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PREFACE

Section 37 of the *Constitution Act, 1982* (as amended) requires the holding of a series of conferences by 1997



months prior to the 1985 First Ministers' Conference (FMC).

Developments in 1985, subsequent to the First Ministers' Conference, may have a dramatic impact on the

necessary first to inquire into, and then to resolve or
assuage a number of genuine concerns about aboriginal
self-government and its implications for federal,
provincial and territorial governments. Research in the

ABSTRACT

This paper integrates a comprehensive review of the

la politique qui puit servir de guide dans l'évaluation
des démarches faites dans le but d'améliorier la qualité
de l'éducation autochtone au Canada et le degré de

leurs enfants.

1 THE GOVERNANCE AND FINANCE OF CANADIAN ABORIGINAL EDUCATION

By its very nature, policy analysis demands consideration
of where we have been and where we are now in that

Not only have "simple" solutions to narrow problem definitions in the Canadian aboriginal education arena tended to produce outcomes totally unintended by their architects, such policies have also generated outcomes that have been much less than helpful for Canada's

Branch of the Department through its regional and district offices. While Indian Affairs has, since the late sixties, encouraged the development of local school committees to provide community input into the operation and educational programs of the federal schools, these bodies were and are currently advised with ultimate control

and policy-making discretion residing in the Department hierarchy and in the federal Treasury Board, which

in the belief that the quality of support and supervisory services might decline even further if they were given immediate control of their schools (Paquette, 1986). A

in Canada occurred in the Northwest Territories at
Res. Edao in 1071 (Yuzdonki 1082)

cumulative effects of chronic underfunding spawned from

a pernicious old narrative that Indian education could

Indian education has been the evolution of a number of
early childhood education programs. In some cases, such

as the [redacted] program, [redacted] hands

policy for Native people. The same broad political agenda, however, means that education must share a diffuse and shifting political focus with a wide variety of competing concerns and issues.

Native Education Councils

Another much less common nucleus of coalescence in Canadian Native education is the Native Education

program development challenges which may be important precedents for other aboriginal jurisdictions (Tanner, 1981).¹³

Large-scale regional Native boards seem to be drawn from the crucible of social and political trauma. The Cree Board was spawned from the extraordinary circumstances surrounding the James Bay hydro project. Another large-scale Native board appears to be taking shape on the opposite coast of James Bay, after a period of

~~non-resident status-Indian students are secondary~~

As a result of the above, the Commission has concluded that the authenticity of the [redacted] is not in doubt.

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instance, has its District School Area Boards which are, in theory at least, instruments of local control. In the case of largely Native communities—they are, therefore

an arrangement to become a reality, the terms of any
service-purchase agreement must be

where urban Amerindians have become a highly visible disadvantaged minority, special or alternative programs have been created to provide both alternative program content and an instructional environment more in tune with traditional Native values than the typical public school environment. They seek to remedy what Breton called the "social, socio-psychological, and organizational needs" of urban people of Indian ancestry (Breton and Akian, 1978). Such "survival schools," it is argued by their proponents, constitute the last best hope of alienated Amerindian youth for coping with the realities of being an Indian in urban Canada.

In some cases, alternative schools have been formed under the aegis of an assessment-rich urban board, with little or no direct provincial funding. The Wandering Spirit School in Toronto is such a creation of the Metro


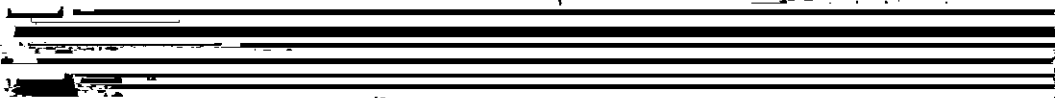




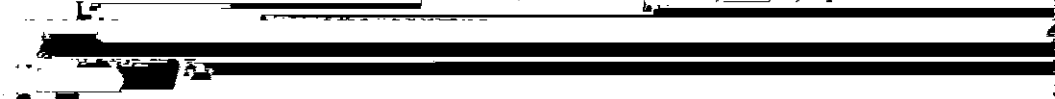
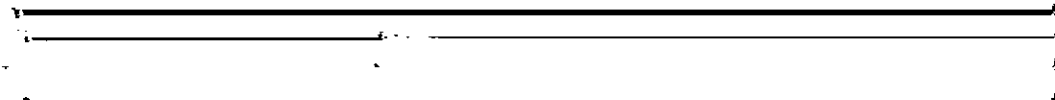


than it has been even in the remoter areas of most provinces. Thus, although the same pattern of central control developed quickly in the Territories and in northern Quebec, it lacked the legitimization of a long tradition of direct central control which pervaded the Indian education arena south of the Territories. In Labrador, however, Inuit and Indian education has been the responsibility of community-based school boards established for that purpose.

Except for their relative recency, then, and the geographical and climatic environmental factors imposed upon them, the

the creation of area boards as the basic unit of educational governance for Inuit people in the outlying areas of the Territories. These jurisdictions were to be large enough to command sufficient human and fiscal

1.1.3. Metis and Non-Status Indians and School

In general, they develop and offer programs relating to
- historical languages, cultures, and heritage, and are



or diploma courses not taken as part of a degree or

by the Government of Saskatchewan with supplementary federal funding for certain of its program offerings. Post-secondary program areas offered by the Institute include the Saskatchewan Urban Native Teacher Education Program and the Saskatchewan Training for Employment Program. All programs are accredited and certified by the province and, by using an outreach delivery mode, the Institute makes its programs available at satellite training centres in Native communities throughout the province.

1.2. Resourcing: A Fundamental Conundrum

A commonly accepted assumption in educational finance, and indeed in the broader realm of public finance as well.

to the financing of education. While such situations do offer hope that some degree of local control in education may be possible in the absence of local taxation for

1.2.1. Finance Models

INAC Funding of INAC Schools

Since the most common form of

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schools, and incrementing it by ten percent as a

and regions. An important exception to this general

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most obvious and by far the largest cost was a potential

under such programs. In all cases, such programs exist:

1. ~~to~~ ~~enable~~ ~~Indian~~ ~~students~~ ~~to~~ ~~purchase~~ ~~textbooks~~

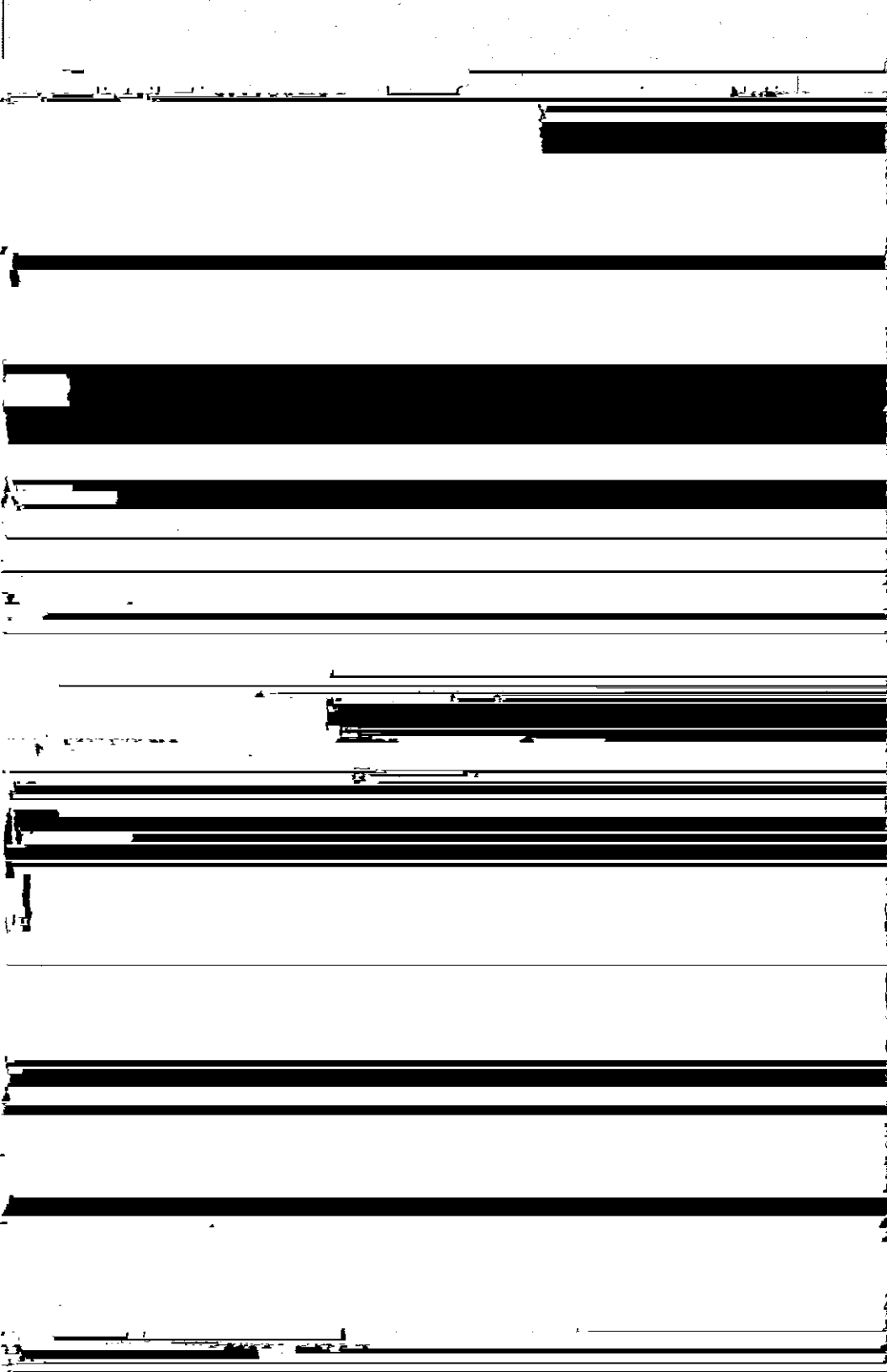
the seeds of many invidious comparisons may be inadvertently sown.

Funding of Off-Reserve Education Through Standard Provincial Finance Arrangements

A growing number of status-Indians reside off-reserve and within the boundaries of a public board or district. Such persons are, in respect of the financing of primary and secondary education for their children, on the same footing as all other citizens of their area - that is, they pay educational property taxes (except in the fully-funded provinces) and realize the benefits of provincial equalization-plan grants and special categorical grants that may apply to programs in which they

Special Financial Arrangements

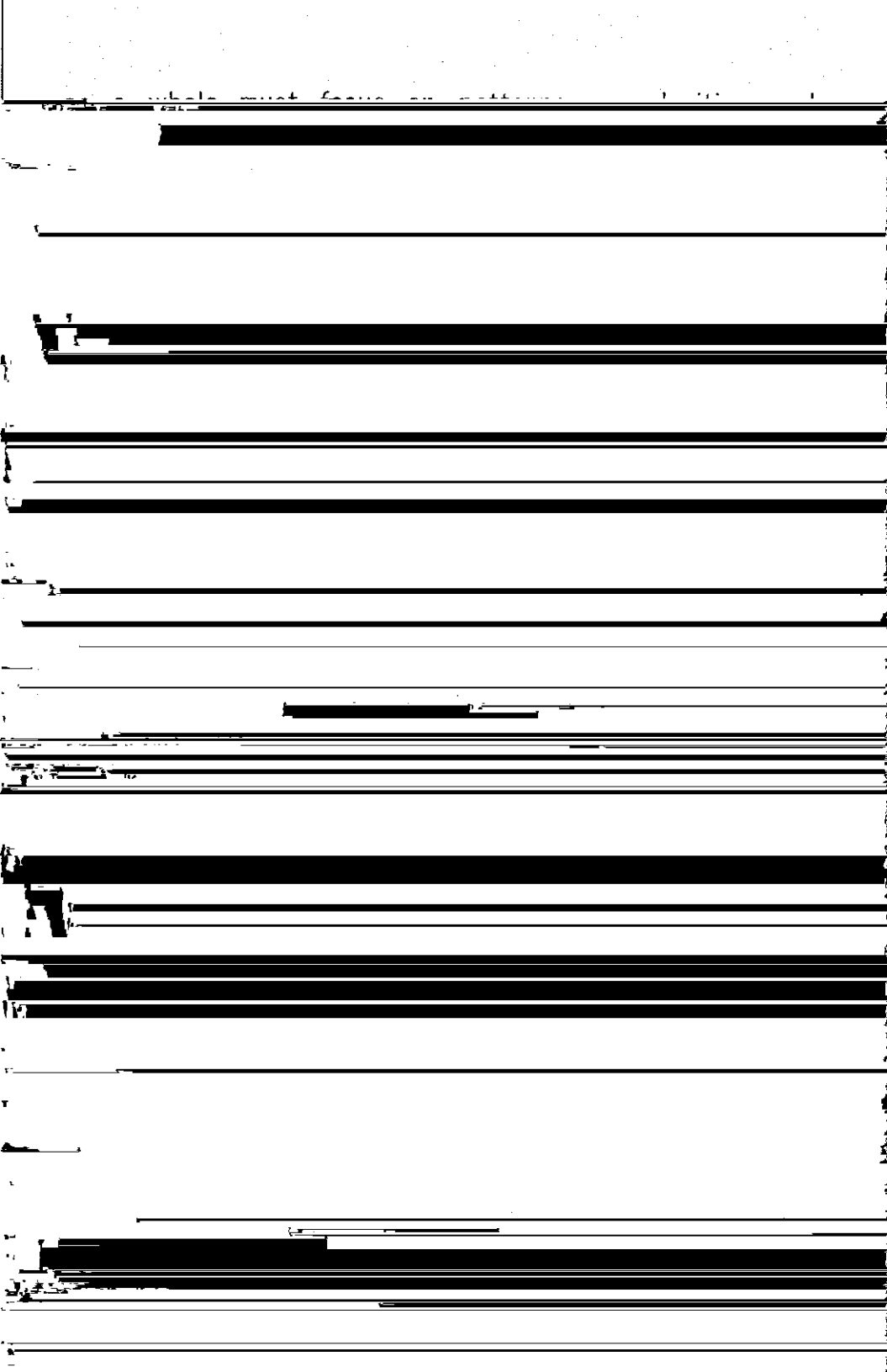
Finally, there are at least two aboriginal jurisdictions whose funding arrangements are a unique sharing of



2 THE ABORIGINAL POLICY MOSAIC IN CANADA

Traditional systems-theory analyses of the policy cycle have fallen prey in recent years to damaging critique by those who advance more political-bargaining oriented views of policy-making (Allison, 1969) and who insist that policy is a negotiated reality melded out of the interests of those affected - especially out of the political economy of the bureaucracies involved in that arena (Aucoin, 1973; Boyd, 1975). The tenuousness of the link between formal policy and school-level practice is, in any case, virtually axiomatic in contemporary thinking about

implementation and, for that matter, in



2.1. Policy, Program and Practice

2.1.1. Policy Mechanisms in an Uncertain Arena

Top-down and Bottom-up in Aboriginal Education Policy-Making

Since its earliest origins, aboriginal education in Canada has been predicated on the belief that its purpose was

the course of events in their schools. Nonetheless, some

differs even both in their knowledge of how school

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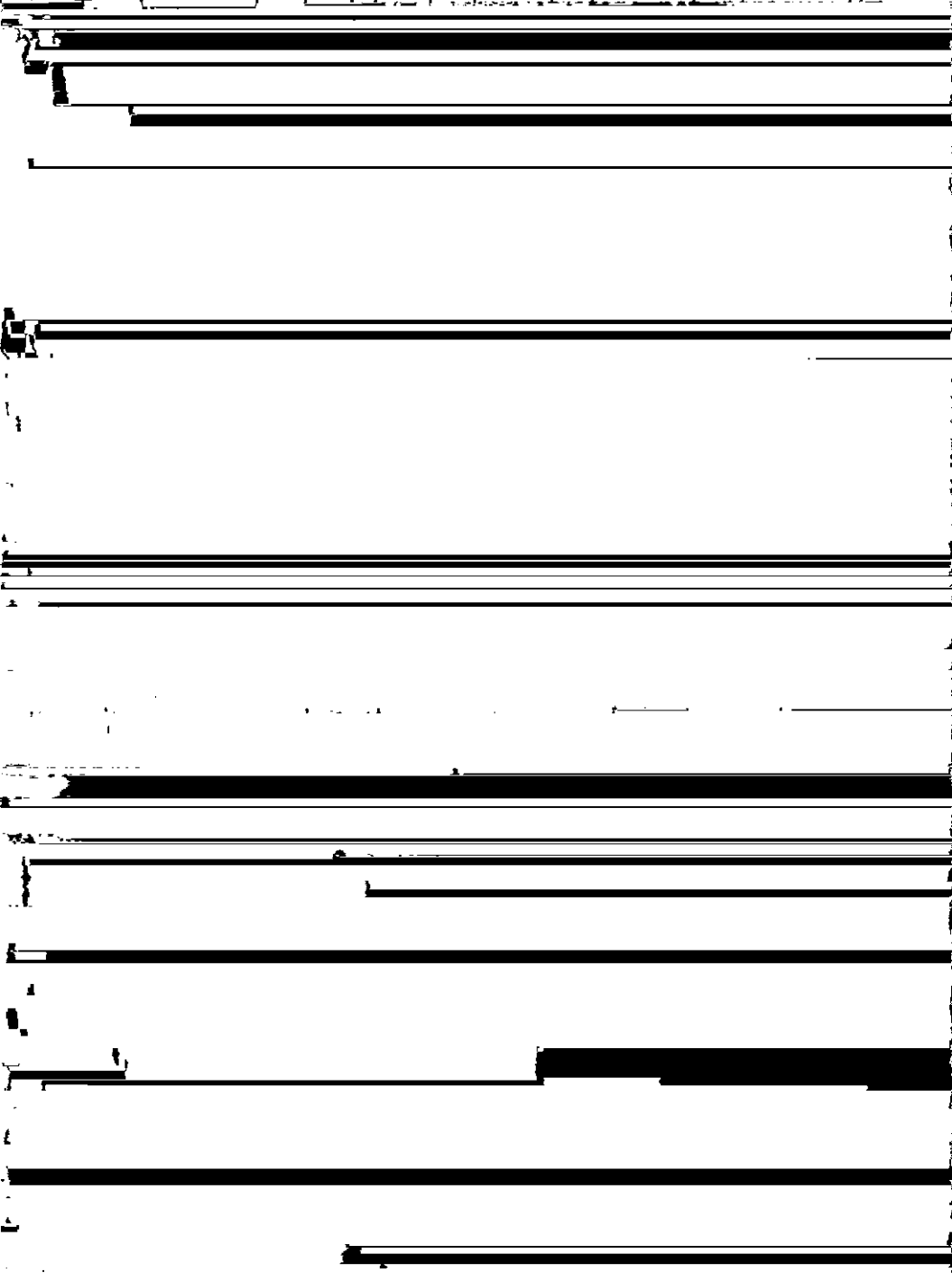
celebration of isolated-post allowances while classroom

problem. More collegial-minded administrators will consult with their professional constituents before issuing

—a aboriginal education existed to replace the

with carrying it out (Allison, 1969; Aucoin, 1973), the prospects for improved decision-making in aboriginal education will depend, among other things, upon a much improved process of interaction between Native governance bodies and the staffs they employ. In part, such improved communication will depend upon the availability of suitably trained administrative staff. Without, however, mutual trust and respect between authorities and their staffs - and a mutual commitment

by the cultural incongruence of governance bodies,
administrative units, and the people they serve.



ought to be critically re-evaluated against the educational

of ethnic/racial people (Allison, 1982). The cultural

208

small size of aboriginal education program enrolments in relations to overall provincial public-school enrolments, a strong case can be made for a national institute to conduct research, and collect and disseminate information on all aspects of the aboriginal education enterprise. Such an investment would, if properly funded and utilized, provide the same kind of returns in improved efficiency that provincial research institutions (especially the graduate schools) make available directly and indirectly to public education in Canada. If the educational and policy sins of the past are to be avoided, meaningful aboriginal control is an absolute prerequisite to the success of such an institute.

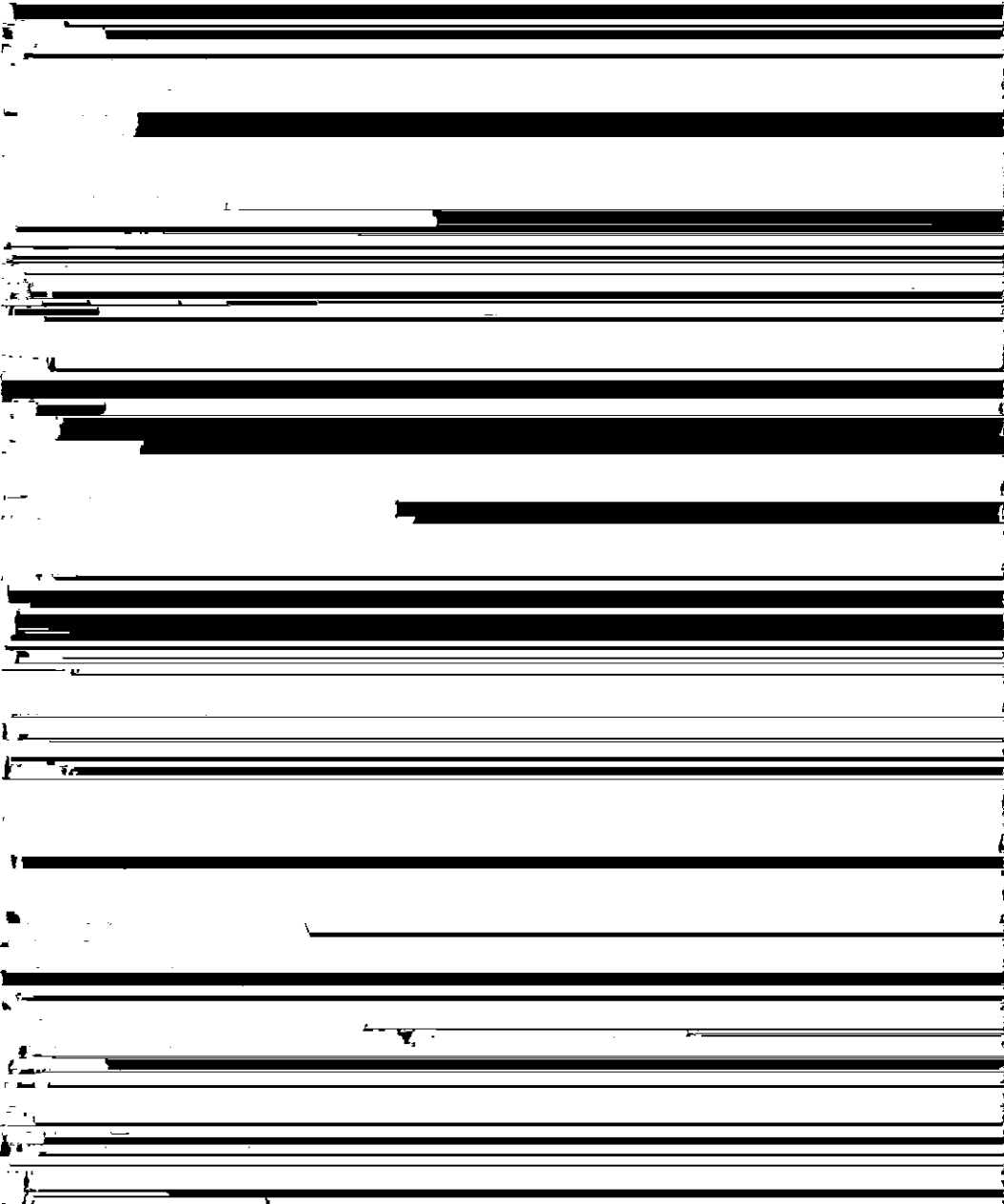
If the combined thrust of the professional-development

non-Native communities. The divergence, of course, is greatest when the comparison is between aboriginal communities and the urban centres in which they exist.

to learn from the formal educational process is still a prominent feature of the aboriginal education scene. That the perennial policy problems confronting aboriginal jurisdictions are attendance, discipline, in and out-of school work habits and, in not a few instances, vandalism, is no accident. These problems do not automatically disappear with the assumption of control by aboriginal people. In some cases they may actually become worse for a time.

The relative recency of the evolution of class distinctions among most Canadian Native peoples (Shkilnyk, 1985), which is the inevitable result of the development of local government and commerce in areas with extremely limited short-term economic potential, offers within it a partial explanation for the disengagement of so many Native people from the education they are offered. Those who have found their formal education to be of some practical value in improving their socio-economic circumstances frequently champion the cause of schooling in aboriginal

as a limiting factor in aboriginal education, though some of the federally-funded cultural centres have begun to create attractive and pedagogically-sound alternative learning materials for Native students. More recently, much attention has focussed on the pervasive impact of television on aboriginal communities. Television, in both its network and satellite incarnations, is now available virtually everywhere in Canada, and is having a



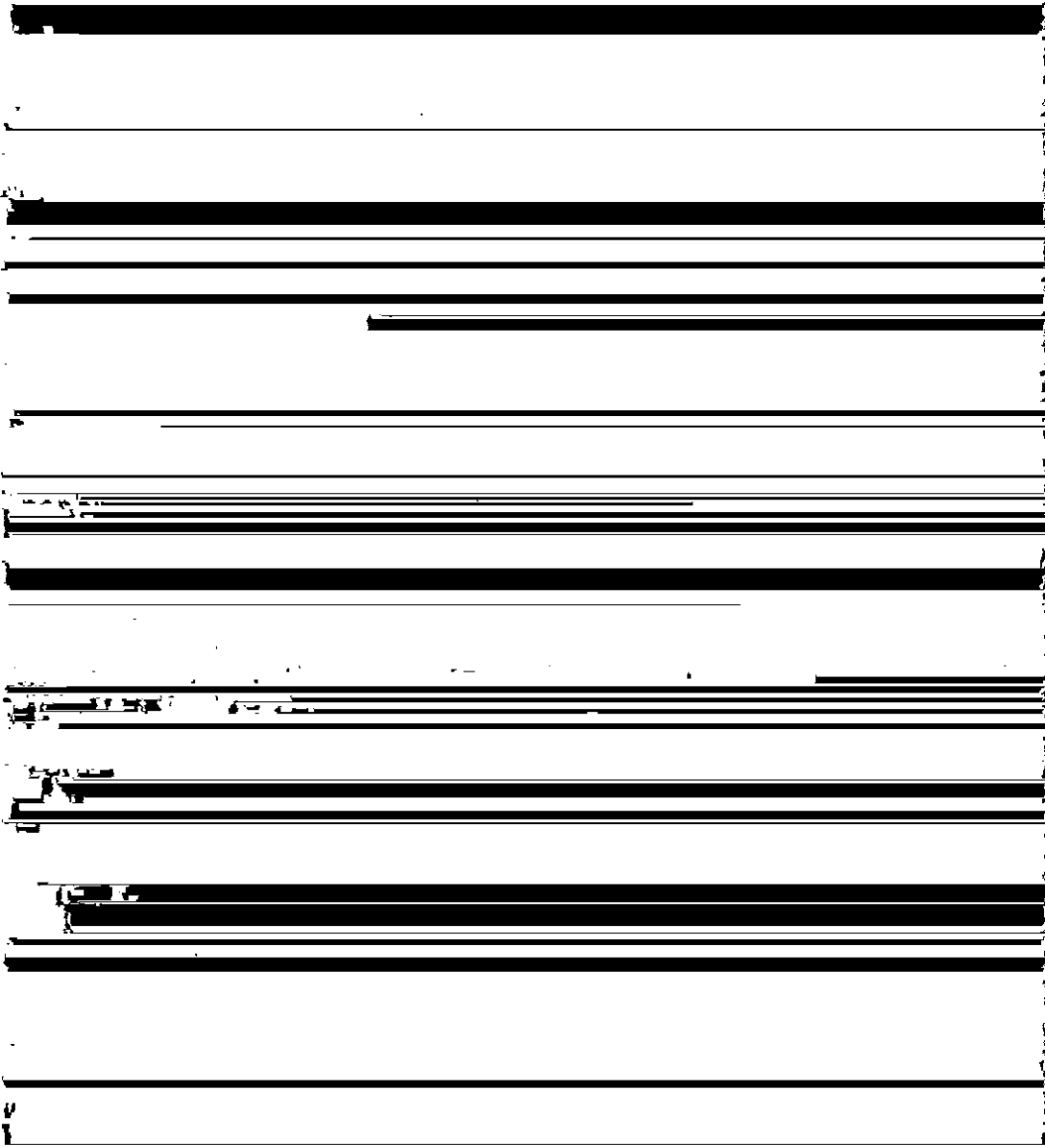
often express an altruistic perception that we should

There is no doubt that it provides

significant positive impacts on educational programming
for Native students from the application of these two
As a part of chemical education in this

2.2.2. "Local" and "Aboriginal" Control: On the
Meaning of the Terms

An underlying assumption of the 1972 NIB paper on Indian control was the synonymy of local and Indian control. Indian and, by extension, aboriginal control would become a reality through local Native governance bodies. In particular, local governance was seen to ensure Indian (aboriginal) control. Unfortunately, the possibility that local and aboriginal control may not be synonymous in all circumstances was not explained.



human resources to overcome many of the limitations suggested above. Much less justification can be found for such an equation in the situation of the much more numerous aboriginal jurisdictions that are so small as to render meaningful local autonomy in education only marginally feasible.⁴⁴ To say this is not to suggest that local representative governance bodies are not a vital part of aboriginal control in all circumstances. It is rather to insist that, in the absence of cooperative affiliation in educational matters with a larger unit, small aboriginal jurisdictions will not only have access to little

those who are chosen to

bicultural education.

The Parity Paradox: A "Crisis of Purpose"⁴⁵

In education, moreover, the shortest policy distance

subject's highest achievement test, which is not based

programs, approaches to program delivery or, at least, different proportional combinations of program emphases
Aboriginal control aimed at exact program congruence with public educational systems inevitably contains within

Many of the large eastern reserves, and increasingly the west coast and prairie reserves as well, have effectively lost their ancestral language and much of their cultural heritage as well. In such places, the cultural debate centers on what constitutes a viable cultural essence, and on the desirability and feasibility of restoring Native languages as living tongues. Some eastern reserves have developed exemplary Native-as-a-Second-Language programs on extremely slender human and financial resources. Others have chosen to leave Native languages out of their definition of a viable cultural essence to be fostered in the school.

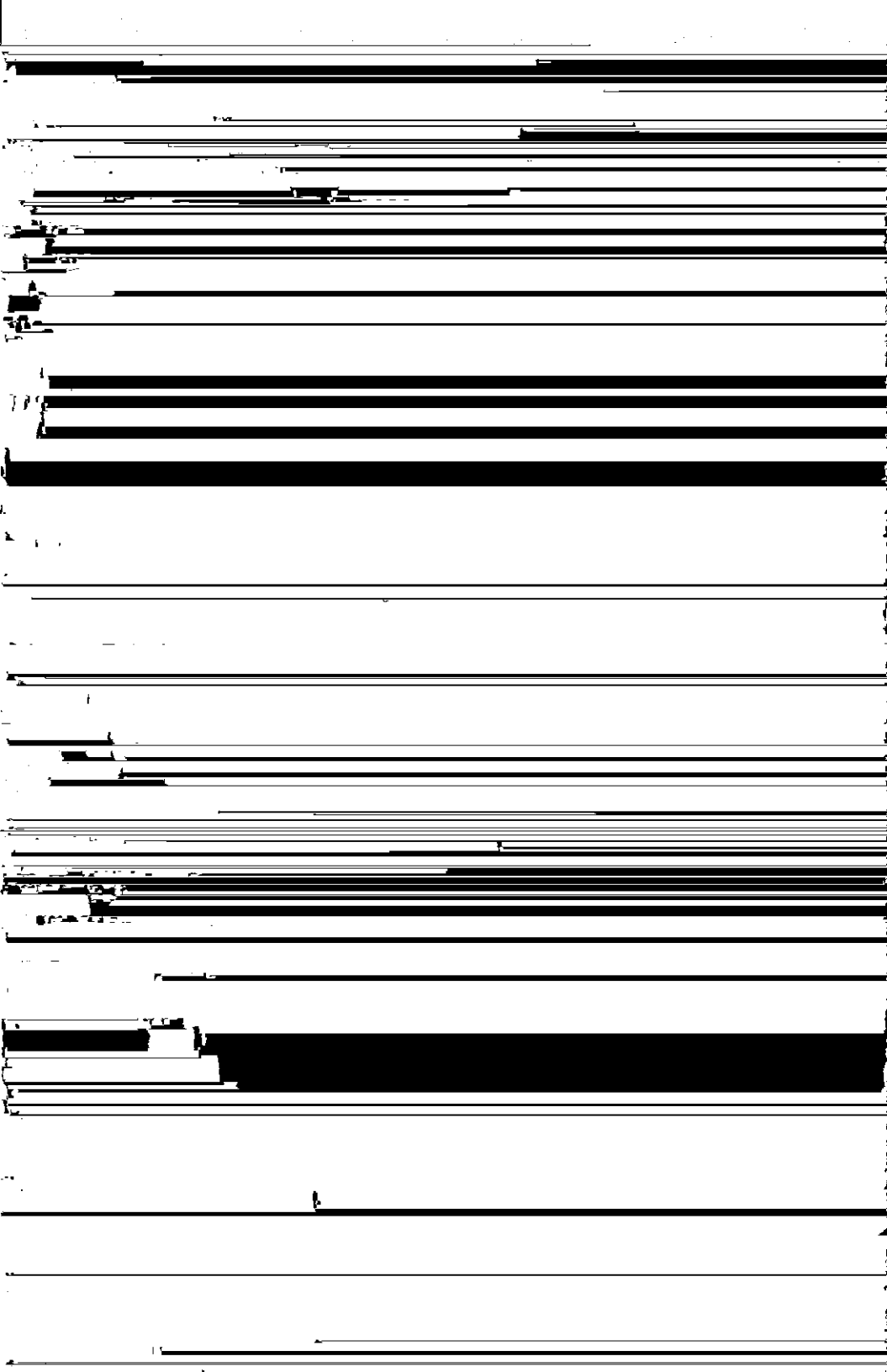
that attempts to promote a reasonable balance and intelligent choice in program selection will be effective.

The number of aboriginal communities, then, in which the Native language can be considered as essentially intact is rapidly decreasing. The number in which it can be considered as "not at risk" is also declining rapidly. Bilingual education programs cannot reverse this trend in the absence of community and family use of the maternal tongue. A living language must, after all, live outside the school. Nonetheless, a powerful belief exists among a wide cross-section of Native-speaking aboriginals that education ought to be an important vehicle of linguistic and cultural preservation. If Native languages and cultures cannot survive only in the school, they cannot, in the realities of late-twentieth century aboriginal Canada, survive without it.

only the most marginal impact on maternal-language preservation. More importantly, if the lessons of a substantial body of research on bilingualism can be

except for an initial training program in some cases, are left completely to their own devices.

teach in an official-language become (sometimes
unwittingly, occasionally unwillingly) part of the



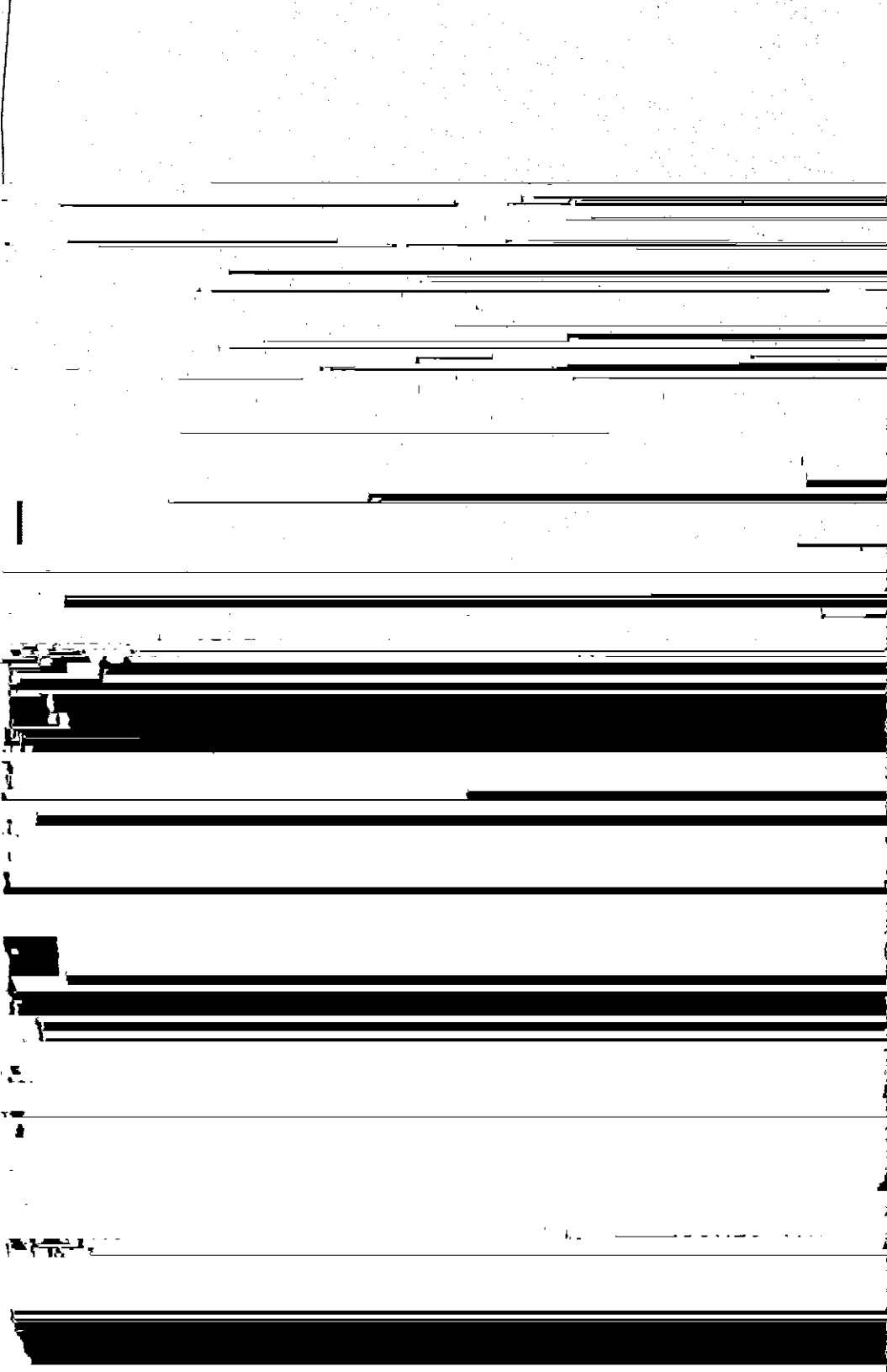
result in a view of the transfer of control as a "trend" rather than a definitive "event."

Many qualifiers are necessary if the Darnell argument is to be applied to the Canadian aboriginal arena. The most important will be dealt with in a separate section. Even a zealous and altruistic bureaucracy, if such an anomaly existed, cannot transfer control where the intended recipient does not currently possess the

a laudable, if belated, response to the long-standing demand of Native people for substantial improvement in the quality of education available to their children. Any transition to enhanced aboriginal control should seek to

developing the more appropriate and desirable

the behaviour of aboriginal education governance bodies
in Canada today.



educational programs whose funding was partially or mainly discretionary. Hardest hit have been adult education and training programs.

The central dilemma of aboriginal education finance transcends governance forms. In the matter of the externality and remoteness of their immediate funding source, a dubious equality generally exists among all

education by aboriginal governments or educational jurisdictions, could easily take a generation - even in those areas where revenue-generating resources exist. The Penner formula offers no relief from the external resourcing problem in aboriginal education (or general governance) for the foreseeable future.

3.2. On Integration and Organizational Relationships: Clarifying Mandates

Unclear and overlapping mandates are the bane of organizations, especially governments, everywhere. Nowhere in Canadian education does this ambiguity appear to have more far-reaching effects than in the

the quickening pace of devolution of control to Native

provinces in on-reserve education. Declarations of
independence from provincial curricula and standards

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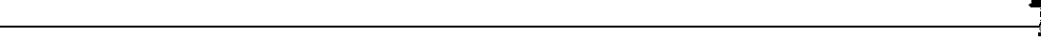





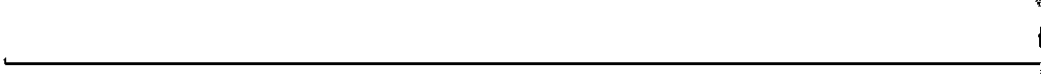


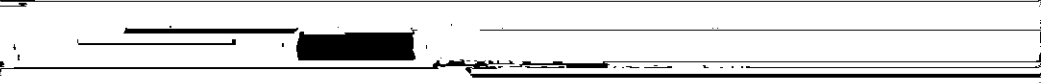

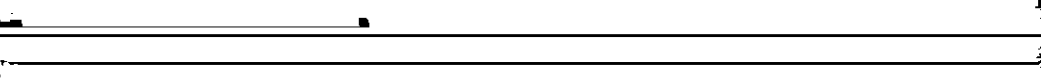




troublesome one in aboriginal education. Some bands, for instance, have readily transferred budgetary and policy control of education to their Education Authorities. Others have been reluctant even to allow the Authorities access to the band education budget. While the exact pattern of separation and integration of educational and general local government is probably best decided at the local level, the decision should be made in an awareness of the tradeoffs involved. A Band Council, for instance, most of whose energies are consumed by economic development policy concerns, cannot attend wisely to the minutiae of educational policy and planning. Equally, a

it is no surprise that that a fairly rigid equality in per-pupil spending power has been its consequence.

"Expenditure equity" (Williams, 1980) however, is

provision for differences in cost and need among the jurisdictions whose educational programs it supports. The cost of and need for educational goods and services, for instance, at Six Nations are manifestly different from

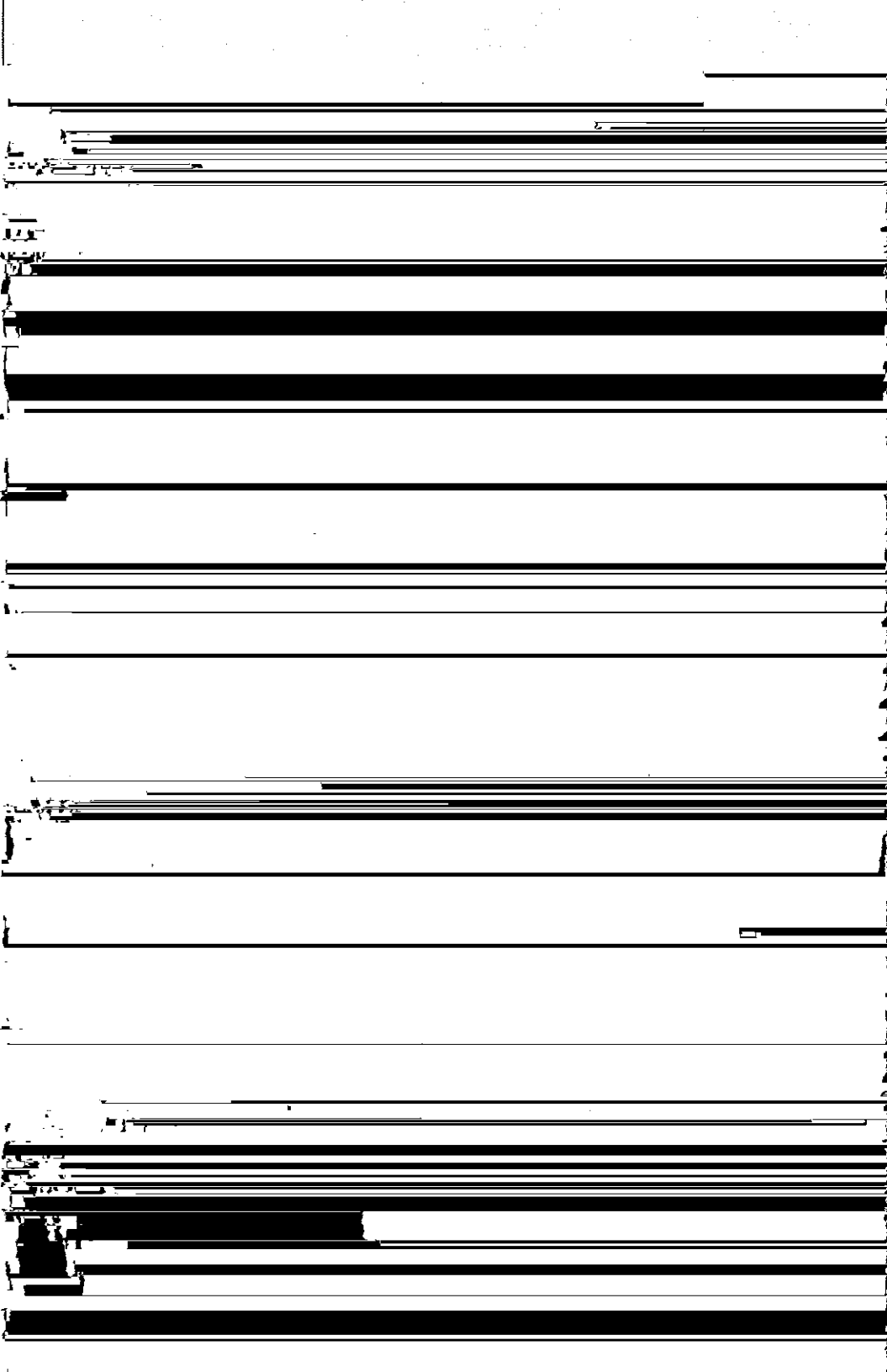
differentiate between the nature and type of Native-language programs (i.e., core and immersion second-language versus first-language) is remarkable as well, given the now long-standing distinctions in such program types in the Ontario General Legislative Grant provisions for French language programs. Failure to differentiate among the needs and costs of different types of Native-language programs may invite criticism about

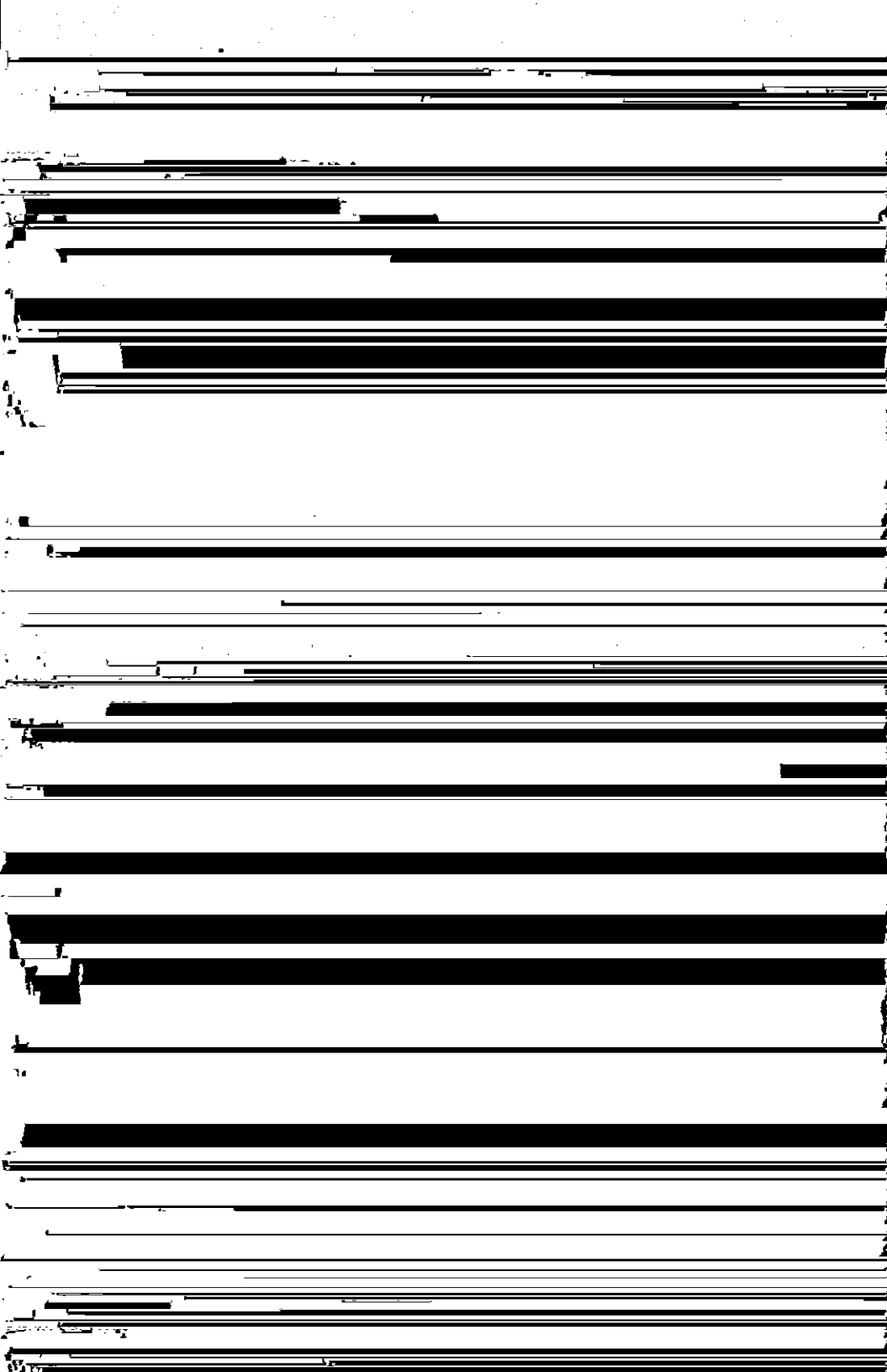


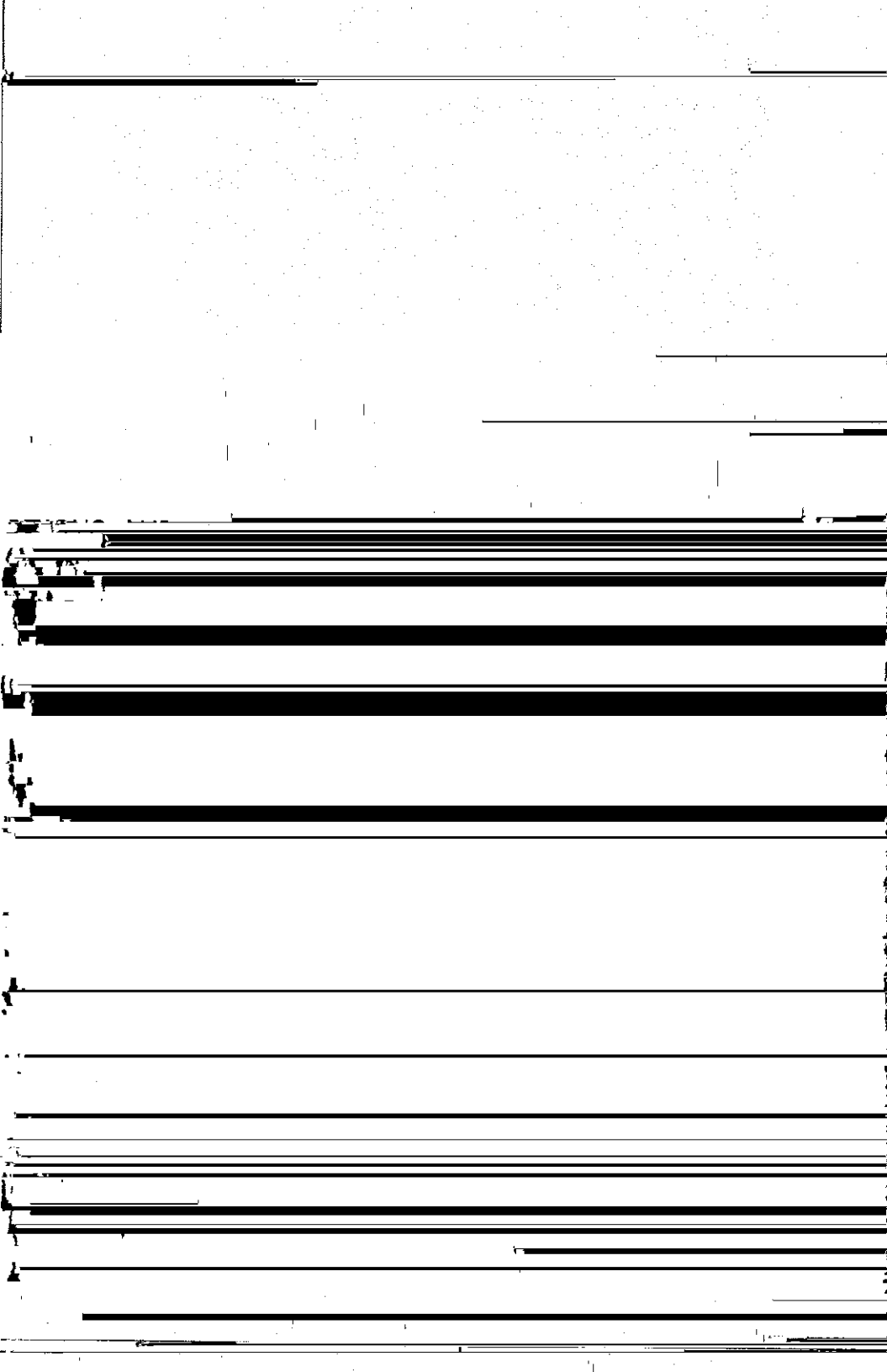
legislation, under which regulations could be created that determined whether or not a Native government was

central policy-making that affects them has worked in the best interest of Native people and the Canadian commonweal. Much political legitimacy and feasibility

A less ambitious modification of the *status quo* would be to create an National Aboriginal Education Directorate,



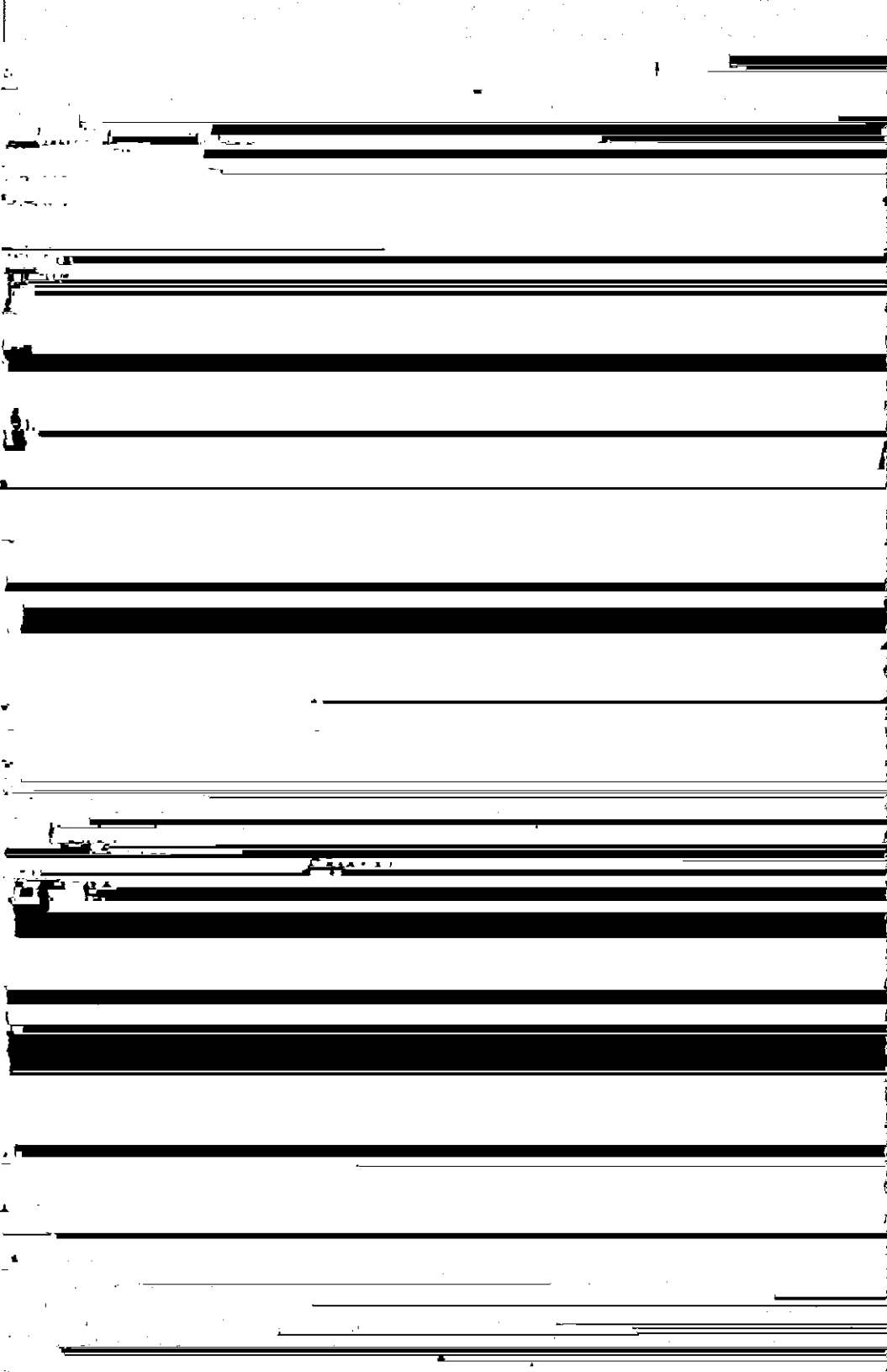




inevitable in any educational arena where equity and quality are important goals;

Option 1:⁵⁶

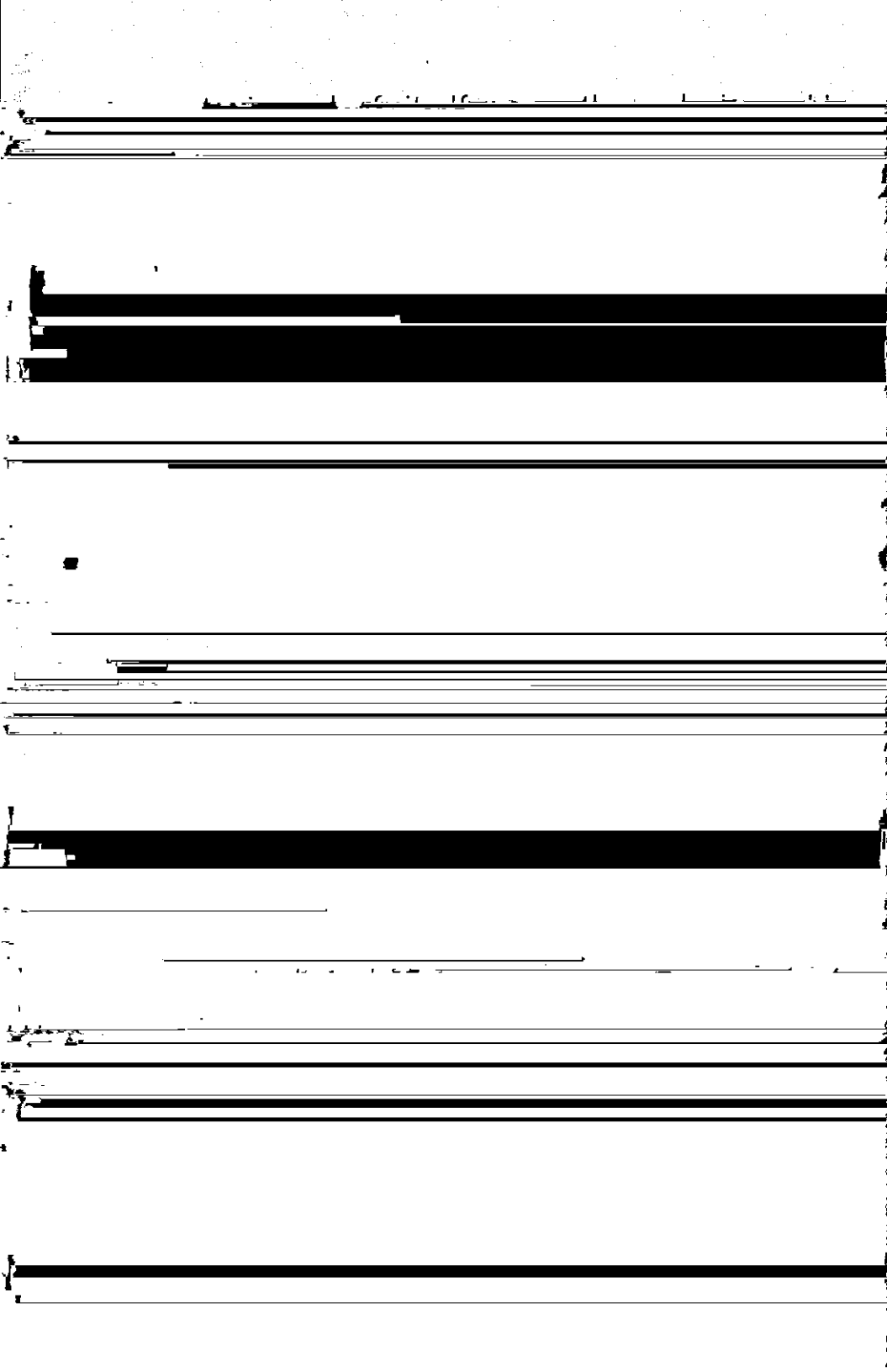
A National Aboriginal Education Policy and Planning



representation of aboriginal peoples within the Canad

general or special provisions of provincial legislation governing education.

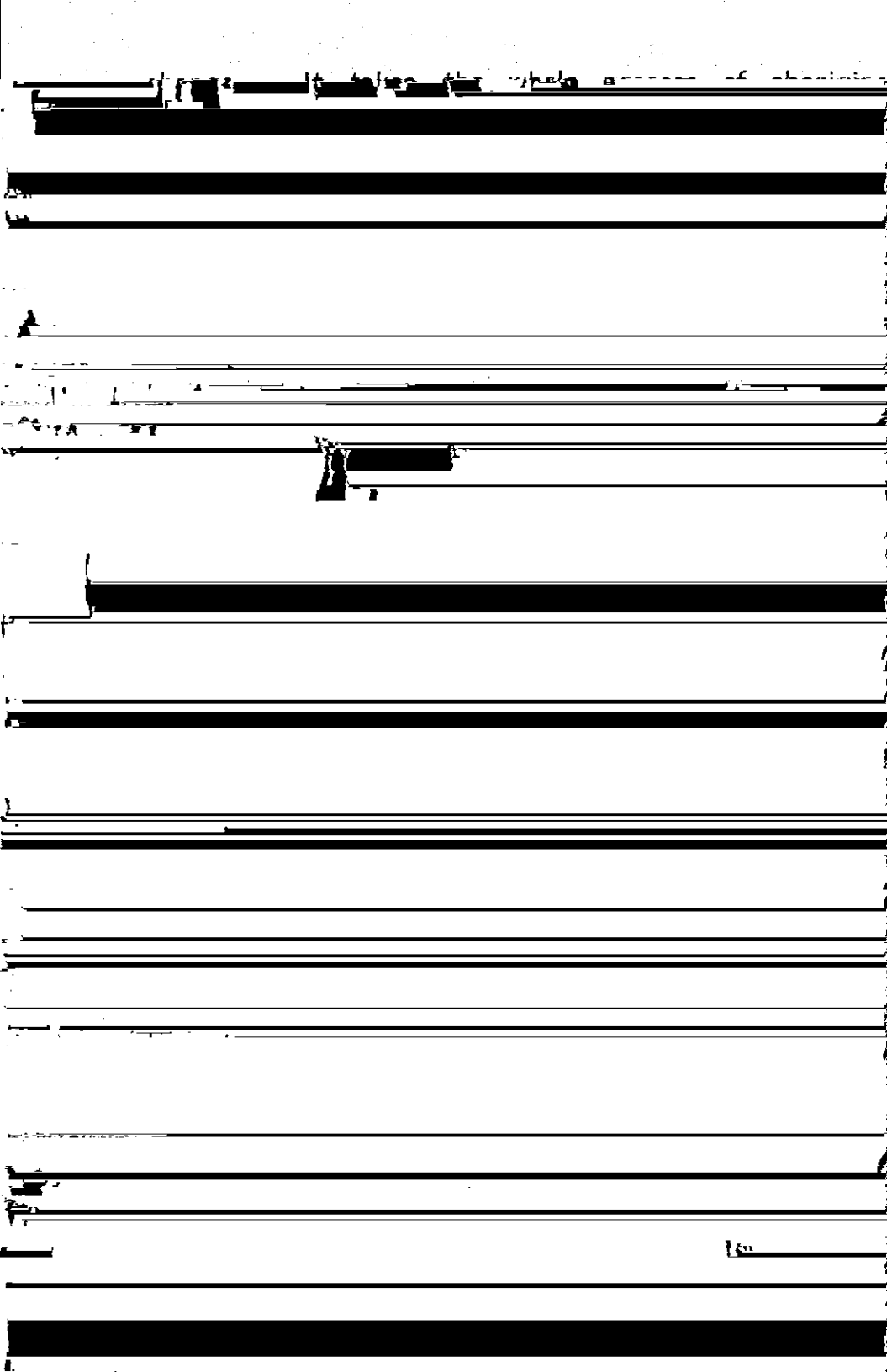
The advantages of such an approach are especially great if parity with provincial standards is deemed to be the dominant educational goal.



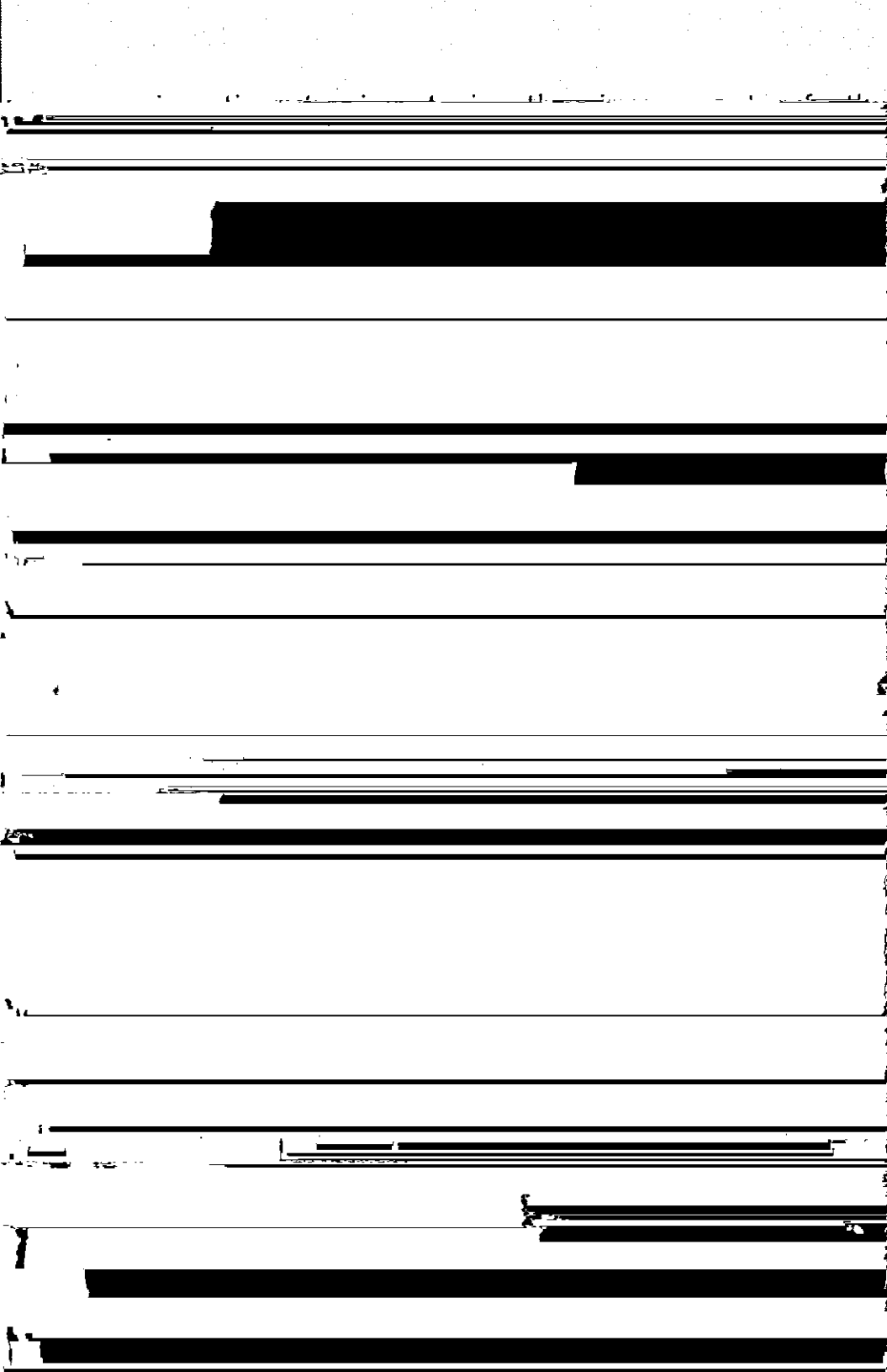
4.1.3. An Aboriginal Education Confederation

Option 4:

An Aboriginal Education Confederation could be established, which would provide a general policy and fiscal framework within which diverse



great for aboriginal people that it is doubtful that even the most meritorious policy instrument arrived at without



contribution, and give poor communities a fair chance to compete for such enrichment dollars.

The Enrichment and Improvement Grant scheme proposed here offers a practical, if limited, answer to the problem of a lack of any sense of ownership in the educational process, insofar as that sense is related to the externality of aboriginal education funding.⁵⁸ It is flexible enough to be made as comprehensive or as limited as

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transfer surreptitiously part of the cost of a basic quality educational program back to aboriginal people in defiance of specific treaty rights or norms established by historical practice. The basic goal - stimulating a sense of ownership, not transferring the substantive costs of education to aboriginal people - will have to be kept clearly in mind in designing the technical details of an equalization mechanism in aboriginal education financing. In particular, *such a program must not be allowed to interfere with the right of all aboriginal children to basic quality education, regardless of the ability of the community or area to pay for such a program.*

Other things being equal, a sense of local and aboriginal ownership in the educational process would be enhanced by a local contribution to the financing of education where local income levels are such that a contribution

foci – academically credible and practically useful inquiry

on aboriginal education. The crucial issue of a Native
of aboriginal education research

is most restricted. Such restricted access is a fact of life for much of Canada's far-flung aboriginal population

rather what educational use is to be made of technology in the aboriginal arena.

4.2 The Local and Regional Levels

Option 10:

... bodies could be created



Option 11:

Enhanced statutory provision for Native participation in existing provincial school boards and districts could provide a governance mechanism for aboriginal peoples who wish a particularly close link with provincial education, combined with practical participation in the decision-making of their boards.

as legitimate by nascent Native governments anxious to assert their hegemony over social programs.

If the inherently superior efficiency of small autonomous units of governance free to work out their own service-delivery arrangements is assumed

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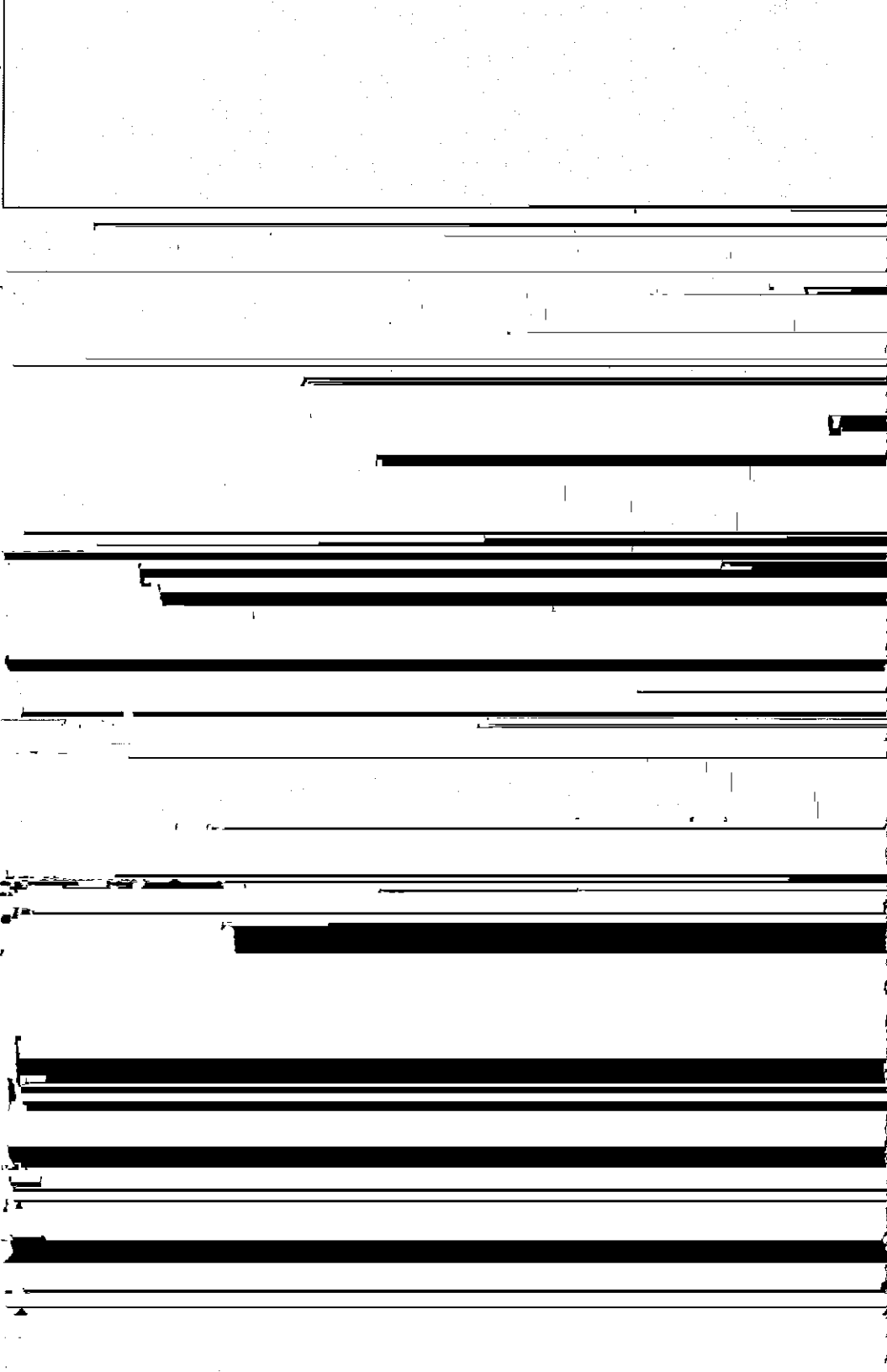
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only a large board of education can possibly mount
Under such an arrangement the parents of participati



7. Only some treaties mention education. None are specific about the scope of educational benefits conferred.
8. For an example of the great range in extent of educational self-governance possible under the "band-control" rubric, see "Program Circular E-100-86 Ontario Region, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada".
9. In some districts significant strides have been made recently in program support services (Paquet 1986).
10. These incremental costs include costs arising from decreased economies of scale in administration.

virtually boycotted by students from communities outside of Moosenee.

15. In the past such communities tended to be the historical fur-trade centres, but, with increasing contact and intermarriage, more reserves have been

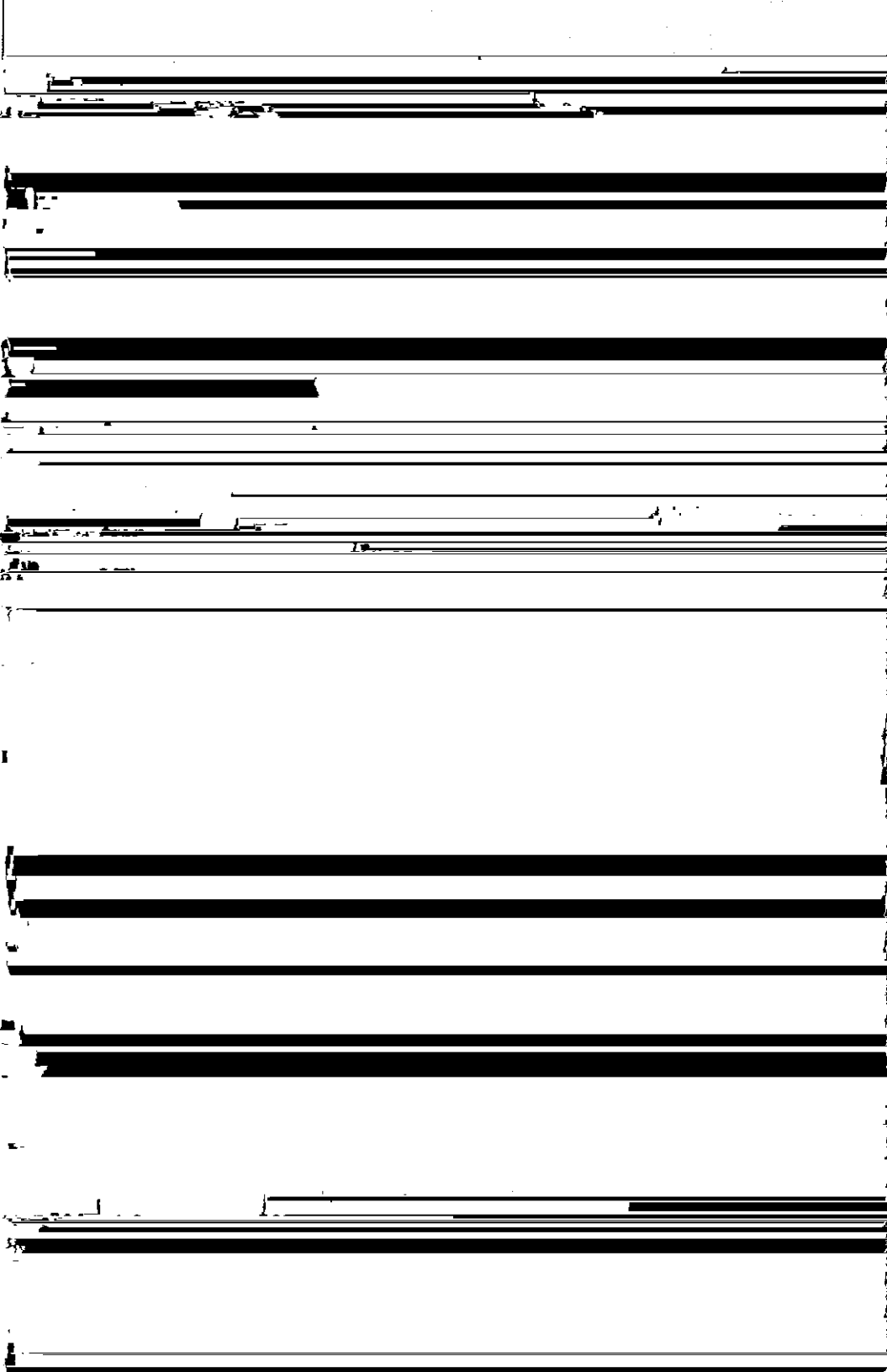
21. In rare cases such communities may be allowed
mount a minimal and partial secondary program
well.

22. Despite its statutory form, the Ontario D.S.
arrangement was also in some regions

30. Such is certainly the case in Ontario where the results of a recent Ministry review of Native Education in the provincial schools (to which I was

36. Such a view, of course, ignored both the lack

51. The recent announcement of full-funding for Roman Catholic Separate Schools in Ontario affords an excellent case in point. The most vehement criticisms of that decision were targetted not on the substance of the decision—but on the invisible process by which



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