



National Library
of Canada

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services Branch

Direction des acquisitions et
des services bibliographiques

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa, Ontario
K1A 0N4

395 rue Wellington
Ottawa (Ontario)
K1A 0N4

1982-1983

1982-1983

NOTICE

The quality of this microform is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.

Reproduction in full or in part of this microform is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30, and subsequent amendments.

AVIS

La qualité de cette microforme dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.

La reproduction, même partielle, de cette microforme est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30, et ses amendements subséquents.

Canada

Beaver Lodge School: A Case Study in
Indian Control of Indian Education

Bryan Cummins

A Thesis
in
The Department
of
Education

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Master of Arts at
Concordia University
Montréal, Québec, Canada

© Bryan Cummins, 1986



National Library
of Canada

Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services Branch

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa, Ontario
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Direction des acquisitions et
des services bibliographiques

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa (Ontario)
K1A 0N4

Vous êtes votre référence

Vous êtes votre référence

THE AUTHOR HAS GRANTED AN
IRREVOCABLE NON-EXCLUSIVE
LICENCE ALLOWING THE NATIONAL
LIBRARY OF CANADA TO
REPRODUCE, LOAN, DISTRIBUTE OR
SELL COPIES OF HIS/HER THESIS BY
ANY MEANS AND IN ANY FORM OR
FORMAT, MAKING THIS THESIS
AVAILABLE TO INTERESTED
PERSONS.

L'AUTEUR A ACCORDE UNE LICENCE
IRREVOCABLE ET NON EXCLUSIVE
PERMETTANT A LA BIBLIOTHEQUE
NATIONALE DU CANADA DE
REPRODUIRE, PRETER, DISTRIBUER
OU VENDRE DES COPIES DE SA
THESE DE QUELQUE MANIERE ET
SOUS QUELQUE FORME QUE CE SOIT
POUR METTRE DES EXEMPLAIRES DE
CETTE THESE A LA DISPOSITION DES
PERSONNE INTERESSEES.

THE AUTHOR RETAINS OWNERSHIP
OF THE COPYRIGHT IN HIS/HER
THESIS. NEITHER THE THESIS NOR
SUBSTANTIAL EXTRACTS FROM IT
MAY BE PRINTED OR OTHERWISE
REPRODUCED WITHOUT HIS/HER
PERMISSION.

L'AUTEUR CONSERVE LA PROPRIETE
DU DROIT D'AUTEUR QUI PROTEGE
SA THESE. NI LA THESE NI DES
EXTRAITS SUBSTANTIELS DE CELLE-
CI NE DOIVENT ETRE IMPRIMES OU
AUTREMENT REPRODUITS SANS SON
AUTORISATION.

ISBN 0-612-01376-6

Canada

ABSTRACT

Beaver Lodge School: A Case Study in Indian Control of Indian Education

Bryan Cummins

Indian control of Indian education is a relatively recent phenomenon. Based upon rejection of conventional Euro-Canadian education systems, it is, by Eisnerian definition, a Social Adaptation and Reconstruction orientation. This particular approach aims at identifying and coping with perceived social ills.

Indian control of Indian education states that Native parents know what type of education is best for their children; ergo, the two underlying tenets are parental control and local responsibility. Band run schools are the community-level manifestations of Indian control. In the last fifteen years nearly 200 such schools have emerged.

Since Indian education rejects the conventional philosophy, principles, and cultural underpinnings of Euro-Canadian education, one cannot apply the same evaluative criteria to an Indian run school. One must examine the school using its own standards. This study considers one band run school based upon the concept of Indian control of Indian education. The school is evaluated in terms of its philosophy and objectives and the degree to which these are implemented. After examining the theory and practice of the school, recommendations are suggested which should help the school meet its stated objectives.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to acknowledge the teaching staff and principal of Beaver Lodge School for their ideas and concerns, and for their support and encouragement. I owe Apri Hamalian, my thesis supervisor, my gratitude and thanks. Finally, my thanks to Martine Bell for typing the final manuscript.

DEDICATION

To the students and teaching staff of Beaver Lodge School.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter One: Statement of the Problem	1
Chapter Two: Conceptual Framework	5
Chapter Three: Case Study Context: History of Native Education in Canada	16
Chapter Four: Methodology	35
Chapter Five: The School In Its Environment	44
Chapter Six: Beaver Lodge School and the Algonquin Philosophy of Education	70
Chapter Seven: Conclusions and Recommendations	168
Appendix 1: Conceptual Framework	176
Appendix 2: Organizational Flowchart - Beaver Lodge School - 1983-1984	177
Appendix 3: Organizational Flowchart - Beaver Lodge School - 1984-1985	178
Appendix 4: Beaver Lodge School - Power and Authority - Family A - The McKenzies	179
Appendix 5: Beaver Lodge School - Power and Authority - Family B - The Simards	180
Appendix 6: Family Representation in the School	181
Bibliography	182

It is apparent from both a Native and non-Native perspective that Indian education has not been as beneficial to Indian people as it might have been. Historically, one may perceive three major factors responsible for this condition: the attitudes and philosophical bent of white educators; a curriculum that is steeped in white, middle class values; and the Indian value and belief system, the fundamentals of which are reflected in their perspectives and orientations towards education.

The literature is replete with statistics attesting to Native performance in the educational system. Only 12 per cent of Native students are in the same age grade as their white counterparts. On average Native students are about two and a half years older than their white class mates (Frideres, 1983: 182, 183). In 1976, close to 80% of the Canadian school age population completed high school; amongst Natives it was approximately one quarter that figure (Frideres, 1983: 164). In Quebec (the province of our study) in the same year 26.6% of registered Indians completed Grade 11, a figure slightly above the national Indian average (Siggner, Locatelli, & Larocque, 1982: 37). Understandably, these elementary and secondary school statistics are reflected in post secondary enrolments. In 1975, for example, only 5% of the 18-24 age group for Natives were enrolled in university compared to approximately 12 1/2% for non-Natives (Frideres, 1983: 171).

The general overall plight of Native people is encapsulated in the observation that "...the Native people have been described as the most economically deprived groups in Canada and are far behind other Canadians in every aspect" (Burnaby, cited in D'Anglejean, 1981: 89). Furthermore, "...there is ample evidence to show that programmes designed for majority children are not providing Native children with satisfactory basic skills

and that they are contributing to the erosion of ethnic identity and to assimilation" (D'Anglejean, 1981:89). It should be stressed, however, that in terms of financial aid the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development appears to be providing adequate educational opportunities for Native students (Frideres, 1983:167).

The problem, then is not financial. Rather, it is largely rooted, as noted above, in policies dictated from above by non-Native bureaucrats. The policies have, until recently, been developed without the benefit of Native input. Compounding the problem are the inherent differences of Native and non-Native values, including views of education. Furthermore, instructional materials and curriculum content have not reflected Native culture and lifestyle. Finally, there is the issue of role modelling. As of 1974 less than 1% of teachers and administrators in Federal Indian schools were Native. One might well ask what relevance there is in the educational system for the Native child.

Paulo Freire in Pedagogy of the Oppressed contends that education is political and education is power, and as such is tantamount to liberation. In that the Native people occupy the lowest socioeconomic stratum of society and that education may very well be a vehicle out of this position, this analogy is apropos. But how does one begin to achieve this aim? The first step, Natives argue, is making education relevant to the philosophy and needs of Indian people. This presupposes that education must not be geared exclusively towards the numerically dominant white middle class.

The problem educators face then, is a multifaceted one dealing with multiculturalism, multicultural education, politics and philosophies. Multiculturalism has different meanings to different people but given that multiculturalism is present to some degree in every society

(Goodenough, 1976: 6), and education is the socialization "whereby young people are prepared to fit successfully into the internal environment within which exists the total community of human beings of which they are a part" (Thomas, R.K. and A.L. Waherhaftig, in Hamalian, 1979: 34), we may perceive multicultural education as being that education which bears in mind the multiplicity of cultural backgrounds and diverse needs, values and expectations of the population and seeks to prepare its target population for coping with the same. Or, alternately, we may use Gibson's definition of multicultural education as the process "whereby a person develops competencies in multiple systems of standards for perceiving, evaluating, believing and doing" (1976: 15).

At the present time there are close to two hundred band run schools operating in Canada. These are schools which, by virtue of their Indian governance, one may assume reflect a multicultural approach in the majority of cases. Their purpose is to give education a Native perspective and ensure increased academic performance while retaining Indian identity.

Beaver Lodge School is a band run school which professes a bicultural education focussing on Algonquin language and culture as the "first" culture, and the "mainstream" Canadian culture (however that may be defined) as the second culture.

Goodenough, quoting Gonzalez (1975) sees bicultural education programs falling into different modes e.g. some may be transitional in purpose while others seek to maintain home culture and language. Others may be viewed as restorational. Beaver Lodge may be perceived as being at an intermediate stage of the latter two approaches. It is a "salvage" bicultural education approach in that while there are remnants of "traditional" Algonquin culture, language, and lifestyle still existing much as been supplanted by

the majority white society. Beaver Lodge School hopes to alter this situation.

This ethnographic study will examine and evaluate Beaver Lodge in terms of its objectives and results; its theory and practice. The account is based on a year spent in the school and community as teacher and curriculum writer. The names of all people, plus the school and community, have been changed.

The value of Burke's concept of orientations lies in its direct applicability to everyday situations, be they one to one encounters or complex multicultural issues. Utilizing his ideas one may attempt an objective analysis and assessment of individual or group action. His, then, is a functional approach with a potential for interpretations of social interactions.

In Permanence and Change Burke develops his concept of orientations which he sees as a sense of relationships developed by the contingencies of experience. Accordingly, an orientation largely involves matters of expectancy (based on past experiences in similar situations) and affects our choice of means with reference to the future. An orientation, therefore, "is a bundle of judgements as to how things were, how they are, and how they may be" (Burke, 1954: 14). Orientations are a way of perceiving, a general view of reality, a system of interpretation.

At the basis of an orientation is experience, and all experiences are characterized by events. Events, as Burke sees them, take on character by:

a linkage of outstanding with outstanding.
A given objective event derives its character for us from past experiences having to do with like or related events and takes on character in accordance within contexts in which we experience it (Burke, 1954: 7).

The typical example Burke submits is that of Pavlov's dog which associated the outstanding experience of the food and imparted to the bell a food characteristic. Thus, the accumulation and interworking of such characters constitutes an orientation. Burke states that the significance of an orientation lies in that

it forms the basis of expectancy... For in a statement as to how the world is we have implicit judgements not only as to how the

world may become but also as to what means we should employ to make it so (Burke, 1954: 14).

Closely allied with this notion are "training" and "means selecting", for they are intricately tied to the consequences for (and of) action. Burke draws upon Veblen's concept of "trained incapacity", the idea that "one's very abilities can function as blindness" (Burke, 1954: 7). As he observes the problems of existence do not have one fixed, unchanging character but are in fact open to interpretation, and these interpretations influence our selection of means. It is in this sphere that a trained incapacity may manifest itself in the matter of means selecting, for one adopts measures in keeping with his/her past training. Thus, Burke's contention that "people may be unfitted by being fit in an unfit fitness."

The concept of orientations may be applied to all aspects of human existence. The fact that one chooses a Volvo over a Ford, for example, because the wife's family has had nothing but satisfaction with the former and misery with the latter, is a manifestation of a particular orientation. "Character", Burke notes, "telescopes the past, present and future" (Burke, 1954: 14). Volvos were good cars when the in-laws had them, so I'll buy one now and rest assured it will serve me long and well.

Similarly, the concept may be applied to education. Eisner submits five basic orientations to curriculum planning: development of cognitive processes, academic rationalism, personal relevance, social adaptation and reconstruction, and curriculum as technology (Eisner, 1979: 50-73). These five undoubtedly do not exhaust the possibilities of curricular orientation. They do, however, harbour an implicit conception of educational procedures and negatively sanction others (Eisner, 1979: 70). Eisner also observes that it is unlikely any school will have only one orientation; rather, one may dominate but eclecticism is the norm.

A pervasive theme in Eisner's Educational Imagination is that educational decisions must always be made with an eye to the context in which the decisions are to operate, i.e., different contexts may justify emphasis on different orientations. It would probably be safe to assume, however, that in the more than 100 band controlled Indian schools (Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1980: 50), the predominant orientations would be along the lines of Personal Relevance and Social Adaptation and Reconstruction. This position would be corroborated by the observation that there is a consensus amongst Indian people that education should be relevant to their needs and philosophy and "should inspire in their children a strong sense of identity and confidence in their personal worth and ability" (Waubageshig, 1974: 83). Relevance is only part of the answer, however, for what is also needed are skills that will help them survive in a modern world. As Cardinal observes, a total education for the total needs of the Indian people must be devised (1969: 60).

As noted above, the data surrounding Indian education in Canada today suggest why there is such tremendous enthusiasm for band controlled schools. From a Burkian perspective, then, one might claim that the "outstanding" event in this issue is the perceived failure of Indian children to fare well in middle class, white schools. This outstanding event coupled with the concomitant erosion of ethnic identity (another "outstanding" event) has manifested itself of late in the band controlled schools (a selection of means to alter the negative situation).

The Kahnawake Survival School has been applauded by Native people and government bureaucrats alike as a model example of a band controlled school (Recherman, 1982). The stated goals of those involved with the school include "teaching children how to survive in civilization", and to this

end there is emphasis on inculcating practical skills to help graduates find jobs. What is never forgotten, however, is that the overriding aim of the school is to teach Indian values and to improve students' self image (Recherman, 1982). From an Eisnerian standpoint the two main orientations appear to be Personal Relevance and Social Adaptation/Reconstruction. According to media reports the project appears to be successful - teachers claim that more of their graduates go on to further education than do children from the nearby provincial school.

An orientation may exist on both an individual and communal/societal/group level. In Permanence and Change Burke's example of Pavlov's dog is an obvious example of an individual orientation. If, however, the notion of orientations is based on the contingencies of experience and likeness, one may expect to see a pattern of similar orientations within groups of individuals who have shared similar experiences. Extrapolating from the Pavlovian dog example, one may suggest that had Pavlov conducted his experiment with a hundred dogs all probably would have reacted in the same fashion. However, no other dog without the conditioning experience could be expected to manifest the same reaction. Without the characteristic outstanding events and experiences the situation would be meaningless.

A further extrapolation and analogy may be applied to the situation in the schools. As noted earlier, the literature is replete with statistics describing and explaining the place of Native children within the Canadian educational system. Statements such as:

While total secondary education enrolment has more than doubled since 1965, the proportion of (Indian) children enrolled has been steadily declining since a peak in 1972-73

and

Successful school completion (retention) among Indian students has improved modestly in the last 15 years, but the Indian rate remains less than one quarter of the national rate. (DIAND: 1980).

give a stark, emotionless, statistical assessment of the situation. To the average non-Indian statistical observations such as these suggest what many of us have already suspected: that the Indian has failed to take advantage of the opportunities available to him, i.e., he has failed to integrate or, alternately, assimilate.

To the Indian, however, observations such as these speak volumes for they illustrate the gravity of a greater situation. The difference between White and Indian reading and internalization of statements such as those above is a matter of identification. For the Indian, the figures cited in government documents and survey reports are real. The Indian ultimately is one of the percentages. A non-Native can do nothing but sympathize, for the figures have no relevance to his real situation. For the Indian, however, the data have intrinsic value and importance. Thus, like the dog who cannot identify with his Pavlovian littermates because he has not experienced the outstanding characteristic of the bell with the outstanding characteristic of the food; the White Canadian cannot hope to share, in its totality, the same orientation towards education (or any other contentious issue) as the Indian.

It is in the realm of the ideal and the real that the inherent discrepancies between Indian and White education are manifested. For the elusive average Canadian the general goal of education is to imbue facility with the "3 rs" and hopefully either prepare him/her adequately for post secondary education or train him/her in a career related skill or trade.

It may be argued that in a rudimentary sense at least, this is being achieved. While the media are predisposed to reporting high degrees of functional illiteracy amongst graduating high school students and first year university students, it may be conceded, with perhaps some stretch of the imagination, that our schools are doing their jobs.

From an Indian perspective, the schools, which unavoidably perhaps, are geared to white, middle class North America, are not doing their jobs. The reasons for this are numerous, complex, and perhaps many have yet to be determined.

With the benefit of hindsight many of the reasons are now blatantly obvious. The residential school system, for example, frequently necessitated the transporting of the child hundreds of kilometres from his home and required that he/she stay there for weeks or months at a time. Needless to say, this was frequently an unsettling experience and not conducive to a happy and successful experience. However, in the late 1960s a systematic shutdown of residential schools was initiated and only a handful yet exist, mainly in Saskatchewan. The result is that in 1978/79 53% of Indian children were in provincial schools, 39% in federal schools and 8% in band run schools. In 1965/66, however, 57% were in federal schools and 43% in provincial schools (DIAND, 1980).

The residential school system is but one cog in the malfunctioning wheel of Canadian Indian education. A far more fundamental reason, argue Indian spokespeople, is the difference in the traditional Native view of education and the White view. In Native tradition each adult is responsible for each child to see that he/she learns all that he/she needs in order to live a good life. For Indian people educational relevance and a reaffirmation of

personal worth and identity are essential. This, needless to say, is the ideal of the Indian perspective. It is very apparent that the reality of the situation is far removed from this ideal. While for the student majority, i.e., white, middle class, values are reflected in all aspects of the educational experience including curriculum, teachers, books, etc, Native values are little, if at all reflected. Therefore, while the desirable fundamentals of education (the 3 rs and career planning) and social norms, values and mores are transmitted to the majority child, they are not transmitted to the child who is not of the numerically dominant culture. Thus, the observation by D'Anglejean that programmes designed for the majority children are not equipping minority children with basic skills while they are contributing to ethnic erosion and assimilation.

The degree to which the white perspective or orientation has permeated not only the schools themselves, but also educational research is noted by Fromboise and Plake (1983). They observe that " most research has taken a culturally myopic view and has been devoid of findings that would be helpful to (Indians)." Furthermore

...researchers have done little to provide for programme development or problem solving that is compatible with Indian world views" and "... (researchers) frequently focus their findings on negative outcomes that are grounded in non-Indian interpretations or theoretical frameworks and approach research questions with perspectives unfamiliar to Indian respondents.

Finally

According to Trimble, Goddard and Dinges (1977) in their review of 962 education research papers on American Indians, most non-Indian investigators study issues of interest to themselves rather than those of importance to the communities being studied.

While there should be concern over the Indian philosophy of education and traditional values, it would be remiss to ignore the skills implicitly needed in today's world. A realistic stance is that of Cardinal who states that what is needed is a total education for the total needs of the Indian people. This total package, one assumes, includes skills needed to exist in today's world, as well as culturally enriching and identity strengthening programmes.

Changes reflecting (to a minor degree) Indian orientations to education are being brought about. In Quebec, Ontario, Alberta and the Northwest Territories programmes are being implemented using Native languages as the language of instruction. More significantly, however, is the emphasis on Indian run schools. Since 1970/71 when the first band run school was developed in Blue Quills, Alberta, nearly 200 schools have evolved. To a certain extent these schools must be seen as a concrete manifestation of the Indian orientation to education. The extent is contingent upon the amount of Indian influence felt upon the curriculum and the educational aims and objectives. Given that Indian education has been less than successful (as evidenced by the retention rate, failure rate, etc.) the band run schools are a consequence of their perception of what education is, should, and presumably can be.

From a superficial, statistical standpoint the band run schools appear to have justified their existence. In a government report, for example, it is noted that the areas where bands have assumed responsibility for secondary education the retention rate for Indians is higher. This observation is substantiated by several examples of band controlled schools. At the Sabaskong Bay Reserve the drop out rate was 80% in the federal school, while today it

is only 10% in the Indian governed school. Similarly, the Whitefish Bay federal school previously had an attendance rate of 82% compared to 91% today as a result of Indian governing of the school (York, Globe and Mail, May 24, 1983). Virtually all Indian run schools report great enthusiasm and better academic performances. From media reports, then, a quick perusal of Indian governed schools suggests that they are a viable alternative to a provincial and federal schools.

While these strictly numerical determinants seems to indicate the schools are working a more valid assessment must be made utilizing criteria which more closely measure success in terms of Indian philosophy, aims and aspirations. One could conceivably justify the existence of the schools strictly on the retention rate if the stated Indian orientation (Wuttunee, 1971; Waubageshig, 1974; Cardinal, 1969) did not espouse elements of social adaptation/reconstruction and personal relevance. If but one child who otherwise would have dropped out opts to stay in schools, then one may argue that the school is a "success". However, when the stated goal is (among other things) to teach Indian values as is the case with the Kahnawake Survival School and most band governed schools, the schools must be evaluated in those terms. If the orientation of a school (stated or implied) is one of social adaptation and reconstruction and/or personal relevance and these criteria are not being met, then the school cannot be said to be a success.

Complications arise in those situations where a school is Indian governed but the school itself does not appear to be different from the provincial schools. Such is the case of Bai-Bom-Beh School in Whitefish Bay, Ontario. While the administration of the school is totally in Indian hands, the curriculum followed is the standard provincial format. Therefore, one could

not hope to evaluate the school using the same criteria as one would for the Kahnawake Survival School, whose stated and implied goals are different; and get the same results. At Bai-Bom-Beh the band "is content with using the standard provincial curriculum..rather than increasing the use of Ojibway or creating a unique Indian curriculum" because they "want (their) students to go to university and (be able to) fit into the programmes there" (York, Globe and Mail, May 24, 1983). Conversely, the Kahnawake Survival School places a tremendous emphasis on teaching Indian culture and language and giving students skills to face the job market. The aim is to eventually give every subject a Native input. The overriding aim, however, is to teach Indian values and to improve the students' self image.

Thus, stated and implied orientations must be the standards by which evaluations are made. In the case of band run schools, while Indian control would suggest an orientation of social adaptation/reconstruction or personal relevance, the school itself may belie this presumption.

By Eisnerian definition, an orientation of personal relevance "emphasizes the primacy of personal meaning and the school's responsibility to develop programmes that make such meanings possible" (Eisner, 1979:57). There are two underlying tenets supporting this view. The first says that for experience to be educational students must have some investment in it and without actual participation or availability of real choices, schooling is likely to be little more than meaningless routines. The second tenet is that human beings are stimulus seeking organisms and as such growth is the aim of life. Ergo, the task of school is to provide a resource rich environment so that the child will willingly find what he or she needs in order to grow.

One orientation to social adaptation and reconstruction is a so-called

radical perspective. It is derived from analysis of society and is basically aimed at "developing levels of critical consciousness among children and youth so that they become aware of the kinds of ills that the society has and become motivated to learn how to alleviate them" (Eisner, 1979:63). As such their mission is to locate social needs or be sensitive to those needs and to provide the kinds of programmes that are relevant for meeting the needs that have been identified.

The Bai-Bom-Beh School, then, while under Indian governance, is merely a provincial curriculum with a minimal amount of Indian influence (twenty to thirty minutes of Ojibway per day) infused. It cannot be deemed a curriculum with an orientation resembling personal relevance or social adaptation/reconstruction. Its existence, as noted above, can be justified by the increased academic performance and retention rate; but as a school reflecting the given Indian orientation prevalent today, it can hardly be evaluated or justified, for it has merely reapplied the standard curriculum to an Indian administration. While the orientation may have changed as a result of the initial takeover by the band, the consequences manifested by the takeover have not changed, i.e., the school remains virtually the same.

CHAPTER THREE: CASE STUDY CONTEXT - HISTORY OF NATIVE EDUCATION
IN CANADA

Stages of Indian Education in Canada

There are various ways of delineating the history of Native education in this country. Cardinal, for example, sees essentially three periods: traditional (pre-contact): the missionary period; and the government control period (1969:51-61). Frideres (1984:157) sees federal and provincial government policy falling into two phases: 1867-1945, which he calls the period of paternalistic ideology; and 1945 to present, the period of democratic ideology. The former was adopted and perpetuated by various religious orders who perceived Native people as backward children. The Roman Catholic, United, Presbyterian and Anglican churches assumed responsibility for educating aboriginal peoples. The latter stage was characterized by an "open door" policy which "allowed" students to travel out of their communities to receive an education. This, of course, was a radical departure from the previous approach.

Frideres also perceives a third period, that of pre-Confederation. After British take-over, Native education was in the hands of the military acting for the Crown. From 1830 on, however, provincial or local governments assumed the responsibility. This assumption of control resulted in virtual neglect until the missionary take-over was fully operant. One must not lose sight of the fact that although the Indian Act (and some treaties) include provisions for education, it is a matter of practice and not legal obligation that the government assumes the cost of education for Indian people in this country (DIAND, 1980:104).

Gue (n.d.) sees six phases in Native education: pre-Confederation,

church operated schools after 1867, treaties and involvement of Indian bands in education to 1951, federal government and church partnerships, integration with provincial and territorial schools after World War II, and Native - federal government partnership 1970 to date. These overlap in chronology and ideology, and each seems shorter than its predecessor.

Similarly, the Department of Indian Affairs breaks aboriginal education into seven stages (1982): pre-European contact - traditional Indian education; 1750-1850, beginnings of tangible support for education; 1850-1950, segregation for protection and administrative convenience; 1950-1970, integrated education in the direction of assimilation and greater community involvement and responsibility; 1970 - present, government support for Indian initiative and local control in education; present, lack of clear understanding regarding the nature of government's responsibilities in Indian education.

There are several salient points that must be stressed regarding the categorical breakdown of Native education. Firstly, the pre-contact stage was the only time in which aboriginal people themselves designed, planned and implemented education for their own children. Furthermore, although it has long been assumed that pre-contact Indian education was an informal process, it is now being argued that there was "formal" or specialized training for men who were to assume positions such as chief, medicine men, etc (Gue, n.d.:7).

The major underlying assumption in the early years following contact was that Indians should be Christianized, civilized and agrarianized (Gue, n.d.:8). To this end, Native education was pursued zealously. Implicit in this, of course, is that the European system of education was

superior. Initially, emphasis was on religious, i.e. Christian morality, although it was also customary to apprentice Indian youth to colonists in order for them to learn skilled trades and farming. Until about 1850 Native children were frequently taught along with colonists' children and the use of Native languages was common (DIAND, 1982: Annex C:3). This latter phenomenon seems somewhat antithetical vis a vis the philosophy of assimilation, although it might be seen as a means of speeding up the inculcation of white knowledge, hence acculturation. Decisions regarding Native education were made in Europe.

From mid-19th century to mid 20th century the policy was one of "education in isolation", an ideological stance from which the Native community is still recovering. This position reflects not only a continued drive to assimilate (albeit in segregation) Natives, but a tendency to ignore, if not absolve government completely of the issues surrounding Indian education. The federal government had assumed (via the BNA Act) responsibility for aboriginal peoples. The zealotry of various religious denominations facilitated the matter of education, for the government conveniently slipped into agreements with them. Under Sections 113 to 122 of the Indian Act the federal government can legally enter into these arrangements. The number of agencies, governmental and otherwise, who have handled Native education, attests to the degree of inconsistency of ideology and policy. It must be stated, however, that the missionaries have pursued their genre of education with a fervour and

...the churches and their missionaries, supported by their philanthropic societies, did the work of bringing educational services to Indian people at a time when government and the settler society had other concerns (Gue, n.d.:11).

The residential school system (also called denominational or religious schools) has long been the centre of controversy. It has been perceived as a tool of assimilation and cultural genocide (Waubageshig, 1970; Cardinal, 1969). Likewise, in the United States, the boarding school system has been criticized:

Anthropologists ... have long taught that American Indian boarding schools were brutal, oppressive institutions that proceeded on the assumption that Indians were savages who had to be civilized. ...At the simplest level, this was cultural destruction disguised as missionary work - Indians were to be converted to Christianity at any cost, whether they liked it or not (McBeth, 1984).

This sentiment has been echoed repeatedly by social scientists and Natives alike. However, it has now been suggested that in the United States (and presumably in Canada to a similar degree) the boarding schools were not as oppressive as has been suggested, and in fact, may have had some positive effects.

...I began to understand what the schools mean to Indian people. I realized that at least some of the boarding schools fostered an environment that allowed Indian students to remain together and generate among themselves an ethnic identity... ..boarding schools were often effective in attaining their short term goals, such as teaching English and instilling the work ethic, but ...they failed in their long term goal of assimilating Indians. Assimilation has not occurred. ...boarding schools effectively perpetuated, if inadvertently, the growth of an Indian identity. Moreover, this process is still occurring in such schools today (McBeth, 1984).

Regardless of this new position being submitted, it is unlikely that future analyses of the role of residential or boarding schools will render

any conclusions other than that the schools were in fact undeniable attempts at assimilation. Furthermore, as the Native literature attests, the experiences undergone by Indian people appear to be largely negative.

The period of integration occurred with the first cost sharing agreement between the Department of Indian Affairs and the province of Manitoba on behalf of the South Indian Lake Band. Essentially, this period is characterized by the Department

...entering into formal contractual agreements, now known as joint school agreements, with school boards and Provincial Departments of Education for the education of Indian children along with non-Indian children (DIAND, 1982: Annex C:6).

It is important to stress that this change was brought about through repeated demands by Native people as an alternative to denominationally run residential schools. With the benefit of hindsight one might argue that integration with provincial school boards only accelerated the process of assimilation. Provincial curriculum and resource material were the norm in any school where a joint agreement was entered into. What must be considered, however, is that after generations of denominational residential schools, the provincial schools presented a viable alternative. Furthermore, they may have been seen as a vehicle of upward mobility; a step towards middle class acceptance. After three hundred years of cultural genocide in which Christian missionaries tried to replace Native culture with white values, the alternative of provincial schools was not surprising. If middle class values were deemed desirable, then middle class provincial schools were the vehicles with which to attain them.

Despite the considerable improvements in many areas (retention, academic performance, attendance), the band run schools are also burdened with

problems. Not the least of these is the lack of guidelines and direction by Indian Affairs (DIAND, 1982; Canadian Education Association, 1984). In the 1970's and 1980's there was little effort put forth to prepare bands for assumption of educational control. The C.E.A. report notes that difficulties in hiring teachers, high turnover, poor morale, difficulties in establishing credit with publishers, have all hurt the quality of education. Furthermore, these problems may all be attributable to lack of adequate preparation and guidelines. However, as Titley and Brian observe "Native people must realize that they cannot possibly assume all educational roles and responsibilities, and they must rid themselves of their current suspicions and distrust for all non-Natives" (Titley and Brian, 1981; in Kay, 1983). Further problems are found in local political infighting and delineation of authority. Nonetheless, band run schools are increasing at an alarming rate. There are presently 187 on reserve schools (incorporating 13,000 students), which range in size from one room kindergartens to schools offering pre-kindergarten to university entrance. Also, by the end of 1980 there were three Indian or Inuit controlled provincial school boards operating in Canada. These include the Cree and Kativik School Boards in Quebec and the Nishga School District #92 in British Columbia.

Native involvement in education has taken other forms as well. In urban areas where there is a large Native population, Indian people and programmes are beginning to play a larger part in education. The Peterborough County Board of Education has a fund especially for Native Studies, the Lambton County Board of Education (Ontario) employs Native people from local bands as classroom assistants and as counsellors, and

Regina's Board of Education consults with Native community organizations regarding multicultural curricula. The Sooke Board (British Columbia) employs Native people from a neighbouring reserve to teach elementary children about local Indian language and culture (Roe, 1982).

Of equal significance is the increasing number of Native teacher education programmes operating across Canada. More and Wallis found fifteen different such programmes in this country in 1979; the National Indian Brotherhood claimed that there were twenty three in 1980 (Allison, 1983: 112).

At the present time the policies of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development viz education are as follows (Canadian Educational Association, 1984:13):

- 1) to assist and support Indian and Inuit people in having access to educational programmes and services which are responsive to their needs and aspirations, consistent with the concept of Indian control of Indian education
- 2) to assist and support Indian and Inuit people in preserving, developing, and expressing their cultural identity with emphasis upon their Native languages
- 3) to assist and support Indians and Inuit in developing or in having access to meaningful occupational opportunities and consistent with their community and individual needs and aspirations.

These policies will be pursued by enhancing Indian education programme quality, meeting the needs for increasing student support services, encouraging greater parental involvement and responsibility, and supporting the growth of community control of Indian education as desired by individual bands (C.E.A., 1984:13).

It is quite apparent from the shift in ideologies and attitudes over the last three hundred years that government dicta cannot make for successful Native education. The social, economic and educational statistics attest to this fact. Furthermore, it is apparent that bureaucracies are not comfortable handling the educational needs of Indians. The recent move to band run schools might be perceived, as it has by experienced teachers and administrators in Native communities, as a means whereby DIAND can wash its hands of Indian education once and for all. Indeed, as Allison points out (1983:106), the move to provincial schools in the 1950's was hailed as sound policy

...for the federal authorities had always lacked sufficient involvement in educational matters to develop the materials and skills necessary to confidently discharge their educational responsibilities to Indian children... Furthermore, federal executives responsible for Indian education had little experience or expertise in educational administration.

In the 1980s little has changed.

Indian Involvement in Euro-Education

In our case Euro-education, and subsequently "education" refers to formal, institutionalized education as opposed to "informal" education as practised by Native people prior to contact.

It is a little known fact that band involvement in Native education in Canada is well over one hundred years old. According to Gue (1974) the Indian Act was amended in 1869 (sic) to allow chiefs and Band Councils to make rules and regulations concerning the construction, maintenance, and repair of school houses on the reserves. (NOTE: The Indian Act was not passed until 1876). In 1880 the religious designation of teachers and

the establishment of separate schools on reserves were allowed to bands (Gue, 1974). Additional powers were added including the right of the Chief and Council to inspect schools attended by their children. This last concession was granted in 1920. Gue notes that with the granting of these powers school boards emerged and that in the four decades from 1890 to 1930 about thirty Indian boards operated at various times. However, in 1951 these powers were revoked with the revised Indian Act. Despite the committees mentioned above the loss was negligible for the Native people had not been as effective as they might have been.

In the 1960's, as off reserve education became more common, and Native people again began demanding more involvement, accommodations for them were again initiated. In 1963 Circular 453 "Instructions for the Organization of School Committees on Indian Reserves" was issued by DIAND. This was the beginning of major changes in Indian involvement in education.

On June 25, 1969, Jean Chrétien, then Minister of Indian Affairs, tabled a document which resulted in what Sally Weaver has called "a resounding nationalism unparalleled in Canadian history" (1981:5). This, of course, was the infamous White Paper, or "Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy". As Weaver notes it resulted in what hitherto had been unobtainable by any other means - united Native people.

The White Paper espoused equality and integration - many people, Native and non-Native, perceived it as a thinly disguised attempt at assimilation. It advocated removal of the Indian Act, the phasing out of Indian Affairs, and the eradication of the "constitutional and legislative bases of discrimination". It proposed that Native people should receive the same services delivered through the same channels and government agen-

cies as other Canadians. The provinces, not the federal government, would assume basic responsibility for Indians.

Reactions were quick and virtually unanimous in their rejection and condemnation of the White Paper. Weaver observes that

The fear and insecurity it brought to tribal communities were so that nativism was the reaction, a process of cultural reaffirmation which often arises when cultural systems are severely threatened. Instead of seeking equality, Indian communities reasserted their cultural uniqueness, emphasizing their social distance from the dominant society. Termination psychosis continued to dominate Indian-government relations, making administration very difficult. (1981:5,6)

The most oft-quoted and pointed reactions to the White Paper were the B.C. Indians Brown Paper, the Red Paper or Citizens Plus from Alberta, and Wahbung: Our Tomorrows from Manitoba. All three argued against the policy's proposal and presented their own petitions and recommendations. Wahbung was most explicit in its recommendations for change in (not removal of) the Indian Act; the Brown Paper focussed heavily on land issues; while the Red Paper dealt largely with the economic and education issues.

It should probably be stressed that had the White Paper been accepted as presented chaos would have erupted. As Cardinal points out: " Provincial governments have no obligations to fulfill our treaties. They never signed treaties with the Indians. We could not expect them to be concerned with our treaty rights" (1977:30). The policy proposal was withdrawn in 1971.

The most long lasting and significant effect of the White Paper was the drive it initiated toward Indian control of Indian education. For the most part, the paper had glossed over education, but the perceived intent

of the policy, i.e., assimilation, triggered a movement on the part of Native people to reinforce, via education, their Nativeness.

On December 21, 1972, the National Indian Brotherhood presented to the Minister of Indian Affairs a policy paper entitled Indian Control of Indian Education. This paper was, in essence, a manual for the establishment of Native schools, and was the product of the accumulation of position papers from provincial and territorial Native associations across Canada.

The document is succinct, direct and to the point. It reaffirmed the federal government's role in financing Native education and stated that the Indian view of schooling is based on two principles: parental responsibility and local control. The objectives were clearly stated. The functional objectives of Indian control of their education are 1) to reinforce their Indian identity and 2) to provide the training necessary for making a good living in modern society.

In the document Native people contend that they are the best judges of the kind of school programmes which can contribute to these objectives without damage to the child. The paper outlined the various means, philosophies and criteria needed to develop a total package for Indian control of Indian education. This included: 1) revamping of curricula involving Native people in development of curricular materials that are relevant to Indian needs 2) the inclusion of Indian languages in classroom instruction 3) the waiving of rigid teaching requirements to enable Indian people who are fluent in Indian languages to become full fledged teachers 4) educational research to be done under the direction and control of Indian people.

Indian Control of Indian Education clearly laid out directions for

Native involvement in the schooling process. Guidelines were proposed for curriculum, language of instruction, teachers and training programmes, facilities and services, etc. In sum, it was a landmark document and a pivotal turning point for Native people. More significantly however, and perhaps not surprisingly in light of the furor caused by the White Paper, is that the document was accepted by the Department of Indian Affairs. It became the main educational principle for the Educational Division of the Department. Burnaby states that

...the education division is cautiously carrying on as it was before the White Paper was presented but is very sensitive to Native opinion on both the national and local levels, and it is more willing than before to transfer administrative authority to band councils (1980:5).

Native Education in Québec

The Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development is broken down into administrative regions, Québec being one of them. The task of the Regional Educational Branch

...is to manage and coordinate all the activities and programmes required to provide the Inuit and Indian people of Québec with the school and educational services they require to meet their needs, from the pre-school level to the university level. Within its activities, the Education Branch pursues the objective of encouraging Indian control of Indian education (DIAND, 1984).

Within the Education Branch of DIAND there are five sectors with distinct responsibilities. These include pedagogical services, continuing education, teaching, administrative support, and take over of education. Within the last decade, this latter sector has been particularly

involved in many spheres. Although comparatively speaking, there are relatively few band run schools in Québec, in terms of size of take over (regional boards, for example) and culturally relevant curriculum design, considerable strides have been taken.

There are ten distinct native cultures in Québec: Abenakis, Algonquin, Attikamek, Cree, Huron, Naskapi, Inuit, Micmac, Mohawk and Montagnais. Three of these; the Cree, Inuit and Naskapi, have their own school boards. With the James Bay Agreement of 1975 and the subsequent North East Québec Agreement, these three groups took charge of their educational systems, and certain special powers allowed them to adopt the system to their languages and cultures (Canadian Educational Association, 1984:41).

The government of Québec is aware of the distinct cultural and linguistic makeup of the Native peoples of the province and through Bill 101 recognizes the rights of Natives to instruction in their maternal languages (Dorman, 1981:11). The Cree, Naskapi, and Inuit, through special arrangements are allowed to determine for themselves the amount of instructional time spent for the mother tongue and on the second language.

Not everybody involved with Native control is totally happy however, and recurring problems are frequently said to be rooted in earlier federal and provincial handling of Indian education. There was, for example, a three year gap between the James Bay Agreement and the takeover of education by the Cree School Board. All plans for construction projects initiated by the federal government and Nouveau Québec School Board such as schools and residences were frozen. As a result, says Ted Moses, Director general of the Cree School Board, the new administration inherited the bugs and headaches of this period of neglect (Rencontre, 1981:5). Similarly, stu-

dents at band run Amisk primary school in Pointe Bleu have one Montagnais language class a week. This class was begun seven or eight years ago by Indian Affairs "probably to ease their consciences", according to the Amiskuisht director (Rencontre, 1981:7).

The issue of language instruction is felt throughout the province (and probably the country) in those communities that have assumed control, particularly in those areas where English is the second language as opposed to French. The situation facing the Cree Board is typical in its dilemma:

There is no consensus among the communities as to what should be language of instruction in the schools. Right now Cree is taught at the kindergarten and pre-kindergarten levels. After that Cree becomes just one subject in a full curriculum. Some think Cree should be learned at home, and need not be taught at all in the schools. Then there's the question of French. Some communities think it is important to have more and more French taught in the schools. Right now the second language for most Cree communities is English.
(Rencontre, V.2, #3)

The situation is similar in Pointe Bleu, a Montagnais community which has recently gone band run.

The Kativik School Board operates the Inuit schools in Nouveau Québec. 57% of the board's 750 members staff are Inuit, including all school directors (Rencontre, 1981:9). Dealing with 1500 students, Kativik seeks to "legitimize" education by making it relevant to their particular young people. Math, social studies, history and geography are all being developed to the realities of Inuit life. As of 1981 forty five experimental math and reading programmes were in use by the board.

Between 1979-81 four Montagnais communities took control of their education including Sept-Iles-Maliotenam, Pointe Bleu, Les Escoumins and

Betsiamites. Since that time several innovative projects have been undertaken (Casavant, 1984:9-12).

At Pointe Bleu two travelling teachers visit the hunting camps to teach the children of seven families who live in the bush for a good part of the year. Basic academics are taught so that when the children return to the village they will not be behind.

At another community the school year has been adapted to accommodate the seasonal movements which hunting and fishing require of Montagnais families.

Several departments including Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Ministère de l'Éducation du Québec and l'Institut éducatif et culturel attikamek et montagnais (IECAM) have helped in the Indianization of Montagnais education. One of their major projects is a teaching package which is geared toward communicating Montagnais culture. It was prepared by the Montagnais with the assistance of the Bureau de co-ordination des activités en milieu amérindien et inuit of the Ministère de l'Éducation du Québec. It deals with catechesis, zoology and Montagnais medicine. The aim is twofold: preservation and perpetuation of Montagnais culture and to this end it is in use in nearly half a dozen Montagnais communities.

The degree to which the MEQ is involved with Native education is reflected in the fact that since 1979 there has been the Bureau de co-ordination des activités en milieu amérindien et inuit to encourage the development of resources suited to Native communities in Québec. This office has six full and part time staff. Among the projects undertaken by the "bureau" are the following: Montagnais catechesis; Montagnais Social Studies; Montagnais medicine; collection of texts in Montagnais; preparation tea-

ching material in French consistent with Algonquin culture; inventory of language needs of Amerindian students at the secondary level; development of teaching material in Mohawk; development of a programme of Mohawk music, song and dance; and development of teaching material in Mohawk (Dorman, 1981:11-13). Québec, reflective perhaps of the traditional duality of European cultures in the province, has shown unusual sensitivity to the needs of its native population in recent years. This sensitivity has manifested itself in the relevant and practical projects cited above.

A recent survey of Native post secondary students in Québec revealed two important consistencies (Rencontre, V.4 #4:11-12). The first is that very few secondary students in isolated villages graduate and go on to post secondary schooling. Most of the Native post secondary students are from the larger communities. The fact that many students in remote areas have to be removed from their villages in order to attend school results in high drop out rates. Second, those students enrolled in CEGEP or university programmes are unanimous in their contention that the educational system must be adapted to the lifestyle and culture of Native people. This thinking has revolutionized Native education in Québec, Canada and the United States. There are major hurdles yet to be overcome, however. As Ted Moses observes in the case of the Cree School Board "Nobody has been able to articulate what each Cree community wants." This lack of consensus must be seen as the product of the inconsistency of past policies, the concomitant roles of Church and provincial schools and the consistent reluctance in the past to consult with the Indian people regarding their own education. The conflicting values and ideologies that are the product of

enforced white education on Native people have all too often resulted in lack of agreement on what is the "proper" education for Indian children.

Historical Background of Education in Pine Bay

It is claimed that the people of the Pine Bay Band moved to Pine Bay for closer proximity to educational and religious facilities. When the Pine Bay people originally moved to Pine Bay education was under jurisdiction of Indian Affairs. One building functioned as both church and school. As in many Native communities the Hudson Bay Company was a significant local force, and because the Bay operated in English, education was conducted in that language.

Approximately twenty years ago education began being conducted in French, although the people continued to speak English at home. In the minds of the local people the reasons for the transition from French to English are unclear, if not unknown. French language instruction continued until 1981.

The school was run by the school board in Ville Marie, a community about one hundred kilometres away. The local people had no say in educational matters. The older grades (grades 7-11) went to school in Latulipe, a community about seventy five kilometres away.

The community decided that this policy could not continue for several reasons including the following:

- 1) the enormous distances students had to travel daily
- 2) the high drop out rate
- 3) lack of input by parents
- 4) quality of instruction
- 5) the language of instruction

6) racial conflicts

To help remedy the situation Pine Bay and Indian Affairs paid the Ville Marie School Board to work with education in Pine Bay. The initial step was to stop sending people to Latulipe. To compensate a school was started in the basement of the local handicrafts shop as there was no physical plant for a "real" school. It was at this time that the tradition of autumn Trapping Week (for boys) and Home Economics (for girls) was started.

The following year a referendum was passed regarding language of instruction. Everybody, with a single exception, said the language of instruction should be English. It was decided to adopt English as the language of instruction.

It was also decided that the basement of the shop was no longer satisfactory, so the School Board would work with the band and the Department of Indian Affairs to turn one of the local houses into a school. At this point the Social Studies curricula were introduced into the elementary and secondary levels.

The people were still not satisfied. Many of the teachers could not speak English adequately and many of the classroom lessons were verbatim translations from French language texts. Many community members were discontented.

Indian Affairs paid the Ville Marie School Board to teach but the Band Council had to sign cheques, contracts, etcetera. The Education Authority would not sign any more contracts unless they could approve of the teachers being hired. In the summer of 1981 the School Board promised the incumbent teachers that they could have their jobs the following

September. The Education Authority tried to convince the Board to change their minds but to no avail. One of their contentions was that the English teacher could not speak conversational English. An appeal to Indian Affairs for help in reversing the decision allegedly fell on deaf ears. The Education Authority refused to sign the contracts. They also threatened to take over education in Pine Bay, which they did. That summer they started building the school.

The school started with grades seven, eight and nine. The regional (Ville Marie) School Board continued the teaching of the elementary grades. An assessment and survey was sent to all community adults except Education Authority members to determine the desirability and perceived importance of potential courses and programmes. This was the start of the curriculum development department. Algonquin was considered to be the most important and desirable subject. A five year plan was devised, submitted to and approved by Indian Affairs. Its proposal involved takeover of the elementary end by September, 1983, which was done and grades 10 and 11 by September, the feasibility of which is yet to be determined.

CHAPTER FOUR: METHODOLOGY

Overview: "Hard" versus "Soft" Research

Educational evaluation techniques range from so-called "hard" evaluation to "soft" evaluation. Supporters of the different methodologies tend to support the superiority of their own particular approach. It has been posited that "hard evaluation is regarded as rigorous by its friends and trivial by its enemies" while "soft evaluation is regarded as sensitive by its friends and unscientific by its enemies" (Anderson et al., 1975:191). According to Anderson et al. hard evaluation is characterized by a research design capable of discerning causal relationships; collection of data that are objective, reliable and valid; and data analysis by sophisticated statistical techniques. Conversely, soft evaluation usually involves a research design that at most can point to correlations, data that are subjective and judgemental, and an absence of sophisticated statistical analyses (Anderson et al., 1975:191).

Evaluation techniques are categorized into "models". Alkin and Ellet (n.d.) define the concept of model two ways. A "prescriptive" model "is a set of rules, prescriptions and prohibitions, and guiding frameworks which specify what a good or proper evaluation is and how evaluation should be done. Such models serve as exemplars." A "descriptive" model "is a set of statements and generalizations which describes, predicts, or explains evaluations activities. Such models are designed to offer an empirical theory."

House (n.d.) develops this notion further and perceives eight major models defined by their underlying theoretical assumptions, as well as audiences, methodology and areas of assumed consensus eg. goals, proce-

dures and criteria. These models include systems analysis, behavioural objectives, decision making, goal free, art criticism, accreditation, adversary, and transaction. This last model is endorsed by Stake, Smith and MacDonald, among others, and includes in its methodology case studies, interviews and observation. The transaction model "concentrates on the educational processes themselves: the classroom, the school, the programme... It is based on perception and knowing as a transactional process" (House, n.d.).

Talmage (n.d.) categorizes evaluation into four methodological approaches including experimentalists, eclectics, describers and cost benefit analyzers. The describers, according to Talmage

...can be characterized as philosophically attuned to phenomenology, and utilizing the methodology of social anthropologists and sociologists. Their tools are ethnography, case studies, participant observation and triangulations.

In addition to House and Talmage, Ross and Cronbach (1976), Guba (1978), Popham (1975) and Stufflebeam and Webster (1980) have developed model classifications (Talmage, n.d.).

After examining the various schema for model classification one is confronted with a methodological continuum. This continuum is generally bipolarly labelled hard and soft research, quantitative and qualitative research, objective and subjective epistemologies, conventional and naturalistic research, and behaviouristic and humanistic research. Talmage is quick to note that

...while these polarities leave the impression that one end of the continuum is more thorough, demanding and empirical than the other end... the distinctions...are not indicative of scholarly rigor but proximity to or distance from the methodology of experimental research.

...The method must fit the evaluation question.

The question of whether educational evaluation should be more subjective or objective has existed for some time and, by implication, the relative merits of hard versus soft research/evaluation (see Page and Stake "Should Educational Evaluation Be More Objective or More Subjective"). For those arguing for more objective evaluations (hard research) there are the consistent arguments for more instrumentation, statistical analysis, and testable, provable procedures. Supporters of the subjective camp frequently support their position on the grounds that hard evaluations miss the essence of a program's impact or ignore the variables that currently available objective measures cannot assess adequately (Anderson et al, 1975:192). Ultimately, academic mediators take the position that good research is good research regardless of methodological approach (Cronbach et al, 1980; Bryk, 1978; in Talmage, n.d.) or that "there are good hard and good soft evaluations appropriate to the questions raised" (Anderson et al., 1975:192).

The Ethnographic Approach - Definitions and Rationalization

The ethnographic approach has been put to considerable use in educational evaluation (see, for example the series "Case Studies in Education and Culture", Holt, Rinehart and Winston). In terms of Native education in Canada King's School at Mopass (1967) and Wolcott's Kwakiutl Village and School (1967) are perhaps the best known. To this date, however, there has been little, if any, ethnographic work on band run schools although Indian control of Indian education has been a reality for fifteen years.

It is imperative that terms be defined in any discussion of research methodology. As Fetterman notes (1984:21) ethnography has become a popular buzzword with the result being a proliferation of poorly conducted research. What is needed (among other things) is a clarification of terms and concepts, particular "ethnography", "case study" and "participant observation".

For Wolcott, ethnography "is literally an anthropologist's picture of the way of life of some interacting group; or viewed as a process, ethnography is the science of cultural description" (n.d.:23). This definition of ethnography is standard in academic circles. Spradley, for example, defines ethnography as "the work of describing a culture" (1980:3). A "case study" on the other hand, "is a type of research in which an investigator studies a unit in depth to understand how the unit functions in its setting" (Fuchs, 1980:37). This definition is further corroborated by Anderson et al. who see a case study as being "an intensive, detailed analysis and description of a single organism, institution or phenomenon in the context of its environment" (1975:46).

The term "case study", then, suggests one element of a particular context while "ethnography" suggests the more traditionally anthropological holistic picture. Wolcott reconciles this discrepancy as follows:

...one also hears anthropologists using the term "case study" although "ethnography" remains the preferred label. To the extent that the terms are used discretely, "case study" provides a handy and unassuming label, while the term ethnography suggests both a more comprehensive and detailed report and perhaps unattainable ideal of a complete and perfect account. Any anthropological case study is more or less an ethnography, and most accounts labelled as "ethnography" are really contributions toward the ethnography of some culture sharing group. (n.d.:23)

Returning to Anderson's definition of a case study then, we will be looking at a single institution (Beaver Lodge School) within the context of its environment (the Algonquin community of Pine Bay).

Participant observation is often confused with ethnography. In fact, some anthropologists employ the term "participant observation" not only to a technique of research but also as a comprehensive term that includes all the techniques of anthropological fieldwork. There is little doubt that participant observation is a primary, if not the primary technique in ethnography, but it definitely is not the only one (Goetz & LeCompte, 1975:55).

Repo-Davis (1966) distinguishes participant observation from other techniques of social research by what it does not do. Dominant sociological approaches (structured interviewing, demographic analysis, fixed choice questionnaires) all actively impose meaning on the subject matter in the form of ready made categories. Participant observation rejects these conventional approaches:

...man is seen as unique: he is not a passive thing for the social scientist to define and to give meaning to through elaborate measurement and statistical manipulation of quantifiable data. Instead, man is an active process, made complex and intricate by the fact that he does not merely react in a simple stimulus response manner but that he interacts with others, interpreting events and situations, and thus his actions become meaningful only within the framework of his total experience...

Extrapolating from this stance, then, we can endorse Davidovitch's contention that there are two essential components of participant observation. Firstly, the object is not to impose preconceived categories on the people, behaviour and situations that are observed. Rather, it is to

learn to see the world as it is seen and experienced by the subject of study. Secondly, the researcher must be perceived as having a legitimate role in the system, though not an authority role.

In the study of Beaver Lodge School the ethnographic approach is used, including participant observation. Indian control of Indian education is a direct product of the Native experience of non-Native control of Indian education. It may be argued that any other evaluative approach of a band run school would be inappropriate by virtue of the fact that they (other evaluative techniques) are inherently biased, i.e., created by and for a white, middle class population and school system. The ethnographic approach has been the main tool of anthropologists for a century and is the primary means of understanding the diversity of the world's cultures. The phenomenon of band run schools is based on the idea that there are inherent differences between Natives and non-Natives and that these differences have hindered the educational achievement of Native children. Indian control of their own education seeks to reverse this trend as well as stem the process of assimilation while concomitantly reaffirming Native pride and identity. What is needed, then, is a research strategy that can determine if, in fact, this is being done. Only an emic perspective, coupled with an understanding of education, can do this. Ethnography, including participant observation, is the vehicle for this task.

Other Ethnographic Techniques

Wolcott (quoting Pelto, 1970) notes almost a dozen ethnographic techniques, which by no means exhausts the possibilities. In addition to participant observation, tools, resources and techniques available to the ethnographer include: key informant interviewing, structured interviews,

questionnaires, unobtrusive measures, ratings and rankings, other psychological research implements, life histories, the semantic differential technique and technical equipment in fieldwork. As Pelto observes, a variety of different approaches greatly enhances the credibility of research results.

Lecompte and Goetz (1984:37-56), based on Pelto (1970) and Webb's (1966) discussion of ethnographic techniques see the strategies used by ethnographers as falling into two categories; interactive and noninteractive. Interactive methods are based on the premise that the investigator questions participants and elicits information from them. There are both advantages and disadvantages to these methods in that elicitation of data is controllable by the researcher for appropriateness; however, reactivity is always a possibility. Participant observation, key informant interviewing, life/career histories, and surveys are all interactive methods.

Noninteractive methods allow the researcher to gather data without the benefit of the subjects of study. The advantages of these methods include less obtrusiveness and reactivity. Included in noninteractive methods are nonparticipant observation, archival and demographic collections, and physical trace collections.

In the Pine Bay study a multiplicity of techniques were used. The researcher in his capacity as teacher (grades 7, 8, 9) and curriculum writer functioned actively as participant observer. The advantages of this dual professional role (teacher and curriculum writer) were numerous. It allowed for an understanding of the curriculum process (researching, writing, implementing, testing) as well as observation of the day to day classroom activities. The teaching strategies of other teachers were

observable because the researcher shared tandem teaching duties with teachers in two subjects (phys. ed. and life skills). All teachers had recess duty twice a week allowing for observation of student activity during "off hours" .

In addition to participant observation other main techniques and resources used in the study included key informant interviewing, archival documentation, unstructured interviews, career/life histories and questionnaires. These techniques and resources cover a wide range of data sources.

Key informant interviewing was particularly useful in gathering data regarding the history and aspirations of the school as well as teachers' attitudes and perceptions towards the school and their roles in it.

Archival data included textbooks, teachers' day books, core curricula, memos, enrollment records, lesson plans, minutes of meetings, government documents, band documents, school hierarchical organization charts, school policy statements, etc. These were used to corroborate other forms of data or to fill in blanks in the ethnographic record.

Unstructured interviews took place with everybody concerned with the school: Education Authority members, director, principal, students, teachers, student services coordinator, secretaries, janitors, librarians, etc. These, of course, were largely informal and dealt in a general way with the goals, philosophy and functions of the school and the role of the interviewee in it.

Career/life histories were particularly important in Pine Bay, especially in the case of the non-Native teachers. An understanding of what motivated people to work in a tiny isolated Indian village is important. Additionally, life histories play a large part in understanding the politics

of the running of the community and school.

As noted above, a variety of methodologies lends credibility to any ethnographic study, for it allows identification of contradictions and resolution and/or explanation of them. This multi-methodological approach, or triangulation, further allows for more data gathering, especially over longer term studies, such as the Beaver Lodge study. The result is a more thorough, well documented and less biased picture of the school and its role in the community and as a reflection of Native orientation towards education.

CHAPTER FIVE: THE SCHOOL IN ITS ENVIRONMENT

The Algonquins - Ethnohistorical Overview

The Native populations of Canada have been broken down into linguistic groups and cultural areas. Depending upon the researcher and the source, there are ten linguistic groups in Canada (DIAND, 1980) including the Algonkian, Iroquoian, Siouan, Athapaskan, Kootenayan, Salishan, Wakashan, Tsimshian, Haida and Tlingit; or seven (Willey, 1966:18) including Eskimo-Aleut, Athapaskan, Wakashan, Salish, Algonquian, Iroquoian and Siouan.

If we examine the country in terms of cultural areas we find that there are either six or seven: eastern woodlands (migratory or agricultural), plains, Pacific coast cordillera, MacKenzie and Yukon River basins, and Eskimo (Jenness, 1932:11). Willey categorizes the culture areas as Northwest coast, arctic, subarctic, interior plateau, plains and eastern woodland (1966).

By any definition, however, the Algonquin people fall into the Algonkian linguistic family and the eastern woodlands culture area. The terms Algonquin and Algonkian (Algonquian) have resulted in confusion for both the lay reader and academics alike, largely due to their early misuse. Properly used Algonkian (Algonquian) refers to a linguistic grouping that includes the related languages of Micmac, Malecite, Ojibway, Cree, Montagnais, Naskapi, Algonquin, Delaware, and Ottawa. Algonquin refers to a group of closely related bands that inhabited (and continue to inhabit) the Ottawa valley and adjacent regions to the east in Québec and west in Ontario.

Traditional, i.e., pre-contact, Algonquin culture reflected their geographical location. Bounded by the Montagnais on the east, the Huron

and Ojibwa(y) on the west and the Iroquois nations on the south, the Algonquin borrowed cultural practices from their neighbours. Conventional anthropological thought would label the Algonquin as nomadic (or, perhaps more properly, semi-nomadic) hunters and gatherers, but evidence indicates they practised limited agriculture, probably learned from the Huron. With the Ojibwa they shared the practises of the annual Festival of the Dead and the totemic clan system (Jenness, 1932:276).

Socially, the bands were made up of patrilineal extended families which lived in a single community during the summer and dispersed or set out hunting parties to obtain food during the winter (Handbook of North American Indians, v.15 Northeast; Trigger, Bruce, volume ed.; William C. Sturtevant, General editor; p.795; n.d.). During the warmer months fish provided the bulk of the diet.

Trigger observes that in the seventeenth century a simple type of swidden agriculture was practised where soil was suitable. Corn, beans, squash and peas were cultivated. The Algonquin, along with the neighbouring Nippissing and Ottawa peoples, represented the northernmost penetration of a marginally agricultural economy in eastern North America. Jenness notes that due to their "primitive" methods of farming and recurring warfare, agriculture added little to the Algonquin diet.

Material culture of the traditional Algonquin reflected a hunting and gathering existence and their environment: material culture included the birchbark canoe, snowshoes, toboggan, rectangular bark hunting camps, birchbark containers, deer and moosehide clothing, cradleboards, blanket hammocks and moccasins.

The post contact history of the Algonquin is the history of the fur

trade in eastern Canada. Trigger notes that the Algonquin first appear in history in 1603 at Tadoussac, joining with the Montagnais and Etchemins in celebration after defeating the Iroquois in battle. It is not unreasonable to assume, however, that earlier French explorers had encountered the Algonquin prior to this date.

With the advent of the fur trade and the subsequent wars, alliances and uneasy pacts it initiated, the Algonquin people were pushed north and east from the lower Ottawa and St. Maurice Rivers by the Iroquois. This mainly occurred between 1650 and 1675. It was not until the military might of the Iroquois declined that the Algonquin began drifting into their old territory. Historically, the Algonquin had occupied the easiest trade routes into the interior and thus functioned as middlemen between the French and the peoples who lived on the shores of Lake Huron. This precarious position led to warfare, particularly with the Mohawks who, by the 1640's, had largely decimated many of the Algonquin bands. It is interesting to note that in 1983 grade 9 Algonquin students can point to Devil's Island, a local landmark, and note that this location "was where the Mohawk used to ambush us."

The greatest amount of ethnographic work done among the Algonquin nation was conducted during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Prominent among these was Speck working under the auspices of the University of Pennsylvania. Between 1914 and 1929 Speck published prodigiously, conducting research on the bands at Lac Barriere, Grand Lac Victoria, Temiskamingue and Lac Dumoine. Today, there are eight to ten permanent Algonquin populations (again, depending upon source) in Québec, and one in Ontario (Golden), with a total population of approximately 3,250 people.

Pine Bay Demographics

The Algonquin settlement of Pine Bay is located in northwestern Québec about one hundred eighty kilometres southeast of the twin cities of Rouyn Noranda. The settlement (Pine Bay is not a legal status reserve, although the people are all status Indians) has been in existence since 1923. Since the initial settlement the population has fluctuated considerably, eg. from 93 in 1924 to 146 in 1934 to 87 in 1949 (l'Agence d'urbanisme Lavoie et associés, 1983:3). Projected population for the year 2001 is 504. At present there are 330 registered band members with 225 people actually residing in the community.

Pine Bay has the following buildings and facilities:

45 single houses (five in the process of being built)

1 community centre

1 Band Council office

2 retail trade buildings (grocery stores)

1 dispensary (National Health and Welfare nursing office)

1 school (seven classrooms)

1 church (Roman Catholic - Oblates)

10 hunting and fishing cabins

1 pump house

1 baseball field (located far outside the village)

1 playground (in school yard)

1 outdoor skating rink

1 police station (Amerindian Police Force)

3 trailers

According to the Band Council the population breaks down as follows:

people over age 65: 6

people under age 65: 95

women: 50

men: 77

number of people employed: 98

The figure (98) cited above for those employed includes those who are "seasonally employed", eg. berry pickers, trappers, and so on. The two largest employers are the band office and the school.

The band office employs approximately twelve people including the band manager, chief (elected), councillors (3 - elected), welfare administrator, community health representative (CHR, under employ of the Ministry of Health and Welfare), janitor, secretary and three "maintenance workers" who do miscellaneous semi-skilled and unskilled labour such as construction work and garbage pick up.

The school carries a Native staff of fourteen plus five "outside" teachers. The staff of fourteen includes the director, curriculum co-ordinator (also high school art teacher), secretary, student services co-ordinator, bookkeeper, janitor, librarian, six teachers and one teacher's aide. Additionally, there are four or five "supply" teachers who are infrequently called upon to fill in for sick or absent teachers.

The local branch of the Amerindian Police Force employs two or three people depending upon demand. At the time of the study there were two full time police officers (one from outside the community) and one in training.

There are two retail buildings in the community; one owned by a

resident Native couple, the other by a French Canadian couple. The latter establishment is part of a larger operation that caters to hunters and fishermen. In addition to the store this business also has ten log cabins which housed the outside teachers for the first two months of the 1983/84 school year. "Pine Bay Cabins", as the outfitting business is called, often hires local teenagers during the summer.

The other store is operated by a local family and may be said to offer full time employment to two adults. The store sells souvenirs and groceries and in addition has a pool table and video game.

Pine Bay also has its own taxi service which is run by a local man who will, for a fee, drive people to wherever they care to go. A trip to Rouyn, for example, costs \$250. Most of the business involves taking patients to and from hospitals, optometrists, and dentists.

The nursing station employs one person as a janitor and another as receptionist and assistant.

It is apparent that the quoted numbers of employed people (98) is a far cry from the number actually involved in full time work. The school has fourteen permanent local employees (some, including librarian and teacher's aide, are part time), the band office twelve, the nursing station two, the handicrafts/grocery store two, the police station two, and taxi business one. This totals thirty three people. If one includes non-Band members, i.e., outside teachers, priest, proprietors of Pine Bay cabins, school secretary and non-local police officers, there are still only forty three permanently employed people in the community.

One notes that the term "permanently employed" is relative. For example, the chief and councillors are elected by the community and hence

have guaranteed income for only two years. Likewise, teacher contracts are only offered at one year increments and theoretically the teacher might not be offered renewal at the end of his/her contract if the Education Authority finds fault with him or her. In reality, then, eleven of the thirty three permanent positions in the community are of potentially only short term duration. And not all are full time. More significantly, if the figure of 98 employed people is accurate, then 67% of these are seasonally employed, i.e., berry pickers, trappers, etc. According to teachers at the school, however, there are only three men in the community who pursue trapping in any serious fashion. Thus, the vast majority of "seasonally employed" individuals are involved in such things as berry picking, fishing, making of handicrafts, etc. Taken at face value, then, the figure of 98 employed people suggests an unemployment rate of 21% (of people over age 18 and under 65) in the community. The figure of 33 (as discussed above), on the other hand, renders an unemployment figure of 73%. This figure falls into the range of 35-75% unemployment rate for Native peoples generally, nationwide (DIAND, 1980).

The two major families in Pine Bay are the McKenzie and the Simards, followed by the Smith, McLeans, Stewart, McLeod, Théberge, Jones, Brown, and Queen families. For the most part, these latter families are represented by one or two families in the community. The distribution of permanent jobs within the village is representative of the distribution of families within the community.

The band office and the school offer an insight into the economic, social and political strength of the settlement. The school, for example, has on staff fourteen local people who, with two exceptions, belong to

the Simard and McKenzie families. The director is a McKenzie, as is the current bookkeeper (director's brother), the janitor (director's brother), and student services co-ordinator (director's nephew). The pre-K and kindergarten teacher is likewise married to a McKenzie. The curriculum co-ordinator is the director's wife. Her position is also administrative. The curriculum secretary (a Cooper, whose spouse is Cree) is also a MacKenzie (director's niece). Three of the Native teachers belong to the Simard family, one is a McLean, one is a Stewart, and one is married to a Simard. The librarian is a McKenzie.

In the band office the band manager (a civil servant/administrative job) is a Smith. He has held that position for nearly a decade, and he is also a band councillor. The chief is a Simard (his sister is also a teacher). The welfare administrator is likewise a Simard and his wife and sister-in-law are both teachers. The community health representative is a McKenzie (his three brothers are all involved in the school - director, bookkeeper, and janitor). The maintenance workers are headed by a McKenzie (same family as immediately above) and have a Simard in the crew. The band office secretary is a McKenzie.

The grocery store is owned and operated by a McKenzie, the taxi service is run by a McKenzie and the Amerindian Police Force employs a Simard and a McLean. Clearly, then, the distribution of permanent well paying jobs reflects the kin groupings of the community.

Similarly, the makeup of the Education Authority reflects the pre-dominance of the key families. Although the members of the authority changed drastically and frequently over the year (sometimes in violation of the few rules regarding membership) the Simard and McKenzie families

are the only ones with any input to education in Pine Bay. At one point during the 1982-83 year (the year immediately preceding the study) the Education Authority consisted of two Simard brothers and their wives, the director's wife and the director's niece. For various reasons, during this period the composition of the authority changed until it was stipulated that no employee of the school or local politician, i.e., chief or councillor, could sit on the authority. Ostensibly, this ruling was to prevent conflicts of interest. From November 9, 1982 to August 5, 1983 there are no available recorded minutes which reflect a change in authority membership but on the latter date a Théberge, Stewart and four McKenzies comprised the Pine Bay Band Education Authority.

During the 1983-84 the PBBEA witnessed turbulent times and turnover in membership which violated regulations governing membership, so much so that by the end of the year three of the four members (theoretically there should be six on the authority) were school employees. Two were the director's brothers, one his nephew. These allocations of positions of power and remuneration (nepotism, patronage) are not unique to Pine Bay (see Shkilnyk, 1985: 93-108; for a brief discussion of local power and status in Grassy Narrows) or even to Native communities (witness our own federal government), but the recognition that it does exist is essential for an understanding of the school and community.

There is a "revolving door" syndrome operant in Pine Bay wherein remunerative or powerful positions are given to or acquired by the fortunate few, invariably those of the Simard or McKenzie families. The director of education, for example, has also served as chief and councillor. A couple of the teachers have also served as members of the

Education Authority. This pattern, in which a handful of people shift from one position to another, sometimes simultaneously, is repeated constantly, to the exclusion of other community members.

Local Government and the School

The two underlying principles of Indian control of Indian education are parental responsibility and local control. To this end band run schools theoretically are run by the community. In order to understand how this is done it is imperative that one has an understanding of the functionings of Native government.

The Canadian Government via the British North America Act and the Indian Act, completely controls the affairs of status Indian people. The Indian Act is the mandate through which the federal government manages social, political, financial and educational activities of aboriginal peoples in this country.

According to section 114 (1) and (2) of the Indian Act the Crown " may "

...enter into agreements on behalf of her Majesty for the education of...Indian children with a) the government of a province b) the commissioner of the Northwest Territories c) the commissioner of the Yukon Territory d) a public or separate school board e) a religious or charitable organization.

2) The Minister may, in accordance with this Act, establish, operate and maintain schools for Indian children.

With the inception of Indian control, band education authorities, as mandated by band councils, have been recognized as " public or separate school boards" . However, with the complex legalities of the Indian Act, the Education Authorities must work through the band councils for funding.

The band councils, as outlined by the Indian Act, " shall consist of one chief, and one councillor for every one hundred members of the band, the number of councillors shall not be less than two nor more than twelve and no band shall have more than one chief" (Indian Act, Section 74 (2)). Both chief and councillors are elected.

In the Pine Bay context, then, (and in the case of all band run schools) the Pine Bay Band Council via a mandate allotted to the Education Authority, is responsible for education in the community. The Education Authority is supposed to study all educational matters and make recommendations to finalize all major decisions. Since the Education Authority is not recognized as a legal entity by DIAND and the Band Council is, the latter body decentralizes all funds, which are negotiated by the Education Authority through the director. Simply put, only the Band Council can sign on behalf of the community for funds coming from the federal government. As perceived by the community, then, the Education Authority functions as a ministry of education.

The Education Authority is expected to make decisions concerning:

- 1) the establishment of a liaison between the school and community
- 2) the long and short term objectives
- 3) establishment of educational priorities
- 4) all school facilities
- 5) all policy making such as employee booklets, student manuals, etcetera
- 6) additional services such as transportation, foster homes, clothing, allowances, tuition, etcetera
- 7) the establishment of budget priorities and spending
- 8) the hiring of personnel - support, administrative and teaching staff

- 9) the evaluation process of teaching materials, personnel, programmes, etc.
- 10) the establishment of curriculum guidelines
- 11) the dissemination of information
- 12) communications with other agencies or institutions eg. school boards, schools, universities

Any community member is eligible to sit on the Education Authority (including non-band members) providing that a) he/she is not a permanent full time employee of the school b) he/she is not involved in local politics, i.e. is not a member of the band council. The position is voluntary and there is no remuneration other than expenses for approved educational business. The director's job is supposed to be posted for competition by the band and is salaried. Since the takeover of education there has been only one director, and the position was never posted for competition.

The Education Authority meets twice a month to discuss educational matters and to hear reports from the director, principal, curriculum co-ordinator, and student services co-ordinator. There are few structured guidelines at these meetings except that 1) they are held every second Thursday of each month 2) a quorum consists of four members 3) all minutes of meetings should be recorded.

The director may make recommendations but cannot vote on any issue. Rather, he should function as a liaison between the school, the authority and the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.

Beaver Lodge: Structure and Authority

Beaver Lodge, in theory, is run by the community through the band council, Education Authority, and community members. Sharon Fiddler, in Working Paper on Local Control of Education, states that "... it cannot

be stressed enough the reality and necessity of involving the community people in the process of takeover" (1979:22).

The conventional understanding of local control is that the chief and his council are the ultimate authorities on a reserve (ignoring, of course, DIAND). In this typical scenario, the chief and council would have the final say on any matter involving the community. Fiddler notes that the chief and council decide on the education authority by selecting one of three possible routes: 1) they themselves may act as the education authority 2) they may choose to delegate all educational matters to a separate education authority with the understanding that the ultimate authority is the chief and council or 3) chief and council may elect to combine council members and other band members to form an education authority (1979: 7,8). Pine Bay opted for the second approach wherein a separate education authority was established.

Regardless of the three options taken by a band it is assumed that the band council has the ultimate authority. However, at Pine Bay, the official school position (documented in 1984-85) is that community members, represented by a parents committee (of which there was none in 1983-84); the band council; and Education Authority share equally the authority, responsibility, and decision making process of educational matters. Immediately below these three governing bodies is the director of education, who is the immediate superior of the curriculum co-ordinator, principal and bookkeeper. These three are respectively in charge of curriculum development, teaching staff, and finances.

In 1983-84 lines of authority were not clearly laid out internally, i.e., within the school itself, and channels of authority were fuzzy.

Job descriptions and policy manuals did not exist. Further complications arose when school employees found themselves on the Education Authority. Thus, the janitor, bookkeeper, and student services co-ordinator hired in mid-year, found themselves in a position of power in January by virtue of being on the school's governing body. In March, these three employees/ Education Authority members were able to decide disciplinary action for a teacher who had conducted herself inappropriately.

The lines of authority are either unclear to many employees or ignored by them. The support staff, i.e., janitor, librarian, secretaries, all go to the principal with problems or suggestions, especially problems related to the director. From the principal's perspective, (as directed by the director) she is in charge of teaching staff only. The director assumes supervision of support staff. Similarly, the student body perceives the principal as being in charge of many of the areas that should normally be handled by the student services co-ordinator, eg. student allowances. Nonetheless, the principal finds herself acting as a liaison between the support staff and director, and student body and student services co-ordinator.

Similarly, the curriculum co-ordinator (who is the director's wife) finds a position at the Education Authority meetings, ostensibly due to her position at the school. While not formally allowed to vote in the meetings, she does participate. She also records the minutes for the authority, as does (occasionally) the school secretary. During 1983-84 there were at least two cases of "re-worded" or "corrected" minutes, i.e., those that differed from the original, and these were re-written by the curriculum co-ordinator.

The fuzziness of roles and the assumed prerogatives and perquisites

that accompany them do not go unnoticed at the school. The tardy arrival of a certain few staff members, paid vacations in mid year, and the overstepping of roles at times generates talk and animosity among staff.

The request by (the director) and (curriculum co-ordinator) for a three week vacation leave with pay was put on the floor. After discussion it was decided:

to accept the request for three weeks vacation with pay to (the director) and (curriculum co-ordinator)

(from the minutes of the Pine Bay Band Education Authority, March 8, 1984)

There is clearly a need for policy manuals and job descriptions at Beaver Lodge. An employee hired in the fall noted in a meeting in the spring that he had not attended to a certain task because he had not been aware that it was part of his job. Similarly, confusion and anger regarding hours of work, holidays, and job duties can be avoided with certain guidelines.

Two examples illustrate the anger and confusion that result as a lack of policy statements, job descriptions and delineations of power.

The first example deals with a grievance submitted by a teacher regarding the withholding of her pay cheque by the director of education. There are two sets of minutes available detailing the meeting; one is a verbatim recording of the dialogue that transpired, the other is a description of the meeting. Both indicate the problems inherent with lack of policy, job descriptions, and delineation of authority.

The teacher's spokesperson was questioning both the lack of policy to deal with problems such as the issue in question and the fact that the principal was not consulted by the curriculum co-ordinator or the director prior

to the decision to withhold the teacher's pay cheque.

The proper procedure had been followed in a previous instance but since the policy manual had never been formally adopted by the Education Authority, the director was under no obligation to follow the steps outlined therein to deal with staff i.e., an oral reprimand followed by a written reprimand. As a result it was left completely up to the director how to deal with each new situation and inconsistencies resulted.

The second point of contention was the failure on the part of the curriculum co-ordinator to discuss the matter first with the principal before going to the director. Theoretically, the principal was responsible for teaching staff and one would assume that the principal would be consulted. However, since the lines of authority were never clearly delineated, the curriculum co-ordinator was under no obligation to consult the principal. She could, and did, go directly to the director, who assumed ultimate authority to make decisions on all matters regarding the school.

This collusion between the curriculum co-ordinator and the director (husband and wife) was seen as inappropriate. The teacher's spokesperson in this case asked "Who is responsible for teachers?", indicating that he felt that the teacher should have been contacted by the principal.

Many staff members resented the fact that the curriculum co-ordinator and director bypassed the principal whom, according to staff members should have been responsible for the staff.

Teacher's spokesperson: Friday, October 21, (teacher) did not get her pay. I say she should have got it. (An) oral reprimand must be done with the question (sic) "Why are you not doing your work?". A written reprimand is then sent. There was a problem filling in a form(s). Uncorrect

procedure. When an employee feels he/she was mistreated, that person does not have to agree with the way she was treated, as in (the teacher's) case.

Director: If she will make a grievance, she should be taking the initial step.

Teacher: I am not working for (the curriculum co-ordinator). I wanted to work on the forms, and (the curriculum co-ordinator) said to do the summaries.

Curriculum co-ordinator: I asked (teacher) if she was filling her forms. She said she was not doing them; she could not find a witness. Sent out the second week of school. Special day set out to have decisions worked out and to fill out the forms. (teacher) said she will do them next week, maybe. That is just another delay.

Director: I gave contracts about two weeks ago. I got the contracts approved by a lawyer. (The teacher) was putting an ultimatum on the school. Work was expected of teachers. It is not the first time an individual refuses.

Teacher's spokesperson: For example, the janitor. An oral reprimand was finalized. The written reprimand was not sent. Should have written a letter to (the teacher).

Curriculum co-ordinator: If you look at the progress manual, there is a clause written for special cases. You can follow it without going through procedures.

Teacher's spokesperson: If it is not accepted, why do you follow it? Who is responsible for teachers?

Director: The decision was mine.

Curriculum co-ordinator: (The teacher in question) was the only one who refused doing the curriculum summaries.

Teacher's spokesperson: You should have had a written letter detailing when the work should have been done. I had to run around to get my cheque signed.

I am no longer staying in the school. You do what you want to do and you don't follow the procedures.

Curriculum co-ordinator: Work was never handed in time since the first day of school. Why did (the teacher) not sign the contract?

Teacher's spokesperson: I am not coming back to work. They will control everything, otherwise. I will come back when there is a policy manual.

Principal: We must resolve something instead of deciding too quickly. If there is an agreement for the summaries to be done, the director of education is responsible.

Teacher's spokesperson: I refuse to work for (the director). I used to enjoy working here.

Principal: I understand but because (the teacher) refused to do her summary, there was a disagreement.

Teacher: I was being pushed.

Curriculum co-ordinator: If you wait for a day for your pay, at least the work will be done.

Principal: The issue is an argument concerning summaries.

Teacher: I must receive an apology from (the director).

Teacher's spokesperson: The procedure was not correct. I enjoyed working here until today.

(from the minutes of the Pine Bay Band Education Authority, October 24, 1983).

The decision by the Director of Education to withhold the October 21st paycheck of a teacher was then discussed.

(The spokesperson) for the teacher objected to the decision stating that correct procedure was not followed. He felt that the Director should have first given the teacher an oral reprimand and if the problem persisted, this should have been followed by a written reprimand.

The Director stated that he had the authority, in cases of emergency, to take whatever steps he deemed necessary to rectify the situation. In this case, the teacher categorically refused to complete the Unit Planners and Summaries which are part of her job as teacher. This refusal to do her job was deemed an emergency and the Director stated that it was his decision to inform the teacher that her paycheck was being withheld until she fulfilled her obligations. The Director then passed around copies of the letter that he had written to the teacher on October 24 which stated the reasons for the withholding of the paycheck. The teacher's paycheck was attached to the original letter.

Some discussion followed regarding the exact sequence of events on Friday, October 21, leading up to the decision by the Director. There was some disagreement about exactly what was said that day.

There was also some discussion about the fact that the teacher had not signed her contract until Friday, October 21 so felt that she did not have to fulfill the contract obligation of completing the Unit Planners and Summaries.

It was pointed out that since staff are being paid, they are expected to fulfill their obligations although the agreement was not yet formally signed.

Education Authority members were shown copies of the teacher's contract, our agreement with Indian Affairs to submit progress reports on Curriculum Development and the Unit Planner and Summary forms that the teacher had not submitted to date.

The (teacher's spokesperson) stated that he was hereby resigning and left the meeting.

The teacher left the meeting.

(from the minutes (copy B) of the Pine Bay Band Education Authority, October 24, 1983)

In the transcripts above the teacher's spokesperson is the student services co-ordinator, a member of the Simard family and the teacher's husband. After he resigned (as noted in the minutes), he was replaced by a McKenzie, the director's nephew.

The second incident deals with the mandating of a selection committee to hire a janitor, librarian and bookkeeper trainee. The committee had been given the mandate by the Education Authority to screen applicants and hire the most suitable people. The committee consisted of a school staff member (the principal), an Education Authority member, and, ostensibly a community member, who also happened to be the Algonquin teacher/curriculum writer. The director of education subsequently overturned their decisions. Off the record he had stated that his reversal of the committee's decision was based at least partially on incompatibility with some of the chosen people, and that he would quit if the selected bookkeeper was hired. As a consequence of this incident the Education Authority as it stood was dissolved. The jobs eventually went to two of the director's brothers and his sister-in-law.

The lengthy excerpt which follows illustrates again the problems with lack of policy and structure. It also suggests the amount of control held by the director as evidenced by his ability to overturn decisions by both the Education Authority and mandated hiring bodies.

The selection committee reported on candidates selected:

_____ as librarian
_____ as janitor
_____ as bookkeeper trainee

The question of what procedures were to be accepted was presented. It referred to who would be the final decision maker in the selection of employees, the selection committee or the Education Authority.

It was outlined that at the last regular meeting there was a suggestion to make the final decision-making body the selection committee, but there had been no motion made to that effect.

The director outlined some of the problems that could occur if the committee's selections were considered as the final decision.

Discussion and problems that could occur because of the selection of the school secretary as librarian were outlined including:

that there would be no one to act as school secretary, and that the position was important for the school

that last summer when the position of school secretary was opened, since there was no one in the community qualified for the job, the position was given to someone who had no training. The problems that occurred were outlined

that even though the secretary offered to train someone to replace her that this it would take too long (sic) before the new secretary was ready to take over (sic).

The Director stated that he was ready to overlook these problems, however, there were other problems concerning the position of comptroller that had to be considered. Discussion and points that were outlined included that:

There was a question as to whether the selection committee was given a job description for the position.

Certain items that go into the position of comptroller should have been considered such as budget preparations and negotiations. The person to be chosen for the job would have to be able to work in these areas as well as accounting.

That now we are dealing with only a portion of our future budget. We are at about the 3/4 million dollar mark, but later we will be looking at about 1 & 1/2 (sic) or 2 million dollars.

Things should be O.K. during the training period because we will still have our present comptroller here. He can fill in and meet the requirements of governments and agencies such as cash flows, T4s, unemployment, pension plans, etc...

The computers are to be used to process finances and financial reports, and that the person to be trained for comptroller will also have to get training for computers.

The person to be trained should take the same responsibility for finances as the present comptroller, to keep the responsibility where it belongs.

The Director stated that when he saw the list of applicants for the position of comptroller, he saw 2 or 3 persons that he felt would not be acceptable for the job. (NOTE: original minutes read "...he saw 2 or 3 persons that could not be acceptable for the job.") One of these persons was chosen by the selection committee. The responsibility of the Director in finances was outlined and it was stated that the Director should not be as directly involved as previously. The Director listed these as his reasons for disagreeing with the decision taken.

Discussion continued on how the selection was conducted. The selection committee outlined the format that was followed as its procedure. Further questions that were discussed included:

- conditions that were put on the janitor for a probationary period and salary adjustment
- why no similar conditons were put on the other positions
- how much involvement there was from school staff in the selection
- how much involvement there was from the Band Council in the selection

The committee outlined the procedures that were followed in the selection of the comptroller. These included that:

- A test written by the present comptroller was given to the candidates.
- The written test was followed by oral interviews.

-Candidates gave a list of previous jobs and references to the committee.

-The committee conducted interviews with one person listed as a reference for each applicant.

-The interviews with the references included questions about the candidates' work habits, reliability, trustworthiness, etc...

-The method of selection was agreed upon by the selection committee members.

Discussion continued concerning clarification of how the selection was conducted.

The Chairperson outlined his reasons why the decision of the selection committee should be final. The reasons that were discussed included:

-It was his understanding that at the last regular meeting that the selection committee had been given the mandate to make the decision, and that this decision was to be considered final.

-That reversing the decision of the selection committee would reflect badly on the Education Authority.

-That it would be difficult to find persons to sit on future selection committees if the decision was reversed by the Education Authority.

-That if necessary the training could be extended.

-That the successful applicant ought to be given the opportu-

nity to learn all aspects of the job before making the decision that she is incapable of learning to handle the various responsibilities.

The following points were made:

The maximum training period for this type of program is 31 weeks.

That there was never a formal motion accepted at the last Education Authority meeting regarding the finality of the selection committee's decision.

Discussion continued concerning clarification of procedures used by the selection committee, and effects that could occur because of the persons selected.

There was discussion concerning which members of the Education Authority had a conflict of interest in this matter, and which members were eligible to make a decision. Discussions also included the resignation of two Education Authority members.

It was proposed that the decision of the selection committee be the final decision.

No consensus (sic) could be reached and the next item on the agenda was reached.

(from the Minutes of Emergency Education Authority Meeting, Pine Bay Band, January 23, 1984)

As noted above, the decisions of the selection committee were overturned. Shortly after the three employees were hired, the brothers became members of the Education Authority as some previous members had resigned over the selection committee incident. From January until the end of the school year (and presumably longer) the Education Authority operated with only

four members (instead of the usual six), due to a reluctance of community members to get involved. Three of the four are school employees; two the director's brothers, one his nephew.

A final indicator of the authority of the director is suggested by his ability to set salaries at will without consulting the authority. In the Fall of 1983 after teachers had been hired, salaries established and several pay cheques had been issued, a teacher informally went to the director and requested a raise. Immediately and without consultation with the either the Band Council or Education Authority, the teacher's salary was raised \$1500 a year.

CHAPTER SIX: BEAVER LODGE AND THE ALGONQUIN PHILOSOPHY OF EDUCATION

As noted earlier, Beaver Lodge professes a bicultural education, focussing on Algonquin language and culture as the first culture and mainstream Canadian culture as the second.

Bicultural education is an outgrowth of a minority group's rejection of majority enforced assimilation (Gibson, 1976:13). The goals of bicultural education, according to Gibson are

...to seek to foster or maintain pride in the native culture, to develop a further understanding of one's heritage and traditions, to strengthen identity, to increase motivation and academic success, to reduce prejudice and discrimination, to increase educational opportunities and social justice. When attached to bilingual programmes, bicultural...education programmes are obviously aimed at developing language competencies.

Gibson, quoting Trueba, 1974, notes three assumptions regarding outcomes of bicultural programmes: 1) bicultural education will enhance a student's ability to function in both the native culture and the mainstream culture 2) competencies in a second culture will be acquired without rejection of the student's native culture 3) bicultural education will lead ultimately to full participation for non-mainstream and mainstream youth alike in the socio-economic opportunities which the nation offers (1976:13).

The stated philosophy of the school reflects the concerns of the community and, theoretically and presumably, the Algonquin nation.

The Algonquin philosophy of education for the community of Pine Bay suggests the following:

-that the school have the ability to orient itself to the community

-that the world view, spiritual beliefs, language, economic structures, political and family structures, methods for social and cultural development and Algonquin history be reinforced

-that the curriculum and instruction reflect and complement the community's needs

-that the students be given an opportunity to help them identify the positive contributions of their Algonquin heritage and to ensure that their culture is identified as being equal to other Native and world cultures

-that the students feel their education is relevant to present and future roles as members of the community, the Algonquin nation, and the human race

(from the Introduction to Beaver Lodge School Core Curricula)

At this point it is beneficial to recall the key elements of a social adaptation/reconstruction orientation.

The conception of (cultural needs) often emanates from what are regarded as particularly pressing social ills. Drug abuse, sex education, parenting programs, and ecological studies represent areas of concern for some groups whereas black studies, sexism studies and Chicano and Native American programs represent efforts to provide attention to what other groups believe to exist. The curriculum becomes the vehicle for remedying such situations (Eisner, 1979:63).

...some individuals holding the social reconstructionist view...are not at all sanguine about the likelihood that public schools can actually convey to students the kind of social message that they believe students need to hear. They fear that rather than the message changing the school, the school will change the message. The only viable route...they believe significant is the establishment of alternative schools. (Eisner, 1979:65).

Clearly, then, the orientation is one of Social Adaptation and/or Reconstruction. The strong emphasis upon community roles and relations, identification as Algonquin people and relevance to present and future community members suggest an education geared to fitting in with society at home and at large.

The administrative body of the school, i.e., director, curriculum co-ordinator, and Education Authority, contends that when the school is truly reflective of and complementary to the world view, spiritual beliefs, etc. of the Algonquin nation, there will be numerous benefits to the students including a sense of comfort in school, facilitated initial learning, less motivational problems, fewer discipline problems, increased productivity, and a lower drop out rate. Similarly, long term benefits, i.e., those not associated with in-school activities alone, will include a more positive self image and increased cognizance of Native culture.

The curricula at Beaver Lodge were specifically constructed to reflect the Algonquin community. The Algonquin language programme takes priority both in number of classes per week and in the amount of time and energy invested in the staff. With a student body of about sixty (there were drop outs and additions throughout the year), there are three Algonquin language teachers (one of whom doubles as a curriculum writer/researcher) and a consultant who visits approximately every six weeks. The teacher/curriculum writer is also undergoing formal technical training to be a techno-linguist. The Algonquin language teachers are all Native; the consultant is a non-Native PhD. candidate in socio-linguistics.

The emphasis upon Algonquin language is reflected in the number of classes allotted per grade level. Pre-kindergarten and kindergarten are

total Algonquin immersion (two hours per day). Grades one to four spend ten classes per week (350 minutes) learning Algonquin, grades five and six seven classes a week (245 minutes) and grades seven to nine five classes a week (225 minutes). Both oral and written Algonquin are stressed. There is a different teacher for pre-K and kindergarten, grades one to six, and grades seven to nine.

Social studies is the second area where curriculum heavily reflects the community and Nativeness of the school. At the grade one and two levels social studies, art and science are closely inter-related and all are taught by the home room teacher. Grades three to six are taught by a specialist (Native) who also teaches science. Although in these grades art, science and social studies are inter-related (via subject matter) each is allotted a separate time slot.

In the senior end, i.e., grades seven to nine, social studies is taught four times a week. The teacher also teaches life skills (one period a week) and physical education (two periods a week). The teacher is also the social studies curriculum writer/researcher.

The social studies curricula reflect in their entirety the Nativeness of the school. Focus at the elementary end is on the community and community comparisons. These comparisons centre upon such things as economics, subsistence, population, public services, language, religion, etcetera. The upper year grades are more issue oriented in nature although there is some attention paid to community studies. In grade seven, for example, units include Pine Bay Physical Features, Pine Bay History and Pine Bay Society. Other topics include Canadian History (from contact to 1867, from a Native perspective) and Native contributions to Canadian and World

Culture. The goal ultimately, however, is to inculcate a desire and ability to deal with controversial and contentious issues surrounding Native people. The goal is more apparent when one examines the units designated for grades eight and nine. The grade eight curriculum includes such things as Native Communities, Metis and Non-Status Peoples, Native Peoples in Canada, Aboriginal Rights, The Indian Act, Educational Systems, and Canadian History (from 1867 to 1970, from a Native perspective).

In grade nine students are expected to study Archaeology, Impact of European Cultures, Stereotypes, Transitions (from traditional/rural to urban/contemporary settings/lifestyles), Native Organizations, Canadian History (from 1970 to date, from a Native perspective), and The Fourth World.

When one examines the topics or units expected to be learned in the upper years one can find grounds for arguing Eisner's contention that

...the social adaptation/reconstruction orientation is basically aimed at developing levels of critical consciousness among children so that they become aware of the kinds of ills that the society has and become motivated to learn how to alleviate them. Programme(s) having this orientation will frequently focus on controversial issues...religious values, sexual preferences, political corruption, race prejudices and the like. Content for the social studies, for example, is drawn from the pervasive and critical social problems and from the hubs of social controversy.
(1979:63)

The various other courses reflect in their curricula, in varying degrees, the Nativeness of the school. Some, such as life skills, offer original and innovative approaches to traditional course offerings.

(The Life Skills programme)...replaces the old religion program(me) with a fresh, open perspective for students to acquire affective skills necessary for future living. Students should be given experiences that will foster and encourage the development of positive attitudes and values as affective skills. In response to acquiring these skills, students will develop critical attitudes towards issues of cultural, personal, social, community, and environmental concern.

The life skills programme is unique in two respects: firstly, its strong recommendation that community members be utilized as resource people; and secondly, its theme of respect. This latter approach stems from the perceived alienation and confusion that results from traditional religion courses as a result of separating children according to family faiths. Additionally, religion is perceived as a personal phenomenon. Hence, a rejection of a conventional religion course in favour of a life skills course "that will be interesting yet practical". The theme of respect is centred around twelve variables including respect for themselves as individuals, culture, law and freedom, human rights, etc. This theme is found throughout grades one to nine.

The concept of community members as resource people is considered a priority in the life skills curriculum. "A teacher who makes the effort to arrange for the utilization of local people will provide a unique, creative and productive set of learning experiences for students." In Pine Bay in 1983-84 no resource people were brought into the classroom for life skills classes. Steps were taken to invite the local priest but the idea was vetoed by the curriculum co-ordinator and director.

The goals of the life skills programme are many and diverse including the development of honesty; tolerance; compassion; concern for themselves,

peers, family, community and nation; concern for cultural heritage; and respect.

The science curricula for grades 7, 8 and 9 attempt to incorporate Native and local perspectives into the course design. While the science courses themselves are conventional in terms of content, the utilization of local environment and Native perspectives and interpretation are stressed in virtually every unit.

Four goals are stated for the science programme including the following: "To develop an understanding of the major facts and concepts, theories and propositions in the science disciplines and interpret this in a way which is relevant to the Algonquin world" and "to develop positive attitudes and values about the field of science and traits that will help students employ the use of scientific inquiry to protect the natural environment located in their territory." The curricula, if properly addressed, are amenable to these goals and effort is taken to illustrate scientific principles out of doors.

The grade 7 science course has four units: The Earth Our Grandparents Walked On, Populations and Communities, Energy, and Reproduction. In Unit One students examine the earth's origins (Judeo-Christian creationism, scientific theory, Native beliefs), and minerals and ores (including local specimens). Under the topic of Populations and Communities students study the biosphere, ecosystems, populations and communities, and food chains. Again, the local, i.e. Pine Bay, ecosystem is examined. Under the unit on Energy a discussion of the concept and types of energy is offered, as well as foci on the energy crisis, effects of energy usage, energy wastage, use of energy, and future energy considerations. In this last topic

a consideration of Pine Bay's current and future energy needs is addressed. The final unit, Reproduction, examines reproduction in plants and animals, meiosis, animal reproduction systems, and genetics.

The science curriculum for grade 8 has only three units: Algonquins in the Biosphere, Earth and Water Environments, and The Functions of Animals and Green Plants. The first and second unit are heavily based on the local environment and are rooted in Algonquin demographics, environmental perception and land use.

The first unit examines the biosphere, including the Algonquin nation as members of the food chain and ecosystem; ecology of Pine Bay; population growth; exploring world, Algonquin and Pine Bay growth rates; and values and attitudes about the biosphere. Students are expected to "conduct research on one or more topics related to the Algonquin peoples' past, present and future use of the earth they live on" and "discuss the implications of man's technology on the biosphere in and around Pine Bay."

Unit two, Earth and Water Environments, necessitates use of the local environment. Students are expected to familiarize themselves with regional flora, fauna, and soils; construct food chains and food webs; and measure air, water and soil temperatures. Topics in this unit include the abiotic environment; and temperature, rainfall and biomes.

In unit three, Functions of Animals and Green Plants, students examine basic plant and animal systems including photosynthesis, absorption, breathing systems, nutrition and digestive processes.

The grade 9 science curriculum is an indepth analysis of the concepts examined in grades 7 and 8. There are two units: Population and Communities of Living Things, and Applied Research Skills in Science. The former

unit examines biospheres, biomes, ecosystems, populations and communities, and succession. The second unit is an examination of a scientific problem through the application of the scientific method. The choice of problem is at the teacher's discretion. While conducting the research the teacher should stress the proper procedures including stating the problem, conducting the experiment, organizing and processing the data, interpreting data, analyzing and evaluating data, and stating conclusions. It is assumed that the problem investigated will have local relevance.

The curriculum outline for physical education at Beaver Lodge states that

A careful survey of physical resources available in Pine Bay for the implementation of an adequate physical education curriculum shows a poor selection of facilities and materials. Indeed, what one would like to do and what one is able to do will be two different things during the 1983-84 academic year.

In fact, the physical education programme at Beaver Lodge fares quite well despite the lack of conventional facilities. The unlimited natural environment is conducive to outdoor activities such as running, cross country skiing, tobogganning (sliding), and because there are no traffic considerations, broomball, steal the flag, and road hockey on the road. At the senior end, with two teachers, a variety of activities are undertaken. The degree to which these activities reflect a Native or Algonquin orientation is debatable. One of the ironic (and to some outside teachers disconcerting) observations at the start of the year was the plastic snowshoes in the storage room of the school.

The curriculum for the phys. ed. programme recommends two dozen activities categorized as indoor, outdoor and winter events. These include such

things as gymnastics, first aid, floor hockey (indoor); running, orienteering, hunting, fishing, canoeing, traditional Algonquin games (undefined and unspecified), volleyball (outdoor); and cross country skiing, snowshoeing, hockey, broomball (winter). With only a skating rink and a ball diamond (the latter a kilometre and a half outside the village), the phys. ed. programme adapts well to limited facilities. Softball, football, soccer, and cross country running are all warm weather activities enjoyed at the ball diamond (after calisthenics and a run to the diamond). Winter activities include hockey, skating, cross country skiing, broomball and tobogganing (locally called "sliding"). All are co-educational. There is never any snowshoeing.

A non-Native school about fifty kilometres away lends its gymnasium to Beaver Lodge one afternoon every two weeks. Thus, every two weeks one of grades 1 to 3, 4 to 6, or 7 to 9 get to use the gymnasium. On these occasions indoor sports such as basketball, volleyball and floor hockey are taught, practised and played.

The language arts (English) curriculum for the entire school is based upon the five related concepts of reading, writing, speaking, listening and viewing. The curriculum outline is sixty pages long and lays out in detail the expectations of the course. In the elementary grades the "unofficial official" teaching series is Ginn's "Mr. Muggs" while from grade four up Ginn's "Starting Points" is used.

Throughout the various grade levels attempts are made by teachers to incorporate Native material. In grade three, for example, "Sun, Moon, and Owl" a text developed for use with the Tahltan people of British Columbia, is employed. At the upper grades material written by and about

Native people is similarly utilized. The poetry and prose of Pauline Johnson and Chief Dan George, among others, are used in grades seven to nine.

There is a consensus that while a basal text is needed, (hence, Mr. Muggs and Starting Point), there must be both a Native and local relevance. Therefore, the inclusion of Native material whenever and wherever possible. Writing exercises include such things as keeping diaries, essays about trips to the bush, Christmas in Pine Bay, etc.

The French curriculum is left largely to the discretion of the teacher. There is no textbook and the teacher is left to develop the curriculum. There is a concerted effort made to incorporate and reflect the elements of the local social, cultural and physical environment. As in English, the emphasis is on reading, writing, listening, speaking, and viewing.

Philosophy and Objectives: Theory and Practice

In a document given to staff at Beaver Lodge there is a statement of the "Philosophy of Education for Pine Bay" and "Five Measurable Objectives or Standards for Education at the Beaver Lodge School." These objectives include the following:

- 1) the school should be able to demonstrate its control of resources (school facilities), program(me)s (curriculum), and personnel (administrators, instructional and support staff)
- 2) the school should be able to establish clear and valid objectives for students, teachers, administrators, and community members
- 3) the school has prepared and filed documentation explaining how its program(me)s have been developed, implemented and conducted

4) the school has been able to use the results from assessment designed or adapted to adjust, improve, or terminate ineffective practices or program(me)s

5) the school has been able to improve productivity

The philosophy, as noted earlier includes the following: 1) that the school be able to orient itself to the community 2) that the world view and other aspects of Algonquin culture and history be reinforced 3) that curriculum and instruction reflect and complement the community's needs 4) that Algonquin heritage and contributions be readily identifiable to the students as being equal to other cultures 5) that the students see their education as being relevant to their present and future roles as Algonquins and human beings.

Any evaluation of Beaver Lodge must ultimately examine the school in terms of these objectives and philosophy. These are the criteria and guidelines which it has set for itself; these are the standards by which it seeks to be measured. While the five "measurable" objectives constitute basis for evaluation, one must also critically examine the rhetoric of the statement of philosophy as it applies to the reality of the situation.

A prevailing difficulty in the statement of philosophy is the vagueness and generality of the wording eg. "orient", "community needs". How does a school "orient" itself to the community-by offering employment, curing social ills, raising political consciousness? What are the community's needs? There is chronic unemployment, alcohol abuse, loss of tradition - are any or all of these community needs? If so, how can the curricula and instruction meet these needs? While the generality of the statement of philosophy lends itself to a wide range of interpretation, thus being

(it might be argued) beneficially eclectic, it is vague and unclear for incoming teachers who might be unfamiliar with "community needs", "Algonquin world view, spiritual beliefs, political and economic structures".

In this sense the administration (director, curriculum co-ordinator, Education Authority) of the school has failed to make clear what the implications of these statements are. There is no orientation session expanding and developing in any coherent manner the school's philosophy. For outside teachers (and indeed for local teachers) the philosophical underpinnings of the school amount to little more than token jargon.

It is an a priori assumption that the objectives of a school are measurable manifestations of the school's philosophy. They are a way of measuring if, in fact, the philosophy is being implemented. At Beaver Lodge the stated objectives do not entirely reflect the philosophy; hence, there are objectives missing which might otherwise better determine the actual degree of implementation of the philosophy. As it currently exists there is no obvious relationship between objectives and philosophy. Without clearly stated and defined objectives accompanying each statement of philosophy, there are no umbrella guidelines to support instructional staff (although objectives accompany each curriculum outline).

Each statement of philosophy and objective will be examined in turn.

Statements of Philosophy

1) That the school have the ability to orient itself to the community.

By definition a band run school is a community (as opposed to a provincial or federal) school. As discussed in the chapters above, initially the community, via a referendum, set the priorities for curriculum and

language of instruction. Today the school sees itself being governed equally by the Education Authority, community, and band council. In reality, as there is no parents committee, and as the Education Authority is often handpicked and understaffed, the actual input of the community is negligible.

Two members of the education authority are now band councillors. We need volunteers to take their place (sic). _____ and _____ were asked and agreed. (from minutes of the Pine Bay Band Education Authority, December 8, 1983)

New Representative Education Authority will ask _____ (to be on the Education Authority). Also they will have to advise the Pine Bay Band Council that _____ left the Authority. (from the minutes of the Pine Bay Band Education Authority, October 13, 1982)

In actuality, then, the representatives on the Education Authority are often handpicked and represent the interests of one or two families. It would be difficult indeed for representatives of other families to land a position on the authority. New members are often chosen for the incumbents before the resigning members have vacated their positions.

Additionally, the conflict regarding school employee/Education Authority member is often overlooked (witness the three out of four employee/Education Authority members in the spring of 1984). Thus far the inconsistency and acts of nepotism have served to create a fortress mentality around the school within the community and simultaneously around the authority vis a vis the school staff. There is a sense of alienation and helplessness among the ranks of (non-authority members) school staff and to a lesser degree community members. Evidence of this is shown in the dispute dis-

cussed earlier between the teacher whose pay was withheld and the authority, and also by the inability to find community members to volunteer for the Education Authority after the selection committee incident. There is thus a fortress and moat mentality present, stifling and alienating the staff within the school and the community without.

The actual influence of the Band Council is as negligible as that of the community members. Essentially, the band council serves to procure funds and sign pay cheques, although in a token way it makes its presence felt in other areas. During the hiring process, for example, the selection committee in 1983 consisted of the director, the curriculum co-ordinator, a representative of the Education Authority, and a representative of the Band council. In the case of every outside teacher, the input of the latter two people during the interview process was virtually nil, with the director and curriculum coordinator dominating and controlling the tone and direction of the conversation.

A further indication of the minimal input of the band council is revealed by the selection of the director. Theoretically the director's position is posted by the band council - there has never been such a posting. The only director thus far "assumed" his position without the benefit of competition and without challenge from the council or chief.

On these bases, then, as well as on the perceived flow of power by the school administration itself, community and council input to the school is minimal. In this sense, therefore, the school has not "oriented" itself to the community other than in the initial referenda to determine language of instruction and curriculum priorities. Since then, various incidents have revealed a growing sense of futility, helplessness, resentment, and

alienation.

If one looks upon the community as a self contained environment and resource pool upon which to draw, then one might argue that there is some attempt to orient the school to it. We have seen how the curricula, particularly science and social studies, (and in theory life skills) gear themselves to the physical and human environment. The use of the natural environment as a laboratory, the political and social makeup of the village for community studies, and the drawing upon of local people as resources are all ways in which the school "orients" itself to the community.

Similarly, in extra curricular activities, whether out of choice or necessity, community members are called upon to participate in various spheres.

Several special activities are worthy of note. In the autumn the high school boys participate in "Trapping Week" while the girls learn home economics, eg. cooking, sewing, etc. During this week the boys spend five days in the bush with local men learning traditional skills such as setting traps, canoeing, skinning game, etc. Male teachers are invited to participate. This week is incorporated into the regular academic programme via essays, discussions, and other assignments. The students might be asked to write an essay (for English) discussing the role of the animals in Algonquin culture (social studies). For science they might be asked to discuss the position of the animals in the food chain. The trip is expected to allow the students to communicate with, and learn from the men of the community while simultaneously learning about themselves.

A similar endeavour which involves community adults (males) is the spring canoe trip, also a week long. This is a 160 kilometre trip which

again attempts to bring together the high school boys and men of the community in traditional Algonquin activities. The vast majority of the students look forward to these two events and tend to enjoy them, albeit noting the hard physical nature of the lifestyle.

Yet another major event involving community members (of both sexes), although to a lesser degree, is the annual Algonquin Olympics. These take place in the spring and involve Algonquin school age children from various Algonquin communities. A variety of athletic events, both traditionally Native and otherwise, are undertaken, including cross country running, javelin, long jumping and portaging. Beaver Lodge students have done disproportionately well at these events, often winning between twenty five to thirty five medals a year for the school. During training for the Olympics which usually entails four weeks, the majority of teachers get involved in coaching, often after school hours and on weekends. Village adults act as chaperones for the trip and sometimes as coaches.

In a completely different realm, several village elders have contributed their knowledge and experience to the amassing of oral histories of the region. A local man was contracted to interview the village's senior citizens in both English and Algonquin. Information which might have been otherwise lost has thus been recorded for posterity in both oral and written form.

The extra-curricular activities discussed above serve several functions. In addition to the obvious ones such as contributing to physical fitness, athletic prowess and sense of well being, they also contribute in no small way to Algonquin identity and integration of school and community. Community members serve in a variety of ways: drivers, cooks, coaches, and

positions for which they do not always get paid. The activities bring together community members of all ages in mutually rewarding ways. The students and adults see each other outside of their usual roles of "student", "parent", "adult", "young person", but rather as partners in shared activities. The trapping week, canoe trip, and Algonquin Olympics also serve to allow a sense of self worth for both young and old. During trapping week the adults are the teachers; it is their skills and knowledge that prevail and are drawn upon. The same holds true for the spring canoe trip. As one school worker noted to a non-Native teacher, "During the regular year, the students learn from you, but during trapping week and on the canoe trip they teach you."

Attempts are made to integrate or orient the school to the community in other ways. The school library is open to the public on Tuesday and Thursday nights and moderate use is made of it. Unfortunately, these nights are too often spoiled by discipline problems presented by students. In the first half of the year discipline was so out of hand that teachers were called upon to assist the librarian in monitoring the students. There is little doubt, however, that the periodicals and books available in the library are welcome in a community where there are no newspapers, book-sellers, or newsstands.

Various school activities, intentionally or inadvertently, serve to focus community attention on the school. Due to the small size of the community and the newness and pre-eminence of the school in it, any activity out of the usual attracts attention. In the fall of '83 for example, an "open house" at the school, complete with food, tea and coffee, was a successful introduction of school and staff to the village. Unfortuna-

tely, although initially plans were made for a spring follow-up open house, none materialized.

A Christmas party for school and community dramatically illustrates the gulf between the superficial community involvement (as discussed above wherein community members participate in short term "fun" activities) and a true sense of community involvement and mutual sharing in the running of the school.

A Christmas party had been set for 10 am to 1 pm for students, parents and the band council to be held in the school library. The day was Friday, the 14th of December, the last day of school before the holidays. The director and curriculum co-ordinator were in Montreal and had been for the week. Parents, councillors and students were in the library where "Santa" was distributing gifts, when the school secretary walked in and announced that the curriculum coordinator had called and said that the director insisted that all part time teachers and support staff were to work until the following Friday, December 21. There had been no prior mention of this - all had been told that the 14th was the last day of work. Travel plans had been made and reservations for flights booked. The decision was arbitrary and not made through the Education Authority or band council. The decision was over ruled by the chairman of the Education Authority who was present at the Christmas party, with the promise that it would be taken care of over the Christmas holidays. People were instructed by the chairman to carry on with their plans, but the sense of "community" that should have been present at both the party and school were lost.

There can be little doubt that the school has contributed greatly to the economic/employment betterment of the community. With fourteen of the

community's thirty three jobs firmly entrenched in the school, fully 42% of Pine Bay's salaries are based in Beaver Lodge. More significantly, a concerted effort is made to offer as many positions as possible to local people and, to a certain degree, train them. However, there are times when administrations's motives and policies are called into question.

Including the curriculum co-ordinator who teaches art to grades seven, eight and nine (and who is not certified), there are eight Native teachers in the school. Two of these are certified teachers, having received accreditation through the University of Québec. Each year the Native teachers relinquish several weeks vacation in order to take courses. In the summer of '84, two more teachers would have obtained certification and the remaining four would have been that much closer toward that goal by enrolling in a required course being offered by a visiting professor. The course in question was vetoed by the director while another, not a required course and hence not applicable towards accreditation, was put in its place. Cries of protest were raised and calls made to the university and Indian Affairs. Nonetheless, the director's decision held firm and teachers were denied their certification for another year.

There were accusations that the decision to veto the required course was due to a reluctance to pay the increased salaries certification would entail. Also it would imply a greater academic, professional and credibility gap between the administration, i.e., director, curriculum co-ordinator, and Education Authority (none of whom have certification), and the teachers whom they preside over, a fear that would bring into question the right of certain individuals to assume control.

Administration reacted to these accusations with their own, arguing

that these collective complaints were attempts at unionization; therefore (they argued), deliberate attempts to undermine the school. The cumulative effects of accusation and counter accusation, threat and counter-threat, served only to drive a greater wedge between staff and administration, thereby again questioning the notion of a "community" school.

One must ultimately ask if, in fact, the school has oriented itself to the community. If one defines "orient" as "adjusting or adapting to a particular situation" as per Webster, one is still faced with an ambiguity. The community has indeed prospered economically from the school, but the interests of only one or two families have been served. Family rivalries have intensified as power cliques have formed. Community involvement is limited to superficial, non-critical functions and conscious steps are taken to ensure that carefully selected people replace departing Education Authority members. The status quo must not be threatened. The school has thus oriented itself insofar as the school has become another cog in the existing social and political order of the community; another symbol of power to fought over by the dominant families in their jockeying for control of the village.

The second and fourth statements of philosophy may be examined as a single entity. These statements are the following; 2) That the world view, spiritual beliefs, language, economic structures, political and family structures, methods for social and cultural development and Algonquin history be reinforced. 4) That the students be given an opportunity to help them identify the positive contributions of their Algonquin heritage and to ensure that their culture is identified as being equal to other Native and world cultures.

The enormous scope of these statements suggests the inherent pitfalls in their interpretation. Does the first statement refer to traditional, i.e., pre-contact Algonquin or contemporary Algonquin? Once a temporal framework has been determined, what do these terms mean? In traditional Algonquin society the basic political and social unit was the patrilineal band while today the political structure is chief and band council under the paternalistic guidance of Indian Affairs. Economically, in the past Algonquins were hunters and gatherers; today this is changing with a market economy the norm. The terms need definition and extrapolation; eg., "world view" (which implies the four levels of spiritual, emotional, intellectual and physical awareness), "spiritual beliefs", and "methods" for "cultural" and "social" development.

In spite of these unclarities steps are taken at all grade levels to enhance student cognizance and pride in their Nativeness. While many of these by necessity are on a macro level eg. Native contributions as opposed to Algonquin, community studies are undertaken in which Pine Bay is compared and contrasted with other Native and non-Native communities, as well as examined in its own right.

Certain aspects of these statements are approached directly. The reinforcement of Algonquin language, for example, is obviously being met. Local economic, social and political life are addressed in community studies within the social studies curriculum. Pine Bay history is addressed in grade seven and in 1983-84 was conveyed largely through an elder. Teachers utilize creative means of achieving their goals. Grade seven students, for example, examined the social and political life of the community members. Other community/Native oriented projects included presen-

tations by the local Amerindian police officer and an Algonquin politician at the provincial level. In addition, students examined the role of the chief, band council, and other prominent community members.

Approaches to history cannot be said to have an Algonquin focus *per se*, although there is a Native interpretation. Students are encouraged to look critically at Canadian history and Native figures are given priority. Thus, statements like the following are made: " Jacques Cartier and his men would not have been able to survive their first winter if Donnacona and his Iroquois had not shown them how to make a tonic from cedar and avoid scurvy." " Louis Riel and Gabriel Dumont are seen by some people as traitors and by others as heroes. What do you think?" " The «exploration» of Canada by Europeans was possible only with Native guides and Native technology such as the birchbark canoe and snowshoes." Students are thus encouraged to look critically at Canadian history and the role of aboriginal people in it.

" Traditional " Native lifestyle is examined and retained through the annual canoe and trapping weeks. These are " unofficial official " parts of the school's programmes insofar as they are not part of any curricula, but they are scheduled into the regular school year. The objective is to instill or retain traditional Algonquin hunting, trapping, canoeing and " bush " skills.

When an opportunity is presented for students to learn other Native skills it is taken. The preparation of a moose hide, for example, was observed by students in the elementary end, and each student participated in the process. Two functions are thus served in this process; the learning of traditional practices, and the reinforcement of the Native way

of teaching through observation of the elders and subsequent trial and error on the part of the child.

Due to the newness of the school, there is not yet much information gathered dealing with the region's (and community's) history and culture. Over the year, a concerted effort has been made to accumulate data, an effort which thus far has resulted in correspondence with over a dozen institutions and the amassing of seventy five documents, all regionally specific. Ultimately, these will be compiled into an ethnohistorical overview of the area. In the interim, efforts are made to convey to the students what is known. The visit by the elder to the grade seven class, for example, discussed the role of the Hudson Bay Company in the band's old reserves. The grade nine class participated in an archaeological dig which provided hands on experience in exploring their own history.

On a macro level a unit entitled "Native Contributions to Canadian and World Culture" examines ways in which Amerindian cultures have enriched non-Native societies. Students learn, for example, that two thirds of all vegetable species consumed in North America were cultivated by Indian people; that several thousand "English" or Canadian words are, in fact, Native, eg. Canada, chipmunk, muskeg, Saskatchewan, chinook, caribou, etc.; and that the canoe, snowshoe and kayak are all Native inventions. This is a considerable unit and a great deal of time is spent on it. In this part of the curriculum a significant amount of time is allotted to Amerindian heroes including Joseph Brant, Pauline Johnson, Tom Longboat, Riel, Gladstone, etc. Again, however, the focus is Native generally and not Algonquin specifically.

The discussion above focusses largely on the contributions of the

social studies curriculum to fulfilling the goals of reinforcing Algonquin history, heritage and identity. Other curricula reach towards this goal as well, including language arts (English) and life skills. In the former the input of Natives is examined and prominently displayed in the forms of posters and student illustrations accompanying quotations. Thus, Native writers, poets and spokespeople are given equal billing in the literary arts with non-Natives. In a like vein, life skills examines the ideology and cultural values of Natives. For example, a skit enacted in class sparked a lively debate regarding conservation and environmental issues. A situation was presented wherein an environmentalist with the government was obligated to inform an Inuit hunter that he could no longer kill a certain marine mammal species because it was an endangered species. The differing points of view and cultural beliefs and values were presented and debated in class, allowing students to explore their stances and ideologies.

When one reflects upon student identification as Native people, the imposition of the dominant white culture is apparent. This was brought home on occasion, notably at the start of the year. In a combined grade 7, 8, and 9 life skills class students were asked to define religion and what it meant to them. Answers included "priest", "God" and "Catholic". When it was suggested that perhaps there might be more than one god, the teacher was accused of trying to "bullshit" the students (a popular buzzword among students), and something akin to blasphemy. Students were closed to the concept of polytheism, and attempts to explain any other forms of religious beliefs were met with hostility.

Similarly, attempts to explain an evolutionary/archaeological inter-

pretation of natural history and the peopling of the New World was initially rejected. This rejection was largely a product of non-exposure to the implicit concepts in these discipline areas, but equally a product of the church's inculcation of creationism. The idea that aboriginal people had been on the continent for 30,000 years and that man had been evolving for four million years was incomprehensible, and indeed, laughable. Attempts to have these statements corroborated by another teacher were met with skepticism and accusations of conspiracy. When the second teacher produced photocopies of an encyclopaedia time chart, he was accused of creating and typing the chart himself.

When students were first introduced to important Native historical figures, they derided the English translations of Native names. Thus, Big Bear was met with peals of laughter and instantly became "Big Beer". Similar reactions met discussions of Crowfoot, Poundmaker, Red Crow, and other Native figures.

Students were initially reluctant, almost self conscious about learning about and discussing Native people and culture. After the first few classes focussing on Native heroes and contributions, a student, with the support of his classmates, stated that "We don't want to hear about Indians. Tell us about Frenchmen." Whether this reflected tedium with the subject (or teacher) or a reflection of their experiences is hard to say. Sometime later, however, when student disinterest in Native subject matter was quite apparent, a different emotion was expressed. The teacher was trying to convey an important concept to the class and was being met with disinterest and some slight rebellion. "Who is proud to be Indian?", the teacher asked, trying to strike a responsive chord. All hands went up and the

class progressed harmoniously.

In other spheres, notably those in which the students are adept or familiar, certain pride is discernible. On a couple of occasions over the year teachers have taken students "into the bush". During these trips a fire is usually made and tea boiled and moose or some other food cooked. Inevitably a student or students would volunteer to make the fire, commenting "I (we) will make the fire, white guys don't know anything about the bush" or "You can't make a fire, you're not Indian."

On another occasion when the grade 9 class was crossing the lake to their archaeological dig at the director's "camp" a student asked the teacher if he was cold. The teacher responded that despite several layers of clothing he was chilly. When the student was asked if he was cold he responded that he never got cold "because he was Indian".

While the students give evidence of pride in their Nativeness (a phenomenon that was increasingly more evident as the year progressed and consistently more obvious among the grade 9 class), they are also sensitive about it. A minor furor was created when a teacher suggested to the grade 9 class that McKenzie was not an Algonquin name. With one exception (the student who never got cold) the students were stung, and at the point of requesting the teacher be removed from the school. Their perception and interpretation of the statement was that he was denying them their Algonquiness; that he was saying they were not Algonquin. The teacher's concern was such that he requested a meeting with the director in order to explain his comment. In the interim another teacher explained to the students how the Indian people were given Anglo Saxon names by the Hudson Bay Company because the white traders could not pronounce Native names.

It was weeks before student resentment toward the offending teacher wore off.

A potentially volatile topic dealing with Native identity is that of stereotypes. After a softly treaded introduction to the topic, students were presented with the historical and contemporary stereotypes of Amerindian people (noble savage, pesky redskin, drunk, nature lover, militant, etc.). The reactions were hostile and unbelieving; demanding to see where the material had come from. Ironically, the bulk of the reference material had come from a Native writer, Emma Larocque, in her treatise on Native stereotyping "Defeathering The Indian". Although the woman is Native and a picture of her was shown on the book's cover, the students dismissed her book as "bullshit" and her as "no Indian". Eventually the students came around, understood the concept of stereotypes as precisely that and class returned to normal. Essays followed, including their views on the stereotypes of Indians and why or why they would not want to be thought of in terms of a stereotype. The revelations of the students in these papers were moving and the exercise was well received by students and teacher. A great deal of insight and self examination was undergone, including student views on their Nativeness, how to combat racism, and how and why stereotyping is created and perpetuated. The student's handling of the topic, their ultimate maturity in facing the stereotypes that exist of their "race", and their reaction to and acceptance of the teacher's presentation of the topic, was most gratifying for the instructor.

One ultimately comes to the recognition that the students are, with certain exceptions, learning about both traditional Algonquin culture and their contemporary lifestyle. The former is examined in the fall and

spring bush excursions, units on Pine Bay history, and periodic extra-curricular activities. Community studies and units on Pine Bay society contribute to understanding of today's lifestyle. The only aspects which are not directly addressed are those dealing with Algonquin spiritual beliefs and world view, the concepts of which have never been defined or explained for teachers. One might argue that these are dealt with through incidental teaching or the hidden curriculum. If they are it is a totally unconscious effort on the part of non-Native teachers for a survey of outside staff revealed that nobody could define or discuss these concepts. Native teachers are almost as equally vague. However, if one defines "spiritual beliefs" and "world view" in a religious sense, their avoidance in the curriculum might be intentional, for the life skills course is a deliberate attempt to avoid religious content. If this is the case then reference to spiritual beliefs and world view should be deleted from the statement of philosophy.

One might conclude that the second and fourth statements of philosophy are close to being met, both in a traditional and contemporary sense. Great efforts are being made to amass solid ethnohistorical data for the region which should firm up the comparatively weak historical focus. Students demonstrate pride in their Algonquiness, although simultaneously evidencing the influences of the dominant white culture. More importantly, however, they question perceived attacks on the authenticity and legitimacy of their culture. Only a clarification of terms needs to be made in order for teachers to strengthen their instructional strategies.

One may likewise examine the third and fifth statements of philosophy simultaneously. These statements are: 3) that the curriculum and

instruction reflect and compliment (sic) the community's needs and
5) that the students feel that their education is relevant to their
present and future roles as members of the community, the Algonquin
Nation, and the human race.

Many of the school's students have spent their entire lives within a two hundred mile radius of the village; hence, when one speaks of relevance it has to be defined within terms of the community, albeit not neglecting the larger Canadian society. It is therefore incumbent to speak of relevance in terms of community needs and Algonquiness, for the community is oftentimes the whole world of the student. Community needs and curriculum on the one hand, then, and relevance on the other, constitute an indivisible entity.

"The economic and social status of the Canadian Native is characterized by abject poverty" (Frideres, 1983:7). No statement more succinctly encapsulates the concept of "community needs" than this. While Pine Bay is not as impoverished a reserve as some, it does have an unemployment rate much greater than the national average and the social problems one associates with chronic unemployment are endemic. With varying degrees of endeavour (and success), the school addresses some of these needs and problems.

The school does not offer a definition of "community needs". For our discussion we will delineate three broad categories; cultural, economic and social. Prominent areas of concern will be isolated and an attempt made to see how curriculum and instruction address said areas.

In terms of cultural needs, the community sees retention of Algonquin language and cultural heritage as a major concern. While one might argue

that this is not a "need" in the sense of being a biological imperative, it is a need for maintaining ethnic identity and dignity. The ways in which this need is being addressed have been discussed above. Briefly reiterated, through Algonquin immersion, employing predominantly local Native teachers, incorporating traditional activities into the programmes of study, and emphasizing the importance and relevance of Native peoples and cultures in Canadian history and society, the Algonquin heritage is being retained and reinforced.

Native people argue that by being cut off from the economic mainstream, a self-perpetuating cycle of poverty exists. There is obviously no simple explanation for the poverty which typifies most Canadian reserves; the answers are embedded in the legal technicalities of the Indian Act, the location of reserves themselves, the history of Native education, discrimination, cultural differences between Natives and non-Natives, etc. Nonetheless, there is a strong argument that economic self-sufficiency is a solution to both the economic and social ills which characterize reserves.

The high school, i.e., grades 10 and 11, which should see operation in 1984-85, is based on this assumption; that students grounded in business are the salvation of aboriginal people. This theoretical basis is not founded on a community survey, rather, the decision to base the senior high school curriculum on a business/commerce and communications framework was made by the director and curriculum coordinator.

This decision was in part precipitated by the persistent rumour that Indian Affairs will be disbanding (a rumour that has circulated at least since 1969 when the White Paper on Indian policy was announced). Talks

with the administration reveal the contention that the dismantling of Indian Affairs should lead the way for more Native leaders, especially in business, hence, a curriculum geared towards business and commerce. The ultimate goal is to train young people who will be in a position to assume positions of authority and leadership in the community.

The second focus in the proposed new high school curriculum is communications. This focus reflects more the interests of the director than it does any real community need, for one of the goals of the director is a radio station and community newspaper. To this end, the proposed curriculum will have an optional emphasis on communications including electronic and print media. The aim, presumably, is to develop articulate spokespeople for the community, Algonquin nation, and Native people nation wide. Additionally, the radio station and newspaper could conceivably offer employment to local people.

To suggest technical training in the skilled trades is tantamount to advocating streaming. Ergo, there is no mention of vocational/technical training in the school's curricula. It has been suggested that in the future if the community needs help of this kind it can be drawn upon from the surrounding (non-Native) communities. One cannot help but question the neglect of fundamental skills (electricians, plumbers, mechanics) in a community that aspires to self sufficiency upon the demise of Indian Affairs. The director has a vision of producing high school graduates who can enter any university of his/her choosing; what he forgets is that presently among non-Native students only thirty per cent of high school graduates progress to post secondary education, roughly fifteen per cent to university and fifteen to community college. Barring those who are

perpetually unemployed, presumably the remaining seventy per cent find lucrative and useful jobs in society. The case must be presented, then, for allowing for training that is not geared to either university entrance or professions such as business or journalism. By and large, society is not founded solely upon the well educated, but upon Everyman. This is not to advocate technical training alone, but to suggest options within the high school. In this way, not only will the school develop leaders, but it will create its own resource pool from which it can draw upon for its skilled technical help. Furthermore, if self sufficiency is a goal, then calling upon non-Native expertise does not suggest independence; rather, it is creating yet another form of dependence upon non-Native expertise. Presumably, avoidance of this reliance is the aim. To substitute reliance upon the private sector for the paternalism of the federal government is hardly a victory.

Social needs cover a wide range of concerns. Prominent among these are drug and alcohol awareness, environmental awareness, political cooperation and leadership skills, sex education, nutrition and health education, and adult education. Other issues are those largely beyond the purviews of education eg. overcrowding and substandard housing, as they are a product of the bureaucracy of Indian Affairs and ultimately can be remedied only by the department. Education in this regard can only make people aware of the wherefores and whys of their condition.

It would be remiss not to mention the drug and alcohol abuse in Pine Bay, which is common among adults and to a lesser degree among students. This concern was approached through an outside representative of the Algonquin Council. A survey was administered to the students which

elicited information on their knowledge and use of alcohol and drugs (including gasoline sniffing, a not uncommon occurrence on some reserves). The results were released to the nurse and school administration, ostensibly to be followed up by a drug and alcohol awareness day. The latter never materialized, allegedly because the curriculum co-ordinator did not approve of the selected speakers.

The director and curriculum co-ordinator are opposed to any drug and alcohol education because, they say, by making students aware of the mind altering substances available you are, in fact, inadvertently encouraging use of the same. A position was requested of the Education Authority on this issue.

The principal reported that members of the E.A. were in favour of the teaching of materials related to alcohol and drug abuse. It was suggested by E.A. members that the school hold an information day for students and community. It was also suggested that the teaching be ongoing and that the subject be raised regularly in classes. E.A. members stated that students should be made aware of the effects of alcohol and drugs on the body.

from Minutes of Beaver Lodge School staff meeting, April 24, 1984.

There is no reference to this request in the Education Authority minutes.

Although the position of the director and curriculum co-ordinator ultimately won out regarding the alcohol and drug awareness day, life skills and science classes focus at times on the dangers of drug and alcohol abuse. The inherent dangers are presented through discussion, lecture and audio visual aids (posters, films).

Students are aware of the hazards of alcohol. In a life skills class,

pupils were asked what they perceive to be the major social ills in the community. The predominant answer was alcohol. When asked if they would have a "dry" community if they could every student in the combined 7/8/9 class said they would. A powerful statement from adolescents.

There is likewise a need for environmental awareness. The stereotypical myth of the Indian as nature lover, at one with Nature and hand feeding wild birds and deer, explodes in the face of reality. The environment around Pine Bay is not excluded. The abandoning of motor vehicles in the bush, the discarding of garbage along road sides, the abuse of animals (wild and domestic), are all symptoms of environmental/ecological unawareness. Education can be used to effectively combat this ignorance.

This is not to suggest the abandoning of hunting and trapping as a means of livelihood. Environmental awareness does not preclude the harvesting of game species which in northern and Native communities is a viable and significant contribution to conventional means of subsistence as we know them. Rather, a sound education in environmental studies does imbue an appreciation for biotic frailty, non-renewable resources, and the non-wasteful use of the natural world. As Brady (1983) and Herscovici (1985) state this symbiotic relationship between Man and Nature is still prevalent in the far north amongst both Natives and non-Natives. On those reserves where there has been a breakdown of traditional lifestyle (as in Pine Bay) and where there is chronic unemployment and welfare, the opposite is far too often true. The abuse of the environment is the product of "the disposable society" we have created, and nowhere is it more evident than on reserves where the extremes of evergreen forests and rusted out autos clash.

In Pine Bay, the hunting of moose and snaring of rabbits for food is still practiced by a handful of people, including some students. However, the abuse of animals for no apparent reason (dogs, cats, wild species) is also not unknown. Teachers have witnessed or heard of the stoning (to death, in some cases) of cats, dogs, and snakes; a phenomenon which hardly demonstrates environmental awareness and appreciation.

Similarly, the disposal of garbage along roadsides and in the bush is a problem. There is weekly garbage pick up in the community; nonetheless, the roads leading into the village and to "the power" are commonly lined with refuse. This practice is not only unsightly but contributes of course to spread of disease.

Mention is made elsewhere to the garbage pickup around the school, a move necessitated by the littering of the grounds, despite receptacles for garbage at the front and back doors of the school. Attention is also focussed on environmental awareness through the science and life skills curricula, the latter by teaching respect for the natural world, the former by educating students in the hazards and potential of environmental abuse.

There is a decided need for development of political cooperation and leadership skills. This is dramatically illustrated in the microcosm of the school wherein the various village factions fight for control, only to the school's (and students') detriment. These problems are largely the product of the imposition of the Indian Act, which denies the recognition of tribal leaders but rather subjects Native bands to a non-Native political system. Thus, Native communities are trying to adapt to an alien political system which has been imposed from without. Nonetheless,

if Native people (reluctantly or not) are going to continue to function within this system, inter-family rivalries must be put aside and there must be recognition that what is trying to be accomplished is not for today or tomorrow, but for all time. Once this recognition has been made, leadership skills must be cultivated and honed. Said skills must be based not on fear and intimidation, but on ability, finesse, knowledge and understanding, empathy and respect. These are essentially the qualities which were admired and respected in traditional Algonquin (and other Native) cultures. Once these are developed, community progress is inevitable.

Again, there is a theoretical lip service paid to these needs in the curricula. Unfortunately, the principles are not often set in practice by the adults, as discussed in detail elsewhere. Children learn what they see, and examples must be set by community leaders.

Sex education is a must in Pine Bay, both in terms of preventing unwanted pregnancies and avoiding disease. Before discussing the former however, several cultural, legal and pragmatic concerns must be discussed. Firstly, the stigma which has traditionally characterized illegitimate children is not as pronounced in Native communities. Secondly, until June of 1985 many women were coerced to live with a man and have children out of wedlock for fear of loss of their Indian status. Thirdly, approximately 70% of all Native people claim Catholicism as their faith; hence, a reluctance to use any form of contraception. Fourthly, welfare payments to unmarried women with children are significantly greater than those for married but separated mothers. All of these contribute to the very high (5 times greater than the national average) rate of illegitimate children. Nonetheless, one cannot assume that young women would consciously choose

to have children out of wedlock if they were aware of the options and if the various institutions did not send conflicting messages to them. "Do not use contraceptives," says the church. "We will give you three times as much welfare money if you are unmarried," says the government. The system is rife with contradictions.

In addition to unwanted pregnancies, young people need to be aware of the hazards of casual sex. While statistics are not available, there are rumours among students about people in the community who allegedly have sexually transmitted diseases.

In 1983-84 it was necessary for the principal, welfare administrator, community nurse and curriculum co-ordinator to meet and discuss the sexual activities of several students from grades 5, 6, and 7 as well as a young male who was not attending school. The situation involved several boys and a single girl. While nothing was formally done in the classrooms, teachers were made aware of the circumstances and asked to be sensitive to indicators of the same in their classes.

There is a need, then, to educate students in sexual matters. This includes the area of pregnancy, disease and the emotional responsibilities and implications one associates with sexual relations.

Education in the area of nutrition and health is imperative. Non-nutritional "junk" food is far too much a part of daily diets, particularly chocolate bars, chips, and soft drinks. The ramifications of these are felt in the classrooms in the form of students on sugar and caffeine "highs", the latter from both cola and tea or coffee. Longer term effects are felt in bad teeth, and in adults, sugar diabetes and high blood pressure. Both children and adults drink copious amounts of

tea, invariably laced with excessive amounts of sugar.

The issue of health is not specifically addressed, except peripherally in science. In addition, the community nurse examines the students twice a year, a visiting dental hygienist once. The nurse will recommend additional professional help if she feels a need exists.

If all of the issues above are addressed thoroughly, it would be forgotten if equal attention is not given to adult education. The role models presented by adults must approximate the ideals presented in the classroom. It is futile to discourse on the hazards of drug and alcohol abuse if the parents drink and smoke marijuana to excess. One cannot explain how Coke Cola rots teeth if older siblings drink it by the six pack. Nor can one instill a sense of group cooperation if the school and community are torn by family rivalries.

There is a need for adult education in all the spheres cited above. The students must feel that what they are learning in school is valid, and validity can only be inferred on the part of students if their parents adhere to the same principles. If not, it is pouring water into a sieve. Children learn through example. For Natives to ignore this premise is to undermine their students' education, an education in which they created the philosophy and objectives.

Objectives

That the school be able to demonstrate its control of resources (school facilities), program(me)s (curriculum), and personnel (administrators, instructional and support staff).

A plethora of contradictions emerges when one examines this objective as it applies to Beaver Lodge. Before examining the situation it is

interesting to look at the school from administration's stance.

In order that a school can become effective control over resources is essential. Resources can be defined as - the school facilities, grounds, materials, and equipment - the personnel, including administrators, instructional and support staff as well as resource people and consultants - the programs and curricula used and developed by the school.

Control over the school facilities had been minimal and included minor renovations to provide some office space, a library and curriculum laboratory (sic). While this was helpful it was not adequate and negotiations were made with the department (of Indian Affairs). The results were successful and presently we are in the early stages of construction of a senior high school building and gymnasium.

Control over programs has been drastic. To meet the objectives of our philosophy of education, a new curriculum had to be developed. Following a community needs assessment, programs were defined and priorities set. Algonquin language instruction was defined by the community as the highest priority at all levels including a total immersion pre-K and kindergarten program. The social studies program offered by the province was totally unsuitable, and an interdisciplinary science/ social studies program was needed to replace it. The curriculum development for the beginning of the school year 1982-83 new core curricula for all subjects at each grade level.

The curriculum development team has been responsible for ensuring that the curriculum has been implemented properly and that changes, deletions, adaptations (sic), and improvements have been controlled. Suggestions and assistance in teaching methods have been an important part of the school year.

The resource control of personnel is primarily aimed at professional development. Through Manpower and Immigration

Canada, a training program was implemented to train a community member to handle finances and bookkeeping. The school became more involved with the teacher training program offered to Native staff through the University of Québec at Chicoutimi, by requesting specific courses and professors (NOTE: see discussion elsewhere the form this involvement took). An inservice introductory course on computers in education was offered to all staff during professional development days. Another area that is still in the development stages is an ongoing teacher development project. This has begun with initial teacher assessments of classroom and curriculum planning. Through the results of the assessment, it is hoped that the teachers, with the support staff, can begin to improve on teaching styles and methods.

An Overview of Beaver Lodge Theory and Practice, unpublished document, 1984

Such is administration's view of this objective.

There is little doubt that Beaver Lodge is extraordinarily well staffed (thirteen teachers for sixty students) and has unheard of resources for a small school - computers, potters wheel and kiln, tents, skis, home economics room and, beginning in 1984-85, a gymnasium with sauna. In spite of all this, however, in terms of maintenance and care, there is no "control over resources." Reference has already been made to the necessity of taking a week at the beginning of the 1983-84 school year to do a thorough overhaul of the building due to the state of utter chaos in which incoming teachers found it.

A few minutes from meetings illustrate the ongoing problem with maintaining "control over resources."

It was agreed that there will be a garbage clean up beginning at 2:30 pm on Friday, April 27. The janitor asked that teachers

encourage students to use the garbage can outside the school.

Sports Equipment It was reported that sports equipment is not being returned as agreed upon at the last staff meeting. It has been found in the playground long after all teachers and students have left the school.

Computers It was reported that the computer area is often disorganized, that discs are missing, and one disc has been ruined. The rule that students are not to work unsupervised on the computers was restated. It was agreed that one person will be responsible for the computer area (its organization and use). Discs will be locked in the cabinet... The janitor will look into getting a new lock for the filing cabinet.

from the Minutes of Beaver Lodge School
Staff Meeting, April 14, 1984

The school has a set of see-saws, a set of swings and a log house (with twenty centimetre gaps between logs) that is used as a climber. When school started up in '83 there was only one serviceable see saw and no serviceable swings. These were repaired by the janitor in the spring.

It was suggested that the school look into acquiring bicycle racks, a fence for the playground, playground equipment.

It was agreed that the nails on the little house should be hammered in as they present a danger to students.

from the Minutes of Beaver Lodge School
Staff Meeting, March 21, 1984

Although the school has an incredible amount of equipment, little of it has seen the light of day. The kiln and potter's wheel, for example, have never been used because nobody knows how to use them. Similarly, the best of intentions never materialize.

-several equipment floating around (sic), director shall take the time to explain the use of equipment when it is convenient. Secretary shall prepare a list of equipment and keep track of who has taken what by signature and dates (sic).

from Minutes of Beaver Lodge School Staff Meeting, September 8, 1983

A.V. The A.V. equipment will be cleaned and organized prior to providing an orientation to the equipment. When the equipment is in order, a list will be compiled.

from the Minutes of Beaver Lodge School Staff Meeting, October 4, 1983

A.V. Equipment The committee struck at the last meeting to organize the A.V. equipment prior to an A.V. orientation will meet soon to undertake the task.

from the Minutes of Beaver Lodge School Staff Meeting, November 8, 1983

A.V. Committee The committee has met informally. A start has been made on the equipment.

from the Minutes of Beaver Lodge School Staff Meeting, December 6, 1983

(NOTE: No one involved with the committee remembers meeting, informally or otherwise).

In reality, then, the school has a great deal of material trappings, that for various reasons go unused or are not accorded the respect they deserve. While the quotations above suggest that the school is maintaining "control of its resources", it is not to be forgotten that their inclusion in the minutes indicates that the matters have gotten so out of hand that control has not been exercised. In other words, it is not until improper handling of materials and equipment, or neglect thereof, is such that extra measures must be taken to rectify the situation.

While the reference to curriculum lab, library and office space, and a new gym and high school are, in fact, true, errors of omission include a dilapidated school yard, badly abused computers and software, audio-visual equipment that must first be located, centralized, and cleaned before an indoctrination session for staff (which ultimately never materialized); and sports equipment that disappears after hours. This is not to forget that the school's physical plant needed a week's cleaning before being suitable for fall classes. One cannot claim, therefore, that the school is demonstrating control of resources; especially when one sees that potentially educative resources, eg. potter's wheel and kiln, are being unused.

In discussing the development of curriculum it must be stated that the social studies curriculum is not an original Beaver Lodge creation; it does, in fact, follow the guidelines set out in the Ontario government's publication People of Native Ancestry. While there is nothing at all faulty in this publication, or improper with the school's use of it, the refusal to acknowledge resource people, consultants, or sources of information is constantly taken note of and remarked upon at Beaver Lodge.

Concomitant with this reluctance to thank or acknowledge staff for jobs well done, is the perceived failure of the head of curriculum to pull her weight. Due to these factors there is at times a sense of rebellion at the school regarding curricular obligations; witness the withheld pay cheque episode.

It is commonly accepted knowledge at the school (although never admitted) that the curriculum groundwork, i.e., developing the core curricula, was not done by the "curriculum team"; rather, it was developed by a consul-

tant from Montréal. Furthermore, the curriculum co-ordinator is not believed to hold any credentials in education (she is not certified). Additionally, although Native, she is Mohawk from Kahnawake, hence, an outsider.

These factors alone (refusal to acknowledge work well done, perceived incompetence and laziness on the part of the curriculum co-ordinator, and the co-ordinator's being an outsider) contribute to ill feelings between the head of curriculum and some staff. Additionally, some personal habits and perquisites on her part such as mid year paid vacations, frequent sick days or out of town trips, consistent arrival at 10:15 a.m., active participation at Education Authority meetings, only one hour of classes per week, etc., all generate animosity among some staff members. One staff member monitored the curriculum co-ordinator's arrival times and concluded that she never arrived before 10:00 am and her average arrival time was 10:14 am. Needless to say, these activities do not engender feelings of co-operation or endear her to staff members.

These observations are critical for our purposes in two respects. One is that it suggests that the curriculum head who theoretically should be setting an example for staff both in personal work habits and in terms of production, is not. Secondly, while she herself is not producing within her own department, she is simultaneously incurring the resentment of staff, thereby hindering their performances.

Curriculum Summaries The principal stated that many staff members have neglected to hand in Curriculum Summary forms recently. She requested that staff members make an effort to submit summaries that are overdue and to continue to submit them weekly.

from the Minutes of Beaver Lodge School
Staff Meeting, January 19, 1984

Amongst some staff members, however, it is not so much that the curriculum co-ordinator does not (nor, does it appear, does she have to) subscribe to the same rules and regulations as other staff, but that she appears largely unqualified for her position and does little in it. Despite the contention that "the curriculum team has been responsible for ensuring that the curriculum has been implemented properly and that changes, deletions, adaptations (sic), and improvements have been controlled" very little is ever done in terms of curriculum development other than writing of materials for Algonquin and social studies by their respective teachers.

There was one professional development day set aside at the beginning of the year ("the first of many", it was alleged) to learn about and practice the writing of objectives, and to familiarize teachers with the curriculum summary and planning forms. Teachers were requested to fill out these forms weekly and hand them in to the curriculum co-ordinator for feedback and guidance. As noted above, not all teachers complied, for various reasons. The point, however, is moot, for no teacher ever received any feedback or guidance until the end of the year when Indian Affairs needed a report and the head of curriculum was time pressured into looking at all forms. At this late date (May) teachers received criticism on their ability to complete the curriculum planners and summaries.

The curriculum summary forms engender a great deal of resentment from staff. They are perceived as being time consuming, and because the information is already in day books, they are seen as repetitive. Furthermore,

there is no feedback or guidance. The underlying question on the part of teachers is "Why do them? Nobody sees them and they are redundant."

For some teachers the writing of these forms presents difficulty. In such cases, help is sought not from the curriculum co-ordinator, but from the principal or other staff members.

Throughout the year, teachers have been submitting their unit planners which have been cross checked with the core curriculum. Suggestions for implementation were discussed between (sic) the teachers, principal and curriculum staff. Concurrently, curriculum changes and adaptations (sic) were made. At the end of each unit the staff reviewed the summaries and made notes and changes based on the classroom implementation.

An Overview of Beaver Lodge Theory and Practice,
unpublished document, 1984

The writer, while conducting research for this thesis, was a teacher and curriculum writer, one of three members of the "curriculum team". To the best of my recollection there were never any meetings with the principal, curriculum staff or teachers in any structured manner to discuss curriculum. To the best of the principal's recollection she had no meetings with the curriculum head to discuss implementation.

On paper, then, curriculum development looms large in the ethos of Beaver Lodge. In reality, teachers go the entire year without ever being monitored as to what and how they are teaching. If Indian Affairs had not needed a progress report it is unlikely that the curriculum summary forms would have been read and returned to teachers.

For some teachers this lack of guidance and feedback is disconcerting. It is an undeniable fact that a number of teachers are reluctant to deal with the co-ordinator and as a result seek help and advice from other

teachers and/or the principal. The principal and senior social studies teacher, for example, had to help purchase texts and develop resources for an elementary teacher new to teaching.

We have yet to buy elementary books.

from the Minutes of Beaver Lodge School
Staff Meeting, September 21, 1983

Due to the fact that there is no monitoring of teachers (in practice, as opposed to theoretically), it is disconcerting to consider the irreparable damage that could conceivably be caused in the name of education at Beaver Lodge. The controversial and volatile nature of the social studies curriculum, for example, with topics such as stereotypes (a very delicate subject, but brilliantly handled by the teacher), lends itself to numerous and potentially dangerous interpretations. This point was driven home very acutely in June when the director and curriculum co-ordinator inquired as to how much material had been written by the social studies curriculum writer. It became apparent that the administration; including the writer's immediate superior, the co-ordinator, had no idea of what had been going on in the curriculum area all year, although their desks were side by side. They were shocked, albeit pleasantly, to realize that 300 pages had been written. Although the "curriculum team" consists of only three people, in the same office, there had been no meetings to exchange notes, ideas or suggestions. The point that must be stressed, however, is that no one was aware of what was being taught. The potential for a James Keegstra "denial of the holocaust" syndrome was omnipresent. One must ask, then, if the school is demonstrating "control of the curriculum" when there is no monitoring of what is being taught in a school of only sixty students.

In spite of the work done in the writing of curriculum material, no credit or appreciation is extended. Any and all work is to be done anonymously, to be ultimately credited, it is assumed to the curriculum team of Beaver Lodge, Beaver Lodge School or the co-ordinator. This point was again dramatically driven home when manuscripts for school material were requested by administration. The typed pages were bound in three separate binders and each labelled "Written and compiled by _____, Beaver Lodge School, Pine Bay, Québec, 1983-84." Upon receipt of these materials in the school's main office, a member of administration crossed out the labels with the admonition that "They can't claim credit. They are under contract."

Further indications of the amount of work being done by the "curriculum team" is suggested by the fact that the principal, whose responsibilities are day to day administration and teaching language arts and life skills to grades three and four, was called upon to create and develop social studies materials for two elementary grades (community comparisons), and implement the "Sun, Moon, and Owl" material mentioned elsewhere. These emergency innovations were necessitated because of the communication barriers that exist between the curriculum head and the staff.

It is difficult to argue convincingly that the school is demonstrating control over curriculum when in fact there is no awareness of what is being taught or how; when teachers have no text books, and in some cases do not know how or where to order them; when teachers are reluctant (or refuse) to meet with the curriculum head; when the curriculum co-ordinator does not review curriculum summary forms until there is no option left but to do so; when the department head is totally unaware of what and how much

her staff is writing, etc. Control was demonstrated when there was a revamping of the curricula from the provincial system, since then however, little control over the curricula has been demonstrated.

On paper, the " curriculum development team" looks impressive, and in some cases, eg. the writing of a social studies text and English-Algonquin dictionary, considerable strides are being taken. These, however, are ongoing tasks that will take time before reaching fruition, and are not entirely the products of the school, but rather the products of outside expertise that must be brought in. This by no means denigrates the importance or relevance of the work; rather, it suggests that the school is not " demonstrating control" . Furthermore, by leading others to believe that these creations are the products of the " curriculum team" when, in fact, the real authors are known to all, greatly enhances an already shaky credibility gap.

There is no denying that the school tries to exercise control over staff as discussed above. The manner in which this control is exercised is of no small concern to staff. The reciprocal concern expressed by administration concerning perceived attempts at unionization among employees, suggests that they perceive staff as not being entirely satisfied with administration's dealing with them.

The administration of the school for all intents and purposes consists of the director and curriculum co-ordinator. The Education Authority has been too unstable to really demonstrate consensual policy and its makeup for the most part of 1983-84 consisted of three members of the director's family, all of whom worked at the school. The principal is an outside person whose authority in theory is restricted to day to day activities and

teaching staff. It has been shown, however, how unclear and arbitrary lines of authority are in reality.

A non-ethnographic evaluation of the school in 1984 strongly suggested that the staff was unanimously well pleased and impressed with the performance of the principal. She is among the best, if not the best, they have seen, and she is credited with being largely responsible for maintaining morale at the school throughout the year. In spite of this, her hands are tied in many spheres, and much of her authority is usurped by other administrators in even day to day activities.

It is perceived by the school staff that the real control of the school lies in the director and curriculum co-ordinator, not in the Education Authority. Insofar as the authority is constantly changing and is frequently understaffed and/or consists of members of the director's family and/or school staff, there is some truth to these perceptions. Certain actions taken by the director over the course of the year strongly corroborate the view held by some that he (the director) holds the opinion that he can a) act independently of the authority or b) ask first and seek the authority's approval after the fact. These include raising the salary of a teacher, withholding a pay cheque, overthrowing a selection committee, demanding teachers take certain courses, changing holidays two hours before they are scheduled to begin, etc., all discussed elsewhere. This is not to suggest that in all cases protocol is not adhered to; in fact, in some, albeit few, procedures have been followed.

When the outside staff first arrived in Pine Bay questions were raised, predictably enough, regarding the reasons why there were no outside teachers from previous years. All had been fired or not asked back. When

surprise was expressed at this the usual comments were to the effect of "give it time". For four of the five outside teachers "time" was in December.

In many, perhaps the majority of Native communities, outside teachers have pets, a dog or cat. In addition to being company, the animals are a part of their former lives, an attachment to what they had lived prior to the move to the reserve. In Pine Bay in 1983-84, four of the five teachers have pets, including three dogs and two cats. The week before Christmas the director informed a teacher that he was going to request that all animals be "gotten rid of" over the holidays. The teachers as a group went to see the director and questioned him regarding this decision in mid year. This was perceived as a confrontation and attempt at unionization and resulted in an ugly scene. Subsequent to this, two teachers were questioned singly and in one case accused of trying to unionize. The teachers, for their part, saw the decision as an infringement on their personal lives.

A letter was sent to the Education Authority by the teachers outlining a dozen reasons why they felt they should be allowed to keep their animals. The director in the meantime stated that he was going to go over the Authority's head to the band council. In response to the concern of the staff involved, the chairman of the Authority assured everybody that the issue, like the holidays issue, would be "taken care of" over Christmas.

The issue came to a crescendo at the January 19 Education Authority meeting. Only one teacher had "gotten rid of" his animals, a dog and a cat. The rest had returned with theirs. All members of the Education Authority agreed that the animals should be allowed to remain with the

teachers and stay indoors if the teachers so wanted (the director had softened his position to " chaining them outside"). Their arguments were that the animals did provide company for people hundreds of miles from home, that they had done no damage and that there had been no policy statement upon hiring. The director concluded the meeting (after a motion had been passed to formally close proceedings) by announcing that there would be nobody in the trailers next year and that he was going to request a shelter for the bull he was going to buy in order to store " all the bullshit that goes on."

The atmosphere at Beaver Lodge changed drastically after " the dog incident" . The confrontation had clearly posed a threat to the status quo and although the decision rested comfortably with the staff, it did not with the director or his wife. Tension was the norm until the end of the year. For the outside teachers, it demonstrated that control of staff might be interpreted as carrying over into their personal lives.

The social dynamics of Native communities, like any other, are very complex, and doubly so when there is a crucial (as in the case of teachers) non-Native component. In the case of the dog incident, the outside teachers were very much aware that it was a major victory insofar as they were allowed to keep their animals and not chain them up twenty four hours a day. However, the thought that a shake up of the old order had occurred, and that this had resulted by (inadvertently) pitting family against family, and in some cases family member against family member, was never far away. It is understood in some quarters that the McKenzie family is not as cohesive as it is first suggested and that there are intra family rivalries and resentments. This, coupled with the antagonism with the Simard family

creates considerable tension in the community. The dog incident decision on the side of the teachers might just as easily have swung the other way.

The decision, then, had certain ramifications for the social dynamics of the school. Tension was omnipresent. The fact that the director had been challenged and defeated on one of his own dicta was not a cause for relief. Rather, it prolonged the anxiety initiated in December when the dog issue and holidays issue were brought up. The chairman of the Education Authority at the time was a Simard and some other members were McKenzies. The decision, therefore, brought into focus the intra family disputes, the inter family rivalries, and the gap between staff and administration. Additionally, it had questioned the authority of the director and resulted in the overturning of his decision, a heretofore unheard of situation. There was, then, only a couple of the school's staff unaffected by the decision. The atmosphere until the end of the year was electrically charged.

The dog incident was followed up by other demonstrations of "control" including the selection committee incident and a veto on "gambling" in the school. This latter event concerned a pool to raise money for a baby gift for a teacher whose wife was expecting. Staff were to draw birth dates from a hat and the date and time closest to actual arrival of the newborn would win half of the revenue derived from the pool. The other half would go toward a gift for the baby. The idea was squelched and those people who had contributed towards the gift had their money returned. The reason stated was that "it did not look for the school."

Staff members were directed to ignore the memo regarding the pool. The director indicated that in order to avoid contro-

versies, the school staff should not be engaging in gambling.

Alternate ways of raising money were suggested eg. a party or donation box.

from the Minutes of Beaver Lodge School Staff Meeting,

The irony is that a few months later students organized a hockey pool in which staff, including the director, bought tickets. There were no castigations.

The following example illustrates how control is exercised and how ramifications follow the domino effect.

As discussed elsewhere the selection committee incident resulted in hard feelings and several resignations. Its repercussions were felt months later in the spring, and ultimately in the fall of '84.

When the original bookkeeper submitted his resignation he had agreed to stay on long enough to train his replacement. He had played an active role in the selection committee's hiring process, having composed and evaluated the tests for the applicants. In addition, he endorsed the committee's selection for new bookkeeper. However, when the selected applicant was rejected by the director, and the director's brother instated, the original bookkeeper submitted a new resignation effective immediately.

Vacation request

The request by bookkeeper for a vacation was put on the floor.

After discussion it was decided to:
approve the request by bookkeeper for a vacation leave on the condition that he takes two weeks vacation with pay, and that he completes the full training of the new bookkeeper.

from the " Corrected Minutes" of the Pine Bay Band Education Authority, February 16, 1984

Replacement of Bookkeeper Trainer

The topic of replacing the bookkeeper trainee (sic, should be trainer) was opened with a review of the situation. It was reported that bookkeeper had left the position with only two weeks notice. Since the contract with Canada Employment and Immigration stipulates that we are responsible for the trainer, immediate action was taken. The Director took steps to find a replacement, and found two likely candidates. Of the two most qualified Robert Campbell, was invited to visit the community.

A discussion followed and included: ... finding accommodations for Mr. Campbell at the school's trailers.

from the Minutes of the Pine Bay Band Education Authority, April 18, 1984

It was the accommodation issue that generated considerable hard feelings. In 1983-84 there were five outside teachers (three male, two female). The two single male teachers and two single female teachers shared two trailers among them. When interviewed for the positions the outside staff were told that there would be two people per trailer and that each trailer would have three bedrooms, be fully equipped, and be fourteen by sixty eight feet, " the biggest there is." Additionally, they would be ready when teachers arrived.

The trailers are indeed as described; however, staff spent two months in the Pine Bay cabins with no toilets or other amenities except a wood stove. In October, it was so cold in the cabins that a dish of water left out overnight froze solid. When the trailers were finally available at

the end of October, the men's trailer was without water for two and a half weeks.

There are, therefore, feelings among the non-Native staff that they have earned their facilities. Having done without showers, toilets and privacy for ten weeks in a ten by twelve foot cabin, there is a sense that they have been tolerant. Thus, when the curriculum co-ordinator sent her son with a note requesting that the male teachers house the new bookkeeper trainer (he was arriving in an hour and a half) there was a reluctance to do so. Among their contentions were the facts that they housed the linguistic consultant for a week at a time regularly every six weeks, they had had two different professional development consultants stay at various times, on this occasion there had been only an hour's notice, etc. Additionally, the initial agreement at time of hiring was that there would be only two people per trailer and it was felt that the bookkeeper trainer would be there indefinitely. Furthermore, there was a perceived audacity in that the curriculum co-ordinator and director had tried unsuccessfully earlier to make the teachers get rid of their animals, and were now requesting favours at a moment's notice. Of equal audacity, it was perceived that had the director not overturned the selection committee's decision, the former bookkeeper would not have resigned, and it would not have been necessary to hire a new trainer. From the perspective of the teachers, then, they were being asked to help remedy a situation that should never have occurred. The request to house the bookkeeper trainer was denied.

After discussion it was decided:
...that arrangements for accommodations
be made with Pourvoire (Pine Bay) Cabins

from the Minutes of Pine Bay Band Education
Authority, April 18, 1984

What the above excerpt does not indicate is the volatile nature of the "discussion". During the meeting it was pointed out by the principal that during her years of experience in the north she has found that comfortable, uncrowded accommodations are of paramount importance in maintaining harmonious interpersonal relationships among staff and hence, positive school morale. Additionally, it was pointed out that teachers had paid their dues by living in the cabins and that it was understood that there would only be two people per trailer. Counter arguments were that the trainer would be there only a few days and that if the teachers really cared about the school they would oblige by housing him. The teachers did not oblige and the trainer is still at the school.

The final ramification of the episode is that the director stipulated that in 1984-85 the trailers would not be used to house teachers. Rather, one was to be used as a curriculum lab, one to house the secretary, and the other for the married teacher and his wife and baby.

School control of staff is demonstrated in yet another incident. It was decided in May that there had to be evaluations of staff in order to decide who would be rehired. The principal was asked to evaluate teaching staff in the classroom while the curriculum co-ordinator would evaluate curriculum summary forms. Based on their observations it was recommended that all teachers be rehired.

Observations and Recommendations

During my observations conducted over the course of the year and in my visits to classes in May, I did not see any problems that are insurmountable or that would not

warrant re-hiring any particular teachers. On the contrary, with all staff members I witnessed growth and improvement during the course of the year. Given another year or two working together as a team, I think teachers' skills and hence the academic gains of students should increase substantially.

Lillian Walsh, unpublished document, 1984

There was, then, the recommendation that all teachers be rehired due to the facts that 1) they were all competent and improving and 2) continuity of teaching staff as a team would improve productivity. Regardless of principal evaluation and recommendations and the advice of an outside evaluator, the director decided that a teacher would be reclassified from a teacher to "support staff" and that there would be a decrease in salary. This latter point was later changed to no increase, although other staff would receive four to five per cent raises. This restriction on the demoted teacher's salary was allegedly due to budget restrictions. In addition, although all staff, Native and non-Native, would receive travel subsidies if they lived outside the community, this was denied the teacher. There would also be only support staff holidays for the demoted teacher, i.e., no Christmas or March break.

It was quite apparent that the offer would be rejected, which was the intention. Furthermore, the departure would virtually guarantee the departure of another teacher. This, too, was known to the director who commented upon receipt of the teacher's resignation, "I guess _____ is gone, too." The departure of the teacher was worth the loss another staff member, no matter how competent.

There is an irony in discussing the objective of the school demonstra-

ting control of administrative staff, for the community, students, and non-administrative personnel see administration as being " the school" . That is, while the Education Authority should be " the school" in the controlling sense, in reality, the director and curriculum co-ordinator are " the school" .

Q. Identify briefly the responsibilities of each member of the administrative staff.

Briefly, it can be said that the director has final say on anything.

...from conversations with (a local political figure), I understand that the job of director was never actually posted and a competition held. Rather, the present director " assumed" the role. When it was suggested by (a local official) that the director go on course to receive training (he) reportedly responded that training is for dogs and he would learn on the job.

Lillian Walsh, principal, unpublished document, 1984.

In my limited experience I have never seen a member of the present Education Authority so much as question (underscore in original) a position held by the director (let alone disagree). Members who have disagreed have ended up resigning. There does not, in the present scheme of things seem to be any room for honest debate, for an honest exchange of ideas.

With regard to the administrative staff, clearly job descriptions are a top priority. I know myself, I regarded both the director and curriculum co-ordinator as my superiors as they were the most vocal on the committee that hired me...

Not only are job descriptions necessary, but (curriculum co-ordinator) must be made accountable to someone. She assumes the same privileges as the director (eg. vacations in mid-year, trips to Québec City and Montréal, unquestioned afternoons off,

days that start at 10 a.m.) and this does create resentment among staff.

Lillian Walsh, unpublished document, 1984

Several of the incidents discussed elsewhere suggest the amount of autonomy exercised by the director and curriculum co-ordinator. In the midst of these are only two occasions in which the Education Authority displayed authority - the dog and housing incidents; and in the end the director succeeded in pulling the trailers out from under the teachers for the following year.

The ultimate display of autonomy by the administration is the fact that nobody quite knows how the director and curriculum co-ordinator acquired their jobs. The common understanding is that they assumed their positions without benefit of competition. Since the inception of the positions the director has quit or threatened to quit several times. On these occasions no one has posted an opening for his position.

There are several reasons why the position of director is unchallenged. Not the least of these is the fact that he is an exceptional, if not excellent, negotiator with Indian Affairs. One need only witness his achievements: the school itself, a student - teacher ratio of five to one, computers, etc. In addition to this he has a history as chief and councillor, as well as activity with the Algonquin Council. He is one of the few people in the community with any post secondary education; in his case courses at Manitou College, a now defunct Native college in Québec. Finally, the director surrounds himself with friends and family on the Education Authority.

In his role as negotiator with Indian Affairs, the Director, in my opinion, is effective. The

facilities are presently adequate and are being expanded to include a gym and science facilities. There is adequate money for reading materials; there was \$10,000 spent last year to buy library books; as a result of the number of teachers he has been able to hire, classes are small and manageable. He got funding for a Special Ed Co-ordinator when the principal and curriculum co-ordinator expressed a need for someone to test students. He is effective in ensuring that the school does not suffer from lack of facilities, resources or personnel.

Lillian Walsh, unpublished document, 1984

There is a sense, then, that it is better to retain the present director, even if he assumed the position and people disagree with his methods, than to replace him if somebody would. It is argued in the community that he retains his position through intimidation in that people are intimidated by his success and the fear that nobody else could accomplish as much. This is not to say that he could not be replaced, only that on an individual basis nobody will attempt to do so for fear of failure. Should someone attempt the job and fail the inevitable cry would be that " _____ would not have failed" .

This tendency to compare is very closely allied with the notion of roles discussed above. The director has clearly cemented his role as the local boy who took charge of his life, went to college, dabbled in Native politics, became councillor and chief, and, in the eyes of some people both Native and non-Native, " brought education to Pine Bay." Thus, in the eyes of some, he has earned his position as director. Although there are undoubtedly people in the community who are just as competent (and who might not incur the anger and resentment the director does) their roles are defined differently, and it is not up to them to

assume the director's role.

One must also examine the perception held by some that the director "brought education to the community." The village might hear of some the unorthodox goings on at the school, but their lives are not directly affected by these events. The community at large is simply satisfied that their children are being educated in town without the problems of former years. One must also remember that although theoretically Beaver Lodge is a "community" school, the community is not organized in any way, eg. a parents committee, to lobby complaints. If there were, more often than not the Education Authority is handpicked and would safeguard the director's interests.

The director's job, then, is perceived as his. The community, and to a lesser degree, those affiliated with the school, grudgingly consent to conceding the job to him. On the numerous occasions when he has quit or threatened to, no steps have been taken to replace him. Conversations with local politicians and/or teachers inevitably turn to "getting rid of the director" but nothing ever happens. His political savvy and accomplishments thus far seem to have guaranteed his job for a while, and because of her marriage to the director, the curriculum co-ordinator, despite her perceived incompetence, has her job safeguarded as well.

In the unpublished document An Overview of Beaver Lodge Theory and Practice, there is the statement "resource control of personnel is primarily aimed at professional development." According to this document, these strategies include "hiring a community member to handle finances and bookkeeping (discussed above), the Native teacher training programme (also discussed above), an inservice introductory course on computers,"

and "...initial teacher assessments of classroom and curriculum planning", also dealt with earlier.

There were three professional development seminars set aside in 1983-84. The first of these dealt with writing objectives and the curriculum summary forms. The second developed out of a non-Native teacher's contact with the Native Studies department of Trent University. The teacher volunteered to arrange for a faculty member to present a talk dealing with the integration of the school with the community. Out of this presentation, further contacts with Sir Sandford Fleming College in Peterborough were made by the teacher, which resulted in a subsequent two day seminar on computers in education.

Before leaving the discussion of "control" it is imperative that an examination of the Education Authority (and director) be made in terms of the history of non-Native handling of Native affairs.

It has been argued that Canada's treatment of indigenous peoples has been based on an ideology of paternalism and colonialism; an ideology that forms the basis of the Department of Indian Affairs and its mandate, the Indian Act. Since the inception of the Indian Act (and indeed before), it has been supposed that aboriginal people in this country are incapable of controlling their lives. That is largely why Indian Affairs and the Indian Act exist - to tell Native people what is right for them and to establish policy.

Ironically, however, in terms of Indian control of education, the federal government has backed off and not supplied the expertise in managing schools. Training and education for school administrators has not been offered, and leadership has fallen upon the shoulders of community

people who might be effective in other spheres, eg. band councillors or chief, but whose skill in education is negligible.

It might be argued that the Native person in this country who has, in conventional North American terms, "made it", has had to deal with Indian Affairs. Inevitably, these contacts with the bureaucracy are a learning experience in the functionings of the Canadian political system. For the Canadian Indian whose experiences with outside bureaucracies are limited to Indian Affairs, a distinct coping and functioning strategy might emerge, and the same paternalistic, exploitive and colonialistic mentality inherent in the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development gets adapted to local situations by reserve leaders. Thus, the same system which at time denied Indians the right to organize beyond band level is mirrored in the director's concern (paranoia) over a union in the school. The dictum that prohibits liquor on the reserves is reflected in a ban on animals in the trailers. A policy which would automatically deny status to an Indian with a university degree (for fear of "educating", hence "liberating" them) is not unlike that which tries to avoid certifying Native teachers (which would increase the credibility gap and jeopardize his own position). The assumption seems to be that "we know what is best for you." The school has become a microcosm of DIAND and the Native community it serves and, ironically, Indian Affairs has become a role model for reserve leaders.

The ultimate reflection of the Department of Indian Affairs in the administration of the school is shown in section 4 (2 a and b) of the Indian Act which states that:

The Governor in Council may by proclamation declare this Act or any portion thereof... shall not apply to

- a) any Indians or any group or band of Indians, or
- b) any reserve or any surrendered lands or any part thereof, and may by proclamation revoke any such declaration.

This statement, which in effect says that the Indian Act may be ignored when it does not serve government's needs, is mimiced at times by the director. There was no need, for example, to follow procedures when a teacher failed to complete the curriculum summary forms, it was not considered improper to demand that pets "be gotten rid of" in mid year, or to override the selection committee. People become what they learn, and in the Beaver Lodge context the staff is the Canadian Native community, the Education Authority is the Department of Indian Affairs, and the director is the Minister of the Department in whom the final authority rests, even to the extent of bypassing all protocol, and for whom there is no evaluation and no one to whom he is accountable.

The school should be able to demonstrate clear and valid objectives for students, teachers, administrators, and community members.

This objective has not been adequately met at Beaver Lodge and is at the root of many problems. Because there are no policy statements, no manuals or handbooks for students, teachers, and administrators, there are recurring problems and inconsistencies. The two incidents discussed in detail earlier are indicative of the types of confrontations that result. However, confrontations such as these are not limited to staff and administration; inconsistencies in staff handling and discipline of students also cause disruptions.

There is a range of teaching experience at Beaver Lodge, from five years to none. Within this range of experience there is also a diversity of teaching styles and beliefs and perceptions about what is proper classroom behaviour. Predictably, students' behaviour varies from class to class, with (generally speaking) more discipline problems in classes of Native and inexperienced teachers.

Student discipline, while not an irreconcilable problem, has resulted in some student suspensions. For teachers who have had to deal with classes of twenty five to thirty five students, the average class size of ten in Pine Bay is mild. The largest class (and the most disruptive) is combined grade 7/8 with thirteen students. As one senior teacher said in reference to the school's most notorious student, "I had a dozen Freds in Toronto last year."

Discipline problems when they do occur are largely the result of four factors: inconsistencies and non-support on the part of teachers, lack of student handbooks outlining expectations of students, lack of firm policy regarding discipline procedures, and a student attitude of impunity that is the result of the previous year. This latter point is best illustrated by a student who proudly announced that he had struck a teacher in the stomach the previous year. No such incidents occurred in 1983-84.

There is a sense among some teachers that because rules regarding student discipline are not codified, i.e., in a manual, they are flexible and open to interpretation. Thus, when a student is prevented from going to the store during a break the usual retort is "Mr. S. lets us go", when Mr. S. is (or should be) aware that going to the store is not allowed as per the staff meeting of September 8, 1983.

Discipline problems are further compounded by the out of school activities that occur eg. hockey or football games, having students over for supper, etc. In a small community the normal roles of teacher and student become blurred as students associate with staff after school and on weekends. One is liable to lapse into a "buddy" relationship with a grade 9 student playing hockey or football on Sunday only to have to assume the professional role on Monday. For students (and some teachers) these roles are often difficult to shake off and assume as readily as they should be. This extra curricular camaraderie is encouraged at Beaver Lodge and both Native and non-Native teachers strive to maintain contact with students, but in some cases a price is paid.

In the case of the Native teachers it would appear that a greater pressure is on them to maintain discipline. They have no anonymity, their past and present lives are known to all and in some cases students are family members. The role of teacher is therefore harder to exact and the authority it should convey is sometimes lost on the students. Incoming teachers are an unknown quantity - an image can be created and maintained (as it was by one senior teacher) that instills respect and proper behaviour in the classroom. For local teachers the task is not so easy.

An example of the pressure placed on local people trying to establish professional roles is best illustrated by another local young person. A nineteen year old male enlisted in the Amerindian police force with the understanding that he would be transferred to another community upon his graduation from the academy. He was not. On one of his first assignments, to break up a noisy party, an older man responded to his requests to disperse and be quiet with "I don't have to listen to you. I remember

when you were in diapers." On other jobs of similar nature, when he would walk away from people rather than arrest or subdue (former) friends, he would be chided with taunts of cowardice and other insults. He was not able to overcome his former role and assume, in the eyes of the community, the role of police officer. In small communities roles are clearly delineated and any extreme deviation is carefully monitored with not a small amount of suspicion until it is clearly established that there is no threat to the status quo. In the case of Charles, his role and newly acquired authority posed a definite threat to the old order, but he was still "little Charlie". Nowhere more than in small northern Native communities does Thomas Wolfe's admonition that "you can never go home again" ring true. Charles eventually got his transfer after threats of resignation. He enjoys his new community.

These attitudes and behaviours are similarly represented in the school on the part of students in their interactions with Native teachers, albeit to a lesser degree. The difference, of course, has to do with the amount of authority each (police officer and teacher) is vested with and the threat each poses to the established order as well as the age group each deals with (largely adults with the police officer, children with teachers). Regardless, the social dynamics of lack of anonymity in conjunction with recently acquired authority creates hurdles for those seeking to overcome previously defined roles.

The range of attitudes among teachers vis a vis relationships with students results in inconsistencies in student deportment. For example, at the senior end some teachers expect to be referred to by their first names, others tolerate nicknames, while a third demands that he be called

Mr. or Sir. Not surprisingly, there are occasional problems in maintaining order.

Further complications arise as a carryover from the previous year which was marred by staff turnover and dismissals in mid year. Students are very much aware of the lax attitude and poor morale that prevailed in 1982-83 and some entered 1983-84 with a feeling of impunity. Staff and student morale are much improved over 1982-83 although occasional student lapses occur, sometimes accompanied with references to the previous year.

There is no set policy for dealing with improper behaviour. The standard run of disciplinary techniques eg. detentions, loss of recess, writing of lines, being sent to the principal's office, etc are usual means of punishment. The strongest form of discipline is suspension. Corporal punishment is not allowed.

As there are no student handbooks or statements of policy regarding discipline, rules are set as the need arise, only to be forgotten or ignored shortly thereafter:

If absent, bring in a note; teacher shall stay in hallways as students come into building.

Attendance procedures: teacher shall send down student every morning with a list of students in their classroom absent (sic).

from Minutes of Beaver Lodge Staff Meeting,
September 8, 1983

Concern was expressed regarding the frequent absences of some students. A discussion was held to clarify the responsibilities of various staff members with regard to absenteeism, i.e., student services, principal, home room teacher.

It was agreed that:

- 1) home room teachers will strictly enforce the rule requiring students to bring notes explaining their absences
- 2) the home room teacher will communicate with parents regarding absences; first with a letter home and then by requesting an interview with the parents
- 3) if the problem persists, the teacher will speak with the principal

from the Minutes of Beaver Lodge Staff Meeting, December 6, 1983

It was noted that attendance is declining now that the nice weather has arrived. It was reported that some parents take students to the bush with them. Other students simply are not showing up or are leaving during the course of the school day. It was suggested that teachers try to devise incentives to keep students attending.

from Minutes of Beaver Lodge Staff Meeting, April 24, 1984

The question of students smoking at recess was raised. It was suggested that a permission slip be sent home for parents to sign.

from Minutes of Beaver Lodge Staff Meeting, January 19, 1984

Smoking. It was pointed out that a letter had not yet been sent to parents to verify which students have parental permission to smoke. This will be done.

from Minutes of Beaver Lodge Staff Meeting, March 21, 1984

The inconsistency in the application of rules necessitates their repetition over the year.

No going across road to store unless one has a note.

from Minutes of Beaver Lodge Staff Meeting, September 8, 1983

Students are not to play on the road.
Students are not to go to the store
during school time. This includes
recess.

from the Minutes of Beaver Lodge Staff
Meeting, March 21, 1984

The above discussion is not to imply that discipline is a major problem at Beaver Lodge. It is not. The discipline problems when they do occur, however, may be said to be founded in lack of consistency and support among teachers, lack of student handbooks stipulating teacher and staff expectations of students, lack of discipline procedures, and a tradition of non-accountability from previous years.

Lip service was paid in December to the idea of a student handbook which would outline the school's expectations of students, but to date nothing has been done. More beneficial, perhaps, would be consistency and cooperation among staff in their dealings with students.

In other areas, eg. academics; personal achievement; self concept and self esteem; relationships with their community and nation; objectives have been set for students. The introduction to the core curricula outlines these expectations: sense of comfort in school, facilitated initial learning, increased attendance, positive self image and cognizance of Native culture.

In varying degrees, these are being met.

There is an undeniable sense of comfort in the school on the part of students that is manifested in numerous and diverse ways. These include a high attendance and punctuality rate; active participation in study nights (Tuesday and Thursday from 7 to 9 pm); enthusiasm for extracurricular activities; no vandalism to the school whatsoever; frequent, i.e., virtually

daily visits to teachers' houses for supper or conversation; use of library nights; demonstrated keenness for such symbolic indicators as school rings, student council, school newspaper, etc.

Teachers experienced in both Native and non-Native schools are of the opinion that attendance at Beaver Lodge is quite acceptable. Two of the motivating factors for band control in Pine Bay were the distance to travel to school and the racism the students were subjected to in the provincial school. Both of these concerns have been eradicated with the result being a greater attendance rate.

Early in the year the senior teachers initiated study nights twice a week so that students could work on homework or receive extra help if they felt the need. The response to these study nights exceeded teacher expectations. At times two classrooms are in use to accommodate students. These are totally voluntary on the part of students. Attendance might be as low as four or five pupils or as high as twenty, or a third of the student body. Very rarely are there disruptions; the norm being quiet, diligent study.

Before classes started in the fall of '83 a week was set aside (at the request of the principal) to clean up the school and its grounds. For a variety of reasons (transition from provincial to local control, construction, lack of morale in the previous year), the school was in a state of cluttered disarray and chaos. During this week a complete overhaul of the school was achieved. An unrequested, unpaid part of the work force was the student body, many of whom helped in the cleaning and organizing of the physical plant of the school. There was an unvocalized but demonstrated feeling that this was their school. This tone has persisted - there has been no vandalism at Beaver Lodge, not even graffiti.

There have been several extra curricular activities over the year which have actively involved the student body. In the summer of '83, for example, students were hired to paint murals (illustrating Algonquin themes and Pine Bay history) in the school library. A joint social studies/science project is amassing a collection of indigenous mammalian skeletons. This is an after hours project being done by the social studies and science teachers. Student enthusiasm is quite high, with marten, mink, fox, lynx, and moose skulls being brought in. There is no academic credit for this; nonetheless, students are interested in and intrigued by the fleshing and curing process of the work.

A similar interest was exhibited by some grade 7/8 students in a class exercise which entailed the mapping of student geneologies. Interest was so keen that night classes were scheduled (in addition to regular study nights) in order that the project might be pursued. Eventually, the exercise was several metres long and encompassing half the village's population.

It is apparent then, that school is not a forboding place to students, and that there is a sense of comfort in it for them. An obvious reason for the enthusiasm for these (and other projects) is the identification with and relevance of the exercises to their environment. These are the animals they see in their trips to the bush; these are their families being mapped out.

In the weeks just prior to the end of this study, money was requested to hire students to work in curriculum development. Their task was to search through film and media catalogues, the library and other sources for materials related to social studies curriculum. These positions were

open to grades 7, 8, and 9 students and competition was stiff. Applicants were interviewed and the choices (four) made on the basis of attitude, sincerity, reliability and academic performance. Once hired, the students were reliable, enthusiastic and cooperative. Instead of seeking to be away from the school during the summer, students chose to be in it. While money might be perceived as the motivating factor (\$125 a week) there are other jobs available in the community at the band office or outfitter. Students made the choice of working in the school with teachers. Additionally, two other students were hired as janitorial assistants for the summer. School, then, is not shunned by the students; in fact, the opposite is true, it is a very real part of their daily lives.

Student pride and sense of comfort in the school are demonstrated by their zealously in seeking a student council and school rings and by their considerable contributions to the school newspaper. While student rings were deemed too expensive to warrant purchase; and only one dance materialized out of the student council, largely out of teacher non-guidance and non-involvement; the issues were initiated and pursued by students, an indication of the sense of belonging and pride in the school.

In the areas of increasing positive self esteem and awareness of Native culture, there have been enormous strides taken over what was the norm at the provincial school.

A number of inter-related factors prompted the takeover of education in Pine Bay. Among these were racial conflicts centring around the Nativeness of the Algonquin students. Predictably, poor attendance and identity crises resulted. Other motivating factors for the takeover were lack of parental input into curriculum and instruction, and a sense of alienation

between the students and their culture and heritage.

To a large extent, these problems are on the way to being eradicated at Beaver Lodge. Through a variety of vehicles specifically designed to enhance self esteem and/or cognizance of Native culture as well as inadvertently through other means, there is little doubt that students are developing better self images and awareness of and pride in their Native heritage.

The curricular vehicles for enhancing self esteem include the life skills curriculum with its emphasis on respect (for oneself and culture), and the week long excursions into the bush, in which students undoubtedly have more expertise and knowledge than their teachers and hence can derive self satisfaction. More important than these specifics, however, is the overall orientation of the school which is not culturally alien to the students.

When the students were attending the provincial school, they were physically, culturally and linguistically distinct from their non-Native peers, in addition to being a numerically small group at the school. Furthermore, they had to be bussed seventy five kilometres in order to attend classes. All of these factors served to single out the Pine Bay students for the persecution which is said to have existed at Latulipe. If one subscribes to Cooley's theory of the "looking glass" self (Mackie, in Hagedorn, 1983; citing Cooley, 1902), wherein the child develops a "self" through adopting other people's attitudes towards him, one can see how there was little positive self esteem among the Algonquin students who attended the provincial school in Latulipe. There were no integrative mechanisms at work in the system. The students were func-

tioning in a second or third language; learning in, and about, a culturally different world; and being driven a hundred and fifty kilometres daily to do so. They were also a visible minority in a distinctly non-cosmopolitan area. School was discomfoting to them and did nothing to reinforce a positive self image.

One need only to contrast with the situation at Beaver Lodge where Algonquin language and culture take priority and where the only visible minorities are the outside teachers who work for the school and are there to help, not criticize the students. Algonquin culture which served only to alienate students from the school and non-Native peers, is now the main agency for integrating them into the school system. By virtue of their common Algonquiness, the students now have basis for greater sense of comfort in school, enhanced self esteem and cognizance of their own heritage.

A number of extracurricular activities exist at Beaver Lodge which are geared to promoting student expression and self esteem. Monthly awards, for example, are given for best grades, punctuality, attendance, cooperation and improvement. Although inevitably, certain students come to dominate these awards, there is a concerted effort to see that all students receive recognition of some sort. Teachers involved vote by "secret" ballot, although discussion before hand is not uncommon. The monthly awards meetings are anxiously awaited and pictures are taken of winners posing with teachers. Of course the awards serve the dual function of encouraging punctuality etc. while pleasing the students.

Inevitably, there are those students who are consistent runners up. In Grade 9 this is the case of "Student M" who frequently had the second

highest marks, was cooperative (but not quite as cooperative as Student F) and who was second in the marathon. For the bulk of the year his cooperation, academic performance and other virtues went unrewarded but not unnoticed. To acknowledge his efforts in a major way, a large trophy was awarded him for his not inconsiderable help in coaching the elementary students for the Algonquin Olympics; students he referred to as "his kids." Similar awards were given to grade 6 students for their activities as unofficial school photographers.

Whereas at Latulipe student activity on the part of Pine Bay students was largely limited due to increased competition from a large school population, the necessity of having to take the school bus at prescribed times, and the general reluctance to get involved, at Beaver Lodge the opposite is true. Students actively participate in both school and inter reserve activities. Because there is a small number of students most eventually will be recognized in some way. The Fall marathon, for example, consisted of races of three distances broken down into grade levels (pre-kindergarten and kindergarten, grades one and two, grades three and four, five and six, and seven, eight and nine) as well as by sex, with prizes for first, second and third place finishers. Virtually every student who participates wins a prize.

Teachers report few difficulties in motivating students. This is largely a function of the achievement of another student objective, a sense of comfort in school. There is also considerable creativity in planning and developing relevant learning experiences which are both educational and enjoyable for students. Thus, problems in motivation are largely avoided or easily overcome.

The first four grades, i.e., pre K, kindergarten, one and two, have as their home room teachers local women. The importance of this fact cannot be understated as it lends familiarity to the formative first years of schooling. Two other local women constitute the full complement of teachers at this grade level. Children at Beaver Lodge, particularly in the early grades, want to go to school, and part of this enthusiasm must be attributed to the very crucial role played by these local people. There is a sense of belonging and familiarity, not alienation and discomfort.

It may be argued, then, that objectives for students are established and are in the process of being met. In those areas where there are yet problems, eg. consistency in discipline procedures, the blame largely rests with unclear or unstated objectives for administrators and teachers.

While the philosophy of the school is well written and clearly articulated, I know the staff did not, at any point this year, discuss the philosophy of the school and the implications for teachers. Such a discussion with Native and non-Native staff (especially if there is new personnel) would seem appropriate.

Lillian Walsh, unpublished document, 1984

Teachers must make their own inferences about what is expected of them based upon their readings and interpretations of the school's statement of philosophy (slipped into teacher mailboxes one day), the core curricula and their contracts. Administration says this about teacher objectives:

Teachers must be encouraged to present lessons that are relevant to the students, with clear measurable objectives. Administrators and support staff must maintain good communication with all students. The establishment of

objectives for administrators and educators has been a continuous process. This is being accomplished through the regular school routines...

An Overview of Beaver Lodge Theory and Practice, unpublished document, 1984

The above excerpt is the only reference made in the quoted document to teacher and administrator objectives. As discussions above have suggested, and subsequent discussions will substantiate, the degree of encouragement offered teachers is debatable insofar as at times there is a perceived undermining of teachers by some administrators. Thus, while there is an acknowledgement that the staff is competent and caring there is a sense that at times more might be done to enhance their abilities and effectiveness.

Q. What are the areas of special strength of the instructional staff?

- dedication to education for their students
- interest in what they're doing
- good sense of humour
- perseverance
- honesty
- a sincere liking for students

Q. To what extent are the individual and collective goals of the instructional staff consistent with the philosophy and objectives...of the school. Explain.

Philosophy and objectives of the school need to be discussed by staff. Self evaluation and assessment of individual goals may be conducted once objectives of school are more fully understood.

Lillian Walsh (principal), unpublished document, 1984

It might be argued, therefore, that while the overall quality of the staff is more than adequate, their effectiveness is hampered by unstated

and/or unclear objectives. It is not sufficient that teachers be expected to infer the objectives set for them based on their interpretations of core curricula and the school's philosophy. The development of a policy manual and/or job descriptions will immeasurably help in this area.

The objectives for administration are non-existent. As noted in an earlier quotation from a school administrator, objectives for administration consists of maintaining "... good communication with all students" and "the establishment of objectives «as» 'a continuous process'".

The vagueness and ambiguity of responsibilities and objectives for administration are at the root of many of the school's problems. Of particular concern is the overstepping of roles, especially by the curriculum coordinator.

The curriculum coordinator needs to spend more of her time working in her own department. She needs to gain the confidence of elementary teachers so that they will go to her with their concerns. No work was done this year to improve the elementary curricula, to provide resources for teachers, to provide feedback on curriculum summaries, etc. This area is being neglected as I get the feeling the curriculum coordinator feels there is nothing left to do. That's very wrong.

There was resentment (voiced to myself) that the curriculum coordinator was accountable to no one re: hours of starting work, her involvement in matters that were not seen as her concern (eg. acting as secretary for the education authority), the fact that she didn't have yard duty (this oversight on my part was rectified).

The curriculum coordinator is seen as meddling but not really doing anything significant in the area of curriculum.

Lillian Walsh (principal) unpublished document, 1984

Because there are no stated objectives for administrators the curriculum coordinator functions aimlessly. This directionlessness has generated animosity not only because it has brought her into spheres outside of her purported area of concern, but also because it has caused curriculum development to suffer. If her perceived meddlesome ways were being compensated for in proficiency in curriculum, it might be forgivable. As it stands, however, staff generally find her to be fulfilling no useful purpose at the school. Conversely, she is seen as creating trouble where there might not otherwise be any. To add insult to injury she works fewer hours, receives a larger salary, gets paid vacations in mid year and is accountable to no one.

The curriculum coordinator does serve a vital role in safeguarding the interests of the director, by frequently negotiating on his behalf on certain issues, eg. the selection committee and dog incidents. On those occasions when the director has left midway through meetings or resigned completely, albeit temporarily, she has picked up his cause and negotiated on his behalf. By doing so, of course, she is also protecting her position in the school.

While the curriculum coordinator cannot, in the eyes of the staff, legitimate her role in the school, the director can. While there are no stated objectives for his position, his role is understood by the community and school to be a negotiator with Indian Affairs and to procure funds and facilities. This he does admirably. He thus serves a vital role, for he is responsible for all of the material possessions (as well as teachers) existing in the school.

It is in the area of day to day management of the school that the

roles of administration become entangled. While theoretically the principal supervises the teaching staff and is responsible for routine activities, the overlapping of the three roles at times prohibits the smooth running of the school.

The administration is staffed adequately (with regard to numbers) if each person knew his/her responsibilities and was left to discharge them with confidence.

Lillian Walsh, unpublished document, 1984

It is the unanimous opinion of the staff that the principal does an exemplary job, an opinion substantiated by an outside evaluator. The principal is available to staff if they have problems or questions, deals with discipline problems, arranges field trips (2 in 1983-84), provides assistance with regard to strategies for classroom management, assists in curriculum planning, etc. The day to day functioning of the school goes quite well and it is consensually agreed (possibly excepting the curriculum coordinator and director), that morale is as high as it is because of her.

The exceptional job maintained by the principal is in part due to her experience in Native schools (six years - three in Alberta in the provincial board, two in Ontario (federal) and one in Québec), three of which were in the capacity of principal. She thus brings considerable experience to the position. If any criticism is to be levelled at the principal, it is in the free rein which has been allowed the curriculum coordinator, a shortcoming acknowledged by the principal.

I know myself, I regarded both the director and curriculum coordinator as my superiors as they were the most vocal on the committee that interviewed me. I certainly did not monitor (the curriculum coordinator's) comings and goings any more than I did

(the director's). (I now see so much that I did wrong in my dealings with (the curriculum coordinator)).

Lillian Walsh, unpublished document, 1984

One sees in examining the roles of the school's members (staff, administration) that objectives are largely left to be inferred, a policy which leads to chaos and confusion. As a result of this directionless, the principal is led to assume the role and responsibilities of the curriculum coordinator, the director is involved in the principal's duties, and curriculum coordinator neglects her duties to assume the directorship with the director.

If one were to delineate objectives for administration one would allocate to the director such areas as negotiation with Indian Affairs, overseeing total operation of the school including budget, hiring, construction of facilities, etc. The curriculum coordinator's objectives would include development of new courses, implementation of existing courses, professional development within the area of curriculum, evaluation of programmes, etc. Objectives for the principal should include day to day operation of the school including implementation of rules and regulations, discipline of students, staff supervision, maintaining communication with Education Authority members and parents, and recommendation of special assessments, eg. students with special needs. Many of these, while unstated, are being met, while others are hampered by political and communication barriers.

There are no stated objectives for community members.

In any community school it is important that community members recognize themselves as in control of education. They must be kept informed and continually invited to participate whenever possible. Presently

a special adult education course is being developed in an attempt to foster educational awareness. Hopefully, it will be a positive step toward defining community objectives. A practice in the community is to keep Education Authority meetings open to the public, and regular education reports are made at each band meeting.

C.C., unpublished document, 1984

The above quotation by Beaver Lodge's administration reflects their interpretation of community involvement in the school. Discussions elsewhere have attested to the sense of alienation and powerlessness felt by the community regarding their involvement in the school. These feelings are accentuated by a policy adopted in mid year which essentially kept Education Authority meetings out of the public eye.

The Director prepares the agendas. Previously (around October - January) these were posted in the community, and all community members invited to attend. All meetings were held in the evening and all band members were welcome.

Recently, meetings were held in the afternoon, with little advance notice. Meetings were hurriedly called and the agenda not posted in advance. Detailing the agenda was the first item on the agenda.

Lillian Walsh, unpublished document, 1984

Thus, community participation is effectively cut off.

There is no adult education programme (and as of summer '85, still none) in Pine Bay. As has been discussed earlier, membership in the Education Authority is selective and there is no parents committee. Objectives for community members could include such areas as parents committees, adult education programmes, participation in policy making, classroom monitoring, etc. There is far too little communication between school and

community.

The (school and community) relationships were not the greatest. Parents didn't know enough about what we were doing. We didn't get enough input and feedback from parents (except when there were problems). ...Pine Bay needs a parents committee that will meet regularly with teachers to discuss concerns, make suggestions, provide school volunteers and become actively involved in their children's education.

Lillian Walsh, unpublished document, 1984

Clearly, this objective is not being adequately met and should be a priority if the goal is to truly be a community school.

The school has prepared and filed documentation explaining how its programs have been developed and implemented, and conducted.

With regard to this objective administration has made the following observation:

Preparing documentation on programs has been an important goal for our education system. In order that our students and education be recognized by post secondary institutions, keeping such information on file is essential. Also in a developing system students' educational experiences must be well documented to ensure that their educations are complete and not repetitious. There have been benefits (sic) as well to the curriculum process. One tool that we have adapted for this is curriculum mapping. This is a cooperative effort between curriculum and instructional staff. Teachers use a unit planner and summary sheet to plan their courses. This is used by the teachers and curriculum development as a method of controlled curriculum development. Instructional strategies, activities, materials and resources can then be evaluated for effectiveness and either be continued or terminated. An example of this is a film that was planned for a grade nine science class, but in the pre-screening it was found to be unsuitable for that grade level. The unit planner and

summary shows this in the notes and can be used in another year.

An Overview of Beaver Lodge Theory and Practice, unpublished document, 1984

This excerpt both overstates and understates the strides taken towards meeting this objective. It overstates the situation because, as has been shown, there is little cooperation between curriculum staff and instructional staff and equally little exchange of information and ideas within the curriculum "team". Thus, the example cited (the science film) is very much an isolated case. The paragraph quoted deludes the reader into believing there is a harmonious cooperation between curriculum and teaching staffs when in reality there is consistent reluctance and at times outright defiance at writing the forms.

Conversely, there is considerably more documentation available attesting to implementation and development of programmes than simply the curriculum summary forms which, in many cases, are haphazardly and carelessly written due to the resentment they incur. As we have seen the much vaunted unit planners and summaries were never examined until the year's end, yet reference is made to "controlling curriculum development."

The quotation above suggests that evaluation of the effectiveness of implementation of programmes may be measured by an examination of the curriculum summary forms. While some sense of effectiveness may be gathered from these, they cannot be assumed to reflect, as is suggested, a comprehensive picture. Rather, one must look further afield to determine how effectively programmes are being developed and conveyed to students. Not the least important consideration is the teacher.

Ultimately, the effectiveness of an education

system is subject to the capability of individual teachers and their day to day contact with students. This is the critical interface - the personal interaction between teacher and child. The strong positive influence of the competent, caring teacher will be felt through the most ineffectual school programme and impersonal organizational schemes. Contrariwise, the best school organization and programme cannot insulate the student from the effect of the incompetent, disinterested teacher...There is no substitute for quality teaching.

Riggs & Levy, 1981, 1,2

Beaver Lodge is blessed with "competent, caring" teachers. Two evaluators, one internal and the other external, have reached the same conclusion. Eight of the teachers are Native, and three of the five non-Native teachers have teaching experience in Native communities.

Based on informal observations made during the course of the year and through classroom visits conducted in May, the principal evaluated all instructional staff. The final evaluation report comprised six areas of effectiveness, including management and organization, preparation, teaching skills, classroom, pupil growth, and student evaluation procedures. These areas totalled twenty four indices of effectiveness which were graded from 1 (excellent) to 5 (needs improvement). These evaluations contributed equally as much to an understanding of programme implementation as do the curriculum summary forms, given that they are based on continued observation over a year, classroom visits, examination of teacher day books, student work, etc. Equally from the standpoint of staff is that they perceive the evaluations as having credibility; that is, they see the principal as having the expertise, experience and credentials to be

evaluating them, based on her years as teacher and principal, as well as her academic qualifications.

Contrariwise, there is resentment at having the curriculum coordinator conduct an evaluation of the forms. This resentment is based on her perceived lack of expertise, the late date at which they were examined (as opposed to having them evaluated regularly), rebellion at having to do them at all, etc.

Regardless, these two internal evaluations form part and parcel of the documentation attesting to programme implementation, as do the day books that all teachers maintain.

The periodic reports to Indian Affairs similarly form a critical part of the documentation attesting to programme implementation. These include progress reports by the social studies curriculum writer/teacher, the Algonquin teacher/writer, and an inclusive overview of all the curricula by the curriculum coordinator. These reports (five to ten pages long each) compose a much more clearly stated and succinct assessment of the program implementation than the summary forms. They point out the strengths and weaknesses of the different curricula in terms of grade level and student expectations:

Science - Social Studies - Fine Arts - Elementary

Changes in content are also under review. These include providing more content in the sciences. There has been a lack of adequate preparation of students for studying science at the secondary level.

Science - Secondary

Students have not been given enough opportunities to practice scientific processes. This has been due to a lack of adequate facilities. Much of

the work that was done by students followed the principles of outdoor education for science.

Life Skills

The life skills curricula has been implemented through diverse and creative means.

English

The grades one to three levels...have shown much improvement.

Curriculum Coordinator, unpublished document, 1984

Similarly, the progress reports by the social studies and Algonquin teachers suggest strengths and weakness in their respective curricula and their implementation.

In summary, certain trends emerge through a retrospective of the past three months:
...2) the main weakness is lack of readily available, relevant and unbiased materials
3...4) there is room for interdepartment exchanges and collaboration in both curricular and extracurricular activities.
This has been demonstrated repeatedly
5) minor changes in the curriculum can be made to accommodate upper year courses.
These changes should be in the areas of geography and history...

Bryan Cummins and Anne Simard, Social Studies Progress Report, December 1983, (unpublished document)

Considerable documentation, then, is available to the researcher who seeks to determine how programmes have been developed, implemented and conducted. In addition to the curriculum summaries/planners, there are assessments of the same, teacher evaluations, progress reports from the social studies and Algonquin writers, documents submitted to Indian Affairs, etc. All of these attest to how theory and practice are blended in the area of programme implementation.

That the school be able to use the results from assessment designed or adapted to adjust, improve or terminate ineffective practices or programs.

Administration makes the following observation regarding the fourth objective:

A standard for our school is that we are able to maintain practices and programs that are effective. We have given ourselves the objective of conducting periodic assessments to determine what needs to be adjusted, improved or terminated so that we remain an effective school. There have been two community education assessments done to date. The first assessment was to determine whether the community wanted students instructed in English or French. The second assessment was done to assess the community educational priorities including whether time spent in subject areas was adequate or over needs. We do not foresee (sic) a need for an assessment of this type again for some time, however there is a general assessment in progress. This assessment has been set up to measure student skill levels, teacher performance, administrative performance, quality of school life, administrative practices, and parent opinion inventories. This assessment has been contracted to an outside person, so that we may gain a more objective perspective. Through this assessment we hope to gain information on what is working, what is not working, and why. With the results of this assessment we hope to develop a plan for continued development.

An Overview of Beaver Lodge Theory and Practice, unpublished document, 1984

One may discern three major assessments conducted in Pine Bay regarding education. The first two of these were, as noted in the quotation above, to determine language of instruction and curriculum priorities. The subsequent actions did, in fact, reflect community opinion. The

third assessment was the school evaluation conducted by the outside evaluator. Each of these merits examination.

Beaver Lodge does reflect the community's opinion in its current curriculum (subjects and allotted hours) and language of instruction as reflected by the initial assessments.

The philosophy of the school is that of "bicultural education". The director and curriculum co-ordinator spearheaded a community survey that revealed that community members felt that learning the Algonquin language is a top priority. Hence, there is immersion Algonquin in pre-K and K and Algonquin is taught in grade 1 - 9. There are 1 1/2 Algonquin writers.

The director devised a 5 year plan to have grade pre-K to 12 at the school. He has negotiated funds for a gym to meet the needs of the phys ed curricula. As well, the faculty will have labs to meet the needs of the science curricula. Another priority, according to the survey, is adult education. The director has hired a co-ordinator for adult ed in 1984-85.

Lillian Walsh, unpublished document, 1984

Thus, there is little doubt that the priorities as indicated by the initial surveys have been, or are in the process, of being met.

As one examines the history of program development and school evaluation at Beaver Lodge a pattern emerges in which community input and number of people privy to information decrease. Witness the total community involvement in determining language of instruction and curriculum priorities. Witness as well the second wave of programme development in which grades 10 and 11 are under negotiation.

Program development appears to be in the

hands of «the director» and curriculum co-ordinator. For example, they decided that the two optional courses for high school would be Commerce and Communications. I don't know on what they based their choices. There was no teacher input. There did not appear to be any community input. No committees were established to research the needs of the community. «The director and curriculum co-ordinator» seem to come up with the ideas and they are implemented.

Lillian Walsh, unpublished document, 1984

1984-85 will see a new wave in education at Beaver Lodge that will see the implementation of grades 10 and 11. The programmes will not reflect the needs or wishes of any community assessment. They will, however, reflect the aspirations of the real authority of the school. There is, therefore, a pathetic irony in the statement that "...we do not foresee (sic) a need for an assessment (such as the initial community survey) type again for some time." It is a fait accompli; the decision has been made without consultation with anybody including community members, school staff or students.

The third assessment at Beaver Lodge was conducted hurriedly at the end of 1983-84 and was a comprehensive examination of the school, conducted over a two week period. The evaluator teaches the Native staff from time to time and is known to the administration from previous contacts. He is associated with the faculty of education at an Ontario university. His evaluation was based largely on structured surveys (questionnaires) and conversations with all concerned with the school (administrators, support staff, teachers, and students).

Unfortunately, the results of the evaluation were available to no one

except the director and curriculum co-ordinator. Subsequent conversations with the evaluator offered the comment cited elsewhere that " the staff was unanimously well pleased with the principal and less so with other administration" and that students are happy in the school. Overall, the evaluator seemed pleased with the instructional staff. Other suggestions, criticisms and comments will probably never be known as the evaluation is in the hands of administration.

It was also stated that the report of the evaluation was to be submitted to the director and curriculum co-ordinator in two sections in order to allow them to decide if, in fact, they liked or agreed with his assessment. Presumably, if the initial report failed to meet with their expectations, the second would not be submitted. In either case, no staff member was ever informed of the results of the survey.

The school has been able to improve productivity.

The fifth objective is that the school will be able to improve productivity. This will be shown by the success rate of our students. Effectiveness of any school is measurable in the ratio of students graduating, and their success in persuing (sic) further education. Since we are only in our second year of operation it will be some time before we can measure our productivity. This remains as an important objective to meet, as it is the ultimate aim of Beaver Lodge School to provide students with an educational experience that will prepare them for their future roles as members of the community, the Algonquin nation, and the human race.

An Overview of Beaver Lodge Theory and Practice, unpublished document, 1984

Productivity, like much else in the statements of philosophy and

objectives, is left undefined; although, as suggested in the excerpt above, retention and progression to higher education are two indices. For our purposes, "productivity" also includes attendance, punctuality, academic performance, and attitude.

Attendance at Beaver Lodge during 1983-84 averaged over 90% (Lillian Walsh, p.c.), a very acceptable performance by any standard. Punctuality, with the exception of a couple of chronically late students is likewise commendable. Both of these indices are in part products of the monthly awards issued to outstanding students and also reflect the achievement of the student objective of "comfort in school".

On the minus side Beaver Lodge saw the departure of four students (two male, two female) over the year. A student on probation in grade 9 did not return after the first few weeks, and in grade 8 two male students failed to return after suspensions. A fourth grade 8 student simply dropped out.

There are indications that the school will attract former drop outs from the provincial system back into the classroom. Over the course of the year, a couple of students who had dropped out of the provincial school (grade 10) sought out teachers for help in order to facilitate their entrance back into school when Beaver Lodge obtained the senior high school in the fall of '84. The presence of the school in the community, and its Native orientation and staff, is promising future productivity.

It is difficult to objectively assess academic performance for several reasons. A considerable number of students are reading below grade level and there is the sense that if the students were in a provincial system many would not be at their present grade level. Among some teachers there

is the sense that staff are overly compromising in their marking; that they are too subjective and lenient. The immediacy of the school in the community, the very personal relationships with the students, the feelings that the students have been ill treated by the educational system in the past, the sense that students are "really trying" or "have shown improvement" - all tend to result (it is suggested by some staff) in inflated grades. These grades therefore, may not reflect true performance if compared to a random provincial sample.

One may perceive a pattern in the administering of grades. When the teachers first became aware of the true level at which students are performing, standards were lowered to accommodate the performance levels and to ease the frustration of teachers. One does not teach at a grade nine level if the highest achiever is performing at a grade 7 level. Homework, which was minimal to begin with, has been cut back because little was being done. More often than not, homework is not done because of the conditions at home (lack of privacy, alcohol abuse, etc.). Thus, assignments are given with the expectation that maybe half will be completed on time. Ultimately, grading is done on a relative basis with the result being that the best students are given an "A" and the rest graded in comparison with the highest achiever. In reality, the "A" student might be a "C-" student elsewhere.

There has been no standardized testing of students in Pine Bay, which complicates evaluation of student performance and hence the objective of productivity. One is aware, of course, that standardized tests are culturally bound and thereby must be seen as having that inherent bias. Nonetheless, there is a decided need to determine the actual performance/

achievement levels of students on an individual basis.

Mention must also be made of the speaking, writing and reading levels of students; a stumbling block to the performance of many. Several factors contribute to the low literacy levels and speaking abilities of students. These include the fact that the students are bilingual and in some cases trilingual, that standard English is not spoken at home, education in previous years has been in French, and amongst Native teachers standard English is not the norm. This latter point is one of the few inconsistencies among Native staff and has been recommended by the principal as an area needing improvement (Lillian Walsh, unpublished document, 1984). In addition, prior to the building of the school there were no printed materials available in the community, and the nearest English materials were in New Liskeard, one hundred twenty kilometres away. Thus, opportunities to hear, read and write standard English were non-existent, hindering the development of these skills. (NOTE: After being exposed to the writing skills of community college students in Ontario, the writer is not so sure if the English skills of the students were really that bad. For example, the following were all presented on community college tests: " I was my class 'valid victorian' (valedictorian)"; deviance is a 'mister meaner' (misdemeanor)", " the Inuit are a species of Indian" , etc.)

One must ask, then, if teachers are doing students a favour by compromising standards. Conversely, would teachers be encouraging and supportive by failing entire classes if they do not meet a predetermined standard? The decision is not easy, and teachers at Beaver Lodge have elected to lower standards to those preset in the previous year and to

hopefully encourage and retain the students. The raising of academic levels will be an ongoing, subtle process.

As noted above, an assessment of productivity cannot be made until the first group of pre-K students has graduated from the system. In the interim other indices such as attendance, punctuality, retention and attitudes may be used to hint at productivity. By these standards, the school is faring well.

CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Orientations, according to Burke, function as a means of perceiving and as systems of interpretations, based on experience. An orientation "is a bundle of judgements as to how things were, how they are, and how they may be" and affects our choice of means with reference to the future.

Given the status of Native people in the Canadian social, political and economic spheres, and the performance of Native students in the non-Native education system in the past, it is not surprising that the predominant Native orientation viz education has of late been one of social adaptation and reconstruction, an orientation "aimed at developing levels of critical consciousness and alleviating social ills." For Native people this orientation has manifested itself in what has collectively come to be called "Indian control of Indian education" as exemplified by band run schools. Within this context the underlying tenets are parental responsibility and local control.

A study was done at "Beaver Lodge School" evaluating the school in terms of its own philosophy and objectives, which are reflective of, and rooted in the larger framework of Indian control of Indian education. The philosophy is largely focussed upon orientation to the community, reinforcement of Native identity, and relevance to the students' present and future roles. School objectives are concerned with demonstration of control; establishment of objectives for all concerned with the school; documentation of program development, implementation and evaluation; and productivity.

The researcher, in his capacity as teacher and curriculum writer,

conducted an ethnographic evaluation based on these statements of philosophy and objectives. It was argued that any method of evaluation other than an ethnographic one would be faulty due to the inherent biases in traditional evaluative methodologies. That is, in order to avoid evaluating the school within our own frames of reference, it must be done within the school's, using its criteria. These are its philosophy and objectives. Thus, the study was ethnographic; an emic perspective from the role of participant observer. Based on school documents, interviews, observations and other resources an attempt was made to determine if, in fact, theory is being put into practice.

The degree of implementation of the school's stated philosophy and objectives is suggested by the following table.

It would be both erroneous and expedient to look at the political struggles within the school and claim that Beaver Lodge exists in spite of itself. The students are very happy there, teachers see progress with their classes, and at times the true warmth between staff and students is moving. Additionally, the camaraderie and respect between the Native and non-Native teachers is constantly apparent. There is real potential for growth at the school. The incidents discussed above are not meant to suggest that the school is on an irreversible slide to oblivion; rather, they indicate that like all endeavours in their initial stages, the school is going through growing pains. Conversely, this does not excuse the often high-handed way in which administration deals with staff, which at times is inexcusable. Then again, the flaws in administration suggest areas of improvement, and point to a major shortcoming in Indian Affairs transition to band run schools - inadequate preparation of bands for takeover.

Degree of Implementation

1 = Not Implemented

3 = Partly Implemented

5 = Fully Implemented

Statements of Philosophy

That the school have the ability to orient itself to the community (pg 82-90)

That the world view, spiritual beliefs, language, etc. (pg 90-98)

That the curriculum and instruction reflect and complement the community's needs (pg 99-108)

That the students be given an opportunity to help them identify the positive contributions of the Algonquin heritage etc... (pg 90-98)

That the students' education be relevant etc... (pg 99-108)

Objectives

The school will be able to demonstrate control... (pg 108-135)

The school will be able to establish clear and valid objectives...(pg 135-155)

The school has prepared and filed documentation (pg 155-160)

The school has been able to... adjust, improve or terminate ineffective practices or programs (pg 160-163)

The school has been able to improve productivity (pg 163-167)

	✓			
			✓	
		✓		
			✓	
		✓		
		✓		
	✓			
		✓		
		✓		
		✓		

1 2 3 4 5

Briefly stated, Beaver Lodge is succeeding in the areas of strengthening Indian identity, but is not orienting itself to the community. Administration is sadly lacking in personnel management skills and the acts of nepotism serve only to divide the community which ultimately is to the school's detriment. Furthermore, accountability at the administration level is non-existent which creates resentment and animosity. Herewith are recommendations for the Pine Bay Band Education Authority and Beaver Lodge School.

- 1) There is room on the Education Authority for representatives of six different families; ergo, it is suggested that the Authority, as much as possible, try to represent the different families of the community. Only in this way can a cross section of the community be represented. The smaller families in the village must not be led to believe that they are without a voice in their children's education. Whenever possible the rule of one representative per family should be adhered to.
- 2) Members of the Education Authority must be provided with training in educational matters. This does not suggest that members be certified teachers or holders of Bachelors of Education; rather, it suggests that members should be encouraged to participate in education seminars, workshops, and conferences and be kept up to date on the latest developments in education. The prolonged silences at Education Authority meetings suggests that quite often the members are not informed of the issue under discussion by the curriculum co-ordinator and director. It has been suggested that the perceived autonomous power of the director is due to the fact that the members of the Authority are not well versed in educational matters, and hence not equipped to debate the issues, thereby leaving the director in total control.

Training, therefore, would lead to both legitimacy of the Authority as an " authority" and to a more even distribution of power.

3) Remuneration for Authority members in the form of either an honourarium or a salary would be an incentive to volunteer for the authority, and to undergo training. Therefore, it is suggested that Education Authority members be paid with the understanding that they will be on the Authority for a set period of time, eg. a year, and in return for their salary or honourarium, they will undertake training in education.

4) The rule prohibiting school employees from being Education Authority members must be strictly adhered to. In the winter of 83-84 three of the four Authority members were school employees. This regulation was made to prevent conflicts of interest and the flagrant disregard of it should not be tolerated.

5) Any decisions rendered by a committee mandated by the Education Authority must be honoured. To do otherwise is to undermine the Authority of its " authority" and makes a laughingstock of the same. All credibility is lost when a decision making body is robbed of its authority.

6) It is recommended that both the director and curriculum co-ordinator undertake training; the latter in education, the former in education and personnel management. Due to the fact that some of the Native teachers are certified, and the rest are working towards that goal while neither the curriculum co-ordinator nor the director are either certified or taking courses in that direction, there is resentment towards these two. The credibility of the director and curriculum co-ordinator is suspect, both in the way in which their positions were acquired and in the handling of their positions. Training in their respective positions would both enhance

credibility (and hopefully professionalism) while giving the impression of fairness, in that all staff would be required to obtain accreditation. This would hopefully offset the current antipathy between staff members and administration.

7) There is definitely a need for job descriptions. Many of the confrontations and misunderstandings which occur might be avoided if job descriptions existed for all staff. These should include such particulars as job responsibilities, chain of command, expectations, limits of authority, etc.

8) A policy manual dealing with such items as student discipline, staff reprimand, hiring procedures, staff holidays, etc. would fill a great void. Over the course of the year several incidents reflected this need. A policy manual in which these concerns are clearly laid out would serve to alleviate these problems.

9) Students have both rights and responsibilities but these have yet to be codified. A student handbook in which expectations of students (proper behaviour, hours of school, etc) as well as their rights (mutual teacher student respect, good education, etc) are presented would fill a need that has been suggested by both students and teachers.

10) A parents committee would greatly enhance the concept of a "community school". At the present time community input is virtually nil and seems to be decreasing as power and authority are becomingly increasingly localized. It is recommended that a parents committee be formed to exercise greater parental control. Discussions elsewhere suggest the areas in which parental input is both viable and needed. Such a committee can only help integrate the school into the community.

11) Each year all staff should be familiarized with the school and its

philosophy through an orientation session. Whether this serves as a refresher for returning staff or an introduction for new staff, its importance cannot be understated. At the present time, the staff's introduction to the school and its philosophy is conducted through "handouts" in staff members' mailboxes. For both Native and non-Native teachers these few pages are inadequate. It is suggested that an orientation session be allotted at the beginning of each year to familiarize all staff with the philosophy of the school.

12) There is a decided tendency for extracurricular tasks and activities to be left unfinished eg. a winter carnival, audio visual orientation, etc. To alleviate this problem, it is suggested that there be an inclusion in contracts for extracurricular activities. These activities will be selected by incoming teachers and noted on the contract at time of hiring with the understanding that he/she will undertake the activity during the year. Only in the case of unforeseen circumstances can there be a renegeing of responsibilities eg. no interest demonstrated by students.

13) It is strongly recommended that all employees of the school, including director and curriculum co-ordinator, sign contracts. In the year prior to the study, no contracts had been signed with the subsequent result being dismissals in mid-year and lawsuits submitted by teachers. It had been suggested in 1984-85 that the policy of no contracts would again be implemented. This can only result in chaos. Rather, it is submitted that all staff be required to sign contracts, preferably of not less than two years duration, to provide continuity for students. Students are particularly sensitive to staff turnover and this in turn contributes to poor morale and learning environment.

14) A full time principal experienced in Native schools is needed. The principal during 1983-84 won the respect of the teaching staff but both she and staff felt that her teaching obligations kept her from being as effective as she might have been. Additionally, the principal must be left to discharge his/her responsibilities without interference.

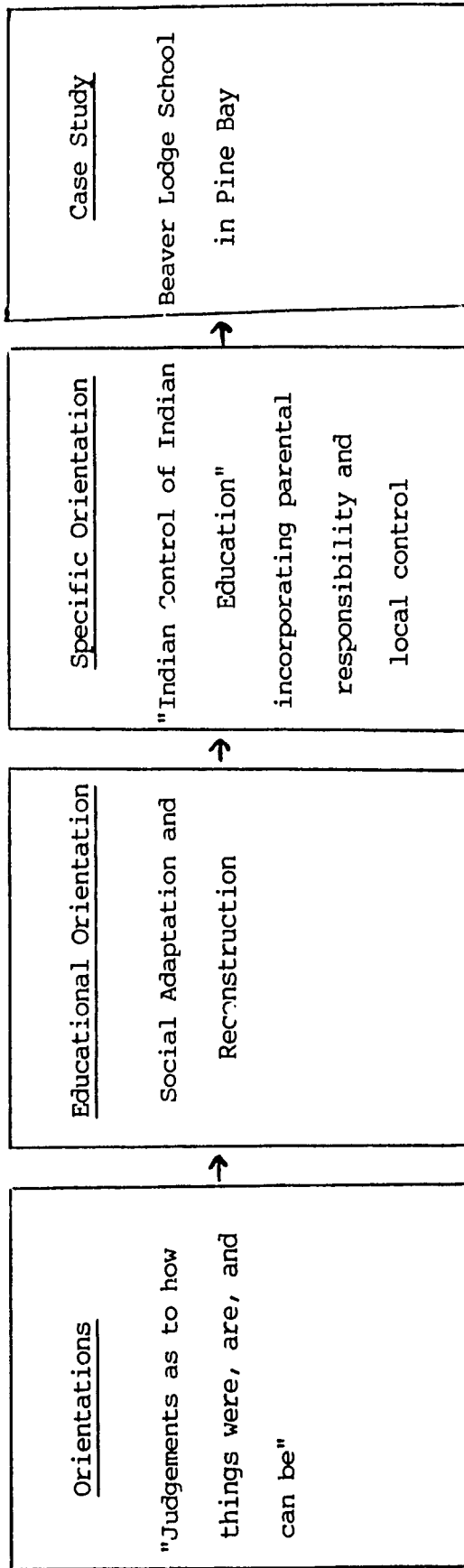
There are perceivable areas in which further research is needed. Student assessments, for example, need to be conducted to determine special needs pupils. As discussed above it was a long and circuitous route to Beaver Lodge School; a route which saw students shuffled back and forth between schools and instructed in different languages. Many students are not performing at grade level and the causes need to be determined. This should be a priority.

Secondly, a tracking of graduates, once they start, would help to determine the "productivity" of the school. This would be indicated by the percentage of graduates, success in post-secondary institutions, and placement and performance in the job market. Only a long term study could elicit this information.

Two distinct school/community studies need to be conducted: one to determine ways of better integrating the school into the community and another to update the community's "needs". Since the initial needs assessment several years ago, all decisions regarding school curricula have been based not on any needs assessment but on arbitrary choices by a few individuals.

Finally, regular outside evaluations of the school should be made by an impartial evaluator. With feedback from these regular evaluations there is potential for school growth.

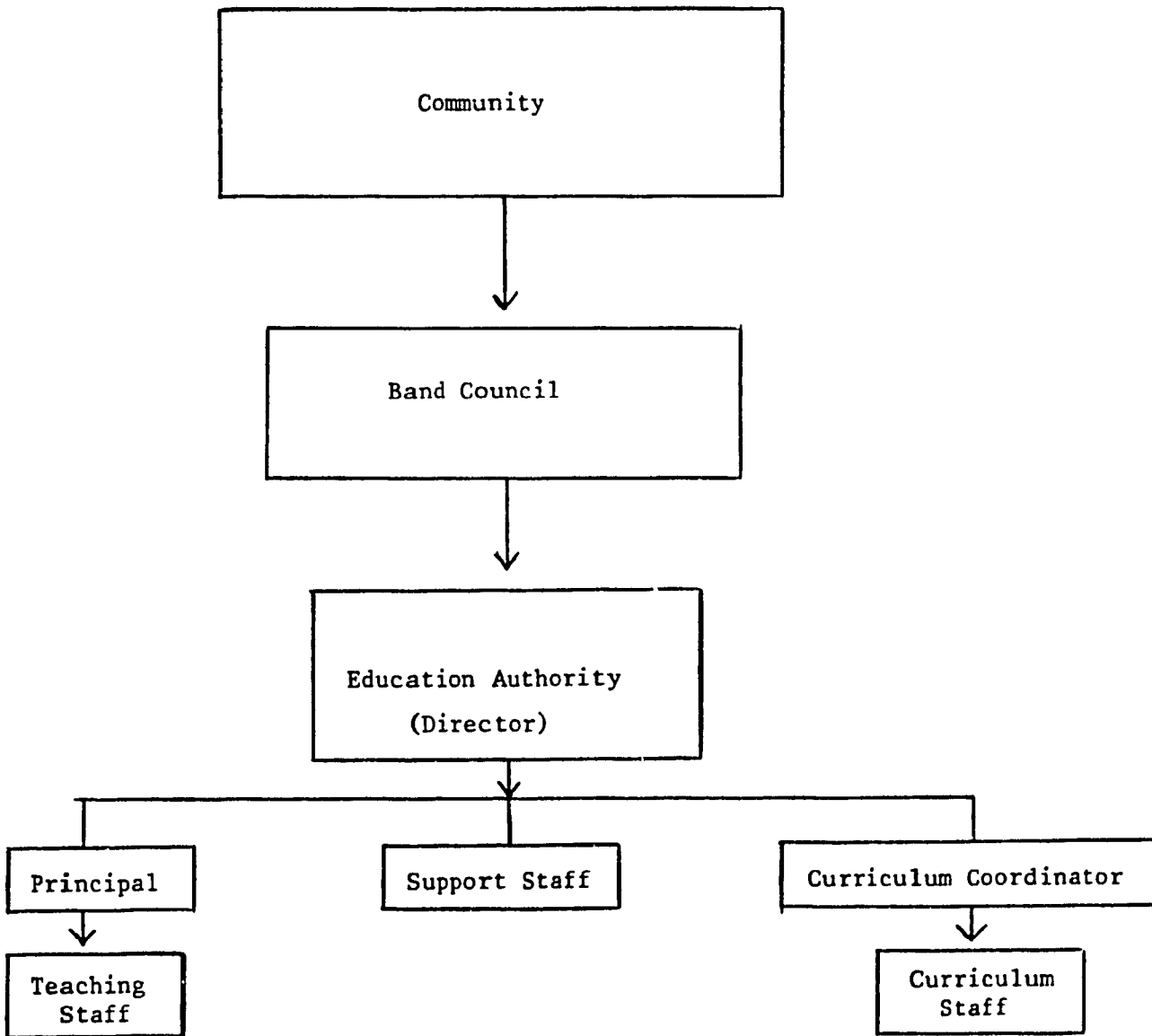
CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK - A MODEL



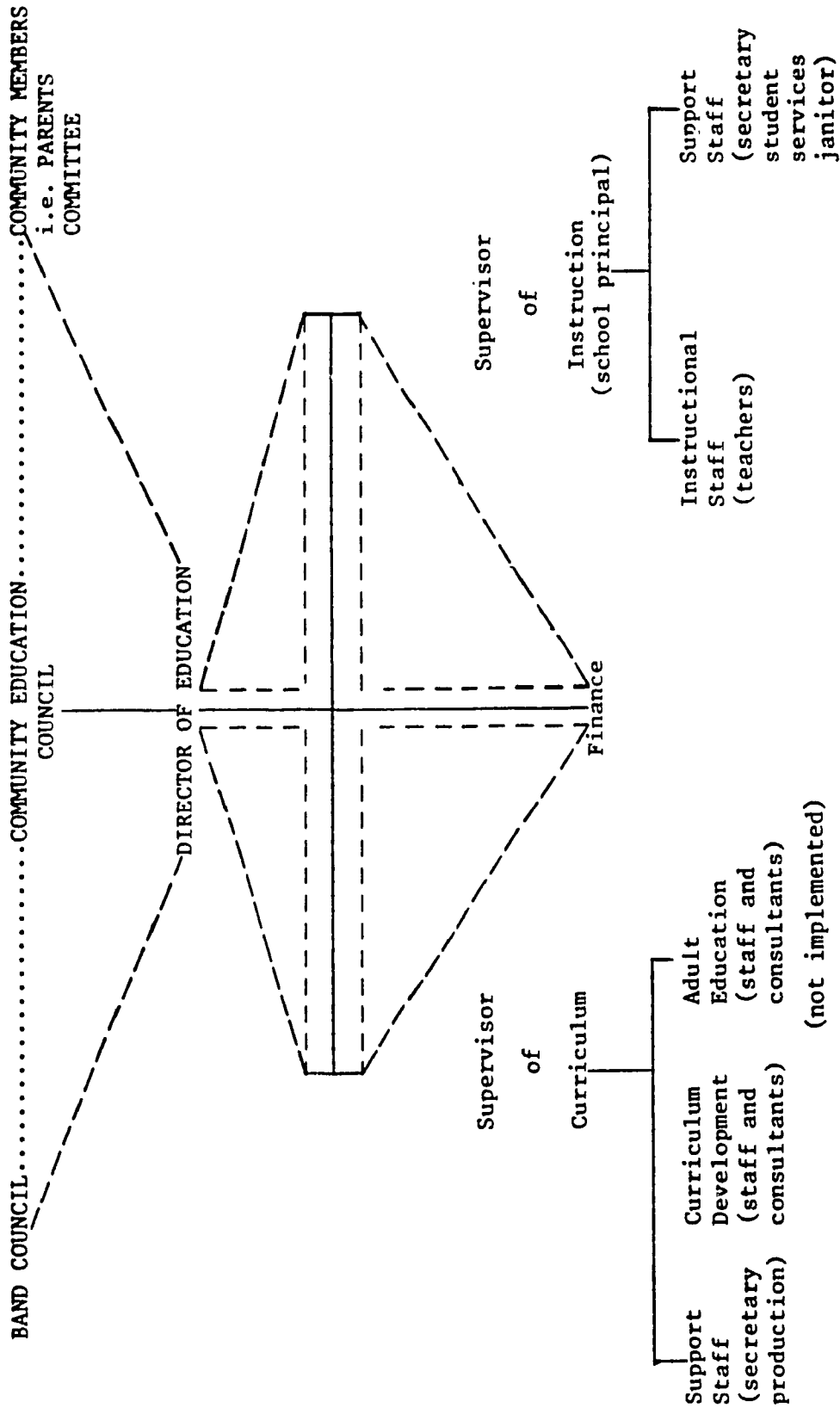
ORGANIZATIONAL FLOW CHART

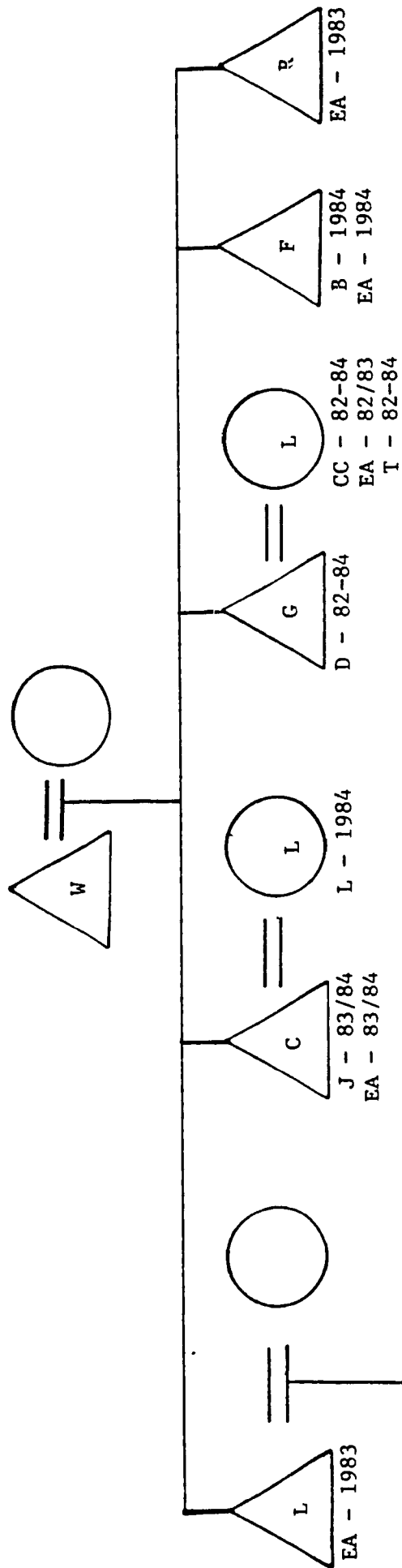
BEAVER LODGE SCHOOL

1983-1984



ORGANIZATIONAL FLOWCHART, BEAVER LODGE SCHOOL (1984-85)





Beaver Lodge School
Power and Authority
Family "A" - The McKenzies

Key

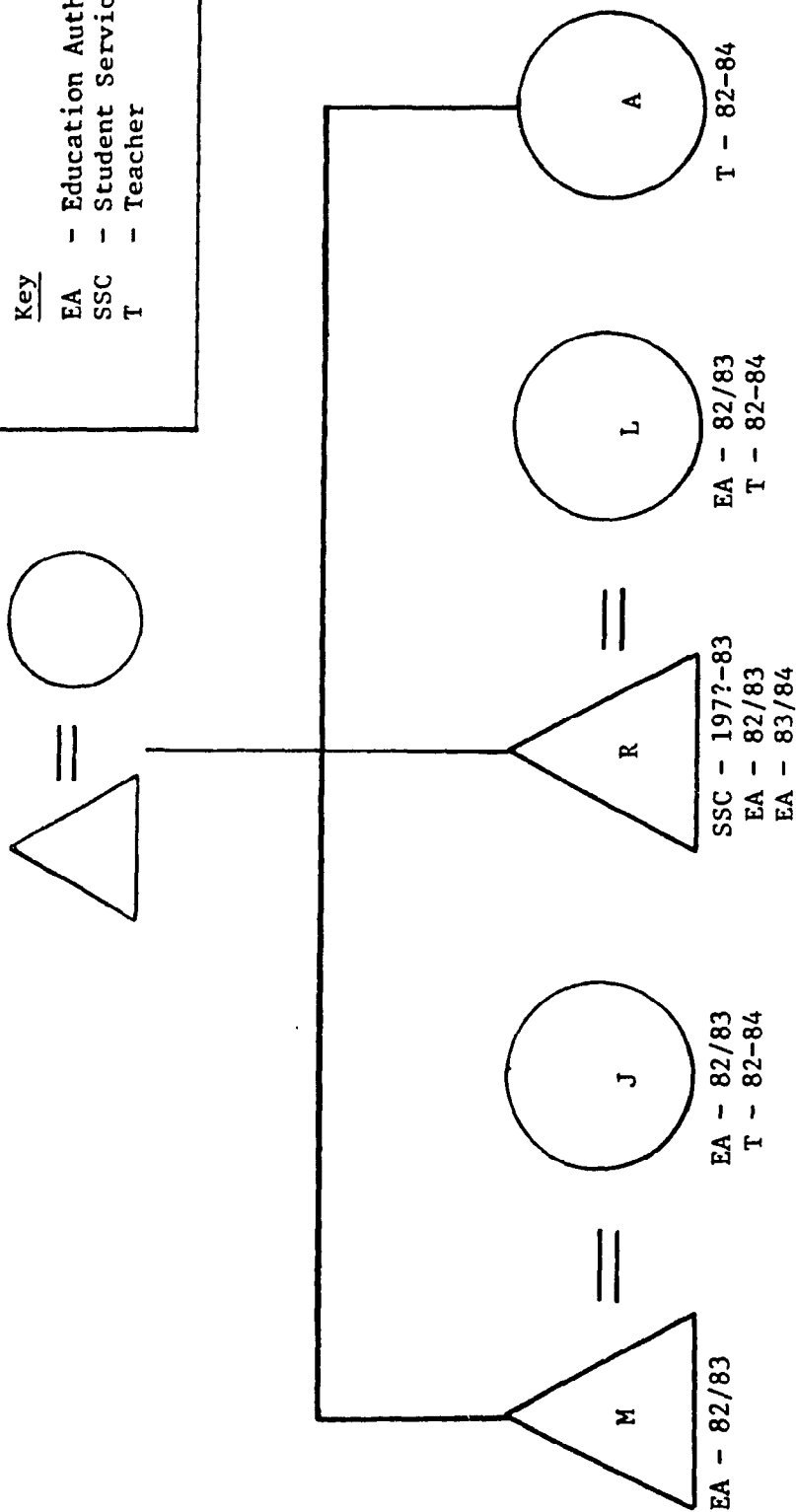
- EA - Education Authority
- J - Janitor
- L - Librarian
- D - Director
- CC - Curriculum Coordinator
- B - Bookkeeper
- SSC - Student Services Coordinator
- S - Secretary
- T - Teacher

Beaver Lodge School
Power and Authority

Family "B" - The Simards

Key

- EA - Education Authority
- SSC - Student Services Coordinator
- T - Teacher



FAMILY REPRESENTATION IN THE SCHOOL

Family Names

Pre-K/K	#	Percent
Simard	3	30
Jones	2	20
McKenzie	3	30
McLeod	1	10
Théberge	1	10
	<u>10</u>	

Grades 1/2

Simard	1	9
McKenzie	10	91
	<u>11</u>	

Grades 3/4

Simard	3	33
McLeod	1	10
McKenzie	3	33
Stewart	1	10
Brown	1	10
	<u>9</u>	

Grades 5/6

Smith	1	10
McKenzie	3	33
Simard	3	33
Jones	1	10
Brown	1	10
	<u>9</u>	

TOTAL: 59 students

McKenzie 50.8%
Simard 23.7%

Grades 7/8

McKenzie	8	66
Simard	3	25
McLeod	1	9
	<u>12</u>	

Grade 9

Smith	2	25
McKenzie	3	37.5
Simard	1	12.5
McLeod	1	12.5
Brown	1	12.5
	<u>8</u>	

REFERENCES

- Ackerman, Marianne. "At This School Indians are the Good Guys" in Montreal Gazette, November 1, 1982
- l'Agence d'Urbanisme Lavoie et Associés. Winneway Settlement: Development Master Plan Preliminary Proposals. Montréal: 1983
- Alison, Derek. "Fourth World Education in Canada and the Faltering Promise of Native Teacher Education Programmes" in Journal of Canadian Studies, v.18 #3, 1983
- Alkin, Marvin & Frederick Ellett. Evaluation Models and Their Development. Los Angeles: Graduate School of Education, UCLA
- Anderson, Scarvia and Associates. Encyclopedia of Educational Evaluation. San Francisco: Jossey Bass Publishing, 1974
- Brody, Hugh. Maps and Dreams. Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, 1983
- Burke, Kenneth. Permanence and Change. Palo Alto, California: Hermes Pub., 1954
- Burnaby, Barbara. Languages and their Roles in Educating Native Children. Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1980
- Canada, Government of. Regional Guide - Québec. Ottawa: Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1984
- Canada, Government of. Indian Education Paper-Phase 1. Ottawa: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1982
- Canada, Government of. Linguistic and Cultural Affiliations of Canadian Indian Bands. Ottawa: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1980
- Canada, Government of. Indian Conditions: A Survey. Ottawa: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1980
- Canada, Government of. An Act Respecting Indians. (The Indian Act) Ottawa: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1978
- Canada, Government of. Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy. Ottawa: 1969
- Canadian Education Association. Recent Developments in Native Education. Toronto: Canadian Education Association. 1984

- Cardinal, Harold. The Rebirth of Canada's Indians. Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1977
- Cardinal, Harold. The Unjust Society. Edmonton: M.G. Hurtig, Ltd., 1969
- D'Anglejean, Alison. "The Education of Minorities in Canada: an examination of policies" in World Yearbook of Education, 1981
- Davidovitch, Lila. Participant Observation in a School Setting. Toronto: Board of Education, 1968
- Dorman, Jacqueline. "More Than 6600 Native Students in Québec Schools" in Rencontre, v.2 #3, 1981
- Eisner, Elliot. The Educational Imagination. New York: MacMillan, 1979
- Fetterman, David (ed). Ethnography in Educational Evaluation. Beverly Hills: Sage Publishing, 1984
- Fiddler, Sharon. Working Paper on Local Control of Education. Peguis Indian Band, 1979
- Frideres, James. Native People in Canada: Contemporary Conflicts (2nd ed). Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1984
- Friere, Paulo. Pedagogy of the Oppressed. Harmondsworth: Penquin, 1972
- Fromboise, Teresa and Barbara Plake. "Toward Meeting the Research needs of American Indians" in Harvard Educational Review, v.53 #1, 1983
- Fuchs, Gordon. Evaluating Educational Research (2nd ed). Washington: University Press of America, 1980
- Gibson, Margaret. "Approaches to Multicultural Education in the United States: Some Concepts and Assumptions" in Anthropology and Education Quarterly, v.7 #4, 1976
- Goetz, Judith and Margaret Lecompte. "Ethnographic Data Collection in Evaluation Research" in Ethnography in Educational Research (David Fetterman, ed). Beverly Hills: Sage Pub., 1984
- Goodenough, Ward. "Multiculturalism as the Normal Human Experience" in Anthropology and Education Quarterly, v.7 #4, 1976
- Gue, Leslie. "Patterns in Native Education" (n.d.)
- Gue, Leslie. Indian Education in Canada. A paper prepared for the Executive Committee of the Canadian Education Association. Edmonton, 1974

- Hagedorn, Robert (ed). Essentials of Sociology (2nd ed). Toronto: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1983
- Hamalian, Arpi. 1979 (Class notes and personal communication)
- Herscovici, Alan. Second Nature. Toronto: CBC Enterprises, 1985
- House, Ernest R. "Assumptions Underlying Evaluation Models" (n.d.)
- Indian Chiefs of Alberta. Citizens Plus. A Presentation by the Indian Chiefs of Alberta. Edmonton: Alberta Indian Association, 1970
- Indian Tribes of Manitoba. Wahbung: (Our Tomorrows). Winnipeg: Manitoba Indian Brotherhood, 1971
- Jeness, Diamond. Indians of Canada. Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1967
- Kay, Patrick. "The Education of the Canadian Indian" in Multiculturalism, v.6 #4, 1983
- King, Richard. The School at Mopass: A Problem of Identity. N.Y.: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1967
- Lithman, Yngve Georg. The Community Apart. Canada: University of Manitoba Press, 1984
- McBeth, Sally. "The Primer and the Hoe" in Natural History, v.93 #8, 1984
- National Indian Brotherhood. Indian Control of Indian Education. Ottawa: 1972
- Page, Ellis & Robert Stake. "Should Educational Evaluation be More Objective or More Subjective" (n.d.)
- Repo-Davis, Marjaleena. Theoretical Preconceptions of the Participant Observation Methodology. Toronto: Board of Education, 1966
- Rencontre. v.5 #4, June 1984
- Rencontre. v.4 #4, June 1983
- Rencontre, v.2 #3, April 1981
- Riggs, Howard and Elaine Levy. The Elementary Schools of Kahnawake. Montréal: McGill University, 1981
- Roe, Michael. Multiculturalism, Racism and the Classroom. Toronto: Canadian Educational Association, 1982

- Shkilnyk, Anastasia. A Poison Stronger Than Love. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985
- Siggner, A.J. & Locatelli & Larocque. An Overview of Demographic, Social and Economic Conditions Among Québec's Registered Indian Population. Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 1982
- Spradley, James. Participant Observation. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1980
- Talmage, Harriet. "Evaluation of Programs" (n.d.)
- Trigger, Bruce (ed). Handbook of North American Indians, v.15, (n.d.)
- Waubageshig. The Only Good Indian (rev. ed). Don Mills: New Press, 1974
- Weaver, Sally. Making Canadian Indian Policy - The Hidden Agenda 1968-70. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981
- Willey, Gordon. An Introduction to American Archaeology: Volume One - North and Middle America. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: 1966
- Wolcott, Harry. Kwakiutl Village and School. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1967
- Wolcott, Harry. "Criteria for an Ethnographic Approach to Research in Schools" (n.d.)
- Wuttunee, W. Ruffled Feathers. Calgary: Bell Books, 1972
- York, Geoffrey. "Indian School Shows Academic Gain in Just Three Years" in Globe and Mail, May 24, 1983