

The Exodus from Kitaskinaw School

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A bold experiment in integrated schooling appears to have failed. When it opened in 1977, Kitaskinaw school was unique in Canada: it was an integrated school under provincial aegis but situated on an Indian reserve and with a student population that was 70% non-Indian. As county school board policy made alternatives available, non-Indian parents transferred their children to other schools in the area, and by 1991 only 3% of the student body was non-Indian. It appears that the motivation for transfer is in a perception of cultural difference between Indians and non-Indians, and in what that difference implies in terms of curriculum, student academic performance, and school governance.

The opening of Kitaskinaw School on the Enoch Indian Reserve in September 1977 represented many years of hard work and negotiation on the part of Enoch Indians, non-Indian parents from the surrounding acreages, the County of Parkland, and the Department of Indian Affairs. The school was the first of its kind in Canada: it was part of the County of Parkland school system, although it was located on an Indian reserve under federal jurisdiction, and it adhered to Alberta provincial curriculum. The school served both Indian and non-Indian students and it was truly unique (Woloshyn & Sloan, 1984; Clintberg, 1988).

Kitaskinaw School may have been a marriage of convenience between the Enoch Indian Band and the neighboring acreage dwellers. The reserve had needed a school but did not have enough students to make establishment of their own school feasible. The surrounding acreages had the students but there was no school close by. It appears that the marriage based on mutual need has now turned sour. The school had been held up as a model of integration, but over the past few years there has been an exodus of non-Indian students at a rate of 15% per year, and at that rate its student body will be totally Indian within two years (Hamilton, 1991a).

This article is an exploration of some of the reasons non-Indian students have left Kitaskinaw School and a discussion of some of the consequences of the declining enrollment of non-Indian students. For background information, scholarly and local news publications were reviewed in order to provide a general historical description of the sequence of events. Then interviews were conducted with a county school board administrator, present and former members of the administration of the school itself, and with Indian and non-Indian parents, including parents who had removed their children from the school.

History of Kitaskinaw School

Stony Plain Indian Reserve Number 135 is commonly referred to as *Enoch Reserve* in recognition of a respected early leader, Enoch Morin. Population figures provided by the band membership office for July 1991 show 1,100 Indians resident on the reserve, a small number of whom are from other First Nations, and a non-status population of 58. It is a Plains Cree First Nation, with close ties to other Plains Cree groups in the Canadian Treaty 6 area. It is located on the western out-

skirts of the city of Edmonton, Alberta, a metropolitan area of around 750,000 population. The prosperity of the 1970s created a boom in acreage living around Edmonton. The Enoch Reserve's municipal neighbors, the County of Parkland to the north and west of the reserve, and the County of Devon to the south, particularly felt the pressure of acreage development. Until the late 1970s, the children from the acreages were bussed to various County of Parkland schools, but the population pressure meant that county schools were bursting at the seams. Acreage children faced a bus ride of up to two hours daily and could not participate in their schools' extracurricular activities. It was clear that a new school was needed in the area.

The reserve had been without a school since 1954, when the reserve school had burned down (Clintberg, 1988, p. 23). Indian students, like their acreage counterparts, were bussed to a variety of schools, mostly in Edmonton, and were spending up to two hours a day on buses. Besides facing the same obvious problems of not being able to get involved in after-school programs, the Enoch children had an alarming rate of truancy.

The Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, under whose administrative aegis the Enoch band is governed, could have built a school for the reserve, but it would have been very small. A school for only the 135 reserve students would have been expensive and would not have had the full range of school amenities, such as a science lab, or home economics and industrial arts facilities. The creation of an integrated school solved problems for the reserve residents and acreage dwellers. The acreage children could attend a new, well-equipped school closer to home, and the reserve children would not have to leave the reserve to attend school.

Administratively, the alliance between the county and the Enoch band benefited both parties. In addition to the obvious advantage of having a local school, there were other benefits. The school's construction and operating costs could be shared between the band and the county, reducing the financial burden for each (Clintberg, 1988, p. 50). The county was able to save money by not having to buy land for the school. The lease agreement between the county and band for the occupancy of the land on which the school is situated provides for a 75-year term for \$1 (Clintberg, 1988, p. 46). The alliance also enabled the band to avoid having the Department of Indian Affairs govern their school.

The Enoch Band began the preliminary work in 1971 by passing a Band Council Resolution (BCR) supporting the concept of an integrated school on the reserve:

With our desire to integrate white students onto the Reserve, we have had favourable consultations with the school committee and officials from the County of Parkland to enter into the Joint Agreement with the Department of Indian Affairs.

AND WHEREAS: in doing so, The Enoch Band Council has set aside land for this purpose and will provide certain services and facilities to the school, one of which is a half million dollar ice arena and other future planned recreation complexes.

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED: that the Department of Indian Affairs provide financial assistance and consultation services to the Enoch band to enable them to construct an Elementary and Junior High School to be built on the Stony Plain Indian Reserve. No. 135. (Stony Plain Band Council, 1971)

Planning to run a county school on an Indian reserve brought a number of jurisdictional problems, and resolving those problems took six years. Negotiations for the school involved four levels of government: the Enoch Band Council, the County of Parkland, the Government of Alberta, and the Canadian federal government. The final agreement, which outlined the cost-sharing arrangements, gave both parties the option to withdraw.

When the school was finally opened, the emphasis was on tolerance and understanding between the groups, and there was little emphasis on cultural differences between students. The administration articulated 12 objectives to encourage tolerance and understanding between students and between staff and students. A former Kitaskinaw teacher described the school as a "wonderful and caring school with a great sense of community" (Telephone interview, former teacher, October 19, 1991).

The band was proud of the school and committed resources to ensure its success. They gave the school access to the band recreation building, which housed an ice arena and a gym, at no charge. In the late 1970s and early 1980s the Enoch Band's royalty payments for oil and gas wells operating on its land were high, and the band was one of the wealthiest in Canada. The band ensured that the school was well equipped with resource materials and texts and provided funds for special programs. Kitaskinaw developed "innovative" language arts and Indian culture programs (Telephone interview, former teacher, October 20, 1991). School children were taken on yearly field trips to British Columbia—meals and hotel rooms included—at the expense of the band. The band also provided playschool and kindergarten services to surrounding acreage dwellers free of charge for 10 years (Telephone Interview, Indian Parent No. 3, October 28, 1991).

The Present Situation

The present situation at the school has changed fundamentally from what it was 14 years ago. The oil wealth was exhausted in the late 1980s and the band could no longer support school programs or provide free services. Most special programs have been discontinued due to a lack of funds, and staff positions have been cut.

The most evident change is a demographic one. When the school opened 15 years ago, it had 450 students, 315 (70%) non-Indian and 135 (30%) Indian. The number of Indian students has almost doubled, from 135 in 1977 to 240 in 1991. At the same time, enrollment of county children has dropped dramatically, especially in the last three years. As late as 1987, when the student population was 60% Indian and 40% non-Indian, the school was seen by some as a model of integration (Purvis, 1987). A county administrator stated in a newspaper interview that he expected the school population to be totally Indian within two years (Hamilton, 1991a). In fact, only seven non-Indian students (3% of the school population) remained in the school in September 1991, and of those, four are children of county personnel employed in Kitaskinaw School (Personal communication, Principal of Kitaskinaw School, October 22, 1991).

In spite of the changes to the school, Kitaskinaw remains an integral part of the Enoch community. It does not have community school designation but it functions as one. It is used for a number of community events such as evening courses, adult education classes, Brownie meetings, and church services. The school library is open to the community and is open until 8:00 p.m. on weekdays. The school has

virtually no trouble with vandalism or graffiti, which may be a result of a pride of ownership felt in the school.

The Opening of Graminia School

Even after the school was built, area acreage residents continued to press for a school to be built in an area where many of them lived, and in 1980, three years after Kitaskinaw School was built, Parkland County opened Graminia School. It is located in the acreage area near the southern reserve boundary, about 10 km from Kitaskinaw School. The first year Graminia school accommodated kindergarten to grade 3; the second year, grades 4 through 6 were added; grades 7 and 8 were added the following year, and grade 9 the year after that. As is customary, school boundaries based on residence location dictated that each school have a circumscribed catchment area. S. Woloshyn, principal of Kitaskinaw School until 1987, said that he lobbied the county school administration not to open those school boundaries and thus make registration and choice of school more flexible, but after Woloshyn left school administration, the boundaries were indeed opened and parents were allowed to register their children in whatever school they could (Hamilton, 1991b).

Until September 1990, bussing policies meant that for those living in Kitaskinaw school boundaries, a change to another school required parents to drive or to car-pool their children to any other school, but this inhibition against transferring was removed that fall.

Graminia school is bursting at the seams. Its present enrollment is 610 although its capacity is set at 500 (Interview with Graminia School Principal, October 23, 1991). When asked how much larger the Graminia School would be allowed to get, a county administrator replied that he was "confident that the population of Graminia School had gotten as big as it would get" (Interview with Deputy Superintendent, County of Parkland School District, October 25, 1991). The Graminia principal stated that most of the non-Indian students who have transferred out of Kitaskinaw School now attend Graminia School. Although Graminia borders the reserve, no reserve children attend there (Interview with Graminia School Principal, October 23, 1991).

Kitaskinaw and Graminia Schools are very similar. They are nearly the same age, they both teach the curriculum set out by the provincial government and offer the same types of courses (vocational and academic), and have the same amenities (science lab, home economics and industrial arts rooms). One of the few differences between the schools is that Graminia has a school music band and Kitaskinaw does not.

Community and Administrators' Attitudes

In order to determine how all the parties saw the present situation and the reasons for the exodus and to assess the range of attitudes that all parties maintained about the changing composition of Kitaskinaw School, I conducted interviews with county administrators, school administration personnel, Indian parents, and non-Indian parents. During the summer of 1991, I worked in the community at the Indian Association of Alberta, whose offices were in the Enoch Administration Building. This project was undertaken during the months of September through November 1991.

The research question was a general one: How can we define a range of local attitudes about the changes in Kitaskinaw School; how are the attitudes that are expressed by school and county administrative officials, and Indian and non-Indian parents, complementary, contradictory, or common among the groups? Because the focus is on the range of attitudes, and not on the relative incidence of attitudes, analysis and reporting are journalistic, not content-analytic.

An initial group of non-Indian parents agreed to interviews, but there was a sudden change in agreement to participate: apparently some parents had met and had decided that there was a hidden agenda in the research. Although the manifest intention and scope of this project had been fully disclosed to them and their anonymity had been guaranteed, those parents' resistance to participation sometimes seemed hostile. Two responses to our request for interviews were "You Indians are just looking for someone to blame for your situation," and "The *real* reason of this research is to close down Graminia school!" Faced with intractable resistance, we simply selected another group of non-Indian parents, but included as datum the fact that strong statements of resistance to this project were made by a small group of non-Indian parents.

The summary results of other interviews are detailed below, organized under the four main categories of participant, with subheadings that organize the topics of the interviews.

County Administrator

This information is based primarily on a telephone interview with Deputy Superintendent, Parkland County School Division, October 15, 1991.

Attitudes about the exodus. A county administrator thinks it is unfortunate that the non-Indian students have left Kitaskinaw. He does not believe that the students who left the school will return, although he says that there is an "open door" and that they are welcome back at any time.

He notes that there has been a change in the relationship between the band council and the school administration and county school board. There have been attempts to foster a congenial working relationship among the parties. The meetings are more frequent, and the band council has asked for input on issues concerning the school. However, the seat on the county school board reserved for the Indian representative remains a nonvoting seat.

The county feels band control of Kitaskinaw is imminent. The band is asking questions about the governance of the school, but are not prepared to take control until they are ready. The county sees this as a positive step.

Causes of the Present Situation. The county administrator states the opening of the Graminia School contributed to the present situation and notes that parents from the area where Graminia School was built were pressuring the county for a new school.

School Principal

Attitudes about the exodus. The school principal shared the county administrator's view regarding the fate of the school: it will eventually become a band controlled school. The school is reinforcing its links to the Indian community. The school functions as a public building in the community and local committees are set up for public input.

Causes of the present situation. The school principal agrees that the opening of the Graminia school was the beginning of the end of non-Indian enrollment at Kitaskinaw. Parents were given a choice of where they could send their children, and they exercised that choice.

General. The county administrator and the school principal want to salvage the situation. They maintain an open-door policy and would welcome any of the students back. The non-Indian children have gone to another school, but there are still Indian students to educate and presently the County of Parkland is responsible for their education.

Non-Indian Parents

Attitudes about the exodus. Non-Indian parents were not as optimistic about the present situation of the school. The parents who removed their children from the school thought that there had been too much emphasis on Indian culture and issues and did not feel that this type of education adequately prepared the Indian student for life "off the reserve." One parent stated that Indians should "learn to live in the dominant society" (Interview, non-Indian parent #1, October 24, 1992). She also stated that the county and the school were doing the Indian students a disservice by not giving them a stronger academic background and not teaching them the "work ethic."

Most non-Indian parents were not concerned with the situation at Kitaskinaw School. They said that their children were out of that school and they were now more concerned with what was going on in the new school.

Causes of the present situation. Non-Indian parents believe that the situation began to deteriorate when the demographics of the school were allowed to change. One parent stated that if the county had not opened up the boundaries Kitaskinaw would have maintained its non-Indian population (Interview, Non-Indian Parent No. 2, October 24, 1991).

Why non-Indian parents removed their children. When asked why they removed their children from Kitaskinaw, non-Indian parents gave a variety of reasons. Some felt that the band control of the school was imminent and they feared academic excellence would be compromised as a result. They also felt if the band controlled the school they would be asked to remove their children.

Parents expressed a concern that the quality of education would go down if the band controlled the school. Currently, the county ensures the quality of the curriculum, but the parents believed there would be no guarantee if the county were to withdraw.

There was concern that concessions were being made for the Indian students who did not do their homework. More and more assignments were being done in class. The parents were concerned that their children would slack off and not take the responsibility for initiating their own work (Interview, Non-Indian Parent No. 1).

Non-Indian parents also felt there was beginning to be too much emphasis on "Indian culture." For example, the school acquired funds to teach the Cree language, while non-Indian parents wanted their children to be taught French (although it must be noted that Kitaskinaw eventually offered both Cree and French language instruction).

From the school's inception until recently, there had been no focus on Indian issues nor Indian culture. That approach had suited the non-Indian parents. Kitaskinaw

kinaw taught mainstream issues and curriculum. Parents wanted their children in a "multicultural" environment, not just "bicultural."

One parent, who removed two children from Kitaskinaw School in June 1991, cited the Oka crisis as part of the reason she removed her children (Non-Indian Parent No. 3). She said that after the Oka incident, many of the Indian children had a "different" attitude. They were more aggressive and bullied the non-Indian students. They were no longer the "complacent, mild mannered children they once were" and she feared for the safety of her children. There was limited interaction between the groups on the playground. The non-Indian kids played with the non-Indian kids and the Indians played with other Indians. The only integration was in the classroom.

Non-Indian parents felt nervous when they saw an exodus of non-Indian students from Kitaskinaw. They worried that if they did not transfer their children soon, there might not be room for them later. The Graminia school was operating at near or above capacity, so the parents decided to move their children while they still could (Non-Indian Parent No. 1).

Parents thought the Graminia school placed more emphasis on study skills and personal initiative. They also felt that Graminia would stress academics more than Kitaskinaw (Non-Indian Parent No. 3). The parents also stated that many of their children's friends had transferred out of Kitaskinaw, so they moved to be with them. Many of the children came from the same acreage developments, so their neighborhood friends were also their school friends.

Parents stated that they felt pressure from other parents to remove their children. Although there were never any overt requests, parents felt their friendships with parents who had already removed their children from the school could be in jeopardy (Non-Indian Parent No. 2, who removed two children from Kitaskinaw School in June 1989). The topic of school was never brought up between neighbors who had children attending different schools. Parents said they felt they had to explain to their friends why their children were still in Kitaskinaw.

Some non-Indian parents were not certain whether the Enoch parents wanted their children to remain at Kitaskinaw. They said they received little or no encouragement to stay. A mother of three stated that she was very happy with the education her children received at Kitaskinaw and did not want to move her kids. She desperately wanted some encouragement and to be made to feel welcome (Non-Indian Parent No. 2).

General. Many non-Indian parents feel sad about the situation at Kitaskinaw but they feel that their duty is to their child and that their children's education is the most important thing. They are sorry that there are hurt feelings but they feel no obligation to Kitaskinaw School or the Enoch people.

Indian Parents

Attitudes about the exodus. Indian parents who still had children at Kitaskinaw expressed a variety of views. Some are unhappy with the situation at Kitaskinaw and are concerned about perceived differences between the current and past principal on matters of discipline (Interview, Indian Parent No. 2, October 10, 1991).

Other parents are happy with the declining non-Indian enrollment because they view the situation as moving them one step closer to having a band operated school. They view an all-Indian school as a positive thing, because children can form a sense of identity and pride in their Indian culture. An Indian parent viewed

the school as a vehicle to reintroduce aspects of Indian culture. She stated that Enoch's proximity to Edmonton is detrimental to the Indian way of life (Interview, Indian Parent No. 4, October 28, 1991). Components of Indian culture are being taught at the school. There is a Native liaison worker there and Native resource people are brought in on a regular basis. But parents feel there must be more input from the Native community.

Enoch people feel they can gain financially by having the band operate the school. At present only two band members are employed at the school. The support staff, cooks, janitors, and teachers are all non-Indian. None of the money generated from salaries stays on the reserve. Most of the support staff live on neighboring acreages, which is a source of contention among the Enoch people (Interview, Indian Parent No. 4, October 28, 1991).

Causes of the present situation. Indian parents blame the exodus of non-Indians on a number of factors. They say county administrative decisions have adversely affected them. The building of the Graminia School on the boundary of the reserve was one of the major factors that caused the non-Indian students to leave the reserve school. Another factor was the county's relaxation of school boundary regulations so that County of Parkland students could attend any school in the district.

When the Indian parents were asked if they thought the non-Indian students left because they were a minority, they said yes. When asked if they sympathized with them, reactions were mixed. Some said yes, they sympathized with the non-Indians as a minority, but others said no. The sympathizers said they knew how it felt to be in the minority and it was "not a good feeling" (Interview, Indian Parent No. 1, October 22, 1991). Others thought the non-Indians could learn a lesson in race relations now that the "shoe was on the other foot" (Interview, Indian Parent No. 4, October 28, 1991). Some felt resentful that the non-Indians were running "when the going got tough" and that as Indians "they [themselves] had no place to run" (Interview, Indian Parent No. 2, October 23, 1991). Many Indian parents were angry and felt betrayed by the departure of the non-Indian students. They recalled that acreage parents and their children had received many benefits from the Enoch Band when it was wealthy. They said that acreage parents refused to pay for services they had previously received free of charge, and the Indian parents felt that this was a factor that caused the non-Indian parents to remove their children. They viewed the acreage parents as staying only as long as they could benefit.

When the Indian parents were asked if they encouraged the non-Indian parents to stay, they said no. They felt the non-Indians had decided to leave, and that encouragement from them to stay would not change the situation. Besides, there were hard feelings between the two groups, and it would not be the Indians who would ask the non-Indians to stay.

General. Indian parents feel that decisions have already been made and perhaps it has turned out for the best. The band is now in a position to take over control of the school. They will have more say in what goes on at the school and what is being taught to their children. There can be more emphasis on Indian culture, history, and current issues.

One Indian parent feels bad about the situation because the children have lost some of their friends. The integrated school was supposed to teach children to

accept each other. But others state that "it may be a tough pill to swallow but racism is prevalent in our society."

Summary

The topics raised in the responses to interview questions can be compared to provide the following generalizations about consensus and complementarity in the range of attitudes about the exodus of non-Indians from Kitaskinaw School.

1. *Integration has failed.* All the people who were interviewed agreed that the loss of integration at Kitaskinaw was unfortunate, but some Indian parents saw positive outcomes as a result of the changes.
2. *What will happen at Kitaskinaw School?*
 - a. *The non-Indian students will not return.* The consensus is that the non-Indian students will not return to the school, even though the open-door policy is manifest by the administration.
 - b. *Kitaskinaw will eventually become a band operated school.* The administration and both groups of parents expect that Kitaskinaw School will become a band controlled school. Two main subsidiary points may be made about this prediction. First, such a change is thought of as a positive thing by many of the people interviewed. Second, people's perception of the inevitability of that change may have been one of the motives for non-Indian parents to remove their children from the school, especially as the exodus accelerated.
3. *Why did non-Indian parents remove their children from Kitaskinaw School?*
 - a. *County Policy: Graminia School, school boundaries, and bussing; board representation.* All parties pointed to the opening of Graminia school as the event that made the exodus possible. The county policy that relaxed school boundary regulations, and the further policy that made bussing available to students who enrolled in schools outside their regular school boundary, further facilitated the exodus. Relative ease of accessibility to other schools is only part of the answer and does not deal with the motivation to transfer. Another county policy that influences relationships is the nonvoting status of the Enoch representative to the county board.
 - b. *Perception of cultural difference.* Cultural, ethnic, racial, and linguistic differences as factors were cited by both groups of parents but were interpreted somewhat differently by each. The perception of difference between Indians and non-Indians was a factor in most of the expressed attitudes and was implicit even in the expression of attitudes couched in other terms. Indian and non-Indian parents interpreted the perception of group differences quite differently. Some Indian parents thought that non-Indians found their "minority" status untenable, while non-Indian parents saw the differences as motivating or explaining
 - i. curricular adaptations (e.g., Cree language);
 - ii. school protocol adaptations (e.g., patterns of homework assignment); and
 - iii. fear (e.g., the few who noted problems between children, based on ethnicity, or the parent who noted that the Indian children were "different after Oka"; other parents questioned how welcome non-Indians were, in fact, at Kitaskinaw School).

- c. *Peer relationships.* Perceived attitudes about peers (neighbors, students, etc.) influenced decisions to move children. Among their reasons for transferring students, non-Indian parents note peer pressure (i) among the non-Indian parents; and (ii) among the non-Indian students; mitigated by (iii) relationships between Indian-non-Indian friends at Kitaskinaw. There appears to have been a crucial point when people noted the accelerating rate of transfer and saw that trend itself as a motivation for transfer. Note that the peer relationships are often mediated along "cultural" lines, or expressed in terms that note the cultural difference between Indians and non-Indians.
- d. *Economic changes.* The changing status of relative wealth, due to the petroleum royalties, was cited by Indian parents as a reason for the non-Indian exodus.
- e. *Academic standards.* Non-Indian parents compared Graminia school with Kitaskinaw school and thought that study skills, individual initiative, and academic standards were given more importance at Graminia. Some implied that "cultural" programming at it was perceived to accommodate to special "Indian" student needs weakened a focus on academic performance.

Conclusions

There may have been a problem with community support for the concept of the integrated school from the very beginning. A survey was conducted in Parkland County before the school was established. The survey project sent out 400 questionnaires, but there is no indication of how many responses were returned. It was stated that 70% of the responses were favorable (Clintberg, 1988, p. 42). The 70% support rate may not be indicative of support of the school. If 50% of the surveys were returned, 70% of 50% is only 140 of a possible 400 responses (35%). If this is the case, the school was not highly supported from the beginning. It is possible that many non-Indian parents saw Kitaskinaw school as a temporary measure. Whatever the initial support for the school, the implications of county policy and the building of Graminia school must have been obvious to policy makers.

There is no evidence to support the implication that Kitaskinaw School has not delivered a quality education to its students. Kitaskinaw students' achievement levels are on a par with provincial standards (Interview, Principal of Kitaskinaw School, October 22, 1991). In fact, the relatively lower student population allows for a better pupil-teacher ratio—according to its principal and vice-principal (Interview, October 22, 1991) it is one of the most favorable such ratios in Canada. The class size at Kitaskinaw averages 10 pupils. The school is operated in accordance with the curriculum set out by Alberta Education and offers both academic and vocational teaching, which suits the needs of the students.

Because Graminia and Kitaskinaw are similar in terms of age, facilities, and curriculum and dissimilar in terms of student-teacher ratio and ethnic composition, the perception of the implications of the latter must be one of the main reasons for acreage parents' choice of school. More than just an Indian-non-Indian issue, it can also be seen as a socioeconomic issue. Acreage students are generally more affluent than reserve children. The situation may be similar to children from the suburbs being bussed to an economically depressed inner city to go to school: the

goals and objectives of the students are different and they usually socialize with people of their own socioeconomic class.

Band control appears to be on the horizon for Enoch and Kitaskinaw. As a result, Cree culture and Native issues can be integrated into the curriculum. Kitaskinaw School remains an integral part of the Enoch community and has no problem with vandalism and graffiti, an indication of the pride the Enoch people take in their school.

The history of Kitaskinaw school between 1971 and 1991 can be viewed as a lesson in either understanding or misunderstanding. The true reasons the non-Indians students are not attending Kitaskinaw school are reasons that their parents may never admit, perhaps even to themselves.

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