Agents of Change:

New Architectural Process in British Columbia First Nations Schools.

by

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Abstract

Between 1987 and 1996 ten schools were built on reserves in British Columbia, funded by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. Although they are unusual in form, it is the process by which they were built that makes them unique, and unites them as a group. This thesis will examine the design and construction process of these schools, focusing on three: The Seabird Island School, The Stone School, and the Old Massett School.

The schools being examined mark a transition period, with power from the federal government being transferred to Aboriginal peoples. The roles of the participants, and how these roles were modified by project manager Marie-Odile Marceau, will be explored. In these building projects, Marceau created an environment in which Aboriginal communities could participate in the design and construction of their schools. Through this participation, First Nations were able to represent their cultures as rooted in traditions of the past, while maintaining existence in the present day. The schools themselves are material evidence of their participation and movement towards autonomy.

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Introduction

This thesis will examine the design and construction process of schools, funded by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, on reserves in British Columbia. The schools being considered are: the Seabird Island School, Seabird Island, B.C., (1991); the Stone School, Stone B.C., (1993) and the Old Massett School, Old Massett, B.C., (1995). These schools are three in a group of ten schools built from 1987 to 1996. (See Appendix 1) Other schools in this group will be mentioned, but emphasis will be on these three case studies. The three schools were selected from the ten because each has a somewhat different architectural solution to the problem of building a school which addresses Aboriginal ties to the past, while asserting its community as a contemporary culture. Each of the three schools does this by creating new forms, rather than by relying on pastiche of past First Nations structures.

Although each school was built as an individual project, for the purposes of this thesis it will be useful to unify them in a group context due to affinities among the buildings. Constructed with the same philosophy, incorporating user input and culture, each school is impressive, and in many cases, award-winning architecture.[1] The resulting schools are formally very different from previous reserve buildings. Although the facilities are unusual in design, it is the process by which they were designed and planned which sets them apart from other buildings, in particular, schools, on reserves in British Columbia. This thesis will

[1] Seabird Island school alone has won a Canadian Architect Award, a Wood Council Award, a B.C. Lieutenant Governor's Medal for Architecture, and the Governor General Medal for Architecture.

demonstrate how the process served as an agent for change, establishing new relationships between First Nations and non-Native professionals; and more significantly, First Nations and the federal government.

The school-building process changed the relationship between the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development and Native communities in British Columbia. Community participation in these interactions became more significant as band members became clients, advisors, designers, and builders. Prior to this, bands were recipients of buildings into which they had no input. The new procedure reflected policies already implemented by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, (DIAND) and precipitated further changes in relations between the Department and First Nations communities.

While exploring role changes of all those involved in the process, I will focus primarily on the influence of project manager, Marie-Odile Marceau. Her participation was extremely important to the success of these schools. I argue that it is because of the changing state of relations between the federal government and First Nations on reserves that Marie-Odile Marceau's role was at this time prominent. Marceau understood that a change in process was fundamental to the emergence of a new architecture reflecting First Nations cultures.

This exploration is important for a number of reasons. First, as will be apparent from the literature review, contemporary architecture in Aboriginal communities has for the most part been ignored. Secondly, these particular schools have been examined from a formal perspective,

but their process has not been elaborated on, although it is almost always briefly mentioned when the schools are written about. Thirdly, the schools are of cultural significance to the reserves on which they were constructed. Community control over these buildings reflects and affects changes in contemporary First Nations communities.

The methodology of this thesis is as follows: historical context will be provided in Chapter One by an examination of relations between the federal government of Canada, and Aboriginal peoples, with regards to education. This will bring us to contemporary times, and the context within which Marceau played a significant role. Her personal background and motivation will help position her part in these projects. This will be the subject of Chapter Two. Chapter Three will outline the process which included the involvement of bands for whom the schools were built.

In Chapter Four cultural representations through architecture will be discussed specifically, with a closer look at several of the schools representing the spectrum of approaches which arose from collaborations. The Seabird Island School includes various traditional Native elements and materials without taking on overt Native iconography in the overall scheme. The Old Massett School takes the concept of the longhouse and puts form to it. The design is based on the symbolic organisation of the Haida longhouse which refers to the sea, earth, and sky realms of Haida cosmology. The Stone School takes the traditional form of the pit house and abstracts it.

The process discussed generally in Chapter Three, and through

specific examples in Chapter Four, will be evaluated in Chapter Five. The process of school building left communities with quantifiable results such as income and skills, as well as more intangible benefits such as improved self-esteem and feeling of ownership towards the schools. The schools received commentary from sources off the reserves, as well as a response from the federal government reducing funding for future school projects on reserves. The conclusion will explore how relations between First Nations and the federal government were changed through the schools being discussed.

This thesis will provide evidence that the building process of these schools acted as a means to change the relationships of the involved First Nations communities to the federal government, architects, and other professionals such as project managers. With these examples we see a new inclusion of Native community in the process, with Marie-Odile Marceau, project manager for these schools, playing a key role in the transferal of power from the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development to First Nations communities. Ultimately the school design and construction processes were agents for changing power dynamics; whereby First Nations acquired control over the school design, which is a representation of themselves, and their approach to education in their communities.

Literature Review

The subject of contemporary Aboriginal architecture has been largely ignored by scholars. Descriptions of traditional Aboriginal architecture began to appear at the time when Europeans arrived in North America, and since then writers have continued to focus primarily on Native architecture as it was at the time of contact. (Boas 1888, Swanton 1905) Studies have been historical or even archeological in nature, as for example MacDonald's Chiefs of the Sea and Sky of 1989, which examines Haida heritage sites of the Queen Charlotte Islands in British Columbia.

Nabokov and Eastman's Native American Architecture (1989) is the most well known recent work in this field. This is a comprehensive study encompassing architecture from cultures in the geographic areas now comprising United States and Canada, and it is a useful resource for understanding Indigenous architecture. Still, the main focus is on architecture as it was. Contemporary content in this publication is relegated to a few paragraphs for each geographic region described, with the primary focus being the remains of traditional Native architecture. I realise that traditional will be a problematic term. By traditional architecture, I mean buildings that closely resemble Indigenous structures at the time of contact with Europeans. Studies such as those by Nabakov and Eastman provide important historical information which can be used to understand contemporary design better, but do not deal with what is happening in Native communities today.

Margaret Blackman makes a useful contribution in her study of Haida life in the early 20th century, through an exploration of photographs from this period. Window on the Past uses historical photos to study changes in settlement patterns, architecture, and other material culture, just after the turn of the century.(Blackman 1981) Blackman notes that new cultural forms were combined with traditional ones in a synthesis referred to as syncretism. This acknowledges changes in architecture after contact with Europeans, such as the incorporation of prefabricated European windows, doors, milled lumber, and architectural trim into traditional design. There are similarities between this syncretic approach and architectural solutions in Aboriginal communities today, where traditional or pre-contact forms are blended with contemporary building methods and materials. Blackman provides historical evidence that architecture incorporating old and new elements is a part of Indigenous traditions in the past and continues today. Even with Blackman's contribution, there is still the problem that most architectural literature focuses on the physical factors determining a structure, rather than the influence of social or cultural environments.

For example, Harold Kalman's survey, A History of Canadian Architecture Vol 1 and 2 (1994) provides information on Indigenous west coast forms. The buildings themselves are the focus, rather than the social issues determining the structures' forms. Kalman does discuss the Seabird Island School, describing it as part of a programme developed by the federal Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, and

he mentions that the school projects were managed by Marie-Odile Marceau, with band involvement. He informs us that these schools were meant to "contradict negative images and memories of the old federally controlled Indian residential schools"[2] However his emphasis is on the visual result.

Similarly, Contemporary Native American Architecture, (1996) by Carol Herselle Krinsky, does address recent work, but fails to recognise that the main link between the contemporary architecture of Native peoples is not the physical evidence of Aboriginal culture, but the process by which those buildings were designed and constructed. Krinsky's book talks about a new phenomenon: "the culturally sensitive but modern Native American building". [3]

Emphasising these buildings collectively as a new kind of architecture, Krinsky deals with a variety of buildings, and documents different strategies used to incorporate Native content. Sometimes she discusses appropriate process. For example, she describes buildings on a Navajo reservation: " The buildings do not look identifiably Indian, but they are products of a planning process dominated by Navajos and they are symbols of community victory over federal and county domination."[4] While recognising the process in specific examples, Krinsky does not identify process as the unifying principle in the buildings she is examining.

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[2] Harold Kalman, A History of Canadian Architecture, Vol 1 and 2, (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1994), 852.

[3] Carol Herselle Krinsky, Contemporary Native American Architecture, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), v.

[4] Ibid., 182.

Carol Herselle Krinsky has relatively little procedural information on the buildings she has selected. The schools that will form the subject of this thesis will include a study of how the buildings came into being.

Krinsky also limits her examination of contemporary Native architecture to the United States. No such survey has been done for Canada. Some issues examined in Krinsky's book are not applicable to the Canadian context. For example, as early as the 1940s, Indian Affairs in the United States was promoting architecture as "an additional step toward Indian control of Indian activity."[5] Similar initiatives were not considered in Canada until the 1970s. While historical circumstances of Aboriginal people in Canadian and United States were similar, there are differences in the way that each federal government dealt with First Nations within their nations.

Lewis Henry Morgan's ground-breaking Houses and House Life of the American Aborigines, written in 1881, helped define Native architecture as a special field of study. His interpretation of material culture in terms of social organisation was unprecedented. This work helped shape the approach to this thesis which looks specifically at architecture by and for Native peoples.

For a discussion of the social aspects determining architecture, we need to turn to studies of the vernacular. Rudofsky's exhibit at the Museum of Modern Art, in 1964, entitled Architecture without Architects, brought non-pedigreed architecture to the forefront. He champions

[5] Carol Herselle Krinsky, quoting John Collier, American Commissioner of Indian Affairs from 1933 to 1944, Ibid., 16.

buildings which include the experience and knowledge of a whole community, rather than depending on the expertise of one or a few specialised people. What he does not do is explore how identity is expressed through architecture. Later academics acknowledged the role of architecture in socialising individuals into a specific culture. (Levi-Strauss 1983, 1991) About the House is a collection of author's writings inspired by Levi-Strauss' concept that architecture is a more than a building form. It is a form of social organisation. (Carsten,Hugh-Jones et al. 1995) Amos Rapport recognised that socio-cultural factors were more important than environmental and technical ones. (Rapport 1969)

Reconstructing Architecture explores the subject of social architecture. The book stresses the built environment as a cultural and political construct reinforcing the interests of those in power positions of a society. A socially responsible approach to architecture challenges this power by incorporating user needs, social factors, and participation strategies. (Dutton, Mann et al.1996) This was useful in my study which marks a change in approach to architecture for First Nations whereby the culture of the users designed the buildings. Previously, socio-cultural perspectives of the dominant Euro-Canadian culture designed schools on reserves.

To put architecture into a broader social context, the primary source material is not just the visual evidence used by many architectural historians, but the creative process itself and in particular the documentation of community involvement.

Project completion reports provided by Marie-Odile Marceau were excellent sources of technical information on the schools. Marceau's report on project costs and methodology for the Seabird Island School provided information on expenditures as well as the process by which the school was built.[6] The document also provides insight into Marceau's philosophy of architecture, which values social benefits as well as economic ones.

Journal articles were also helpful. Canadian Architect published many articles on the schools individually and in groups, although they focused primarily on the visual end-product. Architectural Review examined Seabird Island School in two publications. Other articles on Seabird Island School were published in Update, and Progressive Architecture. Several articles in L'Actualite and Canadian Architect specifically address the role of Marie-Odile Marceau. These articles provide information on both the formal aspects and the process-oriented concerns of the schools.

Surprisingly enlightening was a newspaper article by Adele Freedman: "A Depressing Step Backward".[7] Although the main theme is withdrawal of government support for the school programme, Freedman also explores the school-building process, incorporating input from architects and band members involved. Other newspaper articles look

[6] Marie-Odile Marceau, Seabird Island School Project Report on Project Costs and Methodology, (Vancouver: DIAND-Technical Services, July 1991)

[7] Adele Freedman, "A Depressing Step Backward," Globe and Mail, 26 November 1994, Section. C, 22.

generally at the work of the Patkaus ("Vancouver's Paradoxical Patkaus")[8] and Peter Cardew. ("Master Builder, take a bow")[9]

Several books deal specifically with the Patkaus, architects of Seabird Island School, including Patkau Architects: Selected Projects 1983-1993 , and Women in Architecture: A Contemporary Perspective. These are informative about the approach of the architects, but do not discuss Seabird Island School in any detail. However, there was more information overall on the Seabird Island School than any of the other schools, and this fact has made it an important case study.

In order to understand the reasons why Seabird Island School, Old Massett School, Stone School, and other contemporary schools being examined in this thesis were created with a new approach to process, it will be helpful to know about issues which arose before they were designed or constructed. The educational and architectural contexts of the schools being discussed will now be examined in Chapter One.

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[8] John Bentley Mays, "Vancouver's Paradoxical Patkaus," The Globe and Mail, (November 9, 1996), Section C,7.

[9] Trevor Boddy. "Master Builder, take a bow," The Globe and Mail, (January 15, 1997), Section A, 17.

Chapter One: Architecture and Educational Contexts

This chapter will present the contexts for Native education. Both the process of education and the physical setting in which education takes place will be examined, since control over architecture and control over education are related issues. Schools are an integral component in the educational policy of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND). School buildings make up a tangible history of Native education. A history of the education of Native peoples in Canada provides a base for understanding past and present approaches to education on reserves. Both education and schools act as important agents for change in contemporary reserve communities in Canada.

The Educational Context

Although European settlers brought their systems of teaching and learning to North America, the history of education among First Nations peoples does not begin with the introduction of European conventions. Prior to the arrival of foreigners, Indigenous peoples had their own approach to education:

> When Europeans first came into contact with Amerindian peoples they were able to observe well-established education practices designed to ensure cultural continuity, and through which the youth were provided with the life skills necessary for their future roles in their societies...[10]

Education was initiated by Native communities in order to prepare children for the physical and cultural environment in which they lived.

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[10] James C. MacPherson, MacPherson Report on Tradition and Education: Towards a Vision of our Future (Ottawa: Dept. of Indian and Northern Affairs, 1991), 1.

Children were taught the skills required to provide themselves and their communities with food, clothing, and shelter. Artistic and social skills, as well as knowledge required for the spiritual well-being of the individual and community, were also part of informal community learning. For example, in Indigenous west coast cultures the potlatch had spiritual, social, and political significance.[11] Marriages, the naming of children, mourning the dead, transferring rights and privileges, are the kinds of events motivating this ceremony.[12] There was little distinction between secular and sacred aspects of life.[13] Although Aboriginal communities were diverse and unique, they shared the common characteristic of a wholistic approach to teaching children.

In 1867, the federal government of Canada took control of Native education through section 91(24) of the British North America Act, 1867 (now the Constitution Act, 1867.)[14] This gave exclusive authority to the Parliament of Canada to legislate with respect to Aboriginal peoples.

The Indian Act was passed in 1876.[15] The Indian Act, sections 114 to 123 inclusive, empowered the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development to operate schools and enter into agreements with provinces

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[11] A potlatch is a ceremonial in which the host(s) give away property to mark special occasions and enhance status.

[12] G. Cranmer Webster, "From Colonization to Repatriation," in Indigena, ed.Gerald McMaster and Lee-Ann Martin (Vancouver: Canadian Museum of Civilisation,1992), 29. and Margaret Blackman, Window on the Past, (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1981),18-19.

[13] Jean Barman, Yvonne Hebert and Don McCaskill, Indian Education In Canada, (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1986), 3.

[14] MacPherson, MacPherson Report ,1.

[15] Candian Education Association, Recent Developments in Native Education, (Toronto: Canadian Education Association,1984),11.

and territories, school boards, and religious and charitable organisations, for the education of registered Indian children from the ages of 6 to 17 inclusive, living on reserves or Crown lands. The first Indian Affairs Branch was established in 1873.

Federal government relations with Aboriginal peoples were dependent on the interests of those whom the government served. In order to understand the motivation of the government, it is helpful to consider the purpose of various European arrivals. Newcomers interacted with Aboriginal peoples in different ways. Fur traders depended on First Peoples for pelts, but also for support-physical and emotional-in an unfamiliar environment. The relationship was mutually beneficial. European traders provided a new basis of wealth for Aboriginal communities. On the Pacific west coast the Sto:lo people were involved with fur traders for several decades before the gold rush brought settlers, colonial government, and missions.[16]

Permanent European settlement was not conducive to reciprocal relationships between First Nations and new arrivals. The settlers' main objective was to remove Native peoples from the best lands, which were not, in European estimation, being used in the most efficient manner. Christian missionaries perceived the religious conversion of Aboriginal populations as an important goal.

Settlers and missionaries looked to the state for support. Until the nineteenth century, colonial and Aboriginal relations were more balanced than later interactions. First Nations were valuable allies to the British. The British dealt with cultural groups on a nation to nation basis. The First

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[16] Barman, Hebert, and McCaskill, Indian Education, 90.

Nations had some control over the rate and direction of change for their cultures. They incorporated European materials and Christian forms into their own artistic and architectural styles. Later, the state supported the interests of missionaries and settlers, including moving Aboriginal peoples off desirable land, converting them to Christianity, and assimilating them into the now dominant culture. They became less valued as partners in the fur trade, or as military allies. Settlement interests took priority.[17]

From 1867 to 1950 education was carried out through residential schools. These institutions were run by Catholic or Protestant churches which received financial support from the federal government. Attempts by Christians to educate Aboriginal peoples in European traditions existed before the introduction of government-supported initiatives. The first French settlers in North America included Catholic religious orders which were largely unsuccessful at educating Aboriginal peoples in European conventions. Later, during the mid 1800s, Protestant missionaries set up day schools. Many Aboriginal peoples were suspicious. Others felt it would be advantageous for their children to be educated in both new European and traditional First Nations knowledge.[18] This is significant because at this point First Peoples still had a choice.

In 1879 the federal government commissioned a report evaluating the American policy favouring separate residential schools for Aboriginal children.[19] Americans believed children could be more effectively

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[17] Ibid., 3-4.

[18] Ibid., 5.

[19] John A. Macdonald sent his friend, lawyer-journalist Nicholas F. Davin, to report on American industrial boarding schools for Indians. Barman, Hebert, and McCaskill, Indian Education, 6.

assimilated into the dominant society if they were removed from the influences of their homes, families, and communities. The Davin Report approved the American practice of educating First Nations children in residential schools, and used it as a model in Canada.[20] Where possible, the schools were to be operated by missionaries because they had already proved their commitment to "civilising" Canada's Indians. Missionaries were also appealing because of cost savings to the federal government. Labour was voluntary or provided out of church funds.

The main function of residential schools then, was to assimilate children, and consequently following generations, into the dominant society. Children were to learn English language, religion, customs, and dress. A half-day of basic formal education was combined with a half-day of practical training in agriculture, crafts, and housekeeping duties. By providing Indigenous peoples with skills required to work as farm hands or domestic servants, the government intention was to have assimilation take place within the lowest socio-economic stratum of Euro-Canadian society. [21]

As Edward Said has argued, the attitude that Native peoples should be assimilated into the dominant European culture was prevalent throughout the colonial world. Missionaries, teachers, advisers, and scholars supported the idea of Western salvation and redemption of First Nations through their "civilising mission."[22] Education, in particular, was used to erase indigenous tradition and culture:

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20 Nicholas Flood Davin, Report on Industrial Schools for Indians and Half-Breeds, to the Right Honourable Minister of the Interior. (Ottawa:1879)

21 Barman, Hebert, and McCaskill, Indian Education, 5-6

22 Edward Said, Culture and Imperialism (New York: Knopf, 1993), 131.

...after the natives have been displaced from their historical location on land, their history is rewritten as a function of the imperial one. This process uses narrative to dispel contradictory memories and occlude violence...with the imperial presence so dominating as to make impossible any effort to separate it from historical necessity.[23]

Not only did residential schools support policies of assimilation, they created and perpetuated a narrative of history where Aboriginal people were cast in the role of antagonist. Melvina Archand, who attended a residential school in Alberta in the 1940s recalls: "I was terrified. When they taught history, Indians were portrayed as savages and I was embarrassed."[24]

Enrolment of Aboriginal children in school grew over the last two decades of the nineteenth century. By 1900 almost half the First Nations population in Canada aged six to fifteen were enrolled in school.[25] However they were not as easily assimilated as Euro-Canadian society had expected. As had been their tradition, Native people incorporated what they liked from the Euro-Canadian education system into their continuing Native cultures. Duncan Campbell Scott, a leading official of Indian Affairs at the turn of the century, explained that the "most promising students are found to have retrograded and to have become leaders in the pagan life of their reserves."[26] First Nations people were also successfully moving between their own and European cultures to their advantage, by entering the paid labour force while maintaining their own Aboriginal identities. The federal Minister for Indian Affairs in 1897 claimed: "... we are educating these

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23 Ibid, 131-132.

24 Bill Schiller, "How they made an Indian school for Indians," The Toronto Star, (December 7, 1987), SectionA, 18.

25 Barman, Hebert, and McCaskill, Indian Education, 7.

26 Ibid.

Indians to compete industrially with our own peoples, which seems to me a very undesirable use of public money."[27]

The federal Indian education policy was revised in 1910. Authorities were disappointed with the lack of success education had had in assimilating First Nations into the dominant Euro-Canadian culture. Government was also concerned about the cost of educating Native children. The need to integrate Aboriginal peoples at this time was not as urgent as it had been in the late 1800s. Most Native people were now on reserves, not interfering with use of their land by settler populations. New waves of immigrants meant that there was not the previous dependence on First Nations for the labour force. The new mandate was to "make the Indian for civilised life in his own environment."[28] What this seemed to mean was limited education opportunities were further cut back. Anthropologist Diamond Jenness described education for Native children in the 1920s:

> In many parts of Canada the Indians had no schools at all; in others only elementary mission schools in which the standard of teaching was exceedingly low. A few mission boarding schools, subsidised by the government, accepted Indian children when they were very young, raised them to the age of sixteen, then sent them back to their people, well indoctrinated in the Christian faith, but totally unfitted for life in an Indian community and, of course, not acceptable in any white one. [29]

The residential school programme had a severe psychological effect on Aboriginal communities. By removing children from their parents and communities, and placing them into an education system that denied a Native perspective of history and the life skills which would enable them to

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27 Ibid., 8.
28 Ibid., 9.
29 Ibid., 9.

thrive in either Aboriginal or Euro-Canadian cultures, the First Nations' sense of cultural identity was effectively severed.

Quality of teaching was substandard as the instructor's main commitment was religious. Missionaries lacked the suitable staff and resources to provide a proper education. Formal education for Native Children was separate and unequal to their non-Native contemporaries. First Nations people repeatedly brought the discriminatory and inherently contradictory conditions of schooling to the attention of the Department of Indian Affairs.[30] In 1931 Cree Reverend Edward Ahenakewa complained, "The world around us is too far advanced for any such playing at education." He questioned why Aboriginal children, "should have to be satisfied with teachers who seldom have any qualifications to teach?" [31]

In 1946 a Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons was appointed to revise the Indian Act. One of its recommendations was to educate Native and non-Native children together wherever possible. In 1950, the federal government abandoned its policy of segregation and moved towards integrating Native children into the public school system. From this point onward the role of provincial and territorial governments in Native education increased and the role of the federal government and churches was reduced.[32]

In 1969, a white paper produced by the federal government, addressing discrimination against Indians, proposed that all educational

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30 Ibid.,11.

31 Ibid.,12.

32 MacPherson, MacPherson Report , 2.

responsibility be placed in the hands of provincial and territorial governments. The response from Indigenous communities was concern that integration would mean a lack of specific attention to Native education.[33] Provincial law-makers would focus on the education of all children in the province, whereas federal law-makers were obligated to look specifically at Native concerns.[34]

Three years later, in 1972, the National Indian Brotherhood (which in 1981 became the Assembly of First Nations) prepared their own report entitled Indian Control of Indian Education. In the same year the federal government adopted this report as the basis for a new policy of Native education. This marks a major change in the federal government's interactions with First Peoples. The new policy on education was based on First Nations' input. Previous policy was imposed by the government acting on concerns external to Aboriginal communities and interests.

Three goals were outlined in this paper. First, pride in oneself must come from the values in Aboriginal history and culture. Secondly, understanding one's fellow man entails interaction with non-Aboriginal people on an equal footing. Thirdly, living in harmony with nature ensures the balance between man and the natural environment.[35] Two educational principles are identified as being central to achieving these goals - parental responsibility and local control over education. [36] Both were untried

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[33] Ibid., 2.

[34] Ibid., 5.

[35] National Indian Brotherhood, Indian Control of Indian Education (Ottawa: National Indian Brotherhood, 1973), 1.

[36] Ibid., 3.

approaches to educating First Nations children.:

> Those educators who have had authority in all that pertained to Indian education have, over the years, tried various ways of providing education for Indian people. The answer to providing a successful educational experience has not been found. There is one alternative which has not been tried before: in the future, let Indian people control Indian education.[37]

This reclamation of education by First Nations is linked to the larger issue of Native self-government. As H.A. McCue, the Director of Education of Quebec's Cree School Board states in his 1987 paper Indian Control of Indian Education A Decade and a Half Later,

> ...the idea of Indian control of our education was to mark the beginning of the emergence of certain aspects of self-government: namely, the control, administration, and development of education models and programmes which would be more in step with Indian aspirations in every aspect of social, political, and economic development and, most important, more 'Indian' in curriculum and pedagogy than either the Provincial or Federal school programmes which dominated all Indian schools in Canada.[38]

In 1988, a four-volume study coordinated by the Education Secretariat of the Assembly of First Nations, Tradition and Education: Towards A Vision of Our Vision, was completed. It builds on the earlier Indian Control of Indian Education (1972), but differs from it in that the main organisational principle in the 1972 paper is control, whereas the 1988 paper emphasises self-government. The paper affirms the importance of education to First Nations and the desire to take control of it. :

> Children are the most precious resource of the First Nations. They are the link to the past generations, the enjoyment of the present generations, and the hope for the future. First Nations intend to prepare their children to carry on their cultures and governments. Because

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[37] Ibid., 28.

[38] Ibid., 3.

education shapes the minds and values of First Nations' young people, it is vitally important that First Nations governments have jurisdiction over the educational programmes which have such a lasting impact.[39]

Tradition and Education presents a two-fold solution: firstly, recognition that there is a federal constitutional responsibility for Indian education; and secondly, that there must be not only control over Native education, but movement towards Native self-government:[40]

> . . .education is central to the lives of Indian children; accordingly, Indian people want to be responsible for Indian education; the quality of Indian education in Canada today is poor;...part of the solution is recognition of federal constitutional responsibility for Indian education and movement toward self government; Indian self-government would include jurisdiction over Indian education; this jurisdiction would be exercised at the local community level. [41]

The Department of Indian and Northern Affairs responded to the expressed First Nations' educational concerns by supporting Native initiatives to become more involved in education with curriculum changes such as incorporation of Indigenous language components. In addition, DIAND increased the number of schools to be constructed on First Nations' reserves.

The history of education of First Nations' youth in Canada is coming full circle. Education began under the control of First Peoples. Control was taken from them by federal officials of colonial governments. Recently, responding to the expressed desires of Aboriginal peoples, the federal

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39 MacPherson, MacPherson Report , 4.
40 Ibid., 4.
41 Ibid., 6.

government of Canada is returning control over Native education to First Nations' communities.

The Architectural Context

The general historical context of these schools is the education of Native peoples on reserves in British Columbia. The specific architectural historical context will now be examined. Schools reflected the different forms that education had taken on the west coast of British Columbia. They reveal the amount of control First Nations had over education and other aspects of their lives at various periods in time.

The history of architecture for Native education begins with learning taking place within indigenous dwellings. Education was not segregated from other aspects of life. Nor was there a special building set aside for educational purposes.

In pre-contact communities on British Columbia's west coast, teaching and learning took place within the buildings where the community lived and worked. Houses themselves served to instruct children in the belief systems of their culture. For example, in a Haida community a house-frontal pole indicated lineage. Family history was learned through crests embellishing the pole. The prerogative to use those crests was inherited.

George MacDonald elaborates on the symbolism of Haida Long houses. In his words: "Houses symbolised the house lineage, ... bringing the Haida into intimate association with their cultural traditions."[42]

[42] George F. MacDonald, Chiefs of the Sea and Sky, (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1989), 21.

A wide variety of building forms housed the people of the west coast of British Columbia. The Salish and Nuchahnulth peoples of Vancouver Island erected shed-roofed houses. (Fig 1) The Interior Salish excavated pit houses. (Fig 2) The Haida built long houses. (Fig 3)

Post-contact education from the 1880s onwards took place in residential schools. At the end of the nineteenth century the government provided funds for upgrading some existing buildings for the provision of Indian education. The government also encouraged religious denominations to construct new institutions. Large industrial residential schools were located away from reserves to ensure attendance.[43] Education in residential schools was based entirely on Christian European standards and ideas and so was school architecture. Residential school curricula did not respond to a Native approach to learning and living. Residential schools were large rectangular buildings of simple design with very little detail or embellishment.

There was no concern for Native concepts of education or organisation of living and learning spaces in residential schools entirely populated by Native children. After the 1950s, a denial of Native difference and narrative was continued with no buildings at all supplied for Indigenous students. They were assimilated into provincial and territorial schools.

By the 1970s the federal government recognised that it was worthwhile to work towards Native control over Native education. They endorsed Indigenous control over education through funding programs run by Native school bands.

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[43]Barman, Hebert, and McCaskill, Indian Education, 6.

Until recently, design and construction of buildings on First Nations reserves in Canada were carried out by the federal government. Buildings were constructed according to standardised designs which, like the national curriculum, resulted in buildings with no reference to their particular physical, social, or cultural settings.[44] According to Marie Marceau, DIAND project manager for the schools being examined: "Until 1981/82 the federal government provided buildings with standard plans. Some schools are identical."[45] Terry Ward, construction manager for the schools being addressed in this thesis, states that buildings on reserves were built quickly and uniformly. "Previous buildings were basic and poorly constructed. ... They were all the same: a standard plan."[46]

Terry Ward observed that buildings on reserves designed and constructed by Indian and Northern Affairs or Public Works did not incorporate the community's input in conception or implementation. He stated: "A crew would arrive, erect the building, go away, and here this is your new rec centre."[47] This approach to the building process highlights the difference between previous schools and the approach to the ten projects being discussed.

Only recently have schools been specifically designed by and for Indigenous peoples. Many of the new Native education programs were, and still are, situated in existing buildings or portables. Native communities expressed their concern about inadequate facilities and across the province

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44 Annette LeCuyer, "Native Wit," Architectural Review Vol 193, No 1155, (May 1993), 47.
45 Interview with Marie-Odile Marceau, Vancouver, July 19, 1996.
46 Interview with Terry Ward, Vancouver, July 29,1996.
47 Ward, July 29, 1996.

of British Columbia Native communities began requesting funding for the construction of new facilities. These facilities were conceived as being more permanent than the portables that had been provided in response to requests for new schools.

The schools being discussed in this thesis became the first in a series of new buildings responding to, and concerned with, the culture and the specific needs and desires of Native communities, by involving them in all stages of the process of school building. The next chapter will begin a discussion of that process which was heavily influenced by the project manager overseeing those school buildings: Marie-Odile Marceau.

Chapter Two: The Role of Marie-Odile Marceau

Construction manager Marie-Odile Marceau played a major role in transferring responsibility for design and construction of these schools from the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development to the First Nations for whom the buildings were created. In Marceau's words: "It was just a programme of construction that started to be different at the moment I arrived and I really capitalised on that. I pushed it even further."[48] Marie-Odile, construction manager Terry Ward, and the architects involved with these projects affirm Marceau's importance.

Marie-Odile Marceau acknowledged the contributions of everyone involved in the projects, while remaining aware of her own influence. She commented that the success of a project "... depends on the community. It depends on the architect. It also seemed to depend on my level of energy."[49]

According to Terry Ward, construction manager for the schools, Marie-Odile Marceau played an incredibly important role in the realisation of these buildings. In his words: "She (Marceau) was responsible within Indian Affairs for pushing these projects forward. ... So they happened. In my opinion, it's really only because of her that they did happen."[50]

The architects recognised Marceau as enabling the communities to do things they previously had no knowledge of how to approach. In architect John Patkau's words:

> Marie-Odile Marceau was important to the process as a professional

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[48] Marie-Odile Marceau, interview by author, Vancouver, British Columbia, 29 July 1996.
[49] Ibid.
[50] Terry Ward, interview by author, Richmond, British Columbia, 19 July 1996.

consultant to the band. When they were uncertain, because what we were proposing was too technical, or too professional, or something outside the realm of lay knowledge, they had her to act as a sounding board to give them advice. She supported the whole process....The communities were more confident because Marceau was there.[51]

Architect Greg Johnson confirms the supportive role of Marceau, adding that she left bands with independence they didn't have before her interaction with them. Johnson says:

... she got in there and worked with the band enabling them to make decisions.... So then, when they go on to other projects, they know how to hire an architect. What kind of questions to ask. What their fees should be. She left those bands with skills in terms of being able to be almost self-sufficient in terms of major capital planning.[52]

Marceau's role was an important one. This is evident not only to herself, but her co-workers. How is it that she came to take on this role?

Marceau's involvement with Native communities began after she finished her architectural education in 1981. That summer she secured a five-month contract for the position of construction supervisor in the Arctic. Then, because of her previous Arctic experience, Marceau was hired as architect in training, and project manager, in Yellowknife. This job lasted two years.

When she returned to Ottawa, she heard of a position at DIAND. Although her experience qualified her to work with Native communities, she did not plan to become an expert in that area. In her words: "At that point I didn't think I wanted to be a specialist in working with Indians, but I accepted the job, and I was sent to Vancouver."[53]

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[51] John Patkau, interview by author, Vancouver, British Columbia, 22 July 1996.

[52] Greg Johnson, interview by author, Vancouver, British Columbia, 22 July 1996.

[53] Marceau, interview, 1996.

Marceau accepted the position of project architect in 1985, intending to work in Vancouver for a year. However, she continued at that job for two years. In 1987, the regional architect retired, and Marceau became the new regional architect. It was in this position that she became project manager for the schools on reserves in British Columbia which are dealt with in this thesis.

When Marceau left her position as regional architect and project manager for schools, she was responding to further DIAND initiatives:

> I stayed until 1993 when I left mainly because of efforts within Indian Affairs to limit the involvement of technical people, architects and engineers, with the bands. ... What Indian Affairs was doing basically, and Indian Affairs has been trying to do that for a long time, was put the decision making in the hands of the band. ... Indian Affairs was saying that we don't want to provide project management from within.[54]

Marceau's experience in the field of architecture had been oriented to working with Aboriginal peoples for some time. When she became project manager for the schools proposed on British Columbia reserves in the 1980s, she had some clear priorities for those First Nations' building projects. Marceau established two objectives, two underlying principles, that would govern the development of the architectural projects under her management:

> 1. To foster as much community input as possible and,
> 2. To encourage innovative and stimulating architectural solutions which would put forward the local cultural identity and the local philosophy of education.[55]

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54 Marceau, interview,1996.

55 Marie-Odile Marceau, "Ten Native School Projects in British Columbia," Notes for a paper presented at the Alcan Series on Architecture, Vancouver, February 12 1995.

Marceau established those priorities based on several converging influences. The first was the example set by the Bella Coola and Tsartlip schools, built prior to her appointment as project manager. Both projects had encouraged the involvement of First Nations' communities in their design. Of the ten schools being discussed, they were the first two built. Both structures incorporate Native culture by replicating past Indigenous building styles. Both are based on traditional longhouse design. Community input was a possibility. Bella Coola and Tsartlip Schools were proof of this.

Another influence was a general climate of "growing affirmation for Native people." [56] Negotiation of land claims, discussions about self-government, artistic production, and control over schools are evidence of this. The positive social and political climate meant that DIAND was now ready to relinquish some power. The final inspiration to incorporate community input and local culture was Marceau's "own observation of people's lack of respect for facilities imposed on them." [57]

It was Marceau's belief that community involvement was necessary if First Nations' communities were to respect facilities financed by DIAND. In making community participation a priority, Marceau put no restrictions on who could participate. In her opinion the best schools had the most community involvement. Various strategies were used to initiate that participation and these will be detailed in the upcoming discussion on process.

Directly initiated by Marie-Odile Marceau was the assembly of project

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[56] Marceau, Alcan Lecture, 1995.
[57] Ibid.

teams. Marceau organised band councils and school boards to select individuals from different elements of their community: teachers, school administration, and students. They formed project teams which conducted interviews with potential architects and construction managers.

Although the goal was to include the entire community in the building process, in reality the design of the school depended on the input of those who wanted to participate. In some cases it was the entire community, in others it was a smaller group of the most interested members of the band.

In addition to community involvement, Marceau's other central objective was to incorporate local cultural identity into the schools. This is significant, as Indigenous people previously had no input into school buildings financed by the federal government. The resulting impression was that both schools and education were imposed from outside. By the mid-1980s Native control over their own education meant that a new curriculum reflecting local cultural priorities was being implemented within school buildings that did not reflect those interests.

Poor-quality schools convey the message that the larger society does not value Native people and culture. This results in the Indigenous society reacting negatively to education and to symbols of education. Marceau recognised an "understandable detachment, and even disrespect, for facilities they consider not to be their own." [58] These were considerations prompting Marie Marceau to ensure inclusion of future users in the design process.

Other convictions motivated Marceau to realise the inclusion of

[58] Ibid.

community participation and culture in the schools. She identified Native communities as her clients. Marceau had a sense of herself as an employee, not only of the DIAND, but also of the Native communities with whom she worked.:

> I was working for the communities. That's very clear.... I was definitely working for them, within the guidelines, obviously, of the Department, because I was an employee of the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs. But definitely, if I look at my mandate, and my mandate was to provide, to oversee, the provision of school buildings on Indian reserves, there was no question that I was working for Indian reserves.[59]

Marceau also has strong ideas about the importance of education. She believes that formal education is important to everyone, but in particular, to Indigenous people in Canada. Marceau found the value placed on education revealed in her relations with Native communities. She explained: "Education is very very important to them. It's very easy to get people involved in these projects. They want to get involved."[60] Native communities are expressing the fact that education and control over education is important to them. In Marceau's opinion, it is important for the federal government to listen and respond to issues of importance to First Nations.:

> To me education is the most important area for Indian bands today. Absolute most important area. It is not money. It is not law suits. It is not land claims. It is education. ... And by showing a respect for education and by encouraging the construction of schools that will attract children, I think the government would go very very far in easing relationships with bands...[61]

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59 Ibid.

60 Marceau, interview, 1996.

61 Ibid.

Because schools are where education formally takes place, they are intrinsically connected to educational issues. Marceau commented on school buildings and the education of First Nations children: "We have a situation today where we have kids that don't go to school. We have a low literacy rate on reserves. We have a low attendance record. We have people who don't like their buildings."[62] Marceau believes education is affected by poor quality and inappropriate facilities. The structure can either encourage participation in the education process and enhance that experience, or deter students from participation in that system.

A building communicates attitudes about the importance, or lack of regard for, education and children. In particular Marceau feels that structures convey messages to children about their place and value in society.: "... if you have small children in a building that is gentle, I think its telling them that this society cares for them. They are in a building that is hard, that is harsh . . . I think it tells them that society is not caring about them."[63] Although Marceau knows it will take years to verify whether the particular schools she was involved with have enhanced the children's outlook towards education, she believes they will.: "It was obvious to me that the nicer the school, the more attractive the school, the more likely the school would be to keep these young people in their class."[64]

According to Marceau, society communicates how it perceives groups of people by the type of structure it chooses for the users. This is of particular

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[62] Ibid.
[63] Ibid.
[64] Ibid.

significance to groups who don't have input into their building. School architecture teaches children what their society thinks of them. Children's perceptions of themselves are seldom considered in school design. If they have the ugliest building in the community, for example a portable, children are taught that they are unimportant, even though a Native community may perceive their children as their most important and cherished resource. Uninvited to participate in the design process of schools, they are unable to convey their ideas about the value of their young people. Marceau comments:

> School buildings are very important in Native communities. They not only formally affect the way people function inside the spaces, but symbolically represent people within the community to their community as well as to the larger Canadian society. They are functional space but also symbolic. [65]

If a school's architecture communicates the message that society doesn't care about kids, there may be a reaction from children. They may retaliate by not caring about the school as a structure or as an institution. This could mean retaliation in the form of vandalism to the school building. It could take the form of kids deciding not to participate in the education system. This could mean dropping out of school or remaining in school and creating a disruptive classroom environment. According to Marceau:

> Children are forming their ideas of the world, and have a lot of energy and time, and years, to be a destructive force in the larger, and more local, society, responding to the message that you are not important. Those reactions could range from lack of participation to anger.[66]

Marceau's belief in the power of architecture goes further. She

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65 Ibid.

66 Ibid.

asserts that buildings have the ability to effect social change. She maintains: "I really believe in buildings. ... When I was talking previously of buildings as being a tool for social change, I really think buildings can be that."[67] This statement reflects the hope that providing schools including community involvement and culture will result in more than architectural form. Marceau hopes that buildings will be respected and valued, that children will want to go to classes that take place in these structures, that communities will be better places because of these schools. Marceau's belief in the importance of education, and the power of architecture to affect people and their attitudes, motivated her to support a new process of building design and construction, to be discussed in the next chapter.

67 Ibid.

Chapter Three:The Process

This chapter outlines the process through which these schools were created. At this point I will provide a brief description of what I mean by process. In this case it is the series of actions which brought about the end result of the school buildings. This included negotiations, decision making, designing and construction, which preceded the finished schools. This process is contrasted with the procedure previously used for building on reserves. The input of the various participants is described. Of particular importance in the process is the role of the community. It played a major role in choosing architectural consultants. Bands worked with architects to create a design, reflecting contemporary concerns, formally inspired by traditional structures. And the communities were responsible for most of the actual construction of the schools. It was this inclusion in the design and construction process which was the major difference between these and previous reserve schools.

Choice of Architect

Project teams, described in the previous chapter, managed all phases of the projects. The project team selected the architectural consultant, and guided the entire design and construction process, periodically consulting students, teachers, elders, maintenance staff, and in some cases the entire community.

Each architect worked with the bands to design the schools. Although the architects worked with input from the bands, under the supervision of

Marceau, the choice of architect was an important prerequisite for a cooperative design process to take place. The architect's ideas were important, but it was the relationship with their clients, and the quality of communication between the architects and the band, that, to a large extent, determined whether or not the schools were successful. Project Manager Marie-Odile Marceau reflected on how community involvement affected the success of a school.: "You don't strike a building that is loved every time. I think there are some that are not....The ones that are not, are the ones with the least community involvement."[68]

The bands did not select architects by a competition process. The regular procedure within the Department of Public Works required that the project advance to a proposal phase, and that proposals submitted by architects then be analysed.

Project manager Marie-Odile Marceau took responsibility for changing the preliminary stages of the process by which architects were chosen. The proposal process was determined to be inappropriate for the design of these schools. A competition necessitates an outlined proposal. This was the opposite of what was being asked of the architects for these buildings.

Instead, architects were asked to work directly with the band, to gain an understanding of the philosophies of the community, ways of thinking, cultural particularities, and philosophies of education. From this understanding they were expected to create a design in collaboration with the bands for whom they were working. A proposal method would have

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68 Marceau, interview, 1996.

been unable to accommodate the full involvement of the band in the design process. The architect was hired with the knowledge that he would be asked to come up with a design that would be suitable for the band by working in cooperation with them.[69]

Marceau decided not to use the Department of Public Works method of selecting potential architects. The process by which DPW chose architects required consulting a computer for the names of four architects. Those were the four from whom a final choice would be made by DPW.

Marie-Odile Marceau prepared a list of half a dozen firms whom she felt would be suitable for each particular school being planned. She directed the projects to design oriented architectural firms. Her selection included smaller firms so that the bands wouldn't approach large firms for small projects, and consequently get poor service.[70]

Marceau let the community choose the architect, but she made a concerted effort to present them with what she considered to be "good" architects from which to make their selection. The list drawn up by Marceau was submitted to the selection committee. They made choices from that list, sending the architects invitations to submit proposals. This process differed considerably from the DPW model.

The criteria used to make the final choice from the selection of architectural consultants was also a departure from the previous procedure. Within the DPW, the architects and their proposals were evaluated according to criteria established as important by the government. Two

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[69] Ibid.

[70] Johnson, interview, 1996.

important considerations were fees and experience. Marceau decided fees were not a suitable criteria as: "you get what you pay for."[71] Communities were not asked to consider fees when choosing their architectural firm.

John Hutchins, District Engineer with Public Works Canada, confirmed that previous experience was a consideration when his department chose an architect:

> Yes, they used the same architects, certainly until a few years ago when architects were on staff here. They probably did because there was sort of chosen ones who worked fairly well with the system and knew what was wanted. I would say probably normally the same architects because they're into schools and just good at it....It's not the architecture. It's not the technical side of it. It's the paper side with all the documentation that's required. [72]

This statement reveals that architects chosen by DPW often specialised in school design. It is also apparent that architects chosen to build schools were those who worked well with the system. This ability to complete required documentation, and the convenience of not having to re-teach a new architect what was required for the department, and took priority over architectural considerations. [73]

The communities identified experience as a deterrent. When Marceau asked band members if they liked any of the schools they saw on reserves, their response was negative. So, the more reserve schools an architect had designed, the lower his chances of being selected to work on these schools. The most important criterion identified for choosing an architectural firm was that professional's ability to listen to bands.

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[71] Marceau, interview,1996.
[72] John Hutchins, interview by author, Vancouver, British Columbia, 13 August 1996.
[73] Ibid.

Once the essential criteria were established, the next task was to determine whether a potential architect met those criteria. Together with Marie-Odile Marceau, bands established how they could determine, through an interview, whether those criteria they had identified as important were likely to be met. Marie explained to the people who would be involved with the selection process how to conduct an interview to hire a professional architect, and what to expect. It was important when they met with designers that band members leave with a strong sense of what those professionals would be like to work with. Questions, once agreed upon, were drafted for the interview process. One of the main questions in the interview was, are you a listener?

The first step for the architects, after receiving an invitation to participate in the selection process, was to prepare a written proposal outlining their qualifications for the job. Architects were asked to outline their awareness of the culture of the band with which they would be working. After the band committee's consideration of these offers, a shorter list of architects was made from those who responded. These were the firms interviewed by the band.

Band members, representing the community's interests, went to the architects' offices for interviews. In each case, the designers were based in Vancouver. Architect John Patkau was visited by four members of the Seabird Island band.[74] Discussions revolved around how Patkau Architects worked, what they knew about Native communities, and their ideas about

[74] John's partner Patricia Patkau was teaching in the United States at this time, and so was not involved with the Seabird Island School.

schools and their impact on education.[75] On the basis of the interview, the Patkaus were selected to design the Seabird Island School with the Sto:lo[76] people from the lower mainland of British Columbia.[77]

Acton, Johnson and Ostry, architects for the Old Massett School, were asked questions primarily having to do with how they would work with the band. For example, how were they going to discover the band's needs? How would they deal with a remote community? How often would they be in the community? How accessible would they be when they weren't physically there? As well, the committee wanted to hear about the architect's knowledge of the area.

They were also interested in the architect's experience on other projects for First Nations communities. Gregory Johnson had worked on Seabird Island School. He had also worked with Peter Cardew on the Stone School. Russell Acton worked on the Stone School as well. So, they had previous experience working with First Nations communities. Because the schools Johnson and Acton worked on were projects in this same programme of schools, rather than deterring bands, the architect's involvement with previous schools in this case was an asset.[78]

During the interview, committee members were looking for sensitivity to their cultural values, and how willing the architects would be to listen to their input. On the basis of criteria the bands decided were important to

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[75] John Patkau, interview by author. Vancouver, British Columbia, 22 July 1996.

[76] Sto:lo is the name the Seabird Island people give to themselves. According to Sto:lo Chief Archie Charles, it means River people or people of the Fraser River. The pronunciation closest in approximation to English would be stotlo.

[77] Patkau, interview, 1996.

[78] Johnson, interview, 1996.

them, they chose the architects with whom they would work to design their school.

Marceau enabled the bands to participate by giving them the information they needed to conduct interviews with architects. They were then able to make decisions on their own. With the information they gained through this process they could make future decisions without a consultant.

In order to present their ideas to the bands at various stages of the planning process, the architects were required to demonstrate designs in model form. This was Marceau's initiative. She got the idea of using models from her work in Frobisher Bay where she was employed to design family houses. She observed that most people have trouble understanding architectural drawings, and the Inuit in this community were no exception. They were not well informed by architectural drawings; however they did understand models. Based on that experience, Marceau required all the architects to present design concepts to their First Nations clients in model form.[79]

The Patkaus, who cooperated with the Seabird Island Band, plan for all their clients with models. They start work with an initial model, and refine it as the design changes. The models become progressively more detailed with each consecutive planning stage. John Patkau explained that his firm builds three-dimensional models of projects at each stage of the design process, as they feel two-dimensional drawings tend to be too diagrammatic and abstract for most non-professional viewers. Most architects don't plan using models, as it is very time-consuming. The final eight-foot-long model

[79] Marceau, interview, 1996.

built by the Patkaus for the Seabird Island Band was taken to the building site and used as a reference during the construction phase.[80] (Fig 4) Ensuring that communities had understood architects' designs assisted in the communication between the two parties. The bands understood the architects' intentions and could respond to their plans.

Community Involvement

Community involvement happened in various ways. There were full community meetings to develop the building design.[81] Everyone from the town was invited to participate and express their views. Architects met frequently with the whole community as the project progressed.

Initially, architects set up temporary offices in central locations on reserves. They asked people from the community to drop in and express ideas and thoughts on the school design. Acton, Johnson and Ostry set up a studio space in Old Massett for a week and a half. Members of the community came in to talk "one on one" with the architects.[82]

In one case, a consultant from the community was hired to advise the architects on cultural issues. In Bella Bella architect Gregory Henriquez worked with local Native artist David Gladstone on a cultural agenda for the Bella Bella School. Gladstone helped Henriquez decide on the appropriate Heiltsuk symbolism of the eagle for the school and was familiar with the proper procedure of asking the hereditary chief of the eagle clan (who at this

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[80] Patkau, interview, 1996.
[81] Annette LeCuyer, "Native Wit," Architectural Review, Vol 193 No 1155, (May 1993), 47.
[82] Johnson, interview, 1996.

time was Harvey Humchit) for permission to use the emblem. [83]

Although efforts were made to involve communities as much as possible in the school building and design process, getting that input was not always a simple matter. Paternalism from the past may have affected the way communities involved themselves in the design process. For almost a hundred years Native people's opinions weren't considered by Indian and Northern Affairs. In those conditions First Nations became more adept at protest than participation. For this reason, trust was an issue that was unique to architects working with First Nations communities. A part of the initial challenge for the architects, according to Greg Johnson, was to gain the confidence of the community, and to let them know the architects wanted to work with the band rather than impose an unwanted building design onto the community.[84]

In all cases the school design process took several years. There were a number of reasons for this. As has been discussed, the goal was to ensure the involvement of the entire community. This meant many meetings and revisions to designs. There were also culturally specific ways of making decisions and communicating opinions which made the process more lengthy. It was important that architects be sensitive to cultural differences between themselves and their clients. According to architect Greg Johnson, Native communities have a somewhat different decision-making process from that of mainstream Canadians. They don't have votes in their meetings as they do not feel fifty percent of participants is enough to make a decision

[83] Gregory Henriquez, interview by author, Vancouver, British Columbia, 29 July 1996.
[84] Johnson, interview, 1996.

on an issue. They wait for a consensus. Often this means more and longer meetings.[85]

Not only was the decision-making process requiring consensus more lengthy, but obtaining feedback from Native clients took more time than it did for non-Native communities. Henry Hawthorn, architect for the Alert Bay School feels that First Nations have different ideas about expressing opinions in public. The western European tradition encourages people to speak out, to assert their opinions aggressively, and then to try to influence other people. In most Native cultures this is seen as being rude. It doesn't extend the proper respect to those who deserve it, for example elders.[86]

It was necessary for architects to go through the process of slowly developing ideas, attempting to strike a responsive chord with people, then asking them to participate in the progression of the design. Native people expect careful listening as things are often expressed subtly.[87]

Greg Johnson, architect of the Old Massett School, expressed some of the problems of working with the subtleties of communicating with the Haida in Old Massett. He said First Nations people in B.C. "hold back quite a bit publicly. It's hard to get a sense of whether you are going in the right direction because you'll get very little feedback. One is more likely to get feedback in a one-to-one meeting." [88] At the beginning of the process, Johnson and his partners often thought they had reached a consensus on the design, only later discovering they hadn't. The architects returned to the

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[85] Johnson, interview,1996.
[86] Henry Hawthorne, interview by author,Vancouver, British Columbia, 24 July 1996.
[87] Ibid.
[88] Johnson, interview,1996.

Old Massett community frequently to obtain an understanding of what the band wanted

According to John Patkau, because he didn't receive explicit feedback, it was necessary to interpret the desires of his client. In his words:

> It is an act of interpretation to try to understand what your client wants especially when your client has a culture that is relatively inaccessible to you. They are a very private people. They are not demonstrative. They aren't interested in bringing someone else into their culture or explaining themselves to other people. You have to be very sensitive and respond to their sentiments.[89]

The Henriquez architectural firm's approach was to present the people of Bella Bella with alternatives. Then they allowed the Heiltsuk community to respond to those alternatives, making choices and decisions based on their values.[90]

The participation of the community happened not only during the preliminary stages of planning, but throughout the whole design process. For each school there were check points throughout the process where the design was presented to all community members and an exchange occurred between the clients and the architects. Buildings were refined in this way. The architects involved would translate what they understood the ideas of the band to be, and then present them to the community for approval or amendment. Often there were alterations in the plan during this process. For example, during the planning of the Haisla School, elders indicated that the initial design was inappropriate to the climatic conditions of the area, specifically the predominant winds. The design was altered by the

[89] Patkau, interview, 1996.

[90] Henriquez, interview, 1996.

architectural firm Hughes Baldwin.[91] Interaction between the architects and the First Nations communities was different for the architects than their interactions with other Canadian clients of non-Aboriginal descent.

Designs based on Traditional Form

In most of the communities there was very little to inspire them in terms of contemporary built form. Inspiration came from traditional building configurations. A common strategy employed was the use of traditional architectural forms as a departure point for design. Bands wanted to see something that reflected their culture. In most cases the longhouse was the first solution to this problem. There is a very strong tradition of the big house, or longhouse, with coastal First Nations groups. Their large, elaborately constructed, gabled and shed-roofed houses are well known.[92] They "traditionally constructed wood houses, using massive logs for their post-and beam frames and split and adzed planks for their walls and roofs." [93] The form varied among different coastal groups. Regional differences were apparent in house shape, construction details, and symbolic decorations.[94]

The longhouse adapted to new interaction with Europeans, just as it had been adapted to the needs of west coast inhabitants before the arrival of foreigners. Modifications in Indigenous architecture did not begin with the

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[91] Marceau, interview, 1996.

[92] Gary Coupland and E.B. Banning, eds., People Who lived in Big Houses: Archeological Perspectives on Large Domestic Structures, (Madison, Wisconsin: Prehistory Press, 1996.), 121.

[93] Peter Nabakov and Robert Easton, Native American Architecture, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.), 227.

[94] Ibid.

arrival of Europeans. However, European contact changed the materials, forms, and meanings of traditional Native architecture. Materials such as nails and milled lumber were used to build new structures. Elements such as glass windows and wooden doors became status symbols among chiefs.[95]

However, the traditional longhouse at the time of contact with Europeans or before was the idea in people's minds of the appropriate civic building form for First Nations. This was the framework that communities involved in the projects first brought to the architects as the embodiment of their architectural culture.

This form was somewhat symbolic. It wasn't necessarily a derivative of a band's architectural traditions. Sometimes a band in the interior wanted a longhouse, even though this form was never a part of their building tradition.[96]

The Tsartlip and Bella Coola Schools, designed with architect Lubor Trubka, mimic traditional longhouse forms. (Fig 5 &6) These schools were built for coastal bands with a longhouse tradition. The communities like them.[97] However, mimicking past forms was problematic for most of the architects involved in the schools. Their solution was to begin with a traditional form and use it as an inspiration rather than a building pattern.

According to Greg Johnson, the only image the Old Massett Band had was that of a big house. The architects felt uncomfortable creating a replica

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95 Ibid., 46-50.

96 Marceau, interview, 1996.

97 Ibid.

of a Haida longhouse. The architects spoke with the community about the idea of reinterpreting the longhouse. The community was comfortable with this, as long as the school was recognisable as a Haida building. The architects, in consultation with the Old Massett Band, succeeded in incorporating strong traditional longhouse elements, while making the school a contemporary building.[98] Architect Peter Cardew was inspired by the kikwilli, a pit house form of the interior bands of British Columbia, when designing the Stone School.[99]

Not only was traditional form significant. Traditional materials were incorporated into the school's designs. Almost all the schools incorporated wood, especially cedar. Henry Hawthorn, architect of Alert Bay School, said he tried to incorporate elements from traditional architecture purposefully so that there would be a sense of a massive timber building that would be a daily reminder of the tremendous importance cedar had for the KwaKwaka'wakw culture.: "Salmon was the bounty of the ocean and cedar was the bounty of the land."[100] John Patkau used cedar shingles on the Seabird Island School, in part because cedar cladding, or cedar shingles, are a traditional building material with cultural associations.[101]

Another way that buildings were expressive of distinctly Native culture was through a non-western organisation of architecture. The schools in the programme were deliberately designed to be different from already existing

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98 Johnson, interview, 1996.

99 Murray, Hanganu, and Kirkland, "Award of Excellence: Stone Band School, Chilcotin Region, B.C., " The Canadian Architect, Vol 35 No 12, (December 1990), 14.

100 Hawthorne, interview, 1996.

101 Patkau, interview, 1996.

school facilities as bands did not feel contemporary school designs could reflect their traditions and ideas. John Patkau, reflecting on his visits to schools with Seabird Island band members, thought negative reactions related back to the residential school programme and the types of buildings associated with them:

> We came to understand, over time, that the negative reaction related back to the residential school programme that had been so devastating to them as a people. They came to associate Cartesian geometry, orthogonal geometry as from European Imperialism. These schools were very orthogonal. Corridors were straight lines, all of the conventions of an orderly bureaucratic organisation. They reacted very negatively to this, and were explicit about the fact this had negative associations for them.[102]

Patkau responded to the reactions of the Sto:lo with a different formal approach for the Seabird Island School. There was an attempt to create a building that would evoke associations that were natural rather than institutional. Patkau said:

> They needed a formal geometric vocabulary that was more expressive of other values. ... We tried to respond with a building that had a somewhat natural quality. The characteristics of the geometry were topographic or geomorphic in quality. Here there was irregularity in spaces which was more similar to what you might find in nature, as opposed to conventional European derived architecture. The building started with an attempt to create a naturalistic type of geometry.[103]
> (Fig 7-10)

Symbolism was a common strategy in the designs of these schools. According to John Patkau, the Seabird Island School, being a significant element in the landscape of the Seabird Island community, would be

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[102] Ibid.

[103] Patkau, interview, 1996.

attributed with the status of a living thing by band members. Patkau created a design ambiguous enough that people would have choices as to how to interpret the school. (This will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Four) The Patkaus do not incorporate the zoomorphic qualities of the shape in a design for non-Native clients. The symbolism was a response to a particular Native community which differs from mainstream North American culture.[104]

According to Henry Hawthorn, architect of the Alert Bay School, the use of symbolism for these schools was irresistible. In Alert Bay, a long central spine to which the facilities of the school attach themselves, was a symbolic pathway from a twentieth-century community to the natural environment, via forest, to the edge of the undeveloped beach. Like Patkau, Hawthorne doesn't think he would have searched for this symbolism if the school weren't being built in a Native community.[105]

All the work of Henriquez Architects is symbolic, or has some symbolic gesture, so for them the particular design approach to the Bella Bella school was not wholly new. (The Bella Bella school programme revolved around the image of an eagle.) This may have been one of the reasons they were chosen for the Bella Bella project. Their way of working already fit into a Heiltsuk way of approaching architecture.[106]

Symbolically, the schools not only represent significant cultural emblems or values. They represent an image of the community to its members, and to the larger Canadian society. These design process of

[104] Patkau, interview, 1996.
[105] Hawthorne, interview, 1996.
[106] Henriquez, interview, 1996.

these schools allows community members to chose what they wish to reinforce in their own community, especially for children, and the image they wish to present to members outside their community.

Artwork was a means of incorporating cultural identity into schools. Carving, graphic design, and murals were some of the art forms included in the buildings. Sometimes it was incorporated into the school structure itself. For example, at Old Massett an illustrated exterior wall leading to the school entrance depicts Haida legends.[107] (Fig 11&12) At Seabird Island School a large ceremonial door has been carved with a traditional figural form.[108] (Fig 13)

Another strategy to incorporate artwork into the schools was to provide spaces for display of art. Henry Hawthorn commented on the appropriateness of artwork in schools trying to keep the culture alive. Part of that culture is the graphic culture. He commented: "The art works become important cultural icons, evidence that this is a building concerned with cultural expression. ... This is a place where traditional culture is alive, which means this is no longer merely traditional, but contemporary culture."[109]

Community Ideas on School Function

Apart from the desire for a longhouse design, the communities did not approach the architects with strong ideas about what the final form would be, other than the fact it should express their culture. However, communities had clearer ideas of how the schools should function. Some requests were

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107 Johnson, interview, 1996.

108 Patkau, interview, 1996.

109 Hawthorne, interview, 1996.

conventional. Teachers were interested in storage space and pin-up space for children's artwork and assignments. They were concerned with how learning resources would function. For example, how would the computer room or library work, and be overseen? The community wanted older children separate from the younger grades believing that older and younger children don't mix well. Classrooms were preferred over an open learning space. Seabird Island architect John Patkau said this surprised him. He expected the community to want something less conventional.[110]

But not all ideas about school function were so conventional. Specific to these First Nations' schools was the idea that education is not limited to the classroom but should extend outside the school. Classrooms in all the schools have a door providing direct outside access. This allows community members to enter and leave the classroom at will. (Fig 14 &15)

Doors allowing entry directly into the classrooms allow a parent or other community member to enter with ease. This encourages participation of the parents in their children's education outside the home. This has a special significance in a community which suffered the removal of parental involvement and support for generations of children, who are now parents and grandparent themselves.[111] Many adults in the community may have a negative attitude to institutionalised schooling. The buildings attempt, in ways that are architectural, to make a connection, and easy transition, from the community into the school.

As well, almost all schools have language rooms. The language

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110 Patkau, interview, 1996.

111 Marceau, interview, 1996.

component is of particular importance in the curriculum of these schools. Some schools have special language rooms where elders teach children. Since most parents and teachers do not speak their native language, it is elders who perform this critical role. It is important to ensure elders feel welcome to participate in the educational process. This is in part facilitated by easy access to classrooms where they will teach.

There was a desire to extend education to the surrounding physical environment as well as the surrounding community environment. Teaching native knowledge and attitudes towards the environment was the reason many schools incorporated a garden of some sort into their plan. At Seabird there were gardens in front of the school so kids could participate in planting, learning the significance of various plants to people in their culture. In this way they were taking the education system outside.[112]

The school is a major building on a reserve. There is a strong interest that it be more than just a school. It should be used by the entire community for a variety of gatherings and events. This is especially important in isolated communities where schools are significant civic facilities. These schools usually have large multi-functional gymnasiums. Because of the multipurpose aspect of the gyms they are often important elements in the school designs.

Construction of Schools

Bands were involved with school construction as well as building design. One of the most influential people in building the schools was

[112] Patkau, interview, 1996.

construction manager Terry Ward of Newhaven Projects. He was chosen for all the schools discussed in this thesis through a proposal process. A proposal call was initiated by the project manager. The first bid was in written form. Then the potential construction manager took part in an interview, including the project team, the architect, and the project manager. After the interview, the selection was made.

There are only about three or four companies that have done construction management on reserves. One of the reasons Newhaven was selected for more reserve schools than other firms was approach. Other construction managers bring tradesmen from outside the community and consequently use few local people as labourers. This means money comes in the form of a government grant and leaves the community again. Newhaven keeps money that came in for the project circulating in the village by hiring as many people from the community as possible. Word of mouth has built a reputation for Newhaven's approach. Many bands are interested in training and jobs on reserves where unemployment levels are around eighty percent.[113]

Terry Ward's job as project manager was to hire and coordinate the people required to complete all work necessary for the construction of these schools. Ward put out a series of small trade contracts. Individual tradesmen bid on these. A more conventional way of dealing with construction is to treat the project as one large contract. Ward hired a superintendent . The superintendent is charge at the site itself as he is there everyday. He runs the crews, or if it's a larger project, is in charge of the

[113] Ward, interview, 1996.

foremen running the crews. He has to ensure productivity and coordination, and that the building is constructed properly. Another significant contributor to the construction process was the project coordinator who was a band member acting as a liaison between the band and the contractor.

One of Ward's goals was to give people on the reserve skills, not only to complete these schools, but to continue to work on future developments on the reserve. Some skills were absent in the band and it was necessary to hire outside workers, but there was an agreement that wherever possible bands would be taught skills so that they could complete construction tasks on their own.

Training on reserves took two different forms: formal classroom education, and on-the-job training. An attempt was made to provide both. At smaller school sites it was more difficult to initiate formal training than with the larger ones. For example, at Seabird Island there were enough people to have a trainer go to the community to conduct a first aid and site safety course for twelve people. Sometimes training was done through open institute programs with tutorials and courses.[114]

In Bella Bella a pre-apprenticeship math course was offered. In order to become an apprentice you have to demonstrate ability at a certain level in mathematics. Initially the scores from applicants in the band weren't high enough, so a math course was initiated. All of the math taught related to the job. They did a metric imperial course, as well as courses on blueprint reading. The superintendent taught the course in conjunction with North

[114] Ibid.

Island College.[115]

Bella Coola was the first school with which Newhaven was involved. Training incorporated into the construction process resulted in twelve new journeymen ticketed carpenters from the community by the time the school was completed. Now they have drywallers, plumbers, and electricians going through training. The community liked Newhaven, and hired them for other projects in their community. Newhaven Projects hired foremen and supervisors that would train people on the reserve and set up apprenticeship programs to involve the community as much as possible in the project.[116]

The school committee or band council would appoint one or two people who were trained in maintenance. They would maintain the school after the project was completed. They worked on the site. They might be labourers. Their job might be menial. But they were seeing the work that was going on. Written into the contract was a hand-over process. When the contract was finished, the project manager, or site supervisor would meet with the individuals from the community and go through the maintenance process required to be handled by them. Some of it requires specialists, but the routine maintenance such as changing filters, checking levels of chemicals, or boiler systems, can be done by a non-specialist. Within a year of the completion of the school, the contractor went back to the site, and reviewed maintenance to reinforce tasks, and to check they were being

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[115] Ibid.
[116] Ibid.

done properly. [117]

Terry Ward talked about the challenges of working with First Nations communities on these schools. Working with inexperienced crews was time consuming. Things an experienced crew would be familiar with needed to be explained to novice workers.

There needed to be a sensitivity towards particular social problems on reserves. During the hiring process those in charge of construction spent more time explaining the expectations of the working environment, such as the hours: 9:00 to 5:00, 5 days a week. In situations where someone was habitually coming to work late or intoxicated, rather than firing a person, the employee met with people from his community, sometimes elders, to deal with the problem, and ultimately went back to work. Extra time and effort was spent on individuals in need of help. However there were few cases like that. Workers were often coming in early. Most were interested and motivated.[118]

Terry Ward also discussed the rewards of doing projects on native reserves, and the reasons why he specialises in this work. There is a business aspect to his decision to work with Native communities. Newhaven has a reputation in this area, so it's to their advantage to continue and expand this specialty.

From a personal point of view, Ward enjoys working with First Nations people. He values the level of trust put in him by Native communities. The bands give responsibility to people. In part this is a

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[117] Ibid.

[118] Ibid.

means of delegating responsibility, but it is also a way of dealing with people in a way they feel is appropriate. West Coast First Nations expect to deal with someone from outside the village working for them in the same way as they'd deal with someone in their own community. Ward enjoys a feeling of satisfaction at the end of a project where he's worked with Native people that he doesn't get with other jobs. [119]

The process included the community. The community chose the professionals; architects and the construction manager, with whom they would work. Community involvement was a priority for professionals involved, as was responding to First Nations' particular ways of negotiating and decision making. The school designs reflected the desires of bands to incorporate traditional form and materials. The community's ideas on school function were also included in the final school designs. Construction of the schools was as inclusive as the design process. The change in the design and construction process created a change in formal results of the schools. Three specific schools, and how inclusion of the community in the creation of the schools enabled the incorporation of culture in their forms, will now be examined.

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[119] Ibid.

Chapter Four: Culture Incorporated into Schools

One of Marie-Odile Marceau's underlying principles for these school projects was to have buildings reflect culture. This outcome would not have been possible without the involvement of the community. Thus far, the focus of this thesis has been the building process. The school's intent and content are made manifest through their form. This chapter will focus on how the schools incorporated cultural identity into their form.

Three case studies will serve as examples: Seabird Island School, Old Massett School, and Stone School. These schools successfully incorporate traditional and contemporary culture. First Nations'culture today is a conglomeration of the two. Each building uses a different, but equally relevant strategy to incorporate traditional elements, while retaining a sense of contemporaneity.

Ideas about architecture and culture

The term "culture" in the present context needs to be clarified. According to Edward Taylor, a 19th-century thinker, culture is: "The intellectual property of people everywhere. Every people had a culture, therefore culture was a product of thinking rather than places."[120] The learned behaviour and achievements which comprise the intellectual property of a culture are important to people's sense of identity and feelings of wholeness, as individuals and as groups. Although culture is intangible, expression through the creation of things that are tangible is a

[120] Robert Rotenberg, and Gary McDonogh, The Cultural Meaning of Urban Space, (Westport Connecticut: Bergin and Garvey, 1993),124-125.

significant by-product of participating in the culture, as well as becoming part of that property or achievement which makes up culture.

When Marceau made the commitment to enable communities to reflect their local culture through form, she was motivated by a belief that there is a correlation between architecture and cultural identity. "It is necessary to involve future users in the production of new facilities for their success, especially where those people have values and customs distinct from the mainstream culture."[121] This statement acknowledges that function is not the only criterion to be considered when designing a school. Another is incorporation of cultural considerations.

The incorporation of culture is important to First Nations communities. Marceau comments: "It's always been the same when you approach the band and you say, 'unfortunately there is no funding to build a school that will offer a gym, will offer space for this, or will be able to reflect your culture.' You get people very depressed about that."[122] This statement emphasises that in Native communities the school is a central and important structure, housing not only formal education based on a mandatory curriculum, but, also serving as a centre for the continuation of culture. A wide variety of activities, from language courses to potlatches, will take place in the school building.

Marceau recognised that others believe in the power of the built environment.[123] The built environment is in some way a cultural product.

121 Marceau, interview, 1996.
122 Ibid.
123 Ibid.

In their introductory essay for About the House, Janet Carsten and Stephen Hugh-Jones assert that architecture is an extension of a person or a group of people. Like an extra skin or set of clothing, it reveals and displays, as well as hiding and protecting, the owner. To construct a building is to construct an identity of individuals and groups. The house is a projection of the self. The house not only informs outsiders about the inhabitants inside, it informs and constrains activities and ideas within.[124] Structures act as symbols of social groups, inscribing boundaries and hierarchies, and give all these things an aura of naturalness.[125] Architecture accentuates, as it articulates, characteristics present in other cultural contexts. What we know about the distribution of power, social relations, cultural values, and everyday life is mediated by architecture.[126]

Architecture reveals culture because it is shaped by it. Culture shapes the form of a construction as much as the physical variables of a given environment. Peter Nabakov and Robert Eastman, in Native American Architecture, identify six modifying factors in Indigenous building. They are modifying factors because they do not entirely determine what is to be built, or its form, but they affect the end result. The factors identified as most important by Nabakov and Eastman are climate, technology, economy, social organisation, religion, and history.[127] Climate, technology and economy all deal with external factors which

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[124] Janet Carsten and Stephen Hugh-Jones, About the House:Levi-Strauss and Beyond (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 2-3.

[125] Carsten and Hugh-Jones, About the House, 21.

[126] Thomas Dutton, and Lian Mann, ed. Reconstructing Architecture, (Minneapolis, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 1.

[127] Nabakov and Eastman, Native American Architecture, 16-51.

challenge a society. Social organisation, religion, and history are factors which determine the structure from within the culture. The point is that it is not merely physical considerations which form a design, but cultural considerations as well. This is a cyclical relationship whereby the culture builds the structure and the physical structure reinforces the cultural structure.

In the case of these school buildings, culture is not just reflected, but also recuperated. Thomas Dutton and Lian Mann in Reconstructing Architecture discuss the relationship between history and cultural symbolism in architecture. The recovery of lost memory for a culture deprived of cultural symbols could make manifest for them a sense of continuity with past traditions.[128] In the case of the schools now being discussed, references to traditional form in the contemporary architecture has the potential to create a sense of reconstructing the community's historical link to past users of this form.

Seabird Island School

Seabird Island School, built to house the Native education programme devised by the Seabird Island Band, was projected to serve 290 students from kindergarten to 10th grade, with eventual expansion into 12th grade.[129] The programme was 2,190 square metres, including ten classrooms for elementary and secondary students, a kindergarten, administrative areas, and a gymnasium, which would also function as a

128 Dutton, and Mann, Reconstructing Architecture, 50-51.
129 Donald Canty, "Aerodynamic School," Progressive Architecture, 73:5, (May 1992), 143.

community hall. Classrooms are arranged on each side of the roughly central entrance. The secondary and elementary students are separated. The secondary wing is on the left side as you enter the school, and the primary on the right, with a kindergarten behind the primary area.[130] (Fig 16)

The school is by far the largest building on Seabird Island, located 120 km east of Vancouver on the Fraser River. Seabird is a flat island in the river surrounded by mountains. The centre of the island was cleared to create large fields for farming activities.[131] Dwellings were put along the lightly wooded perimeter. The existing buildings formed a rough "U" shape which opened up to the north. The south end included community buildings, a workshop, a meeting hall, a church, and the old school, composed of seven separate units. The new school was placed at the north end of the U to enclose a village common space.[132] Its siting, on the flat exposed edge of agricultural land at the downstream end of the island, establishes the school as the village centrepiece. (Fig 17)

Zoomorphic Form

It was important to the Seabird Island Band that their school have a link with past Native traditions.[133] One way this was achieved was through the school's form. Native west coast buildings have traditionally

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130 "Ancestral Forms," Architectural Review ,191:1148, (Oct 1992), p. 44.
131 Ibid.
132 Canty, "Aerodynamic School," 143.
133 Knowledge Network, Design in the Public Realm, Knowledge Network in Association with Architectural Institute of British Columbia, 1995.

made reference to animal lore.[134] As was mentioned earlier, it seemed inevitable to John Patkau that a building of significance would take on living qualities for the people of the Seabird Island reserve.[135] In response to this, the school needed to be understandable as a thing in nature, as well as a building.[136] Working with this goal in mind, John Patkau tried to avoid a facile solution with only one interpretation. The Patkaus talked about the intention of creating an ambiguous form for Seabird Island School:

> We didn't intend that the building represent anything specific. We simply gave it a configuration which would lend itself to interpretation. The members of the band have responded very positively to this aspect of the design. They see things in it that are meaningful to them.[137]

Archie Charles, Chief of the Seabird Island Band, sees the building as "a great big salmon."[138] This is significant to the Sto:lo people whose main food source was salmon. The band identifies with this creature. In Chief Archie Charles' words, "We are the salmon people, or the River people they call us." [139]

The zoomorphic form, apparent from the outside, is implied through interior elements as well. Main structural members are exposed internally, implying the skeleton of the zoomorphic form.[140] (Fig 18)

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134 "Ancestral Forms," Architectural Review ,Vol 191, No 1148, Oct 1992, 44.

135 Patkau, Interview, 1996.

136 Canty, "Aerodynamic School",143.

137 Brian Carter, ed., Patkau Architects: Selected Projects 1983-1993 (Halifax, Nova Scotia: TUNS Press, 1994),14.

138 Knowledge Network, Design in the Public Realm, 1995.

139 Knowledge Network,Design in the Public Realm, 1995.

140 "Ancestral Forms," 44.

The school makes references to animal and land forms in a non-literal way. It infers Sto:lo culture without mimicking past traditions.

Traditional Inspiration

Design elements and materials of the Seabird Island school draw on past traditions of the Sto:lo people more literally than the overall form. A strategy favoured in the Seabird Island School was introduction of Native architectural elements into a modern architectural form. Elements remain discrete. The architects don't try to make the entire structure look either traditional or modern. Individual elements express a culture with roots in traditional Native heritage while remaining in contemporary time. This approach can express a building belonging to both times and traditions.[141]

The porch is a good example of this. The porch on the south side of the building is a traditional design. It reflects traditional Salish building forms of urban architecture organised along board walks. The porch is also intended to evoke, and can be used as, a salmon drying rack.[142] The poles sticking up along the porch represent drying racks used for wind drying and smoking salmon. This one element refers to a traditional form without being part of an entire programme replicating traditional form. (Fig 19)

[141] Krinsky, Contemporary American Architecture, 60.

[142] Annette LeCuyer, "Native Wit," Architectural Review, 193:1155, (May 1993), 49.

Traditional Materials

Use of materials and construction methods provided other ways to make reference to the cultural roots of the Seabird Island Band. The framework of laminated timber beams and posts is similar to traditional Salish ways of building with heavy logs.[143] The traditional northwest Pacific coast heavy post and beam technique here incorporates modern materials such as glulam columns and beams with steel connections, on a reinforced concrete foundation.[144] Contemporary and modern materials are used with construction methods drawn from traditional practice.

Traditional material was also used. The walls and roof are clad in cedar shingles. Cedar itself was traditionally treated with tremendous respect and widely used by Salish people. Not only used for buildings, cedar was a material for canoes, mats, rope, baskets, boxes, ceremonial masks, and clothing. Cedar trees were thought to have spiritual power. The west coast peoples had a profound respect for the cedar tree, addressing its spirit with prayers before felling it, or removing bark.[145] It seemed that material invested with so much significance by Seabird Island's ancestors would be appropriate for their new school, attempting to reinforce a connection with past traditions.

Some materials used in the school simulate traditional ones. Inside, exposed wood structural members are made from a special kind of glulam

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143 "Ancestral Forms," 44.

144 Andrew Guft, "Seabird Island Community School," The Canadian Architect, 37:1, (January 1992), 19.

145 Hilary Stewart, Cedar: Tree of Life to the Northwest Coast Indians (Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 1984), 182.

composed of plywood chips, instead of boards. This gives them an interesting texture, more closely resembling real timbers than do standard glulams.[146] There was an attempt to use traditional materials where possible. Where other substances were more practical, attempts were made to allude to more traditional Salish building materials.

Multifunction

As was mentioned earlier, education traditionally took place in the same building as other activities. The Seabird Island School, like others in this programme, maintains a multifunctional purpose in the community. The gymnasium is a very important space. In addition to its school function, it is the largest room the community has. It is important for activities outside of school hours. It is not just the heart of the school, but in some ways, the heart of the community.[147] It is where the community gathers. All administrative, government, and social activities in the community happen here. Feasts, celebrations, powwows, and community recreation events, including sports, take place in the gymnasium. (The home-ec room is also important for community functions where food preparation is involved.)

That is why the room is better developed than most other school gymnasiums. It is a large, irregularly shaped gymnasium with a canvas to cover the hardwood floor on the frequent occasions when it is used as a community room. The gym door has a pivoting panel for easy access by

146 Canty, "Aerodynamic School," 146.
147 Patkau, interview, 1996.

large groups.[148]

Response to Natural Environment

Traditional Salish forms responded to the natural environment. The shape of Seabird Island School responds to its natural environment. The external form responds to the geometries of the coastal range northward and southward.[149] The zig zagging, faceted, roof line echoes the fluctuating mountains. (Fig 20)

Recognition of, and respect for, the environment is a cultural value of First Nations people in general. The strategy of extending education beyond the school building is consistent among the schools being discussed. Marie-Odile Marceau observed: "A constant is this idea that education is not limited to the classroom but has to be extended to the exterior of the schools. And all these schools if you notice ...every classroom has a door that goes directly outside.... every one of them."[150]

The long, fish-like form of the exterior is the classroom block. Each of the Seabird Island School classrooms has a door to the outside porch, as well as one which opens to the central corridor of the school. A connection between the classroom and outdoors occurs along the public porch running in front of the whole school. Spanning over seventy metres along the front of the building, the porch provides a welcoming entrance, and a sheltered play area outside each classroom. The covered porch

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148 Patkau, interview, 1996.

149 Murray, Dubois, and Richards, "Award of Excellence: Seabird Island School," Canadian Architect, 34:12, (December 1989), 25.

150 Marceau, interview, 1996.

running in front of each classroom links it to salmon-drying racks, gardens, and nature trails.[151]

All the school designs incorporated some type of garden. Marie Marceau described the gardens at Seabird Island: "And at Seabird those little gardens that we made in front of the school, that was to participate in planting, natural process, what the plants represented. The classrooms had their own little gardens there. They were bringing the education system outside. They all have that."[152]

Community Inclusion

Making elders feel welcome was a priority. The Seabird Island Band, like other Native community's who control their own curriculum, have included classes in the community's Native language. The majority of the adult population, including the teachers, don't speak the Salish language. As the only Native speakers were elders of the community, it was important that the educational system be understood as community based, and not restricted to a professional group of teachers.[153] The doors leading directly to the community from each classroom means elders have direct access to the room in which they will be instructing. Marceau commented on this aspect of the Seabird Island School. "They want something that's going to be welcoming. Yes, they want a space that elders can come and they feel they can participate. Seabird is very much

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151 Claire Lorenz, Women in Architecture: a Contemporary Perspective (New York: Rizzoli International Publications), 1990, 95.

152 Marceau, interview, 1996.

153 Patkau, interview, 1996.

done on that kind of basis."

In relation to the Seabird community, the school is permeable rather than insular in character.[154] By permeable, I mean that the school is easily entered and exited from a choice of openings. The borders between interior and exterior space are blurred by the porch. A connection between the village as a whole and the activities of the school means the institution is not isolated. It's one part of a large, complex, community, of interest to everybody, not simply parents and children. In some ways it functions as a big house, with the community as a large extended family.[155]

Non-Mimetic Forms

The school does not mimic past forms. According to John Patkau, there is a tendency for non-Native architects to give Native communities clichés of themselves, an inclination he sees as destructive and patronising. Patkau says:

> A lot of the use of traditional imagery is a cliché. .... The more literal historical stuff tends to happen for Haida and Kwakuitl. They have a more well defined artistic tradition. And it's an ongoing tradition. The Coastal Salish, especially in our location [Seabird Island] don't have a vital contemporary visual culture. Typically when people adopt something for these people, they tend to take something from the coast and stick it on the face of these buildings. ...They don't try to address fundamental experiential or intellectual or cultural things. They chiefly use things and put them on the surface. That doesn't foster cultural growth. It actually inhibits it. That's something we wanted to avoid.[156]

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154 Ibid.
155 Ibid.
156 Ibid.

Patkau resisted the temptation to impose imagery from the Native culture without understanding and incorporating its content. The school has incorporated a sense of the past into present activity without resorting to pastiche.[157]

Response

The Seabird Island Band are obviously proud of their school. They have a sense of ownership of that building because it reflects and reinforces their culture. As was described in Chapter three, John Patkau attempted to reflect Sto:lo culture by working with the band to create a design that evoked natural, rather than institutional associations. Barbara Rose, principal of Seabird Island School, thinks that students like the freedom and openness of the spaces. The structure is natural, and materials are natural in tone. She thinks this pleases the students, and makes them more relaxed. She observes that teachers also appear relaxed. This leads them to discover their own teaching style that meshes with Seabird Island's cultural tone.[158]

Rose talks about a cultural tone. She also mentions instructors finding a personal teaching style. This demonstrates that there is not an attempt to resurrect and adhere to past cultural tradition. It indicates a culture existing and evolving as it is lived in the present by the Seabird Island Band. The teachers attempt to make their instructional style harmonise with the cultural tone of the community. The school, similarly,

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157 "Ancestral Forms," 44.

158 Design in the Public Realm, 1995.

doesn't replicate past forms, but emanates from the tone of the Sto:lo people's culture.

Old Massett School

There are connections between Old Massett School (Fig. 21) and the Seabird Island School. In some ways they are structurally similar. For example, both buildings have doors that lead directly outside from each classroom, as well as the conventional entrance from a central corridor. Both schools use traditional building methods, such as post and beam construction. Traditional materials, such as heavy timbers and red cedar, were used for each building.

Both Seabird Island and Old Massett incorporate culture into their overall form by making reference to past traditions and contemporary concerns. Old Massett, however, takes a different approach to the overall form of the school. Seabird is an ambiguous shape that can be invested with various meanings depending on the viewer. Old Massett draws directly from the symbolic meaning embedded in traditional structures.

Traditional Form

The school, like most of the others, began with a longhouse prototype. This facility is located in a Haida community where the indigenous form was a longhouse. More so than some of the other schools, Old Massett has this cultural artistic heritage to draw on in a legitimate or direct way. The first idea that the community suggested was

a longhouse. John James, member of the Old Massett Band and father of children attending the school, is also in charge of maintenance at the school. He commented that the architects "... saw a log-type style house. That's how these people lived; in log-type houses. This is somewhat what a log-type house would look like."[159]

The village of Uttewas, now Old Massett, was at the time of contact with Europeans an important Haida centre. Large rectangular cedar plank dwellings fanned out in a long even row along the shore. Their gabled ends faced the water.[160] (Fig 22 & 23) No original longhouses exist in the Old Massett community today. They were dismantled or left to decay as early missionaries sought to assimilate the Haida into European culture.[161]

According to architect Greg Johnson, "The village has lost any historic sense. The school is a core for them to rebuild the community and get some sense of history." [162] This reconnection with the past is important to Haida people. Contemporary Haida have sought to reestablish traditional art and architecture in their communities through modern expressions of traditional poles, paintings, and longhouse style structures.[163]

Old Massett's design process is important. The architect's first design was based on the form of two longhouses, side by side, joined in the

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159 Interview with John James, Old Massett, Aug 6,1996.

160 Blackman, Window on the Past, 10-11.

161 Russell Acton and Greg Johnson, Proposal to provide Architectural Services for Chief Matthews School, Old Massett, Haida Gwaii 1992, 6.

162 Johnson, interview, 1996.

163 Russell Acton and Greg Johnson, Proposal , 6.

centre. A totem pole was situated in this central location. (Fig 24) The community did not like the initial design. They told the architects to change it. The renegotiation of a new design is proof that the community was influential in the design and the resulting form of the school. Architect Greg Johnson explained:

> ... at the beginning of the design process we thought there was a consensus but there wasn't. At various times in the design process we had to go back to square one and rethink the design process. Since the process was cross-cultural there was more sensitivity required. We learned a lot.[164]

The architects began to work again with the community to reform and redesign plans for the school. According to Johnson, "What came out from the first model was that they didn't like the pole."[165] In the next design phase, the central pole was removed. The first design was a reconfiguration of the longhouse form. The final design alludes to the longhouse with triangular roof elements visible from various angles of the building referencing the gables of a traditional longhouse. (Fig 25 & 26)

There was a strong interest in original form, but throughout the design process it became apparent that the community wanted a reinterpretation of the longhouse design. They wanted something that would be recognisable as a Haida building, but not a replica of a traditional longhouse.[166] Old Massett village council requested that the design for their new school respect traditional Indigenous architecture,

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[164] Johnson, interview, 1996.
[165] Ibid.
[166] Ibid.

while reflecting the cultural rebirth of contemporary Haida society.[167]

The architects discovered through their research that before contact, Haida art and architecture were constantly evolving. This innovative approach was continued after contact, with the inclusion of European elements such as swinging doors, and windows. (Refer to swinging door in Fig 3 and windows in Fig 31) Today they still combine contemporary western components with Haida tradition. An otherwise European-looking building might be embellished with boldly painted Haida crests. What these architects attempted was a continuation of this convention by including elements which are contemporary, while retaining the essence of established Haida architecture. [168]

The solution was to incorporate the symbolic structure of Haida architecture rather than its formal plan. Allusions to Haida cosmology were incorporated into the design. The Haida longhouse was symbolically at the centre of the universe which, according to the Haida world-view was composed of three zones. The underworld, symbolised by the ocean, around which Haida villages were oriented, contained the souls of those to be born, which emerged from the sea ruled by the killer whale. The earth was where humans lived, symbolised by the house, which was located between the under, or sea, realm and the upper, or sky, realm. The dead were buried in a grave box near the forest associated with the sky realm and the thunderbird.[169] A longitudinal axis

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[167] Baird, Murray, and Sturgess, " Award of Excellence: Old Massett Primary School," The Canadian Architect, December 1993, Vol 38, No 12, 22.

[168] Johnson, interview, 1996.

[169] Nabakov and Easton, Native American Architecture, 38.

ran from the sea-world to the sky-world through the centre of each dwelling. Another axis, derivative of the middle world, ran along the length of the village connecting dwellings. The two axes of supernatural powers met at the house pit, the ritual focus of the longhouse.[170] (Fig 27) During winter ceremonies, a pole representing a cosmic tree that extended through the smoke hole of the house was climbed by a shaman. This symbolised his access to the sky world, its spirits, and powers.[171]

These elements are reinterpreted in the school, which was designed with three wings surrounding a central focal area. Two of the wings are classroom areas, and the third is administrative and service-oriented. The focal area is depressed, recalling the interior of a longhouse and its fire pit. This central area is the community library and cultural centre. This area is capped by a large central skylight. A wood ceiling, and the addition of trees in some of the classrooms, symbolises the sky realm. (Fig 28 & 29) As well, trees were playful components in the school. Johnson commented, "We tried to keep things on a kid's scale. Everything inside is brought down."[172] The Old Massett School, rather than reconstructing old form, embraces the essential ideology of Haida design and reinterprets it in the frame of this new school.

[170] Baird, Murray and Sturgess, "Award of Excellence," 22-23.
[171] Nabakov and Easton, Native American Architecture, 38.
[172] Johnson, interview, 1996.

Cultural Space

Both traditional and contemporary is the idea of the school as more than just a place to educate children. The community decided its school would offer a library and cultural development space. In some ways this space serves the same function as Seabird Island's gymnasium. This learning centre was to be used by the entire community. Greg Johnson commented on the school.: "They wanted it to be used for the community. They wanted the central area to be used as a meeting space. There was a strong interest in having it be more than a school."[173] The cultural centre would be used not only for teaching, but community gatherings and potlatches as well.[174]

The cultural centre and community library is the focal area of the school. (Fig 30) It is a circular space. It is the first room encountered upon entry to the school. Other rooms radiate from the space. It is significant that the space was not in the budget provided by DIAND. Schools are completely funded unless they ask for extra space or facilities over and above the department's guidelines. The library/cultural centre was an important addition to the original school specifications. It was important enough to the community that the additional space for these functions was financed directly by the Old Massett Village Council.

Traditional Elements

As well as the overall scheme, individual elements were borrowed

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173 Ibid.

174 Russell Acton and Greg Johnson, Proposal, 6.

from traditional Haida design. The boardwalk is meant to recall the strong frontal access system of traditional Haida villages.[175] Boardwalks were a part of traditional Haida architectural organisation. (Fig 31) A boardwalk, linking the school to existing community buildings, runs parallel and adjacent to the roadway. (Fig 32) More significantly, it is oriented parallel to the shoreline several blocks to the west of the school. This orients the school perpendicular to the boardwalk which is parallel to the ocean. So like traditional buildings, the school, although not on the shore, faces the ocean.

Art Work

As well as considering Indigenous organisation in the design, it was decided that the inclusion of artwork was important for Old Massett School. In Johnson's words, "We wanted to integrate artwork into the building, but in a really strong way rather than just tacking it onto the wall."[176] There were a number of ways in which this was done. Large sliding panels, intended to display local Haida artwork, can close the building off, and are then open during the day. These large 10 x12 foot panels are carved by a local artist.

There is an illustrated wall in front of the school. (Fig 11 &12) The wall runs parallel to the walkway leading to the school's entrance. Local artist Jim Hart put artwork onto the concrete wall. Three local artists contributed their time and skills to apply relief designs of Haida legends on two sides of the exterior wall. The images form a narrative about education using

[175] Marie Marceau, Old Massett Primary School Project Completion Report (Vancouver: Marceau-Evans Project Development Resources, 1995), 9.
[176] Johnson, interview, 1996.

animals and symbolism.[177] According to architect Greg Johnson, "There's a whole legend the kids know about learning, associated with it."[178] The overall design, the use, and the individual elements of the Old Massett Primary School all reflect the Haida culture of the Old Massett Band.

Stone School

Whereas Seabird relied on zoomorphic associations and Old Massett symbolic ones, Stone School modified the traditional building form of the community in which it was situated. Architect Peter Cardew and the community of Stone based the design of the Stone School on the traditional building form of the circular kikwilli or pit house. (Fig 2) Dating back more than 3,500 years, it is a circular winter dwelling depressed into the ground. The roof is a structure of tree poles covered in branches and turf with a hole in the centre providing light and access. In the pit house, where the community lived in the winter, children were educated by elders through stories told around a centrally located fire.[179]

Cardew took the excavated pit house, and reconstituted this form. Like the traditional form, the Stone School is built into the ground. The new structure is built into a sloping earth bank. The wedge-shaped building has a turf roof like the traditional kikwilli. (Fig 33) They actually mow the sod on the roof.

Classrooms and offices are grouped around a resource centre and

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[177] Ward, interview, 1996.
[178] Johnson, interview, 1996.
[179] Murray, Hanganu, and Kirkland, "Award of Excellence," 14.

library. (Fig 34) This central space is a circular stepped depression where community meetings are held. The area is also used to carry on the tradition of elders educating their children through story. Natural light comes from overhead though a glazed lantern constructed of heavy timber. (Fig 35) This refers to the central hole in the pit house. The conical skylight lantern provides the central area with an abundance of light. Excavation is further referred to in the way the classrooms suggest they are hollowed out, rather than planar enclosed, spaces. Every classroom, although similar in plan, has different spatial characteristics.[180] (Fig 34)

The Stone School, more than the previous two schools discussed, derives its form directly from a traditional form. The Stone School starts with traditional form and then abstracts it. Taking the familiar form and recreating it, the form is made new. Cliché is avoided.[181]

Seabird Island School, Old Massett School, and Stone School demonstrate a number of strategies used to incorporate cultural identity into school architecture. The overall form of each of the schools refers in some way to traditional form. In the case of Seabird, it is a traditional method of representing natural elements through form. Specific elements in each structure are borrowed from traditional building structures. Traditional materials incorporate culture into the schools. The fact that the buildings are multi-functional continues a tradition which was present when the first Europeans arrived. Different buildings were not needed for spiritual and

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180 Murray, Hanganu, and Kirkland, "Award of Excellence," 14-15. and LeCuyer, "Native Wit," 52. and Ward, interview, 1996.

181 Robert Venturi, Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture, (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1977), 43.

secular occasions. The environment was, and continues to be an important consideration in the lives of First Nations people. Therefore it is appropriate that it be a consideration in architectural design. The schools encourage many people to participate in the education of children. This was traditionally a norm, with extended families cohabiting and working to together in a community. It takes on a special significance for people denied that right thorough separation of parents, other relatives, and elders from children through residential school programming. Artwork incorporated into these schools is an important contemporary expression of culture which has its roots in traditional forms and symbolism. Culture is made material through architecture. These schools represent, reinforce, and are a part of the culture of the communities in which they were built.

Chapter Five: Evaluation of the Process

Results of the projects were many and varied. Some results were positive, such as improved community confidence, feeling of ownership for schools, and acquired skills and income. However, due to the unusual nature of the buildings, and their cost, the government became apprehensive about future funding.

Improved Self Esteem

The most intangible result of these schools is improved self-esteem among community members who worked on the building design and construction, and now use the facilities. Architect for the Alert Bay school, Henry Hawthorne, believes architecture can have an effect on the self-esteem of building users. He speculates: "If you are a small Indian kid walking into one of these schools you'd have to think, I am important. This is my school, and this is an exciting, important, impressive space. ... These schools can suggest that the activities going on in here and the people participating in them are important." [182] Hawthorne feels the teachers may be the most important people affected by the environment. If teachers are happy with the environment in which they work, their enthusiasm will affect students.

As was mentioned in Chapter Two, Marceau feels that architecture, "has the potential to be an important instrument for social development."[183] However, Henry Hawthorne, while maintaining its importance, cautions

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[182] Hawthorne, interview, 1996.

[183] Marceau, Alcan Lecture, 1995.

against attributing architecture with too much power:

> In the past we went overboard and suggested architecture was a panacea for the world. We could make better people if we made better environments. But one should recognise that there is a symbiosis between the environment and people. We're conditioned by our natural environments. Why not by our built one? [184]

Sense of Ownership

Another intangible result, observed by participants in these projects, was a sense that facilities belonged to the communities. Marceau's principal intention with these school projects was to cultivate a sense of ownership in the community in which they were built.: "The prime objective was to instil a sense of pride, ownership and respect towards a facility. I felt that the only way to accomplish this was to intimately involve the community in the process of designing and constructing the building"[185] Whether or not this sense of ownership occurred is difficult to measure. Architect Greg Johnson maintains all architecture impacts strongly, although results may be subtle and long-term.[186] However, it can be concluded that this perception of possession was achieved, based on commentary in response to the schools, from involved architects and band members .

Two of the ten schools in the programme of buildings discussed in this thesis were completed before Marceau became involved. Both the Lauwelnew School in Saanich, and the Acwsalcta School in Bella Coola were built in cooperation with architect Lubor Trubka. Both are well liked by

184 Hawthorne, interview, 1996.

185 Anne Petrie, "Interviews: Public Exposure," Canadian Architect, Vol 41 No 1, (Jan 1996), 14-17.

186 Johnson, interview, 1996.

their communities.[187] Bill Tallio, Band Manager of the Acwsalcta School, commented on his community's feelings of ownership for their facility.: " Its only natural. If you have input from the ground up, and involvement in the curriculum, it's ownership-you're part of it."[188]

Seabird is the most well known of the schools being discussed, and possibly the best received by its community. According to Marceau: "Seabird Island is a school very well liked by its community."[189] Architect John Patkau felt that because there was good communication between the architect and the band, as well as support from Marceau, there was ample input from the community, and a resulting sense of ownership for the school. John Patkau commented: "It wasn't invented by outsiders in the city away from where they are. It is an expression of their interests rather than somebody else's. That's the feedback I've gotten."[190] Archie Charles, Chief of Seabird Island Band, says the design was made by the band.[191]

Clues for how the community feels about its school can be discovered in the way people talk about it. John Patkau mentioned Design in the Public Realm, a Knowledge Network video production which focused on Seabird Island School. In Patkau's words: "During this production band members interviewed did not mention the architect. It was as if the architect was not present. This is positive, as they didn't view the architects as imposing

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187 Marceau, interview, 1996.
188 Freedman, "A Depressing Step Backward," 22.
189 Marceau, interview, 1996
190 Patkau, interview, 1996.
191 Chief Archie Charles, Interview by Author,Seabird Island, British Columbia, 20 March 1996.

something on them that they didn't understand or support."[192] The video ends with Chief Archie Charles commenting: "We thought we'd do our own thing."[193] He is referring to himself and his community.

Architect Gregory Johnson noticed that: "The teachers and children talk about it (the Old Massett School) more than students and teachers of more conventional provincial schools."[194] Johnson claims when you go to the schools, the kids love to tell you about their school and show you around. According to Terry Ward: "Kids will say things like, 'my Dad built this school.'"[195]

Johnson went to the opening of the Old Massett School in the spring of 1995. Blessings were made. Everyone present walked around the school for the performance of traditional rituals for the opening of a building. This demonstrated an acceptance of the school into the community.[196] Marceau also referred to opening ceremonies for the schools. She mentioned: "... the acquired sense of ownership towards the new facility, a feeling that is obvious to anyone who has participated in the opening ceremonies of any of these schools." [197]

This feeling of ownership is evident in what community members do not do. There is less vandalism at these schools than at previous facilities.[198] In Marie-Odile Marceau's words: "With ownership comes pride,

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192 Patkau, interview, 1996.

193 Knowledge Network, Design in the Public Realm, 1995.

194 Johnson, interview, 1996.

195 Ward, interview, 1996.

196 Johnson, interview, 1996.

197 Marceau, Alcan Lecture, 1995.

198 Marceau, interview, 1996.

respect, and commitment towards the facility. We have observed that most of these buildings are beautifully maintained and do not become the subject of acts of disrespect."[199] Seabird Island school has suffered no vandalism. John Patkau said : "The school has suffered no vandalism. This is not characteristic of schools in general. The community feels possessive of the school."[200]

Construction Manager, Terry Ward, sees the care taken for schools in terms of economics. Ward observes: " From the point of view of funding, it's very wise. Years after the schools are built they are very well maintained, not just by staff responsible for this, but by the kids."[201]

Another proof of sense of ownership was that the community felt at liberty to change the structure after its initial completion. Users sometimes decided, after being in the buildings for a while, that things would work better in a different way. The buildings changed with new people and ideas. The building is not a work of art, and if the band has participated in making the changes, they are appropriate.[202]

For example, the original Seabird Island design placed the library at the heart of the school rather than making an enclosed library space. It was an open multipurpose space, less structured than a conventional library area. Bookshelves were in the common corridor, emphasising a community ownership of reading materials, and encouraging kids and adults to take them off the shelves. (Fig 36) A new school principal (who was Coast Salish)

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199 Marceau, Alcan Lecture, 1995.
200 Patkau, interview, 1996.
201 Ward, interview, 1996.
202 Marceau, interview, 1996.

decided to change the location of the library to a more enclosed and regulated area upstairs.[203] This illustrates that the building belongs to the Seabird community and can change as the community changes.

Income and Skills

For the duration of the project communities received income through employment, and patronage to local businesses by those working on the schools. For example, at the Bella Bella Community School : "We (Marie Marceau and Richard Evans) estimate that a total of $2,300,000 (27% of construction costs) was left with the local community in the form of wages, equipment rental, the Band, Public Works, housing rental, and purchases of tools and local materials."[204] This is significant in communities where there is high unemployment, and where those who are employed receive a very low income. In 1991 the average income for on-reserve registered Indians was slightly less than $9000 per year. The unemployment rate was 31%.[205] (For non-Aboriginal people the rate was 10%) Unemployment among Native people is higher than among any other segment of Canadian society.[206] Skills obtained during the projects left band members with greater wage-earning potential.

After the school building process was complete, the communities

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203 Ibid.

204 Marie-Odile Marceau, and Richard Evans, Bella Bella Community School Improvements Project Completion Report, (Vancouver: Marceau-Evans Project Development Resources, 1996), 22.

205 Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. Facts from Stats, (DIAND web site: http:// www.inac.gc.ca, March-April 1996).

206 Recent Developments in Native Education, (Toronto: Canadian Education Association, 1988),7.

were left with a sense of pride, not only in the completed schools, but in themselves as skilful and competent people. Involvement in the design and building of their schools provided bands with more than a school for education and community activities. It left the communities with skills to undertake future endeavours themselves. Each of the participating bands were left with skills in project management, accounting, and heavy timber construction.[207] One of the most important results was the acquisition of knowledge and experience.

Negative Feedback

However, not all results were positive. The Stone School, built by architect Peter Cardew and the Stone Band, although very well received by the architectural community, was not embraced by the Native community for which it was built. Described as a "turf-covered dream landscape of a Chilcotin native school,..."[208] Stone School was the recipient of the Canadian Architect's Award of Excellence in 1990.[209]

Yet the band was not as enthusiastic as Cardew's peers. Marceau provided some thoughts on this. Possible reasons may be that in a very poor community the school was conspicuous as a more attractive and better quality structure than other buildings on the reserve, causing resentment. There may also be political issues involved, since those in the community who began the building-planning were not those present at the conclusion

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207 David Weir, "Consensus Building," Update. (April/May 1993),3.

208 Trevor Boddy, "Master Builder,Take a Bow," Globe and Mail, 15 January 1997, SectionA 17.

209 Murray, Hanganu, and Kirkland, "Award of Excellence,"14-15.

of the project. Or perhaps the reasons are more pervasive. In a community with many social problems, which characterise not only First Nations reserves, but isolated communities everywhere in Canada (issues such as high unemployment and alcoholism), low self esteem and a negative outlook could affect one's ability to be positive about anything.[210]

Explicit feedback on whether communities were satisfied with their schools was difficult to obtain for some of the same reasons that feedback during the design process was problematic. There may have been other reasons as well. Perhaps people would not want to speak negatively about a design involving influential members of the community, or members who are family and friends of the individual. There may also have been a fear that complaints about the design would result in withdrawal of funds from Indian Affairs and Northern Development for future projects in their community, or neighbouring communities.[211] Commenting on school facilities, Bill Tallio, band manager in Bella Coola said: "If you complain you're put on the bottom of the list."[212] If people don't make their views explicit, it is difficult to evaluate these school projects.

<u>Off-Reserve Response</u>

There was commentary on the schools in newspapers and architectural journals. Articles praised the buildings. Seabird Island School

210 Marceau, interview, 1996.

211 Martha Black, interview by author, Victoria, British Columbia, 14 Aug 1996.

212 Adele Freedman, "A Depressing Step Backward," 22.

was described as "one kind of Canadian architecture at its best."[213] Lach Klan School's Industrial Arts Shop on Dolphin Island, by architect Cardew, in cooperation with the Kitkatla Band, is "...a beautiful man-made object in a rural landscape."[214]

Schools were praised for being distinctive. Journalist Adele Freedman proclaimed: "these buildings sent a forceful message of change, if only because they so defiantly breach cultural and stylistic boundaries."[215] Seabird Island School "is a building of great passion and excitement, one that takes risks with enthusiasm."[216]

The buildings received positive feedback for their inclusion of cultural elements. Stone School was described as "...a welcome assurance that creative new architecture can be rooted in past and present propositions..."[217] Old Massett was praised for "...its circumspect and gracious manner of integrating traditional architectural motifs, without resort to cliche..."[218]

Articles praised government involvement with the schools. Donald Canty's 1992 article on Seabird Island school in Progressive Architecture recognises that Seabird Island School "... is also the flagship of a

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213 Dubois, Murray and Richards, "Award of Excellence:Seabird Island School," Canadian Architect, 34:12, (December 1989) 25.

214 Henriquez, Murray, and Jones, "Award of Excellence: Lach Klan School-Industrial Arts Shop," The Canadian Architect, 33:12 (December 1988), 23.

215 Adele Freedman, "A Depressing Step Backward," 22.

216 Andrew Guft, "Seabird Island Community School," The Canadian Architect, Vol 37 No 1, (January 1992), 23.

217 Murray, Hanganu and Kirkland. "Award of Excellence: Stone Band School," 14.

218 Baird, Murray, and Sturgess, "Award of Excellence: Old Massett Primary School," The Canadian Architect, Vol 38 No 12, (December 1993), 22.

remarkable school-building program by the Canadian Bureau of Indian and Northern Affairs in British Columbia."[219]

Marceau, in her role as project manager, was frequently mentioned. The article "Native Wit" in Architectural Review, discusses the schools at Seabird, Kitamaat, Stone, and Dolphin Island. Author LeCuyer praises Marie-Odile Marceau saying: "Marceau's enlightened patronage has contributed greatly to the high public profile and success of the programme."[220]

David Weir concludes his article in Update with praise for the process and architecture of the schools, stating:

> The completed buildings are successful at many levels. Band members have developed skills...that will be increasingly essential as communities take more control over their own development. The process through which schools have been designed and built has ensured that a particular band's cultural values are embodied in the building program, and are given appropriate physical expression. Architecturally they speak for themselves.[221]

Federal Government Response

The response to the schools was overwhelmingly positive. So it is difficult to understand why the federal government withdrew funding from further projects of this sort. It appears that DIAND's reaction was based on fear that the schools would be perceived as conspicuous consumption of tax revenues.

John Patkau explained his understanding of the response from Indian

219 Canty "Aerodynamic School,"142.
220 LeCuyer, "Native Wit, " 47.
221 Weir. "Consensus Building," 3.

Affairs and Northern Development.

> Although the comment was not necessarily negative, attention was being drawn to the schools. The response was fear. Bureaucrats became afraid the public would ask questions. Why do these Native communities get such good schools when we get such miserable schools? That is a very good question. But it is not the reason you don't give Native communities good schools. It should lead you to wonder why other communities don't get great schools.[222]

Greg Johnson pointed out that criticism is normal for any project, but schools seem particularly prone to it because teachers, administrators and the public have access to schools. The federal government is sensitive about funding for Native projects. In Johnson's words:

> Non-Natives see something like Seabird school, which is pretty unusual looking, and has gotten a lot of architectural press and coverage all across North America. Non-Natives see that and say, that's where all our tax dollars are going. They are going to a Native project. Part of the reason why the project slowed down was the publicity from some of the schools.[223]

John Patkau suggested, like Greg Johnson, that it was the attention to the buildings that halted the construction of more schools like this on reserves. Patkau laments, "Maybe it would have been better if they hadn't gotten the publicity they got and it would have just carried on. I think that was the cause of the end of that programme."[224]

While other costs may be less obvious, a building is conspicuous. Because it is material, it draws attention. Later schools built were not as impressive as those in this programme. The department attempted to

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[222] Patkau, interview, 1996.
[223] Johnson, interview, 1996.
[224] Patkau, interview, 1996.

demonstrate that money wasn't being wasted. Marceau commented: "In the province of British Columbia, people in government felt that as representatives of the Crown responsible for expenditures of taxpayers dollars, it is within their mandate to ensure that the public sees that they are spending as little (sic) dollars as possible."[225] However, this decision was not based on long-term goals. Well built schools, maintained by their communities, last a long time.

The federal government decided the programme was too ambitious. Plans were to revert to providing Native communities with portables. However, due to pressure, that decision was altered. After reconsidering the situation, construction of schools was approved. However, more limited budgets would be provided than when Marceau was working for DIAND. Those budgets would be lower than those allocated for provincial schools, but higher than funding provided for portable buildings. The budgets are based on portables, then they add extra money to make a non-portable building. Although they are not innovative like the ten schools being discussed, they are architect-designed. Terry Ward commented: "The architects they're using are not the high-end artsy architects like the Henriquez and the Patkaus. These architects haven't won awards and aren't interested in winning one ever."[226] One way to ensure buildings are less elaborate is to reduce the overall budget and, in particular, the budget for professionals involved.[227]

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[225] Marceau, interview,1996.
[226] Ward, interview, 1996.
[227] Marceau, interview, 1996.

Marie-Odile Marceau attempted to counter the decision to reduce spending. She produced a report on project costs and methodology for the Seabird Island School project.[228] The purpose of the report was to address concerns that, due to its unusual design, the project may have cost tax-payers more than it should, as well as questions about the federal government's role in sponsoring architectural projects.

In it she referred to merits of the project which were economic in nature as well as less tangible. In her words: "I made a cost benefit analysis, but they didn't like my cost benefit analysis. They said it was subjective. These are decisions that cannot be taken solely on an economic basis."[229] And yet Marceau framed those "subjective" merits in an economic framework.

Marceau first compared the cost in dollars of Seabird Island School, three contemporary schools on reserves, and one provincial school. Seabird compared favourably to all cited examples.

After specifically defending the cost of the Seabird Island School, Marceau speaks more generally about the benefits of the new approach to school projects. She points out that Seabird Island School and other reserve schools are very important buildings in their communities, because they are multi-functional. They become sites for education, as well as community gatherings ranging from sporting events, to those of cultural significance: for example, potlatches. This implies that money saved constructing one building to host many activities, rather than several

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228 Marie-Odile Marceau, Seabird Island School Project Report on Project Costs and Methodology, (Vancouver: DIAND-Technical Services, July 1991)
229 Marceau, interview, 1996.

separate buildings to house diverse activities, should be taken into consideration when evaluating the costs of a reserve school.

Then Marceau discussed attributes of the schools less directly tied to economics. She elaborated on the previously discussed significance of community participation fostering a sense of ownership and representing local culture. Marceau noted that should the process revert to a predetermined form, communities would be less likely to participate in a school's construction and maintenance. The costs of repairing damage from vandalism, or schools which are not properly maintained, is alluded to here.

In Marceau's opinion, schools like Seabird Island foster good relations between bands and the government. She says: "The benefit of having productive associations is clear when compared to the costly consequences of adversarial relationships."[230] It is unclear how sensitive government would have been in the mid-1980s to Aboriginal conflicts, however in an interview Marceau was more direct about her reference to bad relations stating: "...let's look at what bad relationships between the department and Indian bands can lead to. Oka cost, we're talking millions of dollars. We could have built tons of schools if we had avoided Oka."[231]

Another result of building distinctive schools was a positive effect on government staff involved with the projects. She refers to recognition

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[230] Marceau, Seabird Island School Project Report ,6.

[231] Marceau, interview, 1996. Marceau is referring to what became known as the Oka Crisis. In the summer of 1990 the expansion of a municipal golf course onto lands the Mohawk considered theirs lead to confrontation. The Mohawks of Oka, a community just west of Montreal set up barricades. When armed Quebec provincial police stormed the barricades, Mohawks responded with armed force. Neighbouring Mohawk communities joined those from Oka. The People of Kahnawake forcefully closed a bridge that runs through their reserve thus cutting off one of the major traffic arteries into Montreal. The Canadian government sent in the army. What followed was a 78 day military stand off until the situation was diffused.

received at the 1990 National Conference on School Construction, and the International Congress of Architects, when she says: "The national and international recognitions of our schools have, I believe, generated a special kind of pride within our departments."[232] This is interesting because it refers to the improvement in self-esteem for government employees. It was an unanticipated positive result of the projects.

Marceau felt that her effort was thwarted by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. But, during times of fiscal restraint, the decision to revert to prefabricated modular facilities was revised to supply permanent constructed school buildings. It is unclear as to what may have initiated that change.

Some background on the economic climate during this period may provide more understanding of why the programme was altered at this time. The 1995 budget was the first in a series of federal budgets based on fiscal restraint aimed at resolving Canada's debt and deficit problem.[233] Program review meant reevaluation of spending, and ultimately spending cuts. The 1996 Budget Plan estimated departmental savings for DIAND of 37 million for the 1997-98 year, and 78 million for the 1998-99 year.[234] Decisions on where those cuts would be made in the department would take into account what was considered essential. It may be that capital investments, such as buildings, roads, and sewers were not considered essential and programmes in this area were the first to be reduced or cancelled. Capital

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[232] Marceau, Seabird Island School Project Report, 7.
[233] Paul Martin, Budget Plan, (Ottawa: Department of Finance, 1996) , 7.
[234] Ibid., 37

investments include school buildings.

At the end of the Marceau's report she acknowledged that Seabird set standards for future schools on reserves:

> Will we ever be capable of building another Seabird? Perhaps not, the Seabird Island school project proved to be the fortunate meeting of the right set of circumstances. We were lucky. I believe, however, that in pursuing a consistent, clear and positive approach to school construction on Indian reserves, along the principles set out in this document, we may set the foundations to see many more very successful projects.[235]

It may well be in future years, with the debt and deficit no longer preoccupying government attention, and greater concern with Aboriginal issues, DIAND budgets will increase. This would make available the funds to build on the foundations of the programme initiated during the years Marie-Odile Marceau was DIAND Project Manager in British Columbia.

Even with reduced funding and changes, the ten schools in the programme with which Marceau was involved represent an important marker of change. Communities became involved in a meaningful and influential way. This experience created new and different expectations in First Nations communities about their role in school design and construction. Non-Native professionals involved with reserve building also had new examples of how to participate in the design and building process. These schools remain models and vehicles for change. Their influence will be discussed in the conclusion.

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235 Marceau, Seabird Island School Project Report, 8.

Conclusion

Interactions between Indian Affairs and Northern Development and reserves in British Columbia were transformed through the building of the ten schools collectively discussed as a group in this thesis. Before these schools, the process was controlled by DIAND. Until the mid 1980s there were in-house architects designing for the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. Until 1985 Indian Affairs also managed construction. At this point Native communities had no input into the design or construction of their schools.[236]

Marceau came to Indian Affairs and Northern Development when the department was receptive to handing over greater responsibility to Native bands in British Columbia. When Marceau became regional architect in 1987, devolution was being implemented. Indian Affairs was responding to requests for moves towards autonomy on reserves through a process whereby tasks and responsibilities previously assumed by the government, were being redirected to the bands themselves. In the case of these schools built on reserves in British Columbia, Indian Affairs was trying to limit the direct intervention of the government on reserves by encouraging residents to hire their own contractor and consultants and do work previously done by Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development staff. Before project manager Marie-Odile Marceau became involved with school planning on British Columbia reserves, the mandate of the government was already in place to create more initiative from within the community and decrease control from Indian Affairs. This gave Marceau opportunities not

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236 Hutchins, interview, 1996.

afforded to her predecessors. In Marceau's words: "What Indian Affairs was trying to do was limit the direct intervention of the government on reserves. They wanted the people on reserves to hire their own contractor, consultants, and do work like that without their own staff."[237]

Marie Odile Marceau accelerated the new process which included First Nations communities, but she was not entirely responsible for the change in process. The two schools built in this programme before the arrival of Marceau emphasise this point. The first two schools were designed with reserve communities by architect Lubor Trubka. Those schools were the Lauwelnew School in Saanich and the Acwsalcta School in Bella Coola. Trubka was chosen by DIAND.[238] And yet, he was committed to listening to the bands. He initiated a consultation process with his clients. He began with drawings of potential designs. He let community members make written comments. Then he spent three days in planning meetings with band members. In the mornings he spoke with the youngest children. In the afternoons he discussed design concerns with older kids, and the evenings were reserved for adults.[239] The intention of the projects before and after Marceau was the same. All projects attempted to include the community. There were, however, differences.

All schools were built specifically for the bands. There were no repeated designs. However, the formal results of Trubka's work are somewhat different from the schools under the supervision of Marceau.

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[237] Ibid.

[238] Ibid.

[239] Lubor Trubka, interview by author, Vancouver, British Columbia, 25 July 1996.

Trubka's schools more directly borrow from traditional form. The Acwsalcta School, from the exterior, is recognisably a longhouse design. Marceau commented that most of the architects involved were "architects that are not too keen on mimicking past forms. The ones that mimic the most are the schools that Lubor Trubka did. The schools are Tsartlip, (Lauwelnew) and Bella Coola.(Acwsalcta) This one is quite a mimic."[240]

Trubka emphasised that there were initial problems in communicating with bands until he got their trust.[241] At first they were suspicious of him. This problem may have been alleviated in schools under the direction of Marceau, as communities chose the architects. By the time they were in the design stage, there had been interaction between band members and architects. A certain amount of trust and understanding would have already been established.

Although communities were involved, there may have been a difference in the extent of input into the designs before and after the involvement of Marceau. This would be indicated by the time taken to design the schools. Trubka spent one year planning the Tsartlip School and six months planning the Bella Coola School.[242] Later schools were years in the design process. Alert Bay School took two years to design.[243] Old Massett was three years in the design stage, as was the Bella Bella

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[240] Marceau, interview, 1996.

[241] Trubka, interview, 1996.

[242] Trubka, interview, 1996.

[243] Marie Marceau, and Richard Evans, T'lisalagi'lakw Elementary School Completion Report, (Vancouver: Marceau-Evans Project Development Resources, January 1996), 1.

Community School Addition.[244] Previously discussed was the architects' experience communicating with their First Nations clients. The first impression was not always accurate, as Acton, Johnson and Ostry discovered when they had to redesign the Old Massett School. Extra time was required to understand Native client's needs and respect their cultural necessity of consensus in decision making. More time involved in the design process indicates more input from First Nations. Under Marceau's supervision, the input of clients was more extensive and thorough.

When Marceau arrived, the process of handing responsibility from the government to Native peoples was beginning, but it was not complete. She was responsible for establishing methods to include community involvement intended by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. Her role was not only important for transferring power from the government to band members, but also as a guide to ensure knowledge of how to take control was transmitted to communities. Bands had previously never had to deal with architects or construction managers. The desire to do this may have been there. But the knowledge of how to do it was not. The Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development offered little guidance. The concept was being implemented without a definition of what should be happening, and without structures to support the shift.[245] Marceau provided the communities with whom she was involved, knowledge of how to do things previously done by DIAND.

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[244] Marie Marceau, and Richard Evans, Old Massett Primary School Completion Report, (Vancouver: Marceau-Evans Project Development Resources, September 1995), 1. and Marie Marceau, and Richard Evans, Bella Bella Community School Improvements Project Completion Report, (Vancouver: Marceau-Evans Project Development Resources, March 1996), 1.
[245] Canadian Education Association, Recent Developments in Native Education, 20.

In 1986 there was a restructuring of DIAND. The government reorganised all its building services: architecture, engineering, and land/tenant services. These were then designated the responsibility of Public Works. Employees didn't move desks or change telephone numbers. They just changed departments. They became a dedicated unit within Public Works who were now Indian Affairs' specialist consultants.[246]

Public Works had stricter building rules than the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. There were contracting rules for architects, contracting rules for contractors, and contracting rules for purchasing construction materials and tools. These were over and above the National Building Code. The National Building Code is a set of standards that every federal building project in Canada has to follow, and forms the basis for every provincial building code. For example, safety standards such as the minimum width for an exit are defined. The requirements of Public Works resulted in more regulations and paper work for buildings to be designed and constructed than had been necessary when they were the responsibility of DIAND.[247]

For Marceau, this meant that working within the reletive freedom of DIAND was advantageous. Marceau explained their restrictions as follows:

> Funding was provided to the bands through an agreement that contained technical specifications. One of the technical specifications was that there had to be a person from Indian Affairs involved in the project and monitoring the project. So that became me. But apart from that and some very broad technical specifications that said that the project had to abide by the Canadian Building Code, and there's a few other codes, there were never any efforts to see that the projects abided

246 Ibid.

247 Marceau, interview, 1996.

by government rules. [248]

At the present time, Public Works still has a great deal of input into schools built on reserves in British Columbia. They do things such as review designs and project proposals. They consider architectural and engineering services for all projects of Indian Affairs and Northern Development: schools, band offices, community halls. If there is federal money going into it, they are involved.

However, now bands hire their own architects. Native schools now use the provincial schools' building manual as a guide for construction standards. Before that, there may have been a different approach to building.[249] Substandard buildings described by construction manager Terry Ward would indicate this.[250]

In an interview with John Hutchins at Public Works, it was apparent that there is a new awareness of the expectations within Native communities of their schools' role in preserving culture. He observed that cultural content was present in the artwork, and evident in the architecture. Almost all schools now have a language room. Some have special rooms for elders to teach children. The school is recognised as a major building on a reserve, with a full-size gymnasium which functions as a community hall. He also mentioned potential cost savings from using local people and training people in communities. [251]

There are examples of band involvement in projects today. The

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[248] Ibid.
[249] Hutchins, interview, 1996.
[250] Ward, interview, 1996.
[251] Hutchins, interview, 1996.

Cold Water First Nation in British Columbia began construction in March 1997 of a school designed by students in cooperation with an architect. The band council also had input into the design based on the Si'stk-n, a traditional pit house design.[252]

First Nations communities are gaining the expertise to design, build, and operate their own schools. The change is coming from their input, rather than directed from outside. Marie-Odile Marceau provided important information and motivation to initiate that power transition. Gradually these schools are becoming the agents for change that First Nations wish them to be.

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[252] Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. Pride in Partnership. (DIAND web site: http:// www.inac.gc.ca, March 1997.)

Epilogue

This thesis has examined how the building and design process of ten schools on British Columbia First Nations reserves, with the assistance of project manager Marie-Odile Marceau, changed the relationship between the federal government (DIAND) and First Peoples by allowing greater control over buildings constructed in their communities. The thesis raises other potential areas of study which are beyond its scope. Architecture on reserves in Canada is still a largely unexplored area. Other schools by and for Indigenous groups in other countries would be interesting to study. For example, New Zealand's first Maori secondary school built in consultation with its users was completed in 1996.[253]

The schools discussed in this thesis could fit into the category of social design, a movement which began in the 1960s to humanise the process by which buildings, neighbourhoods and cities are planned. Social design emphasises involving users in the planning and management of architectural spaces. The movement's emphasis is on the process rather than a specific form or architectural product.[254]

The changing role of the architect from artistic producer to one contributor in a community creation has been a part of the inclusive process of the discussed schools.[255] The involved architects recognised the design process as a means of negotiating diverse interests and perspectives.[256]

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253 Dutton and Mann, Reconstructing Architecture, 60-62.

254 Robert Sommer, Social Design: Creating Buildings with People in Mind, (Eaglewood Cliffs. N.J.: Prentice-Hall. 1983), 5-9.

255 Ibid., 57.

256 Hans Van Dijk, Architecture and Legitimacy, (Rotterdam:NAi Publishers,1995),63-64.

The changing role of the architect in general is an interesting topic which warrants research. The role of the physical environment as a variable influencing learning outcomes has not been extensively investigated by either educational or architectural professionals.[257] As can be seen, this thesis touches on a plethora of topics, any of which would make exciting and important research contributions to this and related fields of academic study.

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[257] Gary T Moore, and Jeffrey A. Lackney, Educational Facilities for the Twenty-First Century, (University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 1994),13.

Appendix 1: List of Schools

(All schools are located in British Columbia)

Acwsalcta School

Location: Bella Coola

Client: Newhalk First Nation

Architect: Lubor Trubka

Completed: 1987

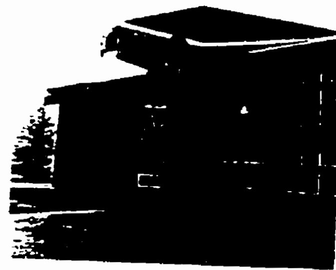
Bella Bella Community School Addition

Location: Bella Bella

Client: Heiltsuk First Nation

Architect: Henriquez Architects

Completed: 1994



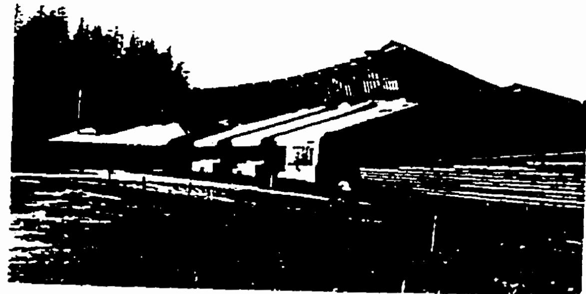
Haisla school

Location: Kitamaat

Client: Haisla First Nation

Architect: Hughes/Baldwin

Completed: 1992



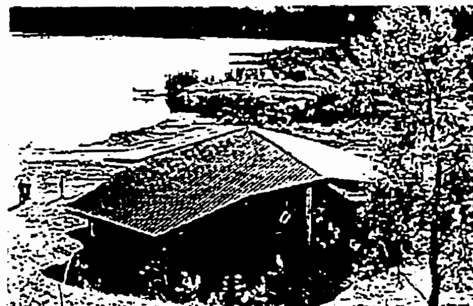
Kluskus School

Location: Kluskus

Client: Kluskus First Nation

Architect: Lubor Trubka

Completed: 1991



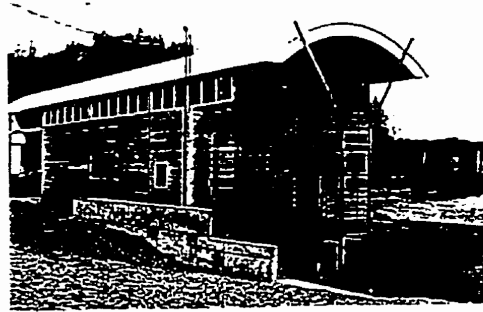
Lach Klan Industrial Arts Shop

Location: Kitkatla

Client: Kitkatla First Nation

Architect: Peter Cardew

Completed: 1989



Lauwelnew School

Location: Saanich

Client: Saanich Indian School Board

Architect: Lubour Trubka

Completed: 1988

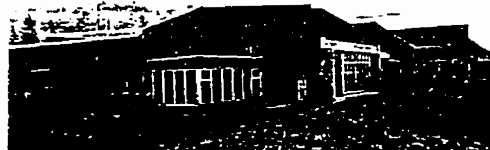
Old Massett School

Location: Old Massett

Client: Massett First Nation

Architect: Acton Johnson Ostry

Completed: 1995



Seabird Island School

Location: Seabird Island

Client: Seabird Island First Nation

Architect: Patkau Architects

Completed: 1991

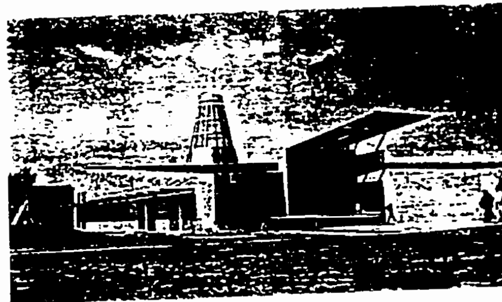
Stone school

Location: Stone

Client: Stone First Nation

Architect: Peter Cardew

Completed: 1993



T'lisalagi'lakw Elementary School

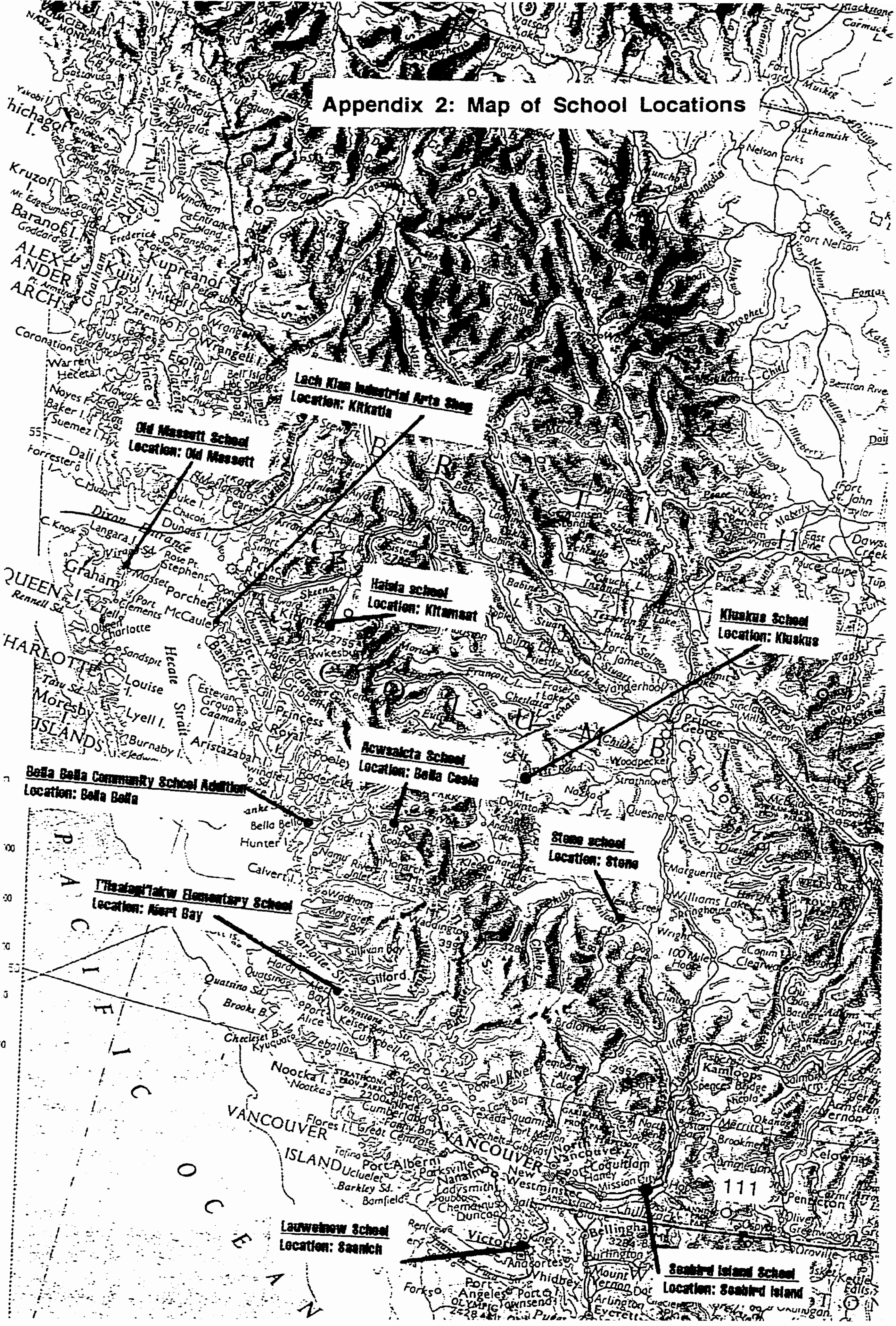
Location: Alert Bay

Client: Namgis First Nation

Architect: Henry Hawthorne

Completed: 1996

Appendix 2: Map of School Locations



Appendix 3: Definition of Terms

Aboriginal peoples are the existing descendants of those who are commonly thought to be the original inhabitants of a territory. Aboriginal peoples in Canada include Indian, (status and non-status) Inuit, & Metis peoples. Status Indians are registered as members of one of the 633 bands in Canada. In 1990 there were 500,000 status Indians in Canada. Non-status Indians are all people who claim Native ancestry but do not have Indian status. This group, including Metis, are not legally entitled to the benefits of federal programmes for status Indians.

There is no one term to describe accurately Indigenous peoples of Canada. For variety in writing, I will use the words Aboriginal, Indigenous, Native, and First Peoples interchangeably. First Nations is a term which does not include the Inuit. Aboriginal peoples from the United States are Native American or Amerindian. I will capitalise each of these terms, just as European is capitalised. All are general terms for peoples of different Nations.

"Indian" is a misnomer originating in the 15th century and is not the preferred mode of self-identification among Aboriginal peoples. The term Indian will be used in this thesis only when historical or legal context, or quotation, necessitates it.

Bands are legal administrative bodies established under the Indian act of 1876. They correspond to traditional tribal and kinship affinities. I capitalise the term "band" only when referring to a specific band. [258]

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[258] Duane Champagne, Native America: Portrait of the Peoples, (Washington D.C.: Invisible Ink Press: 1994), 331-368., and Augie Fleras. and Leonard Elliot, The Nations Within, (Toronto: Oxford University Press: 1992), XI-XII.

Illustrations

Fig 1

Salish shed houses, 1866.

Quamichan, Puget Sound, Washington.

Peter Nabakov and Robert Eastman, Native American Architecture, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989). 233.

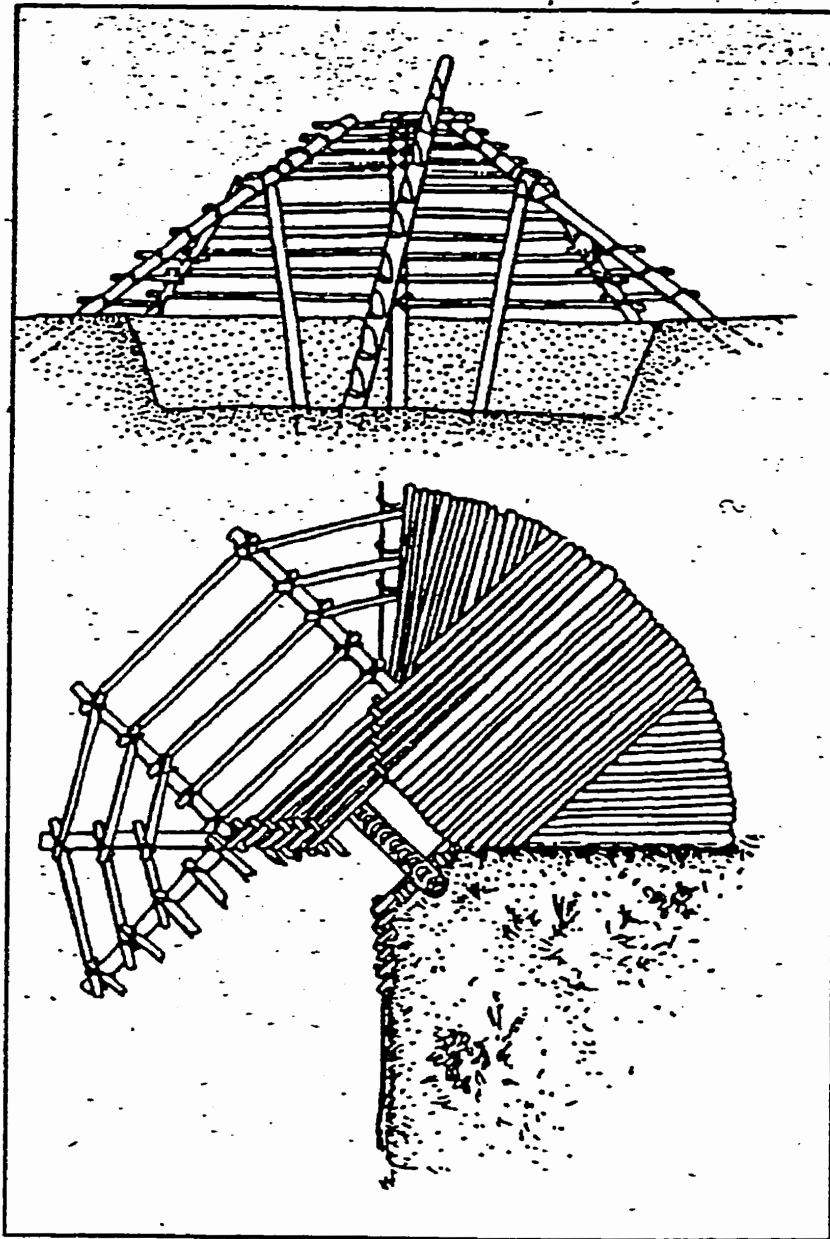


Fig 2

Thompson Indian Pit House.

Hanganu, Kirkland and Murray, " Award of Excellence: Stone Band School" The Canadian Architect. 35:12, (Dec 1990), 14.

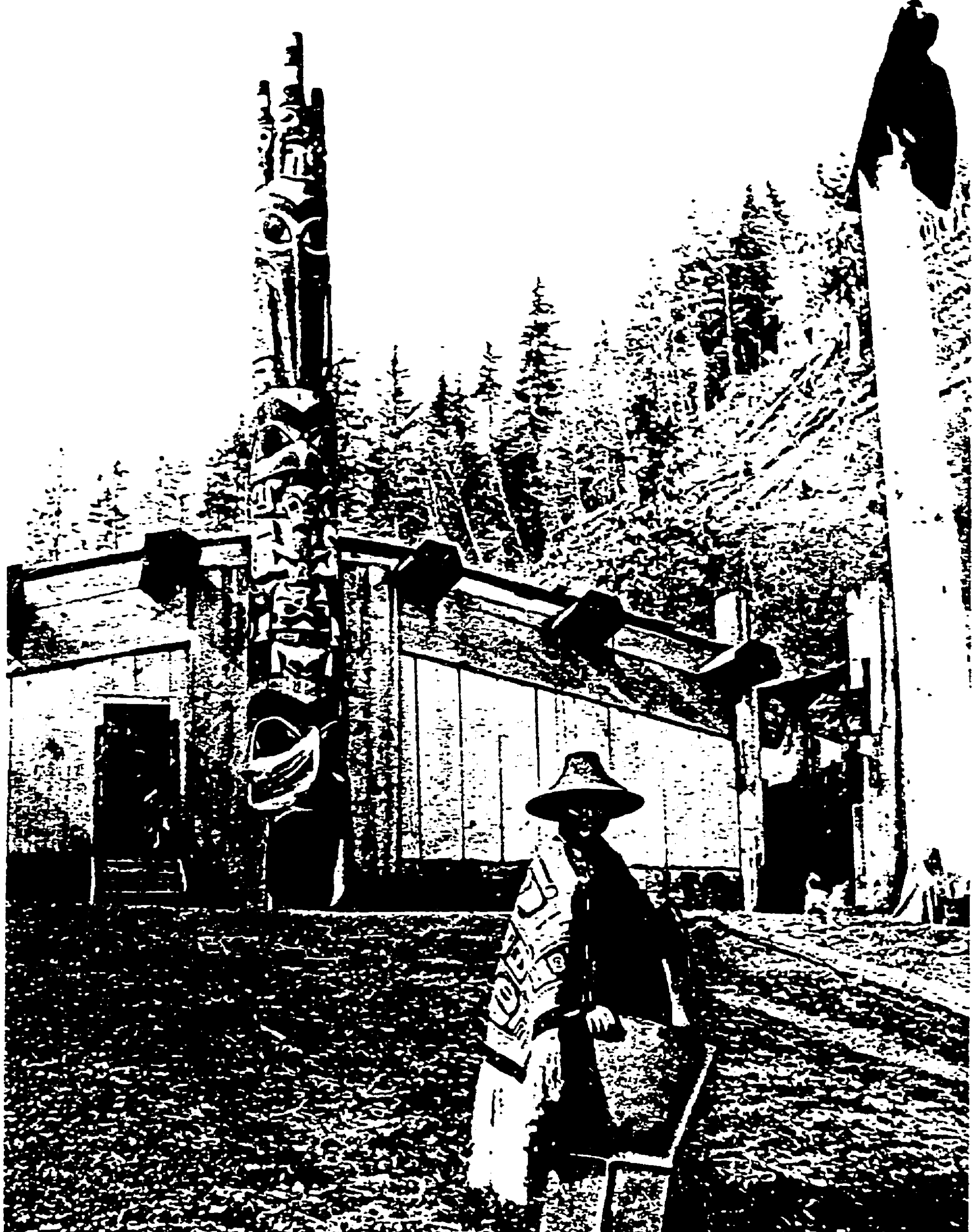


Fig 3

Haida house, c. 1900. Named "House Where People Always Want to Go"
Haina, Queen Charlotte Islands.
(Note swinging door.)

George F. MacDonald. Chiefs of the Sea and Sky.
(Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press. 1989.). 38.

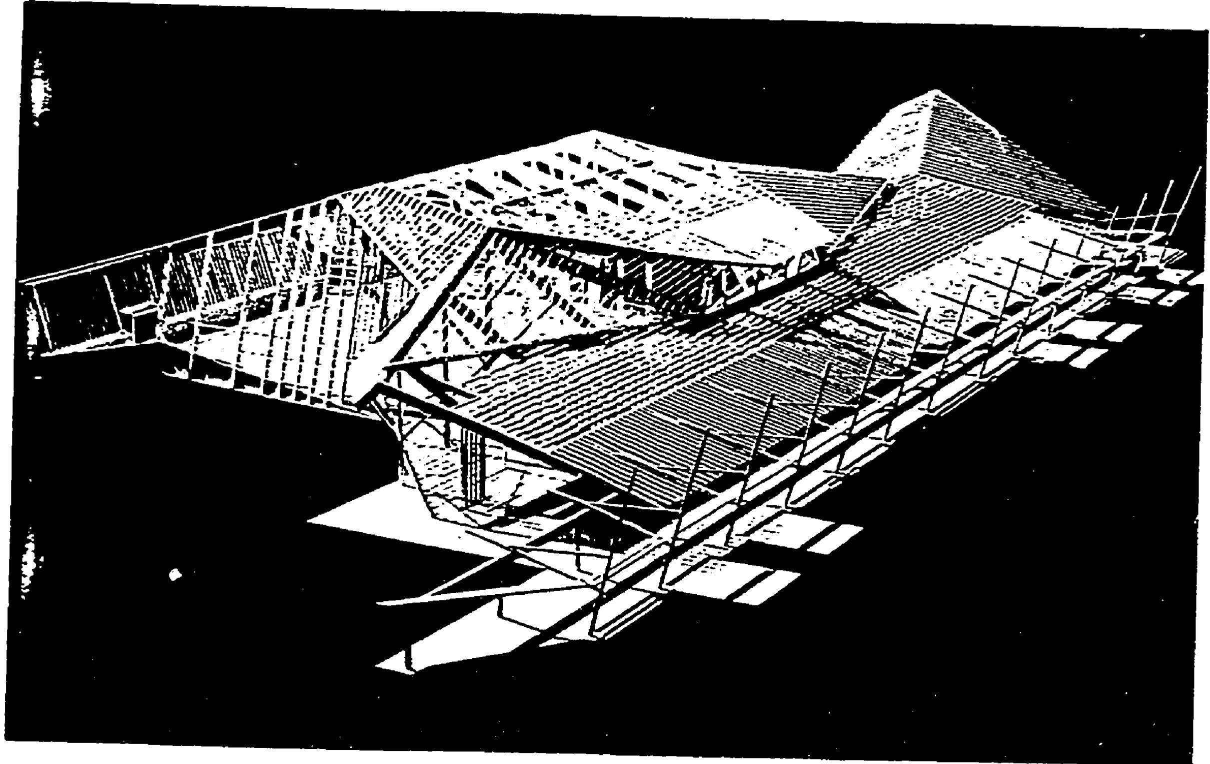


Fig 4

Final Model of Seabird Island School.

Seabird Island British Columbia.

Dubois, Murray, and Richards. "Award of Excellence: Seabird Island School." Canadian Architect. 34:12. (Dec. 1989), 25.

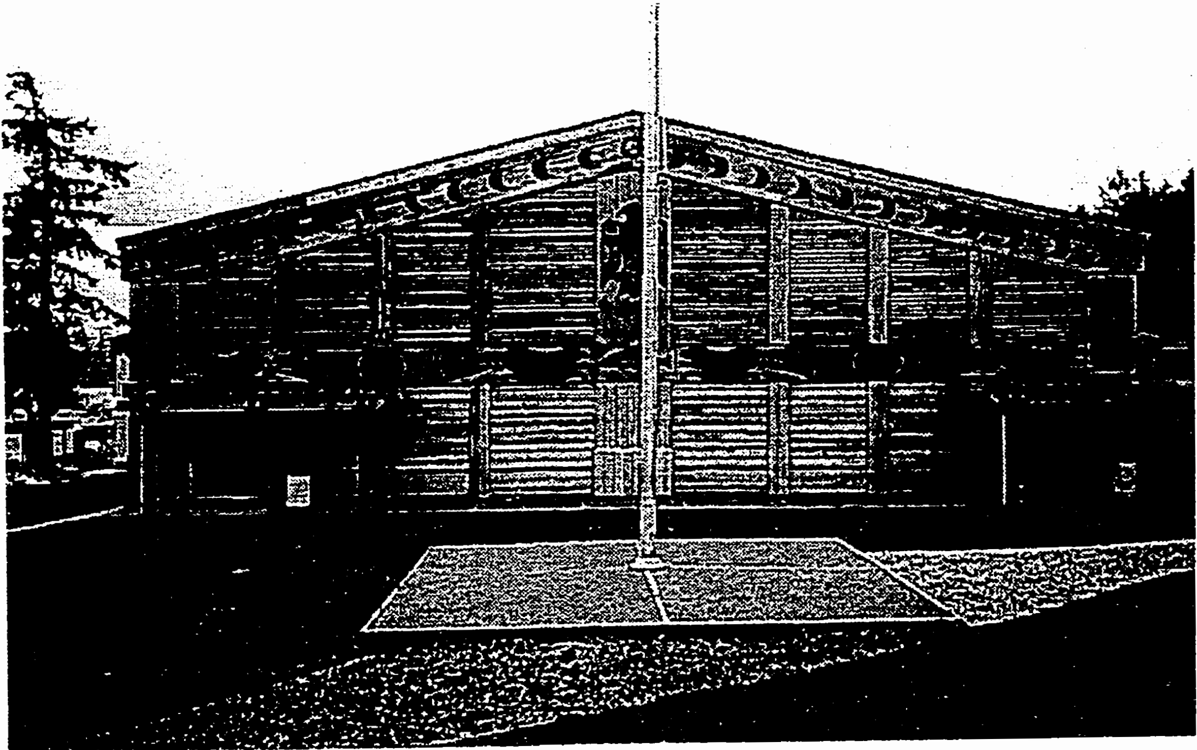


Fig 5

Tsartlip School.

Saanich, British Columbia.

Photo by Author, 1996.

Fig 6

Acwsalcta School.

Bella Coola British Columbia.

Obtained from Marie-Odile Marceau.1996.

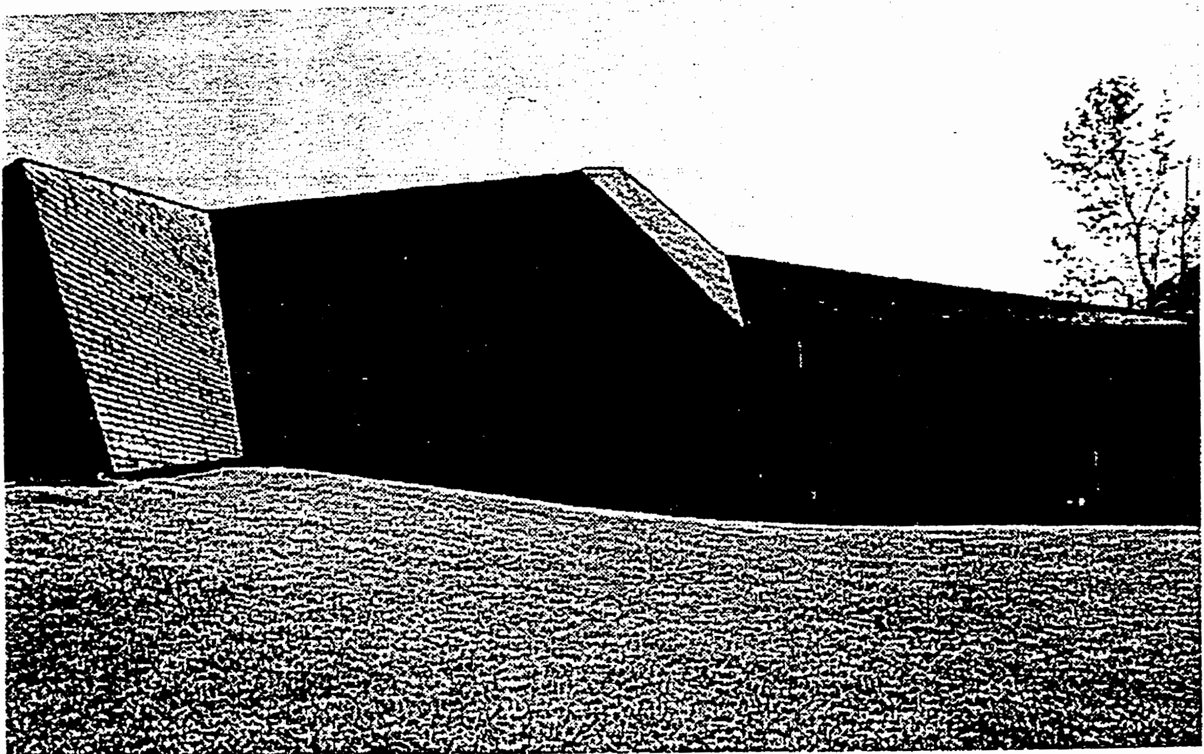


Fig 7

Seabird Island School, Exterior.

Seabird Island British Columbia.

Photo by Author.1996.

Fig 8

Seabird Island School, Exterior.
Seabird Island British Columbia.
Photo by Author.1996.

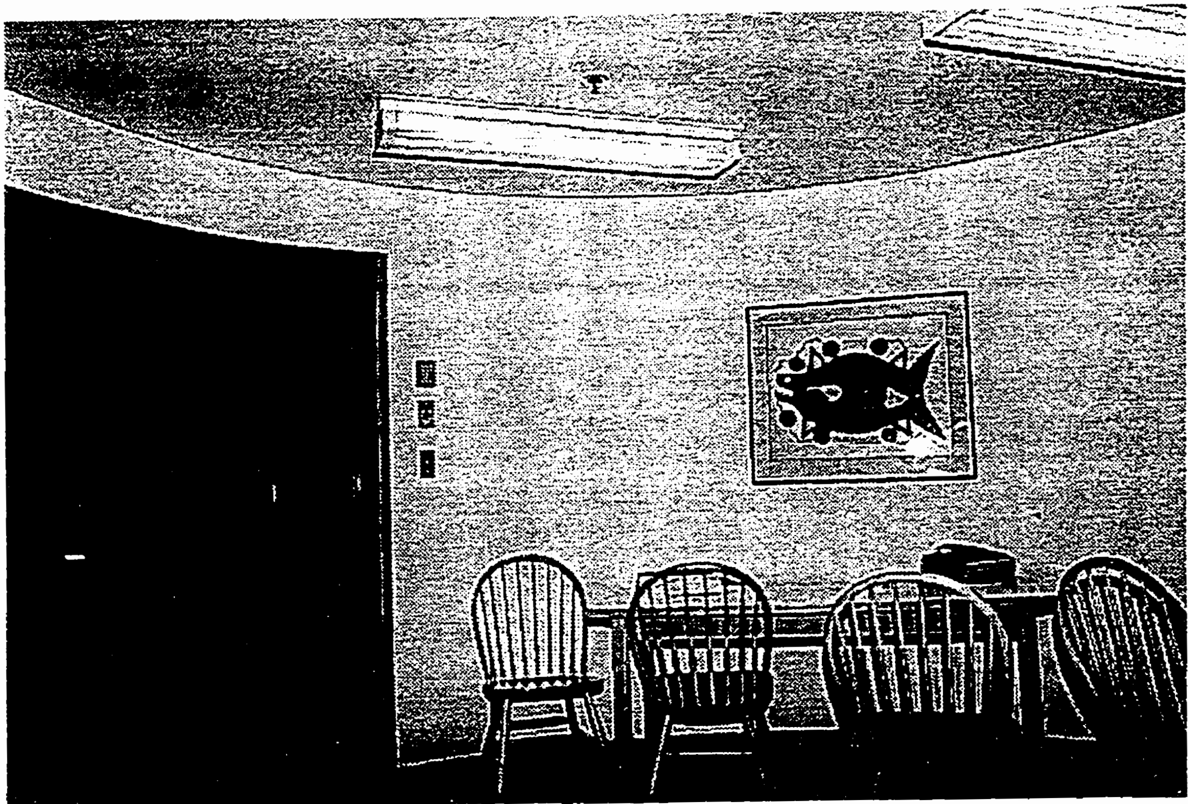


Fig 9

Seabird Island School, Interior.
Seabird Island British Columbia.
Photo by Author.1996.

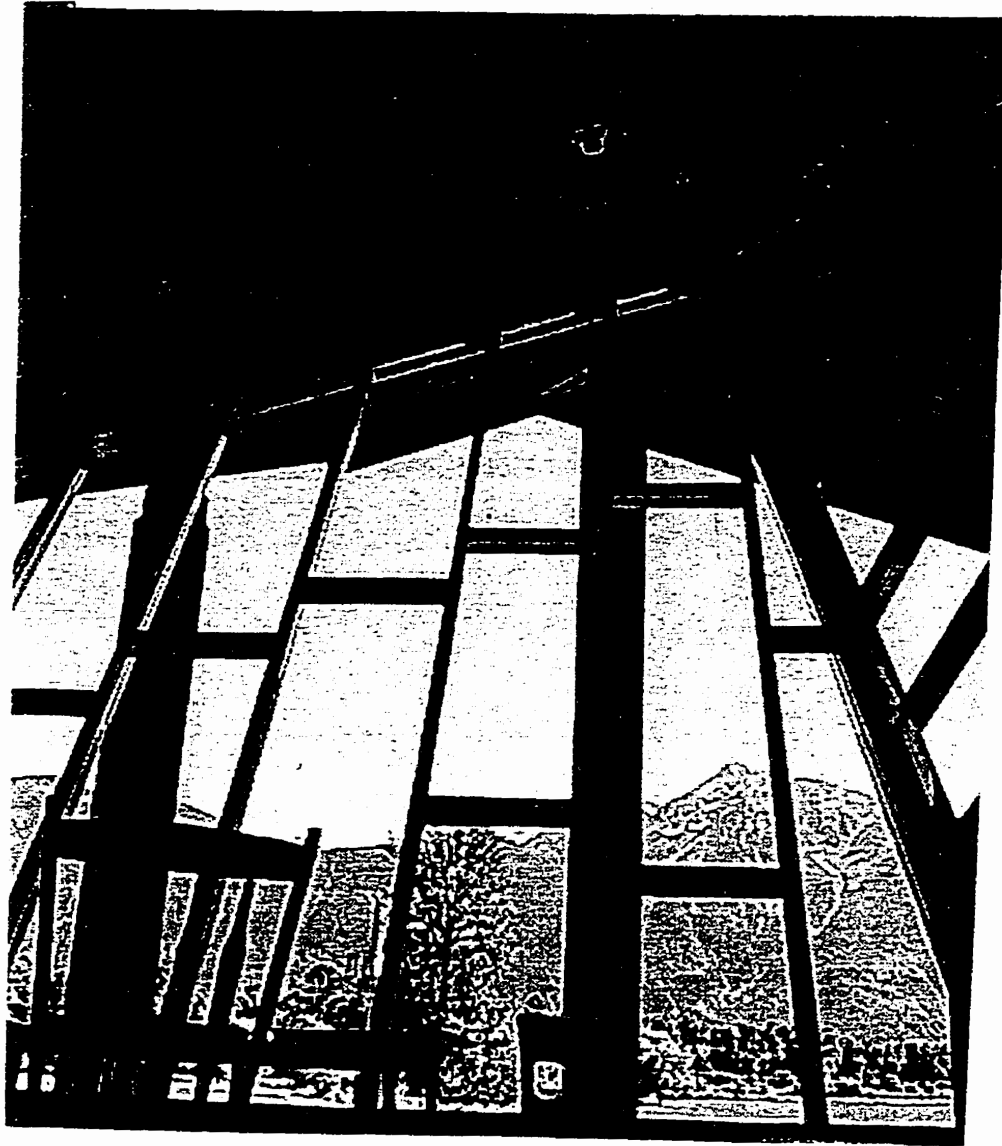


Fig 10

Seabird Island School, Interior.
Seabird Island British Columbia.
Photo by Author.1996.

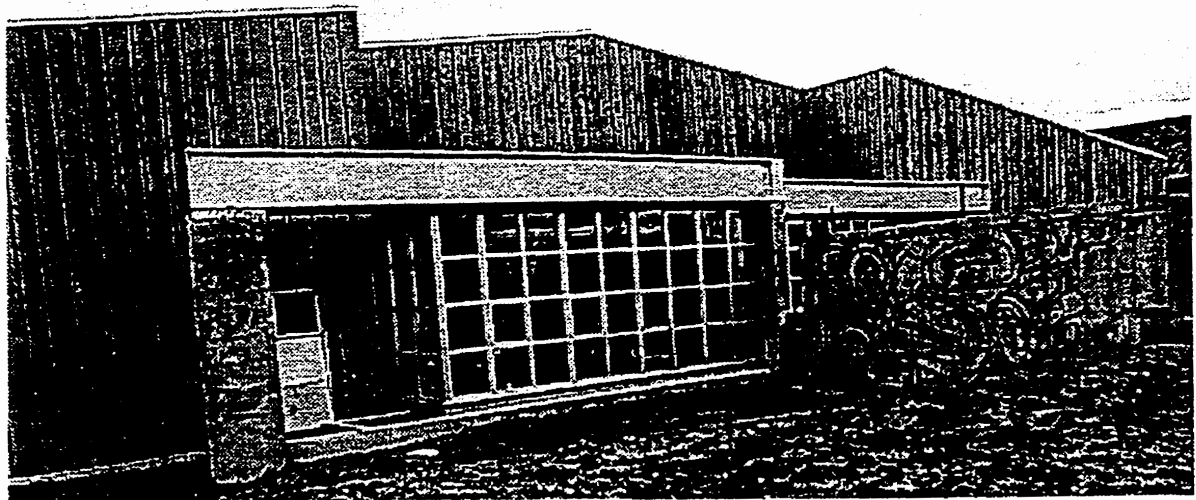


Fig 11

Old Massett School, Illustrated Exterior Wall.

Old Massett, British Columbia.

Photo by Author.1996.

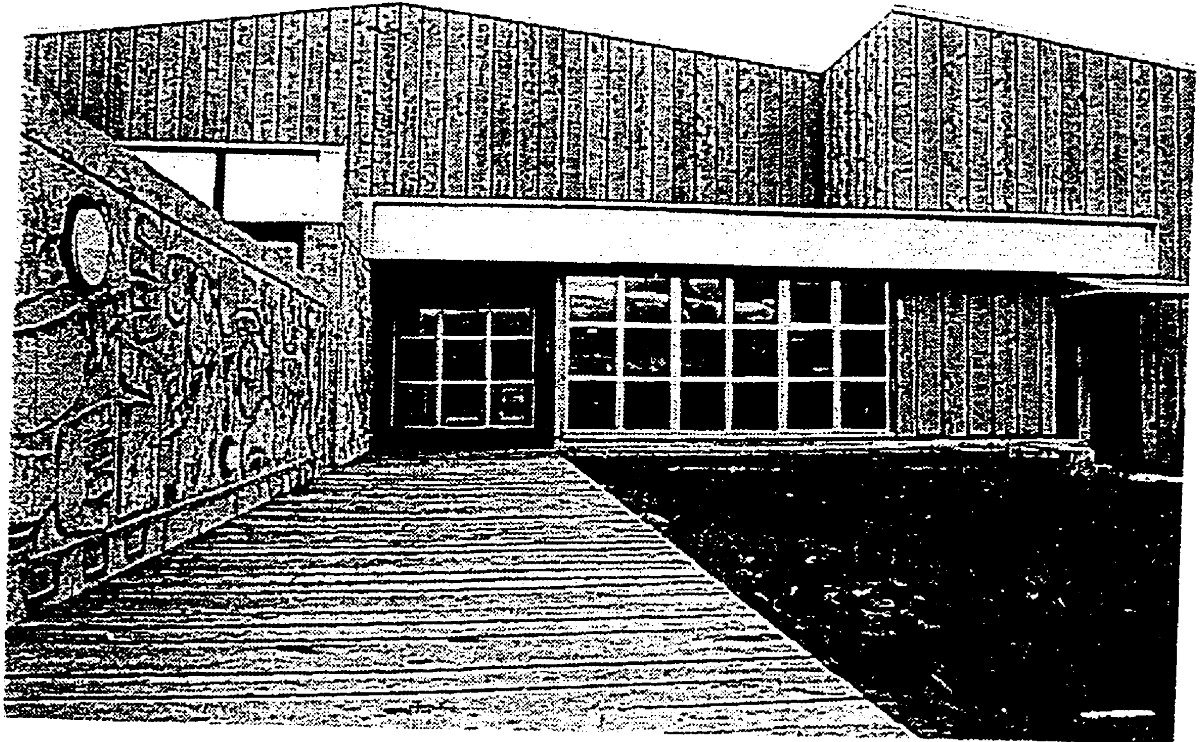


Fig 12

Old Massett School, Illustrated Exterior Wall.
Old Massett, British Columbia.
Photo by Author.1996.

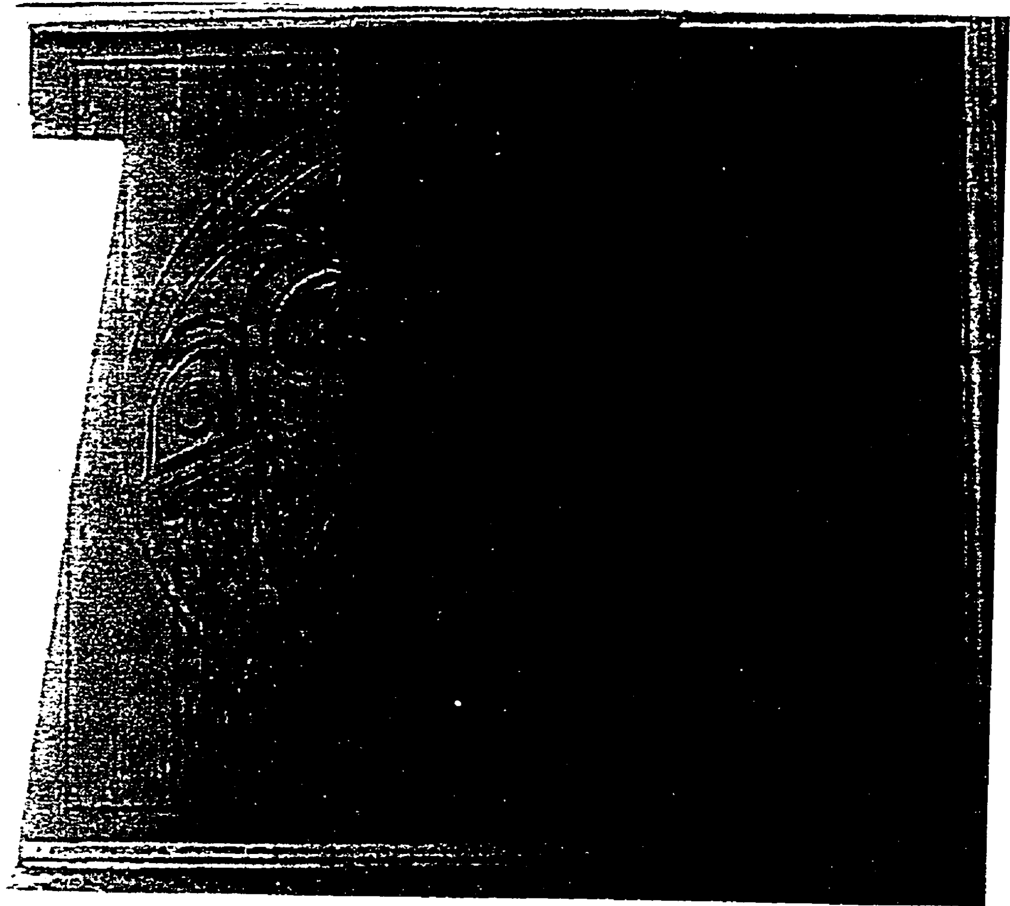


Fig 13

Seabird Island School Ceremonial Door
Seabird Island School, British Columbia.
Photo by Author 1996

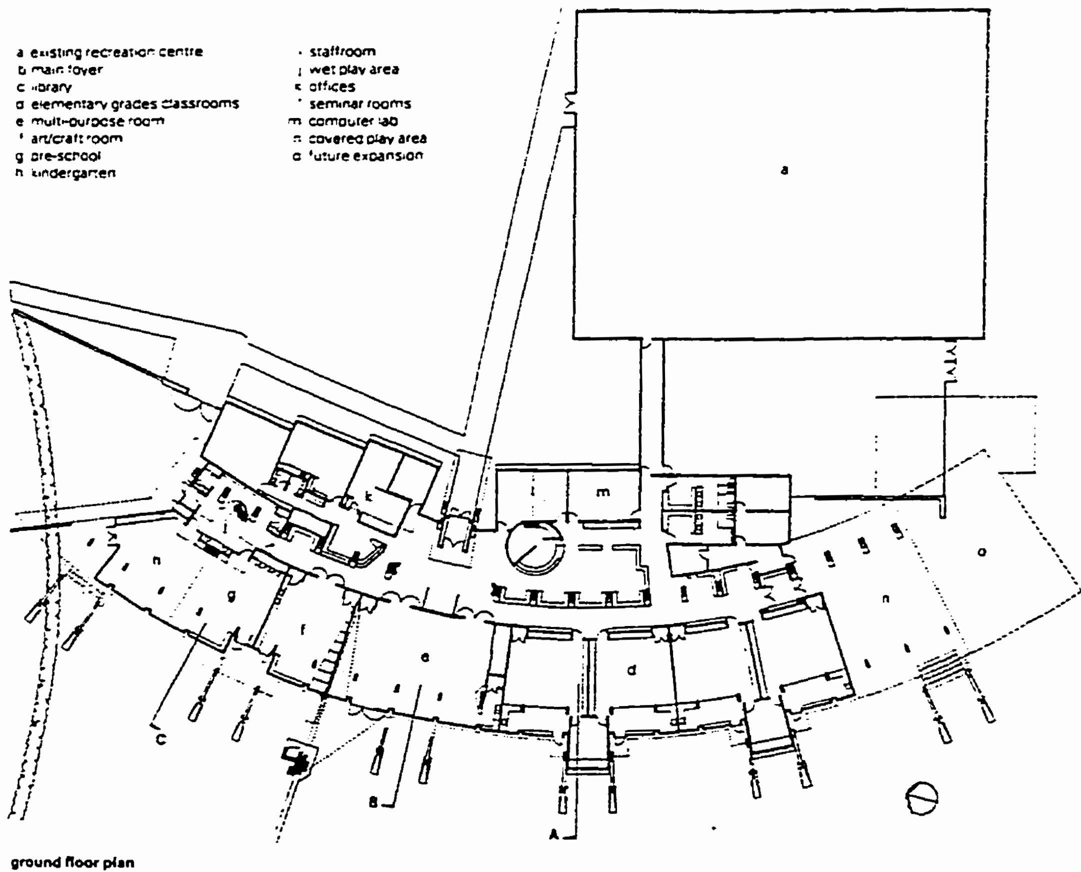


Fig 14

Haisla Village School. Ground Floor Plan.

Kitamaat, British Columbia.

Note direct exits from each classroom.

LeCuyer, Annette, " Native Wit," Architectural Review, 193:1155, (May 1993), 48.

Fig 15

Tsartlip School, Saanich, British Columbia.
Door exits directly from classroom.
Photo by Author.1996.

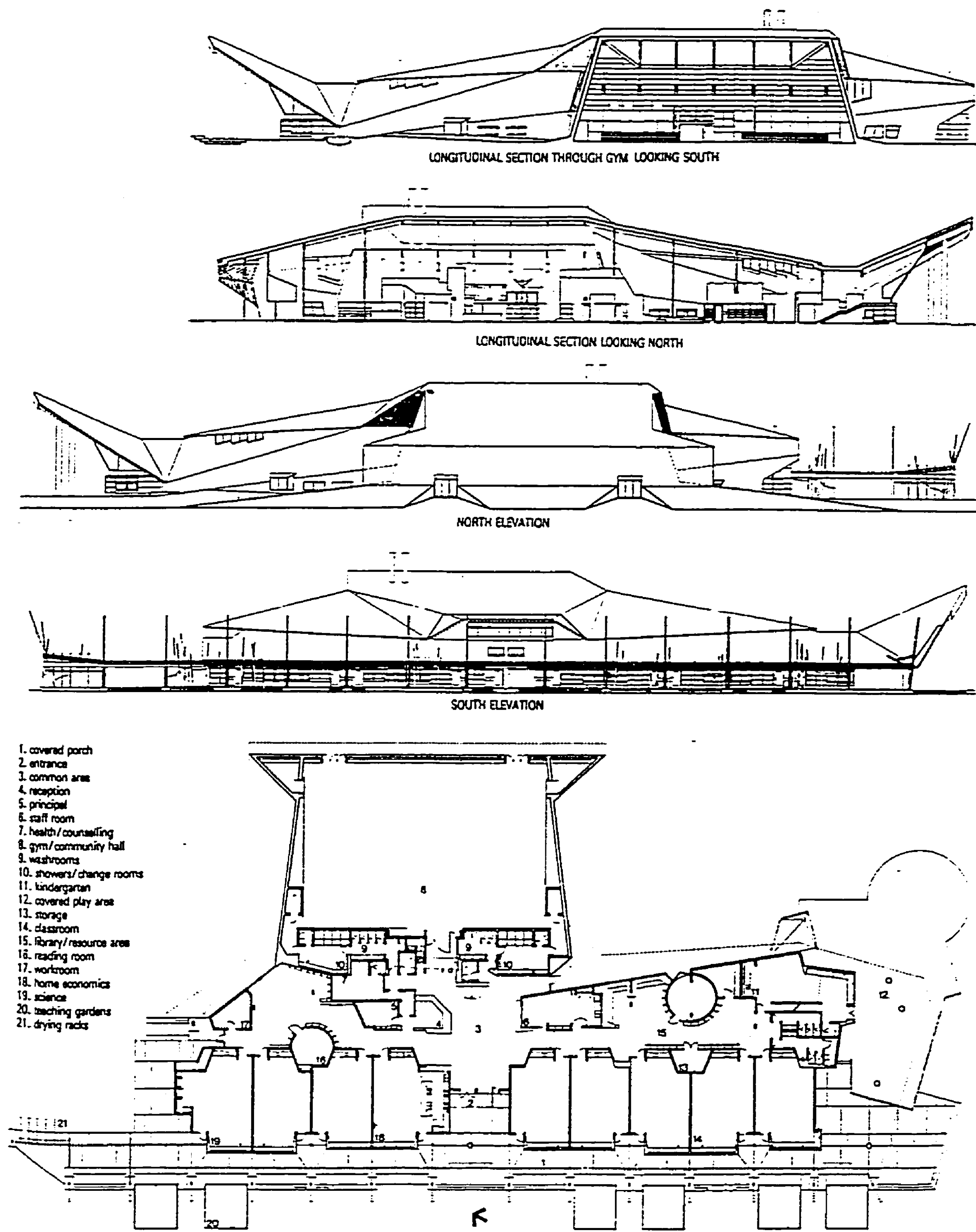
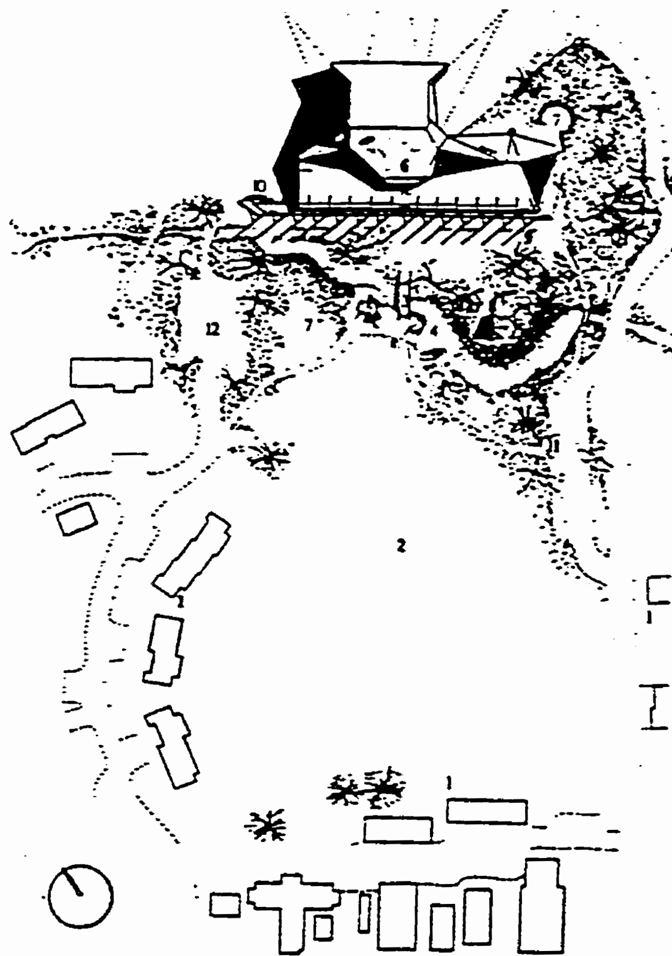


Fig 16

Seabird Island School, Plan and Elevations.

Seabird Island British Columbia.

"Ancestral Forms," Architectural Review, 191:1148, (Oct. 1992), 43.



site plan

1. community buildings
2. common space
3. bridge
4. dry creek
5. fire pit
6. school
7. outdoor play
8. traditional pit house
9. teaching gardens
10. salmon drying racks
11. bus stop
12. parking

Fig 17

Seabird Island School, Site Plan.

Seabird Island British Columbia.

"Ancestral Forms," Architectural Review, 191:1148, (Oct. 1992), 44.

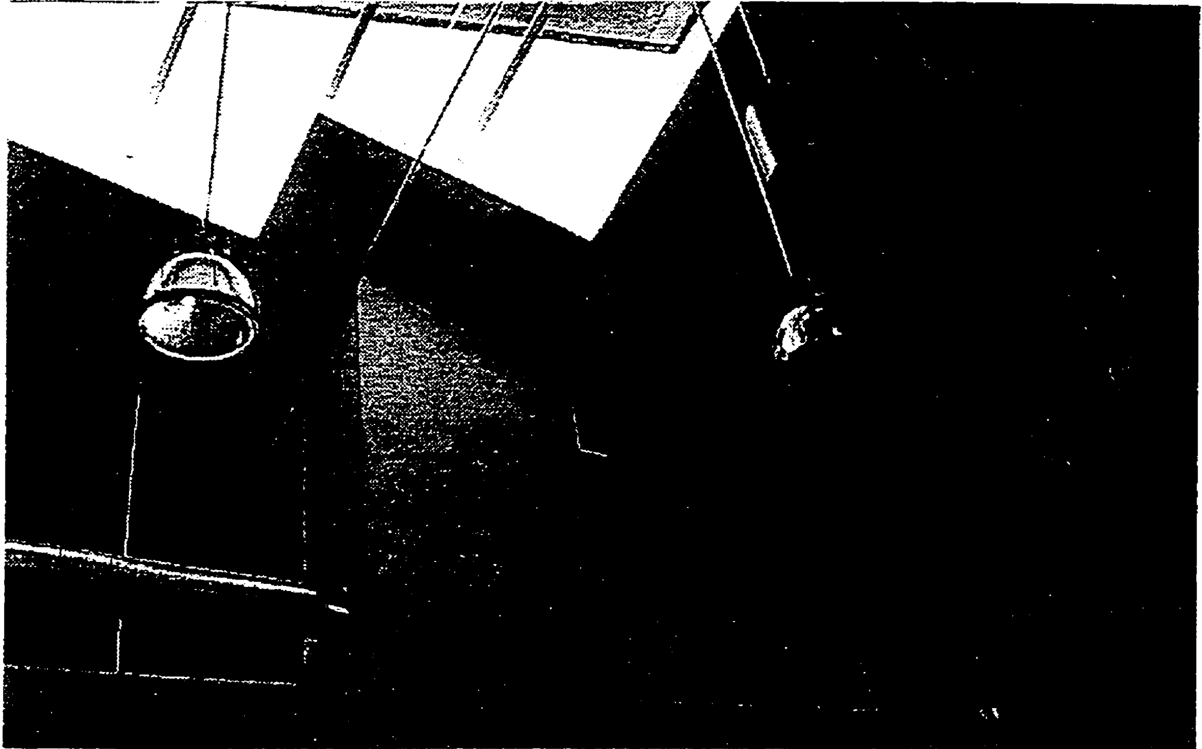


Fig 18

Seabird Island School, Interior.

Seabird Island British Columbia.

Photo by Author.1996.

Fig 19

Seabird Island School, Exterior.
Porch refers to salmon drying rack.
Seabird Island British Columbia.
Photo by Author. 1996.

Fig 20

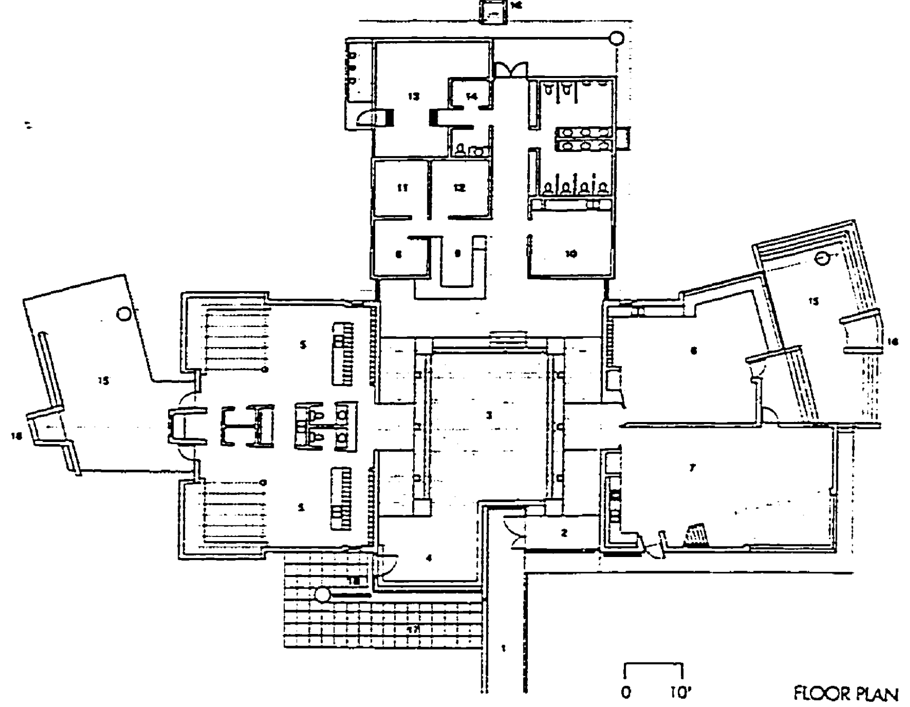
Seabird Island School, Exterior.

Roof line responds to mountains.

Seabird Island British Columbia.

Photo by Author. 1996.

1 boardwalk
2 entry
3 language/ resource
4 reading
5 kindergarten
6 classrooms
7 multi-purpose
8 principal
9 administration
10 staff
11 health
12 storage
13 mechanical
14 janitor
15 outdoor play
16 rain catcher
18 terrace
18 sliding panels



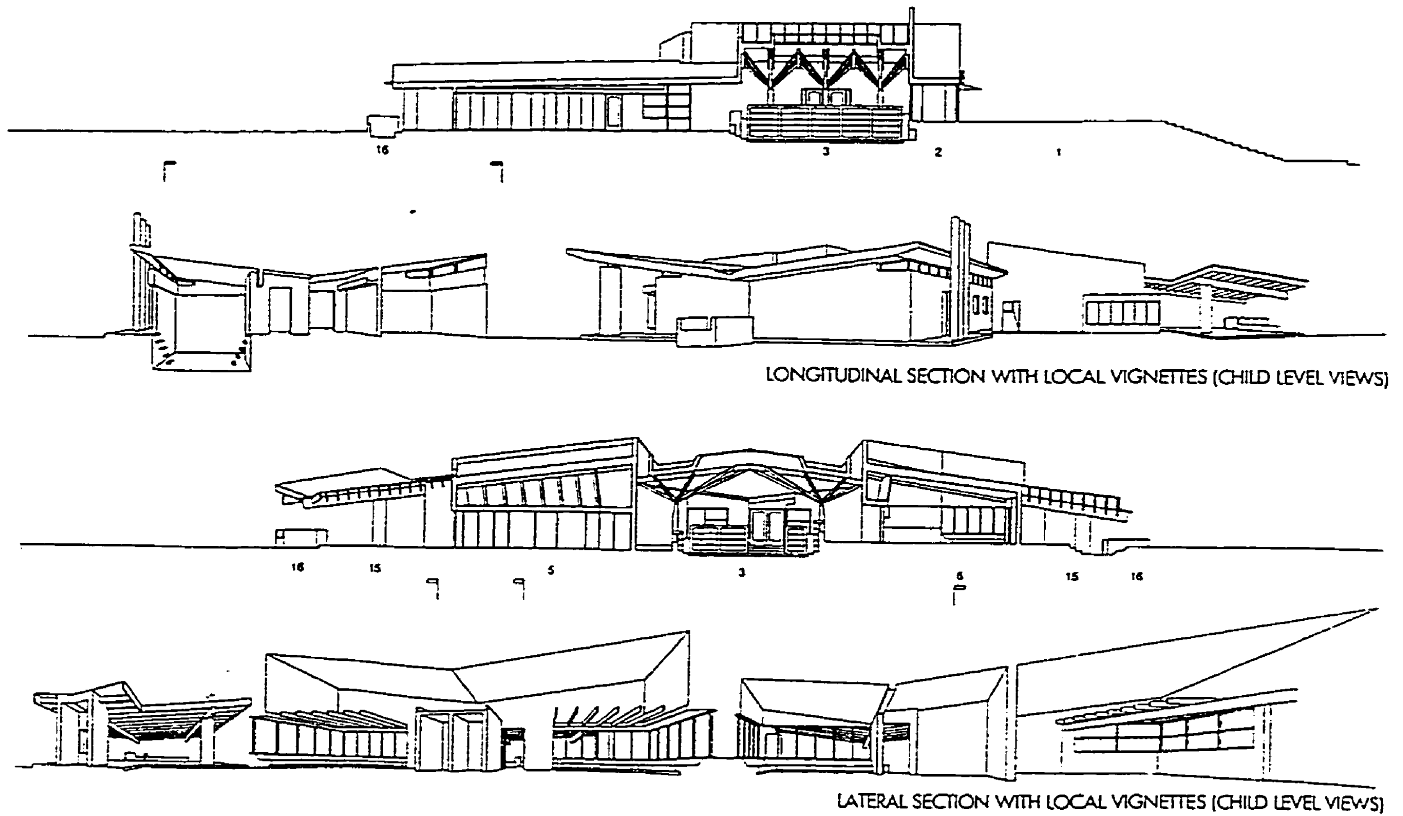


Fig 21

Old Massett School, Plan and other Views .

Old Massett, British Columbia.

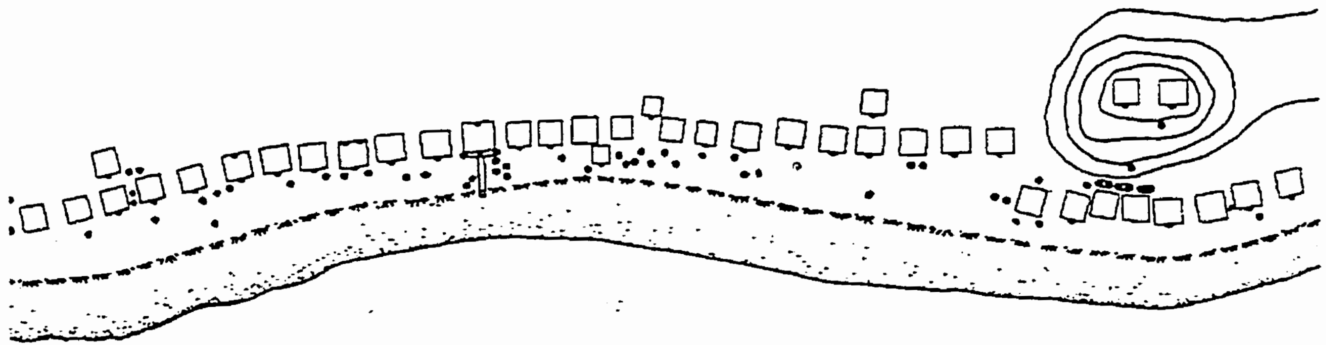
Baird, Murray, and Sturgess. "Award of Excellence:Old Massett Primary School. Queen Charlotte Islands." Canadian Architect, 38:2, (Dec 1993), 23.

Fig 22

Haida Village, 1902.

Ksan, Queen Charlotte Islands.

British Columbia Provincial Museum. E162.



Village of Massett c. 1880

Fig 23

Layout of Village of Massett, 1880.

Baird, Murray, and Sturgess. "Award of Excellence: Old Massett Primary School, Queen Charlotte Islands." Canadian Architect, 38:2, (Dec 1993), 22-23. (Submission)

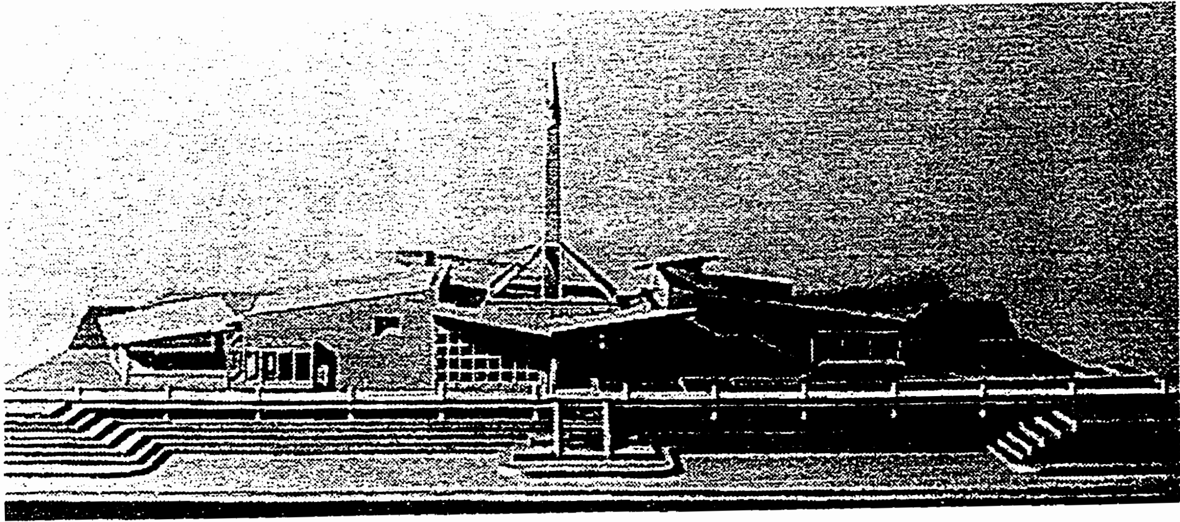
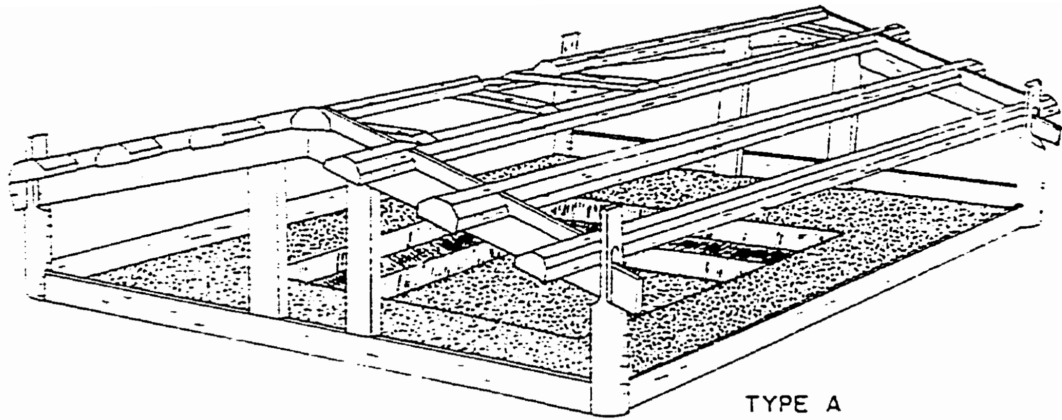
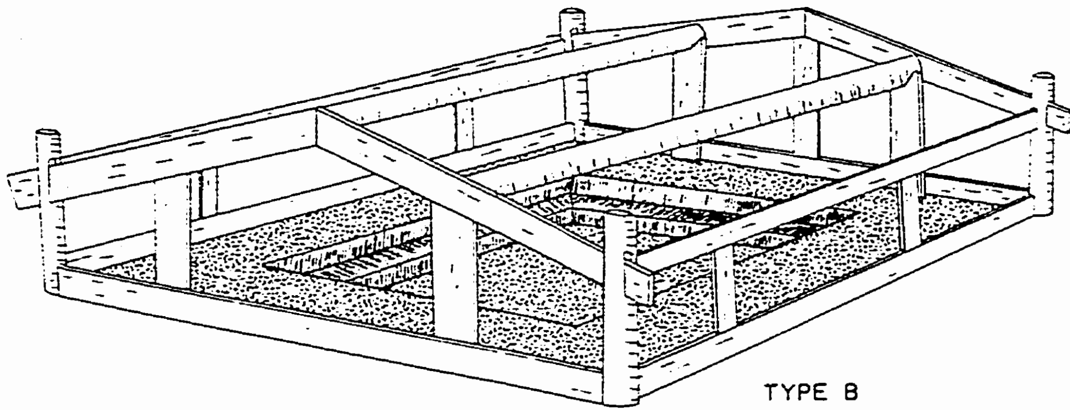


Fig 24

First Model for Old Massett School.

Obtained from Marie-Odile Marceau. 1996.





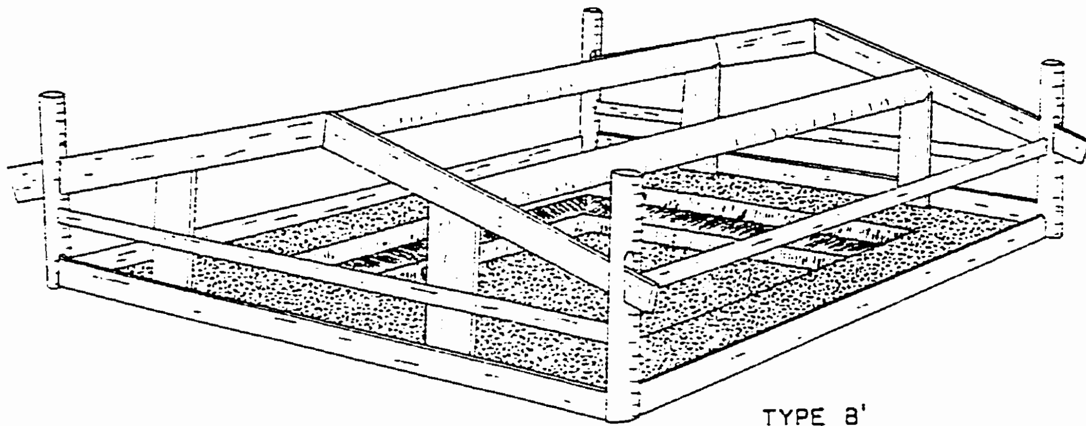


Fig 25

Haida House Types.

Blackman, Margaret. B., Window on the Past: The Photographic Ethnohistory of the Northern and Kaigani Haida, (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1981.), 12.

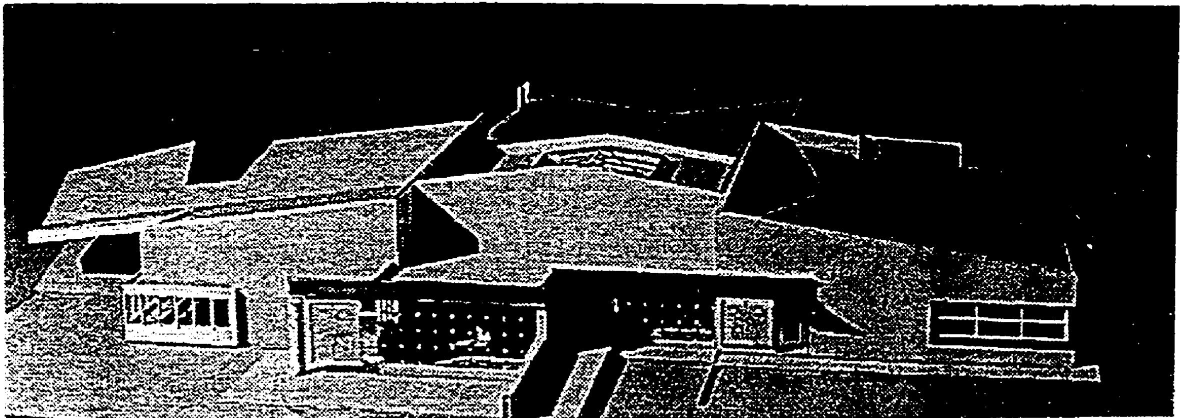


Fig 26

Final model of Old Massett School.

Obtained from Marie-Odile Marceau. 1996.

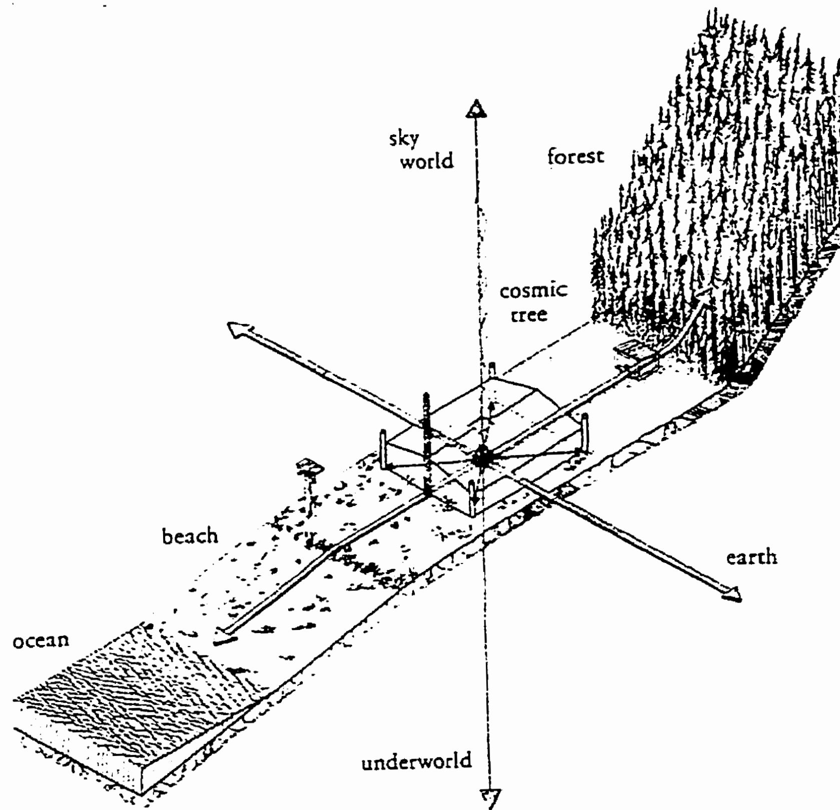


Fig 27

Diagram showing Pathways of Supernatural Powers in Haida symbolism.

Peter Nabakov and Robert Eastman, Native American Architecture, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 39.

Fig 28

Old Massett School, Interior of Classroom with tree.
Old Massett, British Columbia.
Photo by Author.1996.

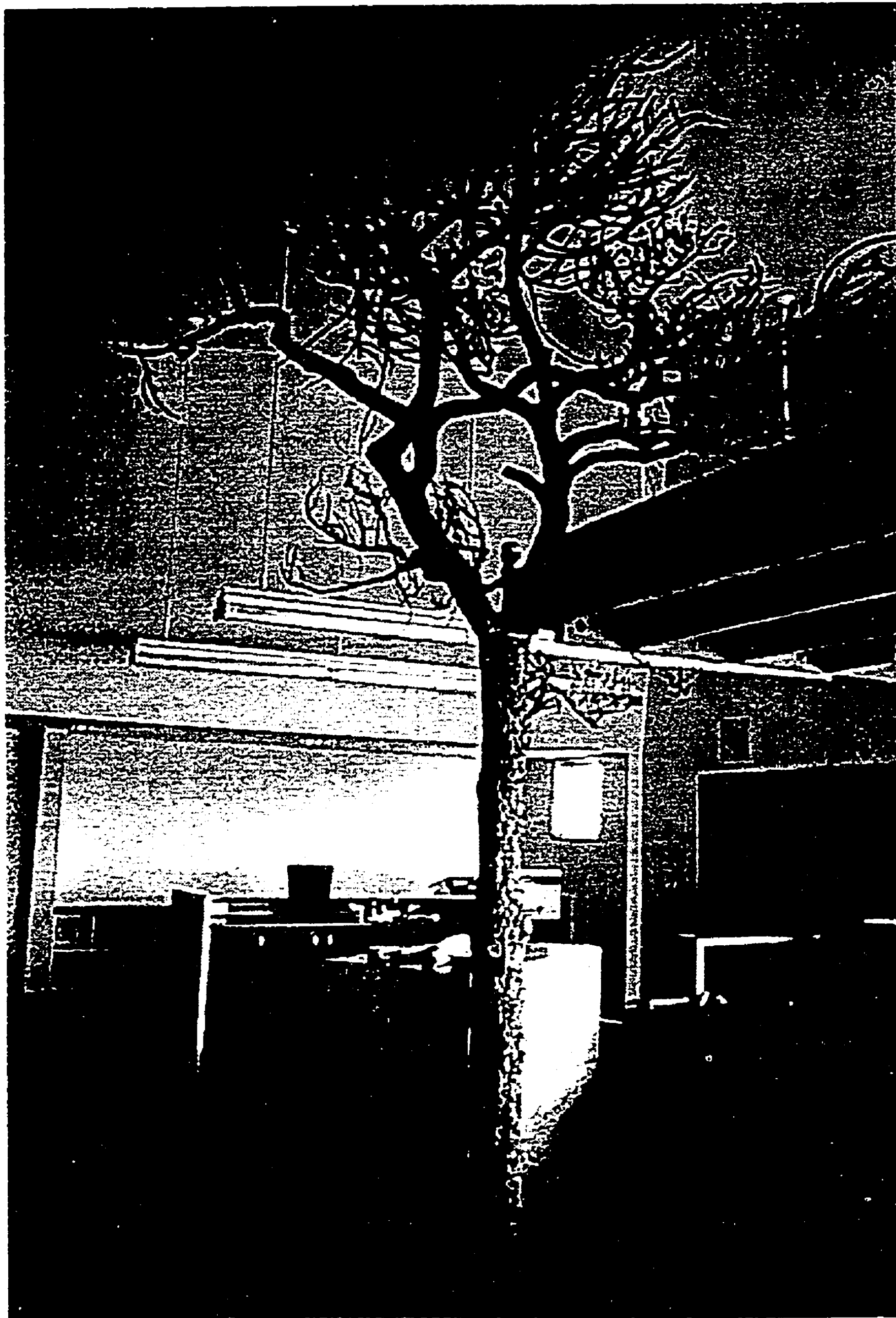
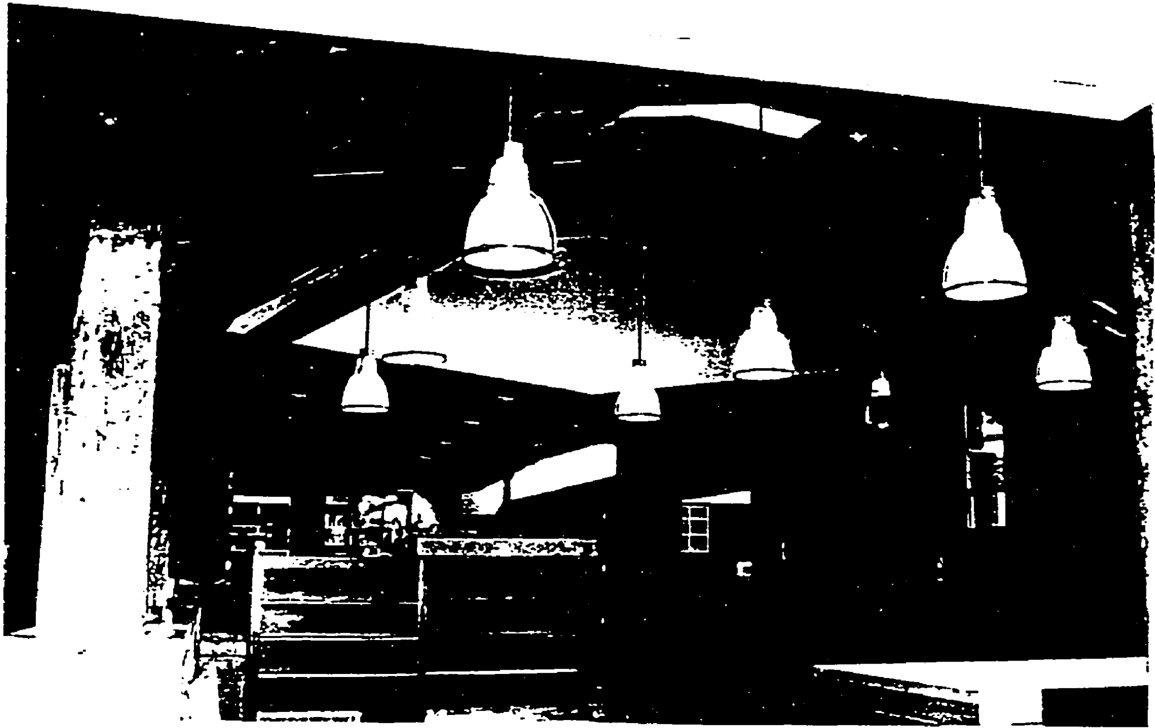


Fig 29

Old Massett School, Interior of Classroom with tree.

Old Massett, British Columbia.

Photo by Author.1996.



Central Library / Resource area. looking towards administration

Fig 30

Library/Resource Centre looking towards administration.
Old Massett School, Old Massett British Columbia.
Johnson. Greg.. and Acton. Russell. Proposal to provide Architectural Services for Chief Matthews School. Old Massett. Haida Gwaii. (Vancouver. Greg Johnson Architecture/Engineering. and Russell Acton Architect.1992). no page number.

Fig 31

Haida house with boardwalk. Exterior of Neiwans, 1879.
Blackman, Margaret. B.,
Window on the Past: The Photographic Ethnohistory of the Northern and Kaigani Haida.
(Ottawa. National Museums of Canada. 1981), 138.

Fig 32

Old Massett School, Exterior Boardwalk.
Old Massett, British Columbia.

Photo by Author.1996.

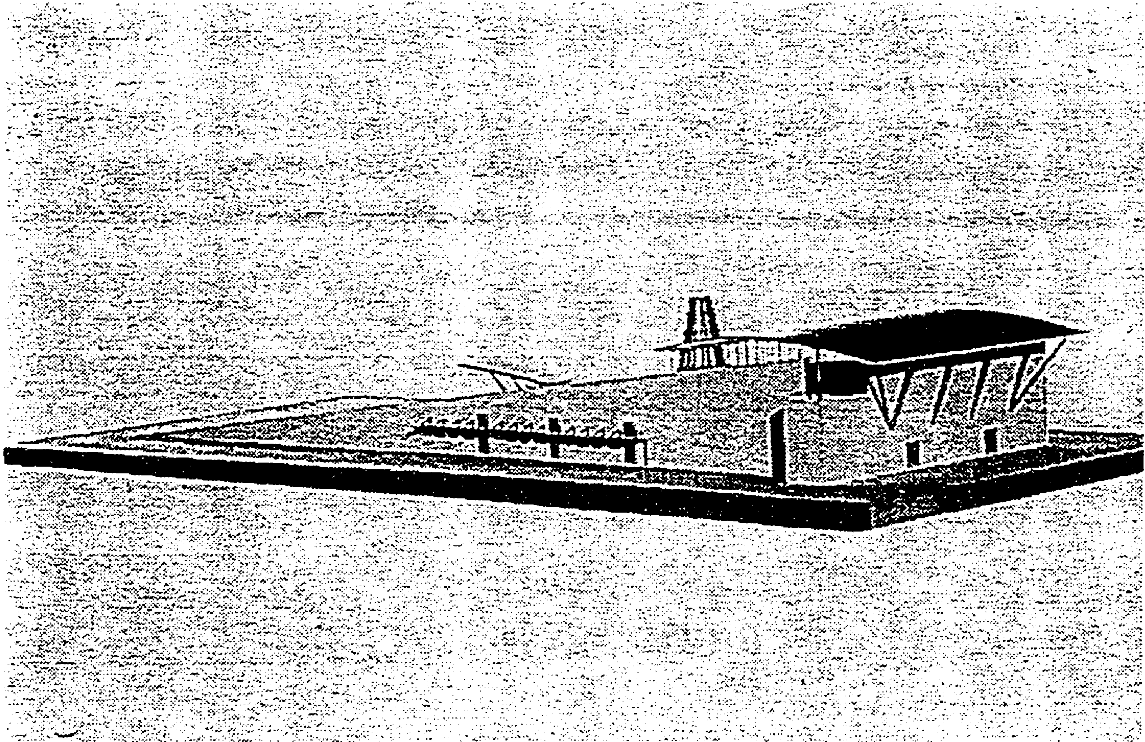
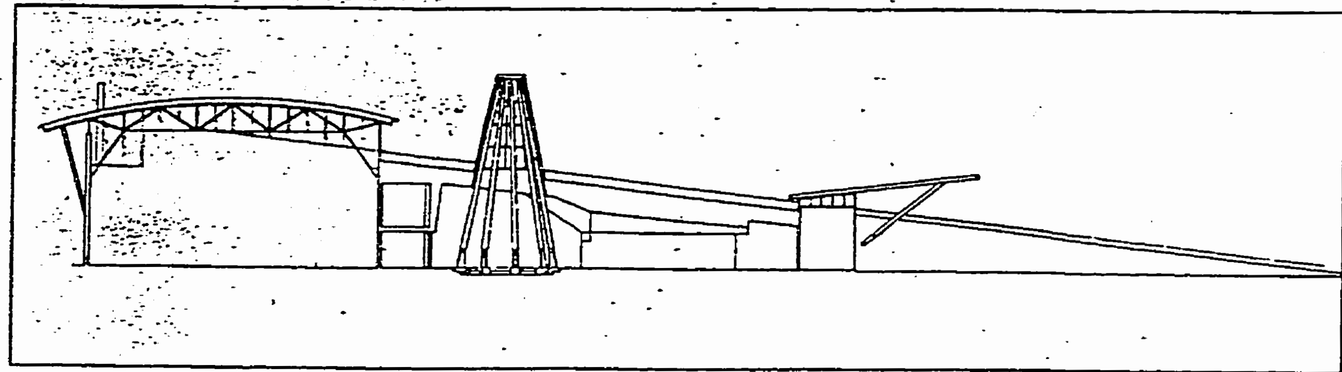


Fig 33

Model of Stone School. Stone, British Columbia.
Obtained from Marie-Odile Marceau. 1996.



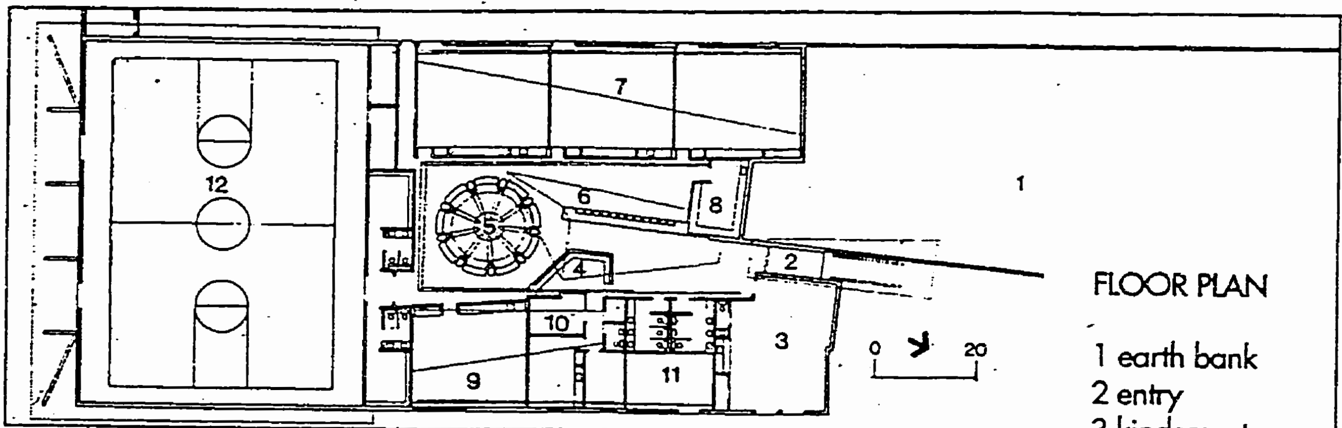


Fig 34

Plan and Elevation of Stone School.

Stone, British Columbia.

Hanganu, Kirkland and Murray, " Award of Excellence: Stone Band School" The Canadian Architect, 35:12, (Dec 1990), 15.

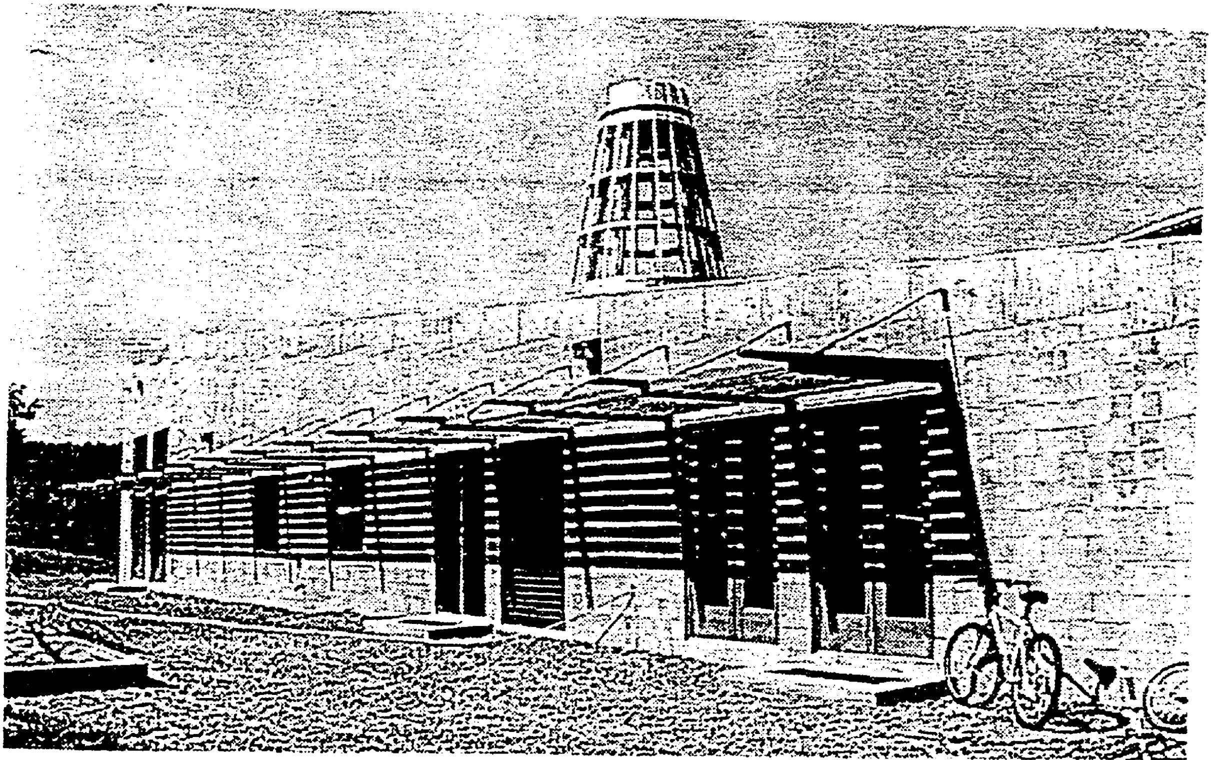


Fig 35

Stone School, Exterior
Stone, British Columbia.
Obtained from Marie-Odile Marceau. 1996.

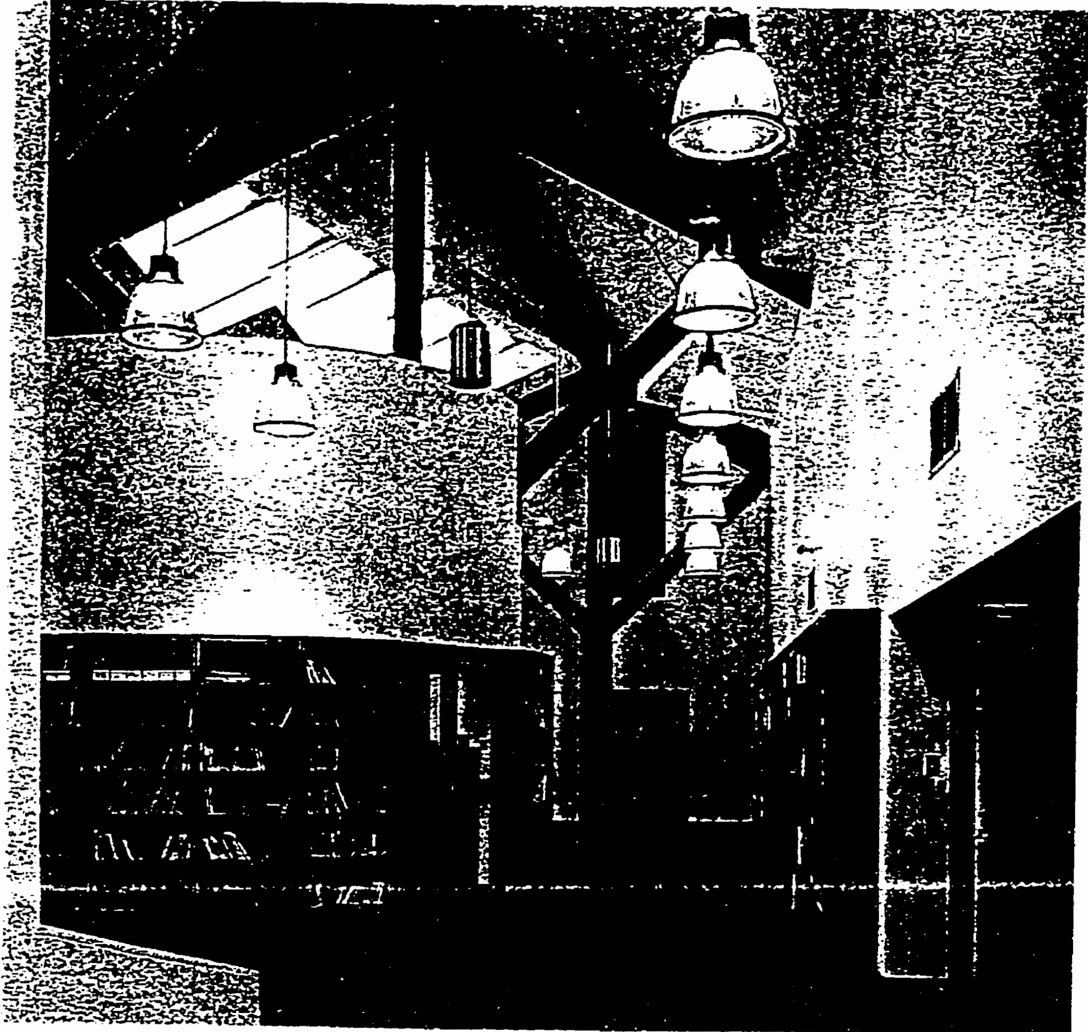


Fig 36

Seabird Island School, Library
Seabird Island, British Columbia.
Donald Canty "Aerodynamic School." Progressive Architecture. 73.5 (May 1992). 147.

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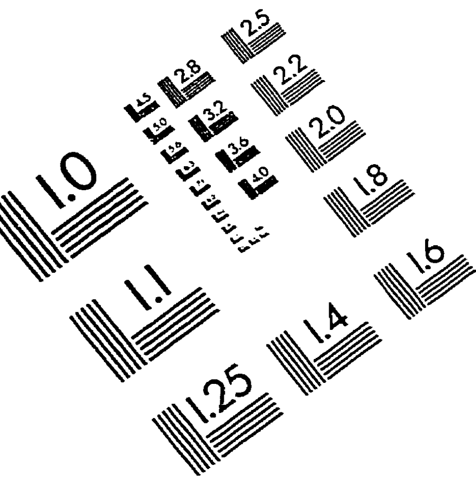
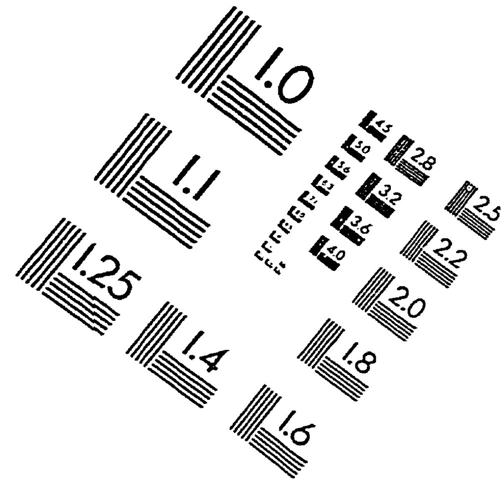
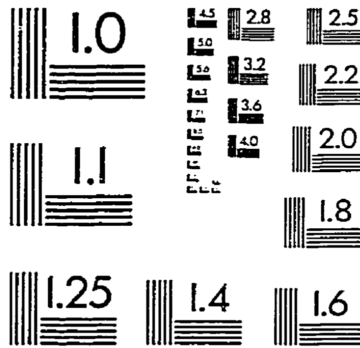
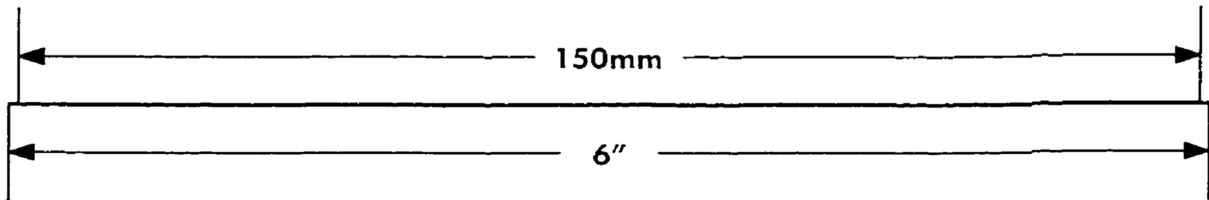
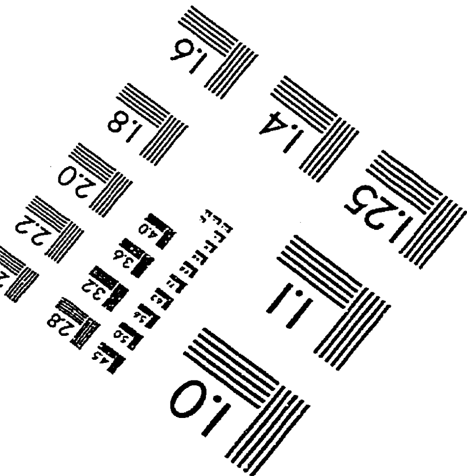
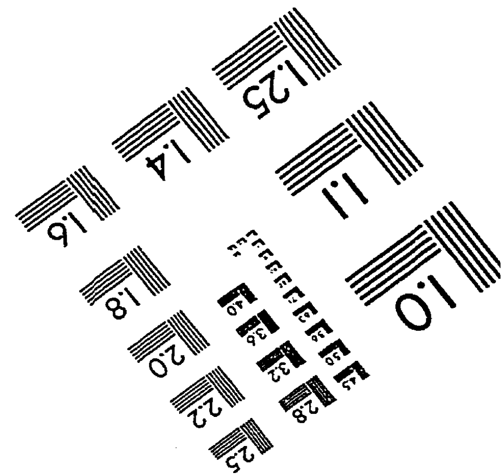
IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (QA-3)



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