THE UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

TOWARDS A MODEL FOR CULTURALLY COMPATIBLE NATIVE EDUCATION

BY

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The undersigned certify that they have read and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance, a thesis entitled "Towards A Model For Culturally Compatible Native Education" submitted by Elizabeth Ann Piwowar in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis proposes a model for culturally compatible Native education. To date, Native education in Canada has not been effective. Drop-out and failure rates have been considerably above the national average.

Education of Native students has been reproductive of dominant society and Anglo culture. Historically Native education in the residential schools was based on a colonial model and on indoctrination. The integrated school period aimed at assimilation of Native people into main-steam society. Even band-controlled education has tended to be reproductive of Anglo culture, rather than productive and instrumental in Native terms.

This thesis examines several historical models of Native education and analyzes current educational models in search of a model for culturally compatible Native schooling. An examination is undertaken of the "quick fixes" that have been tried in the period since the Hawthorn Report in 1967 mandated an improvement in Indian schooling.

Given that the ultimate goal of Native education is instrumental, productive Native education under the total jurisdiction of First Nations, the model is interim, but is a step towards more culturally compatible Native education. The model is applicable to the present, is set within band-control and recognizes present limitations. The future model will need to be effected by Native people themselves.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

According to Canadian standards, the last one hundred years in Native Education have not been marked with any great degree of success. A variety of approaches have been tried, i.e. church-run day schools, residential schools, federal government-run day schools, private schools, integrated provincial schools. Finally band-controlled schools have endeavored to educate Native students. The goal of Native education prior to the Hawthorn Report of 1966-67 was the blatant assimilation of the Native student into the dominant society. This, in fact, was also the goal of education for much of the period after the report; in most cases this goal was disguised under the label "integration". Only the alternative of band-controlled education has attempted to develop an education model that was, at least on the surface, not geared to aligning the Native to the dominant society. Failure to consider the nature of the Native learner has led to a mismatch between the pedagogy of the school and the needs of the Native child (Carnew, 1984) (McKenna, 1981).

Much of Native schooling to this point has been reproductive of the schooling of the dominant society (Frideres, 1988) (Kehoe, 1984). This schooling is basically

white Anglo Saxon middle-class in orientation (Weiler, 1988) (Apple, 1982).

Carnew, (1984) states:

> Programs of study for Native children in Canada are patterned almost exclusively on Western concepts of formal education. No system has been developed that is a unique program for Natives, significantly different from similar programs for non Natives.(Carnew, 1984, p.4)

and

> It has been assumed that Native children have the same cognitive development, thinking and learning processes as their non-Native counterparts. (ibid, p.4)

The Hawthorn Report of 1967 drew attention to the inadequacies of previous Native Education, and made recommendations for future directions and improvements. The position paper by the National Indian Brotherhood, Citizens Plus: A Presentation by the Indian Chiefs of Alberta to the Right Honorable P.E. Trudeau, and the Government of Canada, June 1970, also known as "The Red Paper", set into motion the movement toward the goal of "Indian Control of Indian Education".

The Hawthorn report was based on three assumptions:

1. That traditional schooling could be modified to meet the needs of Native students.
2. That Native people should be encouraged to maintain their cultural identity.

3. That dependence upon the technology and economy of the larger white culture would continue to grow.

(Hawthorn 1967).

Educational recommendations made in this report were essentially remedial. (Bowd, 1977).

In 1972, the National Indian Brotherhood followed up the Red Paper with their policy paper entitled, Indian Control of Indian Education. This paper was presented to the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. It was a blueprint of the Brotherhood's vision of Indian Control of Indian Education. It postulated two fundamental principles:

1. Parental responsibility.
2. Local control.

The document also specifically addressed the following areas:

1. The need for an Indian philosophy of education, incorporating Indian values.
2. Programs, for the inclusion of Native languages in the curriculum and the establishment of cultural centres.
3. The need for a strong, well prepared teaching force to work with Native children, including a move towards increasing the number of Native teachers, setting high standards for teachers in Native education, providing specialized training for both Native and non-Native teachers, and the introduction of increased numbers of Native paraprofessionals

into the schools as an interim measure as increasing numbers of Native teachers were being qualified.

4. Upgrading of educational facilities and services.
5. A statement of the problems inherent in the style of integrated education of the past.

(National Indian Brotherhood. 1972).

In the early nineteen-seventies integration of Native students into public schools continued to proceed at a rapid pace, and efforts were made to compensate for age-grade retardation, and poor language skills through special education services. In Alberta these services were funded by Indian Affairs through the tuition agreements in many provincial schools, but were not generally available in the Indian Affairs schools on the reservations. Placement in special education was determined by the use of general standardized tests. Testing focussed on linguistic ability and cognitive development. Many Native students spoke a Native language as a first language, but the tests were in English. Little consideration was given to the possibility that the tests might be culturally biased. Using testing devices designed to test universal mental skills, scholars of this era translated the behavior patterns of Native children into "deficits", "handicaps" and "disadvantages" (King, 1983). Special education services at this time were usually of a "resource room" nature, which meant that the child was placed in a special program and segregated from

the learning of the regular classroom for large blocks of each day. Although children were attending an integrated school, they were often segregated in a resource room program with a disproportionate number of other Native students.

Bowd (1977) supplies an analysis of the decade after the Hawthorn report, and concludes that changes in Native education during that decade can be seen as basically remedial. LaRoche (1975) describes it as "compensatory". Within this model it is basically assumed that the deficiencies exist within the child or within the culture. Thus the research of the decade in question is psychological and sociological in nature. The principle concern of researchers, in Bowd's view, (1977) is to confirm theory based hypotheses. Although the research has been accompanied by recommendations and comments, in many cases these suggestions have not been systematized, and the educational implications are not clearly defined (Bowd, 1977). Bowd cautions:

> Behavior that is dispassionately considered "different" to the norm when encountered within the context of psychological theory may be transformed into "handicaps", deficiency" or "disadvantage" when the frame of reference becomes the formal education system of the larger society. (Bowd, 1977, p.335).

This position is also espoused by Meighan, (1981) and Lieberman, (1984) and forms the basis for both authors'

expressing concerns of the over-representation of minority students in special education.

Carnew, (1984) refers to this "remedial model" research and its recommendations, as the model of "cultural deprivation". Native children are seen by the advocates of this theory as "deprived" or "disadvantaged" (Carnew, 1984).

Bowd concludes that in the decade since the Hawthorn report there was evidence of some decline in the school drop-out rate, and an increase in the number of Native teachers and university graduates. The basis for these conclusions is substantiated by Frideres' interpretation of DIAND statistics (Frideres, 1988). There was an initiation of numerous training and development programs. Bowd qualifies these indications of progress by saying that educational change appears to be the result of the changing social and economic conditions, most noticably the growth of political awareness within Native groups.

Bowd proposes two further models for Native education: the supplementary model and the instrumental model. These models may be seen as progressive towards the realization of the goals of true "Indian control of Indian Education", productive (rather than reproductive), and culturally compatible. The supplementary model may be seen as an intermediate step: thus the models are not in conflict.

Supplementary education identifies problems in education as the product of the interaction between the child and the school rather than their residing within the school. The

emphasis is one of mutual adaptation and consultation, resulting in increasing diversification of services and methods. Decision-making is shared between school personnel and the Native people. Couture, (1989) affirms this when he states that new kinds of teaching conditions and requirements are needed and are possible.

Instrumental education is premised on the assumption that formal schooling represents a series of experiences which are contradictory to those encountered in the everyday life of a people and that it promotes a change in the individual's behavior which often conflicts with the learning that has taken place in such cultural contexts as the family (Bowd, 1977) (Ryan, 1989) (Spindler, 1989) (Ogbu, 1982). This view is also held by Carnew, (1984). A radical adaptation of educational institutions is proposed so that they might become instrumental to the cultural and economic aspirations of the people they serve (Bowd, 1977) (Ryan, 1989) (Spindler, 1989) (Ogbu, 1982). The terms "instrumental education" and "instrumental" as used throughout this thesis reflect this definition.

In 1984, at the request of the Assembly of First Nations, the cabinet of the Federal Government approved financing of a three year research project to be conducted by the newly created Educational Secretariat of the Assembly of First Nations. The three year study was known as the National Review of First Nations Education. The resulting document,

Tradition and Education: Toward a Vision of Our Future. A Declaration of First Nations Jurisdiction Over Education, serves as a revision and update of the 1972 Indian Control of Education policy paper. The report was published by the National Indian Brotherhood (N.I.B.) and the Assembly of First Nations in 1988. The study found that little had been done to implement the 1972 policy in the way intended. First Nations' education remained under the firm control of the Government of Canada which has consistently defined "Indian control" to mean merely First Nations' participation and administration of previously developed federal programs. The report describes a design for holistic education incorporating the values, cultures and concerns of First Nations. It reflects the philosophy that learning must be associated with spiritual, physical and emotional growth as well as academic growth. (National Indian Brotherhood, 1988). This thesis attempts to present a model which is consistent with the philosophy and specifics of this N.I.B. 1988 report.

This progression as described by Bowd (1977) may be used as a framework within which to examine the current research and literature; and a measure of progress in particular in the thirteen years following Bowd's analysis.

Educators Carnew (1984) and Couture (1989) stress that Native people want an education that will allow them to be bicultural. Carnew states in his analysis that statements

made by Native people suggest that in general they believe that schooling should:

1. Assist the Native people in preparing to function effectively in and contribute to, their own cultural groups.
2. Assist Native people in preparing to function in and contribute to, non-Native society.

(Carnew, 1989).

The National Indian Brotherhood/Assembly of First Nations document, Tradition and Education: Toward a Vision of Our Future. A Declaration of First Nations Jurisdiction Over Education (1988), states:

> Education for First Nations must teach and promote respect for aboriginal languages and cultures and enhance the students' cultural identity and confidence. At the same time, students must be taught the necessary vocational, academic and professional skills to function effectively in modern society (National Indian Brotherhood, 1988, Vol 2 p. 88).

Native communities and parents should be encouraged to decide for themselves the direction and the future for which they wish to educate their children. They alone can decide what the goals of the education process should be in any given community, adds the document.

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE AND METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this thesis will be to present a workable model for productive Native education based on current knowledge and research. This model aims at increased cultural compatibility and provides for maximum Native input and control. The model may be seen as a step toward truly instrumental Native education, but is based in the present, and thus reflects the realities and constraints of this time. This model will be constructed to consider the areas of concern initiated in the Hawthorn Report, and promoted through the 1972 position paper of the National Indian Brotherhood, and the subsequent National Indian Brotherhood position paper of 1988. The model will reflect the directions for supplementary and instrumental education as suggested by Bowd, (1977) placing particular emphasis on the literature that has emerged since Bowd's assessment. The model will facilitate producing Native citizens who can operate biculturally, (Carnew, 1984) (Couture, 1989) (Snow, 1977) (Hawthorn, 1967), and are prepared for total living (National Indian Brotherhood, 1988) but will strive primarily to enhance strong cultural identity, self-knowledge and self-esteem. The model is subjective, interpretive, and holistic, but not generally prescriptive. To maximize Native content, works by Native scholars have been used, where possible.

The model will reflect the following components:

1. An underlying philosophy of education including: the importance of self-esteem in the Native learner, the incorporation of Native values, the holistic view of life and learning, and the maintenance of Native culture (Couture, 1989) (Snow, 1977) (Riner, 1979) (Jordan, 1985) (Ogbu, 1982) (Spindler, 1989) (Osborne, 1989a) (Osborne, 1989b) (Rampaul et al, 1984) (National Indian Brotherhood, 1972) (King, 1983) (Friesen, 1987) (Deines, 1984) (Piwowar, 1982) (Severyn, 1983) (Pauls, 1984) (Koens, 1989) (Shouldice, 1986) (National Indian Brotherhood, 1988).
2. The role of Native parents and communities in the determination of pedagogy, program structure and curriculum (Patterson, 1986) (National Indian Brotherhood, 1988) (Benyk, 1988) (Medicine, 1987) (Lamb-Richmond, 1986) (Cuch, 1987).
3. Pedagogy for greater cultural compatibility (Kehoe, 1984) (Abercrombie et al, 1986) (Freire, 1970) (Cummins, 1986) (King, 1983) (Osborne, 1989a) (Philips, 1972) (Couture, 1987) (Kleinsfeld, 1975) (Pepper, 1976) (Rampaul et al, 1984) (Schulz & Bravi, 1986) (Erickson & Mohatt, 1982) (Severyn, 1983) (Cuch, 1987) (Carnew, 1987) (Pepper & Henry, 1986) (Saskatchewan Education 1987) (More, 1987) (Carnew, 1984) (Rohner, 1965) (McCaskill, 1984).

4. The learning process, including the nature of the learning environment, the role of the teacher, and considerations for teacher training (Schulz & Bravi, 1986) (Philips, 1972) (Bowd, 1977) (Common & Frost, n.d.) (Spindler, 1989) (Dehyle, 1983) (More, 1987a) (Kleinfeld, 1975) (Klink, 1989) (King, 1983) (Mazurek, 1988) (More, 1980) (Jordan, 1985) (National Indian Brotherhood, 1988).
5. Relevant, holistic curriculum (Foreman, 1987) (Wilkinson, 1982) (Fenton, 1980) (National Indian Brotherhood, 1988) (O'Neil, 1987) (Charles, 1989) (McCaskill, 1984) (Moore-Eyeman, 1984) (Cummins, 1987) (Cummins, 1981) (Brant and Ayoungman, 1989) (Kirkness, 1989) (Morley Community School, 1989) (Bop, Bop, and Lane, 1988) (Bop, 1989).
6. The means of assessing the outcomes of Native education processes and the need for advocacy-oriented assessment (Hebert, 1987) (Pepper, 1976) (Carnew, 1984) (Schulz & Bravi, 1986) (National Indian Brotherhood, 1988).

This model will be prefaced by a consideration of present constraints and factors contributing to the mismatch between schooling, and effective, useful learning for the Native child. This will include an examination of current models for education, schooling and learning including those proposed by Frankena (1965), Parsons (1959), Durkheim (1968) Meighan (1981), and Simpson and Jackson (1984). It will also consider the model suggested by Cummins (1986) and the Native education model suggested by Kirkness (1982).

DEFINITION OF TERMS

CULTURALLY COMPATIBLE: - refers to the state of being in harmony with the norms, values, and beliefs of a given culture.

MODEL: - refers to an abstract way of presenting the relationships between social phenomena; an aid to understanding the essential mechanisms involved.

NATIVE EDUCATION: - refers to the education of Indian, Metis and Innuit students.

PEDAGOGY: - refers to the art and science of teaching, including the communicative and interpersonal styles of the teacher.

CURRICULUM: - refers to the content that is to be learned.

DELIMITATIONS

1. The study will examine research literature specifically for the period 1977 - 1990, with some reference to the literature of the previous decade.
2. The study is based in Canada, but includes literature from American sources as well as Canadian studies.
3. The proposed model will be predominantly applicable to the tribes of the Canadian prairies.
4. This model assumes local control of Native education.

LIMITATIONS

1. Plains Indian cultures are not homogeneous, but for the purpose of this study, because of similiar goals and needs, some assumptions of commonality have been made.
2. The thesis and the proposed model are prepared by a non-Native and thus represent an outsider's view.

SIGNIFICANCE

The last twenty-two years have been charged with quick fix solutions for Native Education. Some of these "fixes" have been political or administrative, such as the integration of Native students into provincial schools, the formation of Native parent advisory committees, and the hiring of Native teaching assistants and Native teachers.

Others are new programs such as Native cultural programs, Native language programs, self-esteem enhancing programs and addiction awareness programs. Some of the "fixes" involve some types of learning theory, and include efforts at remediation, modification of testing instruments, the use of E.S.L. techniques, and application of Feuerstein's program of "instrumental enrichment". Curriculum and texts have undergone review and revision to remove material that is biased against or offensive to Native people, and to increase Native content. None of these "fixes" within itself has provided a substantial improvement in the education of Native People. In many cases, Native involvement or consultation has been minimal. Many of the ideas may be useful collectively in providing a complex picture, which may lead to a model for the best implementation of what current research and the National Indian Brotherhood study of 1988 have recommended. There is a need to summarize and critically analyze the literature of this period, so that it might be used collectively to enhance the advancement of culturally compatible and effective Native education.

CHAPTER TWO

HISTORICAL MODELS IN NATIVE EDUCATION

This chapter will present a brief overview and analysis of some of the models that have been operational in the education of Native people in Canada. The chapter begins with a discussion of the original cultural model for the "education" or socialization of the young within the home and the community.

THE TRADITIONAL NATIVE EDUCATION MODEL

This model includes a consideration of pre-European contact education and of the education of the child in the home and community today. An examination of this model enables us to perceive areas of mismatch between this model, and colonial and modern models for Native schooling. Looking first at the ideology and theory of education, Deloria, (1982), a Native academic, states that Indians have seen the education of their children as a preparation to live in a world where content and applicability are simultaneous and identical. Indians are practical; whites want to deal in abstractions. Indians want to produce useful people; whites want to transmit a body of information, regardless of its immediate usefulness (Deloria, 1982). The Natives' view of life is holistic, thus education is interconnected with all

aspects of life and creation, with philosophy, with spirituality, with the emotions, and with the physical and the practical. Much of traditional education encompassed the spiritual; religious education was fundamental to every youngsters' learning experiences (Whitecap, 1988). A Native person, Jeannette Armstong, (n.d.) warns of the danger in separating skills, from traditional indigenous philosophies. Through evolution only successful educational methods survive, and those that survive are those that are easy to maintain and which are natural to the lifestyle. Lessons to be learned are tied to survival, health and social order (ibid). Thus for indigenous people, education is a natural process integrated into the daily lifestyle of the culture (ibid).

Not only parents and extended family, but the whole community were (and are) involved in the education and acculturation of the young. In traditional settings, grandmothers and elders are especially involved in this practice. Learning is by observation. The child watches, and when he feels comfortable, he tries out the skill (Whitecap, 1988). He will not experiment until he feels he knows how to perform the task. In pre-contact times, daughters watched their mothers do chores they knew would soon be expected of them. The education of Indian children in these times was direct and practical (Whitecap, 1988). As the child tried new skills, he was reinforced in what he did well, and encouraged and shown how to improve what was less than

perfect. There was very little verbal instruction only modelling, and teaching and learning by example. The child was never pushed into demonstrating a new skill until he was comfortable with it. The child was free to roam and explore. He was rarely restained in his activities unless he was in serious danger. He was allowed to learn not to do things by experiencing natural consequences. Decision making was encouraged beginning at the age of four to five years. Independence was relative to the competence of the child (Severyn, 1983). Once puberty had been realized, adult status could be recognized. Cooperation was encouraged rather than competition, and conflict was avoided in interpersonal relations.

Elders and grandparents told legends and stories to teach about life and truth. These stories were told many times until they were remembered and the lesson was engrained. Everywhere there were lessons to be learned from experience, social interaction and from cultural practice. Old people were valued for their wisdom and were to be respected (Whitecap, 1988). Children were made sensitive to the distinction between good and evil. This was done within the community although children were never put in direct confrontation with authority. Examples were made of good people and children were told when they were good (Deloria, 1982). Children were taught that they were a part of creation and they must respect all of creation. They were to

appreciate the knowledge of the tribe which was passed down by those who came before, the ancestors.

Ritual and ceremony, songs and myths were important in teaching inherent systems which evolved from indigenous experience of environment, and which ensured productivity and survival (Armstrong, n.d.).

Although exposure to Western culture has influenced to some degree child rearing practices, many traditional families today still raise their children in a manner similar to that of their ancestors. Since this traditional model differs significantly from the model the child is likely to experience in the schools, a mismatch of values results in confusion for the student who will soon find school an alien place.

THE COLONIAL MODEL

This model was fundamentally paternalistic and had a goal of assimilating Native children into the culture of the dominant society, but it did not begin that way. In the early contact period, Europeans were in liaison with Native people for the purpose of the fur trade. The relationship was one in which a certain mutual respect and autonomy existed. The fur traders needed the expertise of Native people as guides, as teachers of the ways of the wilderness, and as a source of furs. In most cases, Native people greeted the whiteman with hospitality, as they tended to see him as a guest and not as an invader (Patterson, 1972).

Native people developed a desire for the trade goods they could obtain from the white traders. Although the deals were often to the benefit of the trader, Native people were eager to have iron tools, guns, tea and other commodities previously unknown to them. While each group enjoyed a high level of autonomy, a mutual interdependence also existed between the two groups (Kellough, 1980). As the dependency on trade goods increased Native groups were drawn deeper into the economy of the white European. They began to spend more time on trapping and less on subsistance by traditional means. Their autonomy began to weaken, and competition in trading grew (Patterson, 1972).

The change from autonomy to colonialism came in the West with the waning of the fur trade and the influx of settlement. No longer was the Indian an ally, a guide, or a source of monetary gain. Now he was in the way. As settlement advanced, the structure of colonialism was enacted in the treaties and the reservation system. Indians were no longer useful for economic or military purposes thus the federal government signed treaties and established a system of reserves to "protect and civilize" Native people (McCaskill, 1984) (Tanner, 1983). Official political wardship which gave the government extraordinary powers over the lives of Native peoples was established (Tanner, 1983). The result was political and economic dependence (McCaskill, 1984) (Kellough, 1980) (Patterson, 1972). In the Canadian Western Plains this era generally began about 1876, the year

of the first Indian Act (Patterson, 1972). From this point the Indian became irrelevant, the European saw himself as the "native" and the Indian was transformed into a member of an ethnic group (Patterson, 1972). The balance of power had shifted to the European (Kellough, 1980).

Kellough sees two levels of power (or colonialism): structural power through which the external factors of colonialism determine the institutions of the colonialized, and normative power through which the colonizers possess the power to direct the reality of the colonized. This translates to cultural colonialism, and was in this case the instrument of the church, and later, of the government. It was here that models for formal Indian education and schooling entered the picture. The British Empire was seen as a vehicle for "progressive civilization" and the spread of Western culture, religion and political institutions. The church sought to Christianize and civilize. The method was indoctrination; the aim was assimilation. Indians were often thought of as either cruel savages or weak children who needed to be civilized.

Missionaries were delegated the sole responsibility for the education of Native children. Christian character was valued over teaching qualifications. This combined with tough conditions and poor pay resulted in a high turnover of teachers and a poor quality of teachers (Tandy, 1980) (Snow 1977). Much of the educational effort was spent on religious conversion and religious training.

Berger, as quoted in Kellough (1980) explains the common ideological background of both the government and the missionaries:

> Long before the surge of Imperialism in the late 19th century, British North Americans had looked upon the empire as the vehicle and embodiment of a progressive civilization which was designed by Providence to spread its culture, religion and political institutions across the face of the earth (Berger, 1970 p. 127 in Kellough, 1980 p.359).

Such an ideology provided the rationalization for the colonialization of the Indians (Kellough, 1980). Kellough also points out that missionaries of this era were themselves a product of an era that embraced "social Darwinism" the belief that the truths of biological evolution also held for human and world affairs. Indigenous people had not evolved on a social scale, were technologically inferior, and were seen to be at a stage long passed by the invading culture. Thus they were seen as not deserving of the land as they were incapable of developing it, and in need of guidance and knowledge to develop an advanced civilization. Missionaries were instruments of God's will for this purpose. Missionaries for this reason played a significant role in the colonial model. They were not insincere, but devoted to carrying the Christian message to pagan souls and bringing them to the "civilized" state. This model is paralleled elsewhere in the "Colonial" Empire (Patterson, 1972).

Thus, teachers acknowledged neither Indian languages or culture. It was all pagan and evil. Because they had no ability or wish to see the world as the Indian saw it, teachers were continually amazed and frustrated in their efforts (Kellough, 1980). Boarding schools were deemed necessary to remove the children from the influence of their parents, (Patterson, 1972) and to counteract the poor attendance that had plagued day schools. Cultural colonization could only occur if the child was institutionalized. In these institutions, the residential schools, much more was taught than the three "r's" of the rural pioneer classrooms. The curriculum was blatantly assimilationist. Teaching the child white values, manners, and the Bible were the main goals. Since the schools were often poorly funded, and thus understaffed, the children were required to work in all areas of the school, cleaning, preparing food and working the school farm. Some of this was justified under the labels of domestic training, manual training or agricultural training. However, in many of these schools little time was left for academic pursuits, a half day in the classroom being the norm. During this time religion was to be taught, further limiting time for the "three r's". Everything Indian was to be removed from the child. No consideration was given to the culture which had shaped him in his preschool years (Patterson, 1972) (Ryerson Report in Haig-Brown 1988). The new education for the Indian child had grown out of a different cultural experience,

(Patterson, 1972), one for which the Indian child had no prerequisite of experience. Desks, regulations, hair cuts, classrooms and western dress were all alien to him (ibid). Parents signed over authority for the child to the school upon the child's entry into the school's doors. Parents had no further input into the child's education or welfare (Haig-Brown, 1988) (Calgary Indian Schools - Papers from St. Paul's School, Blood Reserve, Glenbow Archives). The role of the teacher was largely one of socialization, and discipline. Teachers, priests and other staff were the only adult role models for the Native child. Children learned through rote memorization and recitation. Little that they learned had meaning for them. Kellough cites the Baird Papers, 1890:

> We find it difficult to get them to understand what they read, to catch the idea and express it in their own words.. they are taught to memorize the Golden Texts, some of the questions in the catechism, the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer....

and

> I saw some very good writing by girls in the second book, but Mrs. Cameron says it is quite mechanical. They don't understand what they write. (Kellough, 1980 p. 363)

We see in this model not simply the isolation of the child from home, parents and community, but also the impracticality of the content of western education which alienated, debased and confused Indian children (Deloria, 1982). When the view is taken that a certain set of beliefs

are superior, there is no effort to incorporate the "inferior" reality of the other. In teaching Indians the right way to think, believe and behave, the agencies of colonialism - the church, the government, and the schools - paid little attention to the experience of Indian people. Missionaries in fact did not encourage or equip Indians to know and respond to the concrete realities of their world; but rather kept them submerged in a situation in which critical awareness and response were practically impossible (Kellough, 1980).

These children were punished for speaking their own language, separated from their brothers and sisters, and often prevented from spending more than minimal time with their parents (Snow, 1977), (Brass, 1987) (Haig-Brown, 1988) (Tandy, 1980).

Life in Indian residential schools often included hunger, poor food, severe punishments and in some cases outright abuse (Haig-Brown, 1988) (Brass, 1987). Health conditions were deplorable; T.B. was rampant (Stocken 1976) (Titley 1984). Facilities were substandard in many cases due to lack of funding (Stocken, 1976). Teachers hired were often underqualified or of poor quality, as wages were lower than in the public systems (Snow 1977). Turn over was often high (Tandy, 1980). The government had given the responsibility for Native education to the churches. The churches were often competing against each other, and funding from missionary societies was drastically cut back, as schools

failed to produce the hoped for results (Anglican church papers). In the nineteen forties the government took control of many of these schools, while others were closed in favor of day schools or the integration of Indian students into provincial schools, but in effect little changed.

McCaskill comments on the failure of the colonial model to achieve its goal of assimilation:

> For the government to assume that Indian culture could be replaced with a foreign value system simply through the individual efforts of educators, government agents and others was naive. For assimilation to occur, individuals need to acquire extensive first-hand experience with the institutions and processes of the larger society. With Native people isolated on reserves away from contact with white society civilizing them with an eye to eventually assimilating them did not and could not occur. Indeed, the government policy brought about the opposite outcome. The reserve system has functioned to help Native people maintain a distinct ethnic identity, communal way of life and a sense of separateness. Thus Native people remained a people apart from Canadian society, for the most part in circumstances of dependency, powerlessness and poverty until well into the 1950's (McCaskill, 1984, p. 4).

Structural and cultural colonialism shaped this early model of Native education. The model had severe costs. Former residential school students, having been removed from their own parents grew up lacking parenting skills. Ability to speak their own Native language was lost to many, as was self-identity, self-esteem, and pride in, and knowledge of, Native culture. Resistance and counter-cultures emerged. In many cases the Native was not adequately prepared to live in

the whiteman's world and no longer knew how to live in his or her own world.

THE INTEGRATED EDUCATION MODEL

By 1947, many of the residential schools were being phased out, due to excessive costs and their failure to produce the desired assimilative results. The role of educating Native children had reverted from the churches to government. Many of the schools were in poor repair, and the costs of residential education was high. It had long been evident that residential education was not producing the desired assimilation into the larger society. Many Indian schools continued as Federal Government day schools. These were traditionally hampered by poor attendance, poor achievement, watered-down curriculum, in some cases inferior teaching staff and a high turnover of teachers (Rohner, 1965) (Tandy 1980) (Frideres, n.d).

In 1947, the government instituted a policy of integration as part of a plan entitled "A plan to liquidate Canada's Indian problem in twenty-five years." The policy was the beginning of a movement toward shifting the responsibility for Indian Affairs generally and Indian education specifically to the provincial governments (Pauls, 1984). This policy was restated in the White Paper of 1969.

During the years 1947 to 1969, there was a focus on the process of integrating Native students into provincial

schools. During this period integration translated into a one-way process, with Indians being expected to accept the values of the dominant culture (N.I.B., 1972) (Allison, 1983). In 1951, through revisions of the Indian Act, master agreements were set up between the federal government and some of the provinces (Allison, 1983). No need was seen to consult with the Indians on this step (Pauls, 1989) (Snow, 1977). By 1963, 40% of Native students attended provincial schools. By 1972, the number had risen to 60%. In 1983, 50% still attended provincial schools while 10% attended band-controlled schools (Allison, 1983).

This model saw Native education in provincial schools as strictly assimilative (ibid). The Native student entered the provincial school and was slotted into the existing curriculum. In these early stages, no effort was made to include any modifications for Native students. These students were often behind their peers as a result of poor attendance, late entry, and the fact that the federal schools which they had previously attended did not have to follow the provincial curriculum. Students were simply dropped into the system and often dropped out en masse.

In 1967, the Hawthorn Report found the state of Native education to be abysmal and cited problems with the state of integrated education. In 1972, the National Indian Brotherhood reacted strongly to the White Paper and its proposed further integration, loss of treaty rights, and the proposed five year plan to phase out federal responsibility

in favor of provincial control. The National Indian Brotherhood put forth a position paper entitled "Indian Control of Indian Education." This National Indian Brotherhood Policy forced D.I.A.N.D. to back down on their 1969 policy and in 1973, under John Chretien, the N.I.B. policy was accepted as D.I.A.N.D. policy. This changed the tide away from integrated education and toward band-controlled schools (Pauls, 1984).

The move toward band control however was slow as tuition agreements had locked many bands into provincial agreements, Native students continued to attend provincial schools in significant numbers. Some bands maintained provincial tuition agreements while operating band schools, thus providing parents with a choice of schooling.

The Hawthorn Report and the N.I.B. position paper mandated change in integrated education. Some modifications had to be made to ensure greater success for Native students in provincial schools. Parent input was also mandated.

During the 1970's Native students in provincial schools were treated according to one of two theories or models. They were seen as either in need of remedial help and segregated into special education programs, or described as "culturally deficient" (Bowd, 1977), "culturally deprived" (Riner, 1979) (Carnew, 1984) or "deviant" (Parry, 1978). The deficiency model also resulted in special education placements. "Headstart" programs were initiated to compensate for the perceived pre-schooling deficits.

Standardized tests were used to assess learning potential, and assess areas of weakness (Common & Frost, n.d.) (MacArthur, 1968) (Cazden & John, 1971) (MacArthur, 1969) (Emerson, 1987). Limited thought was given at this stage to the cultural bias of such tests (Bowd, 1978). Following the 1972 recommendation in the National Indian Brotherhood position paper, Native teacher aides were hired to provide role models and an adult Native presence in the schools. They were also seen as useful as intermediaries (Brady, 1974).

Little consideration was give to curriculum, pedagogy, or resource adaptation. Many books were being used that painted a negative image of the Indian (Grant, 1978). Teachers were not encouraged to familiarize themselves with Native culture except in a few schools with large Native populations (Riner, 1979). Studies of Indians were of the "feathers and beads" nature, dealing with the past (Grant, 1978) (Bowd, 1978). The need for parental input was largely ignored (Bowd, 1977) (Riner, 1979). The exception was parent-teacher interviews, where the teacher told the parents what efforts needed to be made in the home. In many schools students experienced prejudice from other students, non-Native parents (Collins, 1979) and in some cases teachers (Parry, 1978). The early years of the integrated experience were hard on the Native student's self-esteem (Parry, 1978) (N.I.B., 1972) (Castello, 1970). This was however, the beginning of an era of "quick fixes", or ready solutions,

many of which will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

In the late nineteen seventies and into the nineteen eighties, integrated education moved away from the remedial approach and into a supplemental approach. (Bowd, 1977). Parent advisory committees were set up to provide for parental input (Walton, 1989), but were not often present in provincial school settings (Frideres, n.d.). Teacher education programs were set up to train Native teachers, (Allison, 1983) although most of the teachers produced by the programs ended up teaching on reserves in D.I.A.N.D. or band-controlled schools. Efforts were made to increase Native content in the curriculum (Burnaby, 1983). Cultural programs were set up in schools with large Native populations in areas such as Northlands. In some jurisdictions home-school liaison workers were hired from the Native communities to provide for a flow of information between the home and school and to try to cope with attendance problems. Textbooks were surveyed for "tolerance and understanding" and some resources were removed from use. Cultural programs were initiated with elders but were rarely developed beyond tokenism (Benyk, 1988). These were more of the "quick fixes" to be examined in the next chapter. Still problems remained and in many schools with small Native populations, the problems were ignored. Since tuition agreements were still negotiated through D.I.N.A.D., Native people had little say in the education of their children in

provincial school systems. Although representation on school boards was a necessity requested in the 1972 N.I.B. position paper, it was not until 1988 in Alberta, through the revision of the School Act, that other than in the special case of Northlands School Division, Native persons living on Reserves could sit on school boards.

In 1987, some changes occurred with the advent of the Alberta Government Native Education Project. Preliminary to setting up the Native Education Project, (N.E.P.) hearings were held in Native communities to seek direction for the program and to gain input from Native people to facilitate the improvement of the education of Native students within the provincial system. In the resulting report four areas were identified which needed to be given consideration under the program:

1. The purpose of education and the role of the school.
2. The program of studies for Native students.
3. Delivery of education to Native students. This area contained recommendations regarding teachers, Native awareness, and the need for further support and preventative services.
4. Educational partnership between parents, communities, the government and the schools. (Alberta Education, 1987a)

Grants were made available to schools with significant Native student populations for projects aimed at addressing the needs of Native students. Since the project submitted for funding had to be specific, and there was no long term

commitment for government support, the projects tended to be of the "quick fix" nature.

THE LOCAL CONTROL MODEL

Since the 1972 N.I.B. position paper, Native people on many reserves have been moving towards "Indian (local) Control of Indian Education". At this time this goal has not been fully met because of several factors. Although some bands have "local control" and band-operated schools, the federal government has retained an upper hand through the denial of full financial autonomy to bands providing their own schools (Longboat, 1987) (Barman, Hebert & McCaskill, 1987). Funding has been inadequate, especially for improving curriculum, for innovative programing and for basic equipment for schools (Pauls, 1984) (Barman, Hebert & McCaskill, 1987). Programs that might be termed "developmental", such as language programs or culturally oriented curriculum are often deferred and monies channeled to statutory programs (Longboat, 1987). When the D.I.A.N.D. has transferred control of programs, this has often begun with the transfer of an insignificant program, with the idea that if the band involved proves its ability to handle such a program, it will be given control of something more significant. Even then control can be translated to mean administration subject to a set of guidelines and priorities set by the department (ibid). Band control or local control

of education means different things in different areas; the extent of the control varies.

New authority statuses often intensify schisms within the community and in the process create ambiguities for outsiders who previously were confident in the band's ability to accept new roles (King, 1987).

Compared to federal and provincial schools the percentage of Native students attending band-operated schools is small. In 1980, 8% of Native students attended band controlled schools (Gov't of Canada, 1980). In 1983, this had risen to 10% (Pauls, 1984). By 1984, 22.8% of Indian children were enrolled in band-controlled schools (Barman, Hebert & McCaskill, 1987). 187 bands were operating their own schools in 1984, almost half of which were located in British Columbia (ibid).

Tuition agreements negotiated with provincial school boards were often accompanied by federal monies for capital construction within provincial jurisdictions. This has locked Native students into provincial jurisdictions and caused D.I.A.N.D. to be reluctant to duplicate services on reserves (Pauls, 1984) (Longboat, 1987).

No organized training has been given to bands in school administration and management in Alberta (Pauls, 1984). King, (1987) suggests that role shock may follow takeover. Newly formed Native school boards tend to be inexperienced in educational decision making and in setting educational goals and directions (Battiste, 1987). Much of education

under "band control" is administered by non-Native band employees. Although the model allows for Native people to control the hiring of staff, the nature of the facilities provided and what is taught, in reality in many situations schooling continues to be reproductive of dominant society schooling with a majority of non-Native teachers who have little training or interest in tailoring schooling to Native needs. The band-control model as experienced today is still largely a reproductive model. Native people themselves have not been given the tools or the experience to make it productive. The local control model itself does however provide the framework for the realization of a more productive model of Native education. For this reason the model proposed in this thesis will be suggested to be a model for consideration within band control.

Band control does enable the Native community to make decisions on the school staff, the facilities and what is taught in the classroom (Cooper & Gregory 1976) (Pauls, 1984) (Longboat, 1987). Local control can provide support for students as a part of a community and can foster students' ability to experience positive self-esteem.

Pauls (1984) states that Indians should be given the opportunity to determine and direct their own education; to fulfil their own socio-cultural aspirations and local needs. Koens, (1989) suggests that within local control, a model be formulated linked to identified cultural taxonomy and grounded in a sociological appreciation of that knowledge

which has been validated through the culture of the community. Thus the curriculum of the school would be a reflection of established cultural reality. He also suggests that the community must have a publicly-validated value system which while external to the school, is recognized and reinforced through the school (Koens, 1989). The community itself must formulate a philosophy of education and must in turn decide the goals and desired ends of this part of the socialization process. They must decide the purposes for which they want their children to be educated. For the last one hundred years dominant society has been setting the goals and determining the type of education to be delivered. Now it is time for self-determination for Native communities.

CHAPTER 3

"THE QUICK FIXES"

Since the days of the failure of the residential school system efforts have been made to "fix" Native education. Lack of positive results in Native education has continually forced educators to seek new ways to cure the ills that have plagued efforts to impose "colonial education" on Native children. As outlined in chapter two, the residential schools themselves were the first of these "fixes".

The Hawthorn Report and the National Indian Brotherhood Position Paper set the framework and the mandate for educators to address the problems plaguing Native education. The period following the Hawthorn Report will be considered in this chapter in regard to the "quick fixes" which were instigated in response to the inadequacies in Native education. These programs were often short term and fragmented attempts to solve the problem. Of themselves, none of these has shown to be "the solution", as they are still being appropriated within a reproductive colonial model. No single innovation or new program can change the scene in Native education. However, within the framework of productive, Native-controlled education many of these ideas, taken collectively, might produce a substantial positive change in the schooling of Native children. This chapter will look at some of the "quick fixes" and their effect on

the schooling of the Native child. Some of these have been helpful and have made education more culturally compatible for Native children, while others have further fostered the alienation of the Native child within the school system. Often these "fixes" have been implemented in isolation as fragmented efforts, and by themselves, they have not been able to effect significant change. Other innovations have had potential, but have been weakened by problems arising from the logistics necessary for general implementation throughout the school. In some cases it has been possible to train teachers in these programs on a school-wide basis, but unless new staff are also trained in the program, it ceases to be universal within the school and the movement loses momentum. These "fixes" have been tried in isolation rather than as part of a holistic plan. This chapter will concentrate on those "fixes" that have been explored to a significant degree, or that have been widely used. Other innovations have been explored and documented, but are unique to a limited area or have not been implemented following research.

The "quick fixes" have been categorized and those addressing similar areas are dealt with together.

COGNITIVE, PSYCHOLOGICAL AND THE "CULTURAL DEFICIENCY" FIXES

This area includes remedial and special education programs, headstart programs, E.S.L. programs, Native

language programs, the application of learning styles research, and cognitive studies.

Remedial and Special Education Programs

Remedial and Special Education programs were seen as a wide-spread solution to Native children's lack of success in provincial schools in the 1970's. Bowd, (1977) in referring to the work of this period labels it "the remedial model". Although the federal government was willing to fund such programs in provincial schools in most cases no special education services were made available to students attending federal schools.

As noted in chapter two, Native students in provincial schools who were experiencing academic problems were usually treated according to two theories. They were seen as either remedial or learning disabled, or they were seen as culturally deprived, culturally deficient, or culturally deviant. The use of standardized testing appeared to ratify these conclusions. Cross-cultural psychologists had recognized the futility of searching for "culture-free" testing methods a decade before the Hawthorn Report (Bowd, 1977). A recommendation from the Hawthorn Report resulted in the discontinuation of I.Q. testing in federal Indian schools, as such tests were seen as invalid when applied to Native students, and open to misintepretation by teachers. However the use of other standardized tests continued, especially in provincial schools (ibid). Cazden and John

(1971) make the point that the use of standardized tests raises the question of the meaning of particular tests for children from different ethnic backgrounds. They attribute low verbal scores in Native children to the fact that the Native style of learning is more visual than verbal. In visual sequential memory Native children have been found to score significantly higher than the white norms (ibid). Native children's norms for these tests are different from those of the children who were used in setting the norms. Since research has found patterns in the documentation of Native's strength and weaknesses it can be supposed that Native norms could be set. Diesser and Walker (1986) suggest that this can be done. They conducted research with Yakima children, and refer to similar findings for Tlingit, Inuit, Navajo and Ojibwa children by other researchers. They admit that the problem with the findings is that the samples were of homogeneous groups, for example the Yakima were all from one band school, and all of the group samples were taken from students who had been referred for testing because of academic or learning difficulties. It is interesting to note, however, that the order of the scores for areas tested, from highest to lowest, was constant across all samples. On the WISC-R, the highest score was in Spatial Ability, followed by Sequential Ability. Both of these were higher than Verbal Concept Ability and Comprehension, both of which were low. Diessner and Walker (1986) suggest that this pattern may be indicative of an Indian cognitive style.

Native children are not verbal in the classroom. In some instances they are seen as "shy" by their teachers. In many of these instances, cultural influences discourage "talkativeness" (Cazden & John, 1971). In many instances English, the usual language of instruction and the vehicle for testing, is a second language for Native students and for some is not learned before school entrance.

Bowd makes the point that within the norm of psychological theory, during this period "different" tended to be translated into "handicapped," "deficient," or "disadvantaged". MacArthur (1968 & 1969) had done research that showed that the strengths of Indian, Metis, Eskimo students varied from those of white children in the North, but the implications of his research were either not considered by practitioners, or were used to substantiate the need for remedial measures. MacArthur himself envisioned the task of Native education as the implementation of a philosophy calling for teaching procedures and curriculum so adapted as to maximize realization of the present intellectual potential of the Native individual. (Bowd, 1977 commenting on MacArthur 1968).

The nineteen seventies and early nineteen eighties saw an increasing movement of children who might be described as atypical into special education (Lieberman, 1984). This was partly due to available extra funding for special education students, (ibid) and also to the inability or the lack of desire on the part of classroom teachers to cope with

students who were atypical. Children were being placed in special education programs for such reasons as being age-grade retarded as a result of poor attendance, or having been socially promoted but lacking in the basic skills required for the grade level in which they had been placed. This remedial model strives to fit the child to the system. The underlying assumption is that any deficiencies exist within the child, and not within the system or its methods. (Bowd, 1977). The perceived task of the school is to bring about changes in the child's behavior so that the child's skills and attitudes will more closely resemble those of the white majority (ibid). The child is measured on his weaknesses rather than on his strengths. He is seen as weak in verbal skills but no consideration is given to the fact that Native children characteristically show strength in spatial-perceptual skills. Placements in special education classes in the nineteen seventies varied from a remedial reading or math placement for one period a day, to a segregated placement in a special education class for most of the day. Children in full-time special education placements are often stigmatized and labelled by other students. Segregated special education programs in integrated schools were filled with Native students. It was often left to the special education teacher to "solve the Native student problem". Monies available for special education and lack of funding for other programs that might have addressed the needs of Native students, led to over

placement of Native students in remedial and special education programs that were not designed with their needs in mind.

The late nineteen eighties model promoted the special education teacher moving into the regular classroom to be a resource to help students with difficulties, and to act as a resource person to enable teachers to develop programs and stategies for meeting special needs of atypical children. This is a much more satisfactory model for the Native student, because it does not require his removal from the class, and thus does not lessen his self-esteem.

Lieberman (1984) makes the point that many children are "learning different" rather than "learning disabled". He also states that the vast majority of children seen as "disabled" were created; they were not born that way. There are truly handicapped children who in fact have neurological disorders; conditions such as perceptual handicaps, brain injury, minimal brain dysfunction, dyslexia, and developmental aphasia. (ibid). There are also children who have been fetally damaged by parental substance abuse. Special education and other innovative or relevant programs are needed for such children, and access to such programs is critical for Native students. The availability of special education resources has helped to fill these needs, but Native children continue to be placed into special education for inappropriate reasons.

English as a Second Language

Many special education teachers realized that Native students were having difficulty because instruction was in a second language, English. In some schools English as a Second Language (E.S.L.) materials were used in special education classrooms. However the provincial government would not recognize or fund E.S.L. programs for Native students until the advent of the Native Education Project in the late eighties. Prior to this, the provincial government's stand was that Native students did not qualify for provincial E.S.L. funding as Native students were the responsibility of the federal government. E.S.L. programs have been useful for Native students, although many of the programs are geared to an immigrant population. E.S.L. programs have been of help to Native children whose first language is their traditional language, but they have not been a total answer to language problems. Strong first language competence is necessary for children to do well in a second language. This is necessary for the second language to be additive (adding to the repertoire of skills at no cost to the first language) rather than subtractive (Cummins, 1987). Cummins also states that minority children who lack educational support for their first language often develop a subtractive form of bilingualism in which first language skills are not replaced by second language skills. He goes on to add that under certain sociopolitical

conditions such children fail to develop adequate levels of literacy in either language. Cummins goes on to comment:

> This pattern of findings suggests that the level of proficiency attained by bilingual students in their two languages may be an important influence on their academic and intellectual development. Specifically, there may be a minimum level of proficiency in both languages which the students must attain in order to avoid any negative academic consequences and a second higher threshold necessary to reap the linguistic and intellectual benefits of bilingualism and biliteracy (Cummins, 1987 p.91).

These findings have significance for E.S.L. programs designed to strengthen English language skills, but also have significance for Native language programs. The findings would seem to indicate that a good basis in the first language is important as well as support in a second language. The subtractive factor mentioned by Cummins seems to be operative in many Native students.

Instruction in Native languages has begun to be more prominant. This has been seen as necessary because children were not learning their Native language in what the older people considered the correct form, or because the Native language had been lost through the repression of the residential schools. Blue Quills located near St. Paul, which was the first band-controlled school in Alberta, has offered Cree instruction since the early 1970's. The school offers Cree 15, 25, and 35, a program developed at Blue Quills and approved by the Provincial Ministry of Education (Bashford & Heinzerling, 1987). Courses in Blackfoot and

other Native languages are available or are in the process of being developed. In recent years the Sarcee have been working on the revival of their language which had been lost to many of the present generation.

Many Native students in Western Canada have a Native language as their first language and for them the findings reported by Cummins, E.S.L. programs, and Native language programs, are important. Quick fixes in this area have tried to enhance language learning only through E.S.L. or only through Native language programs. Strong instructional programs in both languages are necessary for truly functional bilingual Native learners.

Headstart Programs

Headstart programs had their origin in the United States under Lyndon Johnson in 1965. The children of the poor and the disadvantaged were put into special preschool programs to provide these children with "equal opportunity".

In Canada, headstart programs for Native children were based on the premise that Native children were culturally-deprived, were culturally-different or did not get a chance to develop the skills that Anglo children developed in order to be ready for school. These programs began in the early nineteen-seventies as part of what Bowd calls the "remedial model". Writers and researchers of the late nineteen sixties and early nineteen seventies, speak of the school having to correct deficits (Mickelson & Galloway, 1973 as reported in

Bowd, 1977) and the child's failure to be taught (Philion & Galloway, 1969 as reported in Bowd, 1977). These children were seen as disadvantaged because of social class and ethnic group membership (Galloway & Mickelson, 1970 as reported in Bowd, 1977). To offset these "disadvantages" removal of the child from his home environment into a school-like situation as early as possible, and exposure to the "background provided normally in the dominant society home" were deemed desirable. This would give the child a "headstart". Such programs were employed with a number of other so called "disadvantaged groups". This would seem to be an extention of the residential school assimilationist philosophy. In the model proposed in chapter five, an examination will be made of the importance of an early establishment of cultural identity. Headstart programs have not aided this, because they take the child out of the home at the very time when his identity is being forged. The E.C.S. program is somewhat more satisfactory as its philosophy mandates parental input. This input however may be limited and may be resticted to choices of units and field trips, rather than involving parents in areas of philosophy or program direction. In Native communities it is important that preschools, daycares, headstart programs and E.C.S. programs have Native staff as role models and as transmitters of language and culture, if children are to be secure in their personal and cultural identities.

In the nineteen seventies and early nineteen eighties, Native children were not funded for E.C.S. programs if the programs attended were off-reserve. Such programs were not included in provincial tuition agreements. This often meant that an integrated class of non-Native and Native children entering grade one, might have a non-Native group most of whom had attended E.C.S., and a Native componant some of whom had no E.C.S. experience and others who may have attended an E.C.S. program in the reserve school. This caused problems in "readiness", in socialization and in reinforcing the segregation of the component groups. The scenario of children attending E.C.S. programs on the reserve and then moving into provincial schools in grade one caused some resentment from federal school teachers who felt that after E.C.S. the provincial schools received the "cream of the crop".

Preschool and headstart type programs which are geared to a reproductive model of education will accomplish one end: they will begin the assimilation process at an earlier age. They are meant to mold the child into the shape needed to be successful in the Anglo-colonial model of schooling; thus they are "remedial". In cases where some consideration of orginal culture is given, they may be at best supplemental. Only when such programs are reflective of Native needs, Native culture, and are controlled by Native people themselves will they be seen as instrumental in the successful education of the Native child.

Learning Styles Research

The mid-nineteen eighties marked the advent of the learning styles research and the introduction of the concept of the "right brained" Indian. Much in this research is helpful to understanding and teaching Native students, but some conclusions drawn from these theories have been misguided and dangerous (Chrisjohn & Peters, 1986). The most dangerous of these assumptions are those that suppose there is a difference in structure and function between the American Indian brain and that of the non-Indian. This is reminiscent of the work of American anthropologist Morton who was interested in the cranial capacities of the different races, and who theorized that the larger the cranial cavity, the larger the brain. This led to an inference of inferior mental powers for Indians who supposedly possessed smaller brains. Many early Native educators may have been influenced by such theories. Chrisjohn & Peters (1986) examine the work of Ross (1982), and conclude that his theory giving special status to the right half of the brain in Indians can be dangerous if misconstrued by Native educators. The theory purports the dominance of right hemisphere functions. Chrisjohn & Peters also cite the work of McShane and his collaborators reported in 1983 and 1984. This work suggested that there was an actual physical difference between the brains of Natives and Caucasians, and that the left brain in Natives was

symmetrical to the right, while it was not in Caucasians. McShane saw this as related to lack of verbal facility in Native people. McShane concluded that if asymmetry was not distinct, something was wrong with the part of the brain that specializes in language. He credited the delay in language function or impairment of language function to something not being fully developed or not working properly in the brain. To McShane's credit however he did point out that the research was far from conclusive. (McShane as reported in Chrisjohn & Peters, 1986). Chrisjohn and Peters find fault with the selection and documentation of the subjects used in the study. Even though hand preference has been shown to affect asymmetry of the brain, hand preference was not considered in this study. Also it is pointed out that nowhere in his study does McShane document whether this was a "blind study", that is a study in which the researchers did not know the ethnic origins of the brains being studied. It has been recommended that in such studies the researcher must not know if the brain he is measuring is Caucasian, Black, or Indian. This prevents the opinions and beliefs of the researcher from interfering with the way the measurements are done. (Chrisjohn & Peters, 1986).

The other side of the right brain advocacy proposes that Indians are right-brained through brain organization. This would indicate that Indian children are deficient in the brain functions that underlie verbals skills, and for this reason perform poorly on WISC-R and other standardized

tests. Chrisjohn & Peters suggest that societal/cultural reasons for poor performance can be suggested. Among these may be cultural relativism, and bias in the test itself. This theory is upheld by Emerson who states that culture and cognitive functions are interconnected (Emerson, 1987).

The right brain - left brain theory is related to the learning style research. The research in this area suggests that some people favor the talents or skills associated with the right side of the brain, such as creativity, and that others show greater strength in the areas associated with the left brain, such as linear thinking and organizational skills. Some researchers have maintained that Native people test right brain dominant in greater numbers than the Anglo population. Some of these theories may be useful when dealing with Native students providing they are not misconstrued. However the theory is dangerous when it suggests that this is the total answer to the learning problems of Native students or when it leads teachers to believe that to be right brained dominant is a handicap. Since our schools are largely geared to left brain logical people, non-Native right brained students are also at a disadvantage. The right brain - left brain research has suggested to educators that more content in schooling should cater to the affective domain. This has benefited Native students.

More, (1987 p.24) defines learning style as "the characteristic or usual manner of acquiring knowledge,

skills and understanding by an individual." He goes on to state that learning style is concerned with the sensory mode, and the physical environment. Learning style is concerned with all of the cognitive processes by which a student learns including the internal cognitive processes and the external processes which may affect these internal processes (ibid). The main body of learning style research deals with the area of teaching to sensory modality. This is based on the assumption that one sensory channel, either auditory, visual or kinesthetic will function more effectively than the other two for the processing of information (Kaulback, 1984). It is argued that instruction geared to his perceptual strength will enhance a student's ability to learn, while a mismatch between teaching and learning style may lead to school failure, if the student fails to develop the strategies to process information in the mode in which the instruction is given. Some researchers view this mismatch to be the prime cause of school failure among Native children (ibid). Many Native children have been found to be predominantly visual learners. They have been found to be global rather than analytical in cognitive processing, tending to use imagery over verbal cues such as definitions or labels. They learn by watch-then-do rather than by trial and error (More, 1987). These strengths can all readily be seen as a product of cultural practice and traditional learning models discussed in chapter two.

More (1987) points out that there is a certain degree of similarity of learning styles and methods within a culture. based on common environment and background. This can be the source of the range of individual differences between children from different backgrounds. There must also be an expectation of individual differences within cultural groups. Generalizations can be made and are useful in making schooling more culturally compatible, but educators must be careful not to expect that all Native people have the same learning style, or that teaching to their individual learning style will be the total fix in itself. This work is an important part of the picture and has opened the doors for better understanding of the mismatch between teaching and learning style, but teachers who have generalized from the research that they have only to present all materials in the visual mode are not effecting a total solution. It is important that the child's deficient areas be reinforced, although they should not be the main mode of instruction. It can be expected that the child will have to develop talents to learn in his less preferred styles.

Feurstein's work presents a model for strengthening areas of cognitive weakness. Although his work has been lauded by Native researchers such as Emerson, (1987) and Couture, (1989) and by educators of Native people such as Carnew (1984), and Mulcahy & Marfo (1987), wide use of this method is not evident.

The learning style bandwagon of the mid nineteen eighties may be considered a "quick fix" in that it was over-generalized and over-simplified. It is a significant piece of the puzzle, not the complete solution. The other factor is the teacher factor. Many teachers have difficulty teaching outside of their natural style. A teacher whose style of comfort is auditory may find taking time to prepare visual materials tiresome, and if significant results are not noticed, may quickly revert to the auditory mode. Kleinfeld's work (1975) pointed out that certain types of teachers were more readily comfortable and successful with Native children than others. Those whose styles differed from traditional Native styles had difficulty dealing with Native students and were less successful even after being put through an awareness course. Non-Native children who represent styles opposite or different from those of the majority of teachers may find that they also experience learning difficulties in the classroom. Research shows that many teachers are auditory, analytic, verbal and prone to encouraging trial-and-error learning. This is Anglo - traditional, and often those who succeed in the school system and go on to be teachers are those who are able to learn in this manner. Therefore the system is reproductive. Learning style research can help teachers to be more effective with all children and awareness of learning style theory has helped in the recognition of the differences in how Native children learn collectively and individually.

SELF-ESTEEM, IDENTITY AND THE SUBSTANCE ABUSE PREVENTION FIXES

Lack of self-esteem, identity crises and substance abuse have plagued the Native community in recent years. Many "quick fixes" have been directed toward self-image as the commom source of these problems.

Many problems Native people face have been linked with lack of self-esteem. Of all ethnic groups in Canada, Native people are the most discriminated against and suffer from a negative self-image. This has been influenced by the negative image that Native people have been given in history, in textbooks and by the motion picture industry. They have been portrayed as "savages", and killers of woman and children. The word "massacre" commonly appears. Indians have often been portrayed as the villains.

Residential schools endeavored to wiped out all pride in being Indian. The late nineteen sixties saw massive social problems on reserves, stemming from poverty and alcoholism. Indians were seen in town bars, after having been given the right to buy liquor, and became known as "dirty drunks". With little left of their culture, their pride, or their identity, many lived up to the name. The PanIndian Movement of the nineteen seventies began to turn this around. Following in the footsteps of the civil rights movement of the Blacks in the U.S., Indian elders and leaders began to

revive Indian culture, and tried to re-establish a sense of Indian pride and identity. Indian people began to fight efforts towards their assimilation and sought their own Indianness.

Educators began to realize that self-esteem was important, and that programs aimed at raising self-esteem might combat substance abuse and the high suicide rate. To this end in the nineteen-eighties self-esteem programs entered the "quick fix" arena. One such program is "Project Charlie" (Storefront/Youth Action, 1987). Charlie is an acronym for Chemical Abuse Resolution Lies in Education. The program correlates a number of factors to chemical dependency including low self-esteem, poor decision-making skills, boredom and curiosity, lack of healthy relationships, inability to handle peer pressure, and lack of information about abused substances. This program has been introduced into schools to inhance self-esteem and counteract substance abuse and is used in a number of Native schools in Alberta. Although the program is basically sound and works well, several problems distract from its effectiveness. It must compete with other subjects on a timetable. Even though it may be possible to inservice all teachers at a given time in the program, as teachers leave and are replaced it is difficult to continue to inservice new teachers into the program. Some teachers continue the program after initial implementation, while others do not. One teacher may be developing self-esteem through the

program while the next teacher the child encounters may erode self-esteem. Unfortunately our schools still employ many teachers who cannot relate to or cope with Native children, or any children for that matter. They often react by "putting children down". These "put downs" are met by resistance and silence from the child. The program is not designed specifically for Native children. This and other such generic type self-esteem programs often promote assertive behavior, direct eye contact when speaking, and other behaviors that might not be approved of in the traditional Native community. These skills may be effective when operating in the dominant society, but the student has to learn two norms or sets of behaviors, and must know what is appropriate in a given setting. Going against Native values to live in the dominant society's world may further erode a child's sense of worth and self-esteem within his own community.

Many Native youths have difficulty in forming an identity. After being exposed to the norms of the dominant society at school and the norms of the Native community at home the child has difficulty in determining who he is. Sometimes the cultural transmission process breaks down in the home, when the adult may have given up on Native culture, but does not understand the white culture. The result may be that the parent does not mediate culture for the child. (Emerson, 1987). The adult no longer sees Native culture as viable, and leaves the child on his own to "learn new ways" (ibid).

Many Native youths in schools are ashamed of being Indian, because of the negative images and biases in literature, film and the media (ibid).

A self-esteem program designed with Native children in mind would include a component on Native identity, culture, pride, and self-knowledge. The Native child must base his self-esteem on his personal identity; an identity as a Native person. He must feel secure in himself and feel a pride in his Nativeness and his cultural history. Such programs as the Four Worlds Development Program out of the University of Lethbridge combine cultural awareness with self-esteem, and target the problem of substance abuse through strengthening Native self-pride and self-image (Bop, Bop and Lane, 1988). Native spirituality and wholeness become the foundation upon which to base self-esteem. Native culture is re-embraced and redefined for life in the modern world. While such programs as Project Charlie may be remedial, these Native projects may be seen as instrumental. Also instrumental, but outside of schooling is an international network of youth camps (Rediscovery Camps) drawing from the traditions of the indigenous peoples, designed for Native and non-Native youth, which focuses on personal, cultural, and environmental awareness (Henley, 1989). Such programs not only help Native children develop a sense of identity and self-esteem, but promote a positive image in affirming that Native culture can be shared and that it has something positive to offer to the world and the

environment. Self-esteem programs can be part of an instrumental model (as defined by Bowd, 1977) if they have roots in Native culture and spirituality. Using self-esteem programs that are "generic" may be seen as remedial although if used with commitment, they can be helpful. This type of program is usually initiated and carried out by Anglo teachers, while such programs as Four Worlds originate with Native people and have Native community input. Project Charlie does have Native sanction and Native advisory personal, but does not relate to Native values. Programs which deal only with self-esteem in the generic manner can be considered as "quick fixes".

Native alcohol and substance abuse programs are evident in Native schools. They often are specifically Native in appearance using Native symbols and themes such as "Keep the Circle Strong". Many Native communities are concerned with alcohol and substance abuse problems and so sanction such programs. These programs on their own may be another "quick fix", as substance abuse has been shown to be linked to lack of self-esteem, identity crisis, poor-self concept and poor school performance. In the broad sense of education, the Native community must address these other problems and assure healthy individuals who are not as likely to be prone to abuse and addiction. The Native Alcohol and Substance Abuse Prevention group tells us that abusers tend to be those alienated from family, those for whom the school experience is negative or seemingly irrelevant, and those

who lack a sense of self-worth. This tells us that awareness and prevention programs will not be a "fix" on their own, only part of a larger effort to assure healthy proud Native individuals.

MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

Multicultural education has been deemed one of the quick fixes for Native education. Universities have considered multicultural training as essential preparation to teaching in Native communities. This kind of training does facilitate cultural awareness and sensitivity, but does not necessarily prepare the teacher for life in the Native community. Courses in Native studies are better able to deal with Native issues and Native culture. Multicultural programs are geared towards immigrant populations, and are intended to help them integrate into the dominant society. They are also intended to aid the dominant society to be culturally sensitve and to preserve and to celebrate the immigrant cultures. Native people see themselves as different from immigrant groups as they are the indigeneous culture. The dominant society is the immigrant culture. As "first peoples" they often object to being considered just an additional ethnic group. Multiculturalism celebrates "strength in diversity". This is often misinterpreted by some teachers who tend to dwell on the unique and the

curious, rather than to reinforce commonalities and to encourage students to learn from other cultures.

The philosophy behind multicultural education is that ignorance is the root of racism, and that if you broaden students' understanding of each other's cultures they will be more tolerant of each other (Crozier, 1989). The aim of multicultural education is also to help minority children to take pride in their culture. From this pride is to come a sense of identity and self-esteem. Crozier (1989) in his studies found that a number of unintended consequences arose. Often studies focus on the exotic, on the novel and on artifacts (ibid). In the study of Native Canadians this would translate to teepees, beads, buffalo, bannock and the sundance. Differences may be emphasized rather than similarities. Native culture may be presented as prehistoric or Stone Age, less evolved than western civilization. Prehistorical Native technology may be seen as primitive, when actually Native people made remarkable strides in agriculture, architecture, and engineering before the white invasion (Friesen, 1985). The sophistication of Native social organization, the concept of the harmony of all living things, or the ethics of effective utilization of resources may not be considered.

Students may be put on the spot and asked to tell about elements of their culture that they are too young to understand, or that are not to be revealed casually (Crozier, 1989). A student may be asked to talk about

something from their value systems or their beliefs which is very personal to them, while members of the dominant culture are not asked to share similar information. The student may feel marginalized, and difference may be emphasized, subjecting the child to increased racism. On the dominant culture side, learning about other cultures does not make the student aware of the racism in his own. To learn about that helps the student to approach other cultures objectively (ibid).

In 1985, the Alberta government, in the interest of Multiculturalism, compiled a monograph titled "Promoting Tolerance, Understanding and Respect for Diversity." Although this movement was helpful and righted some injustices, the label of the Alberta Committee "Tolerance and Understanding" was unfortunate. The use of the word "tolerance" does not promote the facilitation of understanding. To tolerate, connotates "to put up with". More than that is needed. The purpose of the monograph was to promote desirable attitudes and behaviors in the students. The goals were (1) to develop student's self-esteem, (2) to emphasize similarities and accentuate the positive, (3) to encourage students to view a situation from the perspective of others, and (4) promote sharing. Five sample lessons are provided for each of these themes. One difficulty with this effort was that the monograph was mailed to principals and the matter of implementation was left in their hands. This means that usage of the materials

was dependent on the interest of the principal or the classroom teachers. Such programs need unified implementation stategies and inservice sessions to be effective.

Friesen, (1985) states that any program to change racial attitudes will be successful only if it goes beyond providing knowledge of other cultures to creating an awareness of intercultural similarities and looks at the roots of cultural diversity. This is best accomplished by a combination of cognitive and highly experimental teaching techniques which must be evaluated in terms of their educational and behavioral objectives (ibid). An effective approach is outlined by Kehoe (1984) who writes for teachers out of U.B.C. In his book A Handbook for Enhancing the Multicultural Climate of the Schools, a book written for a project called "Alternatives to Racism", rather than educating teachers only about the customs and cultures of the target groups, Kehoe addresses topics such as assessing multicultural needs in school or community, the hidden curriculum and equal oportunity, curriculum development for self-esteem, reducing prejudice, and changing attitudes. In a section on school accommodation of cross-cultural styles, Kehoe deals specifically with Native children in the classroom. Kehoe presents a chart describing: school culture, Native cultures, and school accommodation, for the areas of: child rearing, classroom management and control of behavior,learning stategies, friendliness, interpersonal

treatment, social distance, appeal to motivation, task achievement, social relations of dominance, presentation of self, individuality/competition, maintaining face, non-verbal behavior, praise, requests for assistance, speaking and silence, pause length, listening skills, and topic control. This kind of preparation for teachers is positive, useful, and can lead to a more successful classroom structure, learning accommodation, and pedagogy for the Native child. Young, (1987), comments on such modifications and their importance in combating racism and inequality of opportunity:

> If teachers accept the difficult task of making the suggested changes in the curriculum, pedagogy, language of education and in their understanding of the cognitive, affective, and moral possibilities of education, then prejudical attitudes and discrimination, which threaten the the existence of our multicultural society, can be reduced. Teachers must not just teach about multiculturalism. They must realize the instrumental role they play in creating structures of inequality through practices common in many schools (Young, 1987 p. 379).

Multicultural education of teachers can be useful in improving education, but it must be instrumental in Young's sense, or it becomes just another "quick fix" which brings about little change. With multicultural education entering into its second decade, insights may be provided by training for multicultural teaching which may provide structure for accommodations in Native education such as those suggested by Kehoe, (1984).

REVISION OF TEXTBOOKS, CURRICULUM MODIFICATION AND CULTURAL PROGRAMS.

The nineteen eighties saw a more sensitive portrayal of the Native Indian in the textbooks and the curriculum of the schools. Many objectionable materials have been identified and removed from the schools of our western provinces. Cultural programs of various descriptions have been introduced into Native schools.

Revision of Textbooks and the Removal of Objectionable Material

It was not until the nineteen seventies in Western Canada that a serious effort was made to improve the image of Indians in textbooks and literature, although waves of inquiry were made earlier, in the early nineteen sixties, in the United States and Canada.

In 1963, Leduc, Belanger and Juneau completed a study of history textbooks used in Protestant and Catholic elementary schools in Quebec, using quantitive research methods to analyze by word count the favorable terms applied Canada's minority groups. They concurred that a small number of favorable terms were applied to Indians, although references to Indians were frequent as compared to those of other non-white groups (Pratt, 1984). The following year the Indian and Metis Conference of Manitoba studied the textbooks used

in that province and found that the image they painted of the Indian was negative. Indian contributions to Canada's development and culture were largely ignored (ibid). In 1971, McDiarmid and Pratt were commissioned by the Ontario Human Rights Commission to study the treatment of minorities in Ontario's textbooks. The results showed that only one out of three terms applied to either Indians or Blacks was favorable. The studies provided clear evidence of the tendency of textbooks of this period to ignore important aspects of the history of non-white groups as well as their contemporary situations and to minimize inter-racial conflicts except where the non-white race was unequivocally the agressor (Pratt, 1984). The results of McDiarmid and Pratt's studies were published in a book entitled Teaching Prejudice.

The studies cited showed that history books and texts were written from a Anglo colonial perspective, and often painted a negative picture of the Indian. He was the villain, the cruel savage, the pagan, and the primitive. Results of early investigations of school textbooks and resources painted a dismal picture. Studies found the portrayal was distorted, denigrative, inaccurate and incomplete. Texts dismissed Indian religious beliefs, paid attention to Indian faults but not to virtues, glossed over the negative aspects of the white man's impact, glorified the role of the missionaries, and typified as Indian habits of drinking, gambling and fighting (ibid). There was little

to foster positive self-image in the Native child, as even the "Noble Savage" portrayal found in some texts, and in literature caused problems. Charles, (1989) categorizies the stereotyping of the Indian in literature according to four stereotypes, which he labels: "noble savages", "savage savages", "generic Indians", and "living fossils". Many descriptions in texts and in literature were patronizing, inadequate, or incomplete (Wilson, 1980 as reported in O'Neil, 1987). The Native perspective was obviously missing from the portrayal of events in which Native people were major actors (Garcia, 1980 as reported in O'Neil, 1987) The Indian was portrayed as playing little positive part in Canadian history (O'Neil, 1987). Not many books dealt with the modern Indian. He was seen as having social problems and was not presented in literature or textbooks to any great degree. The Indian was most often represented in his pre-contact state. This tends to reinforce a "living fossil" stereotype (Charles, 1989). In the late nineteen seventies and early nineteen eighties, efforts were made to remove from schools all materials that were offensive or that presented a negative image of the Native. In 1982 Decore, Carney, and Urion at the University of Alberta surveyed 246 required and recommended elementary and secondary texts, most of which were published between 1970 and 1980. This study found errors in theory, inadequate distinction between Indian groups or cultures, errors of interpretation, decontextualization and stereotyping. Sixty-three percent of

all materials dealing with Native people or Native issues were found to be seriously problematic or totally unacceptable. Unfortunately the greatest problem was found to be with required texts. (Decore, Carney & Urion, 1982) Similar studies were undertaken in the Saskatchewan and in Ontario with similar results (O'Neil, 1987).

What has been done to date is to endeavor to improve the Anglo constructed image of the Native Indian in school texts and in literature, and to increase the amount of Native-related content, regardless of authorship. This is just another "quick fix".

As we move into the nineteen nineties there are more books written by Native people themselves that can effectively be used in schools. In Alberta the Native Education Project Books have involved Native authors writing about the life of their people today, as well as the historical lifestyle. Many Native people are writing autobiographically. Other books are available which are biographical of contemporary or historical Native figures. These produce role models for Native youth. Native stories and legends are being recorded by Native people themselves, and are available for the instruction of Natives and non-Natives. In some Native cultures and traditions, this is considered to be against the cultural element of the oral tradition. In these cases efforts must be made to expose Native children to their oral tradition through elders. More literature is needed for Native children by Native

authors so that the children can identify with the experiences about which they are reading. The nineteen-eighties have seen an increase in non-fiction written by Native people about Native topics. Native people must be encouraged to write accurately about their past and their present. There must be an increase of fictional writing by Native authors. This will provide relevant literature for Native students and enable non-Native students to experience ideas from a Native perspective. It is through literature that we experience the life experience and realities of the worlds of others. Quality works by Native authors must be included in schools, and Non-Native teachers must be encouraged to read such works.

Curriculum Modification

Related to improvement of school texts and literature is the general question of curriculum. Efforts have been made by the Departments of Education of the Western Provinces to increase the Native content in curriculum. This effort has been primarily in the area of Social Studies. In Alberta the new Social Studies curriculum has a Native component, but the area of studies is largely historical. Except in current events, current Native issues are rarely considered, particularly in the elementary grades. The curriculum confirms the "living fossil" model of the Native person: he is portrayed as significant only for his past. Non-Native children have difficulty connecting modern Native children

with whom they may come into contact with the traditional Native society of the pre-contact and early contact period commonly studied in the classroom. More time must be devoted to the study of evolving Native cultures, as they exist in the modern world.

Curriculum in general is still reproductive of the dominant society values (Foreman, 1987). There is still a hidden curriculum of competitiveness, docility, and unquestioning acceptance of authority (ibid). This remains a critical problem for students in Native schools and for Native education per se.

Special Curriculum and Cultural Programs

Special curriculum and cultural programs have been set up in Native schools in an attempt to forge cultural identity, promote self-esteem, and maintain Native culture. Those that have taken a "feathers and beads" approach tend to be "quick fixes" and have had limited results or have been discontinued. These programs in many cases have dealt only with traditional crafts and have not been holistic in nature. These crafts have not been linked to traditional values, religion or life experience. More successful programs have been holistic. One of the factors that has relegated these programs to the "quick fix" category has been their existence within the rigid framework of the traditional Anglo school model and timetable. These programs have been offered around tight academic schedules and have

been fitted into small spaces left in the timetable (King, 1983). Cultural programs also vary with area. A program on trapping and living off the land may be viable to traditional lifestyle maintanance for the La Ronge Band at Stanley Saskatchewan, (King 1983) or for the James Bay Cree in Northern Quebec. (Deines, 1984) but a traditional lifestyle is not as feasible in Southern Alberta. Such a program in Southern Alberta would have a different direction and objective. Such programs as the James Bay programs and the Stanley program facilitate a choice of lifestyle as well as cultural preservation (King, 1983) (Deines, 1984). It has also been learned that such programs do not adapt well to, and are artificial within, the school situation and are better taught by elders or other adults in "the bush" (Deines, 1984). Deines, in his James Bay Cree study, found a perception in several schools that more outdoor time was needed, and that the Cree culture component was best taught as close to nature as possible. Although some of the schools had a bush camp component, others did not. Other failures in such programs stem from the fact that white administrators within band-controlled schools have defined the program or put parameters on it. To be more than a quick fix, the nature of the programs must be determined by the community.

Curriculum must be modified to include cultural elements within band-controlled schools. This means that Native bands must become involved in curriculum development. This is beginning to happen, and curriculum materials are being

produced by bands. The Stoney Band has produced materials in Stoney and in English. The Hobbema Band has produced Native studies and Cree language curriculum to be used in the Hobbema\Edmonton district.

Curriculum materials are being produced through the Four Worlds Development program out of the University of Lethbridge which might be seen as PanIndian. These programs are holistic and are based on Native values. They strive to foster self-esteem, Native identity, and through creating positive self-image, prevent substance abuse. One program, Images of Indians, is aimed at non-Native junior high students (Bopp, 1989) Such programs are not being widely used, but might offer better solutions than some of the "quick fixes" that have been tried to date. The use of these curricula will be discussed in chapter five.

PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT THROUGH ADVISORY COMMITTEES

In provincial and federal schools parent involvement has been formalized through parent advisory committees. Members of these committees are meant to act in an advisory capacity to the school board and to the school administration, but the decision-making power of such groups is limited or non-existent. Native people have been consulted through such committees but there has been little formal recognition of recommendations from such groups. Prior to revision of the school act in 1988, there was no vehicle for Native people

to have a voice or a vote on local school boards, thus recommendations made by advisory committees were only acted upon if they found favor with the administration and elected board members. Native people experienced a feeling of helplessness and wanted decision making power in schools attended by Native children. They were not prepared to give input that was destined to be ignored or misunderstood. Advisory committees were a step in the right direction, as their establishment was a first invitation to provide input, but in their original form they often failed or were perceived as insignificant. In committees composed of Native and non-Native parents, the possibility of greater inter-racial understanding existed, but at the same time misunderstanding also arose. In some situations, non-Native parents dominated decision making as they were used to being outgoing and aggressive. Native parents used to agreement and decision by consensus found the meetings threatening and frustrating. They hesitated to challenge the views of other parents. The success of such committees has often been in schools where home-school Native liaison workers have been employed, as the presence of such workers in schools tends to have established a better relationship and understanding between Native people and the school staff. Many teachers and school principals have only been involved in negative situations with Native people, where discussions of children's attendance, learning and discipline problems have been the basis for encounters with Native parents. (Douglas,

1987). The lack of trust many Native parents have for schools and schooling, which is often based on their own experience in residential or poorly run federal schools, is another constraint (ibid). School personnel may lack sensitivity or knowledge of Native culture and of contemporary social issues which Native people are facing. Many non-Natives fail to have knowledge of the historical perspectives that have framed today's social realities (ibid). Such realities must be understood and intercultural relationships established between staff and Native parents; and between Non-Native and Native parents if parent advisory committees are to be effective or are to be anything more than another "quick fix".

PERSONNEL REFORMS

One of the recommendations of the National Indian Brotherhood position paper (1972) was the training of Indian counsellors, and teachers and the increase in the number of Indian para-professionals in reserve schools and in off-reserve schools where Indian students were enrolled. The paper stated that Native teachers and counsellors could best create a learning environment for the child based on his habits and interests from the Native adult's intimate understanding of Indian traditions, psychology, way of life and language (N.I.B. 1972). The inclusion of para-professional Native adults would help the young Indian child

to adjust to the unfamiliar and often overwelming factors of his school experience (ibid). Efforts have been made since that time to increase Native personnel in the schools attended by Native students.

Native Para-professionals

Native teacher aides and para-professional counsellors were in place in some schools prior to the 1972 N.I.B. report. After the recommendations of the report, in provincial schools under tuition agreements with the federal government, funding was provided by Indian Affairs to hire Native para-professionals. Short training courses were funded and were attended by Native adults wishing to work as para-professionals. In later cases training was not always a prerequisite to working in the schools. These para-professionals have been helpful to Native students in that they have provided someone to relate to, and to turn to, in those instances where such para-professionals have been afforded a high profile and a high level of interaction with students. In some schools Native para-professionals have been used as "Indian experts" and expected to be teachers of crafts or sources of information for Native studies (Douglas, 1987). Some para-professionals have not felt comfortable in this role as they know that others in their community have greater expertise, and feel that the para-professional's taking such a role may be seen as inappropriate by other community members. In some schools

the norm has been to use these people as clerical help for teachers and to house them in a back room away from students where these para-professionals prepare instructional materials and run the photocopier. Douglas, (1987) reports in her documentation of the "Sacred Circle" project in the Edmonton Public schools, that in some schools the staff appreciated another "warm body" on staff to do menial work, and in these cases, from the teacher's view the Native element was incidental. In these cases the presence of Native adults has been nothing more than a quick fix, as they have not provided the role model sought, and have been relegated to a menial, non-contact role.

Home Liaison Workers

A distinct para-professional role is that of the home liaison worker. This role was first created in some of the provincial schools with large Native populations. The original role of this worker was to act as a bridge between the home and the school, to enable the parents to understand what was happening at the school, to help the school to understand the Native home, and to keep the school in touch with family concerns. Today, this person usually reports directly to the school administration, but may also be involved with teachers. To be successful in this role, an incumbent needs to be a bicultural person; a Native person who understands the Anglo world of schooling as it is found in provincial and many band-controlled schools. Such a

person can be invaluable to teachers and administrators. It is difficult however for such a person to be well accepted in both his or her own community and in the school community, as it is akin to serving two masters. The expectations of the community may on occasion be in conflict with those of the school, especially when little community input has been sought in striking a philosophy for the school and for schooling.

The liaison worker is often relegated to little more than a truant/attendance officer by the school. The worker reports to the school on students not in attendance. Reasons for non-attendance such as attending funerals may be expected and accepted by the Native community, but may be misunderstood and not be well accepted by the school. There is a clash of cultural expectations.

In other cases, workers act as liaisons in counselling situations where problems exist between a student and the school staff, or where the student's home problems are perceived to interfere with schooling. This can be a valuable role, provided the worker has the necessary counselling skills to deal with the student as well as the parents. It may be difficult for the worker to have access to students on a regular basis, especially if much of his or her time is involved with running around the reserve doing student truancy related work.

In many instances the role of the home liaison worker has not been clearly defined, or has overlapped that of the

para-professional counsellor. In other cases, the worker has been placed in the role of a truancy officer. In these cases the role has been largely unsuccessful and has been another "quick fix". In the instances where the role is clearly defined, and the worker is able to define the school to the home, and the home and its culture to the school, the home liaison worker position has been productive.

Native Teachers

One of the greatest obstacles to increasing the number of Native teachers in Native schools has been the lack of academic qualifications of adult Native students desiring entry into teacher training. This lack is directly related to the lack of success of Native students within our schools. Native teachers may find difficulty feeling accepted in schools historically staffed exclusively with non-Native teachers. Greater educational attainment results in greater social distance between the Native student/teacher and his or her community (More, 1980). Teacher training usually requires that the student leave his or her reserve community. Homesickness and a feeling of alienation in new surroundings causes many Native students to drop out of their university programs. It was recommended by the N.I.B. position paper that programs be set up that would be flexible and experimental and which would accommodate candidates who have potential for teaching but lack the minimum requirements. Such programs would endeavor

to upgrade candidates academically while preparing them for the classroom with professional training (N.I.B., 1972).

A number of such programs has sprung up within Western Canada. More (1980) reports that in that year there were seventeen specialized teacher education programs in Canada. These programs varied considerably according to the group involved and the resources available. These varied from a semester of orientation before enrolment in a regular university program to a three year community controlled specialized program. Between these extremes were programs which More called "significantly altered" programs which were based largely on teacher training, but with added components, often involved with Native studies. A significant amount of the instruction took place within the community. Community based programs were found to be more segregative, less assimilative and more flexible. More concludes that the more Indianness found in the programs the greater their success (More, 1980). The greatest danger of teacher education programs is that they will train Indian people who will be virtually identical to the dominant society teachers (ibid). Teacher training as seen at universities across the country is reproductive of the values of the dominant society. The training fails to develop the skills and knowledge that will give Native teachers the chance to make Native education truly productive and truly Native. Mazurek, Mokosch & Lane (1989) reported on the University of Lethbridge colloquium on

Native Teacher Education held at the University of Lethbridge in the Spring of 1988. The colloquium had representation from bands and teacher training programs within the province of Alberta. One of the first recommendations of the colloquium was that Native teacher education must focus on process, and that this process must reflect a Native world-view. Native teacher education cannot be successful if it continues to be just a component plugged into existing programs (Mazurek, Mokosch & Lane, 1989). If this is the case, as it has been at many of our universities, then Native teacher education and the placement of Native teachers in the classroom will not have the desired effect. It will be another "quick fix". Government funding cuts to Native post-secondary students have also caused concern, and may be seen as a backwards step.

In chapter five we will discuss future directions suggested by the Lethbridge colloquium and inherent in the N.I.B. position paper, (1972) and the N.I.B. declaration of 1988, while looking at ways of breaking down the factor of the dominant society orientation and the Anglo-reproductive nature of teacher training practices.

CHAPTER FOUR

AN EXAMINATION OF CURRENT MODELS OF EDUCATION IN THE QUEST FOR A MODEL FOR PRODUCTIVE NATIVE EDUCATION.

Having examined the colonial and traditional models of Native education in Canada we move to looking at the models that exist for education within the dominant society. It is within the framework of these models that Native students today are being educated. It is also within this framework that the "quick fixes" of the last chapter have been applied in the search for solutions to the problems besetting Native education. These are the models of the public school, the Indian Affairs schools and to a significant degree the band-controlled schools. Although bands through band-control are having more say in the education of their children, nothing has been significantly altered in the educational process itself, nor have teachers adopted any different methods for teaching Native children.

THE REPRODUCTIVE NATURE OF EDUCATION

The education traditionally received by Native students in education institutions was and continues to be primarily white middleclass Anglo-Saxon in nature. Teachers have not been encouraged to understand life and culture from an Indian point of view. In fact the goal, although a bit more

carefully disguised, has still been assimilation. Paulo Freire cautions:

> One cannot expect positive results from an educational or political action program which fails to respect the particular view of the world held by the people. Such a program constitutes cultural invasion, good intentions not withstanding (Freire, 1970, p. 84).

Meighan (1981) sees teachers as reproductive agents of dominant culture in the form of language, values, attitudes, images, rules, and information. They are seen in a role as perpetuators rather than innovators (Meighan, 1981). No teacher can escape his or her own gender, class, and racial identity in the school (Weiler, 1988) (Apple, 1982).

As a result students and parents from other races, and classes tend to see schooling as basically reflective of the dominant society. This is especially true for Native people who, because of the past residential school colonial experience, see schooling as an assimilative process. Adams, (1975) writing in the nineteen seventies saw integrated schooling as a further form of colonialism. He described the education system of that time as meaningless and irrelevant to Native people. He stated that the values inherent in instruction were white middle-class and that the curriculum was strange to the extent that Native students had difficulty relating it to their frame of reference or making it part of their knowledge.

This reproductive nature of schooling, this aim of instilling values, is often referred to as the "hidden curriculum". Riner, (1979), sees the emphasis of classroom instruction to be on the white way of living. The primary objectives of instruction are cleanliness, punctuality, safety and conformity to social regulations (Riner, 1979). Although this statement may seem extreme, it reinforces our reproductive desire to instill dominant culture values. A part of this hidden curriculum is economic (Apple, 1982) (Weiler, 1988) (Adams, 1975). The school acts as a traditional sorting device, preparing the academic elite for leadership and economic success, while assuring that those on the bottom of the social, racial or class heap stay there (Apple, 1982) (Weiler, 1988). Instead of providing social mobility and serving as an equalizer, schooling maintains a rigid class system. It legitimizes capitalism (Adams, 1975). Although early residential schools, such as the Indian Industrial schools, purported to prepare students to enter the economic mainstream, in reality the skills taught prepared the Indian to enter society on the bottom rung.

The reproductive, alien nature of schooling often leads to resistance and countercultural movements among students. Countercultures confirm a position that is against the school and against academic learning. Since this type of learning is what counts in schools, this resistance leads to low status jobs or in the case of the Indian, inability to enter the mainstream of society.

This research points out that while schooling was and is in fact reproductive, we must move to a productive model for Native education to succeed. Osbourne, (1989a) points out that if Anglo teachers could adjust to new cultural settings and teach in ways congruent with the child-rearing practices of the local community, then there would be a point for continuing to prepare Europeans to teach in (Native) community schools. He also takes the position that after children are secure in their own cultural values, it is necessary to introduce behavioral, attitudinal and value judgements necessary for them to be comfortable and competent in Anglo settings. Productive theory as defined by Weiler, (1988) describes education and teachers as being necessarily subjective, helping students to interpret their own lives in view of their evolving culture and their history.

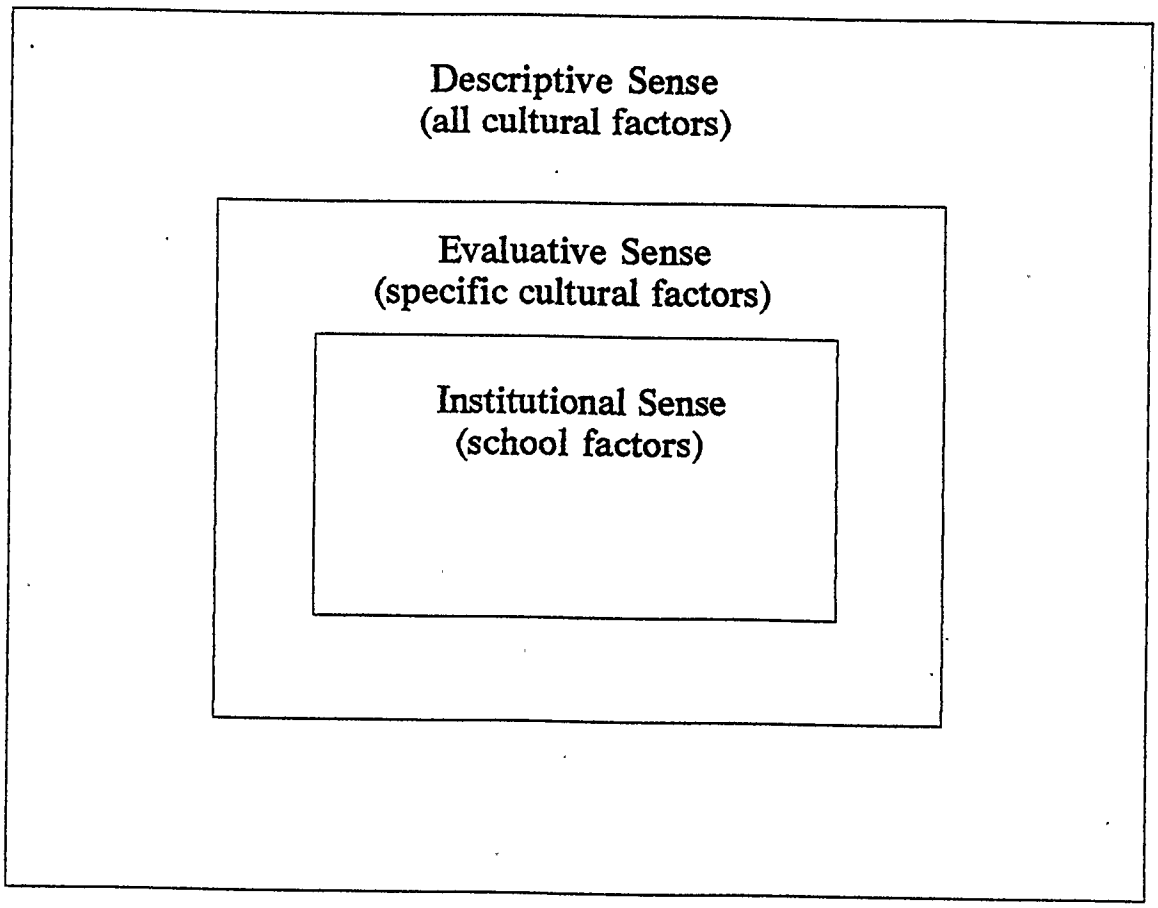
AN EXAMINATION OF CURRENT MODELS OF EDUCATION

An examination of current models descriptive of the education process will be undertaken in an effort to describe a model for culturally-compatible Native education. This will be an attempt to isolate the factors to be examined in a search for a productive Native education process. These factors must reflect the areas of concern expressed by Native people in the National Indian

Brotherhood position paper (1972), the National Indian Brotherhood declaration (1988) and elsewhere.

The Simpson and Jackson Models

Simpson and Jackson (1984) differentiate between education and schooling, as does Alberta Education in their Elementary and Secondary School handbooks. (Alberta Education, 1989). Simpson and Jackson see three senses of education, as illustrated below.



(Simpson and Jackson, 1984, p. 40)

The model shows schooling as only a small portion of the education process. Simpson and Jackson see within schooling, or educative teaching which goes on within schools, four factors which direct the process. They identify these as the same processes which define indoctrination:

1) Educational aim	2) Pedagogical Method
3) Curriculum Content	4) Final outcome

(Simpson and Jackson, 1984, p.61)

Since this second model fits both indoctrination and schooling, it could be seen as reflective of "education" within the colonial model. Looking at the earlier educational model, we see that all the three "senses" of education for this colonial model were considering only the imposed Anglo culture. There was no consideration of Native cultural factors. It was as if the child entered the school with no past. Within the institutional sense, the process was blatant indoctrination. Simpson and Jackson point out that the nature of the methods and content differentiate between the processes of educative teaching and indoctrination. Learning allows for questioning. It promotes understanding which Simpson and Jackson see as evolving from the process of assimilating new knowledge into your subjective knowledge of the world, your past history. The colonial model did not allow for this in its denial of the

identity of the student, his past experiences, and his history. Within the colonial model the parents and the community had no say in what was taught or in how it was taught.

Durkheimian Model of Schooling

Another view or model for schooling was expressed by Durkheim in the late nineteen sixties. A primary interest for Durkheim was the nature of roles and interrelationships. He saw schooling as being composed of:

1. The curriculum.
2. The role of the teacher.
3. The role of the pupil.
4. Interpersonal relations.

(Durkheim, 1968).

In his model we see the possibility for a response from the learner. The role of the pupil could be an active or reactive role within this model. The role could of course also be to be passive, the student being "a vessel to be filled". It suggests a learning process, not encompassed in Simpson and Jackson's model. The model also allows for interaction and emphasizes interpersonal relations between the teacher and the learner, elements which are vital to the successful education of Native students.

Although Durkheim's model suggests useful elements to be considered in the education process (such as the role of the teacher), Durkheim's position on the nature of these

elements is in complete variance with productive Native schooling and is in fact closely aligned with the colonial model. Durkheim's model presents problems if it is examined in light of his sociological stance. He sees education as a conservative and integrating force which must work toward solidarity and common societal values rather than toward differentiation and pluralism (Meighan 1981). His sociological and philosophical goals are in opposition to those presented in this thesis.

Durkheim's model does not include aims or philosophy, nor does it concern itself with results (outcome). It appears to deal with a relationship between teacher and learner, but does not include parents or community. It differs from Simpson and Jackson's model in that it only deals with schooling and does not include the broader aspect of education.

Frankena's Model for a Philosophy of Education

William Frankena's model was given considerable attention in the nineteen seventies. It showed relationsips between the elements of the model, although it does not see all of the elements as interrelated.

A. Statement of the basic ends or principles of ethics and social thought.

B. Empirical and other premises about human nature, life, and the world.

C. Lists of excellences to be produced.

D. Empirical or scientific knowledge about how to produce them.

E. Concrete conclusions about what to do, when, how, etc.

(Frankena, 1965, pp. 7, 8 & 9)

Frankena's concept produced a philosophical model. We could look at "A" and "B" as "philosophy of education". "C" can be translated to be "goals". "D" implies "methodology", and "E" considers "pedagogy and curriculum". The emphasis on philosophical background gives it an important component for Native education, which we find in "B" of the model, "premises about human life and the world." Since Native people see life and thus learning as holistic, this premise affects their philosophy of learning and contributes to the alienation they feel toward the process of schooling with its division of subjects, timetables and lock-step grades. We might also find that in Native cultures, "A" in this model might vary from the Anglo interpretation, as ethics

and social thought differ in Anglo and Native cultures. "C" suggests that someone needs to decide what these "excellences" ought to be. If we were to use the National Indian Brotherhood mandates, (N.I.B. 1972) (N.I.B. 1988) then Native parents and the community should be making these decisions, as well as formulating a philosophy for Native education as suggested by "A" and "B". In the past the model has assumed that teachers and government education departments (D.I.A.N.D., Alberta Education) make these decisions. The strong philosophical emphasis is the strength of this model, but it does not seem to deal with the learning process or how to evaluate outcomes, (although we could assume that students would be measured against the lists generated in "C").

Parsons' Model

Parsons' model seems to address the relationship between the three senses of education as seen in Simpson and Jackson's model. His primary concern is with regard to the integration of knowledge and experience. His model has four parts:

1. Pattern Maintenance - Preserving and passing on social norms, rights, values.
2. Internal Integration - One part of social life is linked to another.

3. Goal Attainment - Individual and collective needs realized.
4. Adaptation - Controlled reaction to change in physical, technological and cultural environment.

(Parsons, 1959 in Meighan 1981)

Parsons' model provides a framework for a philosophical base which enables cultural maintenance while providing for the inevitability of cultural integration, change and the need for adaptation. It could be adapted to facilitate holistic education. Historically this has not been a model for dominant culture education although more recent studies have suggested these directions (Klink, 1989). While the elements listed above provide a good framework for a philosophic base, the philosophy presented by Parsons himself espouses problems for Native education. Parsons was a structure-functionalist, and so again as in Durkheim's case he values "society", "the system" and "common values over individualism and self-determination. His premises are closely linked with a repressive sociology that emphasizes the conditions that determine men's lives rather than ways in which men can become controllers of their own destiny (Meighan, 1981).

Parsons' model does not touch on areas such as the learning process, or pedagogy. It implies "outcome" in #3, "goal attainment".

Meighan's Model

Meighan introduces his model with the following explanation:

> Ideologies of education refer to a broad set of ideas and beliefs, held by a group of people about the formal arrangements for education, specifically schooling and often by implication and extention about the informal aspects of education. (Meighan, 1981, p. 19).

and

> These systems of beliefs are seen by the groups holding them to be descriptions of "the way things really are" and they are the means by which sense is made of the world. (ibid).

He goes on to explain that any analysis of competing ideologies can be attempted by comparing them on a series of what he sees as key component features which he calls "theories". He states that in general, any ideology of education will contain:

1. A theory of knowledge.
2. A theory of learning and the learner's role.
3. A theory of teaching and the teacher's role.
4. A theory of resources appropriate for learning.
5. A theory of organization of the learning situations.
6. A theory of aims, objectives, and outcomes.
7. A theory of assessment to discover whether learning has been successful.

(Meighan, 1981).

The inclusion of the role of the learner and the role of the teacher echo Durkheim's model. Meighan separates assessment from outcome. His model is the first we have examined in this chapter that has included the term assessment. He suggests that we should consider how we decide if learning has been successful, but he does not emphasize the philosophical component, which some would see as prerequisite to evaluation. He does mention "aims, objectives, and outcomes" which derive from a philosophy. His points suggest learning process, pedagogy, and curriculum. He adds a point, "resources appropriate to learning." This would be important to Native education, as in the last twenty years research has found many resources inappropriate. (Decore, Carney & Urion, 1982)

These models have been general models for education which can provide us with an idea of the structures within which we might look at Native education. They may assist in forming a productive, culturally compatible model, based on the directions suggested by Native people and current research into Native schooling. None of the models discussed include all of the elements necessary. We will now look at two further constructs that give consideration to the case of the Native learner.

Cummins' Theoretical Framework For the Empowerment of Minority Students

Cummins (1986) proposes a model that explores enabling and disabling factors in the education of minority students within a dominant society setting.

MODEL FOR THE EMPOWERMENT OF MINORITY STUDENTS

Societal Context

Dominant Group

↓

Dominated Group

School Context

Educator Role Definitions

Cultural / Linguistic Incorporation	Additive	- Subtractive
Community Participation	Collaborative	- Exclusionary
Pedagogy	Reciprocal Interaction-Oriented	- Transmission-Oriented
Assessment	Advocacy-Oriented	- Legitimization-Oriented
	↓	↓
	EMPOWERED STUDENTS	DISABLED STUDENTS

(Cummins, 1986, p.24)

Although this framework is not geared specifically to Native students, it addresses concerns that arise in Native learning. Cummins (1986) states that there are four structural elements in the organization of schooling that contribute to the extent that minority students are empowered or disabled. These include the incorporation of the minority students' culture and language, inclusion of minority communities in the education of their children, pedagogical assumptions and practices operating in the classroom, and the assessment of minority students. Within this framework, he shows us what empowers and what disables students in terms of these four structural elements.

This framework for the first time introduces community participation, one of the main recommendations of the National Indian Brotherhood position papers of 1972 and 1988. The inclusion of Native culture(s) and languages in Native classrooms was also a recommendation of the N.I.B. documents. In this construct, pedagogy is seen as important. As in Meighan's model, assessment is included. It should be noted however that assessment, as it is normally construed today as legitimization-oriented, is seen to be a disabling characteristic.

The Kirkness Model

Native academic Verna Kirkness outlined the areas she sees as significant in improving Native education. They include:

1. Clear philosophy and goals.
2. Meaningful program based on Indian reality.
3. Qualified teaching staff.
4. Adequate facilities.
5. Parental involvement in the education of their children.
6. Indian input on reserves and in territorial schools.
7. Creation of a learning environment which gives Indian children the chance to know and understand their language, culture, and history and to develop their unique talents to the maximum potential.

(Kirkness, 1982).

Kirkness has touched on the major areas of the other models except for that of pedagogy which may be alluded to in her "learning environment". She also adds adequate facilities which were not mentioned in the other models but which were cited in the National Indian Brotherhood position papers (1972) (1988).

TOWARDS A MODEL FOR PRODUCTIVE NATIVE EDUCATION

The models explored present variations of factors to be considered in the education process, but none appear to be inclusive of all factors which would appear to be relevant

in a search for a culturally-compatible model. The model presented here reflects the elements of the educational models presented, and strives to provide for the inclusion of all areas suggested in the National Indian Brotherhood position paper of 1972, the National Indian Brotherhood declaration and report of 1988, (see chapter one) by Kirkness, and the Native input hearings cited in Alberta Education (1987a). It is designed for education within band control, but also reflects the philosophy of "preparation for total living" as presented in the N.I.B. declaration of 1988. It is a model within which current literature on Native learning can be assessed. The model will contain the following components as outlined in chapter one, and as suggested by a reflection on other models that have been presented:

1. An underlying philosophy of education including self-esteem in the Native learner, the incorporation of Native values, the holistic view of life and learning, and the maintenance of Native culture.
2. The role of Native parents and communities in the determination of philosophy, pedagogy, program structure and curriculum.
3. Pedagogy for greater cultural compatibility.
4. The learning process, including the nature of the learning environment; the role of the teacher, the role of the learner, considerations for teacher training and inservice training.

5. Relevant, holistic, student-centered curriculum inclusive of Native cultural learnings and Native language learning.
6. The means of assessing the outcome of Native education processes and the need for advocacy oriented assessment.

This model is suggested as a framework within which to explore the creation of productive Native education. This is a holistic model with all the parts being interrelated. This model is for schooling, and thus would fit into the "institutional sense" described by the Simpson and Jackson model.

CHAPTER 5

THE MODEL

The model proposed in this thesis explores what we know about Native learning and Native education at this time. It is grounded in the present and thus deals with the realities and restraints of Native education today. Previous chapters of this thesis have looked at the past, and as suggested in the N.I.B. Positional Paper of 1972, have explored the problems of previous Native education models. The model proposed here promotes a vision of a future which promises the possibilities for a more instrumental Native schooling. The model endeavors to remove factors that have led to failure in previous Native education models. The model provides a framework for analysis of the best resources of the present, for analysis of current research in the field, for determining alternatives which may be employed, and for showing areas which must be strengthened or rethought in the search for productive Native education.

The model is holistic. The parts are seen as interrelated, and interdependent. Educators and political leaders have tended to change one element of Native education and have expected that change to "fix" Native education. Many "quick fixes" have failed, but some of these combined with other changes, may be instrumental in bringing about more

effective Native education. Each of the six elements of the model is interrelated and interconnected with the others.

The model is interpretive, but not prescriptive. It is flexible, and its exact nature will depend on the community and the individual students it serves. It is humanistic and emphasizes the student as an individual who will be fostered to create meaning subjectively from each learning situation. In no way is it intended to be objective or structuralist, as those characteristics have pervaded or dominated earlier unsuccessful models.

The model aims to encourage Native people toward the development of productive Native learning, rather than reproductive Anglo schooling. Since only Native people themselves can describe a truly productive model, this model is intended to be a reflective step towards such reality, which can occur when Native people have total ownership of all facets of Native schooling. At present and in the forseeable future, non-Native people are involved and will be involved in Native education. There are not sufficient Native teachers to staff Native schools, and although we envision that the number of Native teachers will continue to grow, there will be for the immediate future a continuation of the necessity for staffing schools with non-Native teachers. These teachers are the target audience for this thesis. As the author is non-Native, she can not hope to produce a model exclusively for Native teachers, although it is hoped that this model will serve as a resource for Native

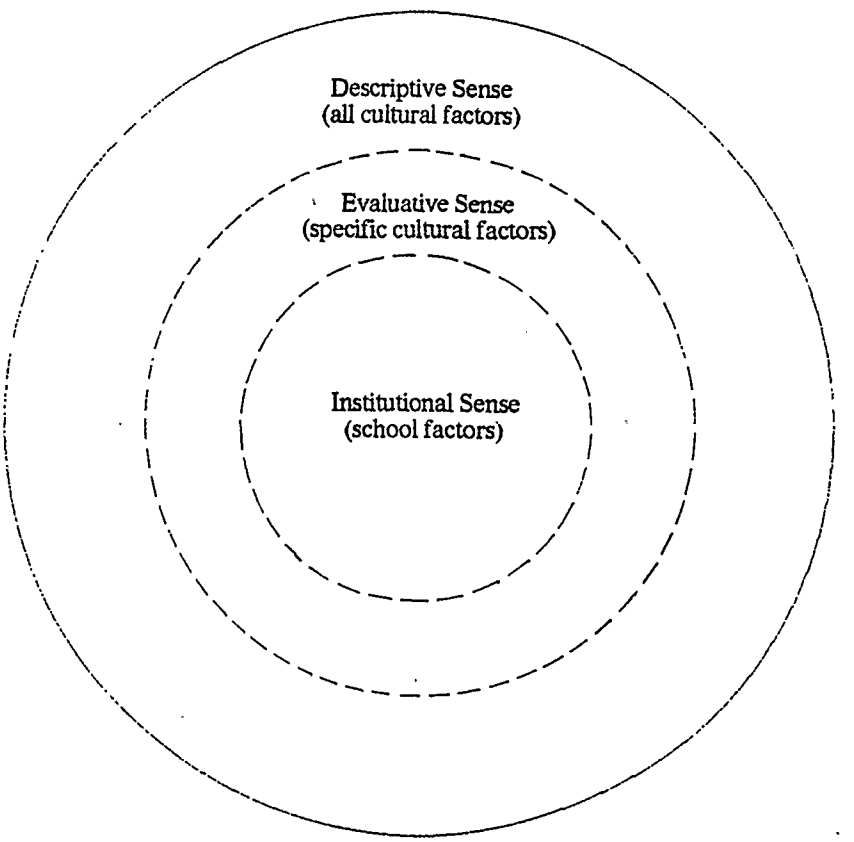
people as they move towards more productive Native education. If non-Native people continue to teach in Native schools, special training and sensitivity to Native culture must be a pre-requisite to such teaching assignments. The National Indian Brotherhood Position Paper of 1972 mandated specialized training for both Native and non-Native teachers, destined to work in Native schools, but at the present time this type of training is rarely the case, and few effective programs for this purpose exist or have been attempted in the eighteen years since the N.I.B. paper. This mandate was confirmed in the N.I.B. declaration of 1988. Native people themselves must be involved in these endeavors. Teachers are still going into Native schools feeling that they can teach in the traditions of Anglo schooling (Foreman, 1987). They expect that the students must adapt to schooling, not that teachers must adapt schooling to the students. Using an objective approach, they see schooling as a process that is mapped out, and that is to be followed if one is to "educate". If the child does not succeed, then the fault must lie with the child. Teachers quantify and measure, rather than interpret. Native teachers need to be encouraged to interpret their culture and their ways into their teaching and their model of schooling. The impetus to do this is often removed by the present prescriptive teacher education process and by the student teaching experience (ibid). For a Native student teacher to be successful, he must become acculturated to the Anglo

teaching process. Teachers tend to reproduce the way in which they were taught. Because of these past tendencies, and their lack of success, the model presented here is flexible, individually responsive and interpretive. Durkheim (1968) in his model brings out the importance of interpersonal relationships and of a learning process in which the learner has an active and critical role. This speaks to a humanistic nature of education, as well as a subjective and interpretive nature.

The model is descriptive of only "schooling". Using the Simpson and Jackson model (1984), this model would occupy the "institutional" sense. The greater education processes of the descriptive sense, which includes all cultural factors, and within that evaluative sense, which defines specific cultural factors, are to be defined solely by the community. But, because this institutional sense takes place within the confines of these other cultural parameters, it is only part of the education process and as such it is defined by the community. When Native children come to school they have already developed certain attitudes and habits within the family. School programs to be compatible with the Native community's culture must be an extention of the informal education of the home and must be based on the same values as those evident in the home and the community (N.I.B., 1988 Vol.1) In the four year study performed as part of the National Review of First Nations' Education successful Native schools were examined in the search for

factors that led to success. One school noted was Kipohtakaw School in the Alexandra (Alberta) community. The school follows a holistic model, which sees the school as an entity, but that recognizes the role of the school and its functions within the larger system in which it operates. This larger system includes the local community, the province, the country and the world (N.I.B. 1988, Vol. 2). This model recognizes that it is impossible to function effectively in today's world as an isolated unit. So borrowing the concept explored by the Simpson and Jackson model (p. 85) we could modify their model and see the model (for schooling) proposed in this thesis as a circle embedded within two other concentric circles.

Possible Structure for a Culturally Compatible Model

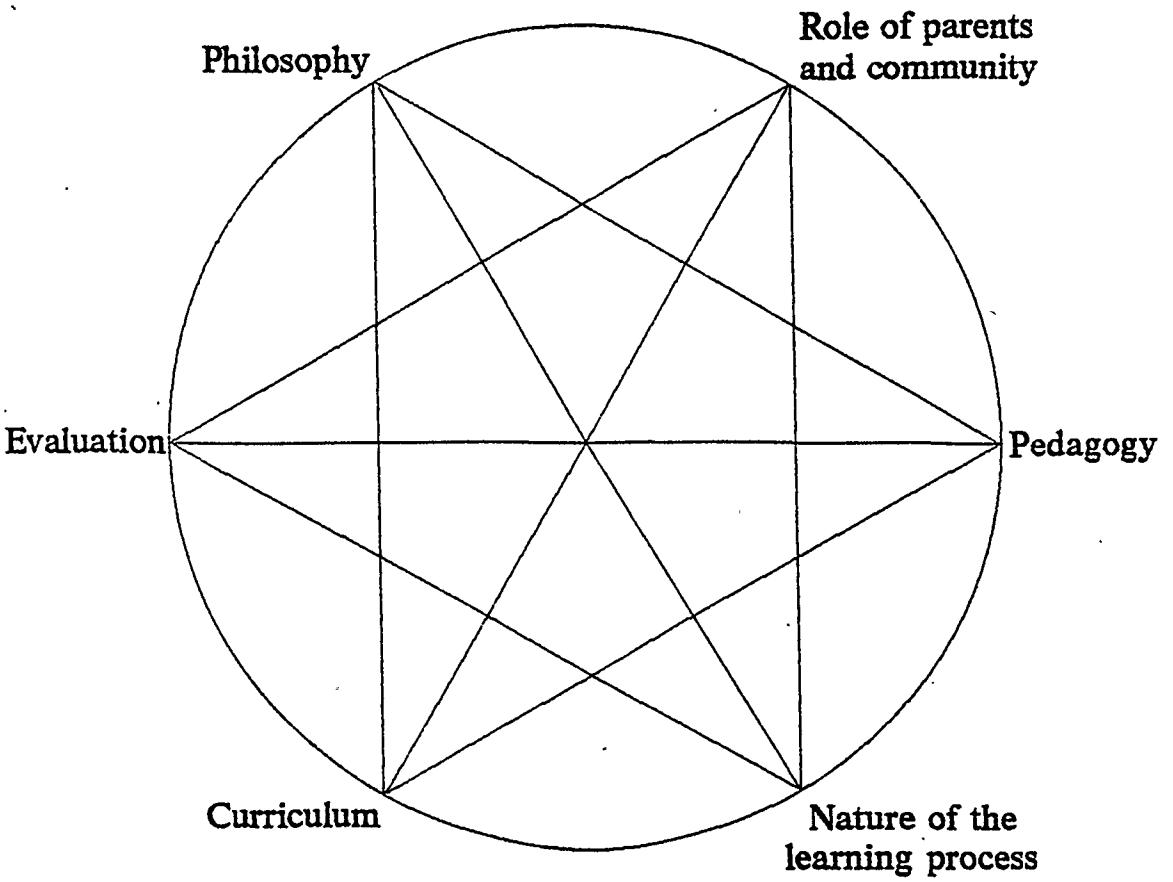


The descriptive and the evaluative sense as illustrated in this adaptation of Simpson and Jackson's model will directly affect the institutional sense for which the model suggested in this thesis is proposed. The descriptive sense includes all cultural and world factors, that is all possible things that the child could experience or be influenced by. The evaluative sense includes specific cultural factors which are valued by the home and the community. For example, technology, if valued will fall into this evaluative sense. If not, it will be in the descriptive sense.

The proposed model for schooling is circular. The circle was chosen because of its symbolic significance in Native culture. The six elements: philosophy, role of the parents, pedagogy, nature of the learning process, curiculum, and evaluation, are represented as being equally important, and each is equally related to all the others. The six elements will be examined in detail to explore what we currently know about the schooling of Native children. Simpson and Jackson, (1984) point out that the nature of the content and the methods used (pedagogy) differentiate between indoctrination and true educative teaching. Much of the past history of Native education has been indoctrination, aimed at assimilation. This model therefore must be structured to reflect Native culture and to maximize Native input. It must be a model of collaborative community education, which can result in the enpowerment of students (as described by Cummins, 1986). It shows the role of the parents and the

community in determining the philosophy which will govern the schooling of that community, and the responsibility of the parents and the community to evaluate the programs, the schooling and the results. Evaluation and assessment will be advocacy oriented as suggested by Cummins (1986).

The model may be visualized by the following construct.



PHILOSOPHY

The underlying philosophy for Native education must be established by Native people. The statements of philosophy will be general, including such precepts as the two fundamental principles: local control and parental responsibility in Native education, as set out in the N.I.B. 1972 position paper, and the five basic philosophical elements set out by the N.I.B. in 1988. These elements include:

1. Preservation of Language and Culture: Language and cultural studies are seen as an integral part of the school curriculum. They are important to the Native students identity.
2. Values: Education should include instruction in the values held in esteem by the Native family and community so that education is clearly an extention of the culture and instruction of the family and the community.
3. Parental and Community Participation: Parents and the community must be involved in all aspects of schooling and of education.
4. Preparation for Total Living: Native students are to be given the opportunity to learn at all levels and at all stages. All the options to function in all societies must be open to them, including academic, vocational, professional and life skills. Native people must have access to all programs including special education

programs, gifted programs, preschool programs and post-secondary programs. Education provides Native people with freedom of choice, independence and self-determination.

5. Local Jurisdiction: Band councils or their delegated education authorities are to have jurisdiction over all of education including policies, management, curriculum standards and program quality, delivery of services and determining resource requirements (N.I.B. 1988).

The N.I.B. report of 1988 defines the values refered to in #2 above as: self-reliance, respect for personal freedom, generosity, respect for nature and wisdom.

Philosophy will also be specific to the community in which the schooling is being enacted. On this second plane, philosophy may be seen to vary with the needs and values of the community. Such philosophies will aim to promote self-esteem in the Native learner, to incorporate Native values, and to maintain Native culture. These values will promote a holistic education which will enact a global sense of life and learning (Rhodes, 1988). Many philosophers will envision the learner as becoming competent in two worlds and thus as "bicultural" (Couture 1989) (Snow 1977). Others may promote a return to knowledge of a traditional life-style.

Many non-Native people tend to see Native people as homogeneous; as a stereotypical group. Each of the First Nations is distinctive in culture, customs, beliefs and values, although there are universal characteristics. As well, Native people within a group or Nation differ in

regard to philosophy and values. Riner (1979) from his study of Six High Plains communities in the United States, found that the groups studied could be classified into primary types of households, according to their values on eight significant factors which included extended family, ritual participation, and acculturation. He described four primary types which he labelled acculturated, bicultural, traditional and isolated. Jordan, (1985) studying Australian aboriginal and North American Indian groups, saw culture as "evolving" as groups adapt to new circumstances. She saw these groups as being represented in different locations in her Australian example, and including traditional, bicultural, marginal and acculturated groups. Riner (1979) stated the acculturated group approximated Anglo norms, lived in nuclear families, spoke English extensively, and tended to send their children to off-reserve schools. They often rejected Indian culture and values. The bicultural group had the highest education, tended to travel, and spoke English fluently. They showed a strong commitment to traditional Indian ways and culture and tended to live in extended families. They accepted both Anglo and Native cultural systems but tended to be critical of both. The traditional group kept the old ways, rejected the Anglo systems, lived in extended families, and participated in traditional Indian and Christian ceremonies. The isolated group preferred their own language, were poorly educated, lived removed from the community, were not involved in the

education of their children and often displayed social problems. They appeared to reject both Western and Native ways, being at home in neither and appearing dysfunctional. Riner saw the groupings as located on a continuum, and saw subgroups such as acculturated-bicultural, while Jordan (1985) saw her Aboriginal groups as evolving. These categories in themselves could be said to be stereotypical, but they do help to point out that we must not see Native people as homogeneous. Although these groupings may be artificial, regional, or outdated, they do describe some of the variations of lifestyles and values found on many reserves, and among urban Natives. These differences may result in differing educational philosophies, goals and expectations. For example, Riner found that parents from traditional homes emphasized the role of the teacher as exemplar rather than emphasizing credentials as did acculturated parents. Traditional and bicultural parents felt strongly about the inclusion of heritage and cultural materials within the curriculum. Education and advisory committees must thus be cautious to represent all groups, and to set up a school system that will allow for diversity. If self-determination and local control are to be a reality for indigenous people, then these people must themselves define their world, and must take the responsibility of socializing their young people into that world (Jordan, 1985).

Within band control, the community and the parents through education committees, advisory committees or direct input must frame a philosophy which will guide the education of the children within the community. This philosophy will be enacted in the nature of the learning process, in the choice and formulation of the curriculum and in the pedagogy employed. It will be the framework and the measure by which the assessment of Native education in that community can be enacted. It will provide the terms of reference for evaluation of schools, teachers, and programs.

There are several pieces of research which Native people may wish to consult during the process of formulating a philosophy of schooling for their area. These include the work of Ogbu (1982) and Spindler (1989).

The transmission of cultural information and the maintenance of traditions is an area that will be looked at closely by bands as they set their philosophy. They will decide which areas should be included in schooling, and which areas will be transmitted in the home and the community within the larger framework of education. The school should not and must not accept total responsibility for the development of the Native child (Rampaul et al, 1984).

Osborne, (1989a and 1989b), explores in his research the problems of the dissemination of information to "outsiders" and to "insiders". As the community evolves the philosophy, they will be aware of taboos and limits including the

information as to who is entitled to what information. They will consider if there are non-Native, "outsider" teachers, what information can be given to these teachers. These teachers should be made aware of sensitive areas and of male - female restraints to information sharing which may exist within specific Native cultures (Osborne, 1989b).

Within the band philosophy, the community will mandate an orientation for teachers from outside the community (N.I.B., 1988). Osborne (1989b) points out that many teachers work for years in Native communities without ever taking the opportunity to learn about the people of the community or to take part in the life of the community. This is accentuated when "outside" teachers are able to live outside, rather than within the community. Even when communities are isolated, and teachers live within the community, there may be a tendency for these teachers to form their own group and not to become involved in the life of the community (Osbourne, 1989a & 1989b) (King, 1983). Friesen alludes to this in his teaching novel, Rose of The North (1987). King, (1983) in his study of Stanley, portrays single teachers, and "outdoor types" as being more likely to be involved with the Native people of the community than the married teachers (especially those with families), whom he sees as predominantly acting within their own group. Rohner, in 1965, identified the teachers and their relationship to members of the community as one of the two factors influencing the academic performance of Kwakiutl children in

his study of this West Coast group. The other factor was the discrepancy between the cultural system of the Kwakiutl Nation and formal education. Teachers who spent time among the people of the community and with the children, outside of school tended to be regarded as most successful, were happiest, and were trusted by the members of the community (ibid). Historical, D.I.A.N.D. teachers were discouraged from fraternizing with the Native people in the communities they served, and on some reserves, only under recent band control, has this wall been removed. The historical case may in fact contribute to Native people's perception that teachers are not interested in becoming involved in the life of the community, and teacher's perceptions that they don't need to be.

The community school movement might have adaptations which would help bands link "education" and the segment of education we call "schooling". Some schools which are designated community schools are such in name only, while others have been successful in becoming hubs of community action. The colonial model separated the community and the home from the school. The school was the realm of the professional, and the parents and community members had little imput into what happened there. As Native people take over and "own" their schooling under band control, deprofessionalization can take place and laymen as well as teachers can have a role in schooling. Bands may decide that some things are best imparted by elders and community

members in settings outside the school as suggested by Deines, (1984) in his study of the Cree culture course innovation of the James Bay Cree, while other teaching such as language programs may be best done by community members within the school setting. The community school philosophy, when properly implemented allows the community members to comfortably flow in and out of the school setting and schooling to happen in the community (Piwowar, 1982). While in Australia this writer observed Aboriginal people were often consulted in integrated and Aboriginal schools to teach Native studies courses and to work as resource people. Aboriginal teachers and para-professionals were asked to coordinate and bring in members from the community to teach and to share their traditional knowledge (ibid). This role in the Native education setting, belongs to Native community members who know who is considered to be appropriate to teach skills or traditional knowledge and who know the appropriate channels, payments to be made for service, and other proprieties. On the other hand courses may be offered to adults in the school setting, so that the school is a familiar setting to all, and not just the domain of the young and their teachers. Special community days and projects can facilitate adults and students working together within the school and within the community (Piwowar, 1982) (Severyn, 1982). Only as the school is opened to the community can it truly be owned by the community. The power to make decisions must be exercised by the education

committees, the band councils and the community at large. However, some early experiences in band control have shown that there must also be free and effective communication between these groups and the persons employed in the schools, so that decisions are informed by professionals and that teachers feel consulted and part of the decision making process. If this does not happen encapsulation may take place, groups may become adversarial, and/or the decision making power of the band may be eroded to that of a rubber-stamp function. School administration may become threatened and entrenched, or band councils may pass motions or take educational action without consulting the practitioners in the educational process. For these reasons, the lines of power, authority and decision-making must be clearly defined and thought out so that such counter-productive conflicts are avoided. Some bands may require organized training in school administration similar to the training available to public school trustees (Pauls, 1983). Perhaps band councils from bands which are well-established in band-controlled schooling could set up guidelines or workshops for other bands who are beginning the process of controlling their own schools. In some cases, Native administrators have been sent from an area which has established band-control to an area which is initiating the process to aid transition. This is most effective within the same cultural group, as a Blackfoot entering a Cree community will experience some cultural inconsistencies, some community resistance, and

will have to spend time getting to know the needs of the community. Whatever the procedure, power structure, community interaction and utilization of community resources must be considered in setting out a philosophy.

The philosophy decided upon must be geared to fulfill socio-economic and socio-cultural needs (Pauls,1983). It must be formulated and linked to an identified cultural taxonomy and grounded in a sociological appreciation of that knowledge which has been validated through the culture of the community, and thus it would be a reflection of established cultural reality (Koens, 1989). It will maintain the cultural values of the past, but it also will envision the future, so that the next generation will be equipped for the life-style it chooses. There is a double jeopardy in Northern communities where hunting, fishing, and trapping enable a traditional life-style to be pursued at least as a partial means of livelihood. Here, in the past, students have had difficulty learning traditional livelihood skills as the youth spend the formative years in school. Drop-outs may find themselves having little proficiency in either traditional or wage-earning economic pursuits. Native youths may become "educated" at the expense of losing their traditional and cultural knowledge. Education and schooling today must help young people to wrestle with this trade-off (Shouldice, 1986). This may mean that the community and its young people must decide what their vision or visions of the future are, and develop schooling to fulfill this vision.

THE ROLE OF NATIVE PARENTS AND THE COMMUNITY

If Native parents and Native communities are to have control over the education that their children receive, they must have input into and power over all areas of the schooling process, from deciding the philosophy to setting the terms of reference for evaluation and assessment of the results of the schooling programs in their communities. Parental and community ability to do this will increase with time and experience. It will also become a greater reality as the government relinquishes all control, including its control of the flow of finances. Communities cannot take responsibilities for education if the purse strings are under foreign control (N.I.B. 1988).

The role of the parents and community will at present have to be in liaison with professional teachers and administrators hired by the band. Decisions will best be made by consultation between teachers and the community. This model should also be as open as possible to input by the clientele, the students. If the school operates on a true community school model, all of the community may participate in the school in the role of learners and in the role of teachers. When the school is opened up to the public at large, it no longer becomes a strange place to the adults of the community. They can then develop a sense of ownership, and familiarity which will allow them to have

sensitive input into what happens at the school, and to be able to influence education in the community in a meaningful way. Education Committees and parent advisory groups will be instrumental in this process, (Patterson, 1986) but the community at large must have a significant role. Training and workshops can make decision-making bodies more informed and effective (N.I.B., 1988). Decision-making should be conducted in a traditional Native way, and negative political conflict avoided where ever possible. The growth of major Native organizations fosters public comment on education in a panNative sense (ibid). Bands should strive to gain greater input into the off-reserve schooling of band children (N.I.B., 1988). This should be a condition of all provincial and private school contracts negotiated for off-reserve schooling (ibid). This is possible through provisions of the provincially-sponsored Native Education Project (Alberta Education, 1987b) and the revised School Act of 1988 which allows for Native representation on public school boards. Input is still limited by the fact that the tuition agreements are still negotiated by D.I.A.N.D., rather than by the bands themselves (ibid). In some areas, bands may wish to maintain an option of off-reserve schooling to provide a wider range of schooling options. This will be dependent on the philosophy set by the community. However if this option is taken, the band may wish to look at what avenues are open to provide maximum band input into off-reserve schooling.

In the Northwest Territories in 1975, education became a Territorial rather than federal matter. (Patterson, 1986) This enables educational policy to be set in Yellowknife instead of Ottawa. Native peoples (Dene, Inuit, and Metis) make up 58% of the Territories' population. In 1988, a Native minister of education, Steve Kakfwi, was appointed (Benyk, 1988). Because of the substantial Native population in the Northwest Territories, Native people have been in a position to change schooling. Patterson, as Minister of Education of the N.W.T. states in his article (1986) that while he, as minister, is accountable to the legislature for the quality of education in his jurisdiction. Decisions affecting Native education are now being made more and more by elected community members, close to where Native education originally was, in the hands of the parents. In 1977, the Territorial Council passed a new Educational Ordinance providing for the legal rights of parents and children with regard to education (Patterson, 1986). This was a massive step from the not so distant days when children were taken against their will and the wishes of their parents, to distant boarding schools. Parents are finally acknowledged as having a right to have a say in the education of their children.

Parents, elders, and community members should be used as teachers, helpers and resource persons in the school. They should be role models, and active participants in the acculturation of their young (N.I.B. 1988). Elders and other

community members should especially be used as resource people and teachers in Native studies programs, cultural programs, spiritual teaching, Native language teaching, and in programs promoting self-esteem, personal well-being and substance abuse prevention. Elders may especially be used to maintain the tradition of oral history, and to acculturate the importance of quietly listening without questioning (Medicine, 1987). Native Trudie Lamb-Richmond (1986) talks about the role of elders and grandparents explaining that in tribal societies elders or grandparents hold a place of honor and respect in the community for their wisdom, knowledge and experience. She explains that they are a bridge to the past just as the young are the bridge to the future, and both are necessary to complete the circle of life. Grandparents have a special role in shaping children's values, and in teaching the young what their responsibilities are while they are growing up. This is done through stories, song and through watching. Lamb-Richmond decribes her experience with her grandmother's wonderful stories. As she grew up she realized that these same stories were packed with information which helped to shape her life.

Grandparents and children usually have a very close relationship in Native cultures. The child is taught to respect his or her grandparents; to listen to and obey them (Cuch, 1987). Grandparents are used today to deal with Native youth. When problems arise a child, especially a young teenager, may be sent to the grandparents. Schools can

benefit from allowing this special time to happen, even though school may be missed. Such a visit is a much more desirable, positive, action than suspending an offender from school.

Medicine, (1987) suggests that elders should not be exploited by the community, and should be paid for their services as are other teachers, a concept that is not without opposition within dominant society educational institutions. Administrators and teachers must evaluate the role of elders, being sure the elders are not being exploited, seeing that they are approached through proper channels, making sure the expectations and duties are explained before the elders come to the school and seeing that the cultural mandate is understood by all stakeholders. Teachers must be aware of the cultural milieu, so that elders are not put into a state of compliance responding to requests that contravene accepted cultural norms. In many Native cultures there are specific ways of asking elders to participate. Medicine (1987) indicates that elders might be better used to teach the teachers than the younger children. She quotes Vivian Ayoungman:

> People responsible for the hiring of older Indians as resource people make the mistake of merely putting them in a classroom with young children. The elders want to tell stories as they used to do but children are either too impatient to listen, or perhaps do not understand. An alternative would be for the elders to teach the teachers, not the children. The elders have valuable knowledge to pass on and have a lot to contribute to education. They should be as adequately paid as other teachers. (Ayoungman, 1975 in Medicine, 1987)

Non-Native teachers should be educated as to who is considered to be an elder, and as to the definition of an elder as held by the community. Arranging for elders to participate in schooling should be the role of proper community members, and not non-Native teachers.

Curriculum should be developed or chosen through the input of elders, cultural leaders, Native academics and frontline educators. The pedagogy applied in the school and the learning process should be critiqued through the community. Workshops should be given by community members to sensitize non-Native teachers to the culture and philosophy of the community. Only by comprehending the cultural background of a given contemporary Native community in which a school is embedded, can the social system within which that school must operate be understood, and all the actor's roles conceptualized (Medicine, 1987).

PEDAGOGY FOR GREATER CULTURAL COMPATIBILITY

Pedagogy may be defined as the art or science of teaching (Guralnik, 1987, Webster's New World Dictionary). Abercrombie, Hill, and Turner (1986) comment in their definition of pedagogical practice, that different practices are informed by different educational philosophies, assumptions about learning, the intellectual status of the child, teaching style, and curricula. Thus, pedagogies in

Native schools should reflect the philosophy of the community in regard to education, as well as being linked to expectations about the child, the teaching-learning process, and the curriculum to be used. Conservative or closed pedagogies see learning as the absorption of bodies of knowledge, the child's ability to learn as governed by heredity and environment, teachers as authorities whose job it is to control students, and curriculum as classroom knowledge the content of which is defined by the teacher (ibid). Open or progressive pedagogies see learning as a process, the child's mind as capable of development, teaching as guiding and facilitating, and curricula as determined by children's needs or interests. These progressive methods are child centred (ibid). Although progressive pedagogies have been advocated since the days of Dewey, teachers often find them threatening and revert to the traditional model of conservative pedagogy. Friere (1970) sees progressive pedagogy as having radical political implications because it emphasizes personal autonomy rather than social control. We can see that former models for Native education discussed in this thesis operated under conservative, closed pedagogical systems so that authority and control were maintained over Native people. Traditional pedagogy helps maintain the hidden curriculum and makes sure that any failure is attributable to the nature and ability of the child, rather than the failure of the system or the teacher. Pedagogy in Native schools must be open,

progressive and child-centred to be culturally compatible. It must be reciprocal and interaction oriented if it is to be enpowering (Cummins, 1986). If it is closed and conservative, it will be reproductive and oppressive as in the past, and Native students will continue to resort to passive resistance.

It is important that both Native and non-Native teachers show respect for, sensitivity to, and optimum cultural congruence to the cultural behaviors and values that children bring to school (N.I.B. 1988). For non-Native teachers this means understanding the culture of the Native home, and for Native teachers this means going back to their roots and interpreting how to use their teacher training in a creative, culturally-compatible way. They must endeavor to create a teaching style that is productive of Native society rather than reproductive of Anglo values. Dialogue must take place between Native and non-Native teachers. Non-Native teachers should not expect automatic feedback from their Native colleagues, as a cultural norm in most Native groups is a policy of non-interference. Trust must be built up between the two groups, and non-Native teachers must seek input and help from their Native colleges. In some instances there have been divisions between Native and non-Native staff members (King 1983) (Osbourne, 1989b). This must be avoided, so that Native educators can be effective in aiding a more culturally compatible type of pedagogy within Native schools.

Trust is the single most important element in the relationship between Native students and their teachers (Kehoe, 1984). The students wish to know and relate to their teacher as a person before they are comfortable in the learning situation. High priority should be placed on getting to know students and parents by name (ibid), as this is the first step in indicating a wish to enter into a relationship with another. This may be especially important for the substitute teacher, who may come into the class knowing no one. It may be helpful for regular teachers to engage the same substitute teacher whenever possible, so that a relationship may be established between the substitute and the class. Trust is concerned with the process of the Native person being and becoming a unique person, responsible for his or her own actions. The traditional Native "being and becoming" posture requires trust of self and others (Couture, 1987). Research by Kleinsfeld (1975) showed that effective teachers of Native students were those who were warm and open (as opposed to distant and professional) and had high expectations of the students. It is important for the teacher to answer questions about herself and her family openly and honestly. The students especially in the younger grades like to feel that they have a personal relationship with teachers; that they know and trust them. What teachers say must be congruent with their body language, as Native students decipher teachers' true feelings and emotions through body

language. In the same vein, the model that the teacher acts out will be more meaningful than what she says (Pepper, 1976). Children learn by observation and example, and distrust and confusion will result from "Do as I say, not as I do", or an artificial division of expectations between adults and students. For example if a teacher asks students to remove outdoor muddy footwear, she must be prepared to do the same. If teachers ask their students to clean up the room, they should help.

Native students are used to communicating through subtle body language, with each other and with adults. Much can be learned through awareness of non-verbal signals (Pepper, 1976) (Philips, 1972).

Teachers' expectations of and feelings for their students are thus easily communicated. High expectations bring the best results (Kleinsfeld, 1975). Teachers' expectations affect teacher behavior towards students, student behavior and student achievement. It also affects students' self-esteem and their sense of satisfaction (Rampaul et al, 1984). Students tend to become what we expect them to be: brats, less able or confident and empowered.

Native children need a flexible accommodating environment (Schulz and Bravi, 1986), an environment which is as congruent to the home as possible in the school setting. A pedagogical style congruent to that of traditional Native "education" and to the style of home will be most successful. A style which is authoritarian or power-

controlled will not be successful and will lead to power struggles, silence and other forms of passive resistance. Culturally compatible pedagogy allows students to be exploratory, self-reliant, self-directed and to develop self-discipline. Research by Erickson and Mohatt (1982) suggested that small differences in social relations could make big differences in the interactional ways children engage the content of school curriculum. Making small changes in everyday classroom participation structures allowed for more culturally-responsive pedagogy (ibid).

Humor and joking is appreciated by Native students and may be used for discipline or motivation in traditional culture (Severyn, 1983). Humor can be a useful tool in the Native classroom.

Self-esteem in the Native child is more effectively fostered by pedagogy than by a specific curriculum such as that described in the "quick fix" chapter. The Native child is either empowered by his classroom experiences, or debilitated. Native peoples today are seeking the sense of enpowerment that the rest of us are able to take for granted. The teacher helps the student to have a positive or a negative image of himself and his abilities. By trust, high expectations and by encouraging self-discipline, self-esteem is fostered. Allowing the students to make decisions reinforces and strengthens their decision-making roles. Older students should have an active voice in how their school is run. They should be encouraged in student

government and allowed to negotiate changes with the staff and school administration. They need to feel ownership of the school, that it is their school and not a foreign place where they must be subjected to outside authority. They must be given opportunities and models to learn leadership. Native teachers and community members in the school may act as effective role models.

Most Native children do not like rigidity or inflexible rules. They tend to respond positively to common sense guidelines and reasoning. They are open to changing their behavior when they see reason to do so. They are used to their opinions being important, as traditionally Native children are expected to make their own decisions by the age of eight years and may be given considerable independence by the age of twelve, (or in some groups at the onset of puberty) (Philips, 1972) (Cuch, 1987). Playing the role of an adult at home and a child at school may be very confusing to the Native child (Severyn, 1983). Teachers must be prepared to accept the fact that in the home children may be allowed to make their own decisions (Carnew, 1984). Children's wishes are respected, even when they involve choices in regard to schooling.

Related to child rearing and the non-restrictive approach of the home is the fact that many Native children regard non-interference as normal. As respect for individual dignity and personal autonomy are valued, youngsters are

taught not to interfere in the affairs of others (Pepper & Henry, 1986). Thus one has to be careful not to appear prying and not to engage in sermonizing, "constructive criticism" or unsolicited advice-giving especially when the relationship is casual, and the trust factor has not been established. On the other hand Native children, and especially Native adults are not likely to "set a person straight" when he or she reaches false conclusions, has misconceptions or shows lack of knowledge. A common response in such situations is evasion or non-response, because setting someone straight may cause that person embarrassment, threat, or lose of face (Saskatchewan Education, 1987). The unknowing teacher may perceive this courtesy as gameplaying. Compatible pedagogy does not put the student or parent into the position of "interference" (More, 1987) (Kehoe, 1984). Johnny may be uncomfortable when asked why his friend Billy is not at school or when he is asked to testify as an observer against a fellow student being disciplined for a playground scrap. It is considered inappropriate in many Native cultures to speak for someone else, even a child (Saskatchewan Education, 1987). Behavior is best influenced by appeals to a group rather than to an individual (Kehoe, 1984). In many traditional Native cultures one is not to evaluate others or make judgements on how they run their lives. Self-evaluation is stressed (Cuch, 1987) (Carnew, 1984).

Pedagogy should encourage cooperation rather than competition (Kehoe, 1984) (Severyn, 1983). It is considered wrong to show up one's peers, so fostering competitiveness tends to be a strategy doomed to failure. Many Native children enjoy working together and helping each other, so group goals are better than individual goals as motivators (Cuch, 1987) (Pepper, 1976) (Philips, 1972) (Carnew, 1984). Conflict is usually avoided in interpersonal relations as the emphasis is on the harmony of the group (Severyn, 1983).

Native children accept structure, but enjoy choices (Schultz & Bravi, 1986). This means the teacher may arrange assignments for older students giving a latitude of flexibility within structured alternatives. Totally open-ended assignments tend to be confusing. Thus teachers must provide structure within their classrooms, but at the same time must allow for flexibility and decision-making.

Because of the difference in the concept of time. Native students work best within a flexible time schedule (Pepper, 1976). They have difficulty with an absolute time schedule (Rohner, 1965). The right time for something in Native culture is when everyone is ready (Pepper, 1976). Thus older students may work best when operating on unit deadlines rather than daily deadlines. An example of a successful stategy is to post a list of assignments required for a unit. As each assignment is given it is added to the list. The list also contains student names and a space to check off assignments completed by each student. As assignments

are handed in they are checked off. Thus each student can see his or her progress as well as his or her responsibilities. The student can make decisions. If he wishes to go to a movie tonight, then he will have to catch up tomorrow. Work is accountable at the end of the unit. Since many Native cultures have a traditional ethic of self-reliance and individual responsibility (McCaskill, 1984), such systems allow a student to work comfortably within his own framework, rather than in daily lock steps set up by the teacher. This system allows flexibility for days missed for wakes, funerals, family problems, and cultural or religious events. It allows the students to work independently. It is also important however that work be shared, that group instruction and feedback be facilitated, and that the student does not just produce paper which is marked but never explained. Since Native children traditionally learn by observing, providing models is important. Such strategies can be used in connection with learning contracts, which allow the use of indirect management techniques compatible with traditional non-interference and parenting. Parents may often say to the child that something needs to be done, but may not expect compliance unless the child explicitly agrees. If an agreement is made, then the parent may reprimand the child if he fails to carry out the agreed-upon action (Kehoe, 1984). Efforts can be made to provide opportunities for students to determine their own learning

activities and to facilitate student learning objectives (ibid).

As Native philosophy is present oriented, (life is lived today, if tomorrow comes, it is a gift from the Creator) the future orientation of schooling is ineffective and not motivational (Cuch, 1987). Preparing for a future that may never come seems futile. In traditional learning something is learned when it is needed, and because it will be useful to know, so it is difficult for a student to see why he needs to learn something for which he sees no immediate need or in fact no need at all. A pedagogy that depends heavily on future-oriented motivation is doomed to failure. A successful pedagogy helps students to identify how material or knowledge may be useful to them. The study of government and how it works is vital to young people who in future will be dealing with all levels of government, as Native people continue to fight for a brighter, fairer future. Elijah Harper, Chief Omniak, Harold Erasmus and other leaders provide Native students with workable, believable models. Native students must be provided with the skills for future dealings with all levels of government. Studies must include the investigation of the workings of the band council, local government and the workings of the colonial system with which Native people still have to deal.

As Native thinking is holistic (Cuch, 1987), the approach to learning and timetabling must be holistic. In schools learning is broken up into subjects and periods. When a bell

rings we dash away from what we are doing in one area, and rush to another. Students rarely see the carry-over or inter-relatedness between subjects. Culturally compatible pedagogy would be interdisciplinary, without rigid, artificial divisions. It would acknowledge the completeness of the circle of life, the mental, the physical, the emotional and the spiritual (Rhodes, 1988). It would not require the child to leave his emotional and spiritual concerns at home, as it endeavors to educate the whole child, who is a being encompassing all of these elements. Such pedagogy might also acknowledge all stages of life and the need for a family-type environment. Older and younger children may learn together. Parents, grandparents, and children may do activities together within the school setting.

Response time and questioning are areas where pedagogy can be culturally incompatible. It is important for the teacher to allow adequate response time for students. Culturally, (for Native students) it is better to think before you speak than to speak before you think (Saskatchewan Education, 1987). A wise person can take time to think out an answer before he makes a reply to a question or makes a statement. A silence that is uncomfortable to an Anglo, is not so to a Native. Hurrying and prompting lead to confusion, anxiety and passive resistance. It gives the message that the teacher does not expect an answer, or feels that the student is unable to come up with an answer. Native

culture allows individuals to decide not to give an answer to a question with which they feel uncomfortable, and direct questions are considered inappropriate, especially if an immediate response is expected (ibid). Time is also needed because many Native students think in their own language, and therefore translation time is necessary. Traditional styles of communication within the Native community differ from Anglo styles. What is considered appropriate and polite is culturally conditioned. Although today's Native students have been exposed to both value systems, it is important for teachers within a Native community to be aware of the communication styles of Indian people and to be able to act and to interpret communication appropriately. Congruent pedagogy includes a sensitivity to communication styles.

Pedagogy is a most important element of this model and is related to all the other elements. Pedagogy describes how the teacher and the student will relate together and therefore is representative of the most personal side of this model. Each teacher has his or her own personality, and most successful pedagogy. The pedagogy that will work for each teacher will vary, just as the students will vary, but the teacher must search for a productive pedagogy that will work for her in a Native setting and that will be culturally compatible to the group being taught. For this reason administrators must recognize that styles may vary and reinforce styles that are successful. Parents and communities should not be afraid to inform the teacher when

the pedagogy is not congruent with the culture, and may be able to suggest more successful alternatives. When something does not work in the Native setting, the teacher must question the practice before he or she faults the students. It is through culturally-compatible pedagogy that Native and non-Native teachers can move away from a reproductive model to a productive one.

THE NATURE OF THE LEARNING PROCESS

The learning process includes how learning takes place, the learning environment, the role of the teacher, the role of the learner, and considerations for the training of teachers, including inservice training. Because of the holistic and interactive nature of the model, some of the elements overlap with pedagogical considerations. The previous section has already discussed how the teacher can set up an effective learning atmosphere through cultural sensitivity. In keeping with traditional Native ways, the physical nature of the learning environment is also important. Stiff rigid classroom arrangements are less desirable than more informal arrangements. The circle is a traditional seating arrangement. It provides for all to be equal and for no one to have his back to another. Students should be able to move about in the process of learning. For example, the "work centres" approach provides choices, flexibility and allows for movement. A flexible,

accommodating classroom environment is favored by Native students (Schulz & Bravi, 1986). Cooperative projects such as group reports are productive (Philips, 1972). The teacher standing within the class is perceived as less threatening and more participation encouraging than the teacher standing in front of the class (ibid). Native students are more willing to communicate within small groups than in front of the whole class.

Standardized testing and learning styles must be re-examined in the light of the problems denoted in the "quick fix" chapter. Learning should be based on areas of strength Native people tend to exhibit on such tests as the WISC-R (spatial-perceptual skills) rather than on areas which test consistently below Anglo norms (verbal skills) (Bowd 1977). MacArthur, in Bowd (1977) suggests that we consider fitting the job to the person, rather than the person to the job, thus suggesting that we consider those things that Native children come to school doing best, and build on those. Schooling would be adjusted to maximize the present intellectual potential. This also suggests that rather than predominantly verbal interaction, communication by gesture and movement be a part of the pedagogy. (Bowd, 1977). Since Native children and young adults consistently show a pattern of average to high performance I.Q.'s and lower verbal I.Q.'s this may be considered a norm for Native students (Common & Frost, n.d.). However caution must be taken in this matter as neither the performance I.Q. or verbal scale

has been found to be an accurate predictor of academic achievement for Native children (ibid). Full scale scores should never be used as a predictor for Native students, and the WISC-R now commonly used is considered not to be a valid instrument for measuring Native intelligence (ibid). There is a need for research towards a more effective way to test the intelligence of Native students. We must also be careful that if new instruments are developed, they do not measure acculturation to the Anglo system, rather than intelligence and potential. Present tests reflect skills and capabilities which are reflective, adaptive and relevant to the white society. They are not necessarily adaptive and relevant to the Native way of life (ibid). Because of the traditional learning of the home, examined earlier in this thesis, many Native children come to school with the ability to learn through observation and imitation, and with little experience with the use of language to communicate intent, expectations, and goals. They have experienced language mainly as a tool for clarification. The learning process in early school years should reflect this, endeavoring to build on the developed processes which the child brings to school. New tests should be developed, if standardize tests are indeed necessary, which would be constructed to be reliable and relevant for Native children, and would show themselves to be good predictors for real life performance within the Native culture and Native school systems (ibid). Although in the future it might seem appealing to totally do away with

such testing, in the interim, children are likely to be tested, and thus work needs to be done in this area. The Spindlers (1989) raises some interesting questions on the validity of testing situations in Native classrooms. Their work suggests that few young Native children understand the importance of tests and do not understand the implications of doing poorly. Anglo students who have been reinforced by the home about the importance of test-taking may have an advantage over Native students. New directions will have to be considered. These directions will be determined by the philosophy of the community, and the evaluation deemed desirable.

The work of Deyhle (1983) with Navaho students suggests that teachers in Native communities need to examine students' perceptions of tests. This concern is echoed by the Spindlers (1989) from their work with Native and other minority children. The demands and the long term results of test-taking are not understood by many minority children, or indeed their parents (ibid). If tests are used as a form of measurement, children from some traditional or isolated families may not understand the importance of displaying individal knowledge on a test. Dehyle (1983) maintains that younger children often see tests as means to rewards such as stars, or stickers while older students see a test as being a factor towards promotion. The students, especially the younger students in her study, generally failed to understand the seriousness or purpose of tests. This is

especially a problem in integrated situations where Anglo students have been coached at home by parents and siblings as to the significance of doing well on tests. Native students who do not take tests "seriously" may be disadvantaged. Those students who only learn to value high performance on tests at an older age, often have fallen behind in school. Being that many Native groups value co-operation over competition, there are some built-in problems with testing situations. If testing is to be done, then students must be educated to test-taking, or the results will not be representive of achievement or ability (ibid). Care must be taken to assure that the students' perception of test-taking matches that of the teacher. Communities must take a close look at testing and the philosophy of testing operative within their school systems. As the whole question of testing is being examined in the educational community at large, it is a factor that cannot be overlooked in the Native setting.

The learning styles research can be useful within the model as long as the concerns cited in the discussion of "quick fixes" are addressed. Care should be taken to effect a connection between teaching style and dominant learning style, considering that many Native students are found to be visual, global learners who tend to use imagery over verbal clues. Similarities exist within cultures based on environment and background (More, 1987) and differences may exist between Native groups. There must also be an

expectation for individual differences within a given group. Learning style testing and theory can be used to discover dominant learning styles within a group, to effect teacher-learner match and to provide for individual differences. Approximately 23% of submissions to the inquiry into First Nations Education (N.I.B. 1988) indicated a positive impact on student achievement in classrooms where instructional methods had been altered to suit the learning stategies of Native children. As many teachers have difficulty teaching outside their natural learning style, consideration should be given during selection processes to teaching styles that best accommodate Native learning. Kleinsfeld's work (1975) points out the teacher compatibility factor. Research shows that many teachers are auditory, analytical, verbal and prone to trial and error learning. Since this is Anglo - traditional this type of person has succeeded in the present school system. Teachers with styles more appropriate to Native learners will be more comfortable in Native classrooms and more likely to facilitate a comfortable learning style for Native children.

Findings from successful Native schools indicate that a holistic approach to education is a factor in Native students' learning. This approach accentuates the simultaneous processing of information into a whole. The cultural influence tends to support the synthesis of various of separate elements of information into a group in order to facilitate comprehension. Each factor is seen as part of the

whole. Anglo schooling often facilitates the breaking down of material into its component elements, each of which is synthesized individually, before the whole is considered (N.I.B. 1988).

The role of the teacher and the role of the learner must be examined in this model. The work of Klink (1989) is significant in this area. She examines the social construction of knowledge, and tells us that the learning process involves linking prior knowledge to new knowledge within a social context. This suggests again the importance of some common background between the teacher and the learner, and the necessity of building on the strengths and knowledge with which the child comes to school. If the child does not have a background of information to which to link new knowledge, then what is learned will exist in isolation and is unlikely to be owned, to be remembered or to be useful to the learner. Learning must be subjective. The teacher must assume the attitude of a learner (ibid) and must be ready to learn all she can from and about her students. She must be willing to learn from unsuccessful experiences and have a willingness to look beyond her previous experience. Trust must be engendered. The goal within the student-centred classroom should be one of empowerment of the learner (ibid). Self-esteem will be a product of this empowerment. Teachers also need to be empowered by administrators, the community and government to facilitate the enactment of the social reality Native people

deem appropriate for Native children. Curriculum should be child-centred and is understood to mean the totality of experiences offered to the learners. These experiences will take place not only in the classroom but in play areas and in the community at large. Thus it is important in this process that teachers interact and learn with students outside the confines of the classroom (ibid). The teacher who leaves the community after school each day and/or does not participate in the larger events of the whole community will have problems in this process (King, 1983). The greater the shared experience, the more meaningful the learning process.

The last area to be considered in the model in regard to the learning process is the training of teachers to work within Native communities. One of the key issues is increasing the Native teacher base, and establishing teacher training programs that can easily be accessed by Native people. Two problems that must be overcome in many communities are academic qualifications and the necessity of Native people relocating to urban centres to access teacher training programs. Programs such as those at Blue Quills, Old Sun College, and Muskwachees College, have been set up to bring teacher education to reserves. Modified, local programs range from orientation semesters, to full three year community-controlled specialized programs (More, 1980). Many programs are significantly altered to include Native studies and have a reserve based component. More's study

finds these to be the most successful. He finds that the more Indianness in the program the more likely the program is to produce the desired results. If Native teachers attend a typical teacher training program at a major university they will emulate the reproductive education system. Programs must be specialized to prepare teachers (both Native and non-Native) for Native schools. Programs should have a Native studies component, including a study of contemporary issues, and must also have a course dealing with the history of Native education, and the problems that history has engendered for Native people and Native students today. A course should be included to raise sensitivity to the special needs of Native students, to explore compatible pedagogy, and to enable students to face the complex realities of working within a Native community. Student teaching should take place within the Native community, and practicum advisors should council students who have problems relating to the Native community out of the program. These programs must be recognized as a major area of study, and as they become well established, Native schools hiring non-Native inexperienced teachers should demand that teachers be graduates of such programs. Following are the goals set out by the University of Lethbridge for its specialized (major) program in Native education:

> 1. Training Native people to become educators known for their excellence and capable of working in any school system in Canada.

> 2. Training both Native and non-Native people to become particularly sensitive to the special needs of Native children and the complex realities of working in Native communities.
>
> 3. Insuring the overall direction and management of the program as well as the style of delivery, is rooted in the Native perspective, students are afforded the opportunity to explore the professional implications of their own heritage.
>
> 4. Improving the quality of education for Native people of all ages through special community-based research and development projects as well as through special workshops, seminars, and conferences aimed at stimulating innovative educational action for and by Native people. (Brochure, the University of Lethbridge Native Education Program, as quoted in Mazurek, 1988 p.86).

Courses in Native history, heritage and contemporary issues are not enough, although they are a start. This type of course needs to be complemented by courses exploring the points represented in this model, and courses which would raise awareness toward the reproductive Anglo nature of traditional schooling, and allow for innovations towards a more productive form of Native schooling. These courses may best be taught by Native academics where such people are available. All universities in Western Canada need to include extensive Native education programs. At present this is left to selected universities which specialize in these areas. When universities in close proximity to reserves do not offer an extensive Native education program, Native student teachers attending such universities will not have the optimum training, and we will continue to turn out non-

Native teachers who will be ill-equipped to work in Native schools. This will perpetuate the historic situation, and many teachers will leave Native classrooms disillusioned as they fail to survive in situations for which they were ill prepared. If the current research into Native learning were to be made available to all students considering work on a reserve, then the bridge between theory and reality would be more effective. Jordan states:

> There is a need for making teachers aware of different teaching styles appropriate for indigenous people and also the different "worlds" of indigenous people and the role that teachers may play in enabling the "reality definers" of a particular group to articulate and project theorizing about schooling with which teachers and students may appropriately act. (Jordan, 1985 p. 46)

This connects back to considerations for philosophy and pedagogy. Introducing foreign cultural elements risks reifying these elements and puts what is learned outside the daily lived experience of the children. It also separates children and parents, by providing children with a different background than that possessed by the parents. For this reason it is important for teachers new to a cultural group to take part in an inservice orientation to that group, which should happen prior to the beginning of the teaching assignment, (N.I.B., 1988) and should be supplemental to the university program. The National Indian Brotherhood declaration of 1988 states:

> In situations where non-First Nations teachers are hired to teach First Nations students, such

> teachers must be required to take courses and inservice training in cultural studies (N.I.B., 1988 Vol. 2 p. 113)

CURRICULUM AND PROGRAM

One of the areas which must be given consideration in the model is that of curriculum. The present curriculum is reproductive of Anglo society and a tendency may exist in many educators to ignore the facts, discoveries or beliefs about the learning of Native people and rely on that which is comfortable, traditional of schooling, and familiar (Foreman, 1987). Native communities and the teachers employed in them may need to give careful consideration to the curriculum to be used and the program to be delivered. Curriculum must mirror Native life and views. Knowledge cannot be separated from culture, and the transmission of knowledge is part of culture (Wilkinson, 1982). What constitutes sound curricula in any community must be determined by the members of that community; the elders, the parents and the children themselves (Fenton, 1988). Ideally curriculum should be written by members of the group being educated, in order to be as relevant as possible. When this is not possible, effort should be made to use Native authored materials. Non-Native materials used must be closely scrutinized and Native control over the development of curricula to be used in Native schools is seen as necessary (N.I.B., 1988). Values and experiences portrayed

should be compatible with Native culture and Native experience. If they are not, the teacher must be sure to explain, and interpret. If communities choose to follow provincial curricula, teachers must be prepared to make "foreign" material meaningful. Even though Romeo and Juliet is set in Italy, many Native students have experienced family feuds, and could be led to look at modern day parallels. Native and non-Native teachers can look for ways to interpret materials to be studied in the light of Native experience.

Reforms in Social Studies textbooks and curricula have been explored earlier in this thesis. Much work still needs to be done (O'Neil, 1987) (Charles, 1989). This process must continue and more Native material must be inserted into the provincial curriculum to enhance Native pride, re-interpret events from an unbiased perspective, and to expose non-Native children not only to Native history and heritage, but also to present-day Native culture and Native issues. Many Native cultural classes and social studies curricula persist in showing only the feather and beads, moccasin and teepee aspect of Indian culture (McCaskill, 1984). Viewed this way, Native culture becomes a collection of heritage objects and rituals quite apart from the vitality and symbolism they represent within cultural contexts. Such studies concentrate on the past and thus give the impression that Indian culture is static, rather than dynamic, changing and to be understood within the framework of Native people's present

world views, belief systems and changing way of life (ibid). Native people have many concepts and beliefs from which the world at large could benefit. These include awareness of the oneness of all of creation and thus respect for all living things, democracy, self-reliance and the concept of decisions by consensus. These kinds of contributions, can be shared in curriculum so that Native children can learn how much their people have to give, and will develop positive self-esteem.

Plains tradition refutes the Anglo idea of work as an end in itself and success as measured by accumulation of material goods for personal gain. This should be considered and an effort should be made to insure that what is to be learned is meaningful and that its use is self-evident. Curriculum which promotes a future-use orientation to learning fails to motivate Native students, who have traditionally learned things only when the need to learn them is evident and the use eminent. When Anglo curricular materials show the sanctity of individual ownership, efforts can be made by the teacher to interpret value differences. Especially with young children, a curriculum which presents values which conflict with those of the home may be confusing and stressful for the child.

Both the modern world and the Native world are important to many Native people today. Native spokespersons Bellrose, Thrasher, and Amy are engaged in sponsoring Native cultural

awareness workshops throughout the country. They are reported in McCaskill (1984) as explaining:

> Today Indian people are becoming part of a modern, professional and technological world. New Native lifestyles are emerging that call for new skills, new jobs, new awareness and new roles. A new wind is blowing across Indian country. But the new wind has a brother - the old wind, a wind rich in heritage, knowledge and tradition. This wind contains the principles of the unique Native character. It also contains the wisdom of the Elders. This wind continues to provide balance, meaning and guidance for successful healthy living. These winds blow together. We must learn from them both. (Bellrose, Thrasher & Amy in McCaskill 1984 p. 21.)

Curricula and programs for today's Native children may need to reflect the strengths of the two winds.

The events of the summer of 1990 including the stand-off at Oka and Native activism across Canada may insure that non-Native children will become aware of the issues facing Native communities today. Native children, through the media, will continue to have exposure to Native leaders throughout the country as the impetus to solve outstanding grievances becomes impossible to ignore.

English and language arts programs may be designed to utilize Native authors' works, as more and more Native people contribute to a written tradition. Extensive use may be made of the oral tradition. Native people will continue to write of their own experiences, Native issues, or to contribute to Native fiction which will help Native children to interpret their own life experiences. Exposure to the writing and thoughts of other Native people will help Native

children to understand themselves, and develop their self-esteem and identity as Native persons.

Care must be taken if non-Natives are to interpret or write Native curriculum. Most of the work that has been done to date has been in the areas of Social Studies. Non-Natives cannot purport to write "from a Native point of view" (Moore-Eyman, 1984). Curriculum writers, Native, or non-Native must consider that much secondary source material is the product of the writings and photographic records of non-Natives (ibid). No person should attempt to write resource materials on local topics without the proper consent of local authorities. This is especially important when taking information from a strictly oral tradition. Only those who are authorized by the band and the source (elders) should work with materials other than those that are in the public domain. Great sensitivity must be shown in these areas. Primary source material from elders and community members must be carefully interpreted. This is best done by community members. Trends will continue to favor materials produced by Native peoples themselves.

Many bands are producing Native language and cultural materials. Such projects enable communities to produce cultural and language materials in a permanent written form. In other communities this may be deemed undesirable in the light of the oral tradition (ibid). Many band-initiated language and cultural programs are already under way.

Recent research has shown that first language programs are important. Native children coming to school with a Native language as a first language need to be reinforced in the first language. A former model advocated totally immersing a student in English (as a second language) upon his entry into school. Cummins (1987) found the results of such programs were that the student often ended up deficient in both languages. Cummins (1981) found that there was a strong connection between ancestral language instruction and achievement in English and other areas. He proposed a "common underlying proficiency model" which purported that experience in either language increases the common language proficiency, assuming that the person is motivated to learn both languages and has exposure to both languages in and out of school. Thus Native language classes may indeed facilitate the proficiency in English as well as in the Native language (Cummins in Brant and Ayoungman, 1989). Collier (as reported in Brant & Ayoungman, 1989) obtained similar findings and showed that a child's continued development of a first language between the ages of 4 - 12 significantly improved his or her cognitive - academic proficiency in the second language. First languages may need to be updated; that is, new words created for objects for which there are no traditional words (like computer). Languages change and grow and new words can be created, rather than using English words, for new concepts (Brant & Ayoungman, 1989). Materials may have to be created in some

languages groups, but this is feasible and is being done by many bands. Verna Kirkness was commissioned by Secretary of State in 1988, to examine whether an Aboriginal Languages Institute should be established and if so to recommend a model for such an institute. Her findings suggested that there was a need to provide a mechanism that would provide the necessary funds for community language initiatives (Kirkness, 1989). The availability of such funding should enable more communities to develop Native language programs and curricula locally.

Language is linked to culture, and culture to self-identity and thus self-esteem. Kirkness states:

> The return to culture has brought with it feelings of self-worth derived from a knowledge of the strength and virtues of many aboriginal peoples. Self-worth is reinforced through the observance of traditional philosophies, values and practices in everyday life. Once this has been achieved, Aboriginal people successfully participate not only in their advancement, but as participants in the social, cultural, economic, and political life of the country in general.
>
> The current state of Aboriginal languages of Canada is indicative of the erosion of the culture over the years. Language is regarded as an integral part of culture. Language is culture and culture is language. Language is the principal means by which culture is accumulated, shared and transmitted from generation to generation. The key to the identification and the retention of culture is one's ancestral language. (Kirkness, 1989 p.28.)

Thus the development of Native language programs and cultural programs is of utmost importance to the health of the community and to the self-esteem and identity of the

students. Of 53 distinct Aboriginal languages in Canada, three (Cree, Ojibway and Inuktitut) are well established. The remaining are moderately endangered, with several on the brink of extinction (Kirkness, 1989). Thus for the two major reasons of language proficiency and cultural and language retention, this model advocates the teaching and speaking of Native languages within the school.

Cultural materials should be current, and not just heritage-oriented. Cultural programs will vary with the community. Traditional skills and lifestyles may be more viable in Northern areas than in more populated Southern areas. While hunting and trapping may still be viable in the North, the buffalo have long since left the plains.

Within band schools which prepare students for provincial exams special modified programs may be necessary for some students to catch up on deficiencies that prohibit their entry into a regular high school program. Alternative high schools and projects have been explored. Project 99 at Morley Community School offers a modified junior high school program to over-aged, underachieving students. It is based on a similar program at Ponoka Junior High. The program mandates low enrollment, computer assisted learning, individualized programs and the direction of one core teacher (Morley Community School, April 1989). The goals of the program are to increase the student's skill levels to those required for high school entry, and to enable the students to gain confidence in their abilities through

experiencing success in learning (ibid). One of the predictors of the success of the program may be the cultural compatibility of the curricular materials used, as many students enter such programs because they have been victims of language and cultural differences within the former learning experiences. These former experiences have often led to poor attendance and a self-defeating cycle of failure.

Individualized learning programs have been injected into many Native classrooms. These allow students to progress at their own rate, and compensate for time lost for family problems or such events as funerals. They also create problems as they do not foster co-operative learning and socialization. Often the student completes the work, hands it in and it is marked and handed back without significant feedback. The student never benefits from the corporate input of a peer's or a teacher's ideas. These materials are often American in origin, and so have an added alien quality. Many students in such programs may be going through the motions without true meaningful learning taking place. To be well used, close monitoring and evaluation must take place. The advantage of the student being able to advance at his own pace and to move on when he is ready to do so is culturally congruent, however close attention may need to be paid to balancing out the lack of interaction and socialization in the learning process.

Cultural survival schools have been set up in some areas as alternatives to Anglo-traditional schooling. Native language studies and cultural studies are a major part of the curriculum. They are to provide students with an affirmation of their traditional and spiritual roots. These schools are designed to socialize Native children into a redefined Indian history, culture and reality as interpreted on a reserve today (McCaskill, 1984). Bands may wish to use this survival school model, and incorporate some of its elements into their band schools. Other bands may feel that traditional areas taught in survival schools are better taught outside of the school within the community. Decisions must be made as to what is to be taught in the school and what is best taught within the community. There would appear to be a need for holistic curriculum; curriculum that does not break things into artificial segments, curriculum which respects the wholeness of life. Such curriculum could accommodate the emotional and spiritual along with the physical and mental. It would emphasize the interrelatedness of knowledge and negate the teaching of "subjects" in 45 minute time segments. Native people may explore ways to make curriculum more creatively "Native".

Promising curriculum is being developed at the University of Lethbridge, under the Four Worlds program. Major portions of this curriculum are directed at self-esteem and addiction prevention, but the curriculum is holistic in nature and relates to Native culture, Native beliefs and Native

spirituality. One of the stongest components is a program for adult education (Bop, Bop & Lane, 1984). A kit aimed at Junior High students is entitled The Sacred Tree. It is available in grade level or "easy reading" versions. Another program is aimed at non-Native students and is entitled Images of Indians (Bop, 1989). Such work could be expanded to give a Native approach to science, literature, and health as well as to social studies and basic language arts. There are some new Native curricula that have been developed in Canada, but many efforts only involve inserting Native content into existing studies. There is more work to be done if curriculum is to be culturally compatible, relevant and holistic.

EVALUATION

Evaluation provides a means of seeing if schooling is doing what the Native community requires of it. The guidelines for evaluation come from the community and the goals and expectations they set in their philosophy. Sometimes Native communities will also want to measure how their children are doing in comparison to the rest of society, particularly if programs are such that children are using provincial curriculum or are required to write provincial diploma exams in order to enter post-secondary institutions. Parents and community members need to be actively involved with evaluating schooling just as they are

involved with setting the philosophy, establishing the goals, and directing all of the other elements of the model. The users need to be the prime evaluators. Terms of reference for evaluation will be directly evolved from the expressed mission of the schooling and the goals set by the community.

Several questions need to be posed in the area of evaluation. The first addresses validity. Does the evaluation measure what the community and the stakeholders want it to measure? The second addresses reliability. Does the evaluation constantly measure what it proposes to measure? The third addresses the nature of the evaluation: the model used, the makeup of the evaluation team, the techniques, and methods used to solicit information, the terms of reference set up and by whom they are set up, the presence or absence of recommendations, whether request for evaluation came from the community or from an outside body, who is financing the evaluation (Hebert, 1987) and if evaluation is of a formal or informal nature.

The community and the school should have a conscious choice of evaluation models and methods (Hebert, 1987). They should inform themselves of the options and look at the purpose to be served. Choices have to be negotiated among the stakeholders. Evaluators need to be carefully selected and terms of reference set. This must be done within the community. This is necessary for local control or "Indian control of Indian education". The value postures of the

evaluators and the stakeholders must be recognized and dealt with. Judgements and standards are value-based, and since values are culturally conditioned, judgements can be made and standards set only by knowledgeable persons who are accepted members of the cultural group being evaluated, or failing this by evaluators that have had appropriate experience within the culture, and who are selected or approved by the particular cultural group being evaluated (Hebert, 1987). Thus non-Native evaluators need to be positively disposed towards Native people and Native education. University faculty members may be used as principal evaluators. There are Native academics who could be used in this role or if such people are not available, then university faculty members from Native Education programs might be considered (ibid). There are also Native consultants who might be considered by the community. Since it is important that the evaluators are acting to evaluate on the bases of the goals and philosophy set down by the community, Hebert (1987) suggests a shift to a participatory evaluation model. This means that evaluators must be educated in the evaluation process, and that it is important to stress the need for Native people themselves to become the evaluators. This may imply that it becomes the job of the universities to become the evaluator trainers, especially of principal evaluators who Hebert assumes will have a university education.

The question is posed as to whether internal stakeholders can be the evaluators. Hebert, (1987) maintains they can. Certainly as goal formulators they may have the best idea how or if their goals are being met. It is especially important that Native curricula and Native language programs be evaluated by Native people.

Much school evaluation includes description, judgement and negotiation. Evaluation must be made of student progress, teaching, and program and material effectiveness (Pepper, 1976). Evaluation can encompass written, oral and experiencial forms. Students can be evaluated in group work as well as by individual achievement. Assessments may be informal, based on observations, feed-back, or students' performance on given tasks (Schulz & Bravi, 1986). If teachers have been hired with clearly stated expectations of community participation and cultural sensitivity, then they may be evaluated on these grounds. Teachers in Native communities should expect to be evaluated not just on their teaching skills, but on their particular skills for teaching Native children. Those who find that they cannot teach in a fashion compatible to Native classes should be encouraged to move into Anglo settings. Evaluation is essential for developing competency among staff. This evaluation can also indicate areas where further training or professional development are needed (N.I.B. 1988).

It is dangerous to make evaluation rely only on quantitative research. With the development of new programs,

more compatible pedagogy and learning stategies, there is a need for the development of appropriate evaluation procedures (Carnew, 1984) (N.I.B. 1988). We can not evaluate culturally-compatible programs with culturally-incompatible tools. Any measurements made must be normed to the culture being measured. It is no longer considered to be acceptable just to measure Native children on the Canadian Test of Basic Skills. These tests have proved inaccurate when normed with a different cultural population. (The validity of testing has been fully explored earlier in this thesis.) Only when the tests have been normed within the cultural group being tested should they be considered to have any extent of reliability. Modifications in tests may also be made to accommodate equality for Native and other minority groups. Such modifications include time extention, omission of test items, substitution of test items, and rewording of questions or phrases (Kehoe, 1984). Kehoe goes further to suggest that assessments (such as placement assessments) should be conducted in the student's native or dominant language and should include how well the student speaks, expresses and processes ideas, and (where appropriate) reads and writes in his/her own language.

Program evaluation is of the utmost importance. Many programs have been ineffective, but little has been done to find out why. That is one of the reasons that Native education has had so many quick fixes that haven't worked and that have been left by the wayside. It is important to

evaluate programs so that bands may learn from each other and so that communication can be set up indicating what new programs have been tried and what the results have been.

It is also important to evaluate Native teacher training. Recipients of such programs should be asked to evaluate the program and to describe its ability to make them effective in Native classrooms.

How the evaluation will take place is also important. The evaluators may decide to use interviews or to utilize questionnaires. Again cultural sensitivity is important. How and where parents and other community members are approached may influence the results. The evaluation should be done within accepted cultural norms. Consideration must be given, when questionnaires are given out independent of an interview process, to the fact that some community adults do not read fluently in English.

The National Indian Brotherhood declaration of 1988, mandates the establishment of data banks by First Nations. These banks would include statistics on school enrollments, student achievement, staff, resources, facilities and post-secondary participation rates. These banks would provide information needed by First Nations in planning and implementing sound policies, and evaluating the effectiveness and efficiency of local, regional and national programs (N.I.B. 1988)

Every effort needs to be made for evaluation to reinforce productive rather than Anglo-reproductive schooling. This

means that bands must take extreme care to select evaluators who are sensitive to the schooling developed by the culture. Sending in a team of external evaluators may result in misconceptions and invalid evaluation.

Formal evaluation as discussed above may be threatening and painful. It is however, enabling, if used sensitively. Informal evaluation is less threatening and may be very useful. Communication, and feedback on programs and schooling may enable Native educators to react to the perceptions of the community. Teachers, parents, students, and community members may be given frequent opportunities to evaluate what is happening in band schools.

Evaluation must include consideration of all the elements in the model, including evaluation itself. Each element can be considered and progress monitored toward making Native schooling instrumental, (as described by Bowd, 1977) and productive of Native culture.

CONCLUSION

The model presented is an attempt to present an analysis of the best of what we know about Native education today. It is necessarily an interim model, based on the present situation in which there are still many non-Native actors in the Native education senario. The proposed model is aimed towards more complete involvement and complete control by Native people over Native education. Thus this model is

transitional and will eventually be replaced by a model derived from and contrived by Native people.

At present there are several constraints to the full implementation of this model and future Native-authored constructs. These include:

1. Present legislation such as the Indian Act which hinders the exercise of self-government and true band control of education.
2. Continued paternalism towards First Nations by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development and the Canadian Government.
3. Lack of full fiscal and operational control over education and educational programs at the band level. First Nations need to be able to determine the extent of need for resources and the allocation of resources to various programs.
4. The lack of specially trained Native and non-Native personnel, as outlined in this thesis.

These factors aside, the concepts in this model can be applied within a holistic model in Native classrooms today, in an effort towards a more culturally compatible model for Native education.

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