SECONDARY EDUCATION FOR
CANADIAN REGISTERED INDIANS
Past, Present, and Future

A COMMENTARY

prepared by

Joseph E. Couture,

for

The Research Branch, PRE

Department of Indian and Northern Affairs,

Ottawa, K1A 0H4

October 1979

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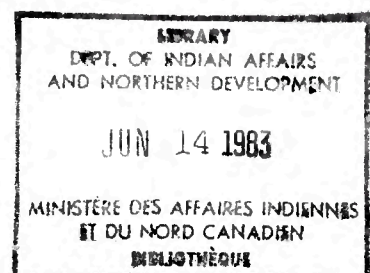Department of Indian and Northern Affairs,

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STEERING COMMITTEE MEMBERS

Cam Mackie, Assistant Deputy Minister, Indian and Inuit Affairs Program.
Kent Gooderham, Research Branch.
Danny Daniels, Policy Branch.
Rob Jones, Evaluation Branch.
Paul McGillivray, Education Support Services.

DECLARATION

This report was prepared by the Author, under contract, and all opinions expressed in this report are those of the Author.

It is not an official Departmental publication and the opinions and recommendations do not necessarily reflect the view of the Research Branch of the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs.

This report does not constitute an expression of Departmental policy.

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to provide an analysis of the nature of policy, past and present, relative to Indian secondary education, and to conclude with recommendations for future policy and practise.

Available Indian and Inuit Affairs Program (IIAP) documents, and a number of non-government studies were examined. It is clear that IIAP has never formally questioned its educational assumptions, that in its practise it imitated general Canadian practise, one wholly pragmatic and non-reflective, and grossly insensitive to differences. This one single factor explains a good deal of the record of not providing educational success opportunities defined in terms of Indian perceived needs and differences. There has never been a comprehensive guiding vision of educational programs for Indians. No systematically developed understanding prevails of why what happened, happened.

It is believed that the Assumptions Section particularly provides value and process indicators which could guide the development of an "accomodating" process model. Such a model could allow IIAP to facilitate and monitor the fullest range of educational activity, including the unpredicted and unpredictable. Of considerable import for morale, it could also instill within a IIAP confidence, till now unapparent, in its own judgment, and in a new found capacity to sensitively cooperate with all Indian groups across Canada. Some attention, planning and financing, would be needed to complete the development of staff attitude and skills, and to provide needed additional knowledge, plus an enormous amount of time and effort.

The report by Program Evaluation Branch, A Recommended Plan, provides an excellent detailed guide towards achieving the above. (33). This plan describes a process approach.

CHAPTER 1 - THE STUDY, OBJECTIVES AND FORMAT

I. Objectives

The main purpose of this study is to develop a judgment about the nature of government policy, past and present, relative to secondary education programming for Indians, and, secondly, to use that judgment as a basis for recommendations bearing on the future form of this level of schooling.

Other features of this analysis are that a) it is overview in its attempt, due to the nature of the data; b) it strives to present an accomodating perspective, avoiding simplistic explanations in a serious effort to underscore both the obvious and the subtle, the clear and the ambiguous; c) it especially tries to pull out the unexpressed questions to which past and current policies and procedures are sometimes unavowed responses; d) strengths as well as weaknesses are indicated; and e) it is fundamentally optimistic in outlook, and looks to the future.

While attempting to see things as a whole, it is hoped that crucial points of definition and distinction will be made as needed. It is also hoped that this interpreation will quicken many minds, and will spur them to a more focussed analysis and action than in the past.

Two questions will stand throughout this reflection as conditional to the sharpening of that focus: 1) what should be done and why? and 2) what can be done in terms of the resources of the System and willingness of its People to do it?

II. Method

A. Format:

The body of the data is presented in Chapter 2 in a numbered and grouped listing. Each assumption and fact is usually commented on. Chapter 3 presents a summary of the discerned trends leading to recommendations for model or operational emphases for the future.

B. Data Base Development and Analysis

The definition of policy "fact" and the critique thereof developed in several ways. Interviews were systematically and informally obtained with a majority of Policy Research and Evaluation Group (PRE) Personel over a five month period, and as well with several Education Division staff. These persons were referred to in order to help identify and locate pertinent government documents, to have themselves serve as an oral tradition source, and play a sounding-board role to my questions and views.

The Documentation amassed is of several kinds. Indian Affairs statements obviously are the prime source. A serious attempt was made to obtain all possible Indian education-related federal statements back to first contact. Some contemporary provincial declarations, notably from Ontario and Alberta, were also referred to in order to determine similarities or contrasts with dominant society trends. Much attention was given to the OECD assessment of Canadian education (64). An extensive but selective bibliography was established and studied for purposes of grasping the significance of the influence of the larger society on the determination of Indian Affairs policy on Indian education generally. It was assumed that how IIAP as a corporate entity perceives and acts at a given time and how its perception is formed, and how subsequent action is taken, are of significance in assessing its overall policy and procedural habits.

C. Bias

This report is clearly biased, and for several reasons. First of all, "objectivity" is a myth, whereas "controlled subjectivity", or "qualified" reasoning can be diligently worked towards with some degree of success. As a corollary, and secondly, because data in and of itself cannot "speak" for itself, it follows that interpretation is the thing. Further, and finally therefore, the validity and reliability of interpretation in this report deserves scrutiny. In its defence, I would point to the considerable length of a varied experience in Indian development work, to the authority of the published sources referred to, and particularly to my understanding of Indian philosophy. I see my judgment in the following pages as conservative and cautious, but firm inasmuch as it is based on traditional western and Indian education values.

In the following pages, I wish to present in a western manner, based on such philosophies as holism and personalism, some Indian culture-rooted answers to a number of inter-related Indian secondary education questions.

CHAPTER 2 - DATA AND ANALYSIS

The data is grouped under three headings, i.e. Government Documentation, Assumptions, and Facts. This classification is of relative usefulness - other groupings could be argued for. Admittedly, the lines between the latter two categories is blurred, e.g. prevailing assumptions, whether acknowledged or not, are factual.

I. Government Documents

   A. Characteristics

       All federal government documents are grouped in the Reference List under the heading of "Government - Federal" (1-37). The paucity of federal records is apparently due to a process over the years of systematic destruction (70, p.3). The obtained literature includes the Indian Affairs Field Manual, Education Division Field Handbook - Letters 1966-1970, together with various working papers, a submission to Cabinet (1968), several Ministers' statements, ADM comments, district and regional recommendations, directives and statistics, the E1 and E12 policies. This latter documentation is arranged in a chronological order (1-26).

       Analysis indicates a seeming evolution from simplistic, but well intentioned rhetoric through to a refined, well intentioned rhetoric. The exclusive focus was with the development of an administrative system to accomodate the quantitative aspects of education, e.g. pupil enrolments, teacher certification and salaries, classroom supplies, etc. There is no evidence of an over-all guiding philosophical policy. In other words there is an absence of a comprehensive and inspiring vision, widely understood and supported, guiding the formation of basic policies.

       The ill-fated Memorandum to Cabinet of 1968 was a first attempt to establish a coordinated five year plan (5; 95). Virtually all of the meager education policy/procedures literature is bland, pro-motherhood, persistently paternalistic in tone, occasionally accurate in perception. The concern is completely pragmatic and unreflective.

       Certain recurring words are never defined, e.g. self-determination, autonomy, culture, identity, etc. (cf. infra pp. 56-58). This is regrettable. The Baker Lake Affair is stark testimony to the kind of serious, avoidable confrontation that can arise out of the absence of mutually shared understandings of key terms (91).

B. Statistics

It has already been well established that IIAP statistical records are incomplete and unreliable (29; 33). The sophistication of these statistics does not extend beyond frequency counts and percentage proportions. Relative to the High School Activity, only two trends have been established, i.e. that of an upward swing in enrolments and graduation numbers, and that of a continuing, extraordinarily high drop-out rate.

II. Assumptions

Assumptions are beliefs, i.e. principles/facts which are held to be "true", or real. My intention is to list and comment on a number of assumptions which seem appropriate as guiding principles to the Activity's modification and development.

A. Operational

The indications here bear on either the Activity as a whole, or on broad facets thereof.

It is assumed that:

1. Approaches to the System's problems can be defined by policies and be implemented through procedures.

2. It is possible to reduce operating problems, and thereby increase efficiency.

3. It is possible to function rationally in the face of uncertainty or chaos, amidst confusion and disorder.

4. It is desirable, if not necessary, and possible, for a corporate entity, without pessimism, to become self-critical, of its decision making processes and paradigms.

5. It is desirable to uncover awkward findings and assumptions.

6. Relevance can be operationally provided when institutions and programs are designed so that options are assured and people's skills and attitudes are developed to a point where they can perceive options and pursue them with confidence.

7. A balanced perspective is also desirable and possible. Emphasis on one aspect, to the exclusion of others, brings delimiting returns. An unbalanced approach is ultimately wasteful of time and resources. A current

tendency of educators and counsellors to focus only on weaknesses is incomplete. Analysis of pathology <u>as well as of wellness</u> yields more comprehensive and useful data.

9. When negotiations are skillfully conducted, both parties benefit.

10. A <u>great, sustained effort</u> will be required to develop a <u>delivery system which will</u> assure significant human and culturally sensitive development.

11. <u>States of mind</u> are the major obstacles to educational <u>change</u>.

B. <u>Societal</u>

<u>It is assumed that</u>:

12. Judgment of the Indian Education Activity requires reckoning with attitudinal and behavioral characteristics of the dominant Canadian society.

13. The acquisition and holding of power is central to the life of a society. Otherwise, without power to change institutions, groups sort out into a relationship of subordinate to superordinate, of underdog to topdog.

   It follows that certain sets of conditions for a rewarding Activity can be perceived as intrinsically desirable and needed, apart from the ability of such conditions to evoke a certain quality of response in a subordinate group.

   The issue, therefore, for a subordinate group, is to acquire access to <u>opportunity</u> structures, and not just to be contented with participation in prevailing dominant society institutions.

   It is a widespread, tacit belief that aboriginal peoples will ultimately assimilate, in spite of protests by dominant society members that that should not happen.

14. Certain attitudes are deep-rooted, and difficult to change, e.g. the dependency syndrome of many Indian groups, the controlling paternalism of bureaucrats and politicians. But, they can change.

15. The simple act of giving information, accurate and
    needed as the information in question may be, in and of
    itself does not assure a corresponding attitudinal
    change. A "sensitization" program based on information
    alone does not necessarily positively affect non-Indian
    attitude towards Indians (and vice-versa).

C. Socio-Cultural/Education/Learning

   N.B. there is unavoidable over-lap between these three
   categories, with the preceding section.

   Socio-Cultural:

   It is assumed that:

16. Indians, like non-Indians, make bad and good choices,
    and that they do this all the time. Life is like that.
    Indians can and do learn from their mistakes. Most, if
    not all of their "mistakes" are useful, if not necessary.

17. Many tend to believe that all personal disadvantage,
    real of imagined, is essentially the result of personal
    ineptness or misbehavior, and is, therefore, a sign of
    moral inferiority.

    This view sits on the premise which may be described as
    holding the "individual as central". This position is
    one that considers achieving "success" as being strictly
    individualistic. "Rugged individualism" is a
    characteristic mode of the superordinate group, and the
    latter does not tend to change its culture (or status
    quo) in which it "makes it", or is "making it", in favor
    of a culture for which the focal point is the community.

18. "Accommodating" cross-cultural contacts are needed and
    possible.

    There is a growing awareness that contact between Indian
    and non-Indian groups and/or individuals represents a
    new situation requiring the invention of new forms and
    rules applicable to cross-cultural contact situations
    and which when instituted make for a mutually satisfying
    relationship.

19. Only Indians can make their respective cultures survive
    in dynamic and fulfilling forms. Non-Indians can help
    facilitate that process.

20. Cultures generally do not survive centuries without undergoing periodic changes and crises. Amerindian culture has at least a 40,000 year existence. An underpinning to this survival is an "accodmodation" process.

21. Acquiring "modern" skills does not have to be tied to the use of English.

22. Cultural identity development is not integrally tied to language retention use, and development. However, its loss or absence can very seriously affect the acquisition and maintenance of an Indian world view.

23. Values are embedded in such structures as Budgets. A budget statement is the concretization of goals and objectives.

24. Bicultural identity for Indians is desirable and possible. Such, as a meaningful goal, given 20th century variables, has been proposed by Indian Elders.

25. The only socio-economic system that makes for complete self-determination and self-sufficiency is a subsistence economy and way of life. Therefore, to seek modern economic development in the name of self determination and self sufficiency becomes an absurdity, logically speaking.

B. Education/Learning

It is assumed that:

26. The implicit goals of prevailing school practise persuade or compel subordinate group members to adapt to the culture/ structure interests of the dominant or superordinate society, and to thereby limit the dominant group's need to alter its status quo.

27. Dominant society's views on education are those of a society already in place, whose needs are defined by the state of its economy and the infrastructures related to that, and according to its needs for technically and professionally trained personnel.

28. The long held relationship between education and employment, i.e. "better education, better job", is crumbling.

29. The long held proposition or expectation of social and cultural groups that school success is the vehicle for achieving position, political and economic power is not sure. Such cultural primary activities as religion, recreation, internal family life social customs, are pursuable. The superordinate group, unconsciously perhaps, pressure compliance to its interests, culture and institutions.

30. Schooling in the public system is held to be good for everyone, which is a misconception.

31. The two following statements are also misconceptions:

    a. "Indian children are disadvantaged" - frequently an inappropriate perception. This argument contends that, because of their lack of readiness relative to dominant society school achievement criteria, Indian children get off to a bad start in non-Indian schools. The appropriate remedy is assumed to reside in the provision of 'compensatory education'. The remedialists fail to observe that virtually all children in the present school system are 'disadvantaged'. To hold that the grouping of children into two groups, i.e. those who do it "well" and those who do badly is unfavorably biased towards minority group children, and that grade level groupings, which is a deeply entrenched practise, does not accomodate individual differences and uniquenesses.

    There is a tendency to provide programs which will help "disadvantaged" children to change (shape up). These children are regarded as culturally inferior, whereas it would be more appropriate to regard such children as simply functionally inferior relative to dominant society survival requirements. Little or no accomodation has been made of their "street" smarts, metaphoric/symbolic thinking abilities.

    b. "Indian students drop-out at alarming rates" - another inappropriate stance. This commonly made observation intimates that there is something wrong with the student, exclusive of the System.

    It may well be more frequent than conventional wisdom and practise are prepared to admit that drop-outs are simply healthy responses to an unrewarding situation. Many drop-outs are perhaps

'push-outs' or 'pull-outs' - not alienated, but simply 'alien to' a given school system and its program. Also, more of such students than we realize may be what recent research refers to as "Invulnerables", i.e. resilient, self-confident and self-directing, despite a back-ground of physical poverty and deprivation.

32. Canadians, anglophone Canadians particularly, have not tended to be reflective of what and why of their public education system.

33. A fundamental learning principle is that the learner proceeds from the known to the unknown.

34. A second basic principle of learning is that "learning by doing", sometimes referred to as "experiential learning" presently, is particularly effective with illiterate and semi-literate groups. It is equally effective with literate groups. The latter tend to be unfavorably prejudiced towards that mode.

35. There is a tendency for school people to "watch" children at all times, for fear that they may "set the place on fire or flood it".

36. What humanizes, "indianizes", and conversely. Non-Indians, if they acquire a humanistic philosophy and related process skills, become able to contribute significantly to a helpful "Indianizing" development.

37. The better the theory, the better the practise. Each may be likened to the blades of scissors - without both, there is no cutting edge.

D. Special Mention

38. The prevailing concept of "equal opportunity" is a misapplication.

   a. The integration program of the 60's was launched for the wrong reasons. It was felt then that the democratic thing to do was to provide equal access to the "benefits" of Canadian education for Indians, to the same "benefits" available to non-Indians. Protagonists of this proposition forgot to take into account that different groups of students may and do differ in their learning (cognitive and affective) for whom the "same opportunity" is inadequate.

Provision of access to opportunities tailored to meet varying needs would have been a more enlightened objective, and thereby more democratic, because then each individual would have been met as each is.

b. The past stipulation for "qualified teachers" is a second facet of the above misconception. Qualification criteria were according to each Province's standards for its own system.

c. The provision of education is a goal. The attainment to that goal is a process, a strategy.

39. Re Local Control:

a. The recommendations stated in Indian Control of Indian Education still hold (59).

b. What a community feels it needs, becomes then what the community needs.

However, a "felt need" departure is only one half of the picture. The other half requires careful assessment and financial estimating. The chances of better decisions stemming from "felt need" perception will be better than if based solely on System judgment.

c. Local control is now not only politically possible, but is also administratively possible.

d. The more that is done for people, the less they will do for themselves. A "priming-the-pump" period is frequently essential, however. This is usually a messy, frustrating phase, but one which is also a period of intense unlearning/learning.

Many Indian groups do start off in a very untidy fashion. Initially, they are not usually efficient, careful planners of time, money, resources, etc., etc. The superficial observer fails to note that, at the base of apparent chaos and administrative confusion, there is usually an extraordinary unlearning/learning process underway. For example, if one has never had power in hand before, e.g. the power of money, one can misapply it, waste it at first. An apprenticeship period is necessary.

Also, in the initial phase Indian groups may tend to administer/educate as they were treated. They tend to imitate the models they have been exposed to. When experience of model has been limited to the Indian Affairs Program, time must be given for awareness of the limits of that model and of the consequences of imitating it, and for a felt-need of alternatives given to develop. The System's paradigm needs to accomodate that messy learning period. Sophistication usually arrives subsequently - there are numerous examples of this across the country presently. This pattern appears with some regularity.

40. Re the Indian and Inuit Affairs Program (IIAP):

   a. IIAP is a sub-system; is a massive and complicated part of an exponentially greater complex whole. This is a difficulty.

   b. IIAP can be made to work for the betterment of Indian peoples. (There is much pessimism and cynicism regarding that possibility).

   c. IIAP policy till now has not been formulated in terms of a particular political ideology. It has usually developed out of utilitarian/pragmatic perceptions.

   d. Within itself IIAP develops views, and feelings. This becomes a blend that it typically ambivalent - its rhetoric claims one thing, but its actions proclaim something other. This ambivalence is an equilibrium of sorts, but one which can be easily toppled in one direction or another, more by individual personalities than by ideology.

III. Facts

The nature of the listing and groupings below, together with the attendant comments, is similar in form to that of the preceding section, i.e. fact plus comment(s).

An outline of all salient events of the secondary education story is not deemed necessary to the goal of this report. The Daniels' Thesis was carefully studied and is regarded as a reliable primary reference (70). It is a scholarly work which examines the history of

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Indian education from the standpoint of the law. Also, the Kirkness
Report, together with Program Evaluation's A Recommended Plan stand as
backdrop verification of many of the conclusions of this analysis
(29, 33).

Finally, the main concern here is not so much with the surface
aspects of the various policy issues of the past and present, but it is
more with the qualitiative linkages between what was wanted and what
happened, and why. For this reason, considerable space is given to
indicating the characteristics of Canadian education in general, and to
the influence of a dominant society mode on the development of the
Indian program as a whole, and on Indian secondary education in
particular.

The grouping sequence, i.e. Education (Indian secondary
education; Indian education as a whole; Canadian education; Good
Points), the System (Features; Rhetoric,) and Some Indian Behavioral
Characteristics, seeks to illustrate the principle that each part is a
part, and is definable by something more comprehensive. Indian
Education has been molded by the System, and understandably with little
attention to several common Indian behavioral and cultural patterns,
and also with no apparent awareness of the shortcomings of the Canadian
system.

A. Education

   a. Indian Secondary Education

      1. Systematic government studies of any aspect of
          Indian high school education do not exist, nor do
          they exist relative to the other areas of the
          Education Activity. (The Daniels' investigation is
          a private study).

      2. Considered opinion of several observers emphasize
          that secondary education, such as it has been and
          is, simply does not prepare the large majority of
          Indians for the job market, e.g. for the Cold Lake
          oil development scene. The increase in numbers of
          high school graduations notwithstanding, many
          Indian youth leave school at age 14. They cannot
          enter Manpower training schemes until age 19. The
          14-19 age period has become a destructive time at a
          crucial development moment.

      3. The high school portion of the Activity appears to
          be a random activity. It does not appear to have
          had a guiding functional philosophy of education.

4. The numbers of Indian graduates from high school programs, on and off reserve, is on the increase. The drop-out rate continues to be high. No plausible explanation of both phenomena seems available.

5. The prevailing high school format, in Canada and the United States, according to research on a massive scale in the 30's (75), and in the 60's (68) serves no useful purpose. The only reliable achievement indicator is that those who tend to get good grades in high school will continue to do so in college or university. With regard to such things as participation in the learning process, the development of critical thinking and of aesthetic judgment, and acquisition of knowledge of contemporary affairs, "experimental high schools" do as well or better than conventional schools, and cost no more.

6. Indian students who experience difficulty in off reserve high schools appear to become regarded as having "long adjustment" records. This is an instance of the tendency to find something "wrong" with the student, rather than with the school and the teachers. (71, 83) The Shore/Levy study of what these investigators refer to as the drop-out "epidemic" indicates that the level of individual acculturation, is not a causal factor, whereas school factors are the probable causes (85).

Conclusion

a. The failure statistics are extraordinary. We know very little about the nature of the results of Indian "secondary education". Why such results?

b. It has been a dominant characteristic of the Secondary Activity to be patterned after the model(s) prevalent in the provincial systems.

c. There are feasible alternatives.

d. Undoubtedly, there will be Indian groups who will want to retain the conventional model, or have it established.

e. The Secondary Activity presents a deceptively simple picture.

b.   Indian Education As A Whole

An examination of some of the outstanding features of the whole Indian Education Activity will help better perceive and understand the real complexity of the Secondary Activity.

It is premised that what affects and characterizes the whole, is likely to bear significantly on the functioning of any one of its parts.

7.   Many in government appear genuinely concerned over what forms Indian education will assume.

8.   There is no definitive and comprehensive history of Indian education in Canada. The provision of such would ultimately save research time.

9.   When civil service status for Indian school teachers was introduced, it became virtually impossible to run a separate national school system. To that point, it had been difficult enough to attempt such (2).

10. Program Evaluation's Blue Book (33, p.3) and its Evalucan Report (37 p. 55) conclude that government policy and procedures relative to the Activity have been exclusively geared to the administration of a system, and not to human development and the quality of learning. My findings fully support those conclusions.

A shift to a "quality of learning" focus could rectify much of what is "wrong" with Indian education.

11. In concurrence again with Program Evaluation (33, p.4), it is clear that no one and everyone has been responsible for the Activity. The era of vision and commitment to Indian education was that of the residential-day units (33, p.7). There is no animating government intelligence which replaced that of the churches.

12. There is presently the real possibility of a management/systems orientation now coming into place. It has a significant contribution to make towards the reshaping of the Activity. The guiding

sensitivity of the System till now has not been that of meeting directly the development requirement of Indian peoples, but rather that of becoming accountable to the System, to Treasury Board specifically. This is an incomplete effort (cf. 21).

13. The issuance of policy "guidelines" over the years appears to have frequently created interpretation and application problems at the regional and district levels. A second solution to this policy problem is to establish measurable behavioral or performance objectives.

14. The E1 and E12 stipulations are in terms of on-reserve parents. These policies raise the question of whether or not treaty rights are personal rights as opposed to the apparent position that they are geographically defined rights.

15. It is a point of Common Law that parents are responsible for the manner in which their children are educated. This principle of law is not fully applied to Indian parents (70, p. 228). Also, this focus of Common Law on the individual expresses a western cultural bias. In contrast, Indian cultural focus is on the "group", e.g. the extended family, the community (band).

16. "... the legal context under which educational services to Indian children are offered is one that is extemely vague." (70, p. 275). Some supplementary regulations have been developed over the decades, but "there is still no comprehensive set of regulations available..." (70, p. 276).

17. The term "segregated schools, i.e. on-reserve schools, still appears to carry a negative connotation. That term expresses a dominant culture prejudice, of the order of such other terms as "wilderness", "savages", "new" world, "unexplored" territory, etc. Instances of segregration abound in the greater society, e.g. separate school systems, professional clubs, prisons, hospitals for the chronically ill, Alberta

and Quebec separatists etc. Suffice it to affirm that what counts are the reasons for segregation by whatever group or individual. <u>Segregation can be reasonable</u>.

18. The discrepancies between the dogma of cultural deprivation and research findings points to tendencies of schools to conclude that culturally different children, e.g. lower class children, minority children, lack the "experiences" related to school work, have "learning disabilities", lack "skills and knowledge commensurate with their grade level", and not to conclude that the schools themselves are not prepared or better prepared to relate to the learning needs of children who are different, who are "not interested" in schooling, and who are "not verbal".

    The primary effect of poverty, race, and family, is not on the children but on the teacher who expects less. Teacher expectation is viewed as a major determinant of pupil learning achievement. So, <u>it is a question of culturally deprived schools, deficient philosophies of education, primarily, and not of culturally deprived children especially</u>.

19. North American schools tend to be undemocratic (63; 64) in the development of decisions. These schools tend be inflexible - are based on the Horace Mann concept back when schools were the places where information was to be obtained. The development of the media has rendered this former school function obsolete, but prevailing school structures have not adapated accordingly. Competency based education programs, Open Schools, Process Education forms, are some current minority efforts to revitalize the school as a place for learning. The Open School format, for instance, <u>while it is clearly not a total solution for all of the ills</u>, has demonstrated effectiveness in providing a democratized learning environment. Research also reveals that Open or Free schools at the secondary and post-secondary levels do as well or better than conventional schools (75).

20. The witholding of information to Indian groups involved in the transfer to local control process is not an unfrequent complaint. To withhold information on the basis of "I don't want to be

accused of telling you what to do etc.," is a form of control. It also can be a subtle means by which an Indian group is set up for <u>further failure</u>.

21. The presence of misconceptions makes for educational inequality. This is evidence of structural organization, or of corporate or superordinate behavior, which sustains such inequality - and which, effectively, can be changed.

22. It is often said that there is no consensus among educationists as to an appropriate philosophy. This is true. However, given current professional knowledge, it is possible to develop fresh paradigms which will accommodate a wide, diverging yet congruent range of Indian and non-Indian philosophical and cultural perspectives. A "Human Development Criteria" conceptualization could do just that.

23. The <u>OECD Report</u>, prepared by a group of international evaluators makes several pointed observations (64, No. 145-154):

   a. Not only is the education of under-priviledged groups a major Canadian problem", and that of the handicapped one that has been "grievously neglected", but the education of Native people is a "special case of perpetuated underpriviledge".

   b. The standard offering through provincial systems was assumed to be "adequate", when this "clearly was not so."

   c. Canada has made a special effort to remedy this, but as indicated above, "... there is no overall conception for the improvement of the educational opportunities for Native children, and for a steady and devoted realization."

   d. "The Examiners find it hard to understand why the Federal government has not taken the opportunity to develop here <u>striking new models</u> of school reform, demonstrating 'best practise' pedagogy in difficult conditions." (The emphasis is mine).

Conclusion

a.   It's becoming repetitive: there has been no Indian Affairs
     Program vision. There is evidence of an enormous administrative
     effort, under difficult geographical and political conditions, to
     provide a delivery system. The goal appears to have been a
     misconceived "equal opportunity" principle for culturally
     "deprived and disadvantaged" students.

     c.   Canadian Education

          What is "wrong" with Indian secondary education, with
     Indian education as a whole, I would submit, is what is wrong with
     Canadian education. Indian education reflects clearly the
     characteristics of Canadian practise and theory. Because of this, in a
     sense, Indian Affairs could do no better than their provincial
     counterparts. Over the years the prevailing anglophone ethic could,
     and certainly did not, in its philosophy and practise, accomodate the
     reality of differing culturally defined learning needs.

          In the following paragraphs some of the features of the
     dominant society's manner and ethic relative to education are indicated
     and commented on.

                         24.   "... public attitudes affect government action, so
                               that no out-of-government activity will be
                               successful while discriminating prejudice affect
                               the milieu which we expected to move." (5 p. 8).

                         25.   Carver declares that Canadians have failed to make
                               suburban habitats fitting places for human
                               fulfillment, promotion to the contrary
                               notwithstanding, because there "... is no clear
                               consensus on a philosophy of life, or some
                               agreement about the importance of people as social
                               individuals, and as workers, about the importance
                               of equality and about the values of freedom".
                               (92, p. 1).

                               It can be said that a dominant superordinate group
                               feature is that it does not prize the value of the
                               person. It is primarily object oriented.

                               Basic Indian philosophy stands in contradistinction
                               to that dehumanizing trend (46).

                         26.   One of the conclusions of both the Dennis-Hall
                               Report (41) on primary and secondary education in
                               Ontario, and the Wright Report on Ontario

post-secondary education, is that education should
be responsive to community need, be for the
development of socio-cultural benefit, rather than
solely for economic benefit which has been a
perennial deep seated trend in Canada (78).
Neither report succeeded in changing the status quo.

27. However, on an international scale, Canada is the
only country to provide some evidence to the
possibility of effectuating structural change
affecting the status quo. Such data is to be found
in the federal bilingual/bicultural program.
Through the efforts of this program a long standing
anglophone attitude towards Canadian french
language and culture has radically changed. In
Labelle's words: "Canada ... is the model of
systematic effort at mutual adaptation; it has not
avoided the problems in its pluralistic policies."
(77, p. 52). He notes, however, that the PQ effect
could undermine those results. This new
socio-cultural trend is all the more significant
because "... it has not been Canadian to be
tolerant...", and demonstrates that status quo or
structural change can occur in Canada.

It is evidence of a group obtaining access to the
opportunity structure. It has been a difficult
achievement for a group which, in many respects, is
culturally similar to the dominant anglophone group
- for both are essentially western rooted.
Perhaps, one might argue, that for Indian cultural
groups to accede to structural opportunity, it
becomes comparatively more difficult than it has
been for the francophone community.

The move to transfer the control of educational
programming and development to the local community
level is evidence of a current attempt to change
the status quo. The Canadian context is one
wherein provincial systems are effectively
controlled by strong central ministries, protests
to the contrary notwithstanding.

28. It is held by many, including some Indians, that
education is a crucial factor to needed social
reform. Many now blame the current educational
system for its apparent failure to reconstruct
Canadian society. The education provided has

strived to prepare youth for a society as it is, and not society as it should be, and particularly so from a standpoint of Indian cultural/behavioral needs and priorities.

29. Canadian education and culture are not free floating dimensions - they are determined significantly, if not entirely, by the present "economic progress" ethic.

30. There is no constituted effort to teach aboriginal languages. Their survival till now appears to rest on voluntarism.

    Departments of Education are English-speaking societies. Understandably, they have not tended to be strengtheners of other languages (90).

31. There does not seem to be currently an awareness that culture is a means of dealing with the present. Expressions abound emphasizing the "preservation" of culture. It's timeliness as political and philosophical value is not perceived and appreciated.

32. English speaking people tend to shy away from the question of what is essential to the preservation of distinctive cultural identity as a difficult and complex issue for a focus of "human needs" which are related to distinctiveness in societies. It is intellectually easier to do the latter. It is often a copout.

33. The English speaking people control the resources in Canada. They have tended to dominate and to feel they have the right to do so. This tendency is not blatant. While sincerely proclaiming the desire for the development of Native culture, the dominant society makes it more and more seductive to join the mainstream, and less and less realistic to develop aboriginal societies in terms of their respective inner accomodating/developmental dynamics. One result of this status quo stance is to reduce Native cultures to folk cultures, objects of anthropological study (89).

    This makes for a significant dilemma for, generally speaking, Indians want the advantages of the advanced material culture of the Canadian mainstream.

34. Gibbins and Ponting affirm that the general
    Canadian public does not hold Indian issues very
    high, that Indian views have little impact, that
    there is a tendency towards sympathy rather than
    towards resistance to Indian claims, that there is
    no evidence of backlash towards Indians, that the
    use of coercive/violent protest is adamantly
    rejected, that government is perceived as an
    obstruction to Indian progress. (35, pp. 37-38).

35. It can be said that an over-riding characteristic
    of Canadian education practise has been its
    "methodological formulism". This connotes the
    tendency to judge instructional effectiveness only
    in terms of method(s), and not in terms of an
    over-all philosophy of education.

    Indian philosophy provides clear counter-obviating
    principles to that.

36. The requirement for educational credentials is
    frequently (always?...) an irrational barrier to
    occupational opportunity.

    Such institutions as the community colleges, and
    particularly Athabaska University, which have no
    academic entrance requirements, are low key
    attempts to move away from that tendency.

37. OECD Highlights (64):

    I believe the following observations on Canadian
    education are accurate, telling, and of direct
    application to Indian education. (The underlining
    is my own).

    a. The development of the Canadian educational
       system is a "great pioneering" story, one
       demonstrating excellent improvisation capacity
       under unusual circumstances of geography,
       history, cultural/political conditions, and
       marked regional disparities. (No. 51).

    b. Canadian education is "totally pragmatic" - not
       concerned with "why", but with "how". Canadian
       educationists have been characteristically
       "unreflective" (No. 20).

c. There is evidence of vast quantitative changes
    since the 60's, e.g. more money, more teachers,
    more students. With the exception of Quebec,
    notably in its CEGEP movement, there is no
    evidence of qualitative changes elsewhere in
    the education mainsteam (No. 47).

    (It will be proposed later that the Indian
    Cultural/Educational Centres experiment is an
    instance of "qualitative change").

d. The Canadian pragmatism tendency, however, has
    not become a hardened, rigid, inflexible
    disposition. There is a beginning effort in
    Canada to understand "...the exceptionally
    complex causes of inequality".   (No. 221).

e. The discussion of educational inequality must
    take into account economic inequalities and
    political influence. Canadians need to
    recognize that "... many of the school related
    practises that reinforce societal inequalities
    have occurred and endure precisely because they
    serve certain economic and political interests.
    All the good will in the world among educators
    will not then suffice to eradicate such
    practises, for that requires a more profound
    change in the distribution of power in society
    and the goals which power is made to serve".
    (No. 87).

Conclusion

One point stands out as the most pertinent. While Canadian education
has not been self-reflective, and has not been sensitive to virtually
all groups who are different, e.g. the underpriveledged, the
handicapped, the culturally different, of prime importance and
relevance, is that presently there is a basis upon which to found the
hope that needed educational change in practise and philosophy can
occur in a significant manner. That is encouraging.

d.   Positive Elements

In the preceding three sections, there is a tendency to
point to weaknesses, but at several points bases for realistic optimism
were underscored. In the following part, I would like to indicate a
number of additional "good" points. The majority of the observations
below refer to recent occurences. Also, the indications are mainly in
terms of the issues of local control.

38. The cultural/educational centers are esteemed to be models of what local control can do in a vital manner. They are community related, and are Indian run. In my opinion, the CE's are a promising, exciting, education experiment (36). They are an example of fresh educational mode requiring and slowly obtaining some structural accomodation by the System.

39. The Muccusokee Project in Florida, like the Navaho Rough Rock School in Arizona, is a demonstration of what a community related school, monitored in terms of educational and financing criteria, can do, in contrast with conventional schools.

40. Not only is the principle of local control now an estblished point of policy, but it would seem that the quality of the concern for its success in terms of reasonable accountability principles and procedures has never been more opportune and favorable for significant development.

41. If government is slow, for whatever reason, in not delivering monies on time to a "locally controlled" program, the essence of local control is then belied.

42. One benefit of local control of education is that it allows for the influence of Indian wisdom. Rough Rock demonstrates how this can shape a school into innovative and experimental entitites. One feature of the innovativeness is that such schools become not a preparation for life, but are an experience in life itself. Such endeavors many impress the outsider as being unsure and unpolished, but they make for centers of vitality and optimism. (60).

43. Local control raises the issue of "Self-determining Process vs. Guided Democracy Process" (91). The latter is a euphemism for paternalism which rides on a unilaterally defined concept of what is "Canadian".

    Indian philosophy contains operational principles that make for full participatory, community centered, democratic decision making. As well, it

contains principles, which are humanizing and holifying, which can provide to the broader society the "fresh" insights that Stinson, Lockhart, and other commentators claim are needed in Canadian society.

44. There are 32 school boards in the City of Phoenix, Arizona. A cost benefit analysis of such a delivery system would be useful to the issue of transfer of control here in Canada.

45. The Greenland examples of local schools demonstrate schooling which is non-disruptive of local culture and which prepares people to take advantage of the sources of livelihood available to them (74).

46. There is a period of discontinuity in the transfer of control process during which no one can really be sure of what is replacing what was. There are levels of transformation in that process, which are conceptual, ethical, and institutional.

47. Program Evaluation's A Recommended Plan, and the various evaluation reports of the past year, clearly demonstrate a tested capacity to negotiate mutually satisfying evaluation contracts, and to provide the necessary monitoring resouces and skills (27-34).

    This presence is encouraging relative to the development of relevant educational programming in all areas.

48. Program Evaluation's concept of "accountability" is excellent as far as it goes. It falls short of providing human development process criteria.

49. Across Canada, one can now observe a growing appreciation of the need for efficiency and accountability in education. In some quarters, there is now the readiness and ability to identify functions and components - the discrete elements of educational activity.

50. According to Barber in a statement at Queen's University, the spirit of the treaties is the key, because Indian tradition is not in written words and the legal obligations it circumscribes. I concur. And, it is this spirit that is relevant to educational development (52).

51. Once again, massive research in the United States indicates that experimentation with new forms of education costs no more than that required by conventional forms (75).

Conclusion

Locally controlled Indian schools is a new mode, and promises a potential solution to learning issues for many Indian groups. There are a few Indian school projects, and particularly the Canadian Indian Cultural Education Centres experiment, which indicate the relevance of an Indian controlled and administered schooling model.

Cost benefits analyses are lacking. The Policy, Research and Evaluation Group of the Indian Affairs Program contains the competence to develop such estimates.

B. Indian and Inuit Affairs Program (IIAP) As A System

The Indian and Inuit Affairs Program itself, as a total system housing the Education Activity, is indisputably a significant influence on that Activity.

What are some of its features?

a. Some Characteristics

52. The education activity of the Indian Affairs Program has never been malicious in its intentions. It may be argued that there is evidence pointing to individual cases of policy ramrodding in the past. However, the clearest impression is that the Indian Affairs education "arm" (variously labelled since Confederation) strived the best it could in terms of the resources and competencies of the day. It seems obvious that Indian Affairs' activity was a direct reflection of the ethic and ethos, and of the approaches to education provision prevailing in Canadian society, a society which has consistently exhibited staid, lack lustre, unimaginative effort in educational matters. Like the broader society, however, it pioneered an administrative system to accomodate an immense complex of disparities across a vast country.

It is hard to believe that the machinations of late in and around the Education Activity, in the name of "decentralization" and "efficient management procedures", have contributed to the improvement of the Activity, at least from an Indian standpoint.

The argument that management is management, regardless of the nature of the area of responsibility is simplistic. To counter that professional educators should be managing education, instead of PM 7's, in order to maintain some prestige in the eyes of the C.E.A. and other professional organizations has some merit. However, educationists in this country must acknowledge that they have tended towards developing and maintaining inflexible, elitist, segregating, educational systems.

I would find it very frustrating to have to convince an M.B.A. manager type about the characteristic difficulties and complexities which constitute quality of learning issues. It has been equally unpleasant to have do the same thing with insensitive professional educators.

Of the two types, however, the latter with appropriate skills and sensitivity becomes the more suitable choice.

53. There are still too many Indian Affairs employees who do not trust Indians. Consultation rhetoric presently abounds. But, it is not uncommon to hear statements to the effect that: "Yes, we must consult and will seek the advice of the Indians; but the final decision is ours"; or: "They're not ready yet." implying "We'll decide when they are ready to assume responsibility"; or "That group is too political, or may get political..." ad nauseam.

(I'm over-simplifying to make a point - the tendency is there nonetheless - that's the point).

54. There is much pessimism and cynicism in this system? Is such a behavioral tendency a congenital defect?

If the Quasar Report recommendations are quickly implemented that tendency could be significantly minimized, if not eradicated (21, Vol. I).

55. It is clear that Indian Affairs is not like any other government department, and for several reasons. One working conditon will always be the presence of inter-cultural tension. A second factor is the nature of the avowed goal of IIAP which is the development of a human group, the achievement of which requires great persistent effort. Finally, IIAP's decision making process is hierarchically structured. How best can a vertically oriented group relate to a predominantly horizontally directed one? Indian Affairs consultating endeavor is hierarchically organized, and is not modular/cyclical in its process.

56. Where is the evidence that enough IIAP officials have effective negotiation/consultation process skills? How many are "enough", and at what points in the System do they need to be placed.

    The acquisition or development of process skills can be learned through training. It is crucial to acquire or develop staff who can transform potentially explosive situations into mutually satisfying relationships.

57. There is <u>a history of the application of "subordinate legislation", of bureaucractic intervention, which has thwarted, distorted, obviated the development of good projects</u>. Recent examples are the nearly successful attempt to kill the 1971 Cabinet directive establishing the cultural center concept, and the killing of the Ottawa high school student program, Adaption - Not - Assimilation (ANA) by Toronto (30; 58).

58. There is now in place, perhaps for a first time, a readiness, a corporate mind and will that can bring about some desired and needed structural/attitudinal changes.

    Again, the implementation of the Quasar Recommendations (21) could strengthen that readiness. That Report defines the System's "basic problem" as possessing a management system which is "... amorphous and ineffective", and which is not "...willing and able to define policies and provide plans, leadership and adequate communication...".

59. <u>There has been a tendency to impose financial management procedures which are according to "normal federal government policies", without ever assessing the adequacy of those policies in light of human development criteria.</u>

60. The senior officials of the mid-sixties were "hungry for new ideas" in opposition often with the views of line officials (95, p. 4).

61. IIAP does not have a Declaration of Rights (cf. Appendix A).

b. <u>IIAP's Rhetoric</u>

62. Rhetoric abounds and is to be found in the succeeding statements of goals and objectives over the decades. It is usually paternalistic, often correct or appropriate, yet consistently incongruent with IIAP's action throughout its history.

It is startling to observe the number and frequency of key words and phrases which are <u>never defined</u>. As declared previously, the failure to develop mutually shared understandings can lead to such serious confrontations as at Baker Lake (91). Of equal importance is that the definition of terms makes for sharper thinking, which, in turn, could lead to the development of more accomodative conceptual and operative educational development designs.

Here is a sample of such key terms:

Self-determination.
Autonomy.
Democratization.
Equality.
Share in the <u>affluent</u> society.
Become a <u>productive</u> citizen.
<u>Full</u> citizenship.
<u>Within</u> the fabric of Canadian society become a <u>respectable and valid entity.</u>
Achieve a general <u>state of equality</u> with other Canadians.

Native Problem.
Economic <u>development</u>.
Economic <u>self-sufficiency</u>.
Indians have made <u>great strides</u> in the last 15 years.

Education.
Fair and reasonable performance standards.
Educational facilities designed to advance cultural aspirations.
Learning disability.
Culturally disadvantaged; culturally deprived.
Compensatory education: remedial education.
Excellence in education.

To assist and support Indian and Inuit in having access to educational programs and services, responsive to needs and aspirations consistent with Indian control of Indian education.

Favorable discrimination; positive action.

Policy be dynamic and flexible.
Responsibility and accountability.
Act as a catalyst.
Lawful obligations are met.

Local control.
Indian management.
Consultation.
Cooperation (as opposed to confrontation and conflict).
Communication.
Participation.

Integration.
Assimilation.
Segregation.
From dependence to independence.

Quality of life.
Cultural heritage; cultural identity.
Culture.

C. Indian Behavioral Characteristics

The following are some common Indian behavioral traits, which somehow the System needs to seriously reckon with and accomodate.

> 63. Many Indian groups tend to go through a "make-up-my-mind" time. Such a phase can take several years.

> 64. The descriptions of Indian group and individual self-interpretation, when into the phases of making a decision, are usually accurate.

65. Many Indian individuals and groups are suffering 'enculturative discontinuity' - are conflicted over surface and deeper <u>incompatibilities</u> between the two major modes of identity. They have a heightened sense of inability (96,97). Such a disposition may account for the "make-up-my-mind" syndrome.

66. Indians have a persistent sense of being the original owners of this land. Many carry within themselves a quiet anger over the injustices deriving from the appropriation of their lands. Many are haunted as well by feeling of "Indians had something once".

67. There are still few attractive role models needed for the development of a synthesis of identity, incorporating from both cultures into new, satisfying gestalts.

    There is a rapid emergence of Indian self confidence, however, of political awareness and assertiveness.

68. There are numbers of Indians who fit in on all points of a spectrum, from distinctly enculturated and rooted in Native values through to full acculturation. Those in the latter group, however, may still unconsciously be carriers of some Native values which makes for a basic behavioral pattern which is resistant to change (57, p. 14).

69. Native cultures risk becoming "folk cultures", akin to other ethnic cultures with no compelling relevance to daily life and activity. The fact of cultural attrition is easily documented.

70. Even when language is lost, Native groups continue to claim distinctiveness from the dominant society.

71. A sense of identity which derives from affiliation alone is of one kind, that which stems from cultural belonging and political definition is another. It is the latter which most Indian groups wish to achieve. Also, traditional values are one thing, life styles are another. Life styles are forms which can and do change, somtimes must change.

Conclusion

Native cultures have an extraordinary survival history. Indians are
resilient. There is now a general movement of emergence, of political and
cultural assertiveness - new roles are being forged in an attempt to acquire
jurisdictional power. At the same time, because of the power of the
superordinate group, or dominant/director society, there is the distinct risk
that Indian cultures will be forced into becoming quaint 'folk' cultures.

Summary of the Chapter

IIAP documentation is not abundant. Statistics are unreliable and
inconsistent.

It is assumed that a bedrock condition for the ultimate assurance of
cultural strength and development is that Indian groups acquire jurisdictional
power. This requires alterations in the dominant group's structure or status
quo. There is reason to believe that qualities of flexibility and readiness
now exist in Canadian society to allow that fundamental change to occur.

Within Canadian society in general, and within the IIAP System in
particular, there has not been a disposition to effectively question either
entity's assumptions. There is evidence of a number of misconceptions. In my
opinion, it seems much more appropriate to define the fundamental educational
programming question in the broadest terms, as one of providing access to
"educational opportunities" in ways which can be observed and measured, which
effectively meet Indian felt-needs, i.e. perceived by Indians as their
educational felt-needs, and which become opportunities for students who are
not "culturally deprived", nor "culturally disadvantaged", but, rather, who
are functionally inferior relative to the survival and achievement
requirements of the dominant society, and who, therefore, need to acquire
additional skills and knowledge to be able to function comfortably in that
society, and at the same time having the opportunity to continue to maintain
and develop the pertinent skills and knowledge needed for congenial
functioning within their respective Indian cultures.

There is no evidence that the System has given significant attention to
school and teaching effectiveness, which parallels a tendency of Canadian
education systems as well.

Change is needed, and change is possible, notwithstanding the fact that
a great, prolonged, and systematic effort will be required.

Indian secondary education as a program has no outstanding positive
features other than that enrolment is increasing. Provincial schools appear
to be no better than federal schools (29). Failure statistics are
extraordinary. There is no evidence of understanding the causes of the
failure/success picture. This program has always been patterned after the
provincial models. There are feasible alternatives.

Examination of the Indian education program as a whole indicates that a vast administrative effort as of the 60's was made, but with no guiding inspiration, riding on misconceptions and practises characteristic of Canadian education.

Canada's educational endeavor has been insensitive to those who are 'different', and wholly pragmatic and unreflective. However, Canadian practise presently displays a possibility of flexibility and capacity for structural change, and a budding sensitivity towards the culturally different.

Present positive elements within the IIAP System include the move to permit transfer of educational control to local communities, the Cultural Educational Center phenomenon which demonstrates the good effects of local control, and a demonstrated capacity for evaluation.

At the same time, IIAP as a corporate entity shows a strong tendency towards pessimism and cynicism. However, it is now in a position to significantly alter that disposition, if, for example, it acts on the Quasar Recommendations (21). The history of Indian Affairs' actions belies its rhetoric which often was surprisingly appropriate. A listing of key IIAP vocabulary reveals a startling absence of definition of terms, all of which are value laden, and highly subject to interpretation.

The resilience of a number of Indian behaviors are factors to be reckoned with. Accomodating in a meaningful manner these culturally determined patterns is a challenging and complex issue.

CHAPTER 3 - RECOMMENDATIONS

Certain biases were declared at the outset. Data was defined. The traceability of data was indicated as carefully as possible, the bulk of which is grouped under the headings of Assumptions and Facts. The clear reference to bias, along with indicators of its nature and the data references, was done due to a weakness inherent to developing a judgment, i.e. reasonable people can easily disagree or differ in their views regarding a same situation (37, p. 59).

Pending scrutiny by examiners, it is hoped that, relative to both the data aligned and the logic applied, the lie of the interpretation is discernable particularly so through the general and specific recommendations which follow.

I. General

This exercise accomplishes several things, each of which in itself is a "judgment".

1. The attempt to evaluate IIAP policy re secondary education, early in the analysis of documents, suggested an examination of contextual variables as necessary to understanding the features of that policy. This was not originally anticipated.

    The latter analysis led to making what I believe is a significant observation, i.e. the quality and nature of Indian Affairs' education endeavor over the decades are clear reflections of Canadian educational practise and views - a dismaying conclusion - but, one that provides a sharper appreciation or understanding of the underattainment of Government's programming for Indians. Of special interest also is that bases for a reasoned hope of needed changes occurring were discerned. A very encouraging discovery.

2. It is now possible to address ourselves, at least in part, to the two issues posed at the beginning as standing questions (cf. supra, p. 17).

    As to the "willingness" of the System's people to do what is desirable, or needed, or possible, frankly only they can decide.

    As to "what could be done and why", that is the focus of the remainder of this chapter.

    There are reasons for affirming that calculated, significant and needed structural changes can be made. The problems inherent to the transfer of local control is one broad indicator of such change. The Policy Research and Evaluation Group of the IIAP houses an impressive number of skills, a variety of productive action modes,

and has demonstrated an ability to consult with Indian groups. It is not now implausible to envisage the eventual development of a critical mass of common attitudes, values, and knowledge, relevant to Indian needs. This is heartening, for it indicates a beginning break away out of a longstanding pattern of "experts" deciding what should be done, but in so doing, achieving little else than developing a diagnosis to justify the <u>available treatment</u>, e.g. justifying the application of an abundant supply of keopectate for athlete's foot; applying the Canadian educational model as the answer for Indian learning needs, etc.

<u>The issue is that of changing the educational experience</u> from the conventional one to that of an experience rooted in the respective Indian cultures, which is the foremost in the "really real" for Indians.

That is a very difficult process to establish, but is one to which Indian Affairs can apply its good offices. Such a proposal, albeit demanding, is not of millenium proportions. Counter arguments to the effect that "We can't do everything. We can't do everything at once..." - have too often prevailed to justify doing nothing. Such are cop-out axioms. The task is one, in other words, of building meaningful success possibilities for Indians.

Operationally, this becomes a question of strategy(ies) or means, i.e. a strategy with strong elements of segregation, which is difficult, but which is not entirely unrealistic. Relative to the Activity, it should be a strategy aimed at analyzing complex relationships among knowledge, ideology, economics, and political power - otherwise, the nature of the effort, will continue to be simply a reproduction of what was, only making for cosmetic, superficial changes.

The basic strategy needs to be an "accomodating" one, <u>one that consciously, deliberately encompasses in detail the capacities and needs of both parties</u>, i.e. the System and the Indian peoples. "Accomodation" is a viable alternative to assimilation, and to integration. It is not a pessimistic stance. Such a process requires policy and institutional adjustments. Central to that endeavor, should be a greater range of cost benefit analyses, on the principle that such is a tool to reduce operational problems in favor of a greater efficiency and Indian need sensitivity - and particularly to show that "new" doesn't necessarily mean greater expenditure.

3. A third major result is that a substantial number of culture sensitive indicators has been presented, particularly in the Assumptions section. It is contended that those are of some quality, and sufficient enough in number and variety, to guide the beginning of developing an "accomodating" process.

II. Specific

1. If I could make only one recommendation, I would then without reserve stress that Program Evaluation's A Recommended Plan be carefully studied and be variously applied to the many facets of Indian Education. Of particular relevance are its four Recommendations (33, pp. 29-35) which, if persistently acted on, could make for the desired changes in education generally, and in high school education particularly. The Program Evaluation Plan describes four major "Lines of Inquiry":

   a. The area of "Quality of Learning" - "The benefit side of cost-benefit analysis in education must relate mainly to what is learned." (p. 29);

   b. "Native Culture" - a question of the "... extent to which Indian education is serving the people's cultural aspirations." (p. 30);

   c. "Education Unit Costs" - the emphasis here would be "... on determining what are the actual unit costs for the Activity's major components". (p. 32);

   d. "Local Control" - "The orientation of work in this area would be to build up the understanding of the process of local control needed to facilitate the success of Indian self-management in education". (p. 34);

      N.B. These four lines of Inquiry should also include the two recommendations from the Indian educators consulted by the Program Evaluation Team, i.e. access to post-secondary education, and counselling services.

2. If my choice had to be more restricted than above, and if Indian Affairs' sole option was to make one fundamental change in order to assure an ultimately satisfying education model, I would then insist on Line of Inquiry No. 1.

   To do that IIAP may well have to become prescriptive.

3. Models

   For our purposes, models may be defined, in general terms, in two ways. They are ways of doing, or systematic "how to's". They may also be theoretical, i.e. a careful way of looking at the "nature" of something, of a problem, for instance, guided by a considered opinion as to why something is what it is, does what it does, or as to what it might do under certain conditions.

   The suggestions to follow range from the conventional to the novel, at both levels of theory and practise. It is hoped that a balance between the two will be struck for recommendation purposes.

In order to appreciate the working models which are proposed below, it is useful to consider some qualities that Indian education models should have, some of the conditions deemed necessary to their functioning, and some objectives that an acceptable model should attain to.

a) Qualities

1) Functional, i.e. manageable, and defined by culture sensitive criteria.

2) Capable of accomodating messy, start-up phases, and of enhancing experimentation of careful monitoring case studies, urgently needed in order to develop variegated, and sharp indicators.

3) Incorporative of systematic evaluative monitoring processes.

b) Conditions

1) Training or skills development for staff (Indian; federal), local education committees and parents (29). Staff at all three levels, but especially at the national level need training in such areas as consultation/negotiation facilitation, evaluation planning/implementation/monitoring of the range between conventional and experimental projects, development of indicators of quality of learning, etc. etc.

Relative to any or all of the above and to the groups of people affected, there are no serious training design and training resource problems.

Some possible training settings: Minister, Deputy Minister, Assistant Deputy Ministers, Directors General and National Indian Brotherhood Board...

2) Develop a working knowledge of new, working models already established, e.g. "Open Education" models, "Community School" models, etc.

3) Secure the finances for the development of process skills.

4) The establishment of guarantees at the level of both primary and subordinate legislation, so that appropriate policy and procedures do not become distorted, obviated by System individuals and/or groups at the top and along the line of the Activity.

The "Commission" concept as proposed by Kirkness (29), parallel to the independent "Institute" described by Sparham (88), deserve immediate and careful consideration as a counter measure to the danger just pointed to.

The absolute democratization of Indian education can only be possible under terms of absolute control of funding. The bottom line to all current transfer-to-local-control projects is that the feds still hold the purse strings. Since January, I have listened to several Indians in such projects curse that arrangement.

A "functional" democracy deriving from careful negotiation and consultation, and thus something more akin to a "self-determination" mode, and thereby significantly, and in a manner reciprocally satisfying, shifting away from the "guided" democracy syndrome of the past may be what is operationally and politically possible.

5) Gradualistic - firm and systematic - yet with all due haste. Attitudinal shifts, the extension of incomplete understandings, the acquisition of new skills, are of the essence.

c. Objectives

1) Develop an ACCOMODATION or "organic", or process model, based on both philosophical and operational criteria.

   a) Bringing process dynamics into play is crucial, because it develps the skills needed to cope with the unknown and the changing.

   b) It allows the accomodation of regional disparities, for such then can become simple working conditions, rather than remaining as obstacles.

   c) A process model can catch unresolved sub-issues, unplanned for variables; and particularly, it can accomodate mistakes, messes. It can monitor and, facilitate ways of doing which are different from those of the IIAP.

   d) Such a model can significantly contribute towards diminishing the patronizing/paternalizing syndrome.

   e) Program Evaluation Branch's A Recommended Plan says all of the preceding with clarity and detail, e.g. (33 p. 8).

   f) It is an iterative process, i.e. replication of a cycle of operations, producing results which approximate the desired result more and more closely - because of this it becomes sensitive to the perspectives of all those involved. It is both vertical and horizontal in compass.

It can, therefore, develop logical cohesiveness at all operational levels of the System. It can thus keep away from simplistic solutions, consistently accomodating complexity, present and future. It allows the bringing together of over-arching theory/values/principles and strategies.

2) Clarify in operational terms the values and assumptions that create the economic/educational structures and functions of the System, so that the nature of the educational experience for Indian students is changed to one of relevance.

3) Define accountability procedures in terms of both Treasury Board and Human Development criteria, according to regional/local disparities.

d. Scenarios

1) Current provincial government models situate at one end of the spectrum. These conventional forms are needed, and will continue to be sought after for some time to come. There are Indian groups who will want to stay with the "familiar".

There are Indian groups who, in a sense, have no choice but to send their children to off-reserve schools. The Accomodation Model can and should be applied towards the improvement of off-reserve school services and opportunities.

2) At the other end of the spectrum resides the "new" category. New formulas remain to be invented. Such could take into account established research findings, e.g. what is normally learned in grades 1-7, starting at age 6, can be learned at age 10-11 in 7 months (83, p. 158); non-exceptional children can attain "sixth" grade reading levels in half or less than the usual time (84, p. 106); subjects from experimental high schools do as well or better in college or university as do students from conventional high schools (75, p. 17); "High schools as such serve no useful purpose", and "... new forms cost no more, children like them..." at least in the United States (75, p. 18). Etc., etc.

Such research indicators, speculatively at least, suggest pragmatic possibilities relative to socio-cultural patterns of some northern Indian groups, e.g. James Bay Cree.

3) In between the two extremes would situate variations of either theme, all being looked upon as somehow being partial or total improvement(s) to what prevailed locally.

4. The argument put forth in Evalucan's report on the Cultural Educational Centers that administration of the CE's be centralized should be carefully considered (27, p. 12). In what ways has decentralization been beneficial?

III. Conclusion

As should be obvious by now, there is little or nothing by way of IIAP
policy bearing on secondary education for Indians. There is rhetoric,
but practise has frequently belied the declarations. Policy bearing on
the whole of Indian education has been equally as poor, i.e. without
intelligent inspiration. This dearth, as it was discovered, mirrors
general Canadian theory and practise. This suggests that IIAP,
understandably, could do no better. Both Indian Affairs and Canadian
society, however, while completely unreflective, have exhibited
extraordinary administrative effort in coping with the unusual
difficulties of Canadian geography, and regional disparities. This
complete pragmatism shows some degree or capacity for flexibility. Also
displayed is an emergent sensitivity towards those who are different.

These latter two trends, together with the established capacity of the
Policy, Research and Evaluation Group of the IIAP to accomodate
variation and complexity, testified to with operational clarity and wide
ranging nuance in the Evaluation Branch's A Recommended Plan, become
serious reasons to affirm solid hope for desired and needed educational
and system changes. To proceed with the Program Evaluation Blueprint
would be to proceed with class and especially with confidence for IIAP
would then know what it is doing. To that most Indian groups, if not
all ultimately, would respond favorably, even with enthusiasm.

Sorokin claims that unifying principles are groups of actions about
which personality forms itself at any given time (71, p. 1). I venture
that the "Four Lines of Inquiry", quoted previously, if pursued, will
make for those principles around which Indian personality, individual
and/or corporate, will form itself, at least in the cultural/educational
realm. Such a tack will allow the doing of all education related things
with the whyfore always explicit.

CHAPTER 4 - <u>A REMINDER</u>

Was it Confucius who said: "Keep it simple, stupid?" As we set out to drain the swamp, and as snapping alligators distract us from that goal, it will help to remember that the <u>simplest model</u> of them all is the educational institution which is a <u>warm and friendly place</u>.

Thorough research bears that out (75), as does the experience of many thoughful educators.

REFERENCE NOTES

The Reference Lists groups the documentation under the three headings of:
Government - Federal; Government - Provincial; Indian; Other.

The name of the Department has varied over the years. "Indian Affairs"
is arbitrarily chosen as a classifying rubric in order to simplify that
process. Ordering within this category is chronological.

Each reference in the Lists is not specifically mentioned in this study. It
was assumed that the nature of this analysis does not require the
conventional, meticulous, academic referencing format.

The following authors and documents emerged as of central importance:
Indian Affairs Field Manual; Education Division Letters; Submission to Cabinet
1968; Citizens Plus; Task Force Report on Saskatchewan Indian Education;
Wahbung; Indian Control of Education; the Daniels' Thesis; OECD Report;
Sparham Reports;
Couture; Hart; Jennings and Nathan; Lockhart; Ryan; Stinson.

All of the recent Program Evaluation Reports, notably A Recommended Plan
for Evaluation in Indian Education, and the Kirkness Feasibility Study, were
most useful.

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APPENDIX A

Indian Affairs' Declaration of Rights

Indian Affairs has the right:

To respect Indians and Indian cultures.
To preserve the rights of Indians.
To understand the spirit of the Treaties.
To believe and act upon the belief that the life of an Indian has more value than the demands of the System.
To be human.
To laugh at itself.
To remove the artificial separations between "Us" and "Them".
To do what is within its power to resist and destroy the dehumanizing and brutalizing effects of the System.
To remove the violence from the classrooms.
To express and foster excellence.
To let Indians make mistakes.

To do all of the above, and be honored for it.