framework commonly used now. For more on UDL, see Ministry of Education of Ontario, *Learning for All: A Guide to Effective Assessment and Instruction for All Students, Kindergarten to Grade 12* (Toronto: Ministry of Education of Ontario, 2013), 13-16.

[4] On the ways in which Western research has had negative outcomes for Indigenous peoples, see Brian Schnarch, "Ownership, Access, Control, and Possession (OCAP) or Self-determination Applied to Research: A Critical Analysis of Contemporary First Nations Research and Some Options for First Nations Communities," *International Journal of Indigenous Health* 1, no. 1 (2013): 80-95.

[5] Warrior, 91.

[6] Susan M. Hill, *The Clay we are Made of: Haudenosaunee Land Tenure on the Grand River* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2017), 5.

[7] Tom Porter, *And Grandma Said… Iroquois Teaching as passed down through the oral tradition* (Bloomington, IN: Xlibris Corporation, 2008), 72. See also, Brian Maracle, "The First Words," in *Our Story: Aboriginal Voices on Canada's Past* by Tantoo Cardinal *et al*. (New York: Anchor Canada, 2005), 16.

[8] Eber Hampton, "Towards a Redefinition of Indian Education," in *First Nations Education in Canada: The Circle Unfolds*, ed. Marie Battiste and Jean Barman (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1995), 8.

[9] Gregory Cajete, *Look to the Mountain: An Ecology of Indigenous Education* (St. Durango, CO: Kivaki Press, 1994), 26.

[10] Jean Barman, Yvonne M. Hébert, and Don McCaskill eds., *Indian Education in Canada Volume 2: The Challenge* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1987), 3.

[11] Cajete, *Look to the Mountain*, 26.

[12] Marie Battiste, *Decolonizing Education: Nourishing the Learning Spirit* (Saskatoon: Purich Publishing Limited, 2013), 26.

[13] On the residential school experience, see Part Two of J.R. Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996). On disease, death, and living conditions in residential schools, see Chapters Five and Six in John S. Milloy, *A National Crime: The Canadian Government and the Residential School System* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1999).

[14] Elizabeth Graham, *The Mush Hole: Life at Two Indian Residential Schools* (Waterloo, ON, Heffle Publishing, 1997).

[15] National Centre for Truth and Reconcilation, A *Knock on the Door. The Essential History of Residential Schools from the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2016), viii.

[16] Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *The Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, vol. 5, Canada's Residential Schools: The Legacy* (Ottawa: Canada, 2015).

[17] Battiste, 31-33. On pedagogical violence see, Fyre Jean Graveline, *Circleworks: Transforming Eurocentric Consciousness* (Halifax: Fernwood Publishing, 1998), 26-28 and Sheila Cote-Meek, *Colonized Classrooms: Racism, Trauma and Resistance in Post-Secondary Education* (Halifax: Fernwood Publishing, 2014). See also, Yatta Kanu, *Integrating Aboriginal Perspectives into School Curriculum: Purposes, Possibilities, and Challenges* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011), 3-4.

[18] On the settler emotional response to residential schools, see Paulette Regan, *Unsettling the Settler Within: Indian Residential School, Truth Telling, and Reconciliation in Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010), 48-53.

[19] Helen Raptis with members of the Tsimshian Nation, *What We Learned: Two Generations Reflect on Tsimshian Education and the Day Schools* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2016).

[20] Julia L Jamieson, *Echoes of the Past: A History of Education from the time of the Six Nations Settlement on the Banks of the Grand River in 1784 to 1924* (Brantford).

[21] Keith Jamieson, *History of Six Nations Education* (Brantford: Woodland Cultural Centre, 1987); Olive Moses, Doris Henhawk, and Lloyd King, *History of Education on the Six Nations Reserve* (Brantford: Woodland Cultural Centre, 1987).

[22] Abate Wori Abate, "Iroquois Control of Iroquois Education: A Case Study of the Iroquois of the Grand River Valley in Ontario, Canada," (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 1984), 15-17.

[23] For more on praxis to improve the education system in Six Nations, see Ila Squire, "Education at Six Nations and the Problems therein," (MEd thesis, Brock University, 2009); and Michelle Bomberry, "Two Rows: Assimilative Transformations Impacting Six Nations Educational and Communal Cycles," (MEd thesis, Brock University, 2011).

[24] Abate, 446-478.

[25] On Mohawk teachers in nineteenth century Six Nations and Tyendinaga, see Alison Norman, "'Teachers amongst their own people:' Kanyen'kehá:ka Women Teachers in Nineteenth-Century Tyendinaga and Grand River, Ontario," *Historical Studies in Education* 29, no. 1 (2017): 32-56. On twentieth century female teachers at Six Nations, see Alison Norman, "'True to my own noble race:' Six Nations Women Teachers at Grand River in the early Twentieth Century," *Ontario History* 107, no. 1 (2015): 5-34. Other works on Indian day schools include, Eileen Antone, "The Educational History of the Onyote'a:ka Nation of the Thames," *Ontario History* 85 (1993): 309-320, and Martha Walls, "'The teacher that cannot understand their language should not be allowed:' Colonialism, Resistance, and Female Mi'kmaw Teachers in New Brunswick Day Schools, 1900-1923," *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 22, no 1 (2011): 35-68.

[26] Quinte Mohawk School in Tyendinaga and LeGoff School in Cold Lake, Alberta are the other First Nations communities with federally-operated schools. See, Federal Indian Day Schools Class Action, *Schedule K - List of Federal Indian Day Schools*, accessed April 1, 2021, https://indiandayschools.com/en/wp-content/uploads/schedule-k.pdf.

[27] White and Peters, "A Short History of Aboriginal Education," 20.

[28] Harold Cardinal, *The Unjust Society* (Vancouver: Douglas & Mcintyre, 1999), 1.

[29] On the Blue Quills sit-in, see Diane Iona Persson, "Blue Quills: A Case Study of Indian Residential Schooling," (PhD diss., University of Alberta, 1980), 234-243; Diane Persson, "The Changing Experience of Indian Residential Schooling: Blue Quills, 1931-1970," in *Indian Education in Canada Volume 1: The Legacy* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1986), 159-177; and Alan Douglas Ian McInnes, "Blue Quills: A Case Study in Locally Controlled Education," (MA thesis, University of Alberta, 1986).

[30] National Indian Brotherhood, Indian Control of Indian Education, 1972, 3.

[31] For a description of DIAND's E-Circular series see, Abate, 385-390.

[32] Margaret S. Wood, "Indian Education in Canada: Implementation of Education Policy, 1973-1978," (MA thesis: University of Saskatchewan, 1988), 158-159.

[33] Abate, *389.*

[34] On how the Department undermined the transition to local control by cutting costs, see Wood, 173-177.

[35] Barman et.al., 9.

[36] Ibid.

[37] Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development Canada, *Indian Education Paper: Phase 1* (Ottawa: 1982), 28.

[38] Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (London: Zed Book Limited, 1999), 153.

[39] Ibid., 154.

[40] Ibid.

[41] Audra Simpson, *Mohawk Interruptus: Political Life Across the Borders of Settler States*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014), 11.

[42] Ibid., 11.

[43] Ibid., 12.

[44] Glen Sean Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014),141.

[45] There are other instances where researchers have examined the successes of Indigenous educators in band-controlled schools, in particular, see David Bell, *Sharing Our Success: Ten Case Studies in Aboriginal Schooling* (Kelowna, BC: Society for the Advancement of Excellence in Education, 2011).

[46] See Appendix A: Elders' Vignettes for a brief biography of each Elder and their connection to education in Six Nations.

[47] On the 4 R's of Indigenous post-secondary education, see V.J. Kirkness and R. Barnhardt, "First Nations and Higher Education: The Four R's - Respect, Relevance, Reciprocity, Responsibility," *Journal of American Indian Education* 30, no. 3 (May 1991): 1-15. Archibald added the principles of holism, interrelatedness, and synergy to her storywork framework. Holism and interrelatedness reflect the ways in which stories are applicable in a variety of contexts and temporal situations. Synergy refers to the iterative and self-reflexive process where both storyteller and listener learn from the act of storytelling. All seven principles of: respect, relevance, reciprocity, responsibility, holism, interrelatedness, and synergy are interrelated and iterative in the storywork process. Jo-Ann Archibald, *Indigenous Storywork: Educating the Heart, Mind, Body, and Spirit*, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2008).

[48]Archibald, 144.

[49] Ibid.

[50] The consultation took different form with Ivan Thomas. My grandfather, Ed Staats, told Ivan about the project and asked if he was interested. Ivan provided his contact information to my grandfather. This was long after the consultative process was complete, but without access to academic resources due to COVID-19, I contacted Ivan in July, 2020 to speak to him informally about the shape of the project and how he might fit in. I formally sat down with all Elders to conduct interviews and follow-up interviews, but COVID-19 restricted my conversations with Ivan to telephone only.

[51] Archibald, 144-145.

[52] I conducted two seventy-five minute interviews with my grandfather, Ed Staats. I conducted one ninety minute telephone interview with Ivan Thomas. All other interviews were approximately sixty minutes in length.

[53] Due to scheduling conflicts and COVD-19, I conducted the follow-up with 6Ned through e-mail. I sent her the interview transcripts for her approval and she made some recommendations for changes. Due to COVID-19, I conducted the follow-up interview with HAWKEYE via Zoom video meeting, and the interview with S2 via telephone.

[54] Ed Staats completed the follow-up questions in written form. The follow-up interview with WB was recorded, but not transcribed. 6Ned was not an administrator in the elementary schools so the administrative questions did not apply to her.

[55] Archibald, 145.

[56] On relationality and relational accountability, see Shawn Wilson, *Research is Ceremony: Indigenous Research Methods* (Halifax: Fernwood Publishing, 2008), 80-122. On collective memory, see Hill, *The Clay we are made of.*

[57] Fyre Jean Graveline, *Circleworks: Transforming Eurocentric Consciousness* (Halifax: Fernwood Publishing, 1998), 57.

[58] Ed Staats, interview by author, Six Nations, December 6, 2019.

[59] Ivan Thomas, interview by author, Six Nations, July 29, 2020.

[60] George Beaver, *Mohawk Reporter* (Ohsweken: Iroqrafts, 1996), 19.

[61] Abate Wori Abate, "Iroquois Control of Iroquois Education: A Case Study of the Iroquois of the Grand River Valley in Ontario, Canada," (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 1984), 95.

[62] Abate, 95.

[63] Julia L Jamieson, *Echoes of the Past: A History of Education from the time of the Six Nations Settlement on the Banks of the Grand River in 1784 to 1924* (Brantford), 3.

[64] Abate, 106.

[65] Alison Norman, "'True to my own noble race,' Six Nations Women Teachers at Grand River in the early Twentieth Century," *Ontario History* 107, no. 1 (Spring 2015): 8.

[66] In 1827, the New England Company inherited the 1820 Treaty agreed upon between the Confederacy Council of Chiefs and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG) where the latter was to provide education in exchange for lands sold. For more on this transfer, see Abate, *Iroquois Control of Iroquois Education*, 99-100.

[67] On the formation of the school board, see Abate, *Iroquois Control of Education*, 100-105.

[68] On withdrawing funding, see Jamieson, *Echoes of the Past*, 12. On withdrawing fully from the reserve, see Olive Moses, Doris Henhawk, and Lloyd King, *History of Education on the Six Nations Reserve* (Brantford: Woodland Cultural Centre, 1987). 4.

[69] Abate, 134.

[70] Ibid., 135.

[71] Jamieson, 13.

[72] Ibid.

[73] Olive Moses, Doris Henhawk, and Lloyd King, *History of Education on the Six Nations Reserve* (Brantford: Woodland Cultural Centre, 1987), 7. They indicate that the School Board sent the petition in 1905. Julia Jamieson dated it to April 5, 1906. I accepted Jamieson's date because she cites portions of the petition. Both Moses *et. al.* and Jamieson indicate that the School Board requested hiring more qualified teachers, as well as requiring regular school inspections by a County Inspector.

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[74] Jamieson, 17.

[75] As outlined by Jean Barman, Yvonne M. Hébert, and Don McCaskill eds., Indian Education in Canada Volume 2: The Challenge (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1987).

[76] Abate, 258.

[77] Ibid.; see also, Norman, 9-10. She suggests that the community's confidence in the school system was attributed to the high number of local teachers, especially women.

[78] On the 1924 "Takeover," see Susan M. Hill, *The Clay we are Made of: Haudenosaunee Land Tenure on the Grand River* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2017), 234-236. Ivan spoke at length about the takeover and its implications for him as a Longhouse traditionalist working for the Department. He did not recognize the authority of the elected band council or the Department. It was 'difficult' for him to work for the Department, but he had to if he wanted to pass down the language and culture to children at No. 11 School. See, Ivan Thomas interview, .

[79] On termination of the Six Nations School Board, see Abate, 303-308.

[80] Ivan Thomas interview.

[81] Moses *et. al.*, 62.

[82] Ibid., 6-11.

[83] The Anglican Church of Canada, "The Mohawk Institute – Brantford, ON," September, 23, 2008, retrieved from https://www.anglican.ca/tr/histories/mohawk-institute/.

[84] Moses *et. al.*, 70.

[85] Ibid., 21.

[86] Abate, 320-321.

[87] Ivan Thomas interview.

[88] Ivan tied his motivation to become a teacher to the necessity to provide for his family. He said, "My father passed away at thirty-two. My mom had eight children, ya know. Later, she had two more daughters and raised two grandsons as her own. She didn't have much of an income. Family allowance came once a month. In the beginning she worked at a restaurant wherever she could find a job. So, money was scarce. Then this opportunity came up for me to help with the family income. She said, 'Go for it. We'll see what we can do.' So, I did." Ivan Thomas interview.

[89] Ed Staats interview.

[90] Ibid.

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[91] For more on Indigenous peoples and sport, see Janice Forsyth, and Audrey R. Giles, eds., *Aboriginal Peoples and Sport in Canada: Historical Foundations and Contemporary Issues* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2013). On lacrosse and Haudenosaunee nationhood, see Allan Downey, *The Creator's Game: Lacrosse, Identity, and Indigenous Nationhood* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2018).

[92] Ivan Thomas interview.

[93] Ibid. The hunting rats story reminded me of a similar story from Jamieson Elementary. It was the second year of my young teaching career and first in grade two/three. A baby bat must have gotten stuck in the classroom's drop ceiling and fell behind a shelf that held the students' mailboxes (agendas, book bags, notes to go home). Lo and behold, a student found the bat and seven- and eight-year-old pandemonium ensued. While I tried to maintain classroom order, I asked the educational assistant to get the janitor to come remove it. The janitor was busy, so another educational assistant who was on break came to remove the bat. At this point, she was well along in her pregnancy. She made a point of criticizing me for getting a pregnant woman to remove a bat instead of doing it myself. Later in my teaching career, students took pleasure in reminding me about the wild, baby bat story. I am quite fond of it myself.

[94] Ivan Thomas interview.

[95] The school was constructed in 1867 in the southeast corner of the reserve near the intersection of Second Line and Cayuga Road. In an undated photo displayed at Oliver M. Smith Kawenni:io Elementary School, No. 9 is shown with a brick exterior, large skinny windows, and a bell adorning the roof. The school closed on June 30, 1985 and was later demolished. See Appendix B.

[96] Ed Staats, interview by author, Six Nations, April 2, 2020.

[97] I intended to investigate the roles and responsibilities of administrators during the numbered school era, but I did not expect Ivan and Ed to share stories about keeping the schools warm. Perhaps because I am two generations removed from teaching and administration during this time, I considered something of this nature to be the responsibility of janitorial or maintenance staff. I shared my thoughts with the two administrators and we laughed as I listened to their stories. I share this side note here as a way to capture some of the spirit of the relationship between storyteller and story listener.

[98] Ivan Thomas interview.

[99] Ibid.

[100] For a visual of Old. No. 11 School, see Appendix B.

[101] Ibid.

[102] Jamieson, 8. See Appendix B for an undated picture of No. 9 School.

[103] Ed Staats interview December 6, 2019.

[104] Ibid.

[105] The school was constructed in 1912 and located in the southwest corner of the reserve near the intersection of First Line and Mohawk Roads. See Appendix B for an undated photograph.

[106] Ed Staats interview December 6, 2019.

[107] Ibid.

[108] Ibid.

[109] HAWKEYE, interview by author, Brantford, January 31, 2020.

[110] Michelle Pidgeon, Marissa Muñoz, Verna J. Kirkness, and Jo-Ann Archibald. "Indian Control of Indian Education: Reflections and Envisioning the Next 40 Years," *Canadian Journal of Native Education* 36, no. 1 (2013): 8.

[111] Margaret S. Ward, "Indian Education in Canada: Implementation of Education Policy, 1973-1978," (Master's Thesis: University of Saskatchewan, 1988), 130.

[112] Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development Canada, *Indian Education Paper: Phase 1* (Ottawa: 1982), 19.

[113] Ibid., 28.

[114] Ibid., 40.

[115] Ibid., 42.

[116] Ibid., 43.

[117] Moses *et. al.*, 30-31.

[118] Assembly of First Nations, *Tradition and Education: Towards a Vision of Our Future. A Declaration of First Nations Education Over Education* (Ottawa: 1988), 12-14.

[119] Ibid., 40-43.

[120] Pidgeon *et. al.*, 8.

[121] Assembly of First Nations, *Tradition and Education*, 7.

[122] Ibid., 13.

[123] See Mark Aquash, "First Nations Control of Education: One Community's Experience," *Canadian Journal of Native Education* 36, no. 1 (2013): 59-76. In his examination of a First Nations community that assumed local control in 1991, Aquash determines that local control needed to be transformative in order to meet the community's educational needs. That is, the underlying, hierarchical structure of the Department needed to change. In his study, the community removed the principal position and replaced it with a community team to address discipline issues. This worked for seven years until a turnover in school board leadership led to the reinstatement of the principal position. Without the administrative team, the behaviour issues returned. Aquash concluded that the community had a range of successes and failures in assuming local control and emphasized community control as paramount in eliminating external domination from the Department. Also see, Jerry Paquette and Gérald Fallon, *First Nations Education Policy in Canada: Progress or Gridlock?* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), 78-79. In their evaluation of *ICIE* policy, the authors criticize the NIB for treating "'local control' as a synonym for Indian control." It did not take into account the full impact of diseconomies of scale on First Nations ability to direct their educational programs and services. In other words, by focusing on local control, First Nations communities became isolated from the benefits of pooling funding and resources together at a district or board level similar to the provincial education system. Paquette and Fallon suggest that First Nations communities should sacrifice local control to achieve meaningful functional and program control over community schools. This aligns with the way the education system developed in Six Nations. Rather than become overburdened with political and financial limitations at the local level, the community opted to remain under federal operation.

[124] On improvements in student attainment and attendance levels under local control, see David Bell, *Sharing our Success: Ten Case Studies in Aboriginal Education* (Kelowna: Society for the Advancement of Excellence in Education [SAEE], 2004). On effective leadership in locally controlled First Nations schools, see Debbie Stockdale, Jim Parsons and Larry Beauchamp, "Instructional Leadership in First Nations Schools," *Canadian Journal of Native Education* 36, no. 1 (2013): 95-112.

[125] Ed Staats interview, December 6, 2019.

[126] Ibid.

[127] Ivan Thomas interview, July 29, 2020.

[128] Ivan Thomas interview, August 17, 2020.

[129] Ibid.

[130] Ivan Thomas interview, July 29, 2020.

[131] Ed Staats interview.

[132] Ed Staats interview, December 6, 2019.

[133] Ivan Thomas interview, July 29, 2020.

[134] Ivan Thomas interview, August 17, 2020.

[135] Ed Staats interview, December 13, 2020. Moses *et al*. cite Caffin as Superintendent of Six Nations schools in 1983 as the band council responded to the Department's *Indian Education: Phase 1* report.

[136] It should be noted that Mr. Caffin encouraged HAWKEYE into teaching outside of her community to start her career. There were no positions available in Six Nations at the time. She eventually used that experience to improve the education system in Six Nations (See Chapter Four). HAWKEYE, interview by author, Brantford, January 31, 2020.

[137] Ivan indicated the Department recalled Mr. Caffin to Toronto for an assignment and band council installed Harvey Longboat as interim Superintendent. When Mr. Caffin completed his assignment and looked to return to the community, band council refused and Harvey replaced him permanently. Ivan Thomas, interview by author, Six Nations, July 29, 2020

[138] Ivan Thomas, interview by author, Six Nations, July 29, 2020.

[139] Ed Staats interview, December 13, 2019.

[140] 6Ned, interview by author, Six Nations, January 21, 2020.

[141] Ed Staats, interview by author, Six Nations, December 6, 2019.

[142] 6Ned, interview by author, Six Nations, January 21, 2020.

[143] Ibid.

[144] Ibid.

[145] Ed Staats interview.

[146]Abate Wori Abate, "Iroquois Control of Iroquois Education: A Case Study of the Iroquois of the Grand River Valley in Ontario, Canada," (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 1984), 446.

[147] 6Ned interview.

[148] Ibid.

[149] Ibid. Oliver Smith has since passed away, but like Ivan, has one of the consolidated schools named after him: Oliver M. Smith-Kawenni:io Elementary School near Third Line and Seneca Roads. See Appendix C.

[150] 6Ned interview.

[151] Ibid.

[152] Ibid.

[153] Ibid.

[154] Ibid.

[155] S2, interview by author, Six Nations, February 13, 2020.

[156] Ibid.

[157] Ed Staats interview. Ed shared that one year his 5/6 class had forty-eight students.

[158] Ibid.

[159] Ibid.

[160] Ed Staats, interview by author, Six Nations, April 2, 2020

[161] Ed Staats interview, December 6, 2019.

[162] On First Nations education funding, see Sheila Carr-Stewart, "First Nations Education: Financial Accountability and Educational Attainment," *Canadian Journal of Native Education* 29, no. 4 (2006): 1009-1012. For an in-depth examination of the evolution of policy discourse, including funding, of First Nations education, see Jerry Paquette and Gérald Fallon, *First Nations Education Policy in Canada: Progress or Gridlock?* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), 70-123.

[163] 6Ned interview. HAWKEYE interview.

[164] Ed Staats interview, December 13, 2019.

[165] 6Ned interview. Julia L. Jamieson, *Echoes of the Past: A History of Education from the time of the Six Nations Settlement on the Banks of the Grand River in 1784 to 1924* (Brantford), 8.

[166] This is something that came up in the conversations with my grandfather. I informally asked him if the conditions were something that he became accustomed to as a student and then as an educator. He did not answer directly, so I respected his response, but there is some inclination that the conditions of the schools were normalized from one generation to the next.

[167] Ivan Thomas, interview by author, Six Nations, July 29, 2020.

[168] Beverley Smith, "Indians, federal officials meeting to resolve boycott of schools," *Toronto Globe and Mail*, October 19, 1989.

[169] 6Ned interview.

[170] Ivan Thomas, interview by author, Six Nations, July 29, 2020.

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[171] David Judd, "Six Nations school boycott is on," *Brantford Expositor*, September 1, 1989. I draw on Chief Bill Montour's comments from the August 31, 1989 meeting where the community prepared for the boycott. He said, "If these buildings were off the reserve, there would be an awful hue and cry that we're getting a raw deal."

[172] Darcy Henton, "Indians boycott asbestos polluted schools," *Toronto Star,* October 27, 1989. Ed Staats, interview by author, Six Nations, December 13, 2019.

[173] Ivan Thomas interview.

[174] Ibid.

[175] Without access to Departmental records, or stories from J.C. Hill, Ed Caffin, and Harvey Longboat, who are all deceased, this conclusion is somewhat speculative, but makes the most sense in the absence of evidence. It is also based on 6Ned's remark about her interactions with Departmental officials after her research on the Community Education Project. 6Ned commented on a conversation she had with DIAND associate director general, John Donnelly, sometime between 1992 and 1996, where Donnelly stated that the Department did not do treaties anymore. 6Ned commented that things did not go beyond the "Johns" of the world–meaning that the community's concerns about education, self-determination, governance, and sovereignty never reached the Department officials who had the authority to act. They always stopped at the "Johns" where they were heard and summarily shelved with little consideration and even less action. Given her experience, I applied her logic to how the Department ignored administrators concerns about the conditions of the schools.

[176] Harold Cardinal, *The Unjust Society*, (Vancouver: Douglas & Mcintyre, 1969), 7-8.

[177] Ed Staats interview.

[178] David Judd, "Six Nations school boycott is on," *Brantford Expositor*, September 1, 1989. On fire inspection of the schools, see Beverley Smith, "Indians, federal officials meeting to resolve boycott of school," *Globe and Mail*, October 19, 1989. Smith indicated a fire inspector told band council members that the schools lacked fire-retardant materials. This meant that children had only fifty-five seconds to evacuate the building in case of fire, while provincial legislation stipulated a seven minute minimum.

[179] Beverley Smith, "Indians, federal officials meeting to resolve boycott of schools," *Globe and Mail*, October 19, 1989.

[180] David Judd, "Six Nations school boycott is on," *Brantford Expositor*, September 1, 1989.

[181] Ibid.

[182] Ibid.

[183] Ibid.

[184] Ibid.

[185] Ibid.

[186] Ibid.

[187] Ibid. In our conversation, Ivan spoke about Ozzie Staats and how outspoken he was during the boycott. He accredited Ozzie with “opening the can of worms” on the conditions of the schools. As a painter, Ozzie had intimate knowledge of the terrible conditions of the schools. In David Judd’s article, Ozzie is pictured holding his six year-old daughter’s hand as he walks away after addressing the community about rotten No. 1 School.

[188] Ivan Thomas interview.

[189] Judd, “Six Nations school boycott is on.”

[190] Beverley Smith, “Indians, federal officials meeting to resolve boycott of school,” *Globe and Mail*, October 19, 1989.

[191] Ed Staats interview.

[192] Ivan Thomas interview.

[193] Beth Gallagher, “Teachers told not to talk to media,” *Brantford Expositor*, October 23, 1989.

[194] Ed Staats interview.

[195] Ed Staats interview.

[196] Anne Jarvis, “Native demonstrate in Brantford ‘We just won’t stand for it any more,’” *Brantford Expositor*, October 28, 1989.

[197] Ivan Thomas interview.

[198] Jarvis, “Native demonstrate in Brantford.:

[199] Jennifer Gray-Grant, “Defied federal ‘gag’ order, counsellor fired,” *Hamilton Spectator*, December 8, 1989. Ivan brought up Steve Hill in our conversation too. He remembered Steve getting fired for speaking publicly at the demonstration in Brantford.

[200] Ibid.

[201] Lynda Powless, “Native reserve promised new school, asbestos study,” *Globe and Mail*, October 28, 1989.

[202] Beth Gallagher, “New plan would have reserve schools open Nov. 13,” *Brantford Expositor*, Nov. 7, 1989.

[203] Beth Gallagher, "Classes held in five reserve schools," *Brantford Expositor*, November 21, 1989.

[204] Ed Staats interview.

[205] Gallagher, "Classes held in five reserve schools," Gallagher indicated some parents intended to keep their children out of school until the final publication of the asbestos study on Friday, November 25. Children would not return to school until Monday, November 28 or after.

[206] Robert Allen Warrior, *Tribal Secrets: Recovering American Indian Intellectual Traditions* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995), 123.

[207] In 1985, Abate concluded that the community had no desire to assume local control of education because many people felt they had *de facto* control in local teachers and curriculum. However, by 1985, the Department knew about asbestos and years of outstanding repairs needing to be completed on the numbered schools, so the educational environment was already changing. Without access to band council records due to COVID, it is difficult to determine if the Department started pressuring band council to assume control prior to 1987, but given Chief Montour's letter from that year, it would indicate that DIAND wanted to devolve education to the community a year earlier, at the least. The educational environment shifted into the late 1980s, so it is imperative that Abate's conclusions are reexamined after 1985.

[208] Ivan Thomas interview. Ivan interpreted this as the Department opting to integrate the Six Nations schools into the surrounding Brant, Norfolk, and Haldimand county schools. He also indicated that the Department might try to incorporate the education authority, making it subject to federal and provincial taxation. In either case, it was an imposition on the Haudenosaunee right to determine their own education system.

[209] Community Education Project, *Re-Establishing Control of Elementary Education, Recommendations for Legal and Funding Arrangements, Negotiations, Community Ratification: A Report of the Community Education Project, Six Nations at Grand River, June, 1991 Volume 2 - Appendices* (Six Nations: 1991), Appendix F(iii). This item is a statement letter from the band council to the Department rejecting its 1991 devolution deadline without clarification of federal obligations and jurisdiction over control.

[210] Ibid., 1.

[211] In my conversation with Ivan, he mentioned the National Indian Brotherhood and *Indian Control of Indian Education*. He made it clear that the NIB did not speak for the Confederacy Council of Chiefs. That being said, the NIB in *ICIE* and the CEP in its report shared the same values: parental engagement, culture and language, and work preparation.

[212] 6Ned interview.

[213] Ibid.

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[214] Ivan Thomas interview.

[215] Community Education Project, *Re-Establishing Control of Elementary Education, Recommendations for Legal and Funding Arrangements, Negotiations, Community Ratification: A Report of the Community Education Project, Six Nations at Grand River, June, 1991 Volume 1* (Six Nations: 1991), 12-13.

[216] Ibid., 60-61.

[217] Ibid., 57-59.

[218] Ibid., 66-70.

[219] Ibid., 13.

[220] Community Education Project, *Final Report of the Community Education Project: A Summary of Activities, August 1994* (Six Nations, 1994), 24.

[221] Ibid., Appendix I.

[222] For a yearly breakdown of the CEP's activities, see Ibid., 5-39. School B was the interim name for the consolidated school that absorbed No. 6, 10, and 11 Schools. The traditional families of the absorbed schools voted to officially name School B as I.L. Thomas Elementary School after Ivan Thomas because of his long-time tenure as administrator of No. 11 School.

[223] Ivan Thomas interview.

[224] "S.N. asking for another board…," *Tekawennake*, February 9, 1994.

[225] 6Ned interview.

[226] In the early 1900s, it was not uncommon for the community to replicate off-reserve school buildings in its own school construction. Old Central, otherwise known as No. 2 School, was a primary example in the village of Ohsweken. The numbered schools share similar construction to schools found off-reserve and do not reflect any cultural symbols that would make them distinctively Haudenosaunee. Indeed, in her telling of her father, Augustus Jamieson's, involvement in building the schools as Inspector of Public Works, Julia Jamieson clearly states he went "to visit school houses among the white neighbours, and examine them carefully, take pattern of them and report at the next Special Council." See Jamieson, 15-16. At the time when the Six Nations School Board continued to press for parity in curriculum, teacher qualifications, and school inspection with the province as an indicator of Haudenosaunee capacity for intellectual growth, replicas of off-reserve schools aligned with that vision for the education system. However, as the Department allowed the schools to deteriorate into the 1980s, their characterization shifted from its original one of equality to one of, in my estimation, a physical imposition of a colonial structure into Haudenosaunee territory. Arguably, my characterization is not unfounded, as the entire building process from consultation to final product of the new consolidated schools reflected Haudenosaunee cultural values and symbols. For more on that process, see Louise Atkins, *Case Study 1: First Nation Schools* (Ottawa: Royal Architecture Institute of Canada).

[227] Warrior, *Tribal Secrets*, 91.

[228] Ed Staats interview. Ed said that on a few occasions he brought friends from his church to see the new schools on the reserve and they commented that they felt they looked better than the schools off-reserve.

[229] HAWKEYE, interview by author, Brantford, January 31, 2020.

[230] WB, interview by author, Six Nations, January 23, 2020.

[231] HAWKEYE interview. In the mid-1980s, the Department recognized HAWKEYE for her work as an administrator at an award ceremony attended by the Department's Ontario regional director (at the time of the boycott), Gerald Kerr, and Ontario regional superintendent of education (early 1980s), John Donnelly (who was responsible for representing the Department in discussions with 6Ned about a nation-to-nation education treaty in the early 1990s). Donnelly was the one who said, "We don't do those anymore," referring to treaties, leaving 6Ned to remark, "Well, number one, you need to honour the ones that you already have." For more on the Department containing education treaty talks, see 6Ned, interview with author, Six Nations, January 21, 2020. The two associates, Gerald Kerr and John Donnelly, did not realize that although HAWKEYE was from Six Nations, and in passing referred to it as a 'pain in the ass' to the Department. Perhaps, they were expecting the pain in the ass to go away by 1989 rather than erupt into a painful hemorrhoid when parents boycotted the schools and protected their children.

[232] Community Education Project, *Final Report of the Community Education Project: A Summary of Activities, August 1994* (Six Nations, 1994), Appendix III. The Department committed the bulk of that money, over $700 000, in the two years before the community intended to assume control (1993 and 1994).

[233] See, A. Luanne Martin, *Six Nations Path to Educational Freedom. "Return to a Life in Balance Through Education," Education Engagement Strategy Final Report, February 9, 2016* (Six Nations: 2016), and Connie McGregor, *Six Nations Education – Engagement Report* (Six Nations: February, 2019).

[234] On the closing or demolition dates of the numbered schools, see Federal Indian Day School Class Action, "Schedule K – List of Federal Indian Day Schools," accessed December 14, 2020, https://indiandayschools.com/en/wp-content/uploads/schedule-k.pdf. The schedule indicates No. 7 School closed September 1, 1987, but newspaper sources indicate there were twelve schools operational during the boycott. Nos. 2 and 4 Schools closed in 1962, and 1982, respectively. No. 9 School closed in 1985, leaving No. 7 as the closest available date to be included in the twelve cited in newspaper sources.

[235] Jamieson Elementary School opened in 1977 near the intersection of Chiefswood and Fourth Line Roads. J.C. Hill Elementary originally opened as the 'new' Central School in 1963 after Old Central was demolished. It was later renamed J.C. Hill Elementary in 1965 after superintendent, J.C. Hill. For more on opening and closing dates, see Federal Indian Day School Class Action, "Schedule K – List of Federal Indian Day Schools," accessed December 14, 2020, https://indiandayschools.com/en/wp-content/uploads/schedule-k.pdf. For contemporary profiles of the consolidated schools, see "Six Nations Education: Education portal for Six Nations of the Grand," accessed December 14, 2020, https://sixnationseducation.ca/.

[236] The Schedule K list of federal Indian day schools indicates New Credit School ceased federal operations September 1, 1994.

[237] For more on the construction process of ECG and ILT, see Louise Atkins, *Case Study 1: First Nation Schools* (Ottawa: Royal Architecture Institute of Canada).

[238] Ibid., 3. See Appendix C for an image of the blue beams at the front of ECG. As a student, I always wondered what the beams were suppose to be if the school was shaped like a turtle rattle. Climbing on them was forbidden, but students always found a way to climb up them when teachers or administrators were not looking. I was surprised to find out that is what they symbolized, because I did some research on Haudenosaunee ironworkers as a research assistant during my studies. Little did I know the connection between that work and this research on administration in my community.

[239] On Haudensaunee ironworkers and sovereignty, see Audra Simpson, *Mohawk Interruptus: Political Life Across the Borders of Settler States* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014).

[240] HAWKEYE interview. She had been preparing weeks in advance with one of the former mentors of the ITEP at Hamilton Teacher's College and spoke about how the rearrangement in assignments negatively affected the beginning of the school year at both schools. The work she completed there had to be redone at the new school when reassigned.

[241] Ivan Thomas, interview by author, Six Nations, July 29, 2020. Mr. Lewis fell while cleaning his pool. His passing was unexpected and felt throughout the I.L. Thomas school community.

[242] On the Haudenosaunee Creation Story, see Tom Porter, *And Grandma Said… Iroquois Teachings as passed down through the oral tradition* (Indiana: Xlibris Corporation, 2008), 40-90. On women and creation, see Susan M. Hill, *The Clay we are Made of: Haudensaunee Land Tenure on the Grand River* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2017), 56-58.

[243] Ibid., 58.

[244] Ibid., 60.

[245] 6Ned, interview by author, Six Nations, January 21, 2020. 6Ned said this was something Harvey Longboat pushed for greatly.

[246] WB interview.

[247] Ibid.

[248] Ibid.

[249] Ibid.

[250] Ibid.

[251] Ibid.

[252] Ibid. In preparation for our first interview, WB presented her teaching/administrative portfolio to me. She shared her qualifications with me and her resume was vital in situating her stories along a timeline, but I was most fascinated by this diagram of her administrative philosophy. Our conversations almost always evolved into cultural teachings, so it should have been no surprise that she adapted them to create a framework based on her Mother's teachings. In my MEd. I read about a range of leadership styles (instructional, situational, anti-racist, and transformative, for example), but I had never seen them modified to reflect Indigenous leadership or Haudenosaunee for that matter. WB completely flipped DIAND's hierarchical structure.

[253] Ed Staats, interview by author, Six Nations, December 13, 2019.

[254] Ibid.

[255] For contemporary studies on improved outcomes for Indigenous students with positive community role models, see Keith Goulet and Linda M. Goulet, *Teaching Each Other: Nehinuw Concepts & Indigenous Pedagogies* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2014); Yatta Kanu, *Integrating Aboriginal Perspectives into the School Curriculum: Purposes, Possibilites, Challenges* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011); J.P. Preston and T.R. Claypool, "Motivators of Educational Success: Perceptions of Grade 12 Aboriginal Students," *Canadian Journal of Education* 36, no. 4 (2013): 257-279; and J. Hare and M. Pidgeon, "The Way of the Warrior: Indigenous Youth Navigating the Challenges of Schooling," *Canadian Journal of Education* 34, no. 2 (2011): 93-111.

[256] HAWKEYE interview.

[257] Ibid.

[258] Ibid.

[259] Ibid.

[260] Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development Canada, *Indian Education Paper: Phase 1* (Ottawa: 1982), 40.

[261] HAWKEYE interview.

[262] S2, interview by author, Six Nations, February 13, 2020. Bomcor Associates confirmed "there was no Operations Manuel or similar document of Operating Policies and Procedures ie. weather, maintenance failure, accident, bomb threat, environmental hazard, student testing." See, Bomberry Corp., *Six Nations Comprehensive Elementary School Evaluation: Final Report* (Six Nations: 2001), 24.

[263] S2 interview.

[264] On Midwinter and other ceremonies, see Haudenosaunee Confederacy, "Ceremonies," accessed December 20, 2020, https://www.haudenosauneeconfederacy.com/ceremonies/.

[265] WB interview.

[266] Ibid.

[267] Ibid.

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[268] Ibid. I was surprised to hear WB describe a smooth process. As a teacher, it was difficult interacting with Departmental staff at times, because of restrictive policies and procedures. The public service pay system, known as Phoenix, made it especially difficult to receive timely and appropriate compensation. The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation has a webpage dedicated to problems associated with Phoenix. For more, see Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, "Topic: Phoenix Falling," accessed December 20, 2020, https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/topic/Tag/Phoenix%20Falling.

[269] HAWKEYE interview; 6Ned emphasized the important role local principals and teachers played in the 1990s to develop the consolidated school system. The Department underfunded them, and did not provide second-tier services, like special education or curriculum development, that the province provided to the public school system. See, 6Ned interview.

[270] HAWKEYE said she had the most control over day-to-day operations of the school. See, HAWKEYE interview. WB felt that she had control over administration in general, and did not mention anything specifically. See, WB interviews January 23, 2020, and, July 31, 2020.

[271] Ed Staats interview, April 2, 2020.

[272] Ivan Thomas interview, August 10, 2020.

[273] WB interview, July 31, 2020.

[274] HAWKEYE interview, January 31, 2020.

[275] WB did not speak specifically to her work as an administrator and hiring teachers, but she did speak about her experience interviewing to become a principal. She interviewed five years in a row to first, get her position as principal, but then in four consecutive years afterwards to maintain her position. Looking back she felt she should have been given indeterminate status (guaranteed employment), but at the time she felt that was simply the process she had to endure to work in her home community. Her experience suggests that there was little control in the 1990s at the community level over hiring processes of administrators. See, WB interview, January 23, 2020.

[276] S2 interview, February 13, 2020.

[277] Ibid.

[278] Ivan Thomas interview, July 29, 2020.

[279] Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development Canada, *Indian Education Paper: Phase 1* (Ottawa: 1982), 3.

[280] Assembly of First Nations, *Tradition and Education: Towards a Vision of Our Future. A Declaration of First Nations Jurisdiction Over Education* (Akwesasne: 1988), 30. Bomcor Associates indicated that the Department initiated strategic planning every two or three years, so the Six Nations education system had no long-range educational planning. The Department developed five-year overall budgets for the schools, however. See, Bomberry Corp., *Six Nations Comprehensive Elementary School Evaluation: Final Report* (Six Nations: 2001), 31-32.

[281] For more on nominal rolls and First Nations education funding, see Sheila Carr Stewart, "First Nations Education: Financial Accountability and Educational Attainment," *Canadian Journal of Education* 29, no. 4 (2006): 1009-1012.

[282] Assembly of First Nations, *Federal Funding for First Nations Schools* (Gatineau: 2012), 2.

[283] *Six Nations Comprehensive Elementary School Evaluation*, 7.

[284] Three of the seven administrators interviewed in the Bomcor report listed "lack of sufficient funding" as a major concern in curriculum delivery. See, *Six Nations Comprehensive Elementary School Evaluation*, 74. The administrators remained anonymous in the Bomcor evaluation, but it is likely that the same administrators participated in this study as well. The overlap suggests that funding was the major concern in 2001, and remained so into the 2010s when two of the principals retired.

[285] Ed Staats interview, April 2, 2020. Ed's conclusion on having little control over special education programs and support staff is supported by the Bomcor report. It concluded, "both the financial resources and human resources to provide specialized services were grossly inadequate." See, *Six Nations Comprehensive Elementary School Evaluation*, 42.

[286] Ivan Thomas interview, August 17, 2020. Ivan's response shows why it is important to use appropriate research methodologies with Indigenous peoples. We reviewed the interview transcripts together, and Ivan used the time to clarify his position. Without the follow-up, I might have misrepresented his views on funding. I included his original response here to illustrate that point, but also to show the complex relationship between administrative and financial control.

[287] S2 interview, February 13, 2020.

[288] Ibid.

[289] WB interview, July 31, 2020.

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[290] HAWKEYE felt she had the least control over getting the kind of assistance she needed. This included finding good answers to certain issues, but she emphasized system-wide issues with finding casual supply teachers–particularly later in her career into the 2010s. For more, see notes to HAWKEYE, interview by author, Six Nations, July 4, 2020. HAWKEYE's statement is also supported by the Bomcor report. Two out of seven administrators indicated they had "no support from the District Office"– meaning DIAND. See, *Six Nations Comprehensive Elementary School Evaluation*, 74.

[291] S2 interview.

[292] Ibid.

[293] Auditor General of Canada, "Chapter 4. Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Elementary and Secondary Education," *Report of the Auditor General* (Ottawa: 2000).

[294] Standing Senate Committee on Aboriginal Peoples, *Reforming First Nations Education: From Crisis to Hope. Report of the Standing Senate Committee on Aboriginal Peoples* (Ottawa: 2001), 16. In 2001, 52% of on-reserve First Nations people between the ages of 25-34 did not have a high school diploma. In 2006, that number dipped slightly to 51% indicating very little progress in educational attainment for on-reserve First Nations students.

[295] Auditor General of Canada, "Chapter 4. Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Elementary and Secondary Education," *Report of the Auditor General* (Ottawa: 2000). 4-5.

[296] A. Luanne Martin, *Six Nations Path to Educational Freedom. "Return to a Life in Balance Through Education," Education Engagement Strategy Final Report, February 9, 2016* (Six Nations: 2016), 23.

[297] WB interview. She experienced difficulties working as a band employee in a federal school. As a language teacher, she had little support from the administrator of her school in the early 1990s. WB's administrator refused to evaluate her. She needed the support, because there were no cultural resources for her to us in the classroom when she started. She relied on her knowledge of ceremonies to build curriculum content and materials. This is just one example of the fundamental problems of a dual organizational structure for an education system.

[298] As cited in *Six Nations Path to Educational Freedom.*, 24. Without a Superintendent, principals reported directly to the Director of Intergovernmental Affairs (INAC). See, *Six Nations Comprehensive Elementary School Evaluation*, 20. This change in title might explain why administrators referred to their superior interchangeably as: superintendent, director, regional director, manager, or regional manager depending on the time frame. Also, the turnover in centralized leadership was high. Over her twenty-year career as administrator in the community, HAWKEYE recalled having at least nine different directors or managers. Combined with a site-based management approach, this led to issues in the overall direction of education. See, HAWKEYE interview.

[299] Interim Six Nations Authority Working Group, *Education Update #1* (Six Nations: 2002), 1.

[300] This time frame is based on the ISNEAWG's Choices for Change presentation on October 7, 2002. The Group would have needed at least a week to discuss Claudine VanEvery-Albert's findings before presenting options to the band council. For the work VanEvery-Albert conducted in 2002 and timeframe, see Interim Six Nations Authority Working Group, *Education Update #1* (Six Nations: 2002), 2-3. See *Six Nations Path to Educational Freedom.*, 25.

[301] HAWKEYE interview.

[302] Ibid.

[303] Ibid.

[304] WB interview.

[305] In the initial stages of participant recruitment for this project, I attended a breakfast offered by the Indigenous Studies Program, and Indigenous Students Services at McMaster, where Kathy Knott, as a resident Elder, was in attendance. Kathy and I sat beside each other during the breakfast, and we started talking about my research. She informed me she was a former Indian Affairs director of education for federal schools. Later that semester in October 2019, I attended a traditional cooking workshop led by Kathy. I wanted to engage with other Indigenous students at the university, but I also wanted to hear her stories and experiences of working in such a difficult position. In my experience, Department officials always seemed to be unknown, and hidden in perpetual darkness, as Harold Cardinal described them in *The Unjust Society,* so speaking with Kathy, in this mentoring and respected role as a resident Elder, softened my perceptions. She emphasized how she always wanted what was best for Indigenous children, but her job made it very difficult at times. It was a sincere sentiment that stuck with me. So, in this instance, I err on the side of caution in determining from whom the restrictions came in the Department.

[306] *Six Nations Path to Educational Freedom*, 31.

[307] As cited in Ibid., 32.

[308] Kawenní:ío/Gawení:yo private high school opened in 1997. It was, and remains, separate from the federal school system. For more on Kawenní:ío/Gawení:yo, see its website https://kgps.ca/.

[309] Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (London: Zed Books Limited, 1999), 34.

[310] WB, interview by author, Six Nations, July 31, 2020.

[311] Distinctively Haudenosaunee in the sense that she adapted her understanding of "the People being on the back of the Confederacy Chiefs" to her practice as a principal.

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[312] I did not ask 6Ned the same questions in my follow-up with her because she did not work as an elementary school principal.

[313] Ed Staats, interview by author, Six Nations, April 2, 2020.

[314] This is not to say that Ed accepted all direction from the Department. He stood by the parents and his teachers during the community boycott. Ed also emphasized that he supported his staff when they identified a need in the classroom. As he approached retirement into the 1990s, it was not uncommon for there to be high turnover in the education regional manager position at the Department. In one instance, Ed recalled that at a morning meeting a new manager (who he did not identify) informed him that no funds were available to pay for a much-needed educational assistant in a teacher's classroom. He remarked, "I have been here much longer than you have been here and I know there is always money." A few hours later, the manager called Ed at the school informing him, "I found some money," to which he replied, "What do you mean you found some money? You didn't find money, it was already there." So, Ed's willingness to accept 'control' from his superior greatly depended on whether or not his supervisor had the community's best interest at heart, in this case, allocating Departmental funds to pay for extra support in the classroom. See, Ed Staats interview December 6, 2019.

[315] HAWKEYE, interview by author, Six Nations, July 3, 2020.

[316] S2, interview by author, Six Nations, August 10, 2020.

[317] WB interview.

[318] Ivan Thomas, interview by author, Six Nations, August 17, 2020.

[319] HAWKEYE interview.

[320] Julia L. Jamieson, *Echoes of the Past: A History of Education from the time of the Six Nations Settlement on the Banks of the Grand River in 1784 to 1924* (Brantford), 13.

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[321] S2 interview. Jerry P. White, Julie Peters, and Dan Beavon examine the same accountability issues that S2 speaks to in regards to standardized testing in their chapter, "Enhancing Educational Attainment for First Nations Children," in ed. Jerry P. White *et al*., *Aboriginal Education: Current Crisis and Future Alternatives* (Toronto: Thompson Educational Publishing, INC., 2009). When I taught grade 2/3 at Jamieson Elementary, I had the opportunity to collaborate with an excellent grade six teacher there to prepare students in both of our classes for EQAO testing. Each year, grade 3 and 6 students write the EQAO test to evaluate their reading, writing and math levels across the province. The grade sixes mentored the grade threes as they worked on solving math problems together. I sent home practice booklets from previous tests to help prepare my students. A major criticism of the EQAO test was that it was not culturally relevant and did not reflect Haudenosaunee education in the community. I agreed, but tried to prepare the students with 'test-writing' strategies like highlighting relevant information, while crossing out things that were irrelevant. They also learned to take breaks, skip ahead and come back, or work towards partial marks on a question. Students often became confused by names that were uncommon in the community, but were important in reflecting Canada's multicultural student population. In my conversations with teaching staff at the time, it was suggested that the test needed to be adapted to local contexts. Upon personal reflection, I would have exposed the students to more curriculum content that reflected Canada's multicultural population by adapting Anglo-Saxon names that were found in many of the teaching materials of the time.

[322] Ivan Thomas interview, August 17, 2020.

[323] HAWKEYE interview.

[324] Ivan Thomas interview.

[325] S2 interview.

[326] WB interview.

[327] Ibid.

[328] WB also mentioned that EQAO led to increased accountability to the Department for student performance. See, WB interview, January 31, 2020.

[329] S2 interview, August 10, 2020.

[330] Ibid.

[331] Smith, 154.

[332] Robert Allen Warrior, *Tribal Secrets: Recovering American Indian Intellectual Traditions* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995), 123.

[333] Audra Simpson, *Mohawk Interruptus: Political Life Across the Borders of Settler States*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014), 11.

[334] Simpson, 11.

[335] Ed Staats interview, April 2, 2020.

[336] Ivan Thomas interview, July 29, 2020.

[337] Ivan also reflected on his son's passing and Ed Caffin's compassionate leadership to help him through that difficult time. See, Ch. 2 Ivan and Ed: Centralized Leadership and Administrative Control.

[338] S2 interview, February 13, 2020.

[339] WB interview.

[340] HAWKEYE interview.

[341] Ibid.

[342] Jerry P. White *et al.* eds., *Aboriginal Education*, 117-174.

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