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ABSTRACT

Intended to provide Native community members, teachers and administrators in Native schools, and teachers in training an overview of current research on language issues relating to Canadian Native education, the book presents general background information on Native peoples in Canada and the education systems that serve them. Existing and potential programs for English/French and Native language development in Native schooling are outlined in terms of language both as a medium and a subject of instruction. Effectiveness of these programs, along with the impact of social use of language on school programs and questions regarding the acquisition of reading skill among Native students, is also discussed. Suggestions and information to assist in community school language decisions, individual school program decisions, school system program design, and the planning of teacher training are also provided. (ERB)

Language in Education among Canadian Native Peoples

Barbara Burnaby

Language and Literacy Series

OISE Press
The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education

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Foreword

Discussions on "language across the curriculum" have become commonplace among educators since the publication of the Bullock Report *A Language for Life* (London, HMSO, 1975) in 1975. The Central argument of the Bullock Report — that the teaching of language should be integrated with all aspects of the school curriculum — is now widely accepted, and many teachers, principals, and administrators are currently working to develop and implement school language policies.

However, the phenomenon of language, which seems relatively straightforward when we take it for granted and just use it, becomes enormously complex when we begin to analyse it in depth and probe the relationships between what are generally regarded as its component parts, that is, listening, speaking, reading, and writing. For example, most educators assume that a good basis in "oral language" is necessary for successful initial reading; yet research findings on this issue are not entirely consistent, some showing strong relationships between reading and oral language skills, while others find only weak relationships. The reason for this, of course, is that the term "oral language" can encompass a bewildering array of different skills whose interrelationships are anything but clear. For example, how is the grammatical accuracy of speech related to appropriateness of use in different contexts, or range of vocabulary related to fluency?

The relationships between reading and writing are no more clear than those between "oral language" and reading, with educational theorists and researchers proposing several different views. While the four broad language skills are obviously interrelated in some ways, there are other ways in which they are clearly independent; for example, knowing how to speak does not guarantee that a child will be successful in acquiring reading and writing skills. What this implies for educators is that without a clear conception of the nature of "language proficiency," and the ways in which its component parts are related to each other, it becomes extremely difficult to formulate a coherent policy on how language should be integrated with other aspects of the curriculum.

Issues related to language and literacy become even murkier when we add concerns about second-language acquisition and first-language maintenance among both children from linguistic minorities as well as those

from the majority language group. As a result of considerable research during the past two decades we can be reasonably confident about some educational generalizations in regard to second-language programs. For example, we know that French immersion programs are considerably more effective in promoting French skills than traditional French-as-a-second-language programs. However, when we probe beneath the surface of these research studies, we are faced with the same issues that remain largely unresolved in first-language pedagogy. For example, the question of how long it takes an immigrant child to learn English, which has obvious policy implications both for the provision of ESL services and for psychological assessments, depends upon what we mean by "learning English." Understanding *why* immersion programs succeed in developing second-language skills so much more rapidly than traditional second-language programs involves understanding the nature of language and how it is acquired in first-language contexts.

The aim of the present series is to assist educators (including parents) to explore these issues concerning the nature and development of language and literacy. We hope not only to provide information in a straightforward and accessible form, but also to stimulate ideas and discussion about how the information or "facts" are related to each other and how they can be explained. In other words, we hope to stimulate the process of developing and refining theory because "facts" become relevant for both policy and practice only when they are integrated within a coherent theoretical framework.

All educational policy and practice is based on theory. Often, however, these theories are implicit, or are based on assumptions whose validity is questionable. One of the reasons for this is that researchers publish their findings in scholarly journals in a language that can often be understood only by other researchers. Practitioners are therefore largely excluded from access to these findings. Consequently, and appropriately, they base their practice on assumptions and intuitions derived from experience. However, implicit theories or assumptions unsupported by data are usually not sufficient to persuade others that changes in policy or practice are desirable. Information that can be generalized is required. Such information can serve either to confirm assumptions and intuitions or alternatively to cause them to be questioned.

Thus, we hope that the present series of monographs will contribute to the generation of new theoretical ideas and practical applications in the general areas of language and literacy. Although each monograph is devoted to a specific issue, we anticipate that collectively they will help define the dimensions of language and literacy in both bilingual and monolingual contexts.

Jim Cummins
Sharon Lapkin
Merrill Swain
Series Editors

Preface

The editors of this series suggested to me that a contribution on language in Native education would be a useful addition to the series. The present book is designed to provide general background information on Native peoples in Canada and the education systems that serve them. Against this background, existing and potential programs for English/French and Native-language development in Native schooling are outlined in terms of languages both as medium and subject of instruction. As much as possible the effectiveness of such programs is discussed in the light of research on language in education. Areas in which further research is needed are indicated. In addition, two issues relating to all such programs — the impact of social use of language on school programs and questions regarding the acquisition of reading skills among Native students — are considered separately. An annoted bibliography is provided as a guide to further reading.

The book is intended to give Native community members, teachers and administrators in Native schools, and teachers in training an overview of current research on language issues as they relate to Canadian Native education. Now is a time when difficult and complex decisions are being made about the roles that languages should play in Native education and about the methods that are likely to be most effective to teach and use the official and Native languages in the classroom. The information in this book provides useful suggestions and information to assist in community school language decisions, individual school program decisions, school system program design, and the planning of teacher training.

I would like to thank the following people who helped me by reading drafts of this book — Mary Upper, Kelleen Toohey, W. E. Marshall, the editors of the series, and the two anonymous reviewers of the book in its manuscript stage. Their insightful comments provided invaluable help. I would also like to gratefully acknowledge the artistic work of John Lasruk. His illustrations have helped considerably to focus on points raised in this book.

Barbara Burnaby

1

Background

Who Is "Native"?

This book is a survey about language in education for Native children in Canada. Its purpose is to look at ways in which language instruction can be used in schooling for Native children for the best possible results. To begin with it is important to define the group of people who will be discussed here and to give some background information about them. This task is not easy, as you will see, because of the ways in which information about them is collected and recorded.

Indians and Inuit

The term "Native people" will be used here to refer to the descendants of the people who lived in North America before the arrival of the Europeans. This group is often divided into the two ethnic groups, Indian and Inuit (Eskimo). The concerns of Indians and Inuit will be considered together here because their characteristics, problems, and conditions are similar for the purposes of this discussion.

Status Indians

The Indian group can be divided into two groups, status and non-status Indians. Status Indians are people who are legally entitled to the benefit of programs under the Indian Act and under various treaties. The names of the original holders of this status were recorded with the federal government and the lists are kept up to date by the bands. The Indian Act declares that a status Indian woman who marries a man without Indian status loses her status as do her children born after that marriage. On the other hand, a non-status woman of any racial background gets the benefits of status if she marries a status Indian man and her children from that marriage get Indian status. Status Indians can also lose their status if they choose

to become enfranchised. The original meaning of enfranchisement was that Indians could gain full legal rights as citizens and get their share of the band's collective holdings. In recent years, however, status Indians have been given full federal and provincial citizenship rights and therefore would have little to gain from enfranchisement other than their share of the band's holdings. Today this share is usually relatively small in comparison with the value of entitlements of Indian status, so enfranchisement is rare now and, in fact, never was taken up much in the past.

All status Indians belong to a band. A band is a group of status Indians recognized as an administrative group by the federal government. Most bands are entitled to inhabit a reserve, a tract of land held for their use by the government. Status Indians who do not live on their reserve lose most of their right to benefits under the Indian Act but do not necessarily lose their Indian status. They receive the benefits again if they return to the reserve.

Non-status Indians

Non-status Indians are people who claim to be of Native ancestry but who do not have Indian status. In some cases they did not get status because their ancestors were not recorded on the federal lists at the time when the original lists were drawn up. Most Metis and half-breeds were not included on the original lists for various reasons. And many people of Native ancestry have lost their status through the marriage regulations of the Indian Act and some through enfranchisement. Many non-status Indians are genetically and culturally very similar to status Indians. Others are not. But legally the important factor is that they are not entitled to the benefits of the Indian Act and are treated by governments like any other citizen. This means that they do not usually benefit from government programs intended specifically for Indians. However, in recent years provincial governments, in particular, have addressed some programs towards non-status as well as status Indians.

Some Basic Statistics

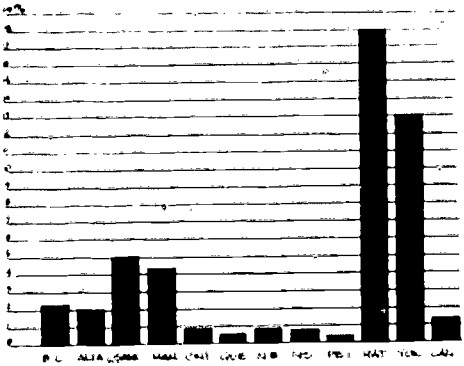
It is relatively easy to get basic statistics about status Indians because the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND) keeps records about a number of factors.

There are about 300 000 status Indians in Canada or about 1.3 percent of the total Canadian population. The province with the largest status Indian population is Ontario, with about 63 000. However, the Ontario Native population comprises less than one percent of the total Ontario population. On the other hand, the Northwest Territories has fewer than 10 000 status Indians but these people comprise about 18 percent of the population. About 75 percent of Canada's status Indians live on reserves and 28 percent live in what are considered to be remote locations, that is, areas which have little or no access by road or through telecommunica-

tions. The proportion of the status Indian population that is of school age is about 10 percent higher than the national average.[1]

PROVINCIAL PROPORTION

% Indians
1976

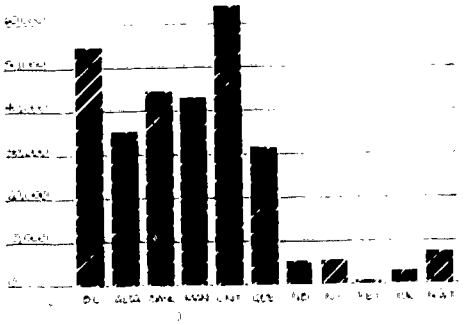


Source: *Registered Indian Population by Sex and Residence*, DIAND, 1977

Indians represent a higher proportion of the provincial population in the western provinces, and the effect is becoming more pronounced. For example, in Saskatchewan the proportion of Indians in the provincial population increased from 2.3 per cent to 5.0 per cent from 1966 to 1976. In Manitoba, the proportion changed from 3.3 per cent in 1966 to 4.3 per cent in 1976.

PROVINCIAL DISTRIBUTION

Number of Indians



Source: *Registered Indian Population by Sex and Residence*, DIAND, 1977

There has been a rapid increase in the total number of Indians living off reserve since 1965 (a trend which is expected to continue at a more-or-less steady rate). As a proportion of the total Indian population, it increased from 18 per cent in 1960 to just under 30 per cent in 1975, where it appears to have stabilized.[2]

Courtesy of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development

Non-status Indians are not legally distinguishable from the rest of the population and therefore we do not have the type of clear statistical information about them that we have for status Indians. Some people estimate that there are at least twice as many non-status Indians as there are status Indians in Canada,[3] but others give much lower estimates. Non-status Indians receive services from governments in the same way that all other citizens do, and records are not generally kept about their particular characteristics as far as schooling and other factors are concerned. For the purposes of this discussion it will be assumed that what can be said about status Indians is true for non-status Indians inasmuch as the two groups are similar. There is no easy way of estimating the numbers of people who would fall into the non-status category or the degree of similarity between the two groups as a whole.

There are about 20 000 Inuit people in Canada. Since 1939 they have had more or less the same relationship to the federal government that status Indians have. They receive the same sort of federal services. While they are not included in the statistics on status Indians, and while research

into this group's educational programs is not extensive, it appears that what the statistics quoted here indicate about status Indians is also a fairly accurate indication of characteristics and conditions for Inuit people.

In this book, then, the term "Native people" will be used to refer to status Indians, non-status Indians, and Inuit people. Since the information available is much clearer about status Indians than about the other two groups, the discussion will be focussed on them. However, it is assumed that what is said here is likely to be applicable to Inuit people and may well be accurate for non-status Indians as well.

Native Languages

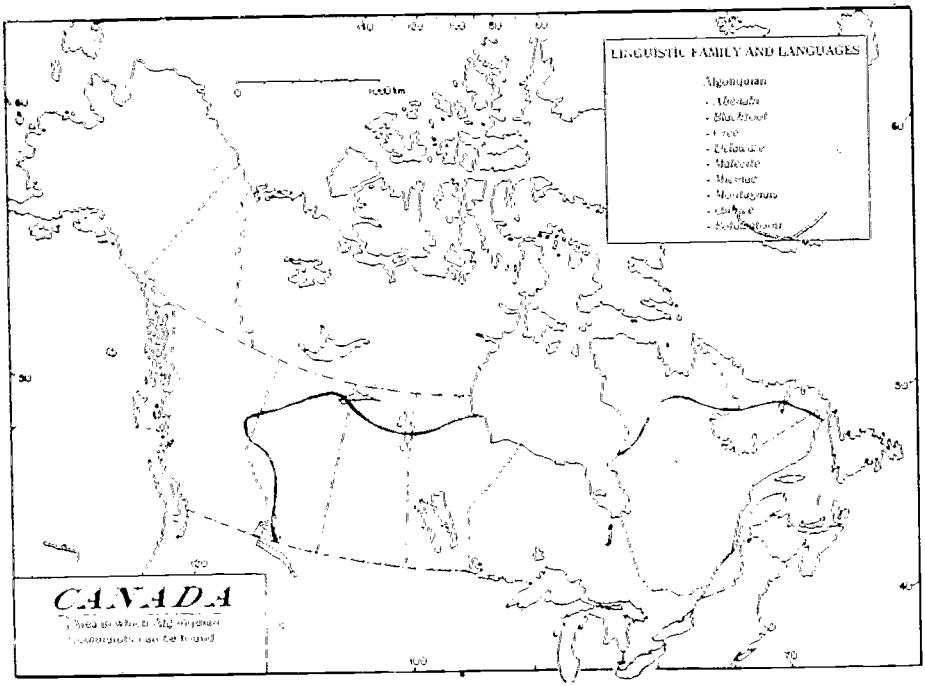
Language Families

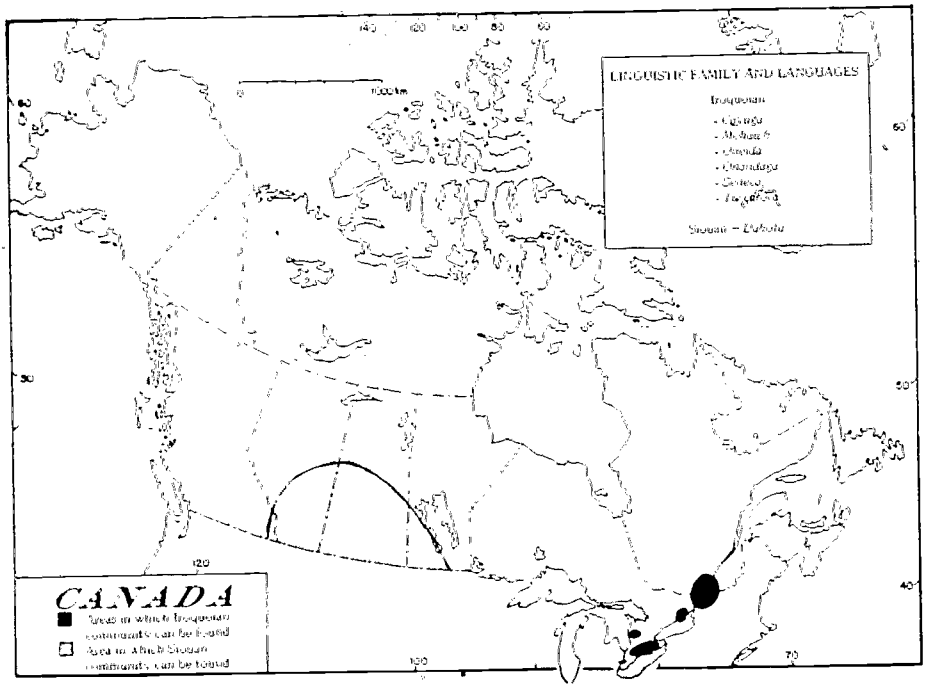
The ancestral languages of Native people will be called Native languages in this book. Among Native languages in Canada, there are eleven different language families, that is, groups of languages that would be comparable to the Slavic or Romance or Germanic language groups. The following list shows the eleven Native language families and the numbers of status Indians and Inuit who are estimated to have these as their *ancestral* language family. These figures do not necessarily represent the number of *speakers*.

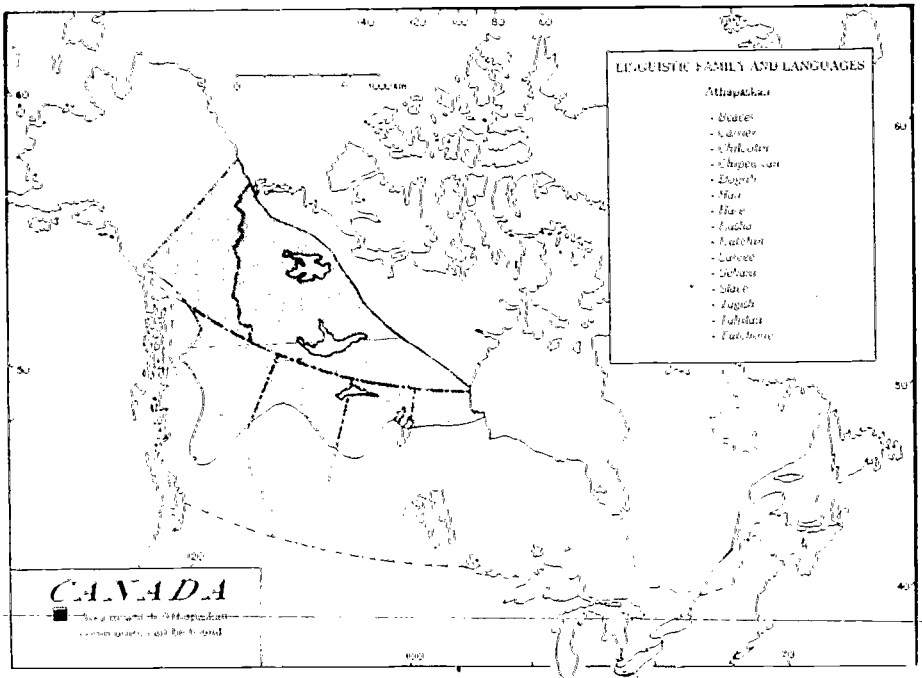
Algonquian	182 145
Athapaskan	25 677
Iroquoian	24 705
Salishan	23 076
Eskimo-Aleut	22 623
Wakashan	9 160
Tsimshian	8 961
Siouan	6 394
Haidan	1 511
Tlingit	534
Kutenaian	510

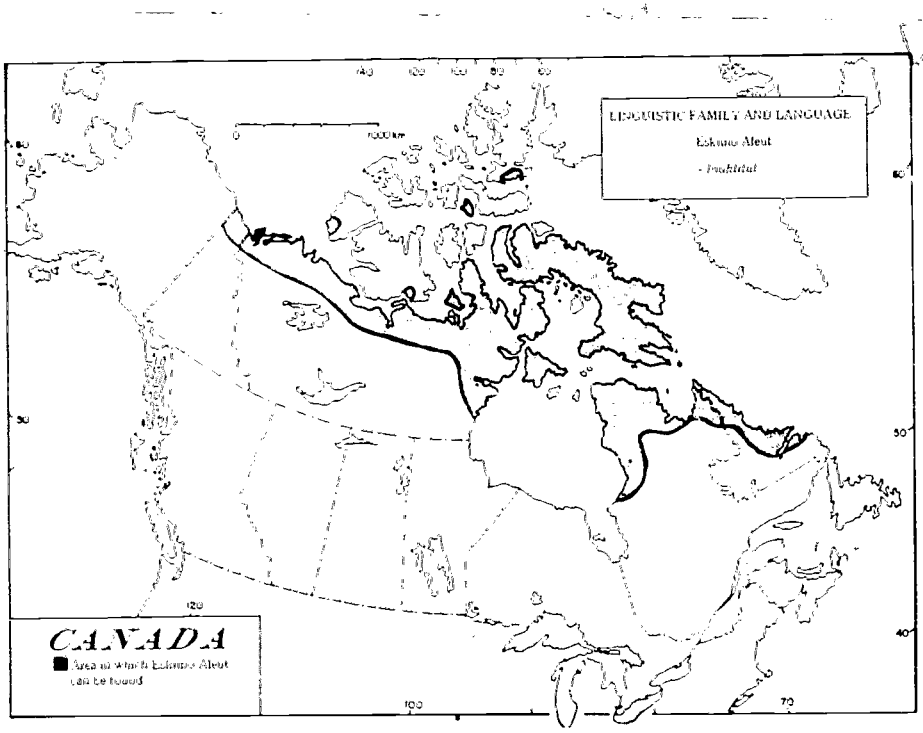
The accompanying maps give a general indication of the territory in which these groups can be found. It should be noted that within the shaded areas indicated, there are higher settlement areas for Native groups in some regions than in others. They also show a list of the languages within each language family. This information is based on the map" Canada: Indian and Inuit Communities and Languages," *The National Atlas of Canada*, Fifth Edition.

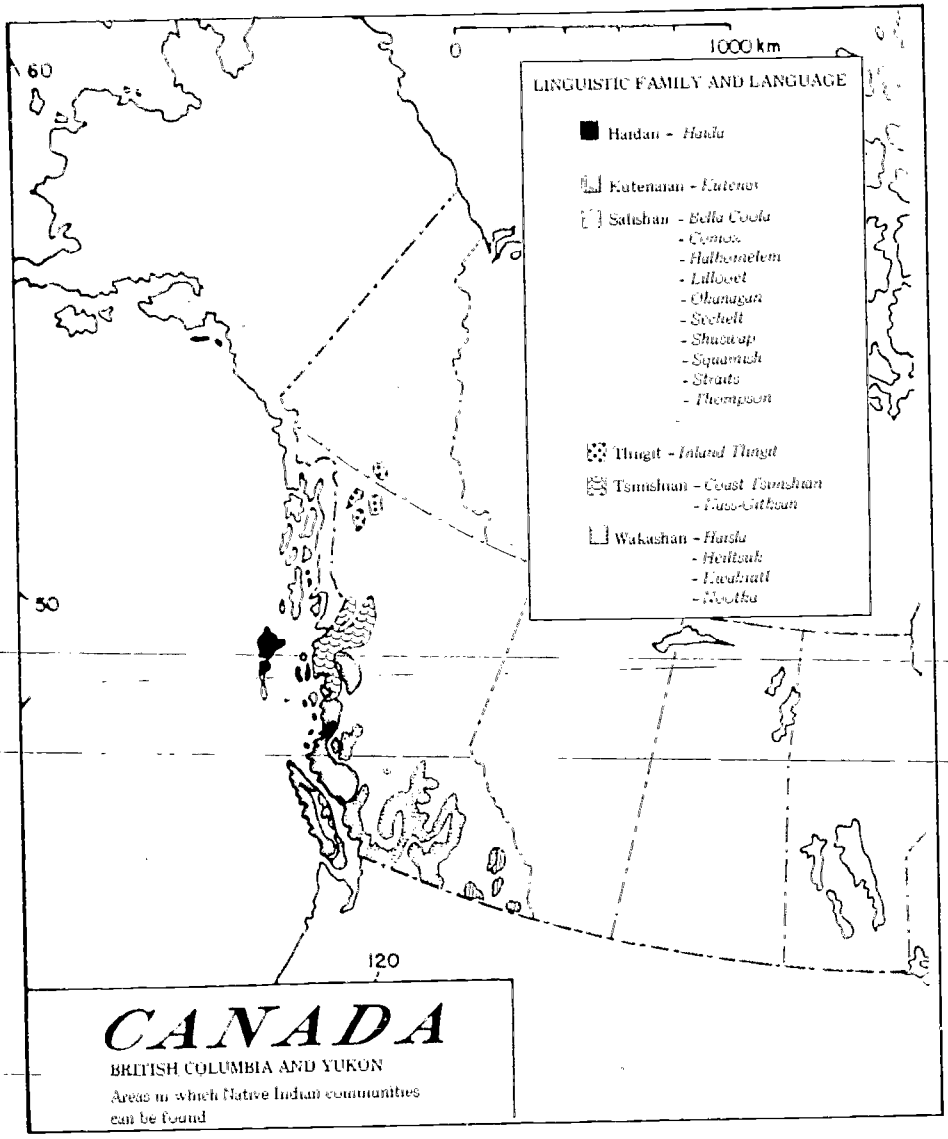
Some of these language families are represented by only one language while others contain a number of distinct languages. For example, the Algonquian language family, the largest in terms of population in Canada, covers Abenaki, Blackfoot, Cree, Delaware, Malecite, Micmac, Montagnais,











Ojibwe, and Potawatomi. There are other languages in the Algonquian family spoken in the United States. The Algonquian languages are grouped together because they have similarities in the same way that French, Spanish, Italian, and Portuguese are grouped together in the Romance language family. A Blackfoot speaker would not understand a Malecite speaker. In other language families, some of the languages are very similar. In the Iroquoian family, for example, a Mohawk speaker can understand an Oneida speaker, much as a Swedish speaker can understand a Norwegian. These last two statements are very broad generalizations because

the degree to which similar languages are mutually understandable is difficult to measure.

Speakers of Native Languages

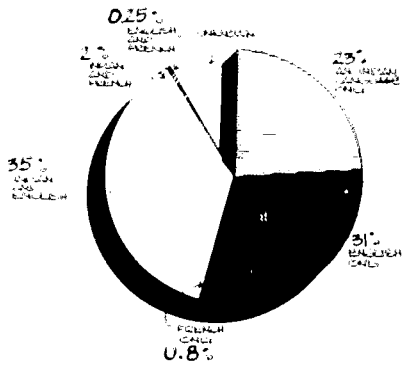
It is always difficult to get accurate information about the numbers of people who actually speak any language. This is partly because there is no easy test to show how well someone speaks a language. The figures given above represent the numbers of Native people who are ancestrally associated with the eleven language families. We can get a slightly clearer picture of the numbers of people who actually speak Native languages at the present time by looking at other information. The 1971 Canadian census asked people to identify themselves by ethnic origin, their mother tongue, what language was most often spoken at home, and what official language they spoke. Although census information on language is not necessarily very accurate, it appears from the figures that about half the number of people who considered themselves to be of Native ethnic origin reported that their mother tongue was a Native language. In this group of mother tongue speakers of a Native language, about 76 percent said that a Native language was used most frequently in the home and about 22 percent said that they did not speak an official language. However inaccurate these figures may be, they indicate a trend away from the use or maintenance of Native languages and towards the use of official languages.[5] On the other hand, given the pressure there is in Canada to understand and use an official language, it is impressive that Native languages maintain the strength that they do.

DIAND keeps figures on the languages spoken by status Indian children when they first come to school. Again, this information is not totally reliable since the children are not necessarily carefully tested, but the trends are evident.

LANGUAGE

OF INDIAN STUDENTS UPON ENTRY INTO SCHOOL

1978-79[b]



Source: *Nominal Roll*, DIAND, 1979

Courtesy of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development

None of this information tells us how many speakers of each Native language there are. We know that some Native languages, such as Huron, were last spoken early in this century. For other Native languages, such as Ojibwe, there are thousands of speakers, some of them monolingual. Other languages are in the process of dying out, with only a few elderly speakers left. Native-language use differs from community to community. In some Native communities all normal communication is carried out in a Native language; in others there is no one who speaks a Native language; in the middle are communities in which, typically, the older people speak a Native language, the middle generation is bilingual, and the children speak only an official language. It is generally true that the Native languages are maintained more in isolated, northern communities, but there are many exceptions to this generalization.[7]

Characteristics of Native Languages

All Native languages in North America are rich complex languages. They all have rules of word and sentence formation which are as complicated as those of English or French but these rules are different from those for European languages. These rules also differ among Native language families. Thus it would be as difficult for the speaker of an Iroquoian language, say Cayuga, to learn an Athapaskan language, say Dogrib, as it would be for an English speaker to learn Japanese. All Native languages have rich vocabularies and the means of expressing abstract social and intellectual ideas. They also have styles of expression, as does English, for example, to differentiate formal and informal speech, poetry, story telling, jokes, and so on. They can express mathematical and technological ideas suitable to the technology of the cultures they exist in. In the Native languages which are in danger of dying out, some of the vocabulary and grammatical complexity of the language is typically reduced.[8] Among the Native languages which are flourishing, new forms and vocabulary are often created to reflect changes in the society. For example, there is a project being carried out by the Wawatay Communications Society and the Cree–Ojibwe Cultural Centre of northern Ontario to study the problems of translation and interpretation between English and Cree and Ojibwe. A major part of the project is to develop a set of standard terms in Cree and Ojibwe to express the medical, legal, and technical ideas which Native translators and interpreters are often called on to deal with in courts, hospitals, and the translation of government documents.

There is no firm evidence that any of North America's Native languages had a writing system which precisely represented spoken language before the arrival of the Europeans in North America. This is not surprising considering that writing systems are a relatively recent historical development for any language, and hundreds of the world's languages today have no writing system in common use by speakers. Writing systems based on the Roman alphabet were developed by Europeans and Native people for most Native languages. These systems have been used for a range of pur-

poses from jotting down names and words to writing political and religious texts. In the past two centuries a number of unusual writing systems have been developed such as the syllabic system now used for writing some Algonquian, Inuit, and Athapaskan languages in Canada. These, too, were used for a variety of purposes. In this century, Roman alphabet-based systems have been developed for virtually all Native languages in Canada.

Generally speaking, few writing systems for Native languages are used consistently with regards to spelling, punctuation, and styles or forms such as correspondence forms or literary conventions, and the standards that are described for any system do not have the authority to produce any consistency in use. For many Native languages there are several different writing systems used by different people or groups of people. There is relatively little literature available in any Native language. The bulk of the published material is Bible translations and other Christian religious material, public documents, school books of stories and legends, and newspapers. Some people use a Native language for written personal communication. There seems to be an increase in Native language literacy and the publication of materials in Native languages. This trend seems to be related to recent growth of interest in Native ethnic identity. Most literate Native people are monoliterate in English or French, or at least they learned to read and write English or French first. There are some people who are literate only in a Native language.

In sum, we are considering a group of languages many of which are quite different from each other. Some of these languages have disappeared or are weakening under the pressure to use Canada's official languages, but others are still flourishing. These languages fall into eleven language families. About half the Native population speaks a Native language. Many Native-language speakers also speak an official language. Reading and writing in Native languages does not have the important function in Native societies that reading and writing in English or French has in the majority society, but writing systems exist for most Native languages.

Native Education

Types of Schools

Because of the provisions of the British North America Act and the Indian Act, the federal government is responsible for the education of status Indians. It is also responsible for the administration of the Territories, including the provision of education for the residents, many of whom are Inuit and non-status Indians. In the Territories, local governments have now been established which function much like provincial governments and which have their own education departments. In this way the federal government is responsible for the education of the majority of Canada's Native people. According to the British North America Act, however, education is normally the responsibility of the provinces — not the federal government.

For status Indians who live in the provinces, the federal government has made a variety of arrangements over the years. In this century until about 1950, it contracted out the job of educating status Indians to religious organizations. Curriculum or staff certification policies were not uniformly dictated in these contracts. In the late 1940s, the federal government formulated a new Indian policy. The old approach of paternalism and isolationism was replaced with an attempt to integrate Native people with the rest of Canadian society. The federal government took over direct control of Indian education. It decided that all teachers in Indian schools should be certified to teach in the province in which the school was located, and the Indian schools were to follow the curriculums of the respective provinces. The aim was to make the education of Native children as much as possible like that of other Canadian children. In line with this policy, the government attempted to turn over as much of the direct administration of Indian schooling as possible to the provinces. Joint agreements were made between local school boards and the Department of Indian Affairs for Indian children to attend provincial schools. These agreements stated that Indian children were to receive precisely the same education as the other children in the school. From the federal point of view the ideal would have been to make agreements for all of the administration of Indian education. But many Native people live in remote areas far from any provincial schools. The federal government has been building and administering schools so that Native children can get at least the first few years of schooling in their home communities.

In 1969, Jean Chretien, then the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, proposed a policy on Indian affairs which stated that the federal government was prepared to divest itself of all administrative responsibility for Native people. It would continue to pay for the same services for status Indian people, but the administration would be in the hands of whatever government agency would normally be responsible — for example, the provincial ministries of education would take over the administration of all Indian education. Native people, who up until that

time had not been very vociferous or co-ordinated in their criticisms of the government, were adamant and virtually unanimous in their disapproval. They felt that this change would mean the end to any hope they might have of getting special attention paid to their particular needs as a special group.

In 1972 the National Indian Brotherhood published a policy statement called *Indian Control of Indian Education* in which it demanded that Native people be given direct control over the education of their children. Since 1973 the federal government has accepted the positions expressed in *Indian Control of Indian Education* as its basic policy in Indian education. Different degrees of control over education are gradually being given to bands. And Native people are slowly getting seats on provincial school boards which administer schools their children attend.

In the reaction to Chretien's policy statement, one of the points made was that some provincial school situations discriminated against Native children and were not sensitive to their needs. In 1971/72, 61 percent of status Indian students were attending non-federal schools. Following the federal government's acceptance of Indian control as its policy, some bands have persuaded the government to provide federal schooling for their children even though the band was covered by an agreement with a provincial school board. In 1979, 53 percent of the status Indian students attended provincial schools.

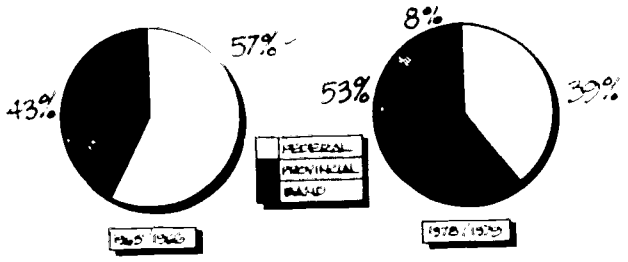
Three agencies are currently involved, then, in Native education:

- The federal government takes full financial responsibility for status Indians and administers some schools — mainly on reserves in remote areas.
- The provincial governments administer and finance the education for non-status people, administer the education for about half of the status Indian students, and provide the curriculum and teacher certification for all education for Native children.
- Although many bands control only some of the minor aspects of school administration, others have taken substantial control, including the initiation and development of special programs involving Native language and culture.

Federal schools are for status Indian children only, although it sometimes happens that other children, such as the children of non-Indians living in remote communities, attend federal schools. Federal schools generally cover the early grades so that young children can attend school close to their homes. In areas in which children can easily be bussed from the reserve to a provincial school, the federal school usually covers only kindergarten and the first few grades. In remote areas, federal schools usually cover all the elementary school grades. Most older students from remote communities in the higher grades must live away from home either on another reserve which has a school with higher grades or in a town. It has been the practice for federal schools to cover only grades 1 to 8. How-

ENROLMENT BY SCHOOL TYPE

Elementary and Secondary School Levels



Source Education & Skill Development Branch, DIAND, 1979.

Indians (depending on the band, its location, size, and the type of schooling required) may attend

- Federal schools: schools operated directly by the federal government (DIAND) in Indian communities in which all school professional staff are federal public servants.
- Provincial schools: regular schools operating within provincial systems attended by Indian children under tuition and capital contribution agreements between local schools boards and the federal government (DIAND).
- Band schools: schools operated directly by a band or bands financed by the federal government (DIAND).

Changes in attendance among the three types of schools reflect two policies followed by the Department:

- From about 1960 to 1970, emphasis was placed on developing arrangements with schools in provincial systems.
- From about 1970, emphasis has been on developing schools in Indian communities, ideally operated by Indian bands. The first school turned over to an all-Indian school board was Blue Quills in Alberta in 1970-71. There are now over one hundred band schools.

The proportion of children enrolled in provincial schools outside of Indian communities has increased in every region, reflecting the difficulties in providing more senior and specialized educational facilities in small Indian communities, but also resulting in lower participation levels.

The development of band schools has taken place largely in western provinces.

Indian control of education and accessibility appear to be influencing factors in secondary participation. In the limited areas where bands have assumed responsibility for secondary education and, to a lesser degree, where provincial schools are close to Indian communities, the retention rates for Indians are higher.[9]

Courtesy of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development

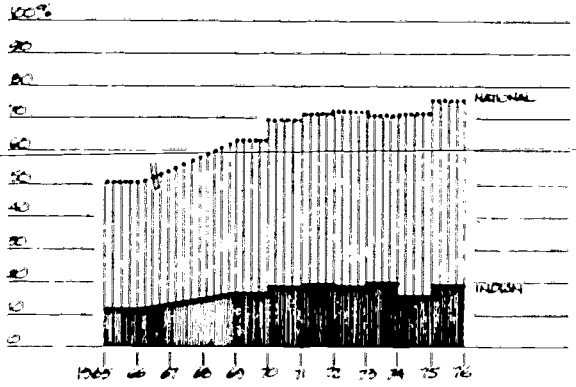
ever, in recent years a number of larger reserves in remote areas have arranged to offer high school grades as well. This trend is particularly strong for schools which have partial or total band control. Although the administrative problems of offering high school subjects in non-provincial schools are great, parents and band councils have worked hard for this change because it means that the children do not have to leave home to attend school. Non-status Indian children and status Indian children living off the reserve attend provincial schools in the same way as all other children in their province.

Achievement in Schooling for Native Children

The following chart indicates that less than 20 percent of status Indian children successfully complete grade 12. This percentage is less than one-quarter of the national rate of school completion.

RETENTION:

% Students Remaining to Grade 12 from Grade 2, Ten Years Earlier



Successful school completion (retention) among Indian students has improved modestly in the last 15 years (particularly between 1965 and 1970), but the Indian rate remains less than one-quarter of the national rate.[10]

Sources:
(1) *Education in Canada*, Cat. no. 81-229, Statistics Canada.
(2) Re-calculation of Table E-1, E-11 in "Socio-Economic Forecasts for Registered Indians in Canada 1976-77 to 1989-90," by D.E. Stewart, P.R.E., DIAND, 1977

Courtesy of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development

What could cause this remarkable phenomenon in Native education? Certainly part of the reason is the difficulties encountered by students who have to move away from home to get education in higher grades. Such students often last only a few weeks away from home because of problems of housing, adjusting to town life, and the competition in school with non-Native students. But before we blame the federal schools entirely for the type of preparation students receive, we should look at the following statistics regarding status Indians whose homes are off reserve in Regina and who attend provincial schools:

- Between 8000 and 9000 status Indians live in Regina
- Between 2000 and 2500 are of school age
- 30 percent are two to three years behind proper grade age level
- 75 percent drop out before reaching high school
- Only three graduated from Regina high schools in 1978-79
- 800 between fifteen and nineteen years of age neither attend school nor work[11]

Lack of success in school is a chronic problem for Native students in

all types of communities, on reserve, off reserve, in remote and urban areas, and in federal, provincial, and private schooling.

A recent study of education for status Indian children in Saskatchewan looks at the total situation this way:

Failure to deal in totality with environment difficulties has perpetuated a costly education program without real benefit to Indian children.

The proportion of Indian Children graduating from High School in the past ten years has shown little improvement; and the problems of age-grade retardation and a high absenteeism rate do not make it an easy matter to justify the large expenditures made by the Department for the Education Program.

These problems have been addressed over the years by various remedial actions, none of which have done much to improve the situation; in fact, some actions have worsened the situation . . . During this evolutionary period [between 1840 and the present] the lot of the Indian Child has not improved, and there is little prospect that any marked improvement will be realized unless the true causes of poor program results are addressed.

It is a well established fact that the social-and-economic status of his parents is the critical factor in determining how well a person is going to do later in life. The recent report issued by the Carnegie Council on Children entitled "Small Futures" concludes that Who You Are *not* How Bright You Are or even how good your school ig, is the most important factor in determining your future. These findings are fully supported by another report, just released, "Who Gets Ahead". It looks at things like: family background; native intelligence; personality; and years of schooling and their impact on a person's success or lack of success in later life. The findings are that "People who do well economically owe almost half of their occupational advantage to family background; and up to 85% of their earning advantage later in life is directly related to Family Background".

The National Council of Welfare has concluded "To be born poor in Canada does not make it a certainty that you will live poor and die poor but it makes it very likely".

Finally, a research paper just released in Manitoba, entitled "School Self-Acceptance among Indian, Metis and White Children" authored by Doctors G. E. Barnes and B. A. Vulcan, states in part: "Education is generally regarded as being the ladder to upward mobility for the people of lower socio-economic status. Our study shows, however, that lower socio-economic groups are in somewhat of a "Catch 22" situation. They need education to improve their position in society, but their lower position in society mitigates against them doing well in school".

The Indian Child comes from a socio-economic environment that may not be conducive to any marked improvement in the results of a new educational program. While "Indian Control of Indian Education" possesses elements that will make school more meaningful and pleasant for the Indian student and thus may produce more effective results, it should be recognized that real progress expected by Indian educators will only be achieved over an extended period of time.

This time frame may be reduced in direct proportion to the effort made to reduce the socio-economic disparities that exist between the Indian and White communities.[12]

(Courtesy of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development)

The Role of Language in Native Education Problems

The previous quotation could lead us to believe that there is no reason to assume that language has anything to do with Native education problems or that any special language program in schools would help. It is true in

any society that language characteristics are part of a large set of interrelated factors which operate together. Most of these factors, including language, can affect the education of children in the society. If we can find areas in Native education in which changes in language instruction might help, we must always see these possibilities in the light of the whole situation. It cannot be expected that changed language instruction will solve all the problems in Native education, but it seems realistic to assume that some improvements in language instruction, made in concert with other improvements, should have a positive effect.

It is obvious then that we will not be able to get statistics which show us exactly what language problems there are in schools for Native children because the language factors are always related to others. Teachers are among those most aware of the difficulty of separating language from other factors in diagnosing problems. As far as English-speaking Native children are concerned, some research has been done to compare their school performance in different subject areas with that of non-Native children. There is reason to believe that English-speaking Native children generally do not do as well as non-Native children in the language arts and other subject areas.

We can get some idea of the role played by language in the education of both English- and Native-speaking Native people from an analysis of 1971 census data using the Ontario Native population figures.

Table 1 shows the distribution of educational achievement for Ontario Native people over the age of fifteen who are not attending an educational institution full-time. When broken down by mother tongue (English or Native) and language most used in the home (English or Native), it is quite clear that the more Native language there is in these people's background, the lower their educational achievement, or, alternatively and more positively, the more English there is in their backgrounds the higher the achievement. There is still a great disparity between Native school achievement and that of the entire Ontario population over fifteen. The degree to which language differences contribute to the school achievement differ-

TABLE 1/Educational Achievement in Percentage for Native People and the Total Ontario Population over Fifteen Years by Age.[13]

	Post Secondary	*High School Graduate (Gr. 13)*	*9-12 Years*	*5-8 Years*	*1-4 Years*	*No Schooling*
All Ontario Indians	1.7	1.4	24.1	30.4	19.0	23.5
Age 15 and over (37 325)	2.9	2.3	39.2	35.1	10.2	10.4
Age 15+ Mother Tongue English	3.9	3.1	51.5	33.8	5.2	2.6
Age 15+ Mother Tongue Indian	1.1	1.1	23.3	37.1	16.7	20.7
Age 15+ Home Language English	3.5	2.9	48.9	35.5	6.0	3.2
Age 15+ Home Language Indian	0.9	0.8	17.8	34.5	19.5	26.4
Total Ontario Population Age 15 and over	10.1		57.1		32.8	

ences cannot be ascertained from these figures. The width of the gap between the Native people and the rest of the population in school achievement is so great that one can assume that much more than language is involved. However, the position of language in relation to the differences within the Native population is clearly important. One educational implication of these figures is that English language background has some strong role to play in schooling. But what is implied about the Native languages in educational achievement is not clear.

2

Language Programs

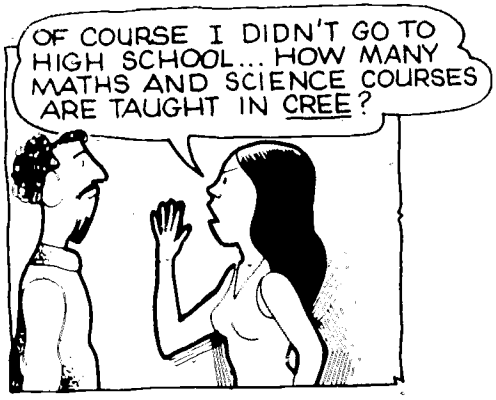
Present Language Programs for Native Schools

Medium of Instruction

In order to look at educational implications for language programs in schools, we can begin by looking at the situation as it now exists. In this book we will look separately at languages as medium of instruction and subject of instruction. The medium of instruction in a classroom is the language which is used by the teacher to teach any subject matter (for example, mathematics, science, or language itself). Students are usually expected to answer in the language which is the medium of instruction and classroom management is usually done in the medium of instruction as well. A language is considered to be a subject of instruction if it is being taught as an end in itself. Language arts subjects and second-language teaching are language as subjects of instruction. If a language, for example, Spanish, is being taught as a *subject* of instruction, Spanish is not the *medium* of instruction if the teacher does most of the teaching (explanations, classroom management, and so on) in another language, for example, English. Nowadays, however, the medium of instruction in a language class is usually the same as the subject of instruction so that the students get as much opportunity as possible to hear and practise the language that they are learning.

Let us look first at languages as medium of instruction in Native education. Education acts differ from province to province regarding what language should be the medium of instruction in provincial schools. The usual medium of instruction in any province is the main official language of the province. In some provinces, education legislation stipulates that the main official language is the *only* language that can be used as medium of instruction (with special arrangements made for speakers of the other official language, for example, French in British Columbia or English in Quebec). Some provinces have additional provisions for non-official

languages to be used as media of instruction under certain circumstances. Although it does not often happen, it is legally possible for a Native language to be used as a medium of instruction in provincial schools in some provinces. Federal schools are not bound by provincial educational legislation even though they follow it in most cases. It is legally possible, therefore, to use Native languages as medium of instruction in federal schools, and such cases exist. Details of such cases will be given later on.



Many students come to Canadian schools not speaking the language which is the medium of instruction. As we saw in the chart above, this includes a number of Native students. The education acts do not generally say much about the ways in which children should be taught to speak the medium of instruction. In provincial schools, efforts to provide services in teaching English or French as a second language (ESL, FSL) have been growing in the past fifteen years, but these services are still not widespread enough to meet all the needs. The focus of efforts to provide ESL or FSL services is usually at the level of school boards. Native-speaking students attending provincial schools may or may not receive help in ESL or FSL. Many Native-speaking students attend federal schools. DIAND has made a few efforts in some areas to provide training and curriculum materials, but such efforts have not been nearly enough to meet the ESL/FSL needs. A recent survey of federal schools in northern Ontario has shown that very few of the teachers of Native-speaking children have had training in ESL teaching and that appropriate methods and materials for ESL were generally not being used.[14]

Subject of Instruction

The education acts in the various provinces also have regulations about which languages can be taught as subjects of instruction in provincial schools. These regulations stipulate conditions such as at what grade level languages can be taught, who would be qualified to teach them, what credit will be given for such courses, and what the curriculum should

contain. There have been quite a number of Native-language-as-subject programs in provincial schools over the past decade. Problems associated with these programs usually centre around finding a Native-speaking instructor who is qualified to teach, particularly at the secondary level, and establishing a curriculum that is satisfactory to the educational authorities. Different solutions have been found in different areas of the country. In provincial schools in which the federal government pays tuition for status Indian children to attend, the federal government usually pays the full cost for Native-language programs. In some provinces there has been a struggle to get Native-language courses established as matriculation subjects for high school in order to help Native students gain entrance to postsecondary education. These efforts have not been particularly successful.

Since 1972 DIAND has provided, in theory, financial support for Native language and culture programs in federal schools. In fact, the financial support has been sporadic and DIAND has not provided much support for training instructors, supervising the courses, or developing the necessary curriculum and materials. The result has been that many federal schools have had Native-language courses on and off for the last few years but these courses have not been held on a consistent basis. The instructors, most of whom have had little or no training, have been paid at various salary rates, and curriculum outlines and materials have been sadly lacking. Nevertheless, even under these conditions Native language enrichment and literacy programs for children who speak a Native language and Native-as-a-second-language programs for children who speak little or no Native language have continued to persist and multiply.

To sum up, then, the medium of instruction in most schools attended by Native students is English or French. Native-speaking students do not necessarily receive much special help in learning English or French as a second language in federal or provincial schools. Native languages as subjects of instruction are offered in many federal schools and provincial schools with a high proportion of Native students. Such programs include Native-as-a-first-language and Native-as-a-second-language courses. These courses have been uneven as far as continuity and quality goes. They are mainly offered at the elementary school level.

Possible Language Programs for Native Schools

Objectives

Let us now look in more detail at the kinds of programs in language education for Native children that could be used and at what their consequences might be. To begin with, it is important to point out that there are virtually no formal, published evaluations of experimental programs of this sort in Canada because most are quite new and done on a small scale. Therefore, we must rely on comparisons and logical arguments rather than

on the results of empirical studies. We will look separately at programs for Native-speaking and non-Native-speaking Native children. We will look first at medium of instruction and then at subject of instruction.

From the *Indian Control of Indian Education* document by the National Indian Brotherhood, one can extract three objectives which could be applied to any of the programs that will be discussed here. One objective is that a program should contribute to a child's success in general school achievement. Native parents see achievement in regular schooling, as it is understood in North America, as a key to their children's success in economic terms in their adult lives. The second objective is that a program should contribute to a Native child's sense of his or her identity as a Native person. Native parents express the opinion that Native children must understand who they are in relation to the rest of the population and be proud of their heritage. The third objective is that the Native languages should be preserved and maintained. Many Native people are concerned that the Native languages are being lost. Some feel that the schools can help in fostering the Native languages among the children. Many parents and Native educators see the maintenance and development of the Native languages in schooling as closely tied to the development of a strong, positive sense of Native identity among Native children. In turn, many people feel that a positive self-image is an important key to success in schooling in general.[15]

Non-Native-Speaking Children — Medium of Instruction

It is, of course, the case that Native children who come to school speaking English or French are educated in that language. The schools are set up for official language medium education, the teachers are trained for it, and a wide variety of materials are available. If we look at English or French medium schooling for English- or French-speaking Native children from the objective of doing the most to promote good school achievement, we can see that there is still a lot of room for improvement. As mentioned above, even English- or French-speaking Native children do not, on the average, do as well as non-Native children in school and usually complete fewer grades. It was also pointed out that it is difficult to analyse the role that language plays in their problems with school achievement. A great deal has been written about the language problems of children from many minority groups. Materials for language development for minority-group children have been developed on the basis of a number of different theories. It would not be practical to attempt to survey all that literature here.[16] However, one question that often comes up in connection with Native education deserves attention here — the question of "Indian English."

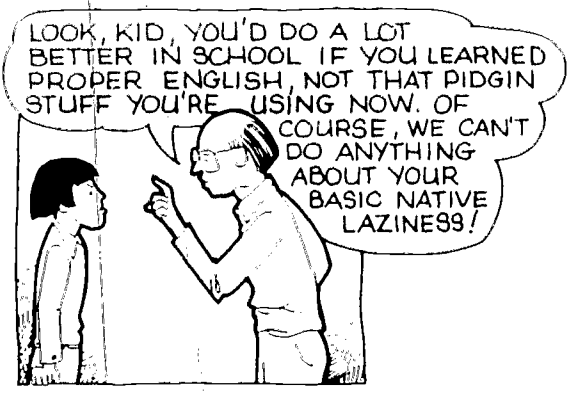
In many areas, Native people who speak English develop a distinctive way of speaking which is recognizable from certain features of pronunciation, vocabulary, and grammar. Some educators of Native children feel that it is the "Indian English" that some Native children learn from their

parents and from the Native community that causes language problems for schools. If this were proved to be true, then the best remedy would probably be to apply the techniques used in teaching standard English as a second dialect. Programs in teaching standard English as a second dialect are now being used in some schools for black American children in the United States and for children from the Carribbean in Canada and Britain. In such programs, the characteristics of the two dialects are compared objectively and the students do exercises to practise the standard forms, pronunciation, and vocabulary much like those for second-language classes. Most have a strong component to support the students' sense of their ethnic identity.

A detailed study of the language of black urban adolescents in the United States was conducted by William Labov. His purpose was to discover why these children were failing badly in learning to read. His analysis of their language showed that there were a number of systematic differences between the language they used and the standard English used in the classroom. However, since he studied various aspects of the children's lives in addition to their language, he concluded:

> Some writers seem to believe that the major problem causing reading failure among Black youth is structural interference between Black English Vernacular [BEV] and Standard English. Our research points in the opposite direction . . . The number of structures unique to BEV are small, and it seems unlikely that they could be responsible for the disastrous record of reading failure in the inner city schools.
>
> The conclusion from our research was that the major cause of reading failure is cultural and political conflict in the classroom.[17]

Although there has been very little study of the characteristics of "Indian English" as a dialect, one can certainly say that "Indian English" is not as different from standard English as black urban dialects are. It would therefore seem that Labov's conclusions would probably apply in Native education as well, and that we should look for the causes of problems in school achievement somewhere other than in "Indian English." Certainly



the second objective, developing the child's sense of Native identity, needs to be carefully considered in the light of cultural aspects of English medium education.

The second and third objectives for Native education regarding the development of a sense of Native identity and the development and maintenance of the Native languages will be studied further in the section on languages as subject of instruction. In that section, we will also consider the possible exception to the use of English or French medium instruction for English- or French-speaking Native children. This exception, the use of a Native language as medium of instruction for the purpose of teaching that language as a second language, will be discussed there in the context of other types of second-language programs.

Native-Speaking Children – Medium of Instruction

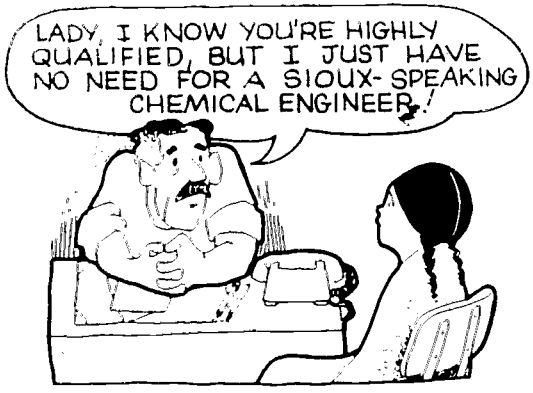
It is and has been almost always the case that schooling for Native-speaking children is conducted through the medium of English or French. This occurs for several reasons. The practical reasons are that the education systems are set up to do things this way. Appropriate teachers, curriculum, and materials exist for official language medium education. Another reason is that many people believe that English or French medium schooling is the best education for Native-speaking children. They believe that it is important for Native-speaking children to learn English or French and that the best way to teach them is to put them into an environment in which they hear and use the language all the time. Many people used to take this line of argument one step further and contend that Native-speaking students should also be prevented from speaking their Native language so that they would concentrate on the new language and practise it as much as possible.

Such an approach to the education of Native or other minority-group children has been called submersion. Children are in effect submerged in the atmosphere of the new language. The effects of language submersion in education are usually that the children do learn the second language

fairly well, but the psychological cost is high in the stress put on the children and their sense of being in terms of their own language and culture. As we have seen from the statistics given above, Native-speaking children do less well in schooling in general than do English- or French-speaking Native children. Their problems in learning the language which is the medium of instruction are a likely cause of at least some of their added difficulties in school.

Native-Speaking Children — ESL/FSL

In looking at English or French medium education in its objective of improving Native children's school achievement, we can begin by asking if it is necessary that Native students learn an official language at all. Native parents are almost unanimous in agreeing that their children need to know an official language in order to make their way in the economic system of this country. Even if Native medium education were provided in school, all higher education and training demands a knowledge of French or English. Also, English or French is necessary for most jobs and for many other kinds of participation in everyday life. Therefore, a basic premise we can work from is that a knowledge of English or French is seen as an important part of school achievement.



A knowledge of English or French is closely connected with school achievement in any subject area if that subject is taught through the medium of either of those languages. In the submersion type of education described above, children are forced to delay learning in a number of different subjects until they have learned the medium of instruction well enough. What, then, can be done to improve the submersion model? One approach is to improve the teaching of English or French so that the children can learn it as quickly and effectively as possible. The use of ESL or FSL techniques and materials is important here. There is room for a great deal of improvement in this area in schools for Native-speaking children. For example, priorities could be set for the hiring of teachers so that all teachers teaching Native-speaking students, particularly in the lower

grades, will have training in ESL/FSL teaching techniques. Supervisors and consultants who are knowledgeable in the ESL/FSL field could be made available to teachers.

Teaching ESL/FSL to Native-speaking children is somewhat different from teaching ESL/FSL to immigrants. Most ESL/FSL teacher training and materials development in Canada is directed towards the needs of immigrant students. Most immigrants live in urban areas whereas Native-speaking children live mainly in northern, isolated communities. Therefore, the environmental and cultural content of materials developed for immigrant children is often inappropriate for Native schools. Also, most immigrants live in situations in which they hear English or French spoken a great deal in their environment. Native-speaking children, however, live mainly in communities in which the Native language is used for almost all communication. Even radio broadcasting is often in the local Native language. Methods for teaching English or French could be modified to suit the language environment of the students. It would be useful, then, if teacher training in ESL/FSL were provided which focussed on the needs of Native-speaking children. Also, the adaptation of materials to suit the cultural, physical, and learning environments of Native-speaking children would seem critical in the light of the Labov quote above.

Native-Speaking Children — Using the Native Language

ESL/FSL teaching provides some improvement in the submersion model itself. One method of getting around the submersion model of education so that Native-speaking children do not have to delay learning many things until they know enough of the medium of education to do so is to change the medium of education. The Native language could be used in a number of different ways in the classroom. A common practice, particularly in federal schools, is to have a bilingual teacher aide in the lower grade classrooms who can explain things in the Native language to the children and interpret to the teacher as well. In some situations, aides only interpret occasionally for basic communication such as classroom management; in others, aides interpret lessons as the regular teacher teaches in English or French; in some others, the aide and the teacher plan lessons together and then the aide teaches the lesson in the Native language. There is no set policy for the use of aides with Native-speaking children, so these practices are generally developed ad hoc by individual teachers and aides. Since aides are not trained or paid to take full responsibility in a classroom or to be interpreters, they are sometimes exploited as teachers and interpreters, but in most cases the arrangements are effective and satisfactory.

The next step is obviously the formalized teaching of certain grades or certain subjects in the Native language. A necessary condition for this is to have trained Native-speaking teachers or appropriate instructors. In a number of schools, kindergarten is taught entirely by a Native teacher or aide and is almost entirely in the Native language. ESL/FSL is taught for a

certain period every day either by the aide or another teacher. There are not many Native-speaking trained teachers. Few of these have received training related to teaching in or through their Native language.[18] Where they are available, they usually teach the lower grades. They either interpret at random as they see the need, or they teach some subjects in the Native language entirely. In some schools certain subjects such as crafts, outdoor skills, aspects of Native culture, literacy in the Native language, or religion are taught entirely in the Native language, sometimes by Native teachers and sometimes by local special instructors.

Finally, there are programs in which the relationship between the official language and the Native language is carefully planned in terms of medium of instruction. One such program type is called a vernacular transition program. In it, the first few years are taught almost entirely in the Native language and ESL or FSL is taught as a subject. Reading and writing are first introduced in the Native language. Gradually the teaching of some subjects is switched to English or French. By grade 3 or 4, almost everything is taught in English or French except perhaps for Native language arts or one subject taught in the Native language. This type of program is called a vernacular transition program because it develops into an English or French medium program from a Native medium one. Another similar program is called a bilingual maintenance program. The first few years are much like those in a vernacular transition program, but English or French only take over about half of the total program in the higher grades. The purpose of this is to develop and maintain both languages equally. To this writer's knowledge there are no programs of this type in Canada.[19]

Native-Speaking Children — Results of Native Medium Programs

There has been little formal study of the effects of these various uses of Native languages in Canadian schools. Most of the possibilities described here, with teacher aides and teachers using the Native language in various ways in the lower grades, are not officially planned but come about because the personnel and the need happen to come together. There are several examples of carefully planned vernacular transition programs in Manitoba, the Northwest Territories, and Quebec. These programs are all in relatively early stages of development and the long-term effect will not be known for several years yet. If any of these programs achieve their expected results, they will improve Native-speaking children's school achievement because the children will not be held back from subject-area learning by the problems of second-language learning. Children should be better able to adjust to school because there is not the sudden shift from the Native language and cultural environment of the home to the English or French majority culture environment of the school.

Concern has been expressed by educators and Native parents that the use of the Native language in school will take time away from the children's

opportunity to hear and practise English or French. Research among other minority-language groups has shown that the development of a child's first language often leads to improved second-language development as well.[20] A comparison was made of test scores for children at Rock Point in the United States who were given a bilingual maintenance program in Navajo and English and of Navajo-speaking children who received regular English medium schooling with ESL. By the end of their elementary schooling, the Rock Point children were scoring higher than the "English only" students in English reading even though they had begun English reading late in the second grade. They had studied reading in Navajo first. They also scored higher than the "English only" students in mathematics.[21]

In Mexico, it was shown also that Native children who learned to read in the Native language first did better in learning to read Spanish than other Native children who learned to read Spanish only over a three-year period. The group that learned both the Native language and Spanish did better than the "Spanish only" group even though the first group of children had studied Spanish for only two years while the "Spanish only" group had studied it for three years.[22] It seems that children can readily transfer many of the skills they learn in their first language to their second language. Since learning in the first language is easier for them, they often develop good language skills in their first language if they are given the opportunity. The effects of this development then show up in the second language as well.

As far as the children's sense of themselves as Native people is concerned, there is every reason to believe that Native-language medium programs will have good effects. Previously, when children were prevented from and punished for speaking their Native language in school, students often developed a sense that their heritage was something to be shamed of. Now, as Native languages gain a place in schooling, children can see it as a respected part of their background and education. Also, the need for Native-language speakers is a major factor in drawing more and more Native personnel into the schools. It is important for Native children to see Native people in the role of teachers. Further, since some subjects can be taught through the Native language, some Native-speaking people who are knowledgeable and experienced in certain aspects of Native culture and tradition are invited or employed by the school to teach their skills. If Labov's findings regarding black children have any parallel in Native education, this cultural influence should provide for some improvements.

There is no doubt that the submersion policy in Native education had a damaging effect on the Native languages themselves. Many students who were prevented from speaking their Native language for ten months of every year of their schooling never spoke the language again once they left school. Many students did not develop a full adult range of vocabulary and expression in their Native language because they did not have much chance to hear and use the language during their school years. In schools now where the use of Native languages is encouraged, Native-speaking

children are given the chance to develop their Native-language use normally. Programs that have Native language arts components are directed at active Native language skills development. Native language literacy is becoming more common among Native young people who would probably not have learned to write their language if it were not for a school program. Native-language programs in schools have also encouraged adults to develop and use Native-language literacy skills. Not only must Native-language literacy teachers sharpen their skills in reading and writing the Native language, but others are encouraged to write materials for use in the classroom.

Rudolph Troike carried out a survey of the research done in the last decade on bilingual programs for minority-language-speaking children in the United States. These programs were mainly of the vernacular transition or maintenance bilingual types. He concludes from the evidence he gathered that school adjustment, language, reading, and even the learning of other content subjects by minority-language pupils are likely to be improved in a good quality vernacular or bilingual education program over a regular, majority-language-only program.[2 3] An important phrase in this conclusion is "good quality." It takes good planning, good personnel, and good materials to make any of the programs described here work to improve Native education. It must be kept in mind that there are not many Native trained teachers, and not all of those are speakers of a Native language. Also, the Native languages have not been used up to now as languages for formal education in the common North American sense. There are very few books written in Native languages and most of these are not suitable for school purposes. Native knowledge about mathematics, science, technology, social relationships, and so on are not organized and written down in the manner in which such subjects are treated in English and French. And Native cultures have their own rules and traditions about who can teach what subjects and under what circumstances.

In order for a Native language to be used effectively in a school, a great deal of planning must take place. Definite goals must be set, a suitable type of program selected, the community consulted for their wishes and contributions, curriculum outlined, materials developed, and staff selected and trained. Often a writing system must be selected and standardized. It may be necessary to do first-hand research on such things as local botany or history in order to develop curricular materials. It often takes several years of development before a program can even be started in a school. This requires long-term funding and commitment on the part of a number of people. While Native communities and schools can share the work that they have done on Native medium programs to a certain extent, the fact that there are so many languages and even dialect differences from community to community means that each program has to be developed more or less from the beginning. In practice what all this means is that many programs fail or are not very effective because there has not been enough planning put into them, because suitable personnel was not available, because there was no consistent funding, because an adequate curriculum

was not developed, because there was no co-ordination or supervision of the programs in the school, and so on.[24]

To sum up, there are a number of ways in which a regular English or French program can be modified to meet the needs of Native-speaking children. Improved second-language teaching in the language which will be the medium of instruction is an important factor. Also, the Native language can be used in a variety of ways to ease the impact of full English or French medium instruction and to reinforce their Native-language learning. Such means hold promise of improving Native-speaking children's school achievement, the self-image of Native people, and skills in using the Native language. But this promise will only be realized if programs are carefully planned to suit individual situations and if appropriate staff, cultural modifications, and materials are put in place.

Non-Native-Speaking Children — Subject of Instruction

We have been looking at language in Native schooling from a kind of language-across-the-curriculum point of view up until now. Let us now look at the teaching of languages as particular subjects of instruction. English- and French-speaking Native children will be considered first. Comments were made above about the roles of English or French in their education. Here we will look at Native-language courses.

Since 1972 DIAND has supported Native language and culture programs in federal schools and in provincial schools which are attended by status Indian children. There are also some Native language and culture programs for non-status Indians in other schools. Native parents often express concern that many Native children no longer speak the Native language.[25] In schools for English- or French-speaking Native children, Native-as-a-second-language programs are often set up. They usually operate for one period a day several times a week from kindergarten up. The instructor is usually a local Native speaker who has been chosen by the band or some other Native community authority. Sometimes a teacher aide will take on the work. Many Native-language instructors have no training for second-language teaching because such training is not often offered. Some have no training in any type of teaching. There is no curriculum outline for the teaching of many Native languages so the instructor must decide how to teach the language and produce the materials as well. Some teachers work on oral language but many concentrate on reading and writing. Native-as-a-second-language programs are often sporadic either because the funding is not regular or because the instructor is only available for part of the time.

In such conditions it is remarkable that the programs continue to exist at all. The most obvious objectives for Native-as-a-second-language programs is the maintenance or revival of the language. Success in terms of this objective would depend on the degree of fluency one expected the children to attain. Studies of other second-language programs taught for twenty minutes a day in elementary schools have shown that children

generally do not develop very much fluency in the language — certainly not enough to affect the maintenance or revival of a language in the community as a whole.[26] Given the problems in Native-as-a-second-language programs with respect to personnel, curriculum, and planning, we should expect very little learning of the Native language in such programs. Informal reports on such programs suggest that that is what the result generally is.[27]

Looked at from a different perspective, however, the Native-as-a-second-language programs are often a success. Something must account for the fact that many continue to exist under very difficult conditions. From the objective of reinforcing the children's sense of their Native identity, the Native-language programs seem to be effective. In the previous part on language as medium of instruction, points were made about the improvement of the children's school achievement. There is a great deal that can be done in an English or French medium program, as well, to encourage the children's sense of Native identity through art, history, social science courses, and so on. And Native as a second language taught as a subject of instruction seems to fall into this role as well. It appears that the formal recognition of the Native language in the school is often seen by the Native children as a powerful support for the value of their heritage. Also, the fact that a Native-language program has been introduced in a school sometimes creates interesting side effects in, for example, rallying community interest in the language, encouraging Native language use, storytelling, second-language and Native literacy courses for adults, and Native newspapers.

If a high degree of fluency in the Native language is a serious objective for a Native-as-a-second-language program, stronger measures have to be taken. The majority of English- and French-speaking Native children come from communities in which the Native language is seldom or never used by adults. Fishman reports in his international study of bilingual schooling that school use of a language is not enough. A language must be supported by institutions outside the school in order for the school program to be effective in producing bilingual students.[28] Since the language situation in the home communities of the English- and French-speaking children is widely varied, the relevance of Fishman's observation may be different from community to community. But it is very often the case that the school is the only institution in which the Native language has any place — however artificial. Thus it is critical for any Native-as-a-second-language program to have community support, not just in terms of agreement and moral support, but in terms of participation by community members inside and outside the school.

French-as-a-second-language programs have been developing rapidly in English-speaking Canada for the past decade or so. Not only has there been a great expansion of the twenty-minute-a-day type of French-as-a-second-language programs, but French immersion programs have developed as a means of teaching French. In French immersion, English-speaking

children receive French medium schooling, usually from kindergarten onwards. They take English as a subject of instruction from about grade 2, but most of their schooling is in French. Comparative studies of twenty-minutes-a-day (or even forty-minutes-a-day) French programs with French immersion programs show that the children in French immersion not only learn much more French than the twenty-minute-a-day students but they also achieve as well or better in their other school subjects. Evidently it takes a good deal of exposure to the second language in order for much fluency to develop.[29]

One Native-as-a-second-language program deserves to be mentioned in this context. Influenced in part by the French immersion model, although it is really an extension of the Native-language instruction programs, the school at West Bay on Manitoulin Island in Ontario introduced an Ojibwe immersion program. Although Native people on Manitoulin Island have effectively maintained the use of their Native language for a long time, many of the present generation of elementary school children speak only English. The principles of the French immersion programs were used in the West Bay school, but the timing was based on the vernacular transition model. In other words, although the children were taught only through the medium of Ojibwe in junior kindergarten, kindergarten, and first grade, and were first introduced to literacy in Ojibwe in first grade, the proportion of time the Ojibwe medium was used was reduced year by year from grade 2 to grade 4. From grade 5 on one content subject was to be continued in Ojibwe while the rest of the curriculum was presented in English.[30] The initial attempt at implementing this program was stopped after three years of operation. No formal evaluation about this program has been published. Plans are being made to reinstate the program.

Native-Speaking Children — Subject of Instruction

Much of what has been said above is relevant to language as subject of instruction for Native-speaking students. English- and French-as-a-second-language teaching, either as part of an English or French medium program or as part of a Native-language medium program, was discussed under medium of instruction. Many of the problems in using the Native language as a medium of instruction or of teaching it as a second language are relevant to the teaching of a Native language as a subject of instruction to Native-speaking children. The kind of program referred to here is a course offered as an addition to an English or French medium program. The usual format for such a program is that it is a literacy course in the Native language given from about grade 3 and up. Sometimes oral language development classes are given in the lower grades with some pre-literacy work in the Native language as well. Like the Native-as-a-second-language programs, it is usually offered with the objectives of developing the children's self-image as Native people and of developing and maintaining the Native language. Even though all the same problems of planning, funding, staffing, and curriculum and materials development are as persistent for Native as a

subject of instruction courses, both objectives are usually at least partially met. The children's self-image is usually enhanced by the recognition of the Native language in the school and the community is often stirred to a new interest in the language. The language itself is developed and strengthened, not only because many young speakers are learning to read and write it, but also because teachers and others become involved in writing materials for the children to use in their classes.[31]

Language in Social Use

When children learn their first language, they must learn the sounds of the language, vocabulary, and how to put words together to make sentences. In addition to this, a great deal of first-language learning is learning when to speak, how to choose an appropriate style of speaking for different situations, and what kind of roles speakers and listeners are expected to play in different interactions. Languages and cultures have many rules which govern language behaviour and these rules differ from language to language and from culture to culture. For example, there are rules which apply to the way in which young children interact with adults. Is it appropriate for children to interrupt their parents when they are talking under any or only under certain circumstances? Should children start a conversation with adults who are not their parents, or should they wait for the adult to speak first? Should children speak to teachers in the same way in which they speak to their parents? Are children expected to learn from verbal explanations or from watching how things are done? Are children expected to defend themselves when they are criticized, or should they remain silent?

By the time children first enter school they have already learned many such rules about interacting within the family context — with their parents, brothers, and sisters, and with other relatives. They have usually learned some things about relating verbally with other children as well. When they go to school, they have to learn a whole new set of rules which have to do with relating to different kinds of authority figures such as teachers and principals, interacting in large groups, using language which is more formal and technical than they are used to, and using language for many purposes (explaining, categorizing, analysing, defining, and so on) which they have not had much experience with before. Of course, they also have to learn to use language through the medium of reading and writing as well. For this they must learn that written language is somewhat different from spoken language. All these rules are taught as much through classroom management and language use in all subject areas as through formal language arts studies.

The purpose in raising this matter of language in social use is that Native children often come to school with different rules for the social use of language from those of majority culture children. The rules they are familiar with may contrast sharply with the kind of behaviour expect-

ed of them in the classroom. English- or French-speaking Native children as well as Native-speaking children may be different from the average, majority culture child in this regard. Linguists, psychologists, and sociologists are just beginning to study the kinds of differences that exist between cultural and economic groups as far as rules for language behaviour are concerned. Not much is known about the effects of such differences on school achievement.

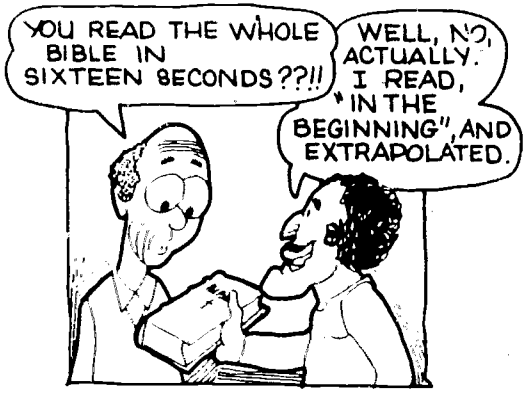
On the basis of the evidence gathered so far, however, two generalizations can be made here that are important for Native education. One is that differences in rules for the use of language can lead to serious misunderstandings between teacher and student. From a majority culture teacher's point of view, a child may seem lazy, sullen, non-verbal, and shy or, alternatively, pushy, noisy, overactive, and rude. But, in the case of children from non-majority culture backgrounds, these evaluations can often be explained in terms of the kinds of verbal responses children have learned to use in their home environment — responses which are perfectly acceptable in their cultural context.[32]

The second point is that Native languages and cultures do not have the same rules for language use. It is dangerous to apply to all Native groups what has been demonstrated for one group. Innovations in classrooms for children who are known to have different rules for language use have often proved successful in improving communication between teacher and students. It has sometimes been found, for example, that an increase in student-to-student interaction and small group work has been helpful. More study on the rules for language use among Native children from the various Native language and cultural groups is needed. Educators could use this information to experiment with various types of interaction in the classroom both with Native-speaking and English- or French-speaking Native children. And majority culture teachers of Native children could be trained to accept with appreciation the kinds of language behaviour shown by Native children.[33] It is important to keep in mind that these factors should be carefully considered for Native medium as well as English or French medium programs.

Two Points about Reading

Reading and the role of literacy in Native communities have been discussed in several places in this book. One finding in the research on reading and learning to read has implications for Native education and has been singled out for special attention here. Research on reading in any language shows that proficient readers use a number of strategies in reading. They skim along sometimes only looking at a few words in each sentence; they recognize some words because they know the shape of the entire word; sometimes they have to break down words mentally and decode them part by part or letter by letter. An important aspect of reading is that skillful readers do not read word for word; they predict what the author has

written and then check out the accuracy of their prediction by sampling the text here and there. It follows that the more familiar the reader is with the language, the topic, and the ideas of the writer, the more accurately the reader will be able to predict and the faster he or she will be able to read.[34]



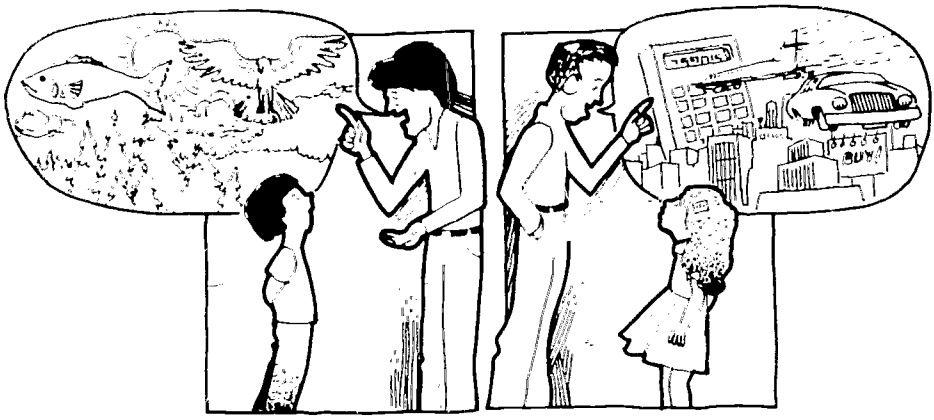
The first implication that can be drawn from this for Native education relates to Native-speaking children. Any students who do not know a language very well will not be able to predict well when reading that language. Their reading in that language will be a slow, laborious process. This point may seem obvious but it is often ignored when Native-speaking children are being introduced to reading in English or French. In order for Native-speaking children to experience success in their early experiences with reading, it is important that they first receive enough training in the oral language and that they be familiar with the language forms they are expected to read. As a corollary, it is equally important that they be given materials to read which use language forms and ideas that they are acquainted with. What often happens in Native schools is that teachers attempt to teach English or French *through* reading. The combination of unfamiliarity with the language and the problems of learning to read frequently produces lack of success in both areas. One strategy for avoiding this situation is to provide young Native-speaking children with plenty of oral English or French practice in meaningful contexts related to their school and home experiences. Another strategy is to carefully tailor both the oral and the reading program so that children are never asked to read anything that contains language that they are not thoroughly familiar with. Yet another strategy, mentioned above, is to introduce literacy in the Native language first so that the children can learn the basic skills of reading before they have to tackle reading in a second language.[35]

The other implication regarding prediction in reading that bears consideration here is not yet fully researched in terms of learning to read. Readers can predict a writer's ideas and intentions if they know the kinds of information to expect from various types of written material. As a

reader you expect certain kinds of information to be on the label of a jar, in an instruction booklet, in a newspaper, and in a poem. The content of each of these kinds of writing is predictably different. The styles of language used are different as well. It was pointed out above that literacy in the Native languages has generally fewer functions in Native communities than does literacy in French in Quebec City, for example. Native-speaking and English- or French-speaking Native children may come to school with different expectations about what written material will contain.

Children who have not yet learned to read gather certain information from the way literacy is used in their environment. Research studies have shown there is likely to be a good effect on children's success in learning to read if they are read to at home, if there are magazines and books used in the home, or if parents try to introduce the child to some aspects of reading at home. The kinds of spoken interactions between parents and children seem to have an equally strong effect on reading.[36] Nevertheless, it is worthwhile taking into consideration that Native children, both Native- and non-Native speaking, will have certain expectations about the messages conveyed by written material. They will also have ideas about the style of language that is appropriate for written material. In communities in which material written in the Native language is used, children may also feel that the Native language is appropriate for some kinds of writing and English or French for other kinds. If these ideas and expectations are different from the reality of the material they are expected to handle in the classroom, problems are likely to occur. Learner-centred and community-oriented materials for reading may be useful in providing Native children with initial reading material that fits their expectations. Oral practice in different language styles such as lists, instructions, storytelling, poetry, and so on can help ensure that children will be familiar with the kinds of language they will encounter in reading. These considerations are as important for literacy in the Native language as for literacy in English or French.

To sum up, one aspect of learning to read is learning to predict what is



written on the page. If Native children are to have successful experiences in predicting what they read they must be given material that is realistically predictable given their skills and experience. If they are second-language learners, they must have been taught and have practised the spoken words and sentence patterns they are expected to read. Teachers of Native children should also make sure that the language styles and content of reading material are familiar. Once children have mastered the basic skills of reading, then they can begin to learn new language and content through reading. But at the initial stages of literacy, familiarity and predictability of language and content are important.

3

Summary

The Native peoples of Canada are a complex group — culturally, linguistically, legally, historically, and geographically. A great many of them have social and economic characteristics that put them in a difficult position in relation to the rest of society. Native and non-Native people alike depend heavily on education to solve some of their difficulties. It seems that education is not likely to effect a spectacular improvement, at least in the short run.

This book has surveyed the place that languages could and do play in Native education. It was shown that changes in language aspects of education are not likely to make remarkable inroads in Native education problems. Nevertheless, there are programs in place which are having some measure of success, and other potential programs which deserve to be tried out. The use of Native languages as a medium of instruction and first language of literacy is an area in which the least experimentation has been done. There are major obstacles to overcome in the areas of planning, staff selection and training, curriculum and materials development, and the development of the languages themselves for use in this new setting. The Native medium programs now in place are too new to show long-term results. It is hoped that more of such attempts will be made. On the side of English or French medium programs, there is still considerable work to be done to get more trained ESL/FSL teachers into Native schools armed with appropriate curriculum materials.

With regard to Native programs as subjects of instruction, it appeared that these programs are taught under very difficult conditions. All the problems of getting suitable teachers or instructors for Native medium programs are equally relevant here. And the problems of creating curriculum materials for the many Native languages, dialects, and cultures involved are great. Majority culture certified teachers are often hesitant to go into ordinary classrooms without the support of curriculum materials

that have been devised, tested, and standardized by recognized educational authorities. Can we expect new or even untrained Native personnel to venture, with virtually no curriculum materials, into classrooms to persuade children, who often have other difficulties with school achievement, to save their endangered languages from extinction? The fact that most of the languages have to have orthographies developed for them in order to establish a literacy program is one of the many complicating factors in Native curriculum development. Considering all these obstacles, it is remarkable how successful Native subject of instruction courses are. It is hoped that many more resources will be put into these programs as soon as possible and that those working in those programs now can continue to keep going until such help arrives.

Notes

1. Canada, Indian Affairs and Northern Development, *Indian Conditions: A Survey* (Ottawa: Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1980), pp. 3, 10, 11, 23, 33.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 11.
3. Canadian Association in Support of the Native Peoples, *And What About Canada's Native Peoples?* (Ottawa: Canadian Association in Support of the Native Peoples, 1976), p. 3.
4. Canada, Statistics Canada, *Census of Canada: 1971*, Vol. 1, Part 3.
5. *Indian Conditions*, p. 40.
6. *Ibid.*
7. For a description with examples of Indian language use in U.S. communities, see James Bauman, *A Guide to Issues in Indian Language Retention* (Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1980).
8. Wick R. Miller, "The Death of Language or Serendipity among the Shoshoni," *Anthropological Linguistics*, 13:3 (1971), pp. 114-20.
9. *Indian Conditions*, p. 50.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 49.
11. Canada, Indian and Northern Affairs, Indian and Inuit Program, Program Evaluation Branch, *Operational Review: Education Program (Saskatchewan)* (Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs, 1980), p. 35.
12. *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23.
13. B. Burnaby, *Languages and Their Roles in Educating Native Children* (Toronto: OISE Press, 1980), p. 408.
14. B. Burnaby, J. Nichols, and K. Toohey, *Northern Native Languages Project: Final Report* (Toronto, Sioux Lookout, Timmins: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Ontario Ministry of Education, Northern Nishnawbe Education Council, Wawatay Communications Society, and Cree-Ojibwe Cultural Centre, 1980) (mimeo), pp. 24-31.
15. National Indian Brotherhood, *Indian Control of Indian Education* (Ottawa: National Indian Brotherhood, 1972), pp. 14-15.
16. For information on this topic, see J. Cummins, *Bilingualism and Minority-Language Children* (Toronto: OISE Press, 1981).
17. William Labov, *Language in the Inner City: Studies in Black English Vernacular* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1973), pp. 241, 243.
18. See Sandra Clarke and Marguerite MacKenzie, "Indian teacher training programs: An overview and evaluation," *Papers of the Eleventh Algonquian Conference*, ed. Wm. Cowan (Ottawa: Carleton University, 1980). See also Arthur J. Moore, *Native Teacher Education: A Survey of Native Indian and Inuit Teacher Education Projects in Canada* (Vancouver, B.C.: Canadian Indian Teacher Education Projects (CITEP) Conference, 1981).

19. For a survey of language and cultural aspects of Native education programs in Canada, see Sandra Clarke and Marguerite MacKenzie, "Education in the mother tongue: Tokenism versus cultural autonomy in Canadian Indian schools," *Canadian Journal of Anthropology* 1, 2 (Spring, 1980).
20. R. Troike, "Research Evidence for the Effectiveness of Bilingual Education," *NABE Journal*, 3 (1978), pp. 13-24. J. Cummins, *Bilingualism and Minority-Language Children* (Toronto: OISE Press, 1981).
21. Paul Rosier and Wayne Holm, *The Rock Point Experience: A Longitudinal Study of a Navajo School Program* (Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1980).
22. Nancy Modiano, *Indian Education in the Chiapas Highlands* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1973).
23. Troike, "Research Evidence".
24. Clarke and MacKenzie, "Education in the mother tongue".
25. National Indian Brotherhood, *Indian Control*.
26. H. H. Stern; Merrill Swain; L. D. McLean; R. J. Friedman; Birgit Harley; and Sharon Lapkin, *Three Approaches to Teaching French* (Toronto: Ontario Ministry of Education, 1976).
27. For discussion of education measures needed for Native language maintenance and revival in the U.S. context, see Bauman, *A Guide to Issues*.
28. Joshua Fishman, "The sociology of bilingual education," *Etudes de Linguistique Appliquée*, Nouvelle Série 15, Multilinguisme et Multiculturalisme en Amerique du Nord (Juillet-Septembre, 1974), pp. 112-24.
29. Stern et al., *Three Approaches*.
30. Ida Wasacase, "Bilingual 'immersion' native language Ojibwa pilot project, West Bay, Ontario," (Ottawa: DIAND, n.d.).
31. Clarke and MacKenzie, "Education in the mother tongue," discuss such programs more critically.
32. Vera P. John, "Styles of learning — styles of teaching: Reflections on the education of Navajo children" (pp. 331-43) and Susan U. Philips, "Participant structures and communicative competence: Warm Springs children in community and classroom" (pp. 370-94) in *Functions of Language in the Classroom*, eds. Courtney B. Cagden, Vera P. John, and Dell Hymes (New York: Teacher's College Press, 1972). Judith Kleinfeld, "Effective Teachers of Eskimo and Indian Students," *School Review* 1975 (February), pp. 301-44.
33. J. Holmes, "Sociolinguistic competence in the classroom," in *Understanding Second and Foreign Language Learning: Issues and Approaches* (Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House Publishers, 1978), pp. 134-62.
34. Frank Smith, *Understanding Reading: A Psycholinguistic Analysis of Reading and Learning to Read* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971).
35. For those interested in the particular problems of learning to read in Algonquian syllabics as a first or second language of literacy, see B. Burnaby and R. J. Anthony, "Orthography choice for Cree language in education," *Working Papers on Bilingualism*, 17 (April, 1979), pp. 107-34.
36. Gordon Wells, *Learning through Interaction: The Study of Language Development*, volume 1, *Language at Home and at School* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

Further Reading

The following are publications which relate to aspects of the discussion in this book.

Bauman, James J. *A Guide to Issues in Indian Language Retention.* Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1981.

This book describes the Native languages in the United States and gives examples of ones which are flourishing, ones which are declining in terms of numbers of speakers, and ones which are almost or completely lost. Programs for Native-language maintenance or revival are discussed against this background.

Bowd, Alan D. "Ten years after the Hawthorne Report: Changing psychological implications for the education of Canadian Native peoples." *Canadian Psychology* 18, 4 (October 1977), pp. 332-45.

This article surveys three approaches to problems in Native education, "Remedial Education," "Supplementary Education," and "Instrumental Education," that have been discussed and implemented since 1967.

Brooks, I. R. "Teaching Native children: Lessons from cognitive psychology." *The Journal of Educational Thought* 12, 1 (1978), pp. 56-67.

Psychological studies on Native children, particularly comparisons between Native and non-Native children, are discussed. The major factor seems to be that Native children generally score higher on tests of nonverbal ability than verbal ability although they usually score lower than most non-Native populations on both.

Burnaby, Barbara. *Languages and their Roles in Educating Native Children.* Toronto: OISE Press, 1980.

This book covers the topics discussed in the present work in more detail, including suggestions for program planning and classroom procedure for various types of language in Native education programs. Although only Ontario Native people are considered, there is such a range of language and educational situations among Ontario Native communities that the issues discussed in the book are relevant to most Native situations elsewhere in Canada.

Burnaby, Barbara, Nichols, John, and Toohey, Kelleen. *Northern Native Languages Project: Final Report.* Toronto, Sioux Lookout and Timmins: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Ontario Ministry of Education, Northern Nishnawbe Education Council, Wawatay Communications Society, and the Cree-Ojibwe Cultural Centre, 1980. (mimeo)

This report describes a study of language in education for Native children in the northern part of Ontario. The children in the study area almost all come to school speaking only a Native language. The report covers ESL and English medium programs, Native language arts programs and the use of the Native languages as medium of instruction. It also covers in detail related needs in the areas of community involvement, administration, teacher training, orthography design, and materials development. Copies can be obtained from:

James Cutfeet
Northern Nishnawbe Education Council
Room 14
P. O. Box 1419
56 Front Street
Sioux Lookout, Ontario P0V 2T0

Canada. Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. *Teaching an Algonquian Language as a Second Language.* Ottawa: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1978-80.

So far three books have been published in this series — kindergarten, grade one, and grade two. These books give lesson outlines for second-language programs in Algonquian languages. The lessons are set up so that they can be used with most Algonquian languages.

Canada. Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. *Teaching an Iroquoian Language as a Second Language.* Ottawa: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1979.

This series is parallel to the Algonquian series. Only the kindergarten book has come out so far. As with the Algonquian books, the core program presented in the Iroquoian book can be adapted for use with various Iroquoian languages.

Canada. Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. *A Notebook for Native Language Teachers with Special Reference to the Algonquian Languages of Ontario.* Ottawa: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1978.

This notebook is a collection of teaching hints and ideas for teaching Native as a first and Native as a second language. Although examples are mainly from Ontario Cree and Ojibwe, the ideas are useful in other language areas. The notebook is set up in a loose-leaf format so that teachers can add to it from their own experience or during in-service or training sessions.

Canada. Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. *Indian Conditions: A Survey.* Ottawa: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1980.

This book is a collection of statistics from a number of sources on status Indians. It gives facts on population, employment, health, social factors, band government, and data on off-reserve Indians.

Clarke, Sandra, and MacKenzie, Marguerite. "Education in the mother tongue: Tokenism versus cultural autonomy in Canadian Indian schools." *Canadian Journal of Anthropology* 1, 2 (Spring, 1980).

This article provides a good overview of Native language programs in Canada. The discussion is about the objectives that are given for the programs described and the results that they are likely to have in terms of the real development of Native language and culture or assimilation to the majority culture.

Clarke, Sandra, and MacKenzie, Marguerite. "Indian teacher training programs: An overview and evaluation." In *Papers of the Eleventh Algonquian Conference*, edited by Wm. Cowan. Ottawa: Carleton University, 1980.

This article describes the Native teacher training programs offered by Canadian universities and other Canadian institutions. It describes what the programs are designed to do and what more they might offer in terms of reinforcement of Native languages and cultures.

Curriculum Development Team. The Council of Commissioners. Cree School Board. *Position Paper on Bilingual Education: Cree as a Language of Instruction.* Val D'Or, Quebec: Cree School Board (mimeo) 1979.

This report was prepared by a number of people for the Cree School Board. It was used to establish the policy which the Cree School Board has attempted to implement since then on bilingual education. Different options in bilingual education are discussed from cultural, linguistic, and pedagogical points of view.

More, Arthur J. *Native Teacher Education: A Survey of Native Indian and Inuit Teacher Education Projects in Canada.* Vancouver, B.C.: Canadian Indian Teacher Education Projects (CITEP) Conference, 1981.

This book is a collection of information about Native teacher education projects in Canada. The material was collected through the 1981 CITEP conference. One assumes that the information will be kept up to date since these conferences are annual.

National Indian Brotherhood. *Indian Control of Indian Education.* Ottawa: National Indian Brotherhood, 1972.

This document outlines the Brotherhood's position on objectives for Native education and means by which these objectives can be implemented in Native schools, through language and other aspects of schooling, particularly administration. This document has been adopted by the Department of Indian Affairs as official policy.

Ontario Ministry of Education. *People of Native Ancestry: A Resource Guide for the Primary and Junior Divisions.* Toronto: Ministry of Education, Ontario, 1975.

This guide outlines approaches to Native education for status and non-status Indian children in the province. It also considers the way in which information about Native people should be presented to non-Native children. The section on language in education presents far-reaching recommendations about both English- and Native-language education. Guides for the intermediate and senior divisions are also available.

Rosier, Paul, and Holm, Wayne. *The Rock Point Experience: A Longitudinal Study of a Navajo School Program.* Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1980.

This study compares the achievement of Navajo-speaking children in two settings. In one setting, the children received a Navajo/English maintenance program; in the other, the children were given an English-only program with ESL. Tests showed that the children from the bilingual program outperformed the other children in English reading and mathematics by grade 6.

Wasacase, Ida. "Native Bilingual-Bicultural Education Programs." *Dialogue* (a periodical publication of the Indian and Eskimo Affairs Program, Office of the Deputy Minister), Vol. 3, No. 1 (1976).

This article outlines goals of bilingual and bicultural education for Native children in Canada and gives types of programs that could be used to meet these goals.

Wolfart, H. C., and Carroll, Janet F. *Meet Cree: A Guide to the Cree Language*. Revised edition. Edmonton: The University of Alberta Press, 1981.

This book was designed to give teachers of Cree-speaking children an idea of the structure of the Cree language. It is practical, as the title indicates, and shows how the structures of Cree might affect the education of Cree-speaking children.