The "What" Before The "Why": Resolution in Indian Education Today

Submitted by: L. Orlikow

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Report Submitted to the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development

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PREFACE

The author, Lionel Orlikow, was contracted by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development to prepare a report about quality education. This paper would comprise one of five sections in an internal presentation to the Deputy Minister's management group.

The terms of the contract extended from August through October, 1981. The author visited education sections of four regional offices--British Columbia, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, and Ontario. His interviews were confined almost exclusively to Departmental officials. This limited attention occurred due as much to the brief time available for the task as a central decision to avoid broad participation. Considerable print sources--periodicals, unpublished, official and casual--were scanned.

Senior management in DIAND was selected as the prime audience for this internal report. These officials require background information about issues in Indian education, as well as a context about education in general. The text runs too long in this attempt. Each chapter usually concludes with alternative means and ends.

CONTENTS

A. RECOMMENDATIONS

The five recommendations attempt to make a resolution--not a solution--of the existing situation in Indian education. Local control provides their central theme, although this organizational device does not automatically ensure quality education for all Indian pupils.

At the least, local control can contribute to an environment where various types of Indian education could become relevant to their own particular situations. Of equal importance will be an opportunity for realistic diagnosis of Indian education and its application, a condition impossible at this time.

I. That each Band in three years will receive a bloc grant that will be based upon the per pupil expenditures made in neighboring publicly-supported school districts in the respective provincial and territorial jurisdictions.

Justification:

The first task in achieving quality education calls for Bands to receive fiscal control of schooling in order that they can determine the organizational direction of services--viz. to contract with a provincial school district, or to establish an independent school unit, or to cooperate with other Bands. Provincial standards in funding and curricula are the benchmarks. Such strong unofficial controls as job requirements or admission to postsecondary institutions are important in maintaining quality.

II. That the number and type of categorical and discretionary educational grants from DIAND be cut to the absolute minimum, and more specifically, that a) DIAND solicit support from The Western Development Fund in order to construct and upgrade capital facilities; b) all construction be made on the basis of provincial formulae for

building requirements; and c) necessary cultural, vocational, capital-out-of-revenue and language grants also relate to provincial formulae in the immediate future.

Justification:

The financial system under DIAND to date has evolved with too many vagaries both within and among regions. Nonformula grants allow continued opportunities for end-runs through this highly politicized environment. The legitimacy of many special grants are not denied; however, a simple basic system must be established. Band participants can understand these rules that treat each dispassionately.

III. That each child of school-age under DIAND auspices will have the right to receive an appropriate level and type of schooling in his/her home community.

Justification:

This statement is one of principle. Simple linkage to provincial educational systems could be misrepresented as a resurrection of the 1969 White Paper. This particular recommendation focuses upon the child and his/her right to receive a schooling suited to his/her circumstances. A pluralism of program options follow as children are different.

IV. That each authority that delivers schooling with DIAND funding must submit an annual statement of what programs are offered and an evaluation of Indian pupil progress within them; and that this statement form a report to parents and Band councils as well as to the Department.

Justification:

A school-based evaluation/accountability process is proposed not only to improve individual school practice, but also as

base to reveal common issues among schools. An absence of concensus on educational goals, inadequate testing technology, inappropriateness of central management procedures, all render impotent any sophisticated accountability systems set centrally. Furthermore, the Federal Government by itself cannot enforce serious controls upon provincial schools.

V. That an educational ombudsman be appointed, together with appropriate staff, who would report directly to the Minister of DIAND.

Justification:

Suspicion dominates the current situation in Indian Education. The movement towards local control should exacerbate the tension: failure to carry out legislative intent, negligence, unfair policy, inefficiency, denial of services. The pace of decentralization does not allow sufficient time nor attention to take care of the myriad of problems experienced by Bands, individual parents, and teachers. The ombudsman offers an alternative route for inquiries about many problems now festering through mistrust.

B. THE SITUATION

I. Educational Development Through the 1970s

Society has established an organization, the school, where certain activities are provided to children and youth. These activities are underlined through compulsory attendance--a requirement absent in most organizations like hospitals or libraries. Employers reinforce the importance of schooling through their own requirements of particular grade levels for entrance into certain jobs, training and apprenticeship. To obtain the rewards through schooling many trappers and fishermen have been forced to stay in communities where there are schools for their children.

Not that many years ago, Indian children in northern settlements had many fewer chances to succeed in the school system. Many left home to attend southern schools because there were so many limitations in northern schooling. Fortunately this state of handicap was challenged.

The success of these efforts has been found in rising retention rates, heavier enrolments in post-secondary institutions and the creation of stronger lay leadership.

A major factor in the success was the establishment of a foundation similar to provincial schools. This base included a number of elements: better built and attractive schools, higher certified teachers (and sometimes aides), more types of materials and textbooks, and increased local decision-making.

Despite these many accomplishments, too many children still leave school too soon!

A new strategy must be found--one rooted in the fact that

children differ. They come to school with greater or lesser degrees of: motivation to learn, physical and social handicaps about learning, home and community supports, and personal models of success. If school does not meet their own needs, they physically stay out of school or mentally drop out of studies.

This Report is concerned with the many youngsters who do not fit. Unless they begin to perform better in reading and other basic skills, few of these "drop out" children ever will be qualified for anything but the most menial work. Many will sink into apathy, or will become participants in welfare life. This concern can be found everywhere in Canadian education; however, conditions peculiar to Indian education make the situation more serious.

No one factor is to blame for this condition. To the credit of educational leaders of the 1970s they deal with a host of problems over and above those faced by leaders in non-Indian education. Many schools, quite small and isolated, experience unusual problems in staffing and services. An indeterminate number of parents remain unsure, even indifferent, about the value of schooling. Large sections in many textbooks and materials, printed for urban Canadian markets or non-Canadian societies, remain meaningless to many children. English, the usual language of instruction, is not used at home by many children. Accelerating change finds gaps between home community, the school and the outside world.

This Report attempts to establish a basis to establish a stronger organizational framework which would promote healthier

school situations for more Indian children.

II. An Attempt to Define Indian Education

There is no universal application of the term Indian education across Canada. The attached model of intergovernmental implementation illustrates why (Table 1).

General direction is set in Ottawa and translated through the Regional offices. Variations occur in each Region encouraged by different bases of resource allocation (D) and application of various formal and informal standards (C). These standards and resources relate in differing degrees to particular provincial systems of education. Resources to Indian education usually are regarded as inadequate.

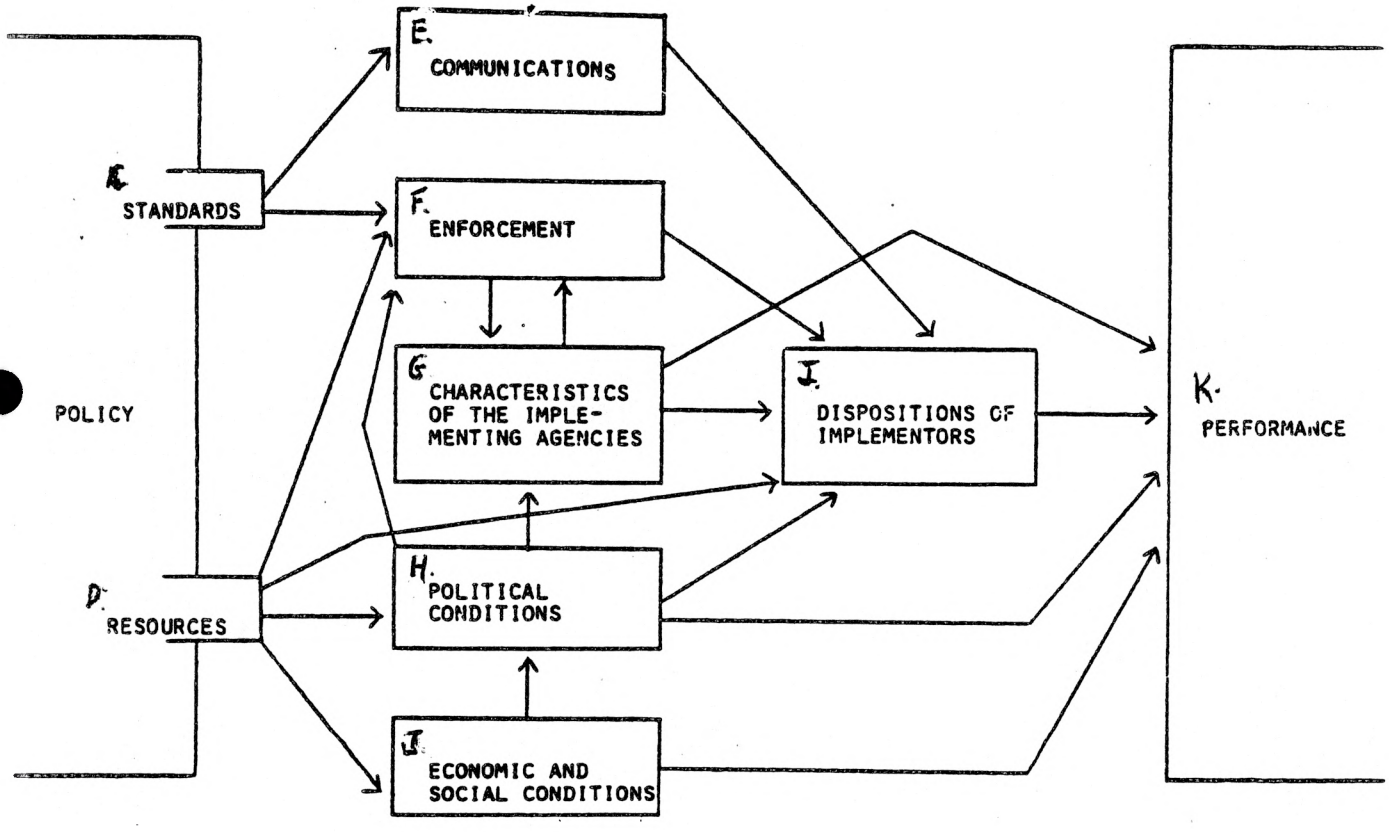
Regions varies internally as well as externally. Standards and resources are only inanimate messages. Good communication (E) should be accurate, consistent; however, the diversity among governments, nongovernmental organizations and private individuals complicates the flow of messages. Central agencies in Ottawa are especially concerned about enforcement mechanisms (F) to achieve compliance within the system; however, strategies in instruction are loose. Implementation agencies diverge on many characteristics (G)--essentially in the breadth of their boundaries, from a narrow 3R English curriculum to broad community development. Political conditions (H), in particular the relative strengths of provincially-based Indian organizations, have implications upon many stages of educational growth from goal-setting to resource allocation. The economic and social environment (I) influence

IMPLEMENTATION OF INDIAN EDUCATION POLICY

TABLE 1

A. RECOMMENDATIONS

B. SITUATION



Adapted from - Carl E. VanHorn and Donald S. Van Meter, "The Implementation of Intergovernmental Policy," in Charles O. Jones and Robert D. Thomas (Eds.), Public Policy Making In A Federal System (Beverly Hills: Sage Publishers, 1976), pp. 39-62.

many aspects from attendance to employment opportunities after graduation. Last, but not least, the human factor, the disposition of implementors (J), conditions their ability and willingness to support central or local policies.

Thus, performance levels (K), however defined, vary markedly within a Region. Their operational goals differ. Rewards, such as community support, fluctuate as parental pressures move from indifference, to supportive, to hostile. Teachers have many or limited skills. And so on . . .

The text is organized following the flow in Table 1. The recommendations in A, the first chapter, flow from the general situation, B, and both have the roots in chapters C to K.

Given the complexity one might question whether there is a system of Indian education in anything but name conducted by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. Still it is possible to establish some working generalizations.

i. Education is defined as

- formal instruction, in a school, from Kindergarten up to grade 12 (13 in Ontario).
- content and skills in literacy, numeracy, an elementary understanding of science and social studies, and a narrow core of subjects leading to university entrance in the higher grades (with few options and science instruction generally is weak).

ii. Nonformal education--i.e. for those children and youth not attending school--receives no public resources (except incidentally attached to a post-secondary adult program).

iii. Three main types of education at best only receive 'cursory' attention:

- community improvement education, designed to improve local/band institutions and processes through instruction in such matters as community projects and development corporations.
- family improvement education, designed primarily to impart knowledge, skills, attitudes, useful in improving the quality of family life, in such subjects as child care, family planning.
- occupational education, designed to develop particular knowledge and skills associated with various economic activities and useful in making a living.

iv. Community schools, a term that covers a range of activities, is present in scattered forms--community persons (elders) in classrooms, use of local resources in teaching, use of school outside of school hours, community use of facilities during school time, parents involved in decision-making--but only by chance and not as a consistent top priority.

v. Technology forms a casual part of the total instruction, although satellite communications linking schools of isolated communities could improve instruction.

vi. The provincial educational system in the particular province where an Indian school is located sets the local reference point of standards in quality.

vii. The over-crowding of the curriculum and new demands upon inadequately trained teachers have resulted in some neglect of basic skills and knowledge, and unacceptable gaps among schools

in the context and quality of the education.

viii. Much of what goes on in schools, colleges and universities is functionally irrelevant to the 'needs' of individuals as parents, workers and citizens, and to the general development 'needs' of their communities.

ix. Cultural content remains loosely defined, at times identified with tribal identity, or at other times multicultural relations, usually is dealt with casually throughout the total curriculum, and joined in provincial schools to nonstatus natives.

x. A number of common concerns in Indian education needs much more examination--organizational arrangements in small schools, isolation, high mobility among pupils and teachers, dialect English and English as a second language, inadequate support services.

Where to start? Many statements of direction about Indian education now resemble children's lists for Santa Claus, i.e. many items, not prioritized and costly.

A review of comprehensive planning should include the identification of general goals; the definition of specific objectives aimed at the goals; the development programs and alternatives to meet the objectives; and the compilation of information to monitor progress towards objective or goals. These components take on meaning when placed in context of the reasons for developing a plan--more accountability by program delivery agents to central funding; greater response to the public; and rationalization among similar but fragmented activities. The following questions provide a focus:

- What are the goals in teaching Indian children--broader cultural experiences, or narrower preparation for entry into the labor market?
- What services should be purchased to provide activities to educate these children?
- How can choices be made among alternative programs for teaching Indian children?
- How can DIAND be assured that its distributed funds are being used effectively?

Unfortunately this ideal planning process is hopeless now. Multi-goals are vague as well as contradictory. Attempts to establish 'identity' has to be achieved along with the 'productive citizen in an integrated society'. What emphasis should be given to each? How can they be transformed into specific teaching, and hopefully, learning exercises in the classroom? Do they complement or conflict with those goals set in individual homes, the community, or the broader society? As a further complication, no regional needs assessment about Indian parental concerns in education is available. Without such profiles diagnosis is dangerous!

These questions now are resolved in a noneducational environment. Education within DIAND has little clout. While provincial education has its distinctive form of governance separate from local government, Indian education does not possess such protection. Furthermore, one-half the pupils are enrolled in provincial schools where their parents have little influence upon local boards of trustees. At a senior level, education has

been subject to 'management' directives, insensitive to unique local factors in planning and delivery of programs at the school level.

III. Developing an Educational Framework

A start must be made. Operating premises are available.

i. Rural/northern communities differ widely in their natural resource endowments and basic development potential, in their present stage of development and economic infrastructures, and in their readiness to move further toward modernization. At one end of a continuum are poorly endowed communities largely isolated from the larger society and economy. At the other extreme are high-potential villages with many employment opportunities that are modernizing. And remember that a number of reserves are adjacent to or part of urban centres!

ii. Indian communities are markedly distinct in the strength of their social organization to resist the demoralization of poor health, unemployment, and alcoholism. Each faces other issues due to distance, isolation, and homogenization.

iii. Indian cultures vary according to retention of language by its members, use of traditional crafts and exposure to urban media.

iv. Social science knowledge about pupil learning potential and effective teaching techniques is inadequate--and particularly Indian education--as a basis upon which to make educational policy decisions.

v. Available measurement instruments are primitive in scope and biased against many qualities of personal development--popular standardized tests are weighted against Indian children.

vi. Significant improvements in Indian student performance will require sweeping changes in educational organization and practice, a virtually impossible condition during this period of fiscal retrenchment and retreat to traditional forms of schooling.

Therefore, no formula is available for achieving all the different Band aspirations, expectations, plans and interests. Still the Department could use a policy statement, or direction, for its education effort. An example follows. Each statement contains illustrations of specific tasks to carry out general intent.

School systems supported by DIAND will encourage those activities that--

i. Each student should be recognized as an individual with unique talents and skills.
(develop course options, vocational, arts and music)
(encourage different learning styles, older pupils teach younger ones)

ii. Each student should preserve his cultural heritage.
(extend first language programs, the home language of the pupil)
(develop more materials and courses that use northern examples)

iii. Each student should learn best as an active participant in learning. If a traditional environment, the young would observe

and learn.

(organize opportunities for students to contribute to their communities)

(offer means for students to share in education decisions)

iv. Each student should develop a positive attitude towards self and learning.

(postpone high emphasis upon English reading skills when damaging to a student's self-esteem)

(build instruction upon strengths of pupils)

v. Each student should be expected to deliver quality performance.

(establish standards by parent/teacher/pupil agreement)

(set individual objectives with each pupil)

These general terms do have meaning in a school. Quality education would form the common element among a pluralism of different school environments.

Quality education can be defined in terms that are both simple and penetrating. A quality program would define an appropriate school as one that:

- provides incentives for students to want to attend and remain in attendance until they graduate;
- knows the situation of its graduates and drop-outs so that it can evaluate its program;
- produces graduates who are qualified to go on for further studies or have acquired the basic skills to become gainfully employed;

- develops attitudes of satisfaction with the school among its students, parents, and teachers on its many different aspects; and
- encourages active student participation in school activities in order to expand further student talents and interests.

Quality in cost can be outlined too. Gross inter-school comparisons gloss over very significant differences produced by peculiar local conditions. Much work has to be done on: what constitutes an efficiently operated school?; what criteria will be used to evaluate it?; what are justifiable variations in educational expenditures? Efficiency of isolated, and/or northern schools must be determined not only by 'What does it cost?', but also answering 'What are we getting for our money?'

School and community must work together in this dialogue. Each has its own responsibilities in the task of improving educational opportunities for children. This task must be carried on community by community. The following questions illustrate some needed background information.

i. How does the school provide opportunities for the community to learn about the school?	i. How does the community provide opportunity for the school to learn about the community?
ii. How do school people feel about the community? Why?	ii. How does the community feel about school personnel? Why?
iii. How does the school support the community?	iii. How does the community support the school?
iv. How does the school use community resources and leadership?	iv. How does the community use school resources and leadership?
v. What can be done to improve the situation?	v. What can be done to improve the situation?

IV. A Safe, Traditional Strategy in Educational Development

The recommendations in this report are traditional. One should commence where the Indian education system is. Attainment of provincial resources and standards by Departmental and Band-operated schools is set as the first target. This recommendation has nothing to do with the intent of the infamous White Pages of 1969 to 'provincialize' Federal services to Indian communities. Rather, the intent of a bloc grant to Bands seeks to establish a framework. The decision about delivery of services remains with each individual Band. A bloc grant, based upon Provincial guidelines, establishes common ground-rules about funding for all Bands within a region.

Such a recommendation contains many serious limitations. First, the adoption of provincial formula downgrades certain unique elements of Indian education. The cultural aspect, or the need for more resources to design locally-based curriculum materials, are two such examples. Second, adoption of provincial formula, could lock many Bands into provincial educational practice. To date, provincial programs have not encouraged many Indian children. Fewer options and streaming at the high school level should threaten more Indian youth in the 1980s. Third, preoccupation with school-based activities would curtail attention from broad development issues. Fourth, increases in provincial funding are consumed by salary increases and inflation. These two cost pushes are difficult to translate into measures of higher pupil performance.

But politically the existing provincial system is known and accepted. Acceptance of Recommendation One can deflate the current high degree of suspicion and acrimony between DIAND and Bands and shift attention onto productive pursuits.

If the Department is willing to adopt the concept of a bloc grant based on provincial norms, higher costs with only modest improvements in pupil performance should be expected. The fact is that provincial per pupil expenditures are higher than those given by DIAND. Indian pupils enrolled in provincial schools now receive quantitatively more supports than those attending Departmental or Band-operated schools. A real choice among options should be offered to all Bands. Millions of dollars are required to close the gap.

A modification to the above Recommendation, would have DIAND extending the period to achieve parity and utilize added dollars toward more services for out-of-school youths and adults. Specifically, there is need for many more opportunities that could facilitate entry of Indian people with less than high-school graduation into training courses, and in particular, the trades and technologies. This alternative would extend open-entry programs, build up innovative support services and extend them across Canada. Unless DIAND takes this route, many young adults and older folk are doomed with their lack of credentials to a lifetime of unemployment or marginal jobs.

Hopefully a minority of Bands are ready, willing and able to utilize the flexibility possible in provincial guidelines and

will do so. A majority needs the confidence obtained through maneuvering within the rules and regulations of an established system.

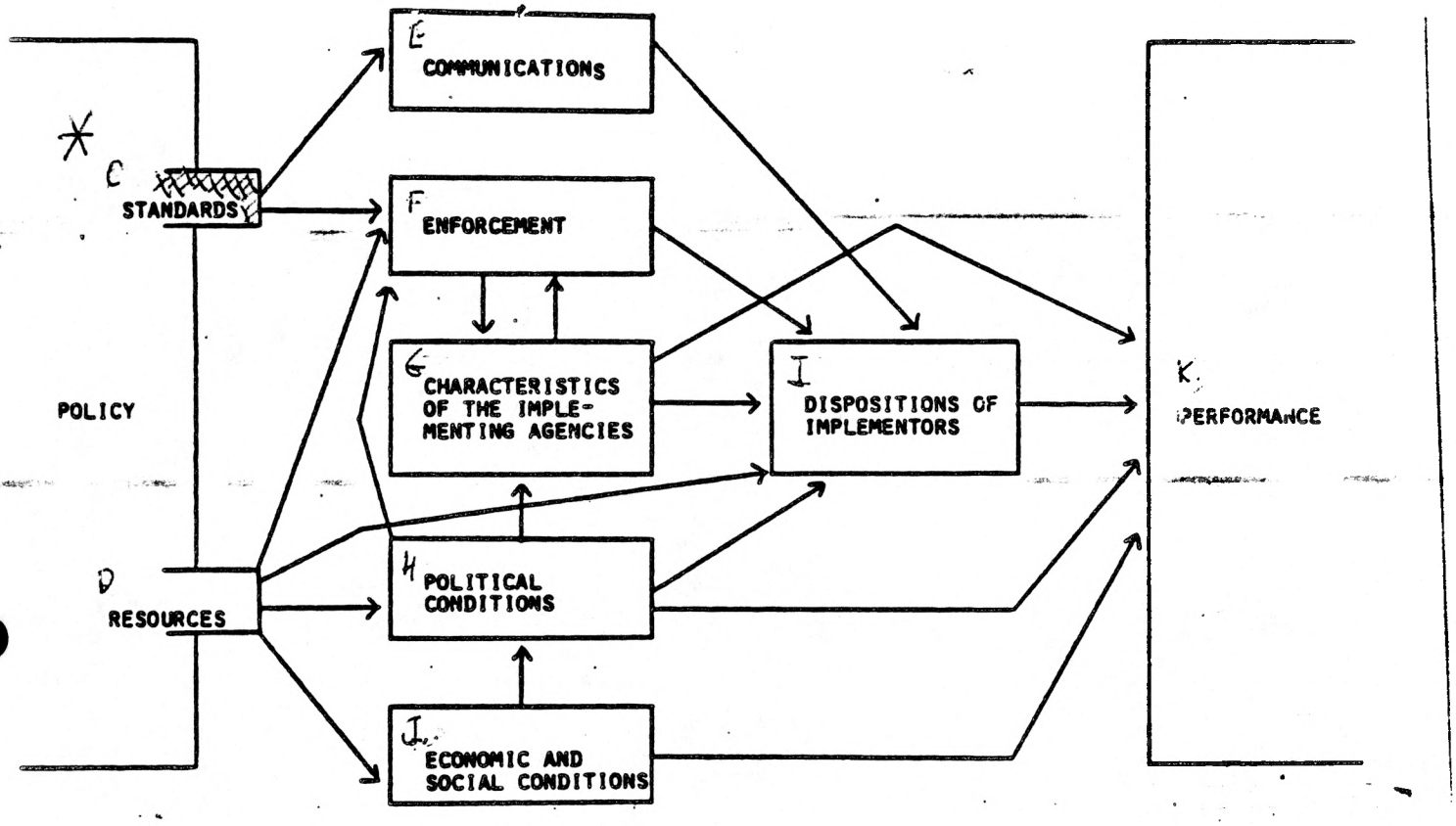
Priority determination will be difficult for most Bands. A number of dilemmas face them. Limited resources--human energy and dollars--are major curbs to their deliberations. The leaders must wrestle with:

Local, band residence versus External mobility
Culture, identity versus Assimilation
Majority, pluralist versus Elitist, academic
Children, youth versus Older youth, adults
General, life preparation versus Narrow, job preparation

The balancing acts go on.

In contrast, advantages for DIAND in retaining the existing messy situation should be noted. Educationally, there are none. But, politically, there are a number. With intergovernmental accountability lines so confused, blame for disappointing pupil performance can be tossed about. Cynically, some support for local control undoubtedly has its origin to a feeling to dump the headaches over to the Indians. Fuzzy financial guidelines facilitate attempts to 'keep the lid on'--extraordinary grants can buy off swifter and aggressive Bands. Lack of Departmental objectives and policies allows education to mean anything to anyone. Internally within the Department the low status accorded education has facilitated the stripping of staff to other functions. Unhappily no positive contributions toward quality education can come from a perpetuation of the status quo.

On the other hand, radical restructuring is rejected. Alternatives designed to open up the school system need to be established. There are Canadian examples. Survival schools attempt to go beyond the formal curricula and engage in more individualized programming. An itinerant teacher who would educate children of families on the traplines in northern Saskatchewan offers another exciting alternative. Although provision should be made for these nontraditional school settings, these choices would attract a small minority of parents. The vast majority wants the established regular system--nontraditional means second-rate.


E
COMMUNICATIONS
C
STANDARDS
F
ENFORCEMENT
G
CHARACTERISTICS OF THE IMPLE-MENTING AGENCIES
I
DISPOSITIONS OF IMPLEMENTORS
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PERFORMANCE
POLICY
D
RESOURCES
H
POLITICAL CONDITIONS
J
ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS

C. STANDARDS

Schools are designed to provide activities for a child to learn so that he/she becomes a capable, well-functioning adult in a complex society.

The search for standards appropriate to quality education is a fascinating and frustrating one. What is the concept of the good life possessed by the searcher? How will that concept be translated into instructional practice?

The lowest acceptable common denominator--quality controls set by individual provincial departments of education--is recommended in this Report. Initially they provide a common starting point acceptable within the three types of Indian education. Later--earlier for those with confidence--provincial standards can be modified, replaced, and supplemented.

I. Standards of Quality

The notion of a 'standard' is one of the most potent symbols in educational discussion. It is capable of being meaningfully employed in many very different contexts and subject to a wide variety of interpretations. To sustain high standards is the chief moral imperative of an instructional program.

There is nothing new about the regular monitoring of standards of attainment. Centrally-set examinations were a common feature of provincial systems of education until a decade ago. External inspection or reviews also were common. Financial reports still are collected by central authorities.

Changes in the nature of secondary education jolted traditional monitoring instruments. A general backlash against standardization occurred--local authorities were encouraged in the 1960s and 1970s to design content and instruction to suit their own peculiar conditions. Central examinations were scrapped because they focused upon a few studies that benefitted a minority of pupils going on to university; socio-economic biases in I.Q. tests were criticized. Meanwhile universities began to admit mature students who did not possess high-school graduation. The rapid increase in numbers of schools made provincial inspection obsolete.

The education system did not collapse into anarchy after central monitoring was cut. Strong common elements continued to tie apparently disparate systems together. A narrow range of textbooks, often aimed at the Ontario market, was one. School organization continued to be based upon grades, a teacher in the class, and established subject divisions. Informal ties fostered by such national associations as the Canadian Education Association and the Council of Ministers of Education encouraged a homogeneity in attitudes. A few standardized tests, most notably, the Canadian Test of Basic Skills, sustained attention upon a narrow range of skills in elementary classrooms across the country. Faculties of education concentrated upon preservice teacher preparation and with few exceptions avoided basic research and evaluation about the education system. Furthermore, most faculties aided standardization by offering similar programs, seldom adapted to Canadian circumstances.

Some recent Canadian meetings attempted to define quality of education in operational terms. The Canadian Teachers' Federation in 1973-74 organized work-sessions that would report back on the implications of quality education for pupil progress, personnel, school organization and school environment. A final report noted the high level of agreement among public, professional and public statements of principle and belief. Divergence occurred in practice. The task of application was simply too large or too vague for the participants.

II. Goals of Education

Goals of education can be grouped in terms of the benefits to the individual and to society.

There are benefits to individuals:

- First, education informs students of many career opportunities and exposes them to many subjects of study and to diverse experiences. As a result, students are helped to find careers that match their aptitudes and interests and in which their productivity is likely to be at a maximum. Incidentally also, they are helped to find the vocations from which they are likely to receive the greatest personal satisfaction.

- Second, education enhances the versatility of people, widens their options, and reduces the risk of blind alleys. Education widens job options and enlarges choices among combinations of income, leisure and security.

- Third, education helps people perform tasks which they might

otherwise have to pay others to perform, such as preparing income tax returns and negotiating private business transactions. Similarly, education may help consumers to buy more intelligently and to be more discriminating in their responses to salesmanship and advertising.

- Fourth, education is closely correlated with health, which also contributes to productivity and income.

Social benefits are more difficult to define:

- Education also undoubtedly raises the quality of civic and economic life by providing an educated and socially responsible political leadership, by preparing people for effective citizenship, by providing volunteer community leaders needed to make society function, and by supplying people who can bring humane values and broad outlook to government, and other practical affairs. To sum up, education is a major factor in the preservation and transmission of the cultural heritage, in the formation of the culture of the future, and in the solution of immediate problems. Unfortunately, Canadian education has done little in the preservation of Canadian cultures. Indian educational aspirations show a common concern expressed by other groups, most notably Francophones.

To measure or assess the products of education is extraordinarily difficult. For one thing, these products are highly intangible. For individuals, they consist of changes in knowledge, traits, values, attitudes, and skills; for society, they are accretions to knowledge and technology, changes in the conduct of

social and public affairs, and changes in the underlying institutions and culture. In the myriad influences on individual and social change, the particular effects of education are hard to isolate and virtually impossible to measure in any strict quantitative sense.

The products mature over many years. The education of a fourteen year old continues to evolve. So, even if problems of identification and measurement could be overcome, the result of education in any given year would be inherently unknown and unknowable.

The products of education are controversial. The purpose of education is in some sense to condition individual human beings and to influence the future course of social and cultural development. Seldom is this purpose stated so bluntly because no responsible educator likes to imply that he is a God qualified to chart the destiny of his fellow human beings. Yet, the activities of instruction inevitably change individual human beings and also inevitably change society, sometimes in unexpected ways. Hence, these activities are intimately bound up with our basic values and beliefs and are, therefore, controversial. The products will be judged differently by different persons. It is not a simple task to reach universal agreement across all Bands at any time on answers to questions such as these: Which characteristics of human beings should be cultivated? Which discouraged? For what style of life should young persons be prepared? What beliefs and values should be questioned and what reinforced?

These questions must be faced albeit tentatively. For Indian education today actually encourages youth to abandon their home communities and go on to urban jobs; or much of their post-secondary training focuses upon individual benefits without considering the trainees' potential contribution to their communities. Thus, it is difficult to find the appropriate balance in activities that favour both home residence and out-migration.

III. Objectives of Education

Objectives are specific statements of intent supporting one or more goals and requiring appropriate policies, resources, programs, and activities in order to be achieved. Objectives should be stated much more crisply and refined than goals.

As general goals become more specific in terms of objectives, the chance of conflict increases. For example, all will agree upon attention to communication skills. But what does that mean in application? How much time in the school day? Should more attention be given to writing, oral, or reading skills? What is the relationship to the first language if it is not English? Can the home be expected to support the classroom in various exercises? Vice-versa? To what degree should a provincial guideline be adapted to fit a local need?

An even more difficult task occurs in the establishment of priorities among objectives. Usually this task is ignored in any substantive fashion. Thus, schools have tended to add an increasing long-list of functions from family life education to nutrition. If one strips aside the rhetoric a crude ranking exists

among subjects in elementary grades in most Indian schools--language arts (possibly 70 percent in primary years), followed by mathematics, social studies and science trail, and finally, art, music and physical education are treated as frills. Native culture or community history varies in quality and quantity depending upon local factors.

Another impediment occurs in balancing the respective interests of the province and band. Although recognition is given to both, the infrastructure of a provincial system tilts the emphasis in its favour. Indian pupils meet provincial courses directly in provincial schools or indirectly in schools on the reserve that prepare pupils to move into provincial schools/colleges.

A further complication. Frequently program objectives are attractive but quite unattainable. Claims for new educational content or technology have implied that they can improve health, reduce delinquency, increase cognitive capacity, and raise employment. A considerable literature has examined the contribution of education to development. Adams summarizes that situation as follows:

> "In a remarkable display of imagination, conclusions have been reached that education contributes to political socialization, political stability, national integration, social status, and a long list of personality attributes. Because of the difficulty in showing that such presumed outcomes are the demonstrated results of explicit instruction or of planned educational experiences, much of the literature in this vein is reminiscent of the old residual argument in the economics of education whereby the unexplained factor of growth is frequently assumed to be schooling.

> Attributing causes of little understood economic or social changes to education may be convenient, but should hardly satisfy either scholars or policy makers."[1]

The evidence is far from conclusive. Inkeles concluded that education was "a very powerful direct and independent factor in determining men's modernity" after researchers controlled for various socio-economic variables, such as mass media contact, rural origin, father's education.[2]

In contrast, Jencks' research said that schools make little difference.[3] He and his associates, after shifting through mountains of data, argue that "schools serve primarily as selection and certification agencies, whose job is to measure and label people and only secondarily as socialization agencies, whose job is to change people."

The anomaly is that education, as a cure for all manner of societal ills, has undoubtedly been oversold. There is little evidence that increased expenditures for education leads to higher quality education.[4] Education is, for example, an inferior

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1 Don Adams, "Development Education," Comparative Education Review, June/October, 1977, pp. 296.

2 Alex Inkeles and Donald Holsinger, eds., Education and the Individual Modernity in Developing Countries (London: E. Brill, 1974).

3 Christopher Jencks, et al., Inequality (New York: Basic Books, 1972), p. 135.

4 See Henry A. Averch,et al., How Effective is Schooling? A Critical Review and Synthesis of Research Findings (Santa Monica, Calif.: RAND Corporation, 1972).

instrument for the redistribution of income. Special programs for education in the inner city have apparently made little if any contribution to reducing employment among inner-city youth. But the largely negative findings of researchers on this issue seem not to have affected prevailing opinion. Education continues to rank very high among citizens' preferences for public expenditures, in spite of increased media attacks on education in the last several years.

A major difficulty is holding schools and teachers accountable for the achievement of particular educational aims. Accountability implies that those concerned have some control over the variables that affect the desired performance. Berliner (1976) is quoted as stating that ". . . if all the variables were taken into account over which the school has no control, schools should probably end up accounting for as little as 5 percent of the difference between achievement outcomes of students within any given age group."[5]

IV. Comparative Standards, DIAND and Provinces

There are no individual and group of standards of quality education that are universally accepted. Legitimate claims can be made for many. A list of major ones follows. Differences in application between provincial and DIAND schools are noted.

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[5] D.C. Berliner and C.W. Fisher, "Clinical Inquiry in research on classroom Teaching and Learning," Journal of Teachers Education, Nov.-Dec. 1979, pp. 42-8.

A. Certification of teachers - Similar, province and DIAND. Native Teacher Education Programs are delivered within established Faculties of Education. An exception is the Saskatchewan Federated Indian College that is closely tied to the two provincial universities.

B. School calendar/day - Similar. A handful of Indian schools have adjusted their school years for particular local conditions. Ten months make up the school year, consisting of 180 to 200 teaching days, September to June.

C. School admission and duration - Differences. Canadian children are required by law to attend school from the age six until 15 or 16, with an upper limit to ages 19 or 21. (7-16 in Manitoba and Saskatchewan, 6-16 Ontario, and 7-15 in British Columbia.) A rising number of Indian schools have five and four year old Kindergartens and nursery schools. Five year old classes enrol a substantial majority of children of that age.

D. Attendance requirements - Similar. A compulsory element is involved in references to attendance during the ages for school attendance. Notwithstanding provisions for employment of attendance officers, there is a general reluctance to prosecute offenders. The use of fines proved impossible to enforce. Indian schools with popular home-school co-ordinators have tried a positive approach to promote attendance.

E. Promotion requirements - Different, province and DIAND. Only Saskatchewan of those surveyed has an external examination in grade 12, and only for those students whose teachers are not

'accredited'. Ontario possesses grade 13, a unique feature in the country. No official statements on promotion are available; however, practice signifies an unofficial direction. Frequently promotion policies in elementary grades are couched in terms of continuous progress or social promotion; however, Indian schools demonstrate bulges in enrolment at the first grade one, about grade 5, and two grades later. Each point of grade retardation is explained in terms of school expectations that many Indian pupils do not satisfy.

F. Evaluation - Different. Responsibility for pupil promotion is left to individual schools, based upon school-based instruments. Ontario contracted with OISE for the development of banks of test items. Manitoba tested the areas of writing skills, reading skills, and mathematics at various grade levels. Saskatchewan has no plans for province-wide assessment plans. British Columbia samples students in grades 4, 8, and 12 in various subject areas. DIAND possesses no such system-wide evaluation, although Manitoba region examined reading.

G. Pupil records - Different, province and DIAND. All schools require a pupil cummulative record. The major difference occurs when gaps are produced by higher turnover in staff in too many DIAND schools.

H. Curriculum - Modest differences, province and DIAND. The Minister of Education in a province is responsible for describing and prescribing courses of study which set the content of the school program and the overall sequence in which it is taught.

The Minister authorizes subjects which are to be compulsory. The core in high schools consists of mathematics, science, English, and Canadian history. Individual schools are urged to adapt --such as, emphasis in topics, amount of time, local materials-- within provincial guidelines. DIAND schooling varies in several respects: fewer options; no vocational education; and inclusion of first language and local studies. Furthermore, more than one county system of schools in Ontario has more person years engaged in curriculum development than all DIAND across Canada. Provinces are introducing curriculum guides beneficial to Indian pupils; however, they are oriented to status, nonstatus, Metis, or "northern".

I. Textbooks - Similar. Every province issues lists of texts which are authorized or recommended for use in schools. Usually a list of textbooks, rather than one title, is recommended. DIAND schools follow provincial curriculum, therefore, the texts. Constant change in teachers and supervisors produces frequent upsets in basic instructional series in many DIAND schools.

J. Extra-curricular activities - Similar, provinces and DIAND. This item usually is omitted in statements of education development. Each school is given the authority to design and to fund these activities. Many Indian pupils are denied opportunity in this activity due to bussing demands that curtail after school activities--a fact of geography rather than finances.

K. School/grade organization - Similar with modest differences, provinces and DIAND. Pupils are usually placed in one grade per

classroom in elementary years, and one subject per classroom in higher grades. Interdisciplinary studies and open area education are rare. Small school size alone places a higher proportion of Indian pupils in multi-grade classrooms.

L. Personnel policies - Different. While teachers in DIAND and provincial schools have protection under their professional organizations, the Public Service Association contributes little on professional subjects. Teachers in Band-controlled schools have annual contracts and no broad based association.

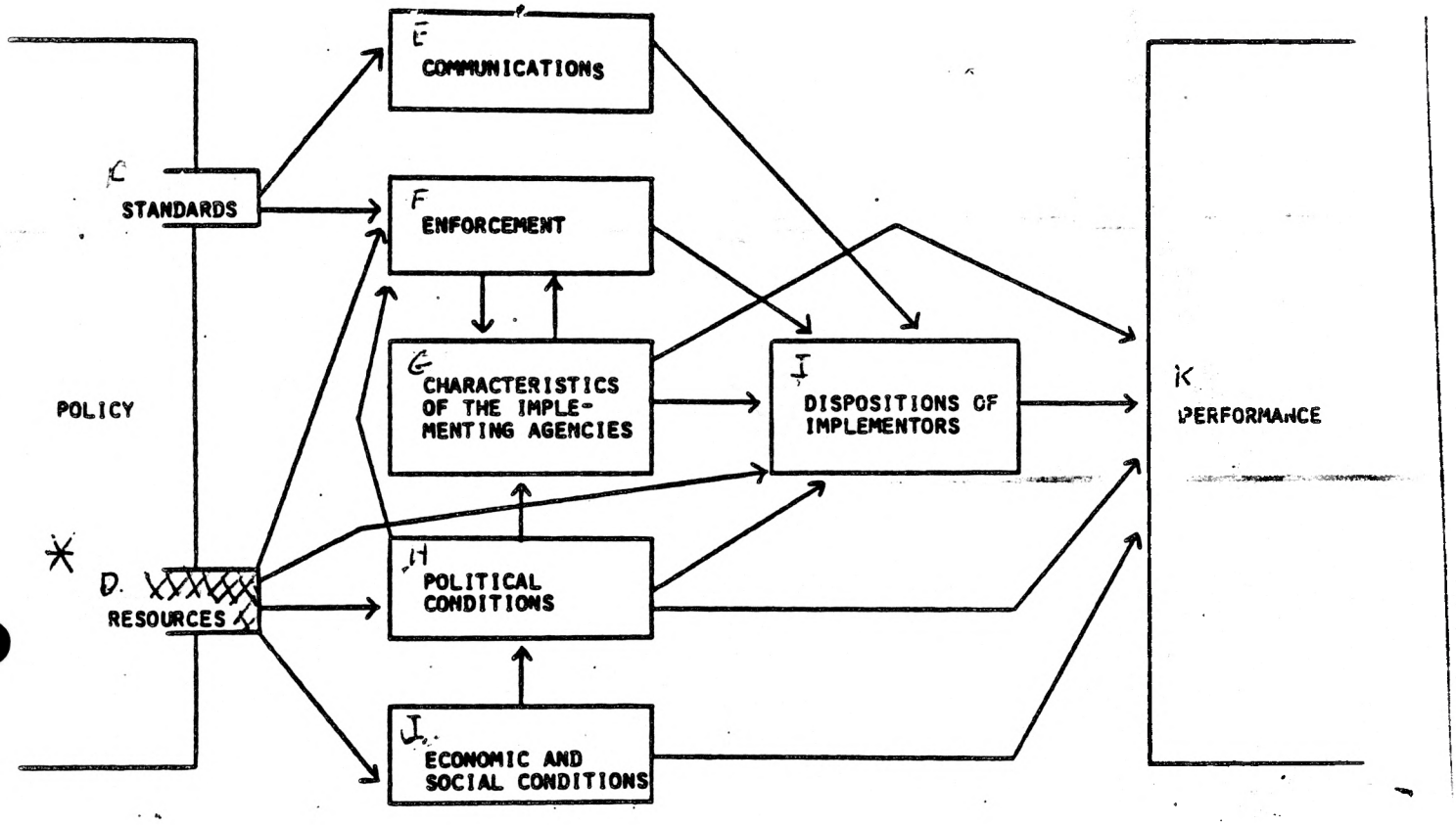
M. Unit organization - Different, provinces and DIAND. The four regions studied have school boards that are creatures of the province. They operate under the control of citizens who in this position receive differing percentages of funding from the province. The size of a jurisdiction differs within provinces and between provinces, although those in Saskatchewan are smallest and Ontario the largest. Band-controlled school units are quite small. Saskatchewan and Ontario provide tax support for schools on a denominational base. DIAND education is closely tied into general government whereas school governance is separate in provincial systems.

N. Supervision - Different. Superficially there are similarities in a general provision for supervision in the school, the area, and the region. Titles are similar, directors, principals, superintendents, and consultants. But DIAND teachers receive less direct "hands-on" supervision, in part due to DIAND staffing policies, their geographic isolation and the large number of teaching principals. Ontario is exceptional in its extended

certification requirements for various supervisory certificates. Although virtually all principals in Band-operated schools, across Canada possess customary training and teaching experience, the situation of directors finds many without formal credentials.

O. Parent participation - Different, provinces and DIAND. All educators state they want increased parent participation in schools. The rhetoric is backed up by action in Indian schools. Indian schools possess a major advantage due to small size--viz. the school system often is the school. Potential conflict is avoided as a central board of trustees and school parent bodies are the same.

Apples and oranges! Most Indian pupils are expected to achieve provincial standards; however, they are educated in a different school context. Respective conditions of teaching/learning diverge between Indian schools and the provincial. The differences in themselves contain cost and noncost items. Can appropriate standards be designed for both systems?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STANDARDS
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ENFORCEMENT
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CHARACTERISTICS OF THE IMPLE-MENTING AGENCIES
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DISPOSITIONS OF IMPLEMENTORS
K
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D. RESOURCES

A program is considered a set of elements, each of which can be thought of as a collection of resources, policies, and instruments, which through integrated operation generates an output that approaches an objective. In instructional terms, if pupils do not reach the objective, the objective can be amended or scrapped, or the elements varied.

The scope in alternative programs in practice is quite narrow. Schooling is a very labor-intensive enterprise. Not only are human instructors rarely replaced by mechanical devices, but also teacher aides are supplements, not substitutes, for professional teachers. Instructional techniques represent value positions and not simply forms of technique. Open education, for example, implies a different set of relationships among teachers and pupils than does the traditional directive role of one teacher to one group of pupils.

Financial considerations require that the best alternative should include criteria of economy and efficiency. Usually academic planning has no concept of scarcity. Additional capacity always is sought--a lower teacher-pupil relationship, more consultants, additional equipment and supplies.

Financial formulae seem hard. They are based upon numbers of students and staff ratios, teacher qualifications, numbers of courses, space and facilities required. Their determination rests more upon political bargaining than research. No hard and fast statements can be made about the appropriate overall teacher-pupil

ratio, or even applied to various subjects. Recognized but different guidelines on appropriate space in technical/vocational spaces can vary by over 50 percent in square footage.

Why? So much is still unknown about how to develop quality teaching, how to produce quality learning, and then how to connect the two. Gross definitions of excellence are readily obtainable --however, finer gradations are not.

And so, educational analysis of programs usually defines inputs as the outputs, and, therefore, by this definition objectives are met. Attention shifts from what children learn to how much a school unit spends. Effort appears as a substitute for achievement. Through such indicators as hours taught, materials used, size of class, or dollars spent per pupil.

I. Differences in Distribution, DIAND and Provinces

Distribution in resources to schools distinguishes Indian education from provincial systems of education.

Comparisons are difficult. Some supports to Indian schools are delivered in other budgets--recruitment under The Public Service Commission, advice on capital from the Department of Public Works, and schools are the prime recipients of materials developed in the cultural area. A majority of Indian pupils who live in nonmetropolitan centres generally reside in northern communities where various operating costs--heating, transportation--are higher than in the south. A dampening element occurs in the generally lower starting salaries and increments paid to teachers who are

less experienced and less papered than their provincial colleagues. Procedurally an absence of a common system of accounts allows items to slip among expenditure categories. Administration and instruction are two that mix.

A general overview of resource allocation is informative in spite of methodological issues.

A. Salary Schedules

Modest differences, DIAND and provinces. Generally teachers' salaries in DIAND operated schools lag slightly behind those in the provincial schools. Those in Band-operated schools contain some features not found in the two larger systems. Administrative salaries in DIAND beyond the principal's level fall far behind their counterparts in provincial and local school districts.

B. In-Service Training

Variations among DIAND and provinces. Days officially allowed and those taken deviate. Manitoba, for example, has the largest number, 11, but few school districts allow more than five. In-service training can be carried on outside school hours and through early closure during the school day. British Columbia with four days lies closer to the norm. The content of in-service days usually has one or two on administrative matters, one on instructional methodology, and perhaps one related to a subject area or activity. Orientation days in Indian education are urgently required, because the Department has difficulty in employing large numbers of teachers who adapt.

C. Special Education

Differences. Essentially DIAND has lagged far behind the provinces. The provinces under review have beefed up their services during the past decade in order to deal with the issue of mainstreaming pupils with learning handicaps. DIAND does not possess a necessary core of specialist staff--psychologists, reading clinicians, psychiatrists, resource teachers. A major issue lies in the definition of special education pupils, as the criteria of age-grade retardation alone would place many Indian pupils into special education. Cost implications are overwhelming.

D. Textbooks

Similar. DIAND schools follow the provincial curricula and authorized list of textbooks. Their fewer options, means text allowances are slightly more modest than those in the provincial schools. Extremely limited small markets for Indian first language materials narrows the potential range of texts. Preparation of Indian-related materials are an additional cost.

E. Library

Differences, DIAND and provinces. This budget item in DIAND schools has suffered in this time of budgetary restraint. Although provincial schools also should beef up their libraries, DIAND schools do lag behind. Public library grants are further ahead of DIAND fiscal supports to Band libraries.

F. Vocational Education

Differences, DIAND and provinces. DIAND has virtually none. Isolated cases of shops, home economics, and typing, are the norms. Comprehensive high schools in provincial systems have more variety in shops and laboratories. Small school size is an insufficient reason for the absence in DIAND, as there are means to link small schools in vocational education. To some Indian parents, vocational education does represent a means to get rid of weaker students, the old shops dumping ground.

G. Capital Construction

Differences. The amount and type of funding plus space guidelines provided by the Federal Government differs; however, the most significant distinction does not occur there. Federal rules and regulations, or absence of them, makes the approval process through design to construction a very frustrating experience. Other substantive issues have to be faced, and some--multi-purpose use of school facilities (such as sharing with health care and adult learning) and the situation of bands returning their children from provincial schools built with Federal dollars--must be faced. The certainty of more high schools on reserves also means higher costs to construct these more elaborate facilities.

H. School Maintenance

Modest differences, DIAND and provinces. Procedures in DIAND are becoming more routinized as Bands assume more responsibility for this item. Regular upkeep can be readily estimated; however, unusual situations require a flexible type of assistance.

I. Experimental/Demonstration Grants

Similar, to a degree. These grants can take various forms --a centrally-set direction available to all local units on approval of request; or a pool of dollars allocated to locally-determined projects; or an unspecified, undetermined pot that might be tapped from the central coffers on general criteria. Examples of each might be found, although central authorities tend to follow the latter, the loose. British Columbia has several substantial pools available to native (nonstatus, status) projects initiated in provincial schools including the interest on $25,000,000 in the First Citizens' Fund and the $5,000,000 in special approvals. Saskatchewan has launched a significant native urban set of programs in collaboration with a number of school boards --status Indians participate. DIAND has no similar special allocation, although funds are made available out of general allocations.

J. Research and Evaluation

Differences. DIAND has no staffing capacity here, Ottawa and regions. Ontario region utilizes the expertise from a half-dozen universities. Each province has its research arm. Much evaluation is applied in nature. A few local school districts--particularly larger ones in Ontario--also engage staff in research and evaluation. All governments place research and evaluation as a low priority, as measured by the dollars contributed to these activities.

K. School Equipment

The situation remains too scattered to describe with any

clarity.

L. Adult Education

Differences. At one time general adult education was assumed to be a responsibility of local education authorities, supported with modest provincial contributions. A handful of local boards continue in that field. Most of this responsibility for adult education in a province now is undertaken by various postsecondary institutions usually a community college. While general education as opposed to specific job preparation has suffered in all jurisdictions, DIAND effort has taken a particularly hard beating.

M. Administrative Supports

Differences. Variations occur among provinces--the Ministries in British Columbia and Saskatchewan are relatively small when compared to their counterparts in Ontario and Manitoba. Numerical distinctions are found within regions--small school districts only possess a superintendent, a secretary-treasurer, and perhaps two or three other administrative support personnel. Administration in DIAND has been stripped to the marrow of the bone. Districts have shifted person years from education to economic development. Present DIAND job descriptions of administrators indicate a continued field presence; however, paperwork alone compels all but a corporal's guard to move paper in their offices. Furthermore, administrative supervision is too loose: small school size means principals teach a considerable amount of

time; high staff turnover results in many inexperienced principals and staffs; and isolation restricts external visitations. Band-operated schools frequently employ individuals without professional credentials as director but who possess the confidence of the Band council. The principal becomes the professional administrator, the director administers finance.

N. Cultural Supports

Differences. The four provinces studied have established a sharper position for native cultural content than has the Department. Each Department has established a locus of native education internally to produce a range of support documents and services. Manitoba has staff but few dollars, whereas, British Columbia has about six million dollars but one staff person. Interested DIAND schools can tap into these services or dollars. Unfortunately, DIAND action remains fuzzy, in part due to some staff who see little, if any value, in first language instruction, reserve-local curriculum adaptation, and items of a cultural nature. Grants to cultural development centres have been frozen.

O. Pupil-Teacher Ratio

Uncertain status, DIAND and Departments. Available data simply is too loose. Suggested guidelines are given about the teacher-pupil ratio, but application differs according to how many supernumeraries are rolled into instruction. Thus, a school district could list 20 pupils per classroom, but many classes would have five to ten more, due to the employment of many central office personnel. Indian schools usually have an actual lower

per pupil teacher ratio because of small school size and few non-school personnel. Furthermore, Indian schools also employ teacher assistants, a rarer fact in provincial schools.

P. Non-Central Revenues

Different. The provinces studied utilize a combination of provincial and local funding to raise revenues. DIAND sponsored schools receive 100 percent of their resources from the Department. Bands differ in their economic resource bases; however, no suggestions were made to have the "richer" contribute to educational costs.

Q. Pupil Transportation

Similar. All jurisdictions face increasingly high costs. Transportation formula differ, as to which pupils are bused, what supports, and under which controls. More rethinking about the benefits and losses of school consolidation is required.

R. Per Pupil Expenditure

District differences. No uniform system of funding exists among jurisdictions, nor even within a jurisdiction. Variations are legitimate according to conditions imposed by conditions of geography, economics, demography. Inequities persist if only that comparatively rich school districts offer more pupil services than can the poorer ones. Yet, each provincial department has a rationale for determining per pupil expenditures. Such a logic does not exist within DIAND, thereby, encouraging more vagaries

subject to political pressures.

Is more better? The answer to that question is left to others. As circumstances differ in each jurisdiction and school setting, no attempt is made to suggest what factors should be included, and to what extent.

The point is to call attention to the fact that students in Indian schools generally receive a lower level of resource allocation than do their counterparts in provincial schools.

II. Difficulties in Analysis

Three major activities consume well over 80 percent of expenditures. An examination of their total shares in the four provinces demonstrates remarkable similarities (1977).

i) Teaching salaries -

Manitoba	- 63.81	British Columbia	- 70.8
Saskatchewan	- 68.23	Ontario	- 70.18

ii) Plant Operation

Manitoba	- 12.81	British Columbia	- 16.62
Saskatchewan	- 12.88	Ontario	- 13.41

iii) Administration

Manitoba	- 10.42	British Columbia	- 3.04
Saskatchewan	- 2.79	Ontario	- 5.66

The actual variations likely are narrower. For example, bookkeeping procedures account for Manitoba's lower percentage in teaching and higher in administration. As Brown comments:

> "'it is extremely difficult to analyze the performance of school finance plans in Canada. The main reason

> for this is that few if any of the provinces publish breakdowns of the amounts allocated to their various school jurisdictions. In addition, few provinces will make such information available to interested and concerned segments of the general public. The net result is that there are virtually no empirical studies of the financial or educational effects of provincial-local school finance plans which can be cited."[1]

Differing patterns of resource allocation between Indian education schools and provincial school systems increasingly should distinguish the two. First, a rapidly rising Indian youth cohort will push a growth element in many Indian schools. While many provincial school districts are dealing with enrolment decline, DIAND sponsored school administrators must face all the problems in providing services to more pupils.

Second, DIAND school construction has to remain a top priority. Additions to existing stock, new buildings, renovations, all will remain critical for some time to come. The unique position of a school building to a small community underlines the critical role of construction.

Third, various support services require a foundation. Absolute minimal standards in resource allocation cannot be established with universal acceptance. But a number of services--libraries, special education, vocational education--function below the most casual definition of minimal. The need for increased curriculum development will press for regular forms of support. As a start, very tentative guesstimates would raise current DIAND

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[1] Wilfred J. Brown, Education Finance in Canada (Ottawa: Canadian Teachers' Federation, July, 1981), p. 193.

expenditures outside tuition agreements by 15 to 30 percent.

School by school analyses can provide a start at examining patterns in current resource allocation. This treatment would permit a qualitative review to supplement quantitative data. Three Band-operated schools in British Columbia illustrate the complexity in this approach.

STATEMENT OF COST FOR THE BAND OPERATED SCHOOLS

	Alkali Lake	Bella Bella	Mount Currie
Fiscal Years	1978-79	1979-80	1979-80
Grades	K-4-8	K4-12	K4-12
Enrolment - Full Time Equivalent	68	318	198
Instruction	$134,204	$1,199,533	$461,684
School Facilities	9,328	36,244	108,535
Transportation	-	3,486	40,800
Curriculum Development	15,250	6,832	82,176
School Committee	763	140,810	8,812
Student Allowances	-	12,470	25,215
TOTAL	$159,545	$1,399,375	$727,222
Average Cost per Pupil	$ 2,346	$ 4,401	$ 3,673

Some higher costs at Bella Bella are explained by the fact that teacher training is included in instruction. Alkali Lakes' lower grade structure eliminates higher cost senior grades--senior teachers usually are better papered and paid, their classes are smaller, and texts cost more.

The recommended pattern of relating the bloc grant to

adjacent school districts contains considerable variations. The situation in Manitoba illustrates the spread. Two of the four lowest spending districts on a per pupil basis lie adjacent to reserves--$1932 and $1822. On the other hand, northern districts are higher--$2817, $2842. Frontier School Division stands out with $4624. Rural districts lie in the $2100-2300 range, 1981 data.

The Audit Bureau analyses of education in several regions repeatedly demonstrated that resource allocations differed markedly according to what jurisdiction the Indian pupil attends influenced by a crude attempt "to keep people from screaming." To summarize Manitoba alone--Frontier School Division, $4,000; Band-operated, $3,000; and Department-operated, $2,000. Marked spreads also occur among the Regions. Now it is possible to condone some gross disparity and use reasonable supporting arguments.

> "For there is no ultimately correct criterion of the public interest. Even if I believe in absolute rather than relative values, and believe that there is a test for these on which people ought to agree, some persons will not agree with my values. There is then no demonstrably correct or universally agreed upon criterion."[2]

But, pedagogically, the disparity reveals serious imbalances. Politically, the deck is stacked against keeping Indian children out of provincial schools.

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[2] Roland N. McKean, Public Spending (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1968), pp. vii-ix.

III. Alternatives . . . The Voucher and Bloc Grant

Program priorities often are determined by available resources. A concept of the what might be frequently shrinks to boundaries set by the what is available.

Essentially, this Report recommends a strategy based on a conviction that government dispenses money quite successfully but its development of programs presents another matter. The instrument is the voucher program.[3] The success of the Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program demonstrates one type where monies go directly to the resident, who in turn purchases the home repairs, or service. To become independent one must possess the means to do so. Most support services fail to achieve that objective in preserving their clients in dependency. Therefore, each band would receive a voucher, a chit related to the respective provincial funding arrangements. This voucher could be directed in many directions: operating a school on the reserve, purchasing services from DIAND, contracting space in a provincial school district or a private school, collaborating with other Bands, sending children to boarding school, or joining two or more options.

Each region in this study utilizes provincial-local sharing of responsibility for financing school operations. Thus, DIAND also should examine the eastern model--Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick, Newfoundland--where a province funds schools almost

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[3] Vouchers usually are based upon individual persons as recipients. See Dave M. O'Neill, "Voucher Funding of Training Programs: Evidence from the G.I. Bill," The Journal of Human Resources, XII, 4, 1977, pp. 425-45.

totally with some provision for a modest supplementary local funding above the basic program. The politics alone of equalizing contributions to school districts in New Brunswick would provide an interesting case study.

The proposed bloc grant would be based upon provincial funding distribution. In the short-run one objective is to cool controversy about DIAND financing through the establishment of regular procedures. The long-run hopefully should see other questions addressed about resource allocation:

i) How can the amount and type of resources and technology available to both teachers and students be increased?

ii) What are the implications upon resource demands with 100 percent funding related to provincial norms?

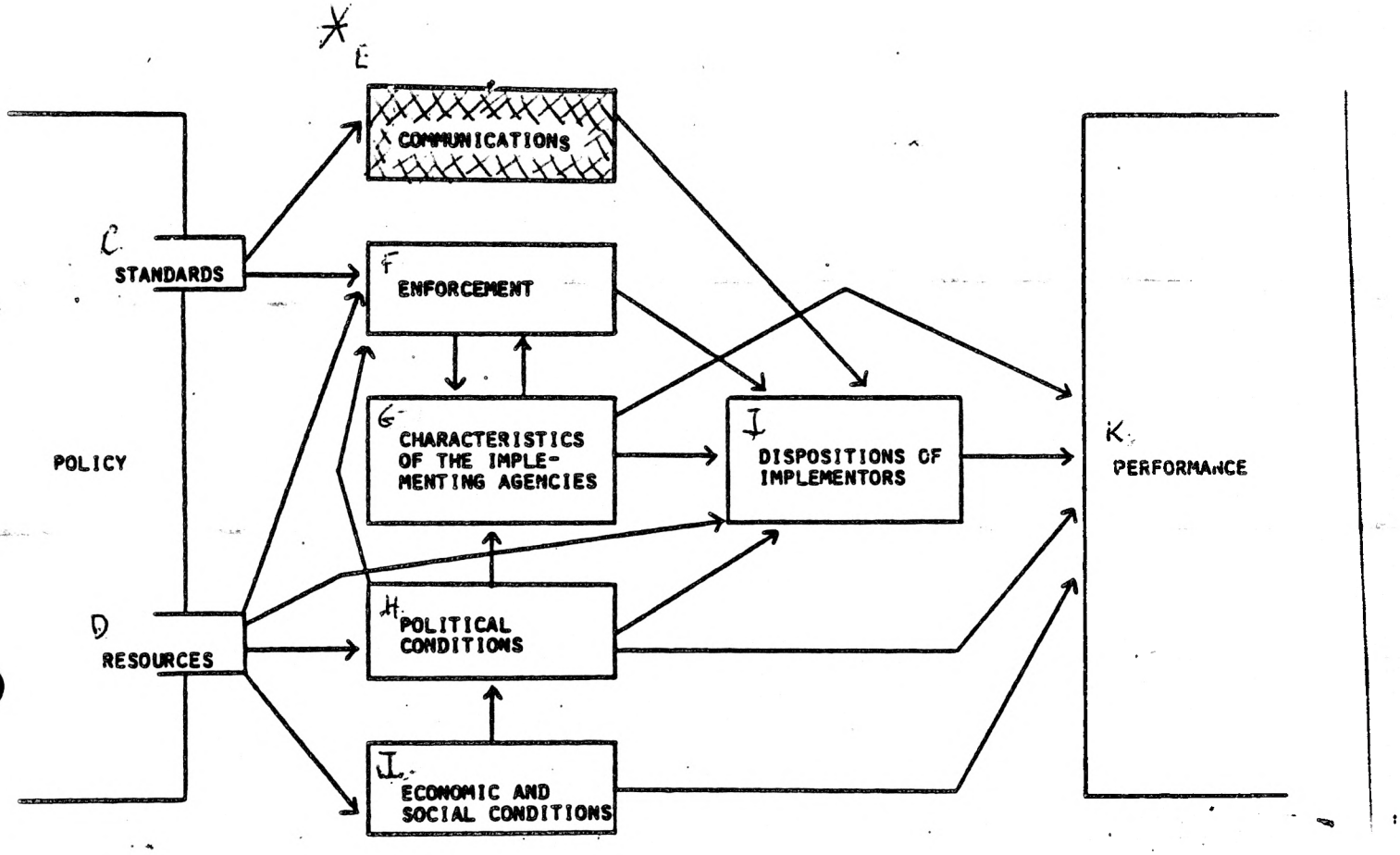
iii) How local does local control need to be?

iv) How can curriculum and other school programs integrate education into the local community and its culture?

v) How can administrators, trustees, teachers acquire more training in their respective roles?

Purpose, direction, vision, also have to be established in order to establish a framework to assess resource allocation today. For there is widespread concern that many policies directed towards Indian education are not succeeding. A number of social, economic, and other programs initiated with the highest and most humane intentions now are being judged unsuccessful. There are few hard and fast rules. What works in one setting often fails in another. But when policies identify the wrong cause of problems, solutions can make things worse. There may be less

toleration of policy failure in the 1980s if only due to fewer resources with which to accomplish public objectives.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E. COMMUNICATION

Poor information and even hazier theorizing remains a critical problem in any informed discussion of Indian education in Canada. General program objectives, based upon an ill-defined target population, lead to mushy programs, and thereby, later defy any evaluation of any progress towards meeting the objectives.

A common failure to go through the necessary steps in analysis contributes to an element of hopelessness in Indian education. High dropouts. Low test scores. The confused situation--and at high dollar costs--encourages commentary that places much of the responsibility for failures upon the Indian population. Are they failures or victims?

This Report unlike most government papers on the subject of Indian education critique does not proceed from either an assimilationist or pluralist position in respect to Indian/non-native relations. Neither approach is the "correct" one. Unfortunately, all too frequently divergent models are pushed without explication. Polarization and suspicion mount as debate proceeds from different starting points, and often conclude with different perceptions and opinions about issues. Integration when? Participation for what? What is a community? Who deserves employment and how? These questions rarely are posed. Ideology is held outside the bounds of discourse in favour of hidden assumptions and acceptance of dubious models.

So communication problems are replete in Indian education. Individuals talk at cross-purposes. There is no one cause, nor

evil intent. The very content and decision-making processes encourage conflicting messages:

- the time constraints on decision makers to take some (any) sort of action;
- competing notions of what Indian education should attempt to maximize, who should benefit, who should bear the costs of policy;
- the question of defining benefits and computing ratios of benefit to cost;
- the difficulty of separating economic from social criteria of policy benefits;
- the problem of getting agreement with answers for dealing with policy problems do not exist;
- the lack of ways to use partial information and to continually readjust policies to maximize the chance for goal attainment;
- the nature of the Federal budgetary system and its limits as compared to the budgetary requirements of Bands, provincial school districts.

To complicate the processes all decision-makers have their own personal experiences with schools. These experiences condition their perception of issues. That fact becomes a liability when actors with a limited and biased perception make decisions too simplistically in forgetting the sheer complex and dynamic quality of Indian education.

Furthermore, there simply are too limited resources (dollars, committed staff, power, informed public) to respond to unlimited demands to reform Indian education.[1] Therefore, a

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[1] Policy relevant research about Indian issues in general both inside and outside the Federal Government is meager, see Sally M. Weaver, Making Canadian Indian Policy: The Hidden Agenda 1968-70 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981), pp. 20-1.

number of fundamental, desirable recommendations that would relieve the sad lot of the losers, must be discarded in this Report: guaranteed employment for all those ready, willing, and able; a large-scale public employment program; the elimination of poverty, and in particular, relief for the elderly, disabled and working poor; broad development programs incorporating all sections of Indian communities. The climate of support for such goals is absent both federally and provincially. Furthermore, any comprehensive planning-implementation strategy by two levels of government and the Bands would be impossible to create at this time.

Thus, the perception of the author has led him to make a short list of recommendations that are limited in scope. They concentrate upon building upon tradition and utilizing existing resources, human, governmental, whenever possible.

Hopefully, limited scope will not deflect fundamental questions. One stands out. The work ethic contains validity for most Indians only if these individuals have an opportunity to work. A grave gap between the ethic and reality exists as long as a short-fall in employment continues. Furthermore, the gap must be measured in terms of good jobs, not just any jobs, but ones adequate enough to enable a wage earner to support a family adequately. Thus, currently popular proposals that lead to training without employment and community-sponsored low-wage employment projects should be viewed coldly.

I. Models About the Situation

a. Youth Unemployment

School systems generally have done a poor job for students from disadvantaged homes. Withdrawal of native youth from high schools reaches epidemic proportions.

Conventional wisdom would analyze the flows approximately in the directions illustrated in Table II. The model is built upon a series of untested assumptions about the causes of youth unemployment--a decline in the worth ethic, inadequate work skills, irrelevance of school to the world of work, etc. None have been tested.[2] How significant is the rural character of Bands upon the fostering of appropriate attitudes to work? Is youth unemployment a temporary or permanent phenomena? Which jobs are open to youth? Each question tests out another aspect. For example, native youth in school find difficulty in obtaining part-time jobs when many non-native youth do so.

The critique of untested hypotheses should be pushed further. The strongest element in DIAND social strategy to date has been to generate a more equal distribution of education. A more equal distribution of earnings would be the hoped for eventual result. The United States' Great Society emphasis in education did not work, although educational inequalities in the labour force were cut. What was forgotten was that working skills are

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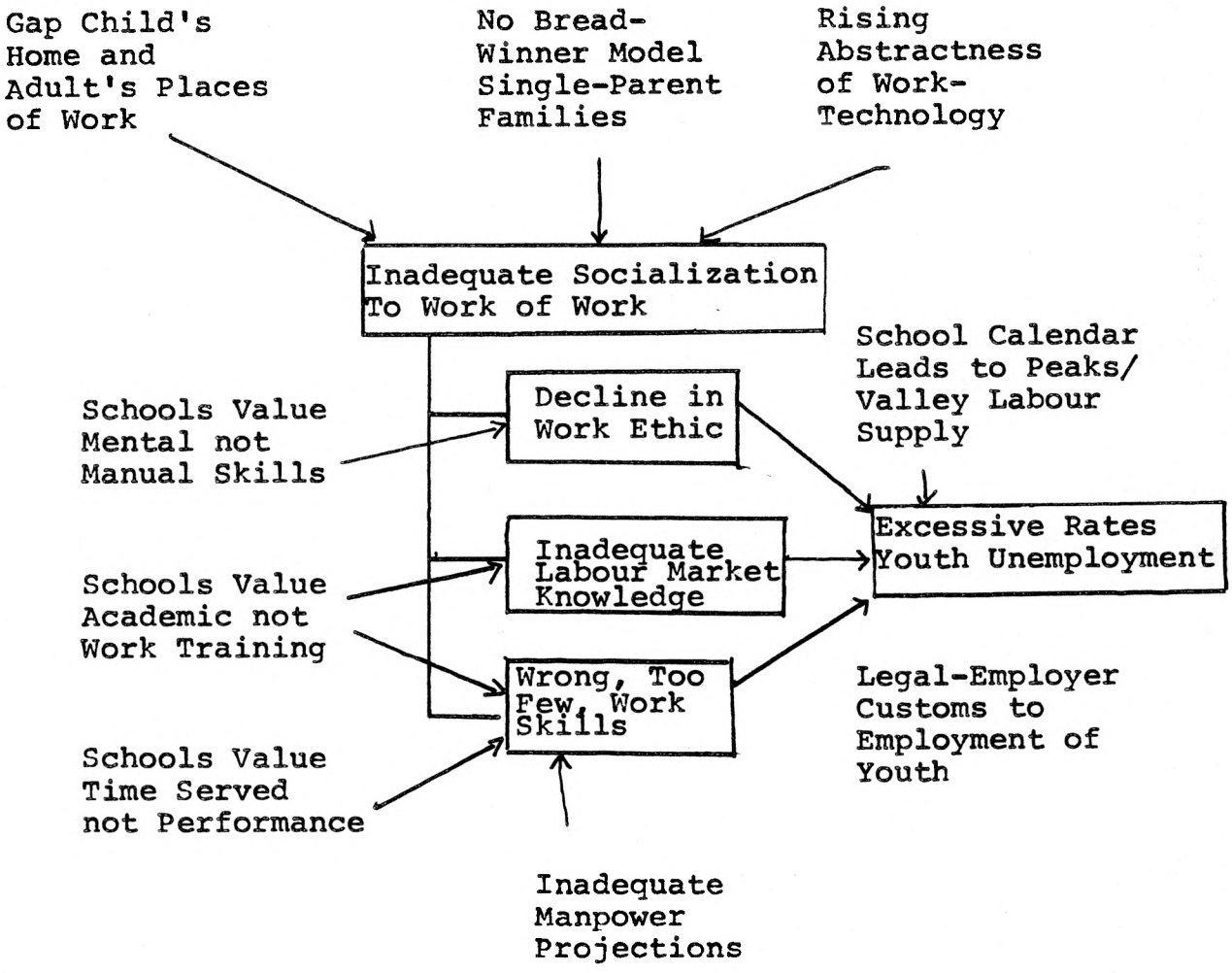
[2] For a national examination see Sue E. Berryman, "Youth Unemployment and Career Education: Reasonable Expectations," Public Policy, xxvi, Winter, 1978, pp. 29-70.

TABLE II

YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT



- A Series of Assumptions that might be Questioned;
- Lead to a Conclusion of Excessive Rates, that may or may not be Short and Long-Run;
- Needs Breaking Down to Subgroups of Youth, Profiles;
- Base of Specific Program Responses.

seldom created by formal education. Education is a necessary background characteristic, but skills are learned on the job. When there are no jobs, there is no path to high-income skills. Yet, education provides a softer approach for the politician than tough issues exhibited in job creation.

b. Development

Development, a key to most program proposals, provides an example of a tough issue.

The concept of development has undergone interesting theoretical changes during recent years. It is no longer economic development in a narrow sense. Development is increasingly seen as a comprehensive process of change which is attitudinal, socio-cultural, political-administrative, as well as economic and technological in nature. Social and economic development merge. Preoccupation with overall rates of employment growth have been supplemented with a search for sufficient employment opportunities.

Actuality is different from rhetoric. Unofficially, governments favour 'hard' as opposed to 'soft' programs. Education has taken a backseat to employment creation. It is debatable whether these job projects are any more successful in making better communities. It is clear that senior officials and central agencies, many of whom are trained in economics and public administration, favour the so-called 'hard' side. Still governments announce significant achievements--new programs, expanding funding, fresh targets,--and unemployment increases.

c. Poverty

We know that unemployment rates vary by age, sex, race, and among school dropouts, non-college-goers, and even college graduates. These differences in unemployment rates imply differences in the causes of those rates. In-depth examination would go further. For example, women systematically choose and are chosen for occupations with low economic returns. Usually most studies stop at the economic--viz. the income individuals derived from work. The sociological explores the role in society served by employment, and the trials as "a outcast" when unemployed. The psychological aspect would look at elements of alienation and frustration. Native women provide an intriguing case. What happens to marriages when the wife works as a teacher in BUNTEP and the husband is out of work? How much of the depressed conditions arises from the emasculated status of husbands? Why do young girls leave school earlier than boys, a condition different to nonnative schools?

A definition of poverty must be established so that program changes can relate to outcomes. Any approach has its own difficulties and disadvantages. A comprehensive concept was developed by Townsend in the United Kingdom that stresses relative deprivation--the absence of resources to those diets, amenities, services, and activities which are customary in society.[3] This concept goes

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[3] Peter Townsend; Poverty in the United Kingdom: A Survey of Household Resources and Standards of Living (Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Books, 1979).

beyond the conventionally held one of subsistence, often closely tied to social assistance payments.

Why are Indians victims? While Indians are overrepresented among the poor, the problem of compensation is complex in trying to define the target group and the amount of compensation.

> ". . . compensating treatment . . . dispensed on the basis of hereditary group membership, fails totally to come to grips with the fact that economic want and psychic degradation stem from the failure of the existing economic and political system to distribute wealth in a way that will reduce both absolute and relative deprivation among all people."[4]

d. Corrections

A forecast of admissions to provincial correctional centres in Saskatchewan indicates that by 1993 Treaty Indians and Metis/Non-Status Indians could make up eighty percent of all admissions.[5] While these numbers would rise dramatically, those of non-Natives would actually decline. For 1976-77, male Treaty Indians were 23.3 times more likely than non-natives to be admitted to a provincial correctional centre. The respective rates for females were 88 times for Treaty and 19 for Metis/Non-Status. The rates for re-admission were correspondingly high. A substantial proportion of all those incarcerated had committed minor offences, many related to drinking or driving.

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[4] Lewis M. Killian, "Black Power and White Reactions: The Revitalization of Race-Thinking in the United States," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 454, March, 1981, p. 54.

[5] John H. Hylton, Admissions to Saskatchewan Provincial Correctional Centres: Projections to 1993 (Regina: Prairie Justice Research Consortium, February, 1980).

The report notes that urbanization is associated with a higher incidence of crime. As the number of persons of native ancestry rises in Saskatchewan's cities, they would likely be affected by incarceration more than non-natives, and thereby, contribute to the significant rise in membership.

So much still is unknown as to the causes of criminal behaviour, and in particular the relationship between social and economic conditions and the incidence of crime. This study raises many questions without providing clear-cut answers. Why is there such a marked and rising gap in the conditions of Treaty and non-status Indians? Unfortunately, all too many complex social problems fail to receive even this introductory research. But such analysis should provide a first step in program formation.

e. Education Models

Education takes many forms in many places. The particular form of education has different implications for different kinds of Indian children, and different kinds of communities. Some kinds of education for certain types of bands under one set of circumstances may be helpful, but under other circumstances, harmful.

1. An elite system

An examination of pupil movement through the grades suggest that educational practice now favours a small percentage of Indian youth. Most children in the preteen years do attend school; however, few continue through grade 12.

DIAND has been generous in reducing some barriers towards school completion--supports for boarding to pupils with problems of inaccessibility, construction of schools on reserves. Concern to make education more relevant through Indian studies is another step towards egalitarianism.

But an academic curriculum featuring university preparatory courses serves as a tight screening device to push out many Indian young people from school. The high priority placed upon fitting into the provincial curriculum and doing well on standardized tests also does a disservice to many Indian children.

2. The remedial approach

This approach has become popular in some provincial school districts, with a high, if not total, native student population. It attempts to correct individual differences so that the youngsters later fit into the regular academic program. The prime instrument is special education.

Remedial education will help those on the borderline--such as with a modest reading handicap--of academic achievement to pass into regular instruction. But, there are some students, for whom remediation is not the answer. These students could have a more practical or nonacademic education, or be heavily interested in arts, crafts and other elements of cultural development, or be sensitive enough to recognize that formal academic education usually leads to emigration from the home community. Remediation works for some, and not for others.

More remedial education is needed to some undetermined degree within DIAND. Unfortunately much of special education, particularly in labelling and testing children, places the responsibility for failure upon the children, not the school system. Indian children are particularly vulnerable.

3. The production emphasis

DIAND has been vague about spelling out this route, although specific examples in policy application are available. A production emphasis places the priority on high-level manpower. Immediate job occupation is favoured. Various Federal guidelines in funding postsecondary education have crippled general adult education.

Indian applicants are streamed into several levels of postsecondary education. Each level has different status. The prestige one is the university. The absence of sufficient role models and generally indifferent science/mathematics programs in many Indian schools closes off science-related programs. The second one, trades, usually requires grade 10. These courses, work-study in nature, are shorter in length. The relevance of the grade 10 content to a particular trades' course may or may not correlate. The third level, some formal schooling for work, usually leads in to semiskilled and unskilled jobs. A legacy of poor schooling condemns many Indian adults and youth alike to a lifetime of unemployment.

Decisions to place more attention upon economic development projects rather than education should reinforce an elitist

approach. It would appear that the current direction of Indian education is as follows: a broad base of literacy (not for illiterate adults), higher studies into high school for those moving toward paraprofessions, trades, etc., and complete academic high school for a few Indian youth to become professionals or technicians.

4. Nontraditional, open-access

A significant alternative has become available through open-access to higher education. Native Teacher Education Programs that sprang up in the 1970s firmly established this avenue. Essentially open-access means that all persons, 18 or 21 years of age and above, are eligible to enter postsecondary education even if they do not possess a high school graduation certificate.

Open-access became popular for several reasons: a continuing need by employed persons for technical retraining in the midst of dynamic technological changes; the view that education should be a continuing part of the lives of all people who wish it for whatever purpose; recognition that the direct linkage between formal schooling and postsecondary studies is loose; and that interested adults can overcome many apparent early learning debits.

This nontraditional alternative explodes many conventional beliefs about what must be taught in schools. Open-access is populist, not elitist. Its implications to date have not been taken to heart by many school educators nor policy-makers.

5. Alternative models

Education means different things. Once general statements about literacy and computational skills are passed by, a range of strategic choices are available.

There are others. For example, a small minority rejects much of formal schooling. That route is considered unproductive--even counterproductive in turning children away from parents and communities. Education is looked at broadly, where children learn in many places, such as working with his father on the traplines. A few communities, primarily urban, have established quite non-traditional alternatives. Small in size, located outside the school, they cater to youth that have left regular schools.

The model of education held by the decision-maker conditions his analysis. Consensus among positions is impossible. But to make each position explicit with its implications would form a good step.

II. Relevant Education: A Bottom's Up Approach

The prime concern in Indian Affairs is about making education more relevant at all levels and sites of school operations and activities. Relevance means an educational system that has meaning in terms of the everyday experiences and immediate environment of pupils, parents, teachers and administrators.

The problems facing DIAND are immense: a vast geographical area, high teacher turnover, isolated schools, majority-culture

teachers socializing minority-culture students, local control, significantly different subsystems of delivery, high dropout rates. At the same time, many of the issues facing DIAND educators are similar to those found in virtually all school Divisions: How can good/relevant materials be found, and obtained? How can schooling best be organized for the making of fair decisions? How can more opportunities be provided for input into decision-making from students, teachers, administrators, and parents? How can individual learning needs of all pupils be met within the constraints of limited resources? None of these issues are unique to DIAND schools and no school division has found final answers to these questions.

The issue of relevancy only has very modest cost implications. Content relevancy refers to the substance of what is taught in maths, social studies, science, life skills, indeed, all subject areas. When students cannot relate their own lives and experiences to what they are supposed to learn, the meaningfulness of school is reduced. Many Indian children have difficulty relating to many of the materials and books used in school. What is needed is high interest/low difficulty materials, particularly materials with pictures and stories of the North and about Indian culture. Teachers have begun developing such materials.

Schools should be encouraged to define their objectives and means to attain them. A pluralism of approaches would result. The main concern is how to develop classroom activities appropriate to the abilities and interests of individual pupils. To reach

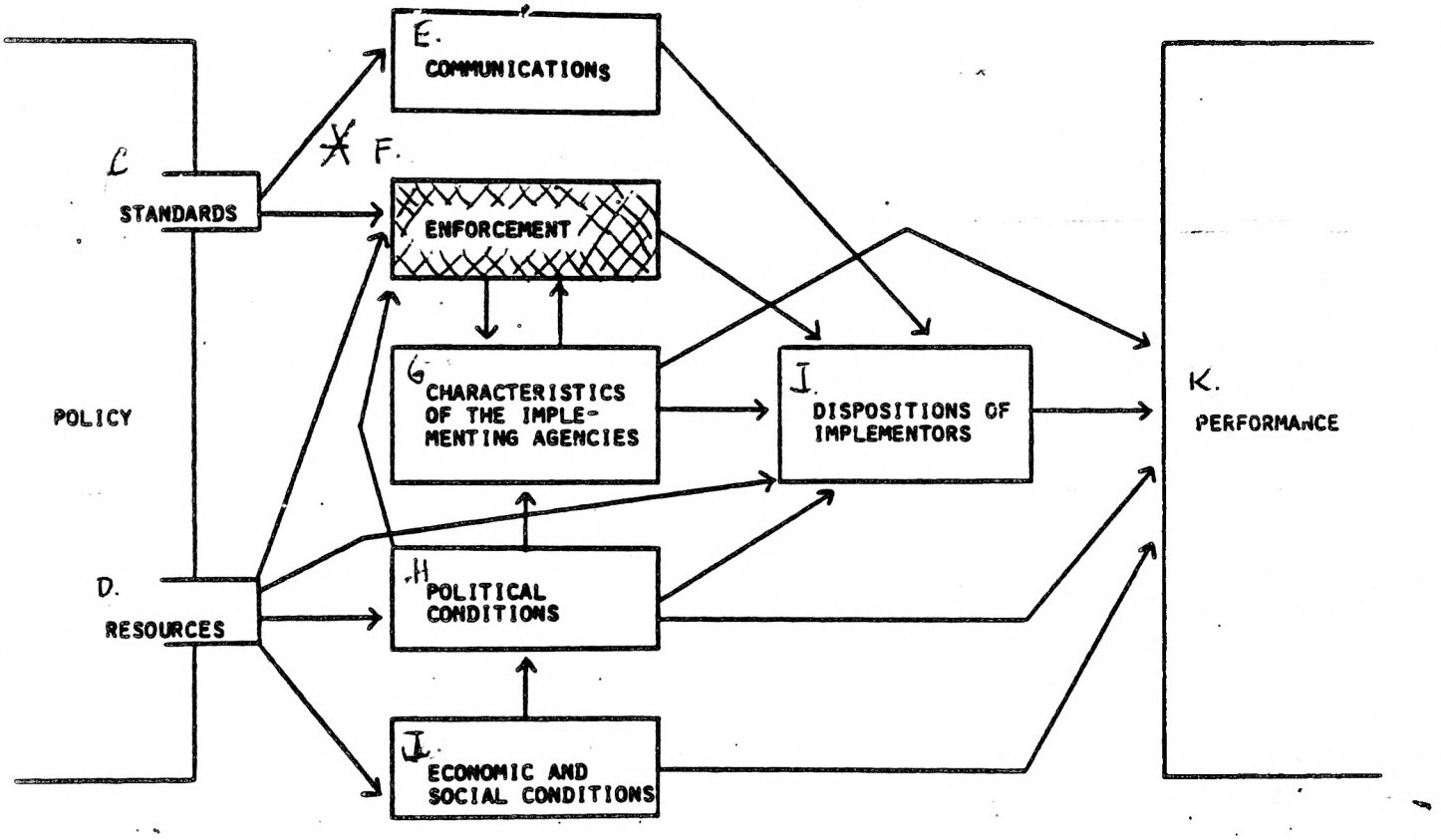
this objective a concern for standardized testing should be rejected. They do not improve education. Such grade level standards and norms usually work against individualization for they impose a common set of criteria across all situations and all students.

Relevancy also relates to how teaching and learning take place. Children are different, with different interests, different strengths, and different types of learning. Learning styles differ among individuals and cultural groups. Is competition an appropriate method of teaching in an Indian culture where competitiveness is not valued?

Too many DIAND classrooms are dominated by concern with teaching content (facts and information) while too little attention has been given to the methods and processes of teaching. A few suggestions for correcting this situation would be to promote processes where individualization in instruction is really meaningful to students (not just ability groupings that are convenient for teachers) and where a student contribution allows students to experience their own autonomy (an analogy to their home upbringing).

A concern for process could produce a revolution. For a fundamental assumption is that neither children nor adults learn very much until they are ready to learn. The conditions that lead to an environment of learning readiness can only be discovered by asking the question, "What do students want to learn?", instead of the more usual question, "What do students have to learn?"

Officials in DIAND removed from the schools must be engaged in this process of establishing a relevant system of Indian education. A consistent message has to be carried beyond the general DIAND statements and preamble rhetoric and establish requirements, in varying degrees of specificity, for how relevancy shall be implemented. Standards are commonly contained in legislation and program regulations, but they may also be elaborated upon in such diverse sources as technical assistance guides, statements by Departmental policy makers, news releases and brochures. The costs are in time and in establishing a direction within the Department.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PERFORMANCE
D.
RESOURCES
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POLITICAL CONDITIONS
J.
ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS

F. ENFORCEMENT: RULES AND REGULATIONS

The Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development has three means of achieving quality education from agencies that provide schooling to Indian pupils: norms, incentives, and sanctions. The situation in respect to each of three major constituencies differs in degree: the hierarchy of officials in its own Department; Band-controlled; and the Ministry of Education and/or the officials in particular local education authorities.

The most threatening form of DIAND power lies in the authority to withdraw funds from a delivery agent for noncompliance. This step is rarely taken for many reasons. Audit exception is more frequently utilized.

Norms are difficult to introduce as educational goals are both diverse and vague. Recently more pressure has been exerted upon local school districts in such specific incidents as heavy placement of Indian pupils in slow learner classes. Usually softer approaches are made through a variety of formal and informal committees and meetings. Dollar incentives are important in encouraging specific projects.

Guidelines are generally loose. DIAND now is moving to elaborate reporting systems, a process regarded in the field as beneficial to central control rather than to program improvement. Program evaluations are rare. On-site supervisions vary according to jurisdiction, personalities and locale. Arrangements for more advisory assistance have grown regionally on a pragmatic basis.

Thus, reporting and accountability mechanisms are simple and loose.

I. Dilemmas in Educational Accountability

The concern for accountability takes place in the context of fundamental issues in Canadian education.

1) There is uncertainty about standards of achievement. The past decade has seen a recurring suggestion that the schools are failing to deliver the desired results in terms of pupil performance--whether the so-called basic cognitive skills, or in attitudes as work performance. This indictment is difficult to substantiate as much due to the vagueness of educational goals, as to the many limitations in measuring them.

   The situation becomes more complex in Indian education. Dilemmas abound. While many adults seek to have Indian pupils achieve at provincial standards of achievement, they often wish to establish distinctive Indian schools. Which should receive primacy? Can both be achieved in a short space of time?

2) The control of the school curriculum and its relevance to modern living provides another arena of debate. Advocates of many new positions--daily physical education, economics, to name two--seek school time. Meanwhile, established subjects jockey for more attention. Writing skills recently became more important in language arts.

   Indian education faces an added difficulty in defining the linkage between schooling and working. Should the school

prepare pupils to emigrate to urban centres? How? On the other hand, would attention to cultural identity reduce the already minimal time to basic skills and vocational training?

3) A feeling that more participation by parents and the local community in running the schools has been generally recognized. This message has formed a continuing thread in Canadian education as evidenced through the maintenance of schooling as a separate form of governance and even individual school councils. Pressure for increased parental participation often has met resistance from rising professionalization and centralized management.

Participation in Indian schools raises serious questions. Participation for what? Who should participate (student?) and on what issues (dismissal of teachers is a case)? What is a local (a school) issue and one of general significance? Research and practice are not too helpful in answering these questions. Furthermore, we cannot expect native parents to jump into participation quickly. They have had years of seeing schools as distant places that "had the answers."

4) The direction of managerial responsibility for organizing learning remains unclear. At a time that financial restraints alone have led to more sophisticated forms of management systems, these developments have not necessarily led to improved instruction.

Management in Indian education faces additional pressures.

Lines of authority are extremely complex in their ties between local bands and Ottawa headquarters. The total cycle of the management process from setting objectives to evaluating performance is undermined when the state of education, and Indian education, remains so unsettled.

One response is that, without tight centrally set standards, administrators are forced to rely on their own judgement, common sense, experience, observation, history, morality, values, etc. Henry Levin, for example, directs us to morality rather than social science,[1] while Father Hesburgh[2] resorts to both history and morality.

These bases for decision-making, moreover, have been too much disregarded and even maligned in management's demand for quantification of human behaviour. Scientific criteria are not the exclusive bases for decision-making. Two reasons caution against over-reliance on scientific proof. First, education is a process that may be unquantifiable, with several goals unmeasureable. Second, reliance on current research that undermine the role of the school would end efforts at improvement. Even given their limitations and inadequacies, it might be wiser to rely on the experience, observations, and good judgement of administrators

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[1] Henry Levin (ed.), Community Control of Schools (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1970).

[2] Theodore M. Hesburgh, "Public Policy, Desegregation, and the Limits of Social Science Research," in John E. McDermott (ed.), Interdeterminancy in Education (Berkeley: McCutchan Publishing Corporation, 1976).

and teachers that certain things do work (even if not confirmed by the measurement apparatus). At least that is an affirmative choice, an option for improvement, a belief that schools do matter.

This response, however, raises a troublesome question. Whose morality are we to rely on? Whose common sense? Whose experience? Whose judgement? Whose values? And how are we to choose between competing notions of the purposes of our educational institutions? Without consensus on the aims of education, moral considerations provide little guidance in policymaking. No such consensus exists. As a result, educational policymaking is in a state of double indeterminacy--on the one hand without satisfactory scientific criteria to guide policymaking, and on the other hand without the consensus on the aims of education necessary for the application of moral considerations. This scientific and moral indeterminacy constitutes the central dilemma in any attempt to improve the quality of Indian education.

Thus, it might be desirable to focus upon a manageable unit of organization and community--the individual school. Simultaneously, the orientation should be broader than quantifiable terms. A possible direction follows.

How would it be determined whether education in general, specific segments of the education system, or specific schools or school districts are in sound financial health or find themselves in a state of financial distress?

An examination of financial health requires a broader look

beyond money into the activities of education. Many costs, for example, are nonfinancial, including pupil time spent on buses, or conflict in a Band over goals.

A starting point in accountability would look at quality of outcomes. The responsible authority, the operating body in the Band, would document how well specific services are being performed.

i. Financial resources must be adequate to accomplish the articulated missions and must include both funds for current operations and sufficient capital to provide functional plant, appropriate equipment, satisfactory curriculum and learning technology.

ii. The expressed "articulated mission" requires that the school define who its clients shall be and what services it will render.

iii. Once it is decided that scarce monetary resources (as well as scarce nonmonetary ones) are to be allocated in order to support and render these services, the question to be answered is how well the services are being performed.

This statement thereby can acknowledge that: issues are broader than narrow financial and quantitative ones; the real world requires compromise between the ideal and the actual; nonachievement of "mission" has many causes. Individual schools have different stages of health depending upon many factors--leadership, community support, budget, staff continuity, etc..

Indicators would be employed in the statement to monitor progress to describe: (i) the nature, objectives, and scope of those for whom educational services are performed; foremost among those served are students, but also included are adults who themselves directly benefit from certain school activities; (ii) the financial condition, including current operational and balance sheet data; and (iii) the basis of changes in budgets and programs of educational institutions.

II. Reporting Pupil Progress

DIAND has emphasized the improvement in the amount and type of basic information about the workings of its educational system. Currently accountability has been limited to post-financial auditing rather than to the concept of school leaders being responsible, selecting courses of action which may ensure that desired educational outcomes can be achieved over a future period of time within agreed policies and reduced resources.

This bleak evaluation situation has prompted a number of almost desperate responses. The Manitoba, Audit Services Bureau Review, stated that the target for 1990 calls for Indian pupils to reach the standardized test norms achieved by provincial pupils. Hopeless! These tests are biased against various minority groups, and in particular those from homes where the first language is not English.

In part the difficulty in national reporting lies in an inability to define ends and best means to achieve them for all

A return towards centralization in the late 1970s called for more reports. When the provinces also sought more information on the products of programming, technical limitations fell far short of demands. In short, provincial progress in evaluation has failed to provide types of "hard" evidence that are satisfactory in business and industry. Teachers' organizations in particular have opposed provincial student assessment programs on the grounds that they are inherently incompatible with the exercise of the professional skills of teaching: the forms of reporting misrepresents the essence of teaching; an incorrect assumption that the product of schooling is quantifiable; and the prescriptions of the reporting device can improve teaching.[3]

Meanwhile, evaluation does occur. The most common form is decentralized at the school level. Regular reporting about pupil performance is offered to parents. Pupils informally tell their parents about school practices. Parent-teacher meetings are held, information is called by band councils and boards of trustees. Teachers examine specific aspects of the school. More systematic forms of school-based evaluation methodologies are becoming more sophisticated.[4]

Whatever the pluses or minuses of current system assess-

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[3] Canadian Teachers Federation, "A Report of the Second Seminar on Province-Wide Student Assessment Programs." (Ottawa: October 26-28, 1980).

[4] Vito Perrone, "How not to improve educational achievement: a response to the National Academy of Education," National Elementary Principal, January, 1979, pp. 52-7.

ment strategies--a polarization has grown up. Teachers' organizations view such strategies as attempts to promote more centralization.[5] The opposition generally falls along these lines: provincial assessment programs should not be used for promotion of students from one level to another or for graduation purposes. There should not be comparisons between school divisions, schools, classrooms, or students. The assessment should not be used for the evaluation of teachers, schools or school systems. Although there does not seem to be provincial wide-spread use of standardized norm-referenced tests, the story is different in school divisions. Only in the Yukon, Newfoundland and Saskatchewan, is the Canadian Test of Basic Skills used at a provincial level. In Saskatchewan two other standardized tests, the Sequential Test of Educational Progress and the Otis Mental Ability Tests, are given. Generally all the provinces assess the core or so-called basic areas. The main areas of testing are reading, writing, arithmetic and mathematics. In some isolated cases science, social studies and other languages are being tested. Areas such as art and music are ignored. No search is made into such personality items as creativity or self-confidence. In other words, the more important qualities are missing.

Comparisons among schools, school districts or provinces do occur, and usually reflect a search for those that score "better" on a standardized test. The most highly publicized record of

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[5] See Canadian Teachers Federation, "National Seminar: Province-Wide Student Assessment Programs - The Teachers Response" (Ottawa: C.T.F., 1980).

comparative school data, the Michigan Education Accountability, has had no influence on improving school performance in that state. The Canadian provincial assessment programs also have had little positive influence in both raising the amount of central resources directed to areas of identified need as well as other forms of remedial assistance. Indian schools too have emphasized raising scores of Canadian Test of Basic Skills. We were told that many teachers interpreted the emphasis on basic skills to mean that they must devote most of their attention to routine drill. This usually results in a decrease in the student's interest in schooling and it diminishes the time that should be devoted to the meaning and application of those skills. Preparation for the tests had become for many students the curriculum of the schools.

A number of school-based external evaluations are available to review as examples. The La Ronge Band employs a consulting group on a regular basis to provide an outside point-of-view on operations. The Siska Band and South Cariboo School District in 1981 engaged an external evaluation team to provide a comprehensive review of operations. The latter's report attempted to educate its public about the limitations of standardized tests.

The development of a comprehensive evaluation/information system in DIAND should be developed on a cooperative basis so that the collection of such data does not lead to a degree of centralization that would hurt rather than help in making schools more sensitive to individual pupil needs. Any system should have data that are readily accessible and efficient in compilation at

at the operational level, the school.

1. Resources

a) Students - much data on attendance is available at the school level: daily attendance, reasons for withdrawal, interschool movement; health; vandalism; library circulation; physical fitness.

b) Teachers - data on experience, degrees, salaries, teaching assignments are unavailable; more data is required on professional upgrading courses, other school and school-related responsibilities (e.g. coaching the community's hockey team); for easy retrieval this data needs computerization.

c) Facilities - data is available, but scattered, on such subjects as amount of space in relation to student numbers; more data is required on the amount and type of community usage, and the relation of programs to facilities; amount spent on maintenance, number of specialized rooms, library volumes, etc.

d) Dollars - data is available on expenditures by such general budgeting items as salaries; but more is needed to show how dollars might be better allocated at the school level; furthermore, interschool and regional data for comparative purposes are required.

e) Support Services - information on staffing in terms of salaries and numbers is available, but more should be known about various services on a school by school basis would be beneficial; special education requires careful attention; other activities as how different types of materials affect student growth should be explored.

2. Processes

a) Curriculum - the only data readily available are on student enrollments, various high school courses, but nothing is available on what content and skills are emphasized and for how long.

b) School and community - no record is available about the school's use of community resources, such as volunteers,

and the community's use of the school, such as recreation, and much more should be acquired about the attitudes of the community to the school.

c) Research - much more is required on isolated and small school practices, what is available is scattered, usually university-originated, and difficult to apply easily into ongoing activities.

d) Classroom Practice - teachers need encouragement to record what is happening in their own classrooms, in lecturing, homework, grouping; such data is required to encourage discussion and sharing about different teaching-learning styles in Indian education.

3. Results

a) Student Achievement - much more attention must be paid to the very critical area on what students are learning; behavioral objectives could be written, and evaluation could include tests, student interviews, written reports, projects; standardized tests only provide a small slice of this reality; other performance data include, library circulation.

b) Long-Term Benefits - a record of students once they leave school should be compiled on a school-by-school basis so that the school's contribution to a job, income, leisure-time activities might be described.

4. Issues

a) Areas of Strength

Here the school can describe what it considers its unique or noteworthy characteristics. The purpose is to encourage every school to have one or more areas of particular specialization and competence, or to espouse a particular educational philosophy, or employ a distinct methodology or approach. This section would inform parents about the tone or style of the school.

b) Areas for Improvement

This section would identify five areas in which

a school needed improvement and would outline its plans regarding them. These problem areas might in some schools change over the years, but in others remain the same as the schools mounted a long-term improvement project. This section should encourage schools to be self-critical, to establish specific goals and to report on subsequent progress. Culture and language should be mentioned.

c) Parent, Teacher and Student Assessment of School Performance

Parents, teachers, and students should be permitted an uncensored opportunity to assess school performance. This section would permit them to express their opinions of school success or failure with respect to such matters as instruction, curriculum development, student participation in decision-making, alcohol abuse, etc.

III. Centralization and Localization in Education

So much attention in DIAND has proceeded from a management rather than an educational basis. Although this emphasis arises out of concerns of Ottawa agencies, a similar interest is found in most provincial governments. The common elements--systems analysis, instruction by objectives, mastery learning--all have antecedents. They are part of a long-term fascination in the 20th century with applying science to education. One has only to read Raymond Callahan's classic Education and the Cult of Efficiency[6] to gain some historical perspective about how little such efforts have contributed to the improvement of schools.

Ernest House has compiled a taxonomy of major evaluation

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[6] Raymond Callahan, Education and the Cult of Efficiency (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962).

models.[7] This list of approaches, impressive in range, has had little influence on instructional improvement.

Decentralized evaluation should not be discounted as a valid alternative. The mystical obligation in Canadian education to preserve a strong core of "basics" curricula has led to a ruthless examination of attempts to introduce new content and methodology. Notwithstanding the fact that many innovations have legitimacy, an informal consensus among many parents/administrators/teachers ensures that standards are assessed in narrow academic terms. Alternatives represent second-rate.

Model	Proponents	Major Audiences	Consensus on	Methodology	Outcome	Typical Questions
Systems Analysis	Rivlin	Economists, managers	Goals; known cause & effects; quantified variables.	PPBS; linear programming; planned variation; cost benefit analysis.	Efficiency	Are the expected effects achieved? Can the effects be achieved more economically? What are the most *efficient* programs?
Behavioral Objectives	Tyler Popham	Managers, psychologists	Prespecified objectives; quantified outcome variables	Behavioral Objectives; achievement tests	Productivity; accountability	Are the students achieving the objectives? Is the teacher producing?
Decision Making	Stufflebeam, Alkin	Decision-makers, esp. administrators	General goals; criteria	Surveys, questionnaires, interviews; natural variation	Effectiveness; quality control.	Is the program effective? What parts are effective?
Goal Free	Scriven	Consumers	Consequences; criteria	Bias control; logical analysis; modus operandi	Consumer choice; social utility	What are *all* the effects?
Art Criticism	Eisner Kelly	Connoisseurs Consumers	Critics, standards,	Critical review	Improved standards	Would a critic approve this program?
Accreditation	North Central Association	Teachers, public	Criteria, panel, procedures	Review by panel; self study	Professional acceptance	How would professionals rate this program?
Adversary	Owens Levine, Wolf	Jury	Procedures and judges	Quasi-legal procedures	Resolution	What are the arguments for and against the program?
Transaction	Stake, Smith, MacDonald, Parlett-Hamilton	Client, Practitioners	Negotiations; activities	Case studies, interviews, observations	Understanding; diversity	What does the program look like to different people?

[7] Ernest House, "Evaluation as Scientific Management in U.S. School Reform," Comparative Education Review, October, 1978, pp. 388-401.

Attention shifts from outcomes or performance measures to input indicators--pupil-teacher ratio, per pupil expenditures, numbers of library books, credentials of teachers. Various pieces of research have questioned the validity of these measures in exploring their influence upon improving quality; however, these indicators are popularly understood.

Reporting only can be understood in terms of the purposes and nature of its particular educational system. The system of Indian education on the surface appears quite fragmented with individual regions broken into at least distinct school subsystems --those departmentally-administered, band-operated, and the provincial schools with Indian pupils. Despite different political bases with varying degrees of accessibility by parents and teachers, the three relate to provincial standards by quality in performance.

The negligible product of evaluations employed in various national education programs in the United States also must be noted. Their techniques did not seem sufficient to overcome the organizational rigidity at the local level.

Hawley[8] has analyzed several sources of organizational rigidity in education and lists the following impressive barriers: (1) the difficulties in measuring school ouputs and the resistance to doing so; (2) the minimized impact of the people who leave a school (e.g., dropping out, academic failure, and teacher turnover

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[8] William D. Hawley and Paul T. Hill, "Horses Before Carts: Developing Adaptive Schools and the Limits of Innovation," Policy Studies Journal, 4: 1976, pp. 334-51.

do not lead to incentives for change in standard operating procedures); (3) distortion, mitigation, and diminution of the political demands which school systems must confront because of limited lay participation (parents and community groups); (4) the inadequacy of the internal communication networks of the local schools; (5) the diffuseness of educational goals and expectations from teachers; (6) personnel policies and practices that do not reward performance and constrain the input of new ideas; and (7) the absence of research on and evaluation of effective educational programs. These sources of rigidity are interrelated and reinforce each other. They result in routine work driving out non-routine work.

Milbrey McLaughlin[9] provides the thesis that the requirements of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, the first major project to mandate project reporting in the United States, led to little more than an annual ritualistic defense of program activities. This material was used selectively to support policy positions suggested by political or economic constraints, not by new information.

Furthermore, educators also used to think they could report progress. The idea was that parents should be able to understand how well their children were doing in school by having access to figures that would tell them about achievement. The way to do this

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[9] Milbrey McLaughlin, Evaluation and Reform: The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965/Title I, A Rand Educational Policy Study (Cambridge, Mass.: Ballinger, 1975), pp. vii-ix.

was to test students at regular periods and compare achievement levels with those of other children in the same school and with pupils in schools. Parents could then hold educators accountable for variations in students' achievement.

Unfortunately, the idea of making measurement public preceded the ability of educators to show students' accomplishment. No matter what schools have done--spend three or four times as much on each student as other schools, reduce class size, try different methods and structures of teaching--performance, especially of students who are poor or judged to be deprived, appears little affected. Whatever students bring with them to school seems more important than whatever they get at school. These findings are continually challenged but they keep reemerging. Perhaps the measures are bad, but for the time being no school district can feel sure that its teaching will lead to appreciable and demonstrable improvement in cognitive skills. No known technology or production function will turn teaching inputs into cognitive student outputs.[10]

IV. Information For What?

Now to undertake an evaluation process at the school-level, designed to provide information to teaching staff, parents and local boards, has a much different orientation than related to current priorities in DIAND. The Management Information System,

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[10] See Aaron Wildavsky, Speaking Truth to Power: The Art and Craft of Policy Analysis (Boston, Toronto: Little Brown and Company, 1979).

for example, will consume high costs, in human and dollar terms, but have slight, even negative influence upon quality education.[11]

First, its statement of a service goal not only is impossible to attain but quite inappropriate to the pupil clientele:

> "The Service goal of the Education Activity of the Indian and Inuit Affairs Program of the Department of Indian and Northern Development is: to provide education opportunities to the Inuit in Quebec and Labrador and Registered Indians, within the provisions of the Indian Act, government regulations and related authorities, so that, by the year 1990, their average educational achievement level will be equal to the average Canadian national achievement level."

The standards adopted grasp at ones susceptible to ready quantification--pupil-teacher ratio, subject achievement tests, teacher selection, instructional supplies, and pupil transportation.

On the surface the M.I.S. design seems to move from a number of reasonable premises. First, it is true that managers should receive "the best information to allow them to perform their job efficiently and effectively."[12] But job reality and paper description diverge. Furthermore, the educational and bureaucratic environments of Regional Directors of Education have little to do with the service goal mentioned earlier. Second, Treasury Board

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[11] Bureau of Management Consulting, Supply and Services, "Elementary and Secondary Education Progress Report: Initiation Phase of the Development of a Management Information System"(Ottawa: The Bureau, June, 1980).

[12] Ibid., p. 2.

wants a handle--"program standards and criteria as control mechanisms" . . . "quantifiable,"[13] a concern echoed by the Auditor General's Office and the Office of Comptroller General. Who can argue against the authority of these heavies? Unfortunately, DIAND does not manage a system. It faces a plurality of subsystems (provincial, departmentally-operated, band-controlled), the former two organized in vertical compartments. But teachers work with considerable discretion protected by the sanctity of the classroom door.

The Draft Report itself enumerates significant factors in the program environment that include: migration patterns, sophistication of band leadership, local employment opportunities, language differences, political relationships. A lack of consensus among Departmental officials noted in the Report cannot be removed by internal DIAND think-tank sessions. Field officials differ because their operational realities differ.

Possibly the designers of the Report neglected to review the frustrations of successive central Departments in Ottawa in just obtaining program numbers in respect to French language grants and assistance towards technical-vocational training. Many Indian students are in schools under provincial jurisdiction.

How are key decisions made? A development goal is mentioned. A number of indicators are suggested, including "the

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13 Bureau of Management Consulting, Supply and Services, "Elementary and Secondary Education Progress Report: Initiation Phase of the Development of a Management Information System" (Ottawa: The Bureau, June, 1980).

development of conditions for transfer for each region, e.g. that transfer take place at the beginning of the school year, after seven months notice, and once all parties are satisfied the Band in question can administer the transfer and the education function and the number of Bands who meet the conditions of transfer."[14] What conditions? Who determines what they are? Who cares? Do the authors really believe that a strong Band below standard would be refused if they went the political route?

The Audit Bureau's analysis of regional operations in education falls into a similar trap.[15] While many of the observations are dead-on, the analysts fail to understand the unique characteristics of the educational enterprise. Essentially they miss the elusiveness of the teaching/learning activity--the consequent evaluation--and the basis of responsibility. Thus, the Report contains a shotgun blast of recommendations, some of which negate others.

However, even if one recognizes that innovative educational programming results in some unquestioned immediate gains and some less clear long-term gains, the problem in evaluating the program still exists. We will always have social-welfare programs, all with laudable goals, competing for scarce resources, and we have little way of knowing whether the accomplishments of a program

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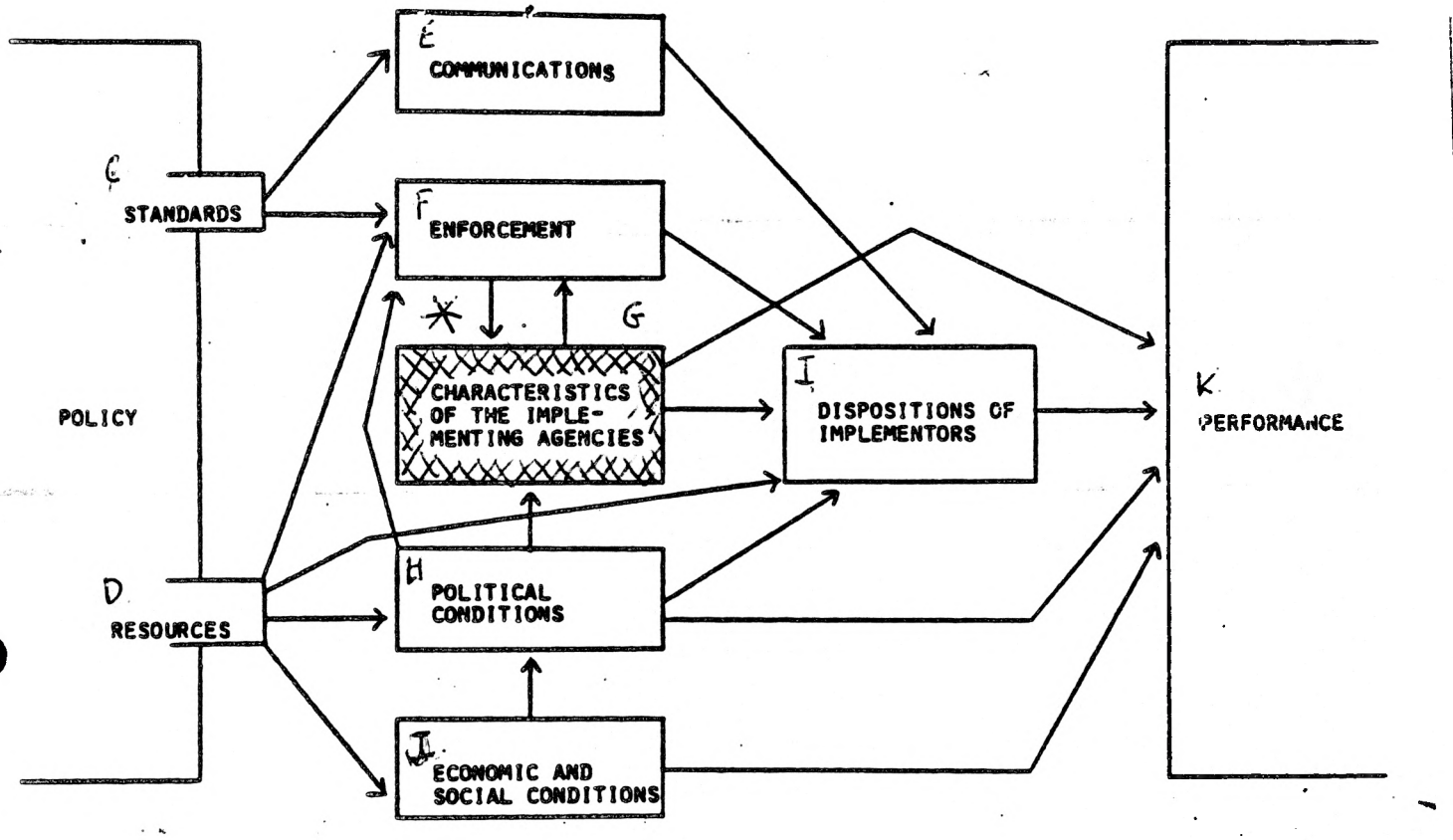
[14] Ibid., p. 24.

[15] Indian and Northern Affairs, Indian and Inuit Affairs Program. Program Evaluation Branch, "Operational Review Education Program (Saskatchewan)," (Ottawa: DIAND, 1979).

and the dollar cost associated with these accomplishments signal the continuation of a program or suggest instead that the money be spent to achieve some other social good. While some technocrats believe that "scientific" evaluations will lead inexorably to cost-effectiveness data upon which errorless social policy can be built, it makes more sense to admit honestly that we do not have totally objective means of assessing the dollar value of gains brought about by many types of intervention.

How many dollars is it worth to head off a case of measles? To raise the measured IQ by 10 points by the end of a program? To reduce a child's wariness of strange adults? To discover that the presence of a broad education program in a community led to the provision of more health and educational services to all economically disadvantaged children? Or to demonstrate that a child was given a set of experiences that clearly improved the quality of his life for that one year he had them?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G. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SYSTEM

The status of educational operations within DIAND affects its administrative capacity. In spite of its large percentage of the total budget, it is without sufficient political support and without the necessary independence to make decisions and hire qualified personnel. The Education Division is forced to react, not initiate, in terms of its relations with nongovernmental organizations.

The intense political atmosphere down-grades attention to deal with unique characteristics of Indian education. Take one, stability. Educational practice usually is based upon the assumption that students and teachers will remain in a school for some years. The high level of transiency in many Indian schools upsets that assumption. How to deal with that fact? It is difficult now to place such issues out on the table.

I. An Ideological Approach

The four principles advocated by the Tripartite Task Group on Social Services[1] in Ontario for the transfer of power and responsibility for services to Indians could be applied to the recommended bloc grant.

> Indian-Determined - with band control over needs assessment and planning functions;

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[1] Tripartite Working Group on Services, Indian Commission of Ontario, "Report," Toronto, Ontario, 1980.

> Indian-Specific - reflecting Indian community values, standards and norms, through Indian control of the planning processes;
>
> Community based - being developed, organized and delivered within Indian communities; and
>
> Band-Controlled - being administered and accounted for within Indian communities.

These principles reject the imposition of existing standardized services upon Indian communities. Now if a Band wishes to purchase places for its children in an adjacent provincial school district that would be its right, or it would be possible to send children to residential schools.

But if a Band seeks its own alternative school setting, then it would have the authority to do so.

A purist approach on ideology is neat and direct. The following statement by Jack Charles defines one of the challenges implicit in the planning of programs to meet the needs of Indian children and youth. For without children there can be no Indian world, there can be no Indian future.

> "Conquered peoples, and especially those who have experienced a brutal conquest, tend to isolate themselves from their conquerors, spatially where possible, and inwardly (psychologically) almost universally. They tend to develop styles of behavior which cause them to often be categorized as apathetic, withdrawn, irresponsible, shy, lazy and helpless in terms of managing their own affairs. Alcoholism and excessive personalistic factionalism seem to typify such defeated, powerless populations, and individuals exhibit signs of possessing serious inferiority complexes and a weak or negative sense of personal identity. This style of behavior tends not to be greatly ameliorated by paternalistic elitist reform or welfare programs which may subsequently be administered by the dominant population,

perhaps because such prodigious efforts serve simply to reinforce a sense of inferiority and incapacity."[2]

Purist ideas about instruction cover similar themes.

Teachers of Indian children have a unique responsibility to the children they teach--many Indian children are slowly losing their language, their religion, their values and their identity in the majority educational system. Indian cultures should be preserved, utilized and that they must become an integral part of every Indian child's life. Pride is encouraged through the importance of the Indian child's heritage and its meaning to his life today. The Indian child lives in a conflict of cultures, that he must make it in a white world to survive and he must recognize his Indian heritage to affirm his own identity. Because the Indian child must adapt to two worlds, it is critical that the home and school be a co-ordinated experience for the child. It is important for tribal communities to insure that teachers of their children understand the nature of their dual exposure and establish a positive, productive relationship between the parents and the school. Teachers must help him function in both worlds. The teacher should have respect for Indian religions and the philosophical beliefs associated with animals, plants and various aspects of the universe. Teachers should accept the family as the primary teacher of the child. And that grandparents, uncles and

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[2] Charles, Jack: Quote from Five Heritages: Teaching Multicultural Populations, edited by James C. Stone and Donald P. O'Neil (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhardt, 1971).

aunts all play an essential part in the process of establishing clan and tribal structures.

These teachers should be able to establish and maintain a learning environment which reflects the particular tribal culture. By providing objects in the classroom which are familiar to the children; pottery, baskets, dolls that are dressed in tribal attire, blankets, rugs, musical instruments, and cooking utensils for the housekeeping area. It is important to have articles of clothing, subject to tribal approval. Some do not believe that tribal attire should be used in play but should be used for a very specific purpose only. Indian dances could be included with tribal approval and within limits. Tribal stories and songs for children may also be included. And let us not forget, there is so much children can learn from the outdoors. Traditional structures can be built in outdoor play areas. In some pueblo Head Start programs are adobe structures that children use for climbing. There are adobe playhouses and beehive bread ovens. The cooks teach the children baking of bread outdoors. Science can be taught as well outdoors as inside. Children work with plants and animals, anything that relates to the universe.

The curriculum should provide experiences within Indian cultures that develop skills to help the children cope with the modern world. Parents and community people should be utilized for their traditional skills; silversmithing, rug-weaving, pottery-making, beading and basketry. The cultivation and preparation of foods familiar to the children can easily be incorporated into the

curriculum. Both traditional and contemporary Indian games or sports will enhance their physical development. Tribal legends and oral history should be in the program. The teachers should teach the children about the contributions made to Canada by Indians; the games, the foods, medicines of all sorts, the crafts, and most of all the ecological view of the Indian and his environment. The teacher should be able to provide the use of both languages in the classroom, especially the use of the child's primary language. She should be able to give attention to correct words used in labeling and in everyday language; ie. in greeting elders, and addressing relatives and clan members. She should demonstrate a respect and an understanding of the community child rearing practices. By getting together with families on feast days, and by showing an interest in what the children are doing in the community she can better respect the roles of each extended family member.

This idealism must be tempered in application.

Resources are required to translate English materials to the first language. Internal divisions within a Band have to be muted. Sensitive teachers must be recruited. Distant bureaucracies must become sensitized to local concerns. Competition for dollars with economic development must be reconciled.

Each compromise diminishes ideological purity.

II. Who is in Charge Here?

Mistrust permeates many relationships in Indian education.

The present system of decision-making in education in DIAND has one major advantage--accountability is impossible to pin down, therefore, nobody can be held responsible.

Budgetary control represents the classic. The rules of the allocation game are too flexible and leave considerable discretion at a host of levels. The district? The region? Ottawa headquarters? Administrators versus educators in DIAND? Treasury Board? And once the bureaucratic jumps are over, then it is possible to shift the problem over to the Band administrators.

Funding procedures in DIAND buttress particular directions without any explicit statements about intent. Tuition arrangements with provinces can pass almost without criticism, although similar requests are impossible to fund in DIAND-controlled schools. Does this arrangement promote transfer of responsibility for Indian education to Provinces?

One government publication delivers the message:

> "An Indian-controlled school could not depart too far from the recognized provincial curriculum for example, or students would not be able to transfer to schools off the reserve, or enter the reserve school from other schools, without great difficulty. Again, if the reserve school does not meet the kind of standards the province requires for high school or post-secondary entrance, students could be held back."

The vagaries in various Federal interests intrude into education activities. In northern communities the Department of Regional Economic Expansion has funded construction of facilities, teacher-training and employment of designated staff. The capital construction is confined to the west, a bonus denied Indian schools in central and eastern Canada. C.E.I.C. has supported hiring school counselors, career development materials, and certain training courses enrolling high-school age youth.

A very significant source of assistance in some regions lies in the Native Cultural/Education Centres. These centres attempt to make the process of education meaningful and relevant to the Indian himself and, by doing so, to stimulate a new sense of self-awareness and self-reliance among Indian peoples. Their advocates argue that an Indian who has a firm base in his own culture--and who has been given the opportunity to acquire a solid understanding of the traditions and values of that culture--is much more willing to participate in a larger society, with pride and dignity than one who has been educated only in the mainstream of the majority culture. Schools are their major consumers. Their activities include: resource centre (e.g. audio-visual activities); language programs (documentation, translations); and cultural preservation (arts, legends and history). A variation occurs in Nova Scotia, where the Micmac Association of Cultural Studies, funded by the Secretary of State, has a staff of three engaged in trying to explain Indian life in the schools.

The Provinces contribute many services to Indian education.

The four provinces, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, British Columbia and Ontario, have a native presence in their respective Departments of Education. Organizational patterns vary--a visible Native Branch with curriculum responsibilities to designated native officials who draw upon services from others in the Department. Curriculum guidelines in native studies are optional, not mandatory. Usually all native pupils receive these services. Other forms of assistance--such as student aid, teacher training, consultants--also are targeted with varying precision to status Indians. Native students can receive credits for high school completion in some provinces.

One clear area of separation occurs when status Indians move to the city. The DIAND generally has avoided any significant measure of responsibility for their education. This rapidly rising group presents serious issues. Take Winnipeg, a major reserve.

Statistics from Winnipeg suggest that by 1985, the status native there will increase to between 18,000 and 25,000 if current trends continue. The Manitoba status Indian population is estimated to be growing at a rate of 3 to 4 percent per year, yet the population on the reserves is stable or is growing only slowly.[3] The increases in Manitoba population must, then, be occurring elsewhere through off reserve migration, much of which is believed to be directed to Winnipeg. In addition, Winnipeg is also

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[3] Institute of Urban Studies, "An Information Handbook on Winnipeg's Inner-City" (Winnipeg; University of Winnipeg, February 23-4, 1979).

suspected to be a catchment centre for natives leaving reserves in eastern Saskatchewan and north-western Ontario. On the basis of the above reasoning, the net increase of status Indians moving into Winnipeg each year is estimated to be between 1,200 and 1,300.

The Indian-Metis probe undertaken in Winnipeg in 1970 tends to confirm that these factors apply in the local Winnipeg situation.[4] It found that over half of its respondents living in the city were under 30 years old and had a comparatively better education than their reserve counterparts. Their principle reasons for coming to the city were for employment (43%) and education (11%, indicating a highly motivated group). Two studies of school transfers in the inner city found that in the short period between 1977 and 1978, native migrants are increasingly remaining in the city rather than returning periodically to the reserve.

The estimated cost of 1980 inner-city Winnipeg programming directly related to native pupils--status, nonstatus, and Metis--covers a range of activities. These activities and related staffing are listed below. Native pupils form a majority in many activities; nursery school classes; nutrition programs; craft development; crisis teachers for children with emotional problems; attendance officers; summer enrichment; community education programs; learning assistance centre; and the youth action project.

Other cities also initiated native programming. The Province

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[4] The Indian and Metis Friendship Centre and the Institute of Urban Studies, The Indian-Metis Urban Probe, (Winnipeg: The Institute, 1971).

	Gross Cost	Provcl. Support	Net Cost
Resource teachers - 10	$239,000	$ -	$239,300
Teacher-aides - 8	97,500	-	97,500
Community liaison personnel - 1	16,900	-	16,900
Native education consulting teacher - 1	17,900	-	17,900
Community teacher-aides - 2	23,300	-	23,300
Little ones nursery	34,600	19,800	14,800
Native awareness program	10,000	-	10,000
Native support program - Gordon Bell	36,000	-	36,000
	$475,500	$19,800	$455,700

of Alberta appointed an urban native advisor to the Minister of Education. The Province of Saskatchewan has embarked upon a series of activities--aides, home-school co-ordinators, nutrition programs, native teacher education--primarily in Regina and Saskatoon.

III. Extending the Boundaries of Schooling

An operational definition of Indian education has evolved: modest modifications to the provincial curriculum of studies, delivered in school. This closed view discriminates against exciting alternatives. A few examples are outlined below.

Special education services for Indian children require urgent expansion. An interesting model exists in the Chinle Valley School for Exceptional Children. This is a non-profit, private institution for physically and mentally handicapped Navajo children, in operation since 1973. Located in Chinle, Arizona, on the Navajo Reservation, the school is one of three institutions presently serving the needs of special Navajo children on the Reservation.

In addition to full-time residential care, the school offers a developing bi-lingual and bi-cultural special education

program for trainable students. This education program will be the foundation for a pre-vocational program and a sheltered workshop now in developmental stages. At the time of admission each child is evaluated for his needs and potential. An on-going program of evaluation throughout the child's school career assures him of an education designed especially for him. Physical therapy, infant stimulation, and specialized medical and social services make the project comprehensive. Nutritional meals and snacks, along with special diets, are provided to the children as a part of the daily regimen.

The Native Family Service Worker Project, Winnipeg, designed a social worker training program. Its origin was the recognition that the profession's practice rests upon the nuclear family rather than the extended. For most services which aid troubled families are geared to the non-Indian culture and exert pressures on Indian families due to a different value system. What is often termed as neglect by the dominant society's standards may well be the norm for Indian societies. These agencies often remove Indian children from their families and place them in non-Indian homes causing untold disruption. The child may quickly learn, in foster care, that the values he has been taught by his family should be discarded or that they are inappropriate in today's society. When he finally does return home, he may feel uncomfortable, discouraged, depressed and disoriented.

A number of schools encourage parents, and in particular those with kindergarten and pre-school age children, to become

active in their children's education. Parents are assisted by professionally trained Indian people to help their children develop good self-images from as early as 12 months of age. The parent helps prepare learning materials used in the classroom as well as at home. Parents are encouraged to teach an appreciation for their tribal heritage by using the Tribal language daily with their children and by teaching them native crafts. In the early education years children are taught to be fluent in the first language. Reading books are used throughout their education.

With the high cost of food, a rising unemployment rate and a low average per capita income per year, nutrition programs are essential to school success. Many children come to school hungry. Concentration declines during the school day. While pupils are physically present, they are mentally absent. Isolated activities in a nutrition plan include: local food production (household gardens, small fields, poultry raising), nutrition education activities (pre and post natal nutrition, infant feeding), and community development projects (food preservation, community gardens, tunnel greenhouses, etc.). The Province of Saskatchewan supports a snack program in a number of inner-city schools. Frontier School Division, Manitoba, has a milk program.

Among young people, drugs are being abused and alcohol is the drug of choice. Many are increasing their consumption in a way that parallels the increase among adults, and this increased consumption and the problems associated with it are common to almost any group of youth including Indian youth. It is Indian youth

about whom there is good reason to be concerned. First, because youth have yet to attain their full physical, emotional and intellectual growth, they are more susceptible to the effects of drugs including alcohol. Second, those who are today's substance abusers are at high risk of becoming tomorrow's problem adults. A matter of public health jurisdiction? Educational or community programs? Many communities employ various types of alcohol education programs with only modest success.

The incidence of communication disorders among Native Canadians is at least four times higher than in the population at large. These disorders may be attributed to otitis media, sensory of neurological dysfunctions, mental retardation, organic abnormalities, and language deprivation. In the absence of early intervention programs, these disorders can impede normal functioning which may result in serious educational, social, pre-vocational maladjustments. In school settings, Native children may develop emotional problems which can jeopardize the learning of skills and knowledge necessary for normal development.

No single or combined study or survey on Native Canadians has answered the critical issue of numbers of individuals with communication problems since few appropriate testing methods are existent. A myriad of conditions which impede normal functioning coupled with cultural differences, make designing programs for treating disorders most difficult.

Another area of investment lies in noninstructional activities. This compensatory approach would build up opportunities so

that the pupils can enter their studies with a strong foundation. Three examples below are found somewhere in DIAND education.

i. A full range of medical and dental services must be considered for children from families who have been excluded from the privileged world of regular and competent diagnosis and treatment. Emphasis should be not only on remedial aspects of health, but also on prevention.

ii. Alternatives to private provision of shelter are difficult to suggest. Clearly, space for studies and other activities might be provided for students from substandard and overcrowded housing. Personal development often requires privacy, conditions that may be physically impossible to attain in the existing housing of students on many reserves.

iii. Family inputs can be enhanced through greater school-community involvement. Some methods of doing this include the use of the school as a community centre as well as the initiation of programs that require parental input, such as tutoring. Home-school co-ordinators have provided a linkage between home and school.

Unfortunately integrated programming between education and other developmental functions are rare. Walls created by professionalism, bureaucracies, tradition, regulations, defeat all but the most hardy reformer.

IV. Narrow Boundaries as a Starting Point

This report has adopted as a principle the urgency to

improve services at the school level.

It has assumed a pragmatic stance. Unlike many southern white communities faced with declining population, many Indian communities still face many unmet construction needs. Movement of pupils through the grades only now is beginning to face the complex difficulties of introducing a range of secondary school courses in small schools. Certain accepted provincial services, such as special education, are virtually unknown in many Indian schools. A foundation must be built.

Curriculum development represents a major cost activity. The La ROnge Band recently requested $200,000 for that activity at a time when the regional DIAND budgetary totalled $17,000. Stalo Sitel, British Columbia, received $50,000 for each of two years for funding research and development of a multi-media social studies kit. The major resource remains the energy of teachers in their nonassigned time.

A casual approach to curriculum development simply is inadequate. Just three examples from the Stalo Sitel Curriculum Report, Cogualeetza Education Training Centre, Sardis, British Columbia. The philosophy stresses the importance of structured learning through the presentation of specific, sequential materials. Considerable effort is spent in researching materials. Second, the Ministry of Education units require much detail. A comparison in treatments in a unit follows:

Ministry of Education Yr. I

Concept: Families are Social Units

Major Understandings	Topics
Families may differ	Similarities and differences in: 1. Size and membership 2. Social position 3. Cultural background
Families change	1. Membership 2. Circumstances

Stalo Sitel Curriculum Yr. I

Concept: Upper Stalo Families are Social Units

Major Understandings	Topics
All families, regardless of culture share certain similarities. Some aspects of the Upper Stalo family are the same as other families. Some aspects of the Upper Stalo family are different.	Similarities and differences in: 1. Size and membership (Upper Stalo family) is an extended one. 2. Social position, chiefs, and on and off reserve families. 3. Cultural background (compares U.S. to student).
Upper Stalo families have changed	1. Intermarriage with non-Indians 2. Shelter for Upper Stalo families has changed 3. Economics for Upper Stalo families has changed 4. Education changes

Third, a range of activities educates adults--professionals, parents and others--about the curriculum. Over 5,000 individuals entered some form of personal information service in 1978.

Therefore, potential dollar costs are high in curriculum development. An estimate would be difficult to make. Francophones outside of Quebec are struggling through similar difficulties in building up classroom materials. Special grants to the Ottawa and Carleton Boards of Education totalled some five million dollars

over a four year period to cover extraordinary costs in writing materials, inservice time, and additional consultants and staff.

It goes without saying that curriculum development within DIAND has virtually disappeared except where dedicated officials can make some slight shifts in their resources.

Native teacher education owes more in its growth to manpower training concerns than its place as an essential component of quality education. DIAND should possess a strategy by now. Various approaches have been tested in classrooms since the first degree program commenced in 1971. They range in substance from those completely field-based to those all on campus. Notwithstanding these variations the urgency for more native teachers also represents another high cost activity. Indian and Inuit teachers now make up about 20 percent of the teaching force in Indian schools.

Different alternatives! Many spokesmen! Limited resources! Unlimited demands! Boundaries shift! Confusion! Since educational debates become so embroiled in political considerations, a focus upon the school should be central. What is the goal?

Many Indian youth simply are not provided with the basics in their schooling in order to move on to the good life. These youngsters possess as much intellectual ability as do youngsters elsewhere, but they are educationally disadvantaged in the sense that they have not been prepared to succeed in traditional school programs. A majority enter first grade without having learned words and concepts which they need to know to understand instruction

in the classroom. In many cases they have not learned to follow verbal directions individually or in groups. Some use a language other than English, the language of instruction in school, at home or with their friends. In many cases they have no models of success, and, therefore, see little point in working persistently to achieve abstract, long-range goals. Those materials and texts that employ urban and southern examples to illustrate points are meaningless to many pupils.

Their early success is crucial for three basic reasons: subsequent success is not only easier to build onto early success, but it also seems more possible to the student; early success not only gives a sense of pride and competence, but also establishes a precedent towards which the pupil can strive to be consistent; early school success makes any later failures more bearable because they are more likely to occur within a personal system of self-confidence strengthened by accomplishment. In short, eventual success or failure in school largely is decided in the first few grades.

And so age-grade retardation builds up in the primary grades. Reading, the major area of instruction, represents the greatest obstacle children have to overcome. Its mastery is essential, but very difficult for some. Some children are held back and become discouraged. By grade four the situation becomes desperate. Non-attendance rises and the affected pupils fall further behind. Complete withdrawal occurs with a rush at early adolescence when youngsters experience other crises related to

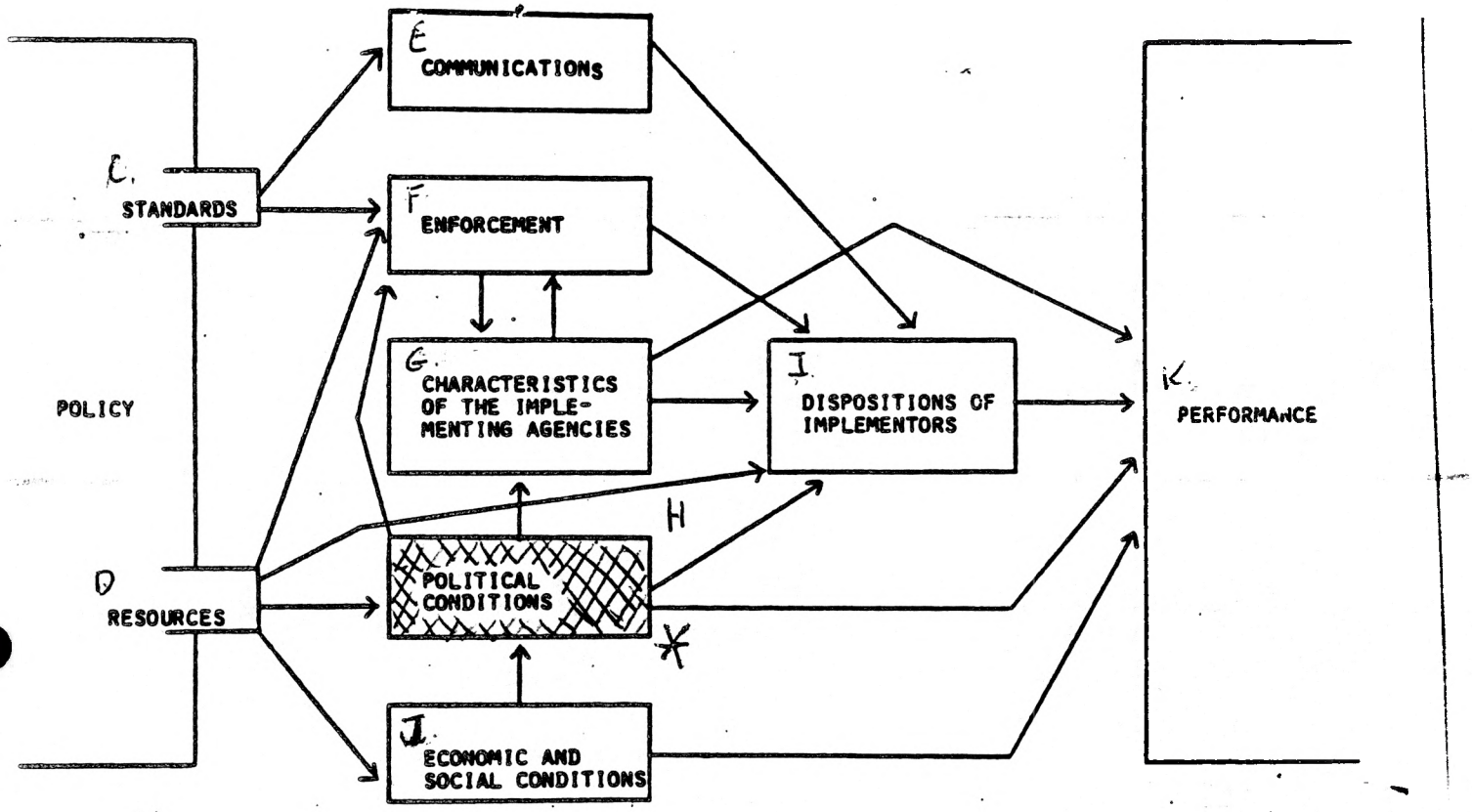
their own identity. Thus, increasing numbers of children do complete ever higher grade levels, but a majority fall further behind the general societal expectations.

Although this Report does not define explicit boundaries to achieve pupil success, a Bloc grant allows each Band the opportunity to define within its own reality. The role of DIAND would be to:

- monitor the services to Indian people to ensure that they are appropriate, effective and efficient;
- provide fiscal resources that are adequate to meet the needs of Indians for services;
- provide the general support and assistance to the developmental policy of local control.

The role of Bands would be to:

- accept responsibility for designing and controlling their own educational requirements;
- make use of the resources available to articulate their own unique school patterns;
- organize and manage delivery arrangements to deliver schooling.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H. POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT

The political environment of the schools effects the nature of their policy performance and supportive actions. The extent of support for or opposition to the policy objectives by organizational superiors and by private groups influences educational direction regardless of the position undertaken by staff in the schools.

As an illustration, quite different political environments exist in British Columbia, Manitoba, and Ontario. There are only two band-controlled schools in Ontario, whereas Manitoba is quickly moving towards regional organizations incorporating most, if not all, independent Band schools. Meanwhile, the coast province has many Indian pupils working out interesting relations within provincial schools.

I. The Centralist Direction for DIAND

The Federal Government has been unable to establish itself as a major educational program centre in Canadian education. It is true that Federal dollars did promote the rapid growth of technical education and French language instruction during the 1960s and 1970s. Both were accomplished at extremely high per pupil cost while program design and delivery were left in provincial hands.

The situation in Indian education should be different. The Minister of DIAND has clearer responsibility for Indian education than his counterpart in say, Manpower and Immigration, where national economic development was used as the rationale for training activity. Funding arrangements between Ottawa and department-

ally-run and band-operated schools are simpler than federal-provincial cost-shared arrangements. Indian interest groups have easier access to Ottawa decision-making than do other provincial non-governmental bodies.

The apparently wider opportunities in DIAND to determine its unique form of education should be treated with caution. First, the regions relate to provincial and territorial systems of education. Teacher certification, textbooks, courses of study are set by provincial bodies. One might question the validity of any or all of them, but they do provide legitimacy from experience. Second, provincial Departments of Education with stronger legitimacy have experienced difficulty in enforcing conformity among local school units.

II. The Case for Local Control

It is a temptation for DIAND to abandon its operational responsibility in Indian education to another level of governance. Which principles and under what conditions hold for handling education under a centralized or a decentralized systems? There are few firm principles. Economies of scale, though often proclaimed, rarely occur in practice. One can make the case that a larger number of smaller units is, if we lack compelling contrary evidence, superior to a smaller number of larger units. Other arguments for local control can be made in spite of limited hard evidence.

Knowing what we do about the improvement of learning,

individual schools and classrooms as units need to be the focus of attention. The further decision-making moves from the parents, principal and teachers in a particular school, the more remote becomes the potential for any significant improvement. To act on this knowledge demands, in particular, a different role for Band-operated schools in relation to DIAND and provincial departments of education.

Finally, DIAND simply has no internal infrastructure to serve as the basis to provide a unique leadership role in Indian education. Successive budget cuts over the past decade raped necessary staff. Perhaps the Department had a chance ten years ago, but none today. The Indian movement has matured and jealously guards its "rights." Budgetary restraints in public service staffing also blocks any possible adequate buildup. The primary goal needs to be one of increasing the competence of individuals within local districts rather than centralizing competence at the central level.

Pluralism remains the organizational principle for Indian education. Communities have a variety of cultural and linguistic backgrounds. They require continuing attention to bilingual-bicultural education and to a broad conception of curriculum. For some communities curriculum for multi-culturalism is more critical. For all curricular offerings that include the arts, literature, languages, a broad array of sciences and community studies are viewed as essential.

The debate about local control in Indian education usually ignores those special services that need a broader base than that of a single school. These services could be organized in different forms. Youth from a number of small high schools each summer attend the Vocational Composite School in Dauphin, Manitoba, to take courses available in their home communities. Small groups of Band-operated schools are joining into regional districts in Manitoba. While the most significant educational activities take place in a school, a comprehensive definition of quality education has to include some services beyond the isolated school.

III. Professional Roles

The professional position in Indian education has lower status than in provincial schools. Departmental school administrators do not possess the career opportunities available in school districts or provincial administrations. More than one regional superintendent has zoomed from classroom teaching to regional superintendency in five years. Directors of education receive lower salary ceilings than their counterparts in provincial systems. A smaller than token group works in central headquarters in Hull.

Teachers operate differently. Those employed by Bands possess contracts subject to termination without due process. Those Departmentally-employed do have the protection of The Public Service Alliance that has no professional interest. Band teachers do not belong to a professional association. Staff in a few Band-controlled schools in Manitoba are discussing membership in The Manitoba Teachers' Society. A group loosely connected to the

Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation has attracted teachers employed in three different Indian school systems--band-operated, Departmental-controlled, and Provincially-sponsored--to discuss matters of common concern. Teachers in British Columbia belong to The British Columbia Teachers' Federation if they work in provincial schools; other teachers can join the Federation as associate members, ineligible to run for office or vote.

Membership in a strong professional organization may, or may not, be significant to raising quality education. Materially salary schedules are rightly comparable. Control over working conditions are not.

The main issue is how to raise the instructional competency of teachers. Broad goals can be set by the community, but teachers have the responsibility to implement them. This is a formidable task. For we know that each child is different, and that different people learn different things in different ways, that some think better in numbers than in words, that certain groups are particularly skillful in art but relatively inept in literature. While drill, order, and tight discipline may be suitable for some students and teachers, they may be destructive for others. We know that illiterate adults, properly motivated, have learned to read and write in a few months, and others, without high school standing, have been trained in complex trades in not that many more months.

How? The training of native teachers has become a popular avenue. It has been argued that these individuals provide role-models, understand community concerns, and communicate with children

in their first language. Descriptions of these programs are available; however, no analysis of their strengths and weaknesses are available. Reports in Ontario and Saskatchewan noted that some Bands refuse to hire graduates of these teacher education programs. As an aside, Ontario encourages training for teachers of native pupils rather than native teachers per se.

Alaska promoted another model. Teachers were employed in villages as community school teachers with responsibilities beyond traditional teaching. A number of enthusiastic teachers joined up, but many burnt out working 24 hours a day. The Northwest Territories used to do this as well.

Professionalization - the opportunity to move within a discretionary zone--has been urged as a model. It is a poor time to argue this case. The end of the 1970s has been a period of disillusionment with professionals in general and educators in particular. Distrust has grown. Meanwhile groups question the schools and attempt to make them more responsive to forces outside the local administrative structure.

In short, the immediate future does not look promising. Teachers will be caught in cross-pressures. Curriculum developments have reached their logical (and absurd) conclusion when elementary teachers may be expected to teach, and children to learn, reading, writing, several varieties of arithmetic, geography, spelling, science, economics, music, culture, art, a native language and history--at the same time as the children are helped to develop physically, morally, and intellectually, and are molded into good

citizens. Then, there is the nitty-gritty. Small school settings demand generalization when training has stressed some form of specialization. High teacher turnover contributes to discontinuity in reading series. Too many new teachers receive less than minimal orientation assistance.

Teachers are caught in confusion. Discipline, too hard or too soft? What to teach? Should schools teach those things that are likely to be immediately useful in life outside the school, or those things most fundamental to an understanding of organized knowledge? Should they emphasize the development of individuality or the transmission of and conformity to the cultural heritage?

Evaluation and research offer no protection to the teachers. Value judgements and political considerations are paramount in controlling the decisions by policymakers. There is little evidence that such studies have had much of a role in their deliberations.[1]

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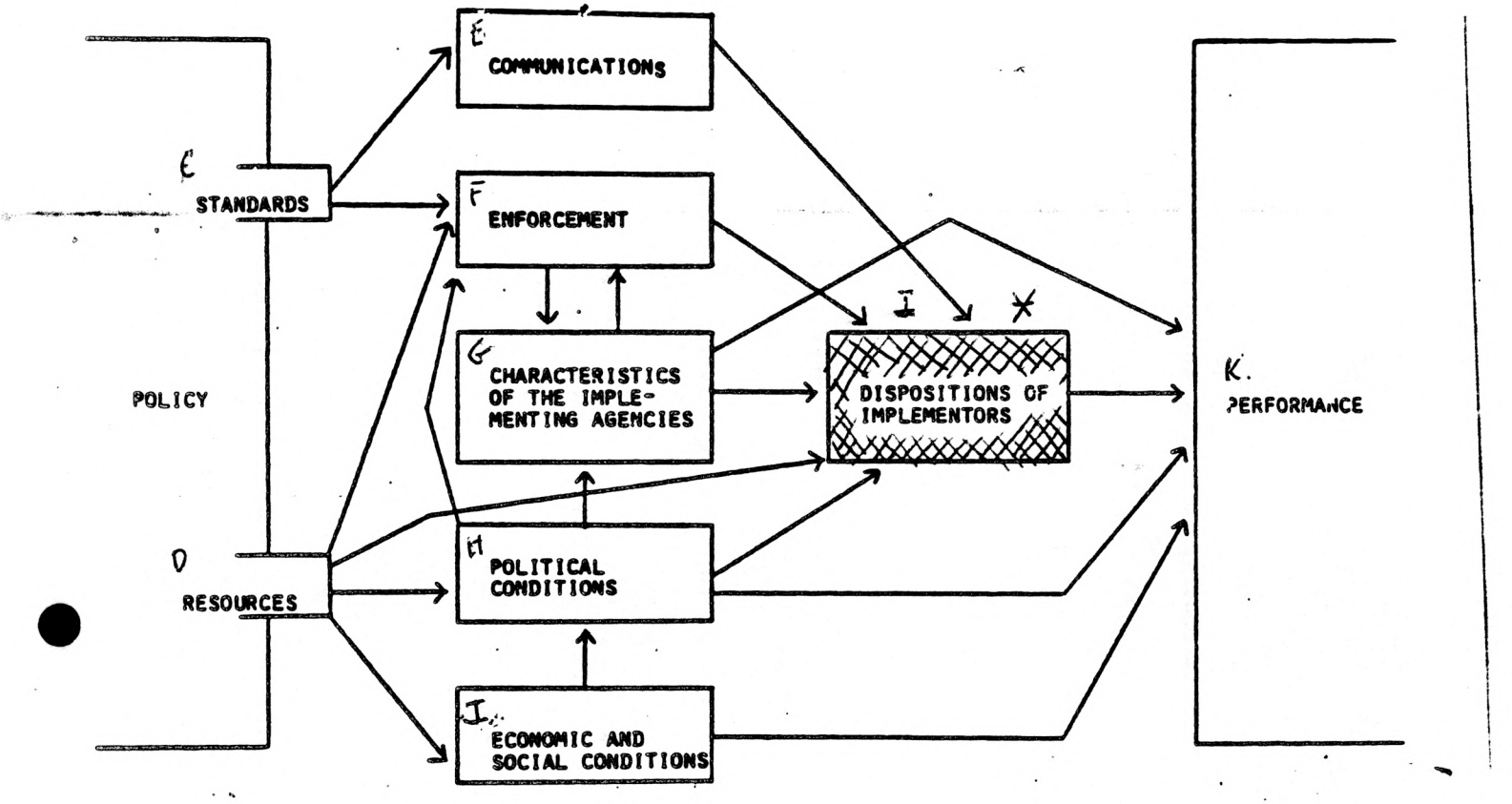
[1] Sar Levitan and Gregory Wurzburg, Evaluating Social Programs: An Uncertain Art (Kalamazoo, Michigan: The W.E. Upjohn Institute for Employment Research, 1979).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I. DISPOSITION OF IMPLEMENTORS: RESEARCH AND EVALUATION

The success or failure of many programs has often been attributed to the level of support enjoyed within the agency responsible for implementation.

Indian education creates more discretion for avoidance of centrally-set policy direction. First, policy standards, even policies, are vague. No commonly accepted core of knowledge about education in general, Indian education specifically, leaves decision-makers with no discipline to build upon. Second, the unique nature of Indian education allows legitimate disputes about ends and means in quality. Third, self-interest of some implementors--viz. job security--conflicts with the transfer of authority from DIAND to Bands.

The officials met--quite different styles/and values--displayed high organizational loyalty. They all want higher quality Indian education. It is a wonder that the vagaries about the situation has not made them cynics.

I. What is Indian Education?

Before corrective action can be taken we must know the factors which cause the problem and the relative importance of these factors.

Only two of the some 55 studies commissioned by DIAND Ottawa headquarters dealt with education. The major one by Couture[1]

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[1] Joseph E. Couture, "Secondary Education for Canadian Registered Indians Past, Present, and Future: A Commentary" (Ottawa: DIAND, June 15, 1979).

appropriately critiqued the Department for a preoccupation with administrative concerns, a lack of vision and incomplete and unreliable statistics. He makes a number of provocative jabs against conventional beliefs. Troubles occur in the translation of his general statements into operational terms. The second study has superficial interest.

The situation is simply that there is little rigorous analysis about the factors which affect the education of Indian pupils. Clifton's review of available research over 20 years demonstrates the need for more comprehensive studies.[2] He repeats the concern of other researchers that small samples of individuals from one tribe are generalized to the Canadian Indian population. Later he outlines the need for complex theoretical models to displace the traditional adherence to bivariant analyses in which differences between Indian and non-native pupils were examined for a single dependent model. His suggested network is outlined on Table 3. In this model each arrow represents a positive causal relationship. For example, it is possible that Indian pupils do not have the abilities, language and culture that fit the norms of the school.

Clifton believes that poor performance, age grade retardation, and dropping out are inter-related; and that several causal factors are involved that intensify as a child progresses through school. His argument is that students from different ethnic groups

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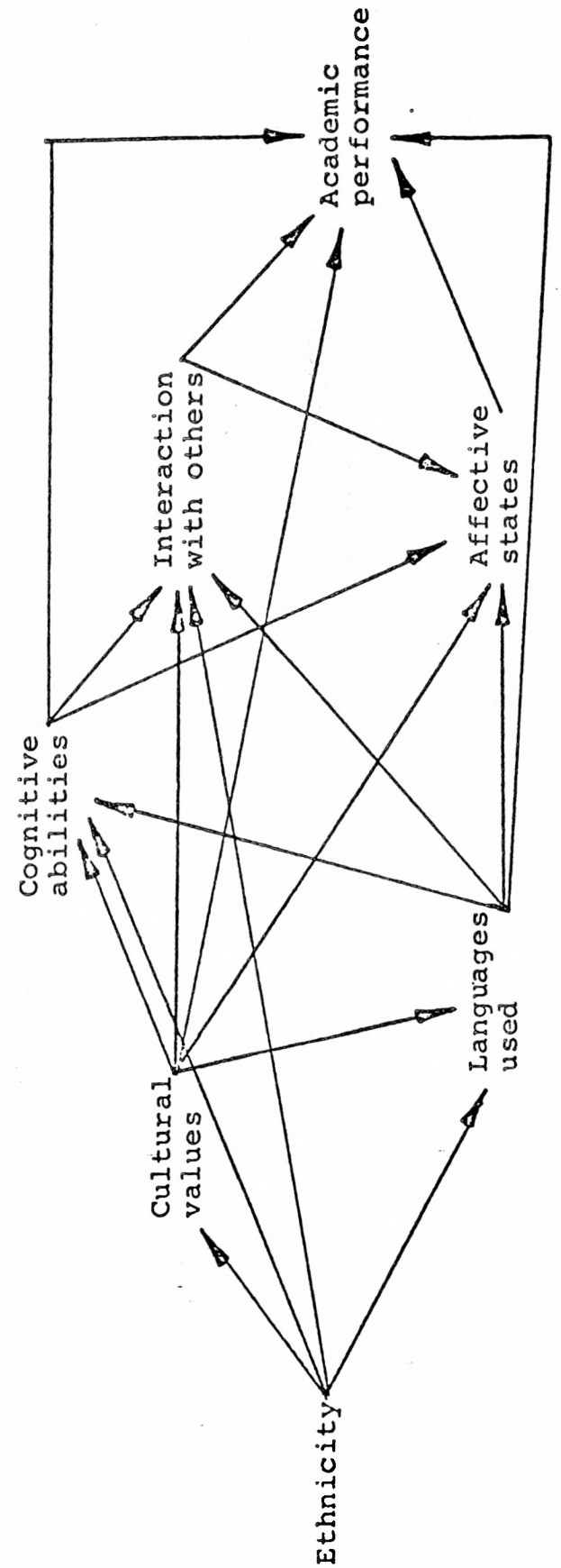
[2] Rodney A. Clifton, Factors Which Affect the Education of Canadian Indian Students (St. Johns Institute for Research in Human Abilities and Department of Educational Foundations Memorial University, October, 1975).

TABLE I

THE THEORETICAL MODEL



may have different values, use different languages, and may exhibit different types of cognitive abilities. These values, languages, and abilities may not be those required by the school system. Differences in these areas may lead to interaction difficulties with other students and teachers. Students, depending upon their values and familiarity with English, may relate in different ways to teachers. This interaction may have a direct effect upon academic performance or may affect the student's self-concept, attitudes, feelings which in turn affects academic achievement.

Brooks argues that Native children are stronger in spatial abilities than verbal, and may even have a different "style of problem-solving."[3] This author suggests that many Native pupils may have a different learning style from that of most white children. He notes that educators have not been able to appreciate that cultural differences result in different ability patterns.

Burnaby has outlined four possible alternative language programs--immersion programs in the native language to a subject taught in that language.[4] The author outlines a number of questions required to establish the background for a choice in a particular school.

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[3] R. Brooks, "Teaching Native Children: Lessons from Cognitive Psychology," The Journal of Educational Thought, Vol. 12, No. 1, 1978, pp. 56-67.

[4] Barbara Burnaby, "Language in Native Education," in Merrill Swain, Bilingualism in Canadian Education: Issues and Research. Third Yearbook of the Canadian Society for the Study of Education, pp. 62-85.

Bowd has surveyed psychological research about Canadian Indian children over the past decade.[5] The findings are divided under three separate models. Remedial Education assumes that the schools main role is to correct deficiencies in the child's behavior. Frequently well-meaning advocates of this position place a good number of Indian pupils into special education classes. Supplementary education tries to establish mutual adaptation between Native groups and established educational institutions. Many practices, such as home-school co-ordinators and native teacher aides, fit this model. His third model, instrumental education, identifies the major problems of Indian education with alien school practices. Radical alternatives would characterize this position.

Clifton has attempted to compare the attitudes of Indian and non-Indian students.[6] His study examined the affective states of both groups when a number of important variables were controlled. The findings do not support the contention that Indian students have negative self-concepts and attitudes.

A policy-oriented longitudinal study of pre-school education conducted by the High/Scope Educational Research Foundation,

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[5] Allan D. Bowd, "Ten years after the Hawthorn Report: Changing Psychological Implications For the Education of Canadian Native Peoples," Canadian Psychological Review, Vol. 18, No. 4, October 1977, pp. 332-345.

[6] Rodney A. Clifton, "Self-Concept and Attitudes: A Comparison of Canadian Indian and Non-Indian Students," Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, 12 (4. Part 2), 1975, pp. 577-84.

Ypsilanti, Michigan, offers strong evidence that preschool education pays off in higher academic performance, lower delinquency rates, and better earning prospects. The study began in 1962, followed 123 "disadvantaged" children from pre-school to the present. The subjects, now ages 19 to 22, showed a higher high school completion rate, less tendency to use welfare, lower arrest rates, and higher employment.

In 1978, Verna Kirkness was commissioned by the Program Evaluation Branch, Policy, Research and Evaluation Group, DIAND, to develop and test an evaluation framework for a comparative analysis of the federal and provincial educational systems for Indian students.[7] Other purposes included the identification of variables to describe the state of education of Indian students in these schools, and the selection and testing of indicators for potential application to other areas of the country. Kirkness studied 12 factors such as enrolment, drop-out rates by age and grade, age-grade placement, course placement, destination of school leavers, graduates, and attendance, in several provincial and federal schools for a five year period from 1972-1977.

The researcher's general conclusions were surprising! She found that there is little observable difference between the performance of Indian students in federal and provincial schools. In

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[7] This study, Verna J. Kirkness, "Evaluation Report: Education of Indians in Federal and Provincial Schools in Manitoba," (Ottawa: DIAND, August 31, 1978).

both systems, there is evidence of a high drop-out rate, approximately 30 percent of those students surveyed are age-grade retarded; the majority of the high school students are in the General Course stream; very few Indian students graduate from high school; absenteeism is a general problem and there is very little parental involvement in the schools.

That Ms. Kirkness found little observable dissimilarity may or may not be significant. The tests employed were limited and were not sensitive enough to capture the reality of the educational process. Lenton, below, went beyond the Kirkness methodology to include perceptions of respondents. Perhaps any study that concentrates upon school items alone ignores more critical causal factors in the home.

The Lenton study[8] was an information-seeking and exploratory study in Manitoba as well, based largely upon the Kirkness model but with the option of expanding into areas indicated by preliminary findings or local community factors. The population studied included the Long Plain, the Dakota Plains and Dakota Tipi Bands, 593 Indian children in all. These children attended integrated school systems.

Her major findings are replicated in other studies:

- Enrolment is highest at the Grade 1 level and decreases most

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[8] Sheila Lenton. "The Education of Indian Children Long Plain, Dakota Plains, Dakota Tipi Bands Manitoba 1965-1979 An Exploratory Study", September, 1979.

significantly at Grades 7-8 and ages 14-16.

- A disproportionately high number of Indian students are age-grade decelerated, and some as many as five or six years.
- Drop-outs are particularly high at Grades 7 and 8 but occur frequently throughout all grades and begin as early as Grade 3.
- Poor attendance appears to be a pattern in many cases and is perceived as a major problem by the school.
- Parents think that education is important and want their children to finish high school; while most students accurately perceived these aspirations, most teachers perceived parental attitudes toward education as negatively contributing to poor attendance, low academic achievement, and high drop-out rate.
- While many parents and students perceive language difficulties, few teachers do.
- Most parents and students believe cultural content, Indian language, legends, arts and crafts should be included in the curriculum; teachers do not see these factors as relevant to the academic performance of Indian children.
- Discontinued students identified more strongly, than did present students, with Indian people, leaders, culture and traditions.
- Students, like teachers, ranked poor academic performance and student attitudes as quite important in contributing to drop-out rates; unlike teachers, students placed greater emphasis on interaction with teachers and irrelevant curriculum, and less upon parental attitudes.

II. Evaluations of Indian Education Programs

A recommended evaluation plan was issued in DIAND in July 1978.[9] The authors believed that a strong evaluation component could build up a comprehensive overview of education undertaken under DIAND authority. A major focus of this proposal lay in developing a vision, an articulate theme, or a sense of purpose. A set of steps would form a rational process of defining the process. DIAND would develop a professional consensus on how best to address the issue of learning quality; and then DIAND would offer to work with some Indian educators to prepare a set of mutually acceptable learning indicators. DIAND could move to a series of case studies which would apply these criteria to various types of schools attended by Indians.

It is doubtful this recommended course of action might work. Political considerations far outweigh the pedagogical.

Available national studies have had little influence upon ongoing operations in other settings. A national statement must be vague or quite general in order to cover many different situations--cultural, geographic, economic, educational--across Canada. These too general goals subsequently are difficult to translate into useful activities that teachers can employ.

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[9] Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Indian and Inuit Affairs Program, Program Education Branch, "A Recommended Plan for Evaluation in Indian Education." (Ottawa: DIAND, July, 1978).

A small number of schools employ external consultants to evaluate their operations. They range in quality. Yet, all are quite explicit in respect to suggestions to improve conditions. For example, the 1979 recommendations about the Onchaminatos School at Saddle Lake, British Columbia, included attendance improvement, needed materials, communication workshops, religious teaching and pupil discipline.

The Audit Bureau has conducted a number of broader-based evaluations of educational programs over the past two years.[10] While the reports do provide insights about education activities, these evaluations have their roots in management concerns set by central Ottawa agencies.

Of more direct benefit to program improvement are the evaluations produced by regional staff of DIAND. Their methodologies can be criticized; however, they do illuminate aspects of current practice.[11] Conducted at almost negligible cost, they serve as models to acquire more documentation about Indian education.

The use of five socio-economic indicators, adopted in 1979 by the Winnipeg School Division, illuminate a causal connection frequently avoided in other Indian studies. Class or culture?

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[10] See - Manitoba Regional Office, "Evaluation Report of the Native Bilingual Program: Cross Lake School," (Winnipeg: DIAND, April, 1981).

[11] See - F.J. Ross, W. Miller, "A Survey of Outdoor Education in Federal Schools in the Manitoba Region" (Winnipeg: DIAND, March, 1981).

Undoubtedly both are influential; however, class issues usually are ducked in most Indian education studies. Winnipeg division-wide test results in Mathematics and Language Arts for inner-city schools could be predicted with 74 percent accuracy using local school data to update the inner-city criteria. These socio-economic indicators are as follows: family income, family mobility, unemployment, single parent families, and the education level of parents. Native people who are recent immigrants to the city are particularly sensitive to poverty conditions.

Profiles of four Winnipeg schools with more than one-half native population suggest the scope some possible compensatory efforts:

1979	No.	Native Origin	ESL	Single Parent Families	Attendance Problems	Transfers	Special Needs
Aberdeen	484	365	42	300	100	480	40
David Livingstone	365	206		225	38	301	75
Dufferin	315	220	36	270	60	630	170
William Whyte	439	246	40	140	68	581	217

The Native Advisory Group in that city identified the following language issues:

i. Most Native students living in the city speak English as their first language, but retain a Native dialect as a second language.

ii. Most Native students speak a non-standard form of English which

includes many of the language structures found in their Native dialect.

iii. Speaking and thinking in a non-standard English dialect can give rise to difficulties in coping in a standard English speaking classroom environment.

iv. Many parents and Native organizations are concerned that Native children may lose their ability to speak in their Native language, and thus lose a vital part of their cultural heritage.

v. In some northern communities, the Native language remains the primary language, and children who move into the city from these communities must learn English as a second language.

Many such analyses are required--they generate program considerations that fit the circumstance of a particular school. jurisdiction. Winnipeg, for example, pursued its analyses in a number of directions.

English Language Development - Priority was given to the area of English language development for Kindergarten to grade three. The type of program under design will depend upon the nature of the deficiency. Is the student deficient in English because he/she speaks a Native language as a first language? Is the student deficient in English because he/she speaks a "street" English or a form of "home" English? The existing ESL program and other programs in the Division will be reviewed for suitability.

Native Language Development - The concept of Native language development is under review. Once the data regarding the degree of fluency in Native languages is determined, planning can begin to

design programs required to meet the need. Parental consultation will be necessary here.

Teacher In-Service Training and Evaluation - Inherent in plans to implement new programs are the areas of teacher training along with establishment of a program evaluation mechanism.

Curriculum - The Winnipeg proposal states the need for "Curriculum materials and teaching techniques which are relevant for Native students and can be incorporated into the existing curriculum." The initial concentration goes into K-6 social studies. The newly designed Department of Education Social Studies Program, which incorporates Native content, is being tested and adapted as necessary for suitability in the inner city. Teacher in-service, as to presentation of material, content and methodology, will be a major component of this program as will the development of school resource centres initially aimed at providing support materials for social studies. At a later date, this effort could be extended to grades 7 to 9, or such areas, as science.

A 1981 Social Planning Council of Winnipeg study of inner-city youth differs somewhat from the School Division study. It suggest that unmet native needs are significant only to a modest degree.[12] The findings reveal: Indian/Metis students are only seven percent more likely not to have a full-time summer job; 23

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[12] Social Planning Council of Winnipeg, "Youth Needs Study: Adolescent Needs and Human Services in the Core Area of Winnipeg" (Winnipeg: The Council, May, 1981).

percent are more likely not to have part-time jobs during the school year; eight percent are more likely not to be involved in any community recreation or leisure programs; and significantly, 23 percent are more likely to belong to drug-use and 10 percent to crime-oriented peer groups. The Council Report concluded that being of Indian/Metis ethnic status does not increase the likelihood of being truant, of quitting school, or of being dissatisfied with one's standard of living.

That study stresses attendance. The Chief Attendance Officer in Winnipeg found that many Indian children were not achieving academically, which lead to truancy, which in turn lowered even further their poor academic performance. The Council in contrast finds that the factors most strongly correlated with habitual truancy are low academic aspirations, poor academic performance, frequent mobility and a poor family environment.

III. What Are the Needs of Small Schools?

Another major neglected subject of study relevant to Indian education lies in the peculiar needs of small schools.

Consolidation of schools has been a major priority in Canada for decades. It has contributed to the pressures to bus children off reserves into larger town schools. But there is no agreement in the research about what is the minimum size of an "educationally viable school." One can find proponents of 300 to 1200 as an ideal high school size. A growing literature has found that school size is rather irrelevant to educational attainments. Differences

between rural and urban pupils are more related to differences between rich and poor citizens.[13] A number of jurisdictions--Ireland and New Zealand are two--stopped school closure. Why? The promised educational benefits of larger size are illusory; consolidation can cause real hardship to individuals; costs, such as transportation, are high; and the structure and viability of rural communities are hurt. In the latter respect, Nash cites a project in the Lofoten Islands:

> "A school that does not ignore problems that are relevant to the people it serves, that stresses the relations between the local area and units at regional and national level, that shows how the local dialect has its grammatical rules and special concepts, and that its own community has a history and tradition in the same way as any other group of people, may enable its children to develop the feeling of being members of a fully respected community. This is probably in most cases a pre-condition for developing the amount of self-confidence that is necessary for entering into co-operative work as equal partners or to risk new approaches to problems."[14]

Perhaps the best known study of school size is that carried out by Barker and Gump who studied the range of behavioural settings in a sample of Kansas High Schools ranging in size from 35 to 2,287 students. The sample schools were located in communities with approximately similar socio-economic and ethnic backgrounds. The

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[13] Roy Nash, Schooling in Rural Societies (London: Methuen, 1980), p. 58; B. Bessant, "Rural Schooling and the Rural Myth in Australia," Comparative Education Review 14.2, pp. 121-8.

[14] Ibid., p. 109.

essential finding of their study is best expressed in their own words:

> ". . . small high schools are, in fact, not so small on the inside as they are on the outside. In terms of number of behaviour settings, number of characteristics per setting - interior characteristics not easily seen from the outside - small schools differ less from large schools than in terms of number of students and amount of space, which are perceptually salient external attributes of schools."[15]

In other words, students in small schools were under more pressure to participate and felt a greater sense of responsibility and obligation. Larger schools did not offer many more activities or options than smaller ones; however, pupils in the latter had more opportunities to take advantage of what was available. The authors were confident that a student in small schools led a much more satisfying life than those in the larger. A Canadian regional viewpoint of educational experiences of youth from remote areas comes in Ryan's study of northern Ontario.[16]

Another general issue with serious import for Indian education stems from the condition that most teacher training works against the needs of rural small schools. Such schools need teachers who are trained to be generalists--able to cope with sparsity, utilize community resources, invent curricular materials, and

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[15] R. Barker and P.V. Gump, Big School, Small School (Berkeley : University of California Press, 1964), p. 72.

[16] D.W. Ryan, The Education of Adolescents in Remote Areas of Ontario (Toronto: Ministry of Education, 1976).

oriented more toward teaching children rather than subjects. Many graduating teachers now are trained to become specialists both in terms of a subject or organizational dependence upon various support personnel.

Many small schools across Canada reinvent the wheel. Their new programs are not documented since staff are consumed with keeping the machinery going. It would be highly desirable for each rural teacher, or each rural school, to be able to attain the kinds of local curricular offerings using only their own funds, information, creativity, and expertise. Realistically, the prospects of such self-sufficiency are extremely dim. Thus, it is clear that outside assistance of some kind will be required to actually implement needed curricular reforms. There is need for the establishment of a network of individuals and organizations committed to the improvement of Indian education curricula and materials. They should share their ideas and experiences with each other and conduct research that is supportive of general efforts.

Emotional support for local control denigrates the role of activities required from outside small schools. Claims are put forth in an either-or terms. The few advocates of consolidation want the benefits from economies of scale, and a structure in which teachers and administrators can operate more effectively; but local control supporters want power to local communities, if only that schools are an integral part of community life and decisions affecting the school affect the entire community and should be made at the community level.

Much more knowledge is required about organizational arrangements that can enhance the quality of education in small schools. More are coming, in particular, as more small high schools are established on reserves. Specifically more must be done on the development and testing of new delivery system models for basic, special, and vocational education in sparsely settled areas.[17] Furthermore, the strengths of rural schools and their communities can be enhanced through:

- returning to the rural traditions of individualized instruction and cross-age teaching,
- making extensive use of the local community as a learning resource for rural children (for example, by helping in community projects, starting community service programs, doing oral histories with local residents, and by using the local community as the subject of a variety of historical, sociological, economic, and scientific investigations by students),
- taking advantage of the fact that most rural communities are endowed with natural environments which would be the basis of curricular materials in outdoor education, science, survival skills, physical education, and other related fields.

The list of issues can go on. Some are uncomfortable as they challenge popular stereotypes. Does local control promote higher attendance? Peguis and Sandy Bay always are cited as

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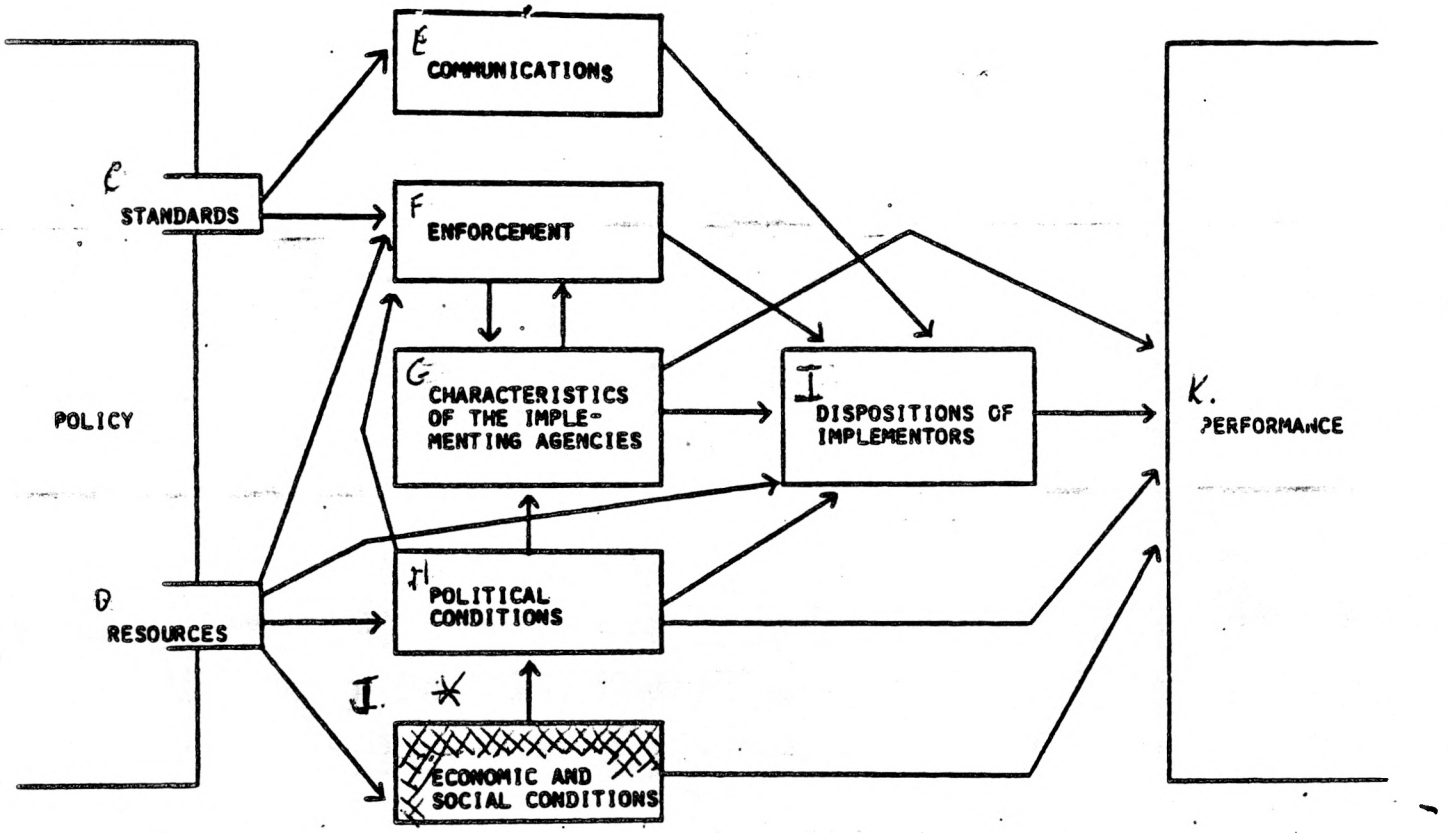
[17] Jonathan P. Sher, Education in Rural America: A Reassessment of Conventional Wisdom (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1977), p. 285.

affirmative responses to that question. No reference is made to Fort Alexander. How do Indian teachers serve as role models to their pupils? Is that the question? Reports on native teachers education projects usually are descriptive; those analytic are written by academics often involved in related projects.

The chance is limited for extensive examination of critical issues. The few available resources go into maintenance of operations. A general antipathy to studies undercuts support for extensive funding in research and evaluation.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J. ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS

Much of the literature about Indian education looks at cultural or caste issues. Class is avoided. Balance is required.

Coleman wrote in his 1966 report on Equality of Educational Opportunity:

> "The sources of inequality of educational opportunity appear to lie first in the home itself and the cultural influences immediately surrounding the home than they lie in the school's ineffectiveness to free achievement from the impact of the home and in the school's cultural homogeneity which perpetuates the social influences of the home and its environs."[1]

He stressed that variations in family background account for far more variation in school achievement than do variations in such school characteristics as the teacher-pupil ratio, laboratory equipment, and teacher salaries. Bowles extended the analysis of the Coleman data.[2] He indicated that such variables as reading material in the home and family stability have a strong positive correlation with children's school achievement.

Most researchers now recognize the powerful impact of home life on school performance. Each year children attend school, they bring with them a lot of resources: their health, energy levels, knowledge of skills acquired in formal learning and in informal

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[1] James S. Coleman, et al., Equality of Educational Opportunity (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966), pp. 73-74.

[2] Bowles, Samuel and Herbert Gintis, Schooling in Capitalist America: Educational Reform and The Contradictions of Economic Life (New York: Basic Books, 1976).

activities, tastes, attitudes, and expectations. Presumably, some of these resources are helpful to a given child in his schoolwork, and some are not helpful. We know very little about how this educational resource is acquired by a child, or in some cases, forced on him.

Policymakers have been slow to respond to these kinds of findings, choosing instead to focus their efforts to raise student performance on school-based intervention strategies. Utilization of school inputs is time-tested and neater. This production orientation looks at average salaries of teachers, class size, the type of laboratories, etc..

Exploration of non-school conditions is more complex, but more revealing. A view of the home would look at parents' education, occupation, parents' income, books and other resources in the home, space for studies, etc.. Other pupils also influence pupil performance: their home background; the average ability level of students in the classroom; and the range and type of out-of-school activities.

It is premature to determine both the precise variables that are most influential on pupil performance and to what degree they are. That fact should not deter those interested in quality education to remember that:

- The stability of family units appears to be eroding, with higher divorce rates, more births outside marriage and more children in care
- many of these families live in crowded conditions

- a rising percentage of the Indian population receive social assistance.[3]

Indian people are an underclass in Canada. This less advantaged situation handicaps them in achieving full educational benefits.

Direct penalties are seen in Indian children -

...who come to school with inadequate nutrition and fall asleep in class

...with dental and other health problems, thereby missing too many school days

...dressed in shabby clothing, embarrassed to go to school

...who are beaten, trained in a welfare-dependent state

...with no positive role models of 'productive' citizens at home, see little purpose to stay at school

...suffering from extended hearing handicaps, have difficulty picking up teachers' instructions

...whose families do not have the minimal dollars to spend on essential "extras" in schooling, as field trips, art supplies

Where can we go? We must ask what we want or expect from families, particularly from those families whose children are not doing well in school. If family supports matter, which ones matter and in what ways and to what degree can particular remedies overcome the "handicaps" of social class position, which so significantly dominate school performance.

Is the question one of opportunities in the school or in

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[3] See Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Indian Conditions: A Survey (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1980).

the home? Escaping from poverty requires both the jobs and the skills to get them. Sadly governments today are cutting the employment and training programs that have helped low-income families escape their poverty.

In good times Indians have difficulty in obtaining good jobs. Rising unemployment forces them further behind a long queue waiting for a chance. The recent decades forced many Indian adults severely limited by inadequate education and marginal skills into marginal and menial jobs. Contemporary economic developments present aharsher fate to their children--agri-business requires sophisticated machinery; high technology cuts out low-skill jobs; local community economic enterprises only are in a trial stage; public service employment programs are cut back.

Now there is a considerable literature that education credentials are overrated in terms of employability.[4] Grade ten, for example, has an almost mystical aura in terms of entrance to trades training. Although this grade level often does not translate into skills, many employers and postsecondary educators believe that higher grades denotes more self-discipline, perserverance, and a willingness to stick to a course of action for future gain. So we return to educational credentials!

Though not all the unemployed would work if they had the chance, most would. Can the economy be restructured without

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[4] As an example, Ivar Berg, Education and Jobs: The Great Training Robbery, (New York: Praeger, 1970).

jeopardizing productivity and growth, to create unsubsidized jobs for the unskilled workers? How relevant is that education geared to future employment when most of a Band is unemployed? Do affirmative action programs have much promise for increased Indian employment?

What is more important - education/training or jobs? Is that the question?

Alaskan natives are questioning the impact of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act, 1971, a $1 billion cash settlement, and title to 44 million acres of land made to 80,000 native beneficiaries. One Willie Hensley, an Inupiat, is one of Alaska's best known natives, and he is worried.[5]

He found that "identity" did not fully express what he had in mind, so he turned to "spirit." He said that native values were dissipated in the surrounding society, causing a "discontinuity of spirit." This, he said, has led to "an inability to communicate with parents and grandparents." He said the children had started "to lose their sense of obligation and responsibility to their family and community."

"In a sense," he said, "they are becoming individualized, alone and not understood. This desolation of spirit and disconnection is causing suicide, alcoholism and drug abuse."

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[5] New York Times, June 17, 1981.

He said: "In our group, if the process brings a person to speak of 'I,' then he is gone. Our survival in the past was in terms of 'we.'"

Some native leaders now look to the old ways as a balm to cure what some of them see as a sickness of the soul.

"If our people are worth preserving, what is it about them that is worthwhile?" Mr. Hensley asked earlier this year, in Inupiat, his people's language, at a meeting in the Arctic where these anxieties were discussed.

"We brought up words and phrases that described what we believed made us worthwhile as a people," Mr. Hensley said. "They were such as 'cooperation, sharing or giving; respect for elders, knowledge of the language, hard work, respect for animals, acceptance of family responsibility, sense of obligation.'"

The traditional ways, he said, are overwhelmed by education, the cash economy and technology of the competing culture.

In an interview, Mr. Hensley said: "Unfortunately, the school has been a tool for the disintegration of viable cultures which had evolved to allow us to live in this most hostile of climates."

Some Alaska natives say they doubt that their people can hold to their identity while pushing into the commercial and professional life of the late 20th century.

"We can't continue down the Western civilization street exclusively," Mr. Hensley said. "And down the street of the Eskimo way is impractical; we can't survive. We have to go both ways."

There is no uniformly accepted definition of the concept of equity as related to the funding of education.

DIAND could design its own funding scheme. Various unique factors related to Indian education could be included. What percentage? An extra sum above provincial formulae? Which elements distinguish Indian education? Should a set of standard measures be developed nationally.

For Indian education is characterized by great diversity of pupils, schools, school districts, and ties to provincial school. The best that can be done is to ensure that:

- The optimal levels of funding required to assure that each child has access to an appropriate educational program that recognizes differences in psychological, physical, emotional, and cultural conditions and occupational aspirations; and
- variations in the cost of delivering equivalent educational programs and services that are attributable to differences in the prices of goods and services among local school districts or to the sparsity or density of population and/or enrollment among districts.

Thus, it is recommended that the funding formula to schools for DIAND commence with linkage to that of the province. They are

established and contain a measure of flexibility. They approximate the two criteria set above.

If this recommendation is accepted, many questions would remain unanswered. Resources would concentrate upon inputs into schools. Radical financing alternatives are avoided. No mention is made about local effort in respect to revenue raising. Socio-economic weighting formulas also are omitted, although they could assist those Bands most in need. Charles Benson explores a number of interesting alternatives in school finance, in particular household time contributions to school achievement.[6]

> "The chief thing we know about determinants of school performance is that it is closely associated with differences in "home background" where home background is measured by parental income, educational level, and occupation. It is not possible easily to change the levels of parental income, education, and occcupation in the short run--nor is it at all certain that changing such description of family life would have any desirable effects on the child in the short run. So public policy as it has shaped up, seeks to "compensate" for deficiencies in home background, but this compensation is offered in the absence of knowledge of precisely what is lacking in the home, toward which compensation should be made."

Which provincial formula? Those provinces surveyed expect varying percentages of local taxation. The bloc grant should relate to the total expenditures (i.e. provincial plus local) of school districts adjacent to a band. That sum should reflect certain recognized peculiarities in program and its delivery in

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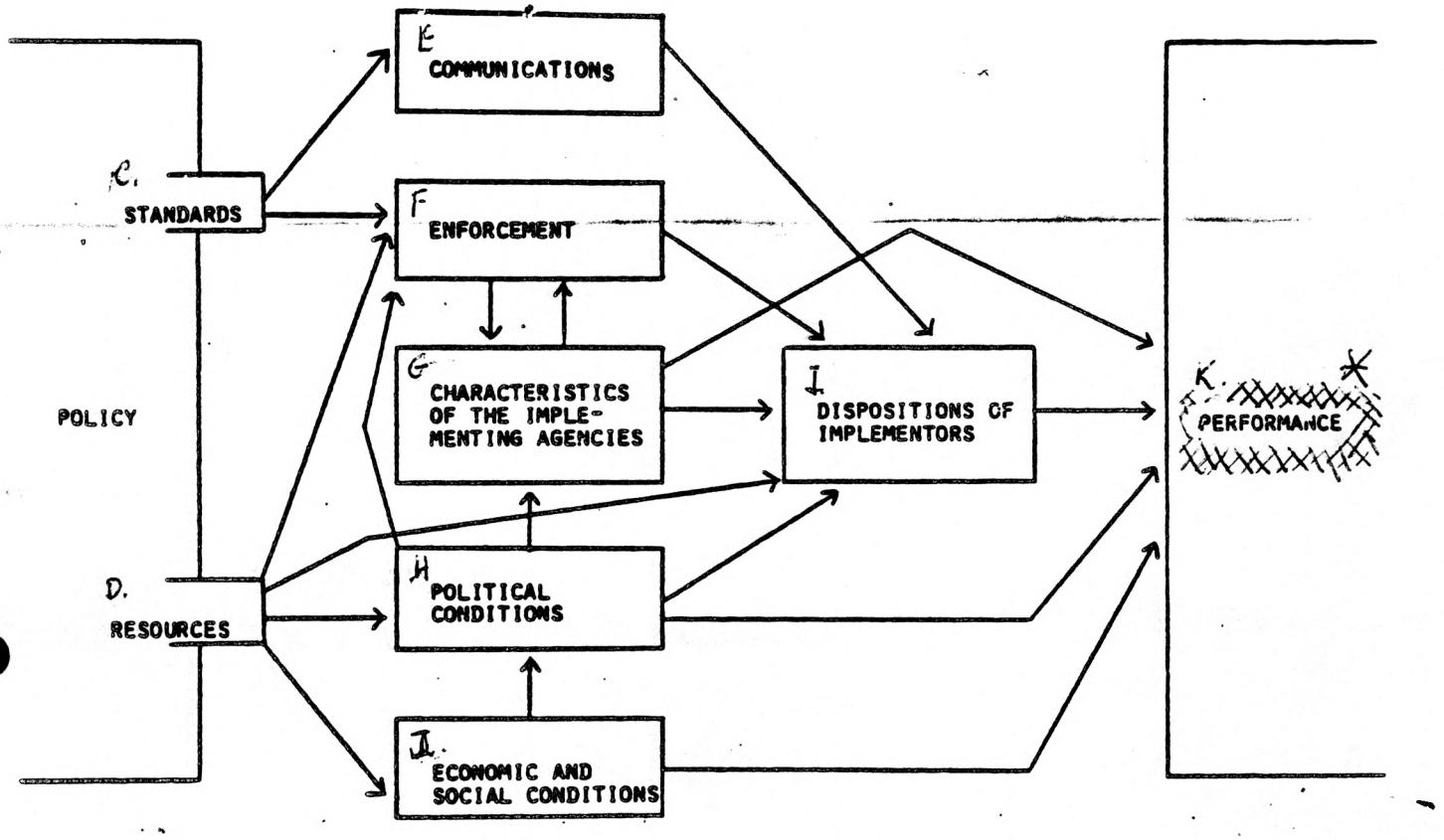
[6] James W. Guthrie, editor, School Finance Policies and Practices The 1980s: A Decade of Conflict (Cambridge, Mass.: Ballinger Publishing Company, 1980), p. 174.

Indian education. Two relevant ones include weighting to small school size and isolation.

One existing provincial pattern in finance should be rejected outright. The three western provinces each contain an unofficial "northern-native" school district--Frontier School Division, Manitoba; Northern Lights Board, Saskatchewan; and the Nishga District, British Columbia. All have high per pupil costs in contrast to other provincial school districts. Undoubtedly their high expenditures can be justified in each province as a unique case, but nationally an extension of their costs as a base for Indian bloc grants would bankrupt DIAND.

Thus, the social and economic environment has a significant, but imprecise influence upon pupil performance. It is debatable how significant schools are as an instrument for eliminating social and economic inequalities. These issues are much more significant for Indian pupils than nonnatives. But there is not the time to challenge established practices and funding formulae.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ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS

K. PERFORMANCE

What do we have? Unhappiness about the performance of pupils in Indian education. A general coalition of separate forces --higher cultural content, more attention to basics in the provincial curriculum, and community participation--join in opposition to central direction.

A bewildering array of almost irreconcilable problems vex the decision-maker.

- disagreement over the goals of Indian education.

If a consensus might be attained, the statement has to be vague in order to cover conflicting positions. Consensus would be difficult between the advocates of Indian education in the pure sense of segregation and those that wish to send their children to provincial schools.

- lack of a consistent core of findings from the social sciences

The complexity of human beings, the complexities of many different school organizations and communities prohibit sweeping diagnoses and treatments of teaching and learning issues. Too little research and development was found in Indian education.

- absence of appropriate measurement instruments.

Popular forms of standardized measurement simply are inadequate for assessing school effectiveness, indeed, they can and do distort what is the educational process. Normative tests, such as The Canadian Test of Basic Skills, discriminate against

rural and minority groups.

- inability to control for forces external to the school.

Many forces--the home, friends, the community environment --critical to school performance are beyond the ability of the school to control, although they are as important, if not more, to pupil performance.

- conflict between the set standards and the means to achieve them

Indian pupils are expected to reach regular, provincial standards in education. But there are qualitative and quantitative differences between their respective organizations and resources. Thus, Indian pupils are placed into a competition where many find difficulty in success.

How can local control improve quality?

- The participatory drive appears to be a major factor motivating support for many forms of decentralization in Indian Affairs and elsewhere.

The small size of many Bands should collect diverse resources, schools included, for community development. The goals of education could reflect community intents much more accurately than large jurisdictions.

- Decentralization, governance or administration, has yet to have a constant impact upon average levels of student achievement.

Various respondents claim that local control promotes higher attendance, more parental support to schools, and larger numbers of graduates. There is an insufficient period of time and

limited case analyses to evaluate the actual situation properly. The major alternative--major reorganization of education within DIAND--simply is unreasonable, if only that government organizational patterns do display impressive powers of endurance.[1]

- Local control may influence other student behaviors, such as student attitudes, and may even aid student achievement.

School-site management and direction ensures the resolution of issues at the point of greatest interest to its active participants. Local control would facilitate the adaptation of provincial curriculum to the degree sought by local residents. Unofficial controls would restrain radicalism--provincial schools that receive Indian pupils, postsecondary entrance requirements, a narrow range of texts and standardized tests, native teacher training integrated into universities, and parents apprehensive to take chances with their childrens' education.

Indian education is a matrix of webs. Five of the more dominant are culture (including first language), geographic isolation, adapted provincial standards, socio/economic stability, and political maturity. Each lies on a continuum from extremes of low to high. Somewhere in the matrix is a point where the child receives his/her schooling. That point also determines the degree of quality.

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[1] See Herbert Kaufman, Are Government Organizations Immortal? (Washington: The Brookings Institution, 1976).

Thus, if Indian children from small rural/northern schools drop out of school, or score lower on standardized tests, what exactly does that mean? Is it a function of their rural/northern life? Poor teachers? Small schools? A cultural bias in the curriculum, texts and tests? A poverty background? Inadequate home support? All, some, or none of these?

What does it all mean?

It is interesting that the National Assessment of Educational Progress found the two lowest scoring groups in its tests were children from relatively poor agricultural communities and those from deprived inner-city areas.[2]

I. Inner Tensions of Local Control

Local control does not provide a simple road to quality education. The situation of the teacher all too often is missing in reports on Indian education. Inequality among Bands usually is omitted. The bloc grant remains insensitive to such questions, while adaptations are made to provincially-set course standards.[3] A small school on its own can suffer from the ills of parochialism. At a higher level attention must be paid to services that are too

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[2] Wayne W. Martin, Student Achievement in Rural Schools: A View from The National Assessment Data (Denver, Colorado: Education Commission of the States, 1979).

[3] See Joel D. Sherwin, "The Finance of Primary Education in Ten OECD Countries: A Comparative Overview," Comparative Education Review, June, 1979, pp. 293-301.

expensive for one school to provide.

Much cannot be predicted. The recommendations only should be incrementally or marginally different from existing policies. Any drastically different policies would frighten off many parents; therefore, these policies are politically not feasible. Lindblom labels this strategy "disjointed incrementalism."[4]

What would be tested before the why of Indian education. Norms would approximate those of the particular province--ones that historically have been relatively insensitive to the needs of minority groups. But a starting point is required for many Indian bands--familiar educational settings would help those just starting into local control.

The long-run should see many high cost pressures--both financial and nonfinancial. Once the common enemy, DIAND, disappears, the coalition of different local interests should split as general goals are refined in application. Financially, bilingual-bicultural (and multicultural) programming is expensive. A start-up time of at least ten years is necessary before adequate programs are developed and in use in classrooms. Some must start from scratch. Parents, student, and teachers have to be convinced that bilingual education is worth the effort; qualified teachers and administrators have to be trained; materials must be prepared; suitable evaluation instruments have to be developed and tested;

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[4] Charles O. Lindblom, The Policy-Making Process (Englewood-Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1968).

and instructional approaches have to be experimented with over a long period of time.

Any examination of northern costs has almost unlimited scope for fresh demands. A 1978 study in Northern Saskatchewan concentrated upon a number of additional supports. Raising the current expenditures in the north was sought in plant operation and maintenance, small schools, and small northern jurisdictions. New grants were sought to expand new programming through special grants and an increase in equalization.

Can these inputs be translated into higher performance?

Little improvement is promised to uplift the condition of the many Indian pupils who attend provincial schools. The Federal Government has no muscle to persuade school district officials that schools should become sensitive to the needs of Indian pupils. The basic measure of quality education received by a child there is still determined by the ability grouping he or she is tracked into; and if many provincial schools continue to place Indian children into lower ability groups and tracks, the current intervention strategies will give them scant relief.

The appointment of an educational ombudsman is the fifth recommendation in this Report and one that might be viewed with suspicion. For this position could present another complication, a step beyond the normal political process. Hopefully, the ombudsman could provide another protective device to ensure that the many individuals affected by the movement to local control receive

fair treatment from the authorities. The high level of suspicion in Indian education today contributes to making political mountains out of administrative molehills--unreasonable delay, partiality, failure to communicate, inefficiency, unreasonableness, and denial of services.

The ombudsman lies outside normal channels and is not mandatory as an appeal process. It can offer an unhurried look at a problem. The office is involved in educating, interpreting, evaluating, recommending--all activities that would assist DIAND, band councils, and individuals alike.

What is clear--the tensions in establishing a cultural direction in Band-operated schools will be lower than in multicultural settings. That condition will not hold if the latter pupils are assimilated into the dominant culture.

II. A Resolution, Not A Solution

This Report deliberately has excluded numerous recommendations that could improve quality. Thus, it provides no solution. It does offer a structure where issues can be clarified, reveal inconsistencies in aims and efforts, generate new alternatives, and suggest ways to translate them into feasible plans.

Hopefully, a broader context will promote wide-ranging discussions about means and ends in Indian education.

The priority focuses upon building up financial parity between Indian-controlled schools and school districts in each

appropriate province. There are many alternatives, but politically most would be represented as second-rate, or attempts to keep Indian people down. Furthermore, this period of development in Indian education might prompt an extension of the bloc recommendation for parity by 10 percent. The National Committee for Cultural Education Development has proposed a multi-year funding formula for all bands, but has not received any reaction from DIAND to date. That body also prepared an overall definition of culture that could formulate a policy direction. It will be difficult enough to obtain parity without pressing for extras at this time. In contrast, the National Indian Brotherhood draft proposed on Indian control wishes "to establish true need as defined by Indians and irrespective of the program structures and funding formulas through which Government defines Indian need."[5]

Shifts in attitudes are required. Education as a function should be explored--thereby, the linkage between K-12 and post-secondary education and training strengthened. Available seed moneys should be placed in projects that would promote more open access opportunities, particularly in trades and technologies, and those occupations that are locally based. There are other opportunities. Schools can be used as centres for community development corporations.[6]

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[5] National Indian Brotherhood, "A Proposal For Development Toward a Comprehensive Implementation Plan For the Policy of Indian Control of Indian Education," August, 1981, p. 15.

[6] For example, Richard H. Brown, "Appropriate Technology and The Grass Roots: Toward a Development Strategy from the Bottom Up," The Developing Economies, XV, #3, September, 1977, pp. 253-279.

This exciting period in Indian education should not be demeaned by those 1,000 problems in introducing local control. It is true that the transfer of authority and resources to Band-control should create a mini-revolution. But that shift has occurred elsewhere. July 1976 saw Alaska approve the Regional Educational Attendance Areas state law. That law gave the first opportunity for native residents to exercise direct influence over the formal education of their children. REAA's receive 100 percent of their basic need funding from the state. In addition, the state in that same year agreed to provide a high school in each community that has an elementary school. Although it was too early to judge improvements in quality education, relevance and local pride, optimism, awareness and self-criticism were found in the rural communities.[7]

The major strategy in this Report is to buy time. Transfer of responsibility and authority with appropriate resources to Band councils will enable Indian leadership to assess school performance. This step is not "scientific"; however, the state of educational and psychological research, plus limited demonstration projects and evaluations, diminishes confidence in this approach.

Local control would test school performance. An appeal to community assumes that every school is part of a community of

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[7] Katherine Hecht and Ronald Inouye, eds., New School Districts in Rural Alaska: A Report on the REAAs After One Year (Fairbanks: University of Alaska, Center for Northern Educational Research, 1978).

association and interest in which reside the ultimate criteria of usefulness, relevance, and benefit of any curricular element. Therefore, those matters that deserve first priority in the curriculum are to be determined by the community, either directly or via its representatives, or by studies of the community (including teachers).

Initially many Bands will rely upon tradition. They will assume that subjects of study that survive the test of time in the provincial curriculum are in the long view most beneficial and, therefore, should receive the highest priority in the curriculum. Tradition represents a starting-point. As Indian pupils generally continue to fare poorly under the provincial standards and courses, more questions will be asked about their suitability. Greater pluralism in Indian education will be the result in altered subjects, teaching styles, and organizational arrangements.