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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

Internal Colonialism and Northland School Division #61: A
Context for Decision-Making

by



Denis Wall

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

OF Doctor of Philosophy

IN

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Department of Educational Foundations

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Abstract

This investigation is an analysis of decision-making at the level of the board of trustees within a large northern Alberta school jurisdiction: Northland School Division. Approximately 98% of the student population is of Native ancestry. The theoretical framework used in the analysis is that of the internal colonial model.

The main focus of the dissertation is a critique of the internal colonial model, including an address to some fundamental social science questions which appear as limitations of the model. The first of these limitations is the relationship between logical levels of analysis. Other such social science questions are how social scientists characterize change and "power," how social scientists delineate the populations they investigate, and the ascendant issue of the role of the social scientist in the methodological and theoretical design of investigations.

A further subissue addressed is the ideology of racism that is evident in colonial situations. The problem is whether or not idealist or materialist conceptions of the origin of racism are most appropriate in social science investigations of internal colonial situations.

The dissertation provides a description of the context in which the Native people of northern Alberta live: a context in which Native people are subject to rule by other ethnic groups as exemplified by economic and political domination and distinct land tenure rights. It is within

this context that the relations between Alberta Education (the provincial department of education) and the school division are described.

The decision-making relations within the jurisdiction in two time periods 1980-81 and 1984-85 are then described. The descriptions are based on four areas of decision-making: budgeting, professional staffing, policy making, and high school programming. The processes of decision-making are assumed to be very similar to those of other school jurisdictions in Alberta. It then becomes necessary to provide an explanation of the relationship between a. the macro social context in which the school jurisdiction is dependent on Alberta Education and b. the micro social context internal to the division where the board and the administration interact often on an equal footing, not as individuals but as small groups. It is found that the macro social context of domination structures certain micro social decision-making situations.

The dissertation ends with an interpretation of how social scientists who use the internal colonial model could fruitfully address discussions of "power" and change appealing to more clearly defined notions of structure and process and logical levels of analysis. Racism, population delineation, and the role of the social scientist in investigations are also addressed further.

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation is about decision-making in a large school jurisdiction in Northern Alberta. This case has been chosen as the basis for an exploration of some fundamental social science questions which arise in Native studies in Canada.

Native studies have tended to cover a full spectrum of social science domains of investigation from individual psychological orientations to large group interaction. An analysis of these approaches makes it clear that there are problematic issues in each approach which tend to reduce the applicability of these analytical frameworks to social phenomena. Examples of the problematic issues are the following: a. how these approaches characterize change, b. how these approaches deal with the notion of "power," c. how these approaches deal with the role of the social scientist in the methodological and theoretical design of investigations, and d. how these approaches delineate the populations they investigate.

A major issue which becomes apparent in the social sciences is that of the relationship between logical levels of analysis as characterised by Bateson (1972) and Maturana and Varela (1975). The issue is one of the mutual influences between macro social events (i.e. the relations between large segments of society) and the micro social interactions of small groups.

In an attempt to address these issues I have focussed on an intercultural setting: the decision-making relations in Northland School Division #61. The jurisdiction has recently - September 1983 - undergone a change in the structuring of the board of trustees as a result of changes to the legislation (the Northland School Division Act) that has been specially designed for the division by the government of Alberta. This change indicates that there may be substantial difference in relations both between Northland School Division and Alberta Education and within the jurisdiction.

A. INTERNAL COLONIALISM

The intercultural nature of the division, that has often resulted in Native interests being opposed to and oppressed by non-Native interests in schooling, provides a context for the critical exploration of a political model which has been used as an interpretive framework for such situations: the internal colonial model. This model has been used often to characterize social relationships which were felt to be exemplars of asymmetrical power relations between minority and dominant groups.

The problematic issues, noted above, which adhere to other social science domains of investigation are very evident in the internal colonial model. In the dissertation I address these issues using the internal colonial model as a focal point.

B. CONTEXTUALIZATION OF THE STUDY

The main foci of the dissertation are a critique of the internal colonial model and a resolution of the model's limitations. The model is a useful framework for the analysis of Native social issues even with its current limitations. In the body of the dissertation I point out the utility of the model at the macro social level: at the level of interactions between large groups of Native and non-Native peoples. This level of analysis is shown to be appropriate for the understanding of the social position of the Native people in the northern region of Alberta in which Northland School Division is located.

I show further that this macro social context, when considered in terms of the interactions between Northland School Division and the government of Alberta, may be described more clearly as one of political and economic domination of the school division.

The economic and political domination of the division itself provides the context for the analysis of the small group interactions between the major decision-making groups within the division: the board of trustees, the local school board committees (one for each of the 27 schools), and the administration. This context of domination is only one of many contexts that I, as the investigator, could have applied to the situation at hand. For example, the division decision-making could have been placed in the context of rural school jurisdictions and their relationship with

Alberta Education. This, however, would not have addressed the intercultural nature of the division and would have forsworn the usefulness of the study both as an intercultural investigation and as an exploration of internal colonialism.

C. THE OUTLINE OF THE DISSERTATION

The dissertation continues in Chapter Two with an outline of the internal colonial model, its application to social situations, and the problematic issues which become evident in its application.

In Chapter Three I continue with an analysis of the region of the province of Alberta in which Northland School Division is situated. The analysis shows that the use of the internal colonial model is appropriate when used within the context of Native/non-Native socio-political relations. This is the first level of logical address to the use of the model at the macro social level. It is a necessary discussion because the people of the region can be characterized in a number of different ways, not just by their ethnicity. But, in an analysis of socio-political relations, ethnic identity becomes the primary aspect of this study of northern Alberta. A brief history of Northland School Division is also presented.

Chapter Four then allows me to introduce the methodology I used.

In Chapter Five I analyse the relationship between the Northland School Division and the government of Alberta. This relation is iconic of the macro social relations between Native people and non-Native peoples in that region of Alberta. The analysis provides a context for an elaboration of the economic and political dependency of the division on government. Economic and political dependency are generated by the context of domination. They do not generate the context of domination, because the colonized are not in the first instance dependent. The chapter, then, provides a description of the macro social relations evident in the particular case.

Chapter Six continues the investigation by providing a description of the micro social decision-making relationships between small groups (the administration and the board of trustees) which are evident within Northland School Division in a number of domains: policy making, professional staffing, budgeting, and high school programming. Throughout the chapter, to maintain the confidentiality of individuals and communities, I have used designations such as SCH6 or COMM1 to indicate schools or communities.

The descriptions of events at the school division level make it more than clear that there is very little difference between the processes of decision-making in this jurisdiction and those likely to be found in other school jurisdictions in Alberta. As a result, it is imperative that

I clarify the relationship between the macro social context and the internal decision-making of the division in the next chapter.

Chapters Seven and Eight provide an interpretation of the data. Chapter Seven focusses on the problematic issues that were identified in the internal colonial model. I address the notion of "power" and resistance to domination, being more explicit about what is meant by "power" and where the locus of authority is in decision-making. I also make a distinction in logical levels of analysis. The notion of "power" then is discussed as a generalized social science term. Next, I address the social science notion of change illustrating what changes have taken place in the case studied, again making a distinction between macro social and small group (micro) social levels of analysis and drawing conclusions about the relationship between the two. Finally, in this chapter, I discuss the appropriateness of the characterization of the case study in terms of two separate populations: Native/non-Native. This address provides a discussion of the context in which ethnic markers could be assumed to be appropriate. This line of discussion leads to an analysis of the role of the social scientist as responsible for the provision of a logical and consistent context within which the use of ethnic markers can be justified. The concluding comments are about the use of ethnic markers by individuals participating in internal division decision-making.

Chapter Eight concludes the dissertation by addressing the internal colonial model and suggesting a reformulation of the model to provide more adequate descriptions of "power" and change, which allow for an understanding of the relationship between macro social and small group phenomena. I also suggest the reformulation of the model to account for more adequate characterizations of the separation of populations. I include in the chapter a statement on the ascendant issue in the social sciences of the role of the social scientist as the responsible agent in providing a context for the analysis of social situations.

D. CONCLUSION

The role of Native people as integral to Canadian and Albertan society has been little understood or admitted. Today there is an increasing realization of their contributions, not only historical but also contemporary, to society. In Northland School Division, Native people have played a considerable role in bringing change to the educational system even if, prior to 1983, they had minimal input where internal decision-making was concerned.

This dissertation is one attempt to explore the role of Native people within education in Alberta, not as people outside the mainstream of society but as people intimately involved.

Chapter II

NATIVE EDUCATION

A. INTRODUCTION

Those academics who deal with Native education do not draw on any unified theory, but use a variety of theoretical orientations to focus on different descriptive domains that do not lend themselves to easy categorization. Some gross generalizations about focus can be made, however. There are academics who emphasize the cultural, economic, and/or political interactions between Native and non-Native sectors of society (e.g., Boldt, 1981; Fisher, 1981; Hawthorn, 1967; Hobart and Brandt, 1966; Kakfwi and Overvold, 1977; Lane et al., 1978), sometimes making assumptions about the effects of these interactions on small group or individual interaction. Others focus on the structures and processes of interaction between small groups and between individuals (e.g., Braroe, 1975; King, 1967; Mortimer, 1975; Nagler, 1970), sometimes making reference to the macro social relations between Native people and non-Natives. Both groups may make assumptions that macro- and micro-domains are analogous.

Small group and interpersonal interaction have often been a domain of investigation for academics who study Native/non-Native issues (Wolcott, 1967). Toohey (1977) investigated the power relations between teachers and students in an Indian reserve school. Kleinfeld (1975) has

investigated the relations between teachers and students suggesting that teachers from the "other" culture who come to an Indian classroom with notions of the relative wealth of Indian tradition and who try to teach their Indian students about the best of their "once great culture" are doomed to failure.

One of the earliest writers to focus on cultural discontinuity between Native and non-Native populations was Diamond Jenness (1941, 1947) who believed that education could integrate the Indian into the main stream of Canadian society. He felt that through education, ways of life could be changed and made more economically viable. Hawthorn (1967) perpetuated this view by suggesting that education was the means of breaking down the boundaries between two solitudes. This tradition continues in writings by such academics as Friesen (1974) and in government policy-oriented documents such as the Final Report of the Committee on Tolerance and Understanding (1984).¹

Some writers have focussed on economic and political conflict in which the weaker Native group has been viewed as receiving the short end of the stick far too often. Studies of economic and political conflict often emphasize the role

¹ Maldonado (1979) suggests that these assimilationist ideas about intercultural contact are premised on the notion that there is equal opportunity for all to succeed if only those from the minority cultural group would willingly change and participate in the dominant society.

In the United States it was this view that spawned such "programs as Project Head Start, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, and the great expansion of social services that took place in the 1960's." (Walls, 1977).

of the educational system in denying Native people economic and political autonomy (e.g., Adams, 1970; Fisher, 1981, 1976; Little Bear et al., 1984; Starblanket, 1981).

The internal colonial model has been used as a descriptive model which focusses on the differences in social interests between a minority group and the cultural, economic and political powerholders in a particular nation-state. Fourth world peoples (see Manuel and Posluns, 1974), who in a global sense are comparable because they are tribal, indigenous minority groups have been included in analyses based on the internal colonial model.

B. THE INTERNAL COLONIAL MODEL

Stone (1979) traces the origin of the notion of internal colonialism to the 1930's when it was used to characterize relations between the northern and southern United States. Van den Berghe (1984) indicates that the term itself first appeared in the 1950's in reference to South Africa. And finally, Blauner (1969) suggests that the term appears first in the writing of Stokley Carmichael and Charles Hamilton (*Black Power*) in 1967.

Regardless of the term's ontogeny, it has firm intellectual connections to concepts developed in political analyses of colonialism and neo-colonialism (e.g. Carnoy, 1974; Carnoy and Levin, 1985; Manonni, 1964; Memmi, 1965). These roots are so strong that the distinction between the two ideas of internal and third world colonialism is not

clear in that both deal with asymmetrical "power" relations, noting few differences between both types of colonialism.

Internal colonialism is obviously a notion with wide appeal when it comes to the description of the relations between dominant and sub-dominant groups; I will refer to these two groups as the colonizer and the colonized, respectively. Whether the term is applied in analyses of fourth world peoples or of other minority groups, there are a number of characteristics that the model exhibits. The internal colonial model is premised on the assumption that it is through economic exploitation and other elements of colonization that a subordinate cultural group has become economically, culturally, and politically inferior to the dominant group. The assumed result is that members of the subordinate group will serve primarily the economic interests of the dominant group and not their own.²

The model has been used as an organizing framework to characterize the plights of many different groups: urban Blacks in the United States (Blauner, 1969), Appalachian whites (Lewis *et al.*, 1978), the Quebecois (McRoberts, 1979), Chicanos in Utah (Maldonado, 1979), the people of Eastern Finland (Alapuro, 1979), and Native peoples in Mexico (Casanova, 1965), in the United States (Iverson, 1978; Lurie, 1972; Ritter, 1979), in Canada (Adams, 1970; Fisher, 1981; Watkins, 1977), and in Peru (van den Berghe,

² Iverson (1978) suggests that motives for denial of autonomy can be humanitarian or exploitative, i.e., there is not necessarily a conspiracy intended to destroy the autonomy of these oppressed peoples.

1984).

Van den Berghe (1984) and Union (1983) are justifiably dismayed that the model applies equally to women, Native peoples, Celts, and Appalachian whites among others. The model loses much of its analytical applicability when it is used to describe so many different sorts of relationships.

In what follows I will present a compendium of the characteristics of the internal colonial model and then raise my concerns with the model.

Domination

Domination tends to be the overriding and most pervasive element of the ideas in the model. It is the domination of the colonized by the nation-state to such an extent that the association between the colonizer and the colonized may not be voluntary, having resulted from some form of coercion.

Casanova (1965) mentions the use of violence and coercion at the hands of military, political and administrative forces controlled by the colonizer as an important means of maintaining the colonial relationship. Other sources of violence and control are proposed, such as the courts and the media.

The assumption is that there is a basic separation between the two groups. Each group would be independent nations if the history of their interactions had been somehow different.

Flores (1973: 200) states that the relationship is one "wherein the dominant society controls and monopolizes important cultural institutions, the legal and political apparatus, and the class structure." Casanova (1965) speaks in terms of the monopolistic control of the colony's economy, culture, social order, as well.

In reference to the domination of fourth world peoples van den Berghe (1984:182) states that if internal colonialism is present, then, there must be exhibited:

rule of one ethnic group (or coalition of such groups) over other such groups living within the continuous boundaries of a single state.

Domination of the colonized can take place in the economic, cultural and political domains. I will outline briefly the ideas presented by a number of writers in each of these domains.

Economic Domination

From an economic point of view, Casanova (1965) indicates that one of the objectives of having a colony is to enable the metropolitan region to carry on commerce unencumbered. Some suggest that regional disparity is promoted because the ownership of business is in the hands of members of the dominant group (e.g. Blauner, 1969). As a result, profits go to the colonizer leaving the colonized without a viable economic base.

Van den Berghe (1984:182) indicates that the following criterion must be met if the internal colonial model is to

apply:

[there must be exhibited]... relations of economic inequality in which subject peoples are relegated to positions of dependency and inferiority in the division of labour and the relations of production.

Blauner (1969) supports this contention when he states that social agencies which work for or with the colonized are in financially precarious positions, being dependent on sources outside the community for support.

Flores (1973:189) indicates this sort of economic "vulnerability" is a result of almost complete dependence on the colonizer (his term is "White society") for survival.

In reproducing the dominance of the nation-state, the relationship between education and the economic structure is viewed by many as paramount. Van den Berghe (1984:190) states that education plays a major role in cultural domination, discrimination and social/economic mobility. He states,

Education can thus be said to perpetuate and consolidate the class and ethnic structure and to provide the main mechanism for individual upward mobility within it.

It is often through education that the culture of the minority group is said to be destroyed.

Cultural Domination

The "national" cultures of the colonized are seen to be penetrated and reshaped "to accord with the values and norms of the dominant white society" (Flores, 1973: 189-190).

Flores calls this process "cultural chauvinism." Cultural

hegemony is another apt term to describe this relationship.

Blauner (1969: 396) puts it this way:

The colonizing power carries out a policy which constrains, transforms or destroys indigenous values, orientations and ways of life.

This point of view suggests that the culture of the colonized is destroyed. From another perspective, while describing internal colonialism in the McKenzie District of the Northwest Territories, Puxley (1977:111) with a clearer definition of culture states

Let me simply say that culture lives in men, not in museums. It is what people do together. The preservation of Dene culture implies, necessarily, recognition of the way the Dene define themselves....

Anyone who thinks culture is represented simply by artifacts and dying rituals is a prisoner of colonial consciousness. This is true because it is characteristic of a colonial relationship that it deprives men of their sense of themselves, today, relegating their identity to a thing of the past.

This notion of cultural domination is that the colonized can neither interact nor define themselves because their way of life is not recognized by themselves or by the colonizer, except as pathological or atavistic.

As well as the economic and cultural domination described by some authors, there are descriptions of political domination of the colonized by colonizers in internal colonial situations. A discussion of this sort of domination follows.

Political Domination

With political domination there is assumed to be no possibility of political autonomy for the colonized because they are deprived of opportunities to express their political will. The colonized are necessarily subject to the political will of the more powerful.

In this context van den Berghe (1984:182) states that the internal colonial relationship will be one in which there is the

presence of an internal government within a government especially created to rule the subject groups, with a special legal status ascribed to the subordinate groups. Typically, members of the dominant group are incorporated into the state as individuals, whereas members of the subordinate groups have a corporate, group status that takes precedence over their individual status.

Van den Berghe is referring here to the laws and other structures of the state that focus on an individual's ethnic status rather than status as an individual.

This comment would suggest a group-specific infrastructure of domination. This domination would be reflected in such organizations as police, social service agencies, and government agencies, controlled by non-Native people. These infrastructures would also be specifically oriented to providing service to the colonized and by so doing reinforcing dependence.

For example, in Peru, the locale for his study, van den Berghe states that political input into "Indian" education by "Indians" is non-existent, since education is controlled from Lima. Policy and programs are biased in favour of Lima

residents and accessibility to education is severely limited.

These examples could be considered illustrative of denial of self-determination. Such denial of self-determination can occur either directly or indirectly. Lurie (1972) suggests that there is often a preference for indirect rule using co-opted local leaders to keep others in line.

And finally, it is often pointed out that the colonized can not participate in political activity because they may be denied the franchise in the election of higher officials, or these officials may simply be appointed by the state (e.g. Casanova, 1965; Flores, 1973).

Summary

There are three areas of domination when internal colonialism is considered; economic, cultural and political. In discussions of each the colonizer is characterized as in almost total control of the colonized.

These generalizations about the lack of social influence by minority groups are often supported by more refined discussions. Among the issues that give further meaning to the internal colonial model are the following:

1. the recognition that there can be resistance to domination by the colonized,
2. that land rights are often denied the colonized, and
3. that the colonized often suffer blatant racism.

A discussion of these elements of internal colonialism follows.

Resistance to Domination

It has been recognized by academics that there has been resistance by minority groups to domination. Stone (1979) suggests that there are strong links between internal colonialism and the promotion of ethnic resistance movements: secession and nationalism. McRoberts (1979:314) continues the point by stating:

We have suggested that autonomist and secessionist movements must be understood as movements for change within a region as well as for the redefinition of relations with the rest of the world.

Social change has been the focus of these groups whether it be through revolution or continual conflict of one sort or another with the dominating powers within a nation-state.

Land

Ideas about internal colonialism sometimes focus on territorial separation and on the inequality of land tenure rights for the colonized.

With regard to land tenure rights, Stavenhagen (1965) says that, as a result of unequal power relations and exploitation, the colonized tend not to have the security of a legally owned and thus stable land base.

Van den Berghe (1984:182) indicates that land tenure rights of the colonized must necessarily be different from

those of the members of the dominant group. He holds that this must be the case if internal colonialism is to apply at all as a descriptive model. He states there must be:

territorial separation of the subordinate ethnic groups into 'homelands,' 'native reserves,' and the like, with land tenure rights distinct from those applicable to members of the dominant group.

The Ideology of Racism

One element of the relationship is an ideology of racism (Casanova, 1965) which may tend to be reinforced by both the colonizer and the colonized who believe that the colonized are lazy, profligate, indolent and generally inferior.

For a number of writers it is the educational system that has major influence on the internal colonial situation by promoting a racist ideology which portrays the colonized as inferior, the colonizer as superior, and the system in which they are both involved as being inevitable (e.g. Flores, 1973; Iverson, 1978; Puxléy, 1977; van den Berghe, 1984).

Blauner (1969: 396) places this interpretation on such racism:

Racism is a principle of social domination by which a group seen as inferior or different in terms of alleged biological characteristics is exploited, controlled or oppressed socially and physically by a superordinate group.

Blauner draws support from Memmi (1965) who notes that such racism tends to dehumanize the colonized and tends to turn them into objects perceived to be without social,

cultural, or economic reality of their own.

Flores (1973) refers to this process as "inferiorization." The result of this process, he concludes, is that racial minorities are, and are made to feel, powerless in the face of "legitimate" power structures such as the electoral system and government bureaucracy.

There have been many suggestions about how to end this spiral of inferiorization. For example, Flores (*ibid.*) feels that to end the repression of Chicanos in the USA local control of institutions is a necessary first step. He goes on, however, to say that the next hurdle to overcome is the development of critical consciousness and positive self-consciousness among the colonized. It is this inferior image of the self that must be mitigated.

Because of this approach by Flores, Gonzales (1974) accuses him of being an idealist. Gonzales states that the ideology of racism is generated by the economic conditions of society. In developing his argument against Flores' position Gonzales (*ibid.*:159) states:

But let us examine how Marxism interprets the question of racism. According to dialectical and historical materialism, racism is an idea that springs from the objective conditions of society. Racism, thus, does not create the objective conditions (i.e. classes, racial oppression, social discrimination) but these result from the economic basis of the society and from its corresponding social and political structure. Racism derives from these objective conditions in the form of ideology (as do all aspects of bourgeois ideology). Its function is to maintain the class structure by preventing the proletariat (white, black, brown or whatever color) from recognizing the class nature of imperialist society and joining forces to defeat the ruling imperialist class.

Bailey and Flores have turned Marxist materialism on its head and instead argue that the idea (racism) has been the generating force in the oppression of non-white peoples.

The idealist and materialist positions raise questions about the locus of the ideology of racism. Is it the result of the political and economic conditions of society or is it the result of the mentation of individuals as they interact?

C. THE INTERNAL COLONIAL MODEL: PROBLEMATIC ISSUES

By raising the following issues it might be inferred that I am suggesting the internal colonial model is to be avoided altogether. This is not the case. When the four criteria developed by van den Berghe are used in the analysis of macro social relations, the internal colonial model is more nearly adequate as a descriptive framework.

I will list van den Berghe's four criteria for assuming the presence of internal colonialism here:

1. Rule of one ethnic group (or coalition of such groups) over other such groups living within the continuous boundaries of a single state.
2. Territorial separation of the subordinate ethnic groups into 'homelands,' 'native reserves,' and the like with land tenure rights distinct from those applicable to members of the dominant group.
3. The presence of an internal government within a government especially created to rule the subject groups. With a special legal status ascribed to the subordinate groups. Typically, members of the dominant group are incorporated into the state as individuals, whereas members of the subordinate groups have a corporate, group status that takes precedence over their individual status.
4. Relations of economic inequality in which subject peoples are relegated to positions of dependency and inferiority in the division of labour and the

relations of production.

At the same time, Union (1983: 8-11) has indicated that the model as outlined by van den Berghe is approaching descriptive adequacy for the macro social relationships within one nation-state between fourth world peoples and others. In support of this contention, Union's description dealing with the Canadian situation indicates, among other things, 1) that Native people have been defined clearly as a distinct ethnic group which is "ruled" by others, 2) that Native land use and tenure rights are clearly distinct from those of others in Canada, 3) that there is the presence of internal government within the government designed specifically to deal with Native peoples and that the legal status (in legislation and in case law) of Native peoples in Canada is distinct, treating them collectively rather than as individuals, and 4) that Native people as a group have been "relegated to economic inequality, dependency and 'inferiority' in the division of labour and the relations of production."

Other contemporary writing on Indians today in Canada supports the contention that there has been suppression of Indian people as nations and that Indian people have the right, too often denied, to political self-determination (e.g. Asch, 1984; Cumming and Mickenberg, 1972; Morse, 1985; Price, 1980; Sawchuck et al., 1981). This very issue has been a continuing matter for constitutional discussion since the 1982 Constitution Act.

But there are many problematic issues relevant to the internal colonial model that need to be addressed. These include the imprecise use of language regarding "power" and "change"; inadequate definitions of populations and of the notion of racism; inappropriate analyses of small group interaction and of the role of the observer/social scientist.

D. SOCIAL SCIENCE LANGUAGE

Not the least of the problematic issues is the use of imprecise social science language. The language used in versions of the internal colonial model is most often quite simply inadequate to the need for the provision of clear social science definitions for words such as power and change.

A similar objection to social science theory, including sociology, is outlined by Murphy (1971:8) who criticizes the imprecise and obscure use of language. His concern is that social science has not progressed much past folk social science because the "basic units of observation and mode of analysis of the human scene remain the same as those of the people under ... scrutiny." He continues by assuring the reader that

this should not be cause for too much surprise, for we were trained as observers and manipulators of our social milieu long before we were trained as sociologists or anthropologists.

Murphy's criticism of language use has been echoed by others (Buder, 1985; Union, 1978). Take for example,

Murphy's (1971:1617) criticism of impressionistic concepts such as "culture." He writes the following:

Culture and social structure are often used in exactly the same way and to refer to the same things by their respective champions. ...

What each has done has been to practice an imperialism of words, placing the total subject matter of their study under one rubric or another, and thereby destroying the differentiating and analytic functions of terminology.

The Notion of Power as Example of Imprecise Language

The central notion in the model of internal colonialism is domination (or power) by one group over another. This is often framed in terms of the lack of autonomy of the colonized group (i.e., not having the opportunity for self-definition).

The colonized are characterized further as suffering from cultural, economic, political domination of such strength that they are virtually paralyzed: unable to promote forms of self-consciousness or self-definition through political action, language, group cohesion, or cultural development and coherence. The colonized are portrayed as the passive, docile, recipients of direction from the dominant group.

This is what Crews (1985) has criticized as "excessive totality": the assumption that any one group can completely dominate another without mutual interaction of some sort. As the model is currently formulated, there appears to be very little room for any mutual influence.

In internal colonial literature, the use of the notion of "power" is clearly generalized, rather than precise and well-defined. Bacharach and Lawler (1980:13) refer to the word as a sensitizing device. They go on to say that

typical treatments of power assume that power can and should be a precise, well-defined term. Precise concepts are, of course, generally more valuable than unprecise ones, and the social sciences are already burdened with enough ill-defined notions.

Bacharach and Lawler (*ibid.*: 10) reinforce this idea by stating:

In spite of extensive concern about power ... there appears to be little consensus about the meaning of power or its application to concrete social circumstances.

I will continue by illustrating this imprecision of the word "power" as it is discussed by writers in educational administration and by social scientists.

Administrative Approaches to Power

The literature on administrative notions of power tends to focus on superintendent(administration)-board interaction.

While focusing on power relationships, Waller (1932) discusses strategies the superintendent might follow in manipulating the board so that the regular process of education might take place. This focus has changed little since. Banks (1976) also discusses the relationship in terms of power: the ability to force certain outcomes to decisions. This focus continues in literature which discusses the influence of differential

access to information (e.g., Brown *et al.*, 1985; Zeigler and Tucker, 1976) where it is stated that some in the decision-making process have more information and thus they can control the outcomes of decision-making.

Otherwise, there has been apparently very little written on the subject of administration-board interaction in terms of broader political, economic, and cultural influence on structures, or in terms of the influences of internal jurisdictional processes.

Social Science Notions of Power

Those social scientists and administrators who have written about power have used a commonsense notion. But social science must go further than appealing to what we understand implicitly. Social science must look for the answers to fundamental social questions such as how may "power" be explained.

) There has been a great deal of writing regarding the notion of "power." For example, Weber (1962:117) indicated that by "power"

is meant that opportunity existing within a social relationship which permits one to carry out one's own will even against resistance and regardless of the basis on which this opportunity rests.

Bacharach and Lawler (1980:12ff) indicate that this has been a basic definition of "power." They show that further refinement of the notion has included discussions about the potential use of "power" versus the actual use of "power." This sort of address to the

word "power" leaves it in the realm of myth and metaphor.

The concept of power as it now stands has little explanatory value for social science. It could be said of the concept what Bateson (1972:38-39) said to his supposedly factitious daughter regarding the explanatory value of the notion "instinct." Of his discussion with her, he writes:

Daughter: Daddy, what is an instinct?

Father: An instinct, my dear, is an explanatory principle.

D: But what does it explain?

F: Anything - almost anything at all. Anything you want it to explain.

D: Don't be silly. It doesn't explain gravity.

F: No. But that is because no body wants 'instinct' to explain gravity. If they did, it would explain it. We could simply say that the moon has an instinct whose strength varies inversely as the square of the distance ...

D: Daddy, is an explanatory principle the same thing as an hypothesis?

F: Nearly, but not quite. You see, an hypothesis tries to explain some particular something but an explanatory principle - like 'gravity' or 'instinct' - really explains nothing. It's a sort of conventional agreement between scientists to stop trying to explain things at a certain point.

Thus, in much of the literature on the concept "power" we are left with the amorphous notions of control, and domination. Power has been too poorly formulated to provide adequate descriptions of relations between colonizers and the colonized.

The Notion of Change as Example of Imprecise Language

Also of concern to me is that there appears to be no clear, fundamental understanding of what constitutes change. Once again the language used is quite simply too imprecise. Questions continually arise in the literature: is change to be had by promoting control of local institutions by the colonized? Is it partnerships in decision-making between the colonizer and the colonized? Is it the destruction of capitalism and economic domination by the colonized?

In most cases, the relationship between the colonizer and the colonized is characterized as being fairly static. Many suggest that change is almost impossible. Flores (1973: 210) expresses the idea this way:

... the dominant control so many institutions and so much power that particularistic reforms or conquests of single institutions do not make for self-determination. Instead such 'victories' must usually settle for at best 'ignored' input into the system that dominates Chicanos.

Blauner (1969) supports this contention when he refers to Blacks in the U.S. ghettos and states that decision-making and ownership in black neighbourhoods will not diminish colonialism because there continues to be little influence over higher level institutions, and power structures in the larger metropolis.

Van den Berghe (1984: 201) indicates that the colonial position of the Indians in Peru has not changed. The Mestizos have maintained linguistic and cultural control over the Indians and that control has continued to be centred in Lima. He concludes that what is required is

economic and political reform from the Indians themselves, hardly possible in Peru. He generalizes his conclusions to all internal colonies:

Unfortunately the prognosis for internal colonies is even worse than for external ones.

Iverson (1978: 175) holds a similar view:

The political implications of that control make realization an exceedingly difficult process.

Maldonado (1979: 471) who writes about the Chicanos in the United States says:

It was repeatedly illustrated that factors beyond the control of the Chicanos work to systematically impede, even ensure against, their absorption into the economy. They remain in effect a colonized minority.

Another example of the denial of the possibility of change is mentioned by Flores (1973: 216). Even with the sort of self-definition he has called for he continues to believe that fundamental change is almost an impossible task:

Positive self-definition and identification are but the beginning points in a prolonged struggle against an intricate array of myths, false histories, contradictory values, and institutionalized forms that oppress our minds in the seeming unending ways that threaten to engulf us.

Much of the writing mentioned above has as its main purpose the discovery of how change might best be accomplished. This would seem a peculiar position to take when the authors themselves quite pointedly suggest systemic change in the colonizer/colonized relationship is unlikely. But still there are the following suggestions.

For example, throughout his paper Flores (*ibid.*) addresses the notion of institutionalized violence on the part of the dominant society. By so doing, he appears to suggest violence by the oppressed would be justified to bring an end to the present social order.

Blauner (1969: 408) indicates that he is in agreement with the use of and the need for violence to defend against racism and to fight for self-determination. But, in an apparent attempt to hedge his bets, he goes on to suggest that some change would be possible if there were perhaps some sort of enlightened social policy enabling a radical opening of doors to the full participation of subordinate groups.

The main question is what constitutes systemic change, which does take place, given that systems are described in terms of stasis. Although there have been attempts to formulate clear answers to this question, none has been successful.

Von Foerster (1981: 260) asks the question, "What is change?". He continues to question: Does change take place in the appearance of an object as it is rotated, is it entailed in the aging process?

He goes on to state

From studies by Piaget or others we know that 'object constancy' is one of many cognitive skills that are acquired in early childhood and hence are subject to linguistic and thus cultural bias.

Consequently, in order to make sense of the terms like 'biological invariants,' 'cultural universals,' etc. the logical properties of 'invariance' and 'change' have first to be

established.

...these properties are those of descriptions (representations) rather than those of objects. In fact ... 'objects' do owe their existence to the properties of representations.

The argument here is that the social scientist must first lay down a logical framework for the representation of change. Such a logical framework is the challenge presented and dealt with in this dissertation.

E. RACISM

A second major issue to be dealt with in the internal colonial model is that of racism. The issue raised is primarily one which questions when racism is extant and how the social scientist might understand this. First, for racism to be present there needs to be an explicit expression that race is important in an event. Then, it must be shown that that expression has led to inappropriate action.

A secondary question raised by Gonzales (1974) is whether the "objective" conditions of society structure the ideology of racism or whether the ideology structures the "objective," economic and political conditions of society. This question must be addressed by means of an analysis of the relationships between the economic and political structures of society and evidence of racism: where racism involves inappropriate judgements regarding race in that the ascription is manifestly not germane to the context.

F. INTERPERSONAL/SMALL GROUP INTERACTION

A third major issue is that of the assumptions often made about interpersonal and small group interaction.

Some writers (e.g. Casanova, 1965; Blauner, 1969) indicate they feel their approaches to the model avoid the psychologism of other approaches and, thus, have descriptive power because they confine their discussions to social structures and do not attempt analyses of individuals or small groups.

But others, basing their thoughts on Memmi's 1965 book *The Colonizer and the Colonized* (e.g. Puxley, 1977; Adams, 1970), suggest that colonialism on a macro scale prescribes individual perceptions, expectations, and behaviour. That is, both the colonizer and the colonized tend to view the colonized as inferior, unable to organize, and unable to be self-defining; and they tend to view the colonizer as superior.

The assumptions about the psychological and interpersonal implications predicted by the macro social colonial relationship is problematic. These assumptions are that both the colonizer and the colonized have stereotyped impressions of each other, and of themselves, which affect their individual and group interaction in a negative way. These images stigmatize the colonized as not only being in an inferior position in society but also acting in an inferior manner when confronted by the "superior" colonizer. The problem is to discover where such a characterization

would apply.

Urien (1983: 32) concludes that the internal colonial model may be descriptive of only some interpersonal and small group interactions. He states:

Insofar as it (the internal colonial model) identifies and categorizes behaviour that is related to the economic and political relationships of the wider social context, it is fairly precise. It is not remotely descriptive of the domain of interpersonal relationships in the settlement of Fort McKay because that domain is much more complex than can be accounted for in the model.

This leaves the interpersonal and small group level of analysis inadequately considered in the formulations of the model described above.

G. POPULATION BOUNDARIES

The fourth major issue dealing with the internal colonial model is about the characterization of populations and membership in these populations.

Gonzales (1974) has expressed concern about the separation by Flores (1973) of the social world into two: Whites versus non-Whites. Such a characterization suggests the conceptual reification of the categories colonizer and colonized.

There are at least three results. First, the individual is trapped within ascribed group boundaries and thus is assumed to have behaviour and mentation circumscribed.

Secondly, under no circumstances is there going to be the possibility of conceiving of the unity of the two groups. Except in terms of a pathological and dysfunctional

aspect, in this literature, the colonized are almost always portrayed as being separate from the "dominant society."

Thirdly, under these conditions (assumptions about circumscription of behaviour and the apparent separation of populations) there is the possibility of racism by anyone, social scientist or not. If these assumptions are held about individuals and groups of individuals, then, the individuals or groups may become stigmatized as having only one identity, one set of behaviours, that is based on their perceived race. The stigma leads to judgements that are quite inappropriate, being based only on perceived race.

There has been little room in current perspectives for the resolution of the implicit separation of the two categories of people.

H. THE OBSERVER

A fifth and final issue is about the role of the observer in social science investigations, including studies of internal colonialism.

All the above images of the colonized as individuals and as collectivities could be said to be negative stereotyping on the part of academics. Is this part of the colonizing process itself? This appears to be the case even though these writers are advocates of change in the colonial relationship and in no way intend to support it.

Perhaps the most important concern from a social science point of view is the lack of critical appraisal by

social scientists of their roles as observers who use images and language which are intended to describe the social world. There appears to be little recognition of the limiting and limited foundations and contexts upon which their images and language are based.

I. CONCLUSION

It is this combination of issues which in the main motivate this research.

The language used in this literature is impressionistic. It points to issues but is unable to provide a meaningful set of principles by which social scientists can come to terms with the situations being investigated in a common manner, using a common framework of expression, a common social scientific discourse.

The internal colonial model, when used as a basis for a description of macro social relations in Canada, begins to address issues but still contains the limitations noted. Without coming to terms with these limitations, the social science use of the model must continue to be considered far too imprecise to deal with small group and interpersonal interaction settings.

THE CONTEXT FOR A STUDY OF NORTHLAND SCHOOL DIVISION

A. INTRODUCTION

I have focused the study on the Northland School Division #61 in Northern Alberta which has been characterized as a "Native" jurisdiction (Chalmers, 1985; MacNeil, 1981; Swift, 1975). The rationale for the choice of the case study is quite simple. Van den Berghe's (1984) four point ideal model of internal colonialism (noted in Chapter 2) applies to the region administered by the jurisdiction. The model applies at the macro social level of interaction between the people of the jurisdiction and others in Alberta. This interaction is iconic of the relations between larger Native and non-Native groups in Canada.

The data of the study are collected from accounts of decision-making interactions within Northland School Division. This requires an analysis of small group interactions, but neither from the perspective of cultural determinism of behaviour in those interactions, nor, necessarily, from the perspective of small group behaviour being predicted or determined by membership in either the "colonized" or "colonizer" groups. This does not imply that the descriptors Colonizer and Colonized should not be applied to individuals or to groups of people. The social scientist must, however, be aware of the criteria used in the application of descriptors.

The following will outline an initial description of the region of Alberta in which Northland School Division operates, a history of the division, and some preliminary predictions about the governance of the division.

B. INTRODUCTION TO THE REGION

It has been estimated that 98% of the students attending schools in the Northland School Division are of Native ancestry. That is, they are considered by themselves, by their families, by their community or by government agencies to be status/treaty Indians; non-status Indians (those who for some reason have lost their status and treaty rights); and Metis.³

Fisher (1981) points out that the boundaries of the jurisdiction have been drawn in such a manner as to include the territory within Alberta included in Treaty 8. Chalmers (1985) indicates that the Division was designed to serve the Native population and that the residents in the region often had to be coerced into keeping their children in school.

C. THE NATIVE SPECIFIC INFRASTRUCTURE OF DEPENDENCY

Northland School Division is the sort of Native specific institution that is evident in many other sectors of Northern Alberta society.

³Status Indians in this area are entitled to treaty rights, usually as outlined in the 1899 Treaty 8 between the Indians of the area and the government of Canada; and who fall under the administrative aegis of the federal Indian Act and the Department of Indian Affairs.

There are many government agencies with which the division and the people in the region have to interact. For example, the provincial Department of Municipal Affairs has the Native Services Unit (which has recently replaced the former Department of Native Affairs). The Metis Development Branch administers the Metis Settlements as well as the Lands Program Section, an agency which controls land tenure programs specific to the region's Native people.

Between 1976 and 1983 the federal and provincial governments administered a project called Education North which was responsible for local adult education programs and community use of schools, mainly in Native communities.

There are other government agencies which have a specific responsibility for Native people in the region. For example, on the provincial level there is the Rural and Native Housing Program of the Department of Housing. Federally, the Department of Indian Affairs has administered the Indian reserves of the region.

There are also Metis and Indian organizations that have operating local organizations in the region which deal with the people and the school division.

The political domination is evident in that these agencies are in the main administered from outside the region. This control is often from Edmonton and parallels the control van den Berghe described as originating in Lima.

D. ECONOMIC DEPENDENCY IN THE REGION

The Swift report (1975: 12) said that "the economic status of most of the communities is at a low level." The MacNeil report (1981: 10) states further:

In most of the communities, the natives have been forced to abandon the traditional way of making a living - trapping, hunting and fishing. Since there is no commercial or industrial development based in communities, there are few job opportunities for the people. A great majority of the communities are economically depressed with a high rate of unemployment. The number of people on social assistance is very high.

The material deprivation and the economic dependence of the people in the area are further noted and explored in many studies such as Dumont (1976), Fisher (1981), Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Canada (1980), and the Northern Development Group (1984).

E. LAND TENURE IN THE REGION

Most of the region within Northland School Division is considered part of a "Green Area" designated in the regulations of the provincial Forestry Act. According to government policy in this area there should be no private ownership of land. Land may be leased to oil companies or to individuals. Residents of the Green Area have thus, generally, been denied title to the land they occupy, though in a few cases companies and individuals do own land.

In an attempt to rectify this situation the provincial government through the lands program of the Department of Municipal Affairs, at the behest of the Metis Association of

Alberta, began a land tenure program which was in effective operation from 1978 to 1985. Under this program individuals who had been living on land for 18 years or more could purchase it for \$1.00. The Department of Municipal Affairs developed these lots in 8 communities. About 1100 lots were developed and about 500 land titles were issued.

— Due to some concerns about land speculation and forthcoming land claims, the program was discontinued in 1985. ⁴ A new program is now being developed but has not as yet been instituted (personal communication with land program director of the Alberta Department of Municipal Affairs).

The reserve lands of the status/treaty Indians in this region are held in trust by the federal Department of Indian Affairs. The Indian Act is the relevant legislation here and it is written in such a manner as to have those who come under its aegis considered by their legal, corporate status only.

There are also Metis Settlements in the region. These are lands held in trust by the provincial government specifically for people considered Metis. It is the Metis Betterment Act under which the lands have been set aside for the residents and which, as was the case with the Indian Act, identifies people by an ambiguous, ascribed cultural or

⁴ There are still outstanding land claims in the region. One Band, at least, has not received reserve lands; it is currently negotiating this, contentiously and antagonistically, with the provincial and federal governments.

ethnic status.

The Federation of Metis Settlements Associations is involved in a contentious negotiation with the provincial government for ownership and control of their settlement lands and resources.

F. NORTHLAND SCHOOL DIVISION IN THE REGIONAL CONTEXT

The Governance History

Northland School Division #61 was created by Ministerial Order on December 9, 1960. From then until 1965 the division operated under the aegis of the School Act, as was the case for all school jurisdictions in Alberta.

Initially, under the School Act, the governance of the division could have been placed in the hands of an elected Board of Trustees. However, this was not done. The Minister established governance by an Official Trustee.

After the passage of the Northland School Division Act in 1965 a board of five members was appointed by the Minister of Education. In 1968, the appointed board was increased to seven and the first Native trustee was appointed. By 1974-75 there were five Native trustees appointed.

There have been three major studies of the division. These were conducted in 1969, 1975, and 1981. They were prompted by many complaints by the residents about the quality of education in the division. The studies were

initiated by the Minister of Education each time and were conducted by R.H. McKinnon *et al.* in 1969; W.H. Swift, R.J. Carney and D. Ewasiuk in 1975; and H. MacNeil, H. Jonson, and E. Norberg in 1981.

The last report resulted in the disbanding of the board and the appointment of an Official Trustee in December, 1981. By December 1983, a new Northland School Division Act was in place and the Division had been restructured to provide for a 27-member locally elected Board of Trustees.

The Geographic Territory

The communities served by the division are dispersed throughout the northern half of Alberta.

Under the new legislation, Northland consisted of all areas not included in other systems or in Indian reserves north of Township 55. Thus, its southern boundary stretch(e)d clear across the province 330 miles north of the Forty-Ninth Parallel...Its northern limit is that of the province itself. (Chalmers, 1985:40)⁵

It was suggested in 1975 that the total distance to be travelled to get to each of the schools in the division was about 10,000 km. With 6 fewer schools in operation in 1986 it could be expected that the distance would be somewhat reduced. Another indicator of the size is the amount spent by the division on charter aircraft flights. In 1985 this amounted to \$300,000.

From its inception the number and locale of schools served by the jurisdiction has changed radically. For

⁵ The revised Northland School Division Act, CH.N-10.1, 1983 gave the division jurisdiction over the same area.

example, Chalmers (1985: 39) indicates that in 1963 and 1964 there were 33 schools in operation. By 1974 and 1975 there were 32 schools, but many were different schools from those open in the 1960s. Of the schools in operation in 1975 all but 3 served Native children entirely; except, of course, for the children of those who had moved to the area from elsewhere to work in the schools or in other agencies.

In the 1985-86 school year the division served over 2,300 students, the vast majority (approximately 98%) of whom were considered ~~status~~ non-status Indian, or status Indian. At the time there were 27 schools in operation. The division employed 170.5 full-time equivalent certificated teachers and 99 paraprofessionals to provide services for these students. Eighteen of the schools had 7 or fewer teachers. In the 1984-85 school year the division operated 16 Early Childhood Services Centres.

The Quality of Instruction and Schools

The schools that were initially brought into the jurisdiction were described this way by Chalmers (Swift, 1975: 5):

In general, these schools were marginally housed, frequently in makeshift frame or log buildings, inadequately equipped, poorly staffed, often by instructors without the least vestige of any professional preparation as teachers.

Buildings, grounds and facilities have been criticized in all reports on the division. Since 1983 there has been an extensive building program and it continues to-day with

program facilities, libraries and landscaping being priorities.

The Swift report (1975:12) indicated that the teachers in the division were not from the area and had cultures, histories, traditions, lifestyles and language considerably different from those of the local populations. Approximately 50% of the teachers were new to the division in 1975 and many of these were new to Alberta (Swift, *ibid*: 18).

The 1969 study concluded that teachers in general did not feel free to adapt the curriculum to the students and their environments. The 1975 study concluded the same (Swift, *ibid*: 27). Teachers have continued to be considered not of the same quality as those in other areas of the province. Improvements in facilities, in-service, salaries, and teacher recruitment have been recommended often.

There were at the most two Cree-speaking teachers employed in the 1974-75 year (Swift, *ibid*:37). But the Study Group concluded that there was no strong demand for Cree even in strongly Cree communities. However, there was room left for local discretion in deciding to introduce Cree programs.

Generally, the programs offered in the schools were of concern in 1969, 1975, and 1981. The issues were the appropriateness of the Alberta curriculum, the adaptability of that program to local needs, and the use of Native languages (Cree and Chipewyan) in teaching.

Consistently in these reports local school committees have been recommended to increase the input of parents into the schools and programs. The final report of the 1981 study committee and the 1975 study recommended such committees. It was only after the 1981 report and the change in the structuring of the Board of Trustees that such committees were instituted.

G. CONCLUSION

Using van den Berghe's (1984) four criteria, the region of the province in which Northland School Division exists is clearly analogous to the relations between Native and non-Native people in Alberta. It exhibits the characteristics of internal colonialism at the macro social level in the following ways:

- 1) There is exhibited domination and rule of one ethnic group (or a coalition of such groups) over the Native people of the area by the fact that the laws which govern life in the region have been developed in legislatures where there has been little opportunity for Native people to present their thoughts and to have them incorporated into the legal framework that affects their lives (e.g. the Forestry Act, the Indian Act, the Metis Betterment Act).

Also, prior to 1981, with the Northland School Division Act in place, there was obvious outside governance, and a denial of the franchise in education, based on ascribed ethnic status. That is, because of the perception of the

people in the area as Native (Swift, 1975), the board was appointed by the Minister of Education, not elected by local residents. Also the chairman of the board was the chief executive officer who administered the jurisdiction as well. In other words, there was rule of one ethnic group (or a coalition of such groups).

The governance of Northland School Division continues to be wholly the responsibility of the Minister of Education. After 1983, the revised Northland School Division Act continued to place ultimate control of the division in the hands of the Minister of Education and not under the aegis of the School Act, as is the case for all other school jurisdictions.

2) The area is mainly populated by Native people who reside on Metis Settlement lands, in the "Green Area," and on Indian reserves. This sort of territorial separation is again evidence of the internal colonialism, as is the fact that the land tenure rights of most of the population within the jurisdiction are very distinct from the rest of the population in Alberta, even though the government has attempted to change this situation for some of the residents in the "Green Area."

3) There are internal governments especially created to administer the people of the region: the federal Department of Indian Affairs, the Metis Development Branch of the province of Alberta's Municipal Affairs Department, and the Northland School Division, a creation of the government of

Alberta, intended to serve Native people alone (Chalmers, 1985). The laws which govern these government structures have been written in such a way as to give individuals to whom they apply a collective legal status that takes precedence over their individual legal status.

4) There is considerable evidence of economic deprivation and domination of the people of the area by infrastructures especially created from outside to deliver services to them.

In summary, the region and the people living there, live in an internal colonial situation according to the criteria described by Van den Berghe.

It may also be concluded that certain predictions about decision-making within Northland School Division are possible, especially, given the summary of the internal colonial model in Chapter Two and that internal colonialism has been shown to exist in the northern region of Alberta at least on a macro-social scale.

These predictions are about the small group decision-making relations between the board of trustees and the administration. Among the possible predictions are the following:

1) that the Native board is relatively powerless in the face of the administration, and its resources, to influence, to a significant extent, corporate decisions;

2) that the local residents are relatively unable to organize input into the decision-making process and may

believe that their input is inconsequential; and

3) that even with a change in the law (the 1983 Northland School Division Act) the internal colonial situation is still predictive of small group (administration/board) interaction in decision-making.

With the changes in the new Northland School Division Act in 1983 and the operation of a locally elected board commencing on December 10, 1983, it may be assumed that change in the relations between Native residents of the division and administrators was the intent of the government of Alberta. Some might feel that the change was significant enough so that the label internal colonialism might not be applied in 1985. Others, as the above predictions indicate, would suggest that such an assumption is not appropriate.

One of the questions to be answered in this dissertation is whether the internal colonial model continues to apply when Northland School Division is considered.

This study involves an analysis of the decision-making relations within Northland School Division. As a result, I will address the issues raised about the internal colonial model in Chapter Two. The next chapter deals with the methodology used.

Chapter IV

METHODOLOGY

A. INTRODUCTION

Lazarsfeld and Rosenberg (1955:4) state that the term methodology implies

...that concrete studies are being scrutinized as to the procedures they use, the underlying assumptions they make, the modes of explanation they consider satisfactory.

Thus far social science approaches to internal colonialism have been discussed in these terms.

This chapter will outline the methodology used in this study of Northland School Division decision-making processes: the interactions between the administration and the elected Board of Trustees (the board).

B. THE USE OF A CASE STUDY

The study is an educational case study. The study is a description of a set of events obtained through documentary evidence (the division's central office files and Board of Trustee minutes) and interviews.

Perhaps Simon (1969:276) puts case studies in their proper place when he states

[The case study] is the method of choice when you want to gain a wealth of detail about your subject. You are likely to want such detail when you do not know what you are looking for....

I had a clear idea where to look for data, what topics to ask questions about, and what specific information I

required; but I was not sure where the study would take me. Thus, I was open to following clues as they arose and to changes in direction.

C. SELECTION OF NORTHLAND SCHOOL DIVISION

This case has been selected because I had access to it, because it proved of interest from a social science perspective, and because it was evident that with analysis of this small group interaction I could address the theoretical issues attendant to the internal colonial model.

In June 1983, to gain field experience (as contrasted to actual field work), I visited Desmarais and the Bigstone Band for three days and interviewed a number of area people about educational issues. These included the director of the Band education committee, the chief, a former councillor, and a former trustee of Northland School Division. This, for me, was a test of whether such a study would be possible. I was convinced that I could conduct such a study and that community input and response would not be negative. This was also a first-hand introduction for me to some of the educational issues within Northland School Division.

At the same time, I had written to the Official Trustee asking his permission to conduct the study. His response was positive and he went on to inform principals, administrators and Local School Board Committee (LSBC) members that I would be conducting the study. The Board of Trustees which was installed in December, 1983, also provided permission for me

to conduct the study via a board resolution (#12352 January 14, 1984):

In the spring of 1984 I visited the Grouard and Atikameg LSBCs and this interaction and the opinions expressed by the board members helped to more precisely define the objectives of a study.

D. CHANGE IN THE DECISION-MAKING RELATIONS

The intent behind the decision of the government of Alberta and the Minister of Education to restructure the Northland School Division in 1983 was to promote fundamental change. Feeling that input into the educational endeavours of the division was out of the hands of the local constituents and that local input was necessary, the Minister introduced the revised Northland School Division Act in 1983 (personal interview with the Minister in 1984). It was hoped that the introduction of local school advisory groups called Local School Board Committees (LSBCs) and the election of trustees would revitalize the processes of education in the jurisdiction.⁶

To discover if change has taken place and what sort of change has occurred I will be comparing past (the January 1980 to December, 1981) and present (January, 1984 to June, 1985) decision-making relations and processes.

By approaching the study from an interactionist perspective, and by looking at the decision-making

⁶Members of the LSBCs are elected. The chairman is then a trustee on the corporate board of the division.

relations, structures and processes, I hope to be able to broach the issues expressed earlier about the internal colonial model.

E. WHERE DOES DECISION-MAKING LIE?

Many writers suggest that decision-making is a joint activity between the superintendent (or administration) and the board of trustees in any school jurisdiction. For example, the Nova Scotia School Boards' Association (1980) addresses the delegation of a board's authority to the superintendent and the legal problems attendant; but the main point is that the relationship is an important one in decision-making. Bryce (1980) encourages interaction between the chairman of the board and the superintendent to meet educational goals - this relationship itself is again suggested as being the important locus of authority.

Given this support, I chose to focus on the relationship between the Board of Trustees and the administration; a relationship which could be characterized as constituting the primary governance structure of Northland School Division as a whole. However, it is evident that the LSBCs are important to decision-making as are other structures within the division. Decision-making must be seen as an activity which involves those who participate, not only those who are given the legal authority to make or ratify decisions.

The focus will be on board-administration interactions and not on the internal dynamics of the administration or of the board; nor will it be on the relations between the Division and external agents such as the Alberta Education (the provincial Ministry of Education - often referred to in this document as "the department"). These internal and external influences, however, will have to be recognized as existing and influential.

F. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

I have argued that the internal colonial model as it is usually presented (see Chapter Two) may be applicable to Northland School Division but is lacking in many respects, not the least of which is the logic of the discourse used. For that reason, I hope to be able to modify the notions used in the internal colonial model to be more adequately descriptive of this sort of interaction scene.

By selecting two time periods to investigate, I have identified the following research questions:

Question One

What are the decision-making relationships that are evident in Northland School Division, pre-1981 and post-1983?

Question Two

How do the relevant decision-making relationships of 1984-85 differ from those of 1980-81?

A sub-issue is the characterization of social change as it might be dealt with in the internal colonial model.

Question Three

Is the internal colonial model descriptive of Northland School Division decision-making?

A sub-issue may be phrased this way: are small group relations merely analogues of macro social relations?

Question Four

How do the concerns with the internal colonial model and the data collected from the case study inform the modification of the internal colonial model so that it might more adequately encompass and describe situations such as that investigated?

There are sub-issues that must be dealt with in this question:

Population Division

How should the separation between Native and non-Native populations be characterized? Under what circumstances is the conceptual separation appropriate? When is the separation inappropriate?

Power and Influence

What is the nature of "power" and influence? How should they be characterized by the model?

Social Structure - Ideational Structure Relationship

What is the relationship between the economic and political structures of society and the ideational structures as they apply to racism?

G. THE DATA

The collection of data focused on the decision-making structures and processes as the Board and the administration interacted on various issues.

First, I collected data on the relevant historical and current decision-making relations within the division. The data source was mainly published material.

Secondly, for a more comprehensive description of the decision-making relationships I needed more than one source of information. Thus, I took what some could consider a liberal interpretation of the notion of triangulation to inform this stage of data collection.

Husen *et al.* (v.5, 1985:5293ff) have identified four categories of triangulation: methodological, data, investigator, and theoretical. This means that one or more method, one or more sets of data, one or more investigator, or one or more theories may be used, to bring a more nearly comprehensive interpretation to the subject matter. I chose to use triangulation of data.

The first use of this notion of triangulation of data is related to a description of the general categories of decision-making relations. I collected data in these four decision categories,

1. Budgeting
2. Professional Staffing
3. Policy Relations
4. High School Programming

Within each of these decision categories it was necessary to identify a number of specific "decision issues" which illustrated how decisions were made in that category. This is a second appeal to the notion of triangulation of data.

Having compiled the descriptions of the interactions which took place around the issues, I have gained, I believe, a reasonably balanced interpretation of the decision-making relations involved.

H. DATA COLLECTION

Data collection on each decision issue comprised the following activities:

1. a review of board minutes to identify potential decision issues,
2. interviews with administrative staff to verify that the issues chosen were salient, or to identify alternative issues,
3. focused interviews with administrative staff to trace, from their points of view, decision issues with which they were involved,

4. focused interviews with board members to trace, from their points of view, decision issues with which they were involved,

5. searches of the Northland School Division files to verify the information collected in the above interviews.

(Numerous files available in the central office were reviewed. These are cited in the results with the prefix 'NSD file:' followed by the number of the file.)

6. reference to board minutes to specify the formal resolutions of these decision issues.

I began the major portion of the data collection during the summer and the fall of 1984 with reviews of the Northland School Division Board minutes from January, 1979 to that time. In January, 1985, I spent four days interviewing central office administrators on specific decision issues and searching the central office files. I continued this process in February, 1985 with four more days for interviews and file searches. In June, 1985, I spent another four days searching the files for relevant information.

In October 1985, I spent two weeks interviewing a number of individuals I had identified as principal informants on the decision issues.

Virtually all the organized files in the Peace River Office of Northland School Division were open to me with the exception of the personnel files. The files I reviewed had been organized from 1980.

I. INTERVIEWS

Ethical considerations for the interviews may be found in Appendix 1.

Since the summer of 1983, I interviewed 35 individuals for a total of 41 formal, recorded interviews. The breakdown of these individuals according to their role in the division is as follows: trustees from the 1980-81 period - 3 (out of a possible 7), trustees during the 1984-85 period - 9 (out of a possible 27), central office personnel - 11, principals - 7, community members - 4, and the Minister of Education. There were also many informal discussions with employees of Alberta Education including three former superintendents of the Northland School Division.

With regard to the post-1981 decisions, this sample of informants was based on the decisions with which they were involved. After the decisions were identified principal individuals were interviewed: the LSBC chairperson, the school principal, the central office administrator(s).

The selection of other individuals interviewed was based on their availability. For example, the chairman of the board and two board members in the 1980-81 period were available to be interviewed.

Appendix 2 provides a discussion of the interviewing process.

J. OBSTACLES TO DATA COLLECTION

There were some obstacles to be overcome during the collection of data. These needed to be addressed so that the data could be as accurate as possible within the limitations to be noted.

One such obstacle was the question, directed to me, "Who do you work for?" The local politics are quite intricate in Northland School Division. So as not to be perceived as working for either the administration or the Board of Trustees, I maintained contact with the Chairman of the Board and with the superintendent giving them the same sorts of information on the progress I was making. I did not accept invitations to stay at any homes nor did I become socially involved with respondents during the study.

My main concern was to build the trust of members of the Board of Trustees since I was told at one point that it was not clear that I was working independently of the administration (especially since I was also an employee of Alberta Education). Fortunately, since then I have been told by the Chairman of the Board that I had built that trust during my visits to Northland schools and to the central office.

A second obstacle was my own memory about what transpired during in-depth interviews. To overcome this, I tape recorded my notes and impressions during the evening following the interview, or as soon after that as possible.

A third obstacle was the memories of the respondents about events, some of which took place a year or more prior to the interviews. Where there was some confusion about the event I refreshed the respondent's memory by providing what should have been enough information on the events to trigger recall. The responses were supplemented by information from interviews with others and from searches of files and minutes.

A fourth obstacle was the possibility of respondents giving me incorrect information either due to failing memory or to deliberate deception. To counteract this possibility I had at most six sources of information: files, minutes of the Board of Trustees' meetings, and the impressions of the Chairman of the Board, a central office administrator, the chairman of the LSBC and the principal of the school involved in the decision issue. These separate sources of information provided for a reasonably accurate data base.

A fifth obstacle was cost. For this reason I chose decision issues which had taken place in the schools in the southern part of the jurisdiction. This reduced travel costs. I also interviewed a number of respondents at a conference in Edmonton in October, 1985. This also reduced expenses considerably.

K. DATA RESTRICTIONS

And finally, there are a number of limiting factors regarding the sources of data and the timeframes for data collection.

1. Some decision issues which began after January, 1984 were not resolved by June, 1985, the end date for data collection. This has caused no apparent problem with data interpretation.

2. The school year 1980-81 was chosen for comparison purposes with 1984-85 because a) it was during a period before the former board was disbanded and b) the Peace River central office files were organized from 1980. Files from earlier dates are virtually impossible to find.

3. For the 1980-81 period, the data were collected from central office files, board minutes and various reports on the division. Limited interviews were conducted with former board members (4 interviews with 3 former board members). As a result, the data collected from the 1980-81 period was not quite as precise and thorough as that for the 1984-85 period. There was enough data and this did not appear to limit the interpretation.

Chapter V

THE CONTEXT OF DECISION-MAKING IN NORTHLAND SCHOOL DIVISION

A. INTRODUCTION

The relationship between Alberta Education and Northland School Division is iconic of the internal colonial macro social relations between Native and non-Native peoples described in Chapter Three.

Four criteria for assessing the presence of internal colonialism held in the discussion of the relations between Native people and others in northern Alberta. These same criteria can be applied to the relationship between Alberta Education and the division. One of these criteria has been discussed in Chapter Three: in general, the Native people of the division are territorially separated from other school jurisdictions in that Northland is a unique creation of the government of Alberta designed to serve Native people.

There are three other criteria. They include 1) rule of one ethnic group or coalition of such groups over other such groups; 2) a government agency within the government created to rule the colonized with special legal status given to the colonized; and 3) the subject peoples are relegated to positions of economic dependency.

Within this context the relationship between Alberta Education and the division may be assumed to be one in which the domination of the Native peoples in the area is supported and enhanced.

The following discusses these criteria illustrating their relevance to the Northland School Division.

Preliminary to describing these contexts of domination/dependency, it is necessary to present a discussion of the notions of structure and process which will become central to the description of the situation both external and internal to Northland School Division.

B. STRUCTURE AND PROCESS AS DESCRIPTIVE ELEMENTS

To adequately understand the nature of the context of decision-making in the division I will restrict my comments to the structures and processes of Northland School Division. While these notions are not unique (they appear often in administrative literature), their meanings have not been that clear.

Let me be more specific by appealing to post-modern cybernetic theory developed by Maturana and Varela (1975), Varela (1976a, 1976b), Varela (1979), and Maturana (1980) in their operational characterization of closed, natural, autopoietic (self-producing) systems.⁷

By structure, I mean the elements of a system; the subsystems which are required by the organizational processes operating at any given time. These can change

⁷ It would be downright foolish for me to suggest that a social system could be an autopoietic system - a living system similar to a biological system. I am, however, using the notions that these authors have developed to help define my assumptions and purposes in making observations and in drawing conclusions. I am using their discussions as a basis upon which to develop a metatheory of observation. (See also Wall, 1982.)

depending on the requirements for the resolution of a particular issue.

The definition of process is that set of relations that while distinguishing structures and their roles also binds these structures into a unity. So for example, the interactions between the board, the administration and the LSBCs (all of which may interact on a particular issue) helped distinguish these structures as important to the decision-making relations and, at the same time, provided the binding properties that help create a unified system, namely Northland School Division. 1

C. THE RULE OF ONE GROUP BY ANOTHER (A CONTEXT OF DOMINATION/DEPENDENCY): COMMENTS ON THE INTERNAL DIVISION DECISION-MAKING PROCESSES UP TO 1981

In the period prior to disbanding (pre-December, 1981) the chairman was also the CEO (Chief Executive Officer), a combination of responsibilities which the Swift report (1975) termed a retrogressive step which made the chairman more like an Official Trustee than the chairman of a Board of Trustees. As a result, the distinctions in decision-making between the board and the administration were at best unclear.

This lack of distinction between the roles of the board and the administration continued into 1981 when the MacNeil report (1981) stated that because the chairman of the board was also the CEO a conflict of interest was evident. Simply

put, the chairman and CEO was a member of the board which was charged with giving direction to the administration. The CEO was, of course, the chief administrative officer. Thus, the chairman's responsibility was to give himself direction. The evidence is that the board was more or less disenfranchised.

Also throughout this time up to 1981 the board continued to be unaccountable to the local residents. The MacNeil report (1981:14) recommended a change in the administrative structure because

it was commonly expressed that the Board had failed to communicate what it was doing and was generally inflexible to outside suggestions. It is generally perceived that the Board does not consider itself as responsible to the public it serves.

The report (ibid: 13) also stated:

Many residents have become alienated or indifferent towards the educational system. They perceive education in the schools to bear no relationship to the needs of their children, or consider education generally useless. ...There appears to be a general attitude of frustration because nothing seems to be happening to bring changes to the educational system.

The report (ibid: 32) continues in the same vein:

The Board does not appear to encourage actively good school-community relations. While there is a policy that supports the establishment of local committees, the Board does not actively solicit their creation. In addition, teachers and community representatives have the perception that the board did not encourage teachers' participation in the community.

The need for change did not go unrecognized in 1975 and in 1981. In both periods there was a good deal of media coverage of the educational conditions within the division shortly before the Minister of Education formed the

investigation teams.

It was many local complaints that helped the Minister of Education decide to set up the MacNeil Committee on November 20, 1980 to review the state of affairs of the division. The local community concerns were considerable and the Minister responded to these. The Minister was informed of the need for local involvement in decision-making by government agencies and reports, including the Northern Alberta Development Council and the Ministers' Advisory Committee on Native Peoples' Education (Dumont, 1976; interview with the Minister of Education, 1984; personal communication with individuals involved with the Northern Alberta Development Council and the Ministers' Committee).

It is clear that up to 1981 local input into the decision-making processes in the division was ignored. The opinions of the local people were not considered important enough to be included in the education of their children. In this sense the local people were dependent on external forces to provide education.

The intent of the 1983 restructuring was to provide for greater local input into the educational process so that parents and people living in the communities which surround each school could have a voice in the decisions which affected the educational futures of their children. In the period before 1981 there was evident rule over one ethnic group by another. The data reported will address the issue of whether or not there continued to be rule over one ethnic

group by another during the 1984-85 period.

D. THE POLITICAL CONTEXT OF DOMINATION/DEPENDENCY: INTERNAL GOVERNMENT AND SPECIAL LEGAL STATUS

In what follows I will describe the political context, i.e., the relations between Alberta Education and the division, within which the internal decisions of the division must be viewed. This context has tended to structure the division.

Initially the School Act gave the division the same rights as any other school jurisdiction in the province. However, instead of having an elected Board of Trustees, an Official Trustee was appointed by the Minister of Education. He was assisted by a provincially appointed superintendent.

At this time the legal responsibility for governance of the division was not placed in the hands of an elected Board of Trustees basically for the two reasons mentioned by Swift *et al.* (1975). First, the division was considered a ward of the province. Second, there were seen to be needs for "dispatch" and for administrative knowhow. (Swift's reasons imply that no "knowhow" was available in the jurisdiction.)

Later in 1975, the three main arguments against the election, and for the appointment of the board were these: a) that the people were not ready, because of lack of experience, to elect and to serve; b) that the electoral process in such a widespread division would be "highly problematical;" and c) that the lack of fiscal

responsibility with regard to taxation also militated against the accountability of trustees (Swift, *ibid*: 19).

After the passage of the Northland School Division Act in 1965 a board was created. It was an appointed rather than an elected board. The five members (only one of whom was a resident of the jurisdiction, from Fort McMurray) were appointed by the provincial Cabinet. In 1968 the board was increased to seven and the first Native trustee was appointed.

By 1974-75 there were five Native trustees appointed by the Minister (four from the jurisdiction). The chairman of the board (also the Chief Executive Officer - CEO) and one other member of the board were Alberta Education employees. This structure existed until December, 1981.

Following the 1981 disbanding of the Board of Trustees, an Official Trustee was once again put in charge by the Minister of Education - in his words, to bring about a situation which would allow for the election of the Board of Trustees and provide for equal representation from the communities served by the division. This Trustee began the process of instituting LSBCs.

Up to 1983, Northland School Division can be considered a government agency specifically instituted to serve Native people: one element of the infrastructure of domination/dependency.

The revised Northland School Division Act (ch N-10.1, 1983), which brought about the restructuring of the

division, makes a number of provisions which are important to this investigation and which are unique to this division. Among these is the fact that a LSBC is mandated for each subdivision as designated by the Minister. At the moment this means that there is one LSBC per school. Other unique elements are the following:

1. that LSBCs will be elected with the numbers of members to be determined by the Minister for the first election and the LSBCs to determine the number in subsequent elections [Section 4(2)];
2. that each LSBC shall elect one of its members as chairman and one as a secretary [Section 5(2)];
3. if the chairperson is not elected, the Minister may appoint a person as chairman or may direct that an election be held to fill the vacancy [Section 5(3)];

The Act gives the LSBCs specific powers which are unique in the province. As listed in section 9 of the Act these are:

- (a) to request the board to institute instruction in a language other than English in accordance with the School Act;
- (b) to nominate a teacher;
- (c) to recommend to the board
 - (i) the school opening date;
 - (ii) the number of days and the dates of school operation;
 - (iii) the length of the school day and the number of minutes of school operation;
 - (iv) the number of minutes of classroom instruction and the number and length of recesses;

⁸ Note, however, that the "powers" are those of "request," "nomination," "recommendation," and "advice," except where specific powers are delegated by the board.

(d) to recommend to the board that Farmers' Day or Treaty Day, or both, be declared to be a holiday;

(e) to recommend to the board a policy providing for the use of schools and school buildings other than during the school day;

(f) to recommend to the board a program providing for orientation of school staff to the Division;

(g) to advise and assist the board in the selection of a principal, para-professional employees, caretakers, bus drivers and other support staff for a school within the subdivision for which the local school board committee was elected;

(h) to advise the board and carry out any functions delegated to it by the board.

In addition to these powers Section 10 of the Act indicates that each chairperson of a LSBC will be a member of the Corporate Board of Trustees, that the Minister is responsible for the appointment of the superintendent of schools and that the superintendent is the CEO.

Section 11 of the Act indicates that the Board of Trustees has the same powers as those given other boards in the province under the School Act, except that the Board may delegate any of its powers to a LSBC.

Section 13 states that the Auditor General of the province is the auditor for the Division. This provision is unique in the province. Other school jurisdictions employ auditors of their own choosing.

Finally, Section 15 indicates that the Minister may exempt the Division from any or all the provisions and regulations of the *Alberta School Act* or the *Local Authorities Election Act*.

This is a context which finds Alberta Education structuring a number of aspects of the division: the board, the administration (the appointment of the superintendent), and the LSBCs. This is the political context of domination/dependency.

E. THE ECONOMIC CONTEXT OF DOMINATION/DEPENDENCY

Budgeting in both periods of this investigation was done in a context of domination. The context was the complex interaction between Alberta Education and the division. The department had authority to approve and to change the divisional budget. The rationale behind this was that the division existed under unique financial circumstances.

The supplementary requisition (taxes paid on property owned) for the division has never been large. Most of the residents of the area were (and are) not property owners and are not subject to the requisition. As a result, the division was, and continues to be, dependent on a special grant (the incremental grant) from the province to meet its expenditures. This grant was 24.31% of the total revenue in 1976, 6.12% in 1980, and approximately 7% in 1985. The total 1980 revenue was \$11.38 million; in 1985 the requested total budget was \$24.67 million. This reduction in the incremental grant did not threaten the survival of the division. However, the grant continued to be an element that reinforced the domination of the division.

One of the main issues regarding tax revenue has been the fact that as soon as areas of the jurisdiction become revenue generating they are usually excluded from the division and placed under new or existing jurisdictions. For example, school jurisdictions in Fort McMurray, Grovedale, Grande Cache and Fort Vermilion have all received revenue generating territory which was initially within the jurisdiction of Northland School Division.⁹ This, then, is one of the main reasons for the incremental grant.

During both periods of the investigation, the province had considerable control over the jurisdiction's budget and could ask for changes to the budget as it was proposed in the Budget Report Form (a form outlining the budget expenditures and revenues in detail, and requiring approval before the budget, as approved by the board, could be spent in total).¹⁰

A review of the the MacNeil report indicates that the revenue sources were the same in the 1976-80 period as in the 1984-85 period. The major sources of revenue were the Alberta Education School Foundation Program Fund (SEPF), the Federal Government through the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, the supplementary requisition on

⁹ In fact very large tax bases have been created within the division, e.g., the tar sands developments: all have been removed from the division. The division, according to the Northland Act, is based on unorganized territory. Once this territory is organized it automatically becomes part of another school jurisdiction.

¹⁰ Another example of departmental control in 1985, was a Ministerially approved and implemented building program that was supported by special grants, and other financial considerations, by Alberta Education.

property (collected by the Provincial Municipal Affairs Department), and the Alberta Education incremental grant intended "to offset deficiencies in revenue not available from the supplementary requisition, and other miscellaneous revenues" (MacNeil, 1981:28).

The Swift Report of 1975 suggested that Alberta Education had a stewardship role regarding finances. The impression then, later in 1981, and now is that the board was not responsible for the budget: the costs, expenditures and overruns. This rationalization appeared to 1975 Alberta Education's stewardship.

The division's budget year, in both periods of this investigation, was from January 1 to December 31.

F. CONCLUSION

Northland School Division is unique within the Alberta educational system. There are four ways in which this is the case, each of which matches van den Berghe's criteria for internal colonialism.

1) Northland School Division was created specially as a jurisdiction that served Native people. Over the years that mandate has been more clearly met, with non-Native schools being removed from the jurisdiction (Swift, 1975). Other public school jurisdictions in the province are not mandated to serve only one ethnic group. Native people are separated territorially.

2) Northland School Division decision-making, at least up to 1981, showed that there was rule by one group in that the board was virtually powerless and did not represent the people of the division. This was domination in the extreme whether it be considered political, cultural, or economic. During this period, all other school jurisdictions in the province had normally an elected board of trustees with legal powers derived from the Alberta School Act.

3) Since 1965 Northland School Division has been governed under the authority of the Northland School Division Act. This has given Alberta Education, through the Minister, special jurisdiction over the division. The fact that the Act is in place gives the people of the division special legal status, based on ethnicity.

The Alberta School Act is the legislation under which all other school jurisdictions in Alberta operate. While the Minister of Education has authority over all school jurisdictions, including Northland, the Northland Act provides the Minister unique powers to structure the division.

4) The Northland School Division budget is scrutinized by Alberta Education to a greater extent than other school jurisdictions in the province. Aside from this the division has received a special grant from Alberta Education because of its uniqueness as a northern jurisdiction with low property assessment. The loss of major revenue generating territory has been generally a unique fact of the economic

life of the division.

Other school jurisdictions in the province have not received the special grant from the province (with the exception of one other northern jurisdiction). Other school jurisdictions in the province have not normally been subject to the removal of revenue generating territory, although there have been disputes between school jurisdictions over the assessment rights to such territory.¹¹

These contexts provide an understanding of the relationship between the division and Alberta Education. That relationship provides a view of the structuring of the division as a result of the relationship. This discussion has not, however, provided a view of the decision-making processes within the division after 1981. The following chapter will elaborate on these decision-making processes for the periods 1980-81 and 1984-85 in a number of specific decision issues.

¹¹ There have been disputes over such assessment territories for separate school boards in the province.

Chapter VI

THE RESULTS OF DECISION-MAKING

A. INTRODUCTION

The results of the interviews, the search of Northland School Division files and the search of the board meeting minutes and agendas are reviewed below.

I will outline the results of the data collection in terms of the decision issues in each decision category. The decision categories are the following: 1) budgeting, 2) professional staffing, 3) policy relations, and 4) high school programming.

Within each decision category there is a review of the data collected on the specific issues identified. At points in the review, the data are interpreted with regard to a) the decision-making structures involved, b) the decision-making processes, and c) the changes that had taken place between the 1980-81 and 1984-85 periods.

There were 27 LSBCs in the division in 1984-85. In all I used decision issues relevant to 10 communities. Appendix 3 lists all the communities in the division for which there were schools and LSBCs. Appendix 4 is a map of the division as it is located in northern Alberta. The structure of the division as illustrated by an organizational chart for 1984 is shown in Appendix 5. The organization chart shows the central office administrative positions as they relate to the board and the superintendent as well as the relationship

of the LSBCs to the school, teachers and the board of trustees.

I must state initially that there is no evidence in any of these decision-issues that the race of one group or another, or of individuals was important to the participants. There may have been covert feelings that race was a factor, but there were no explicit expressions that race was a motivating force behind action or attempted action. Data on racism as expressed by individuals was not collected during the course of this investigation. Expressions of racism might have been found if appropriate research protocols had been developed. Such protocols were not the intent of this investigation.

B. THE BUDGET 1985

The 1985 budgeting began at the October 19, 1984 meeting of the Board of Trustees. Motion #12765/84 nominated five members to the Finance Committee, a committee of administrators and board members responsible for developing the budget statement (the Budget Report Form) that would go to Alberta Education for approval.

Shortly after this, at the November 16, 1984 board meeting, a senior Alberta Education official stated that the jurisdiction was well funded. He stated:

Money and more of it, is not necessarily the answer to your problems. Northland School Division is well funded as compared to other jurisdictions and how these funds are being used may need to be looked at. (page 7, Board Agenda, December 14, 1984)

During January and February, 1985 the LSBCs accepted and submitted their budgets through their minutes to the board.¹²

At the February 22, 1985 meeting motion #12984/85 was passed stating that LSBC or school budgets were received and referred to the Finance Committee. A similar motion for budgets received later was passed at the March 15, 1985 board meeting (motion #13054/85).

The Finance Committee met on March 28/29 and on April 18/19, 1985 to prepare budget recommendations for the board at the April 19, 1985 meeting (NSD file 105-C61-Z99).

The board considered the budget at the April 19, 1985 meeting and passed a motion (#13119/85) adopting it. The Budget Report Form was submitted to Alberta Education identifying at the same time the costs unique to the Northland School Division which would be supported by the incremental grant.

Comments from Interviewees

A senior administrator for the division indicated that the administration prepares all the estimates and the board reviews them. There are, however, few constraints on costs because, he suggested, the board did not have enough experience in dealing with budgets and because the incremental grant from Alberta Education virtually provided a blank cheque.

¹² The major portion of any board meeting is taken up with the consideration of LSBC minutes.

Another senior administrator explained that the Finance Committee was not involved in the capital expenditure decisions because they were not ready for this process yet.^{13 14} This same administrator repeated that the incremental grant tended to remove decision-making responsibility from the board since the members did not have to deal directly with budget deficits or other such issues.

Also a former superintendent suggested that the incremental grant gave the Department of Education considerable leverage with the jurisdiction since these funds were so critical to the jurisdiction's survival.

The chairman of one LSBC suggested that the budget process was fairly clear and that there appeared to be no problems with it. This person explained that questions that arose at the board meetings were answered quite clearly. There were no expressions of discontent with the process on the part of the board members interviewed, as there had been over other issues.¹⁵

¹³ Even though the Finance Committee was not involved these capital issues were presented to the board. The board approved virtually all that came before it, apparently trusting the administration to have made appropriate choices.

¹⁴ In January 1985, another administrator suggested that as the board reviewed the budget it would have to come to terms with staffing and the numbers required.

¹⁵ At this time, the fall of 1985, a committee of Alberta Education personnel and senior Northland School Division officials was considering alternative methods of providing "equitable" funding for the division. Their report submitted to the senior officials of the department in the spring of 1986 recommends that the division receive equitable funding in the manner that all other jurisdictions received it and do away with the incremental grant. (personal communication).

Interviews with board members on the Finance Committee indicated that they felt comfortable, though not thoroughly familiar, with the budget processes. The chairman of one LSBC suggested that the familiarity for the LSBCs regarding the local budgeting process was lacking and that there should be workshops for the LSBCs in how to budget.

From interviews with principals, it appears they were happy with the process although some were concerned that a senior administrator could make what appeared to be unilateral changes to the supplementary budgets. Some principals also mentioned that the LSBCs needed more time to understand the budgeting processes.

Regarding the relationships between the LSBC and the principal, there appeared to be interaction on the budget in some cases. This was to decide on where the flexible part of the budget, the supplementary budget (approximately 30%), would be spent. In other cases this sort of discussion did not go on; the principal, in these cases, presented the LSBC with a budget in its final form and approved it.

Summary

The financing of the division was considerably dependent on Alberta Education. Some of the funding was secure and would not change with the whims of department officials. However, a critical portion of the revenues, the incremental grant, could have been used by department officials to influence the management of the jurisdiction.

The department also approved the budget as a whole.¹⁶

There was no apparent discontent with the budget process as it had been designed. It was the administration of the division that structured the process by suggesting a Finance Committee, by designing internal forms for budget reporting, and by preparing the estimates. This influence by the administration followed naturally from certain requirements by the Alberta Education, e.g. the preparation and approval of the Budget Report Form.

The budget process tended not to be contentious for the Board of Trustees and the administration as they worked together. This is not to say it could not have been contentious.

These processes, however, supported the budget as controlled by Alberta Education and also supported the decision-making structures within the division: the distinction between the board, the administration, the LSBCs, and the Finance Committee.

In summary, the department controlled the budget. The divisional decision-making processes were defined by the decision-makers in the division, with the administration having the greatest influence.

¹⁶ One department official suggested to me that the reason that regional superintendencies had not been instituted in the division was because the officials of the department did not wish this. This influence was possible through budget approval.

C. THE BUDGET 1980

The 1980 budget process was very similar to the 1984 process. The board was involved in apparently similar ways. It is impossible to assess the exact degree of involvement in either case since the trustees in both cases felt that their activity and involvement were appropriate.

The first documentary evidence of the 1980 budget process that I was able to find was a letter from Alberta Education to the secretary-treasurer of the division regarding the maximum allowable supplementary requisition for school jurisdictions in Alberta. This letter was written on January 7, 1980 and set the maximum possible mill rate at 66.4 mills (NSD file 261-S61-Z99).

The board instructed the administration to begin work on the budget on January 21, 1980. Setting of the mill rate was deferred from the February 18, 1981 meeting to the March 24, 1980 meeting at which time it was set at 66.4 mills (motion #10050/80).

After the pupil-teacher ratio had been finally set (motion #9975/80) at the March 11, 1980 meeting of the board the estimates were reviewed in detail.

Budget discussions continued at the next meeting of the board on March 24 and at the following meeting on April 14, 1980.

At the April 29, 1980 meeting the estimates were accepted and the administration was given approval to submit the budget (the Budget Report Form) to Alberta Education for

approval (motion #10108/80). 17

On July 17, 1980 the same Alberta Education official who had informed the jurisdiction of the maximum mill rate in January wrote to the secretary-treasurer stating that the supplementary requisition was to be set at 64.56 mills (NSD file 261-S61-Z99). The August 7, 1980 meeting of the board of the division accepted the letter indicating that, as a result, the supplementary requisition would be reduced by slightly more than \$50,000, that the incremental grant would be reduced by slightly more than \$100,000, and that the Metis Betterment Grant and Indian Affairs revenue would also be reduced. The secretary-treasurer was instructed to revise the budget accordingly (motion #10250/80).

The August 25, 1980 meeting approved the revised 1980 budget.

Summary

Budgeting during 1980 appears to be very similar to that used in 1985 other than the fact that there was no Finance Committee of the board. However, the issues

17 A senior official of the division (during the 1980-81 period) suggested that there were meetings between the administration (including himself) and Alberta Education regarding the incremental grant and the level was set at these meetings.

This official also mentioned that the incremental grant was an important means of meeting budget shortfalls. A former department superintendent appointed during the mid 1970s stated that the incremental grant was critical to the operation of the division in that it could drastically affect the pupil-teacher ratio. This ratio was the driving force behind the budget in that operating expenditures in other areas were minimal when compared.

discussed by the board appear to be the same as those presented to the Finance Committee in the 1985 period.

Alberta Education was intimately involved in structuring the budget in that it required the Budget Report Form; it set the supplementary requisition, and the incremental grant levels. These had direct effects on revenues and thus on spending.

It appears that Alberta Education personnel could exert considerable pressure on how moneys were spent simply by the control they had over the budget.

As was the case with the 1985 budget, the process in 1980 tended not to cause conflict and controversy between the administration and the board. They both had the same interests at heart and worked together. The board did have the responsibility of approving the budget.

The processes of decision-making provided the division with a cohesive feeling (i.e., all worked together). The processes also provided an arena for the clarification of roles among those who participated in decision-making. Here the processes of decision-making become supports to the control that Alberta Education had over the budget. This support by the participants from the division must have seemed necessary for the financial survival of the division; thus, they acquiesced to the influence of Alberta Education.

D. CHANGES FROM 1980 TO 1985

There are no apparent differences between the 1980 and the 1985 budgeting for the division in regard to the control exerted by Alberta Education.

The decision-making processes were similar in both periods in that the roles of the board and the administration were similar. There are some differences in processes in the 1985.

The LSBCs and the principals were involved.¹⁸ In any event, the 1985 processes provided the LSBCs with the opportunities to participate in budgeting.

While Alberta Education may have had strong influence over the budget, there were internal processes in place that addressed the budget issues. These processes were unique to the division. The relative strength of influences lay with the administration to outline the budgeting structure.

In both periods the processes supported the decision-making structures that had been set in place with the Northland School Division Acts. In neither period did those who participated in the decision-making indicate dissatisfaction with that imposed structure.

In both periods the control exerted by Alberta Education was based on perceptions of the "ethnicity" of board members. Their "Nativeness" allowed for the assumption on the part of Alberta Education personnel that they could

¹⁸This participation by the LSBCs came about only after school based budgeting came into effect in 1985. School based budgeting was not in place in 1984.

not make appropriate financial decisions. There is support for this view from the fact that the budget was so closely scrutinized by Alberta Education. Administrators, both in the division and in Alberta Education, expressed the opinion that residents of the division did not have the experience to handle the financial aspects of the governance of the division. Thus, there was a perceived need for continuing stewardship of the division by Alberta Education personnel. Since the division has been perceived of as an "Indian" jurisdiction from its inception, it is fair to conclude that race was a motivating factor in the economic arrangements between Alberta Education and the division.

E. THE CONTEXT OF 1984-85 PROFESSIONAL STAFFING

The 1984-85 professional staffing decision category includes decision issues related to teachers, principals, an assistant superintendent, and central office positions.

One major external influence on staffing in the division at this time was the Northland School Division Act (1983) which states the following: that the LSBC has the power to nominate a teacher [Section 9(b)] and the LSBC also has the power "to advise and assist the board in the selection of a principal ..." [Section 9(h)].

The 1984-85 issues came at a time when a number of staffing problems were being considered by the board and the administration. None of these problems was influenced directly by external factors. The problems were with regard

to the roles of the LSBCs and the board vis a vis the administration.

For example, at the June, 1985 Board of Trustees meeting a staffing assignment policy document (policy GCI - Staff Assignments) was presented by the administration and after an attempt by a trustee to table (hold for a later decision) the document it was accepted (motions #13198/85 and #13199/85). This policy was intended to deal with the assignments teachers received in the schools in which they were to teach. It was also intended to provide a mechanism for the handling of transfers of teachers from one school to another.

Also, a staffing philosophy, and formula (i.e., an aid to making decisions about the numbers of staff per school) for meeting the teacher staff needs of schools had been prepared in the springs of 1984 and 1985 by the administration. It had been rejected by the Board of Trustees at the May, 1984 meeting.

A revised statement was introduced at the June, 1984 Board of Trustees meeting and was also rejected. This resulted in the board directing the administration to consult with the LSBCs and to staff on the basis of "need" and not on the basis of the formula. The definition of "need" was not clear and the staffing was done basically in terms of the formula that had been presented to the board. The next formal discussion of the staffing formula was at the March, 1985 Board of Trustee meeting where the second

formula was presented and accepted.

By May, 1985, the issue of who would be involved in the hiring of teachers had also become an important concern.

This concern became evident following controversy over a February, 1985 Board decision (motion #13009/85 introduced by the superintendent of schools) to give the superintendent the final say on matters related to the hiring of divisional staff. Although the motion was carried at that meeting there were attempts to rescind the decision: first, in the March meeting where a motion was passed to table the February decision for further discussion (#12054/85); secondly, in the April meeting where another motion (#13104/85) requested the board to rescind the February motion #13009/85. These motions were defeated.

The concern about who would be involved in the hiring of teachers was also evident as a topic of discussion at a number of LSBC meetings during this period.

To resolve this concern, at the May, 1985 Board of Trustees meeting the board passed, after some hesitation, two motions (#13179/85 and #13180/85): 1) to develop a policy and procedures regarding the selection of professional staff and 2) that the Board of Trustees form a committee to do the job. As a result, policy GCDA-professional staff hiring was considered at the October and November, December, 1985 and finally at the January, 1986 Board of Trustees meeting where it was accepted.

The issue of involvement in staffing was an important one for many of the local residents. As an example, it was one of the important negotiating points in a tuition agreement between the division and an Indian Band Council. All the children of the band attended a school in the division and the Council wanted among other things input into the hiring of staff. Another example is the concern expressed by one LSBC in its minutes of February 12, 1985. Motion #003/85 reads as follows:

...that the Local School Board will assist in the selection and make recommendations on appointment of all professional staff, including an opportunity to interview the candidates.
Carried.

It was this sort of issue in a number of schools and the discontent expressed by some LSBCs that prompted a senior manager from the Northern Alberta Development Council to discuss the problem with a senior official at Alberta Education some time around October, 1984. A month later senior officials of Alberta Education visited the board at the November 16, 1984 meeting; when one did address the meeting he was very direct in his comments. The minutes record his comments in the following way:

The Board of Trustees will get into trouble if it gets directly involved with staffing, etc., and the Board of Trustees should seriously look at developing policies that are flexible enough to allow the Administration to read the objectives as stated in Policy. (page 8, Northland School Division, Board Agenda, December 14, 1984)

The message was quite clear: the administration was responsible for staffing assignments and hiring. It is of

course difficult to say what the effect of those comments was on later decisions.

A great deal of time and energy was spent on staffing issues during the 1984-85 period. This may well have been the most important set of issues addressed in the division during that time.

Teacher Hiring and Transfers

I followed the staffing for schools SCH1, SCH2, SCH3, and SCH6 which included hiring and transfers.

A Computer Teacher Request from SCH3

In mid-January, 1984 a proposal for a computer education program had been put before the LSBC of SCH3. This was a proposal from the principal who outlined the program but recognized also that there would have to be a commitment from a staff member to take on the program. The discussion was not broached formally after that until the April 2, 1984 LSBC meeting where two of the LSBC members were asked to prepare a computer program proposal for the next meeting. At the next meeting, May 16, 1984, it was decided that the need for an additional teacher would have to be discussed at a later date since the staffing formula for the division was being prepared and the request could not be addressed immediately.

Before the May, 1984 meeting an associate superintendent informed the principal by letter that it would be the principal's responsibility to determine

staffing assignments once the staffing formula was in place. This formula would give the school a particular staff entitlement and the principal could do as he wished with assignments. There was, however, no resolution to the issue that school year.

The issue was revived at the February 11, 1985 meeting of the LSBC when a motion requesting a computer teacher for September, 1985 was made. A proposal requesting a teacher and a program was attached to the LSBC minutes and it went to the March board meeting for a decision.

A staffing formula had been approved by the board at the March, 1985 board meeting (motion #13077/85). This formula provided the required rationale for an extra teacher at SCH3 and the Finance Committee was instructed to find the required funds and make further recommendations (Motion #13067/85).

With the help of the central office personnel the principal interviewed candidates who met the requirement that they have computer expertise. A teacher was selected by the principal. The teacher's duties were split between computer instruction and physical education.

Summary

The LSBC was apparently not involved directly in the hiring but the members were definitely involved in the request and the development of the proposal for a

computer teacher.

In this particular decision issue there appeared to be no conflict over control among the board, the administration and the LSBC. It was assumed by the board members and the LSBC members that the administration would provide support to the board or to the LSBC as was requested.

The process of decision-making reinforced the distinct roles of the LSBCs, the board, the administration, and the Finance Committee all of which were involved at various stages.

The processes were clearly unique to the division. The influences of the participants could not have been predicted beforehand, nor could the outcomes of the decision-making.

The Transfer of a Teacher from SCH6

The divisional teacher allocations for 1984-85 had been decided by September 4, 1984 (NSD file: 016-A61-Z99). By September 19, 1984 it was evident to the principal of SCH6 that the enrolment would be 20 fewer than expected: the principal informed the LSBC members at the regular LSBC meeting that evening. There was pressure for extra staff from other schools which had enrollments larger than expected, as well.

On September 26, 1984 a senior administrator of the division met with the LSBC and discussed the transfer of a teacher with the members. At that meeting the LSBC

made a motion protesting the transfer and requested a review by the board.

The teacher had been transferred to SCH5 by the time the board reviewed the LSBC minutes on October 20, 1984. At that board meeting, the administration presented detailed reasons for the transfer.

The administrators' argument ~~was~~ based on pupil-teacher ratios that were in the rejected staffing formula of 1984. The administrators involved felt that since the teachers at SCH6 had much more preparation time than the teachers at SCH5 that the transfer was a fair and equitable solution.

The argument the LSBC members used was two fold. First, they argued that they needed the teacher as a special education teacher. Secondly, they argued that LSBC members should be involved in such decisions since their school was directly affected.

After the case had been argued by the chairperson of the LSBC for SCH6, the board rejected the transfer and with motion #12786/84 stated that the teacher should be returned to SCH6.

The transfer back to the original school was effected by November 7, 1984 when the principal reported to the LSBC on the duties of the teacher who had been returned.

Summary

The major issue appeared to be the processes involved in the transfer. The LSBC members felt that the decisions had been unilateral. It was this feeling (similar to that of a number of board members, that they should be involved in staffing) that brought this issue to the board. In the end, the board made a decision that went against the advice of the administration. The structure of the staffing at this school was changed as a result of the participation of the LSBC in the process.

According to a personnel officer the staffing assignment policy developed in the spring of 1985 was designed to help resolve these sorts of issues. Again, the participation of the LSBCs encouraged the development of this policy.

The processes supported the LSBC, the board and the administration as decision-making structures but at the same time they provided unique solutions to the issue: the solutions that could not have been predicted and influences that could not have been known beforehand.

Teacher hiring at SCH1 and SCH2

The history of the request for an extra teacher for SCH1 includes an initial request in June, 1985 by the principal to the central personnel office of the division.

The LSBC chairperson wanted to interview a prospective teacher candidate and this was done on an informal basis. There was a further formal interview with the candidate by members of the personnel department. It turned out that this candidate was not hired by the principal. The principal was asked by the personnel office to consider teachers who wanted transfers from within the jurisdiction. These were accepted by the principal.

The result of the perceived procedural problems (i.e., no input from the LSBC) was that members of the LSBC for SCH1 made a formal presentation to the Board of Trustees on October 19, 1985 regarding the input they wished to have, but felt they lacked, in the hiring of teachers.

A request had also been made in June 1985 to the central office personnel department that a teacher be hired to SCH2. In this case the chairman of the LSBC, the principal and the personnel office representative together interviewed and selected the teacher. The result at SCH2 was that the principal and the chairman of the LSBC, and apparently other LSBC members, were satisfied with the hiring procedures.

Summary

The procedures for teacher selection were not formalized at this time and there was some inconsistency in approach. However, there was a recognition on the

part of both the administration and the Board of Trustees that some sort of policy was necessary to ensure that the Board of Trustees and LSBC members were satisfied the LSBCs were involved. This recognition came about as a result of pressures such as that from the LSBC for SCH1. In the end a staff hiring policy was agreed to in January, 1986. If the LSBC members had not involved themselves and made an appeal to the board for change in staffing procedures the hiring policy might not have been developed.

The hiring relationship appears to have been one in which, depending on the situation, there could be different sorts of influence. The control over the hiring at SCH1 appears to have been in the hands of the administration, while, for some reason or other, the administration and the LSBC worked together as supporting partners in the case of SCH2.

The process of resolution of the issue was an internal matter and unique. They were not affected directly by factors external to the division. There would have been little success in any attempt to predict the outcome of the decision issue or the influences of any one group of decision-makers. It was an internal matter resolved internally as the internal situation demanded.

The processes also supported and reinforced the roles of the participant groups in decision-making.

Conclusion on teacher hiring and transfers

The Board of Trustees was aware of the problems and the issues surrounding the teacher hiring and transfer debates. The members of the board worked with the administration to provide policies on transfers and hiring. These initiatives received the support of the Board of Trustees which was responding to the expression of LSBC concerns. The participation of the LSBCs was an important factor in the development of these policies.

With the appearance and presentation of the senior Alberta Education officials, the board members may have been influenced to constrain their role in staffing. However, the members of the board felt seriously that the LSBCs should be involved in staffing issues. The eventual resolution for the members of the board was that policies were developed on teacher assignments, and on teacher hiring, and that the LSBCs were formally involved in the processes.

It was pressure from the LSBCs which brought about this set of resolutions to staffing and policy issues.

The issues brought about processes which involved and provided recognition for the LSBCs. In the end the board, the administration, and the LSBCs came to agreements on staffing and policies even though they clearly started from different positions in many instances.

Aside from the strong influences exerted by the LSBCs on the structure of the policy system, they also had considerable influence over some teacher assignments, the computer teacher and the teacher transfer issues, being examples. At the same time the administration was clearly more in control of the hiring of teachers at SCH1.

The reasons for these differences in influence are not clear and serve to illustrate that 1) decisions were not influenced by only one group in the decision-making processes and 2) it would have been difficult in these cases to predict the outcomes of the issues.

In conclusion, the decisions regarding staffing were not influenced directly by factors external to the division but were the results of internal decision-making processes unique to the division.

The processes helped reinforce and distinguish the roles of the structures involved: especially the LSBCs, the board and the administration.

The Hiring of an Assistant Superintendent

At the November 16, 1984 board meeting it was decided that the position of assistant superintendent responsible for curriculum adaptation and program development should be advertised. A hiring committee was struck (motions #12825 and #12826/84) at that time.

By the next board meeting December 14, 1984 the ad had appeared in newspapers. At that meeting it was decided who the members of the hiring committee should be. There were four board members and a senior administrator. It was also decided that the whole committee should have responsibility for screening the applications.

There was some disagreement amongst the committee members whether the senior administrator should be responsible for the final decision on who should get the job. One of the committee members felt strongly that the administrator should not be responsible. He raised the issue with the board. This, according to both the administrator and a senior board officer, was part of the impetus behind the February 22, 1985 resolution #13009/85 "that the Superintendent of Schools has the final say on matters relating to hiring of Divisional Employees."

By October, 1985, it appeared to be clear to those I interviewed, at least, that this resolution referred to the hiring of central office personnel. The issue of LSBC involvement in the hiring of local professional staff and paraprofessional staff was being sorted out in the development of hiring and assignment policies.

In any event, all the committee members were agreed on who should be hired after the interviews were conducted. ¹⁹

¹⁹ In fact the successful applicant was phoned at the Peace River Bus Depot as he was departing for his home and offered the position. The financial implications of the hiring to this position were not a factor in the process. It was perhaps assumed that the money was available and there was no need to bring up any major discussion of the budget

Summary

This decision issue though apparently quite simple and easily accomplished is a seminal issue in the perceived (on the part of board members) struggle for control of hiring. The senior administrator made it quite clear that hiring and other endeavours as listed in the superintendent goals and objectives should be administratively controlled. At least some members of the board, on the other hand, raised the question of who should be responsible for and involved in hiring.

Aside from where control lay, there was no possibility of predicting the outcome or influence beforehand. Even the decision to open the position to competition did not have to take place in the way it did.

The process of decision-making involved a hiring committee set in place to address the issue. The discussion about hiring responsibility clarified somewhat the roles of the administration and the board in the hiring of staff. This was only one of a number of issues which helped clarify the roles.

The Appointment of Principals

The 1983 Northland School Division Act indicates that the LSBC has the power to advise and assist the board in the selection of the principal. For this reason, and perhaps

others, the administration involved the LSBCs in the process of selecting principals for two schools noted here SCH7 and SCH8.

The Principalship at SCH7

The hiring of the principal at SCH7 took place in the spring of 1984. The only times the board was involved were when the minutes of the LSBC indicated that the process was underway and when it was concluded.

It is not likely that the majority of the board members were even aware of the process to any great extent. The issue did not become one that needed resolution by the board.

There were two LSBC meetings at which the issue was mentioned. April 30, 1984 motion #134/84 saw the LSBC go to an in camera meeting to consider the applications. On the same day motion #136/84 asked that two individuals who had applied for the position attend interviews on May 4, 1984.

On May 8, 1984 motion #139/84 stated that the position should be offered to one of the applicants. When these minutes were considered by the board a memo introducing them stated that the individual selected had been offered the position and had been appointed to begin in September, 1984 (June 15, 1984 Northland School Division Board Agenda).

During the screening and interview process the full LSBC was involved along with a senior administrator and

a principal. The administrator laid out a structure for the interviewing procedure. They decided together the qualifications they wished to consider. The members of the selection committee agreed on the individual selected.

The Principalship at SCH8

In response to the LSBC request to hire a principal, this decision issue began on January 4, 1984, when the area officer (liaison between the board and the LSBC) advised the LSBC that a senior administrator had indicated to him 1) that an assistant superintendent would commence hiring immediately, 2) that the starting date for the principal would be September 1, 1984, 3) that all well-qualified personnel in the division would be encouraged to apply, and 4) that the applicants would be allowed release time between March 1 and June 30, 1984 to attend interviews. Motion #091/84 of the LSBC indicated that the members of the LSBC agreed with the strategy outlined.

The initial applications were screened by the assistant superintendent, a principal and the chairman of the LSBC. A short list was taken to the whole LSBC which made a further cut.

The next reference in the LSBC minutes to the issue was on March 7, 1984 when it was noted in the LSBC minutes that the interviews for principal would be conducted on March 18, 1984 at 11 a.m. The local Band

office was available, if desired.

The assistant superintendent structured the interviewing procedures as he had done in the case noted above.

The interviews took place and the committee agreed on a candidate. Motion #110/84 of that day recommended offering the job to the candidate selected.

When these minutes were reviewed by the board a memo with them indicated that the individual selected had been appointed to the position.

Summary

At this point in time, there were no policies or procedures in place that directed the processes involved in the hiring of principals, other than the Northland Division Act (1983).

The legal-political recognition given the LSBCs as important to the hiring was supplemented and reinforced by the process involved in the hiring of both these principals.

In these cases it would not have been possible to predict the outcomes of decision-making processes nor the influences of any members of the group. The decision were resolved uniquely within the division.

The Area Officer/Curriculum Policy Co-ordinator Positions

These positions had been put in place during the tenure of the Official Trustee (1981-83) to facilitate the working of the LSBCs. The individuals reported to someone other than the superintendent or the Official Trustee during that time. There were four positions each with a certain "case load" of LSBCs.

These were extremely important positions in that between 1981 and 1983 the individuals in them facilitated the development of the LSBCs. They were the links between the administration and the local communities, acting often as advocates for the LSBCs.

The decision issue was whether or not to abolish these positions and to transfer the individuals to other jobs. After December, 1983, both the superintendent and the chairman of the board wanted the change.

The discussion about the area officer positions began almost immediately after the December, 1983 organization meeting of the newly elected Board of Trustees. The area officers themselves discussed the issue with the LSBCs during January, February, and March, 1984. In some cases the LSBCs made motions in support of keeping the positions.

The issue first arose at the board level on February 16, 1984 when the board met in camera (motion #12398/84). At the same meeting, motion #12406/84 tabled the review of the positions until March, 1984.

At the March 16, 1984 meeting again the board met in camera to discuss the issue (motion #12452). It was decided to keep the positions (motion #12454/84) and to change the name and to develop appropriate job descriptions to reflect changed duties. This motion, however, was rescinded and motion #12454/84 tabled the review until the budget was approved.

At the May 11-12, 1984 meeting the board met in camera to discuss the issue again (motion #12570/84). At the same meeting motion #12572/84 stated that the positions should be kept, and that new job descriptions should be brought back to the next board meeting. The job descriptions were on the June meeting agenda; however, for some reason there was no decision at that time.

The discussions continued at the LSBCs throughout April, May, June and July, 1984. One of the issues surrounding the lengthy discussion was whether the officers would report to the board of trustees or to the superintendent.

In general, the discussion was lively because there was a variety of views being expressed. Not only were there differences between senior administrators and the board - administrators wanted to disband the positions from the start - but there were differences within the board itself (interviews with members indicated a variety of opinion on the subject - some wanted the positions kept, others did not).

This controversy was well-illustrated by the motions on the subject at the August 17, 1984 board meeting. At that meeting motion #12660/84 asked the officers to react to their new titles (Curriculum Policy Development Coordinators) and job descriptions. A motion (#12661/84) which was eventually defeated stated that the officers should attend all corporate board meetings and that their job descriptions should be revised to accommodate this. And finally, motion #12662/84 approved the positions.

The next time the issue came before the board was almost a year later on June 21, 1985 when a motion was passed which stated:

#13236/85...that the Board of Trustees abolish the Curriculum and Policy Development Co-Ordinator positions effective June 30, and that staff members holding these positions be assigned to other positions within the Division.

There was a good deal of disagreement with this decision within the division. For example, one LSBC passed a motion on June 27, 1985 (#349/85) that indicated that the LSBC regretted the loss of the position without consultation.

As a result of the differences of opinion, the August 23, 1985 board meeting minutes indicated that lengthy discussion ensued. At that meeting the following motions were passed:

a) #13243/85 to rescind the June motion #13236/85 to abolish the co-ordinator positions.

b) #13247/85 that 2 co-ordinators be retained. This motion was defeated.

c) #13248/85 that the co-ordinator positions be abolished as of September 30 and that the individuals be assigned elsewhere. This motion was carried.

d) #13249/85 that one of the co-ordinators be transferred to a certain school. This motion was carried.

Summary

There was some indication that the funds that supported these positions from federal Indian Affairs were being pulled out by that department. This appeared to provide part of the push to abolish the positions. But in the end the money for the positions was approved with the 1984 budget. The job descriptions and whether or not to fill the jobs was an internal decision.

This issue was initiated by a senior administrator. In this case the decision could not have been made by the administrator alone since there was confusion about to whom these positions reported. Any attempt to proceed to abolish these positions without board agreement would have been virtually impossible.

There was a great deal of varying opinion within the LSBCs. Many of the LSBC members felt the area officers performed an important job of protecting the LSBC from the self-interests of professional administrators. They felt the positions provided unbiased information to the LSBC since the principal was

seen to have administrative interests at heart. They also felt they did not have the expertise to check on the educational decisions provided by the administration and the principals. This, I would assume, meant that they were worried about being manipulated and controlled.

Some board members felt that they were "advanced" and able enough to meet the demands of decision-making without the help of "objective" input of the area officers. Some of the members suggested that they felt the input provided by some of the officers was not all that objective anyway and their own opinions as LSBC members should prevail.

The issue was resolved after a good deal of discussion at the LSBC level. In 1984, a compromise of sorts was arrived at. The positions' roles and titles were changed and the individuals filling them began to report to the superintendent.

There was an obvious conflict in interests both within the board and between the board and the administration; but those interests are far too complexly intertwined to suggest that the administration was able to manipulate a conclusion. Any attempt to predict the conclusion or the relative influence of any group would have been impossible.

The internal processes of decision-making were unique to the division and could not have been imposed

from outside the division.

Conclusions to 1984-85 Staffing

Staffing in 1984-85 took place within the context of political and economic dependency. This external context did not, however, affect the decisions about positions, the staff who were hired or their role descriptions. These were matters for internal divisional decision-making; and it was through the internal processes that these decisions were made. Take for example the visit by senior officials one of whom suggested that the administration should be responsible for staffing and the board should be responsible for policy making. The statement must have had an influence on the board members perception of their general role as policy developers. But the comment did not deter the board members from finding solutions to the staffing issue that were before them in their own way.

In each of these decision issues there was influence from the LSBCs, from the board and from the administration. At times the administration held the influence over the outcome; at other times the LSBCs had more influence. In none of these decision issues would it have been possible to predict the outcome of, or the influences on, the decision-making process.

The processes, that is the interactions which unified the division and which reinforced the distinct roles of the participants, were dynamic, unifying, and unique to the

division.

In any event, the processes supported structures imposed from outside but at the same time these processes allowed for the input of LSBCs and for the restructuring of various aspects of the division - in this case staffing arrangements and staffing policies.

F. 1980-81 PROFESSIONAL STAFFING

The description of the 1980-81 period is specific in only one decision issue - the replacement of a principal. Otherwise the discussion is general, dealing with approaches to staffing. There was no mention of staffing in the Northland School Division Act that was in place during this period.

It appears from the board minutes during the 1980-81 period that almost all staffing issues, save the hiring of teachers, came before the board for a decision. These issues included the hiring of paraprofessionals, central office personnel including the superintendent, bus drivers, caretakers, and teacher transfers.

The hiring of teachers was left to central office personnel once the superintendent had received authority from the board to hire a certain number. The local members of the board were involved in the interviewing of teachers in Edmonton, Calgary or elsewhere and they did have some input into the decisions of whom to hire.

A former personnel supervisor informed me that, at the time, teacher hiring was a central office process although the principal could be asked for his opinion.

There were a number of public meetings at which the issue of involvement in the hiring of teachers or principals was mentioned.

At COMM3 on February 3, 1981 an evening meeting saw discussion on the "quality and lack of local involvement in the educational process of our children" and went on to include discussion about "equal participation" in the hiring and firing of teachers, among other things (NSD file 501-M01-S61).

On August 18, 1981 at a meeting in COMM4 the local Indian Band requested involvement in the hiring of the principal. The chief indicated "that this would be a subject for future discussions at subsequent meetings" (NSD file 107-G01-Z99).

The MacNeil report (1981:14) stated that among the desires of residents, in general, was "input into the selection of the principal of their schools."

It may be concluded that although there was pressure from community residents to be involved in the hiring process, there was a considerable gulf between school jurisdiction activity and the community whose advice was not often taken.

The hiring process was centralized with little or no local input. The issue, described following, of the

designation of the principal at COMM2 indicates the dramatic action required by local residents to have their concerns heard and acted on.

The Designation of the Principal at Community COMM2

This issue finds the residents of COMM2 (an Indian Band served by a division school) apparently frustrated by certain actions of the principal. This led to the community request, through the Indian Association of Alberta, for the replacement of the principal and the return of a teacher who had, it was thought, been transferred because of a disagreement with the principal.

The issue began on or about July 3, 1980, when a senior officer of the Indian Association of Alberta (IAA) wrote to the chief of the Band stating that the "jail-like" appearance of the principal's house was not acceptable. He stated "a principal ... must have a better attitude toward the community people as a whole ... together, we will take action to remove this individual" (NSD file 155-P61-J03). A copy of this letter went to the Minister of Education.

After a visit to the community on July 22, 1980, the same IAA officer wrote on July 29 directly to the Minister of Education requesting an investigation.

On August 6, 1980, a Band Council Resolution (BCR) asked for removal of the principal (NSD file 155-P61-J03).

A copy of the BCR was sent by the Indian Association to the superintendent of Northland stating that the Association

supported this resolution because it was oriented toward local control of education.

By August 28, 1980 a senior officer of the board wrote to the Minister of Education requesting permission to allow a later opening of the school than usual to enable an assessment of the situation at a meeting on September 8, 1980 in the community.

At the meeting on September 8 an additional concern was mentioned: about the transfer of a teacher who had been respected by the community. A senior administrator stated that the transfer of the teacher back to the community would be impossible because of the disruption it would cause other schools.

It is of note that one of the trustees complained that the community had not mentioned the issue at a public meeting held in the community in June, just before the Indian Association became involved. She stated "no one was here to speak with us." A resident is reported to have replied cryptically: "a lot of lack of communication" (NSD file 107-J03-Z99). In the end, the chief stated:

I am glad you were able to come and hope we all learned something. I hope the teachers here do not feel unwelcome, we like to work with them.

On September 24, 1980 the senior officer of the board wrote to the Minister of Education stating that the principal had been transferred and that classes had resumed on September 10.

The Minister then replied to the July 29 letter of the officer of the Indian Association on November 17 stating that the situation had been resolved.

There were further public meetings in the community on December 5, 1980, January 9, 1981, March 6, 1981 and May 22, 1981. As well, a Band funded Educational Advisory Committee was formed in the fall of 1981 and records indicate its members met at least once with the principal on November 2, 1981.

Conclusion

Staffing was a centralized procedure which saw the board or the administration, or both, make all the internal decisions. There is very little separation between the administration and the board and it becomes difficult to identify what their different approaches to hiring and staffing issues might have been.

Local input into the staffing of schools was simply undesirable from the point of view of the officers of the division. It took excessive pressure, time and energy, from local residents to have the administration and the board respond to local concerns.

The processes of decision-making did not involve local residents in any meaningful way except under the rarest of circumstances. Also, the processes did not create clear distinctions between the board and the administration and the roles of each in decision-making.

The processes did support the structuring imposed by Alberta Education: the processes supported the configuration of the board and the administration, i.e., the lack of distinction between the board and the administration and the fact that the board members were appointed. The processes also supported the exclusion of the local residents.

G. CHANGES IN STAFFING FROM 1980-81 TO 1984-85

The major change from 1980-81 to 1984-85 is that the LSBCs were involved in the decision-making processes during the latter period. The processes in the latter period were much more clearly defined and led to the increasing distinctions between the board, the administration, the LSBCs and other structures that participated in the processes.

During both periods the processes provided for the unity and uniqueness of the division and drew the participants together as colleagues.

In both periods, also, Alberta Education imposed the major decision-making structures through the Northland School Division Act. This defining of the decision-making structures was supported by the decision-making relations.

In the 1984-85 period, it is evident that there is considerably more influence over such issues as the transfer of teachers, the hiring of principals, the participation in teacher hiring decisions by the local residents through the LSBCs. The processes that were in place aided the local

people to influence staffing arrangements and staffing policies, including the hiring of teaching staff.

H. POLICY RELATIONSHIPS, 1984-85 AND 1980-81

Policy driven management systems have become the focus of educational administration in Alberta, especially since late 1983 when Alberta Education introduced the "Management and Finance Plan" a so-called policy focussed management system for Alberta Education and for school jurisdictions throughout the province.

Policy approval has been assumed traditionally in administrative literature (Ingram, 1985) to be the paramount function performed by a Board of Trustees of any school division.

As a result of this approach to educational management, during the 1984-85 period Alberta Education expected that all school jurisdictions in the province would have in place a number of different policies including policies on evaluation (student, teacher, program, school and school system) and policies in the special needs areas that received special provincial funding over and above the basic student grant (e.g., special education).

I. 1984-85 POLICY RELATIONS

The policy decision issues that will be discussed are the development of a statement of the superintendent's goals and objectives which was not required by Alberta Education

directive, but an internal issue initiated by the superintendent, and the development of the divisional teacher evaluation policy which was required by Alberta Education.

Superintendent Goals and Objectives

The initiative for this policy endeavour was internal to the jurisdiction. It came directly from the superintendent. It was in line with contemporary notions of what was needed in educational management - the clarification of roles and responsibilities of those involved (Ingram, *ibid*; the Alberta School Trustees' Association, 1986).

The superintendent explained to the February 16, 1984 meeting of the Board of Trustees that as a result of his attendance at an Executive Officer Evaluation Workshop given by the Alberta School Trustees' Association the board and the superintendent should work together to develop these goals and objectives.

A draft of the statement was presented to the February meeting and it was tabled for consideration by the LSBCs (motion #12391).

Between February and August, 1984 the LSBCs reviewed and commented on the draft document. There was considerable discussion.

At the August 17, 1984 board meeting, the superintendent goals and objectives were tabled once again

(Motion #12665/84). The document was resubmitted on September 21, 1984 to the board with an indication that there was some frustration on the part of the superintendent to have the matter dealt with. The memo attached to the draft requested a decision on a timeframe for addressing the issue. The item was tabled once again to the next board meeting (motion #12709/85).

At the November 16, 1984 Board meeting the issue was once again tabled (motion #12829/84). At the December 14, 1984 meeting the issue was brought forward again and this time it was accepted but with the proviso that the statement of goals and objectives be reviewed in August, 1985 (Motion #12882/84).

During September, October and November a number of LSBCs discussed the issue again. One LSBC introduced a concern that may give some insight into the delay in decision-making and the concerns that the board members may have had at the time. The concern raised was that some felt the superintendent should report directly to the board and not to Alberta Education. They wanted Northland School Division to assume its responsibilities in full.

Comments from Interviewees

The superintendent felt that the lengthy discussion revolving around the goals and objectives was due to the board's need for "growth." He felt the board, at the time, was more involved in administrative issues and the members were unwilling to give the superintendent

responsibility for what are "normally" considered administrative functions (e.g. staffing).

Some of the informants confirmed that one worry for the board was that some members felt there was too much authority being vested in the administration (i.e., the superintendent). In the main, these responsibilities were focused on staffing issues such as teacher transfers and teacher hiring.²⁰ They also confirmed that the issue of to whom the superintendent reported was a factor in the lengthy discussions.

One board member put the slowness of the decision-making process down to the distrust by board members of administrators since they had had no meaningful input in the past and they were fearful that agreement with the statement would inadvertently give the administration a free hand with little responsibility left in the hands of the Board of Trustees.

One interviewee indicated that in the end the process of discussion was seen to have been useful, even if contentious at times, and did clarify the role of the superintendent vis a vis the board.

²⁰ Throughout the lengthy discussions on this decision issue a further concern began to be raised and that was the role of the LSBCs especially in the hiring process.

Summary

The process of the resolution of this issue allowed the superintendent and the board members to come to an increased understanding of the roles of the superintendent and the board. It also began the process of coming to terms with the supplementary issue of the role of the LSBCs especially with regard to the hiring and transfer of staff. While this supplementary issue was not resolved completely and required further clarification in other policy discussions (see staffing above), there is a central theme apparent in the 1984-85 period: staffing and related responsibilities of various groups.

Although the administration and a senior board officer wanted the statement of goals and objectives decided quickly, the members of the board saw the issue as much more important than simply clarifying the roles and responsibilities of the administration and the board. They were very aware of what could be interpreted as the potential misuse of power by the administration; they demanded that they have the time to consider the implications. There was an implicit, if not explicit, feeling that there was a threat of "colonization."

The board members were not necessarily interested in this policy issue initially but in the end the members of the board appeared to feel that the process was very useful in helping to clarify a seminal issue.

The need for such a policy, although initially external to the experience of the board members, was an initiative internal to the jurisdiction. In that sense, the division was being operated in the same fashion as any other board in the province would be with a superintendent "who was very much in touch with current management notions."

The processes of decision-making involved and reinforced the roles of the superintendent and the board. The process was unique to the division, the influences from participants complex and the outcome could not have been predicted beforehand.

Teacher Evaluation Policy

In January 1984, Alberta Education was actively promoting a management policy dubbed the Management and Finance Plan. The department demanded that each jurisdiction develop and implement five evaluation policies. One of these policies was on teacher evaluation. The provincial policy statement gave guidance to jurisdictions about which procedures were mandatory and which were discretionary. No guidelines or procedures were mandatory other than an appeal process for teachers who wished to appeal the results of an evaluation. The provincial policy was not published until May, 1984 but as early as December, 1983 it was common knowledge that such a policy would eventually be required. The department required that each policy be sent to one of

the Regional Offices of Education for approval. While there was confusion within Alberta Education about what form the approval should take and about what it was that was to be approved, the policies were sent to the department and they were, in most instances, approved.

As a result of this Alberta Education initiative, at the March 16, 1984 meeting the Northland School Division Board of Trustees established a committee to develop the policy (motion #12451/84). On the recommendation of the administration there was one corporate board member on this committee (motion #12480/84). ²¹ ²²

The terms of reference for the committee stated that the objective was "to develop teacher evaluation policy and procedures for the Division which meet Alberta Education criteria" (NSD file: 103-D61-T62).

Besides external pressure from Alberta Education, there was a certain internal imperative in having a teacher evaluation policy in place. One of the school principals was having a good deal of trouble with parents and teachers at the time (winter, spring and summer 1984). This issue threatened to involve the Minister of Education; correspondence between a senior administrator and the Minister's Executive Assistant indicated that the administrator was concerned about the situation and equally

²¹ Remember that this is only the third full meeting of the board.

²² The members were one from the board, one representing the ATA, a representative of the principals association, a representative from the jurisdiction curriculum department, and the senior administrator as the chairman.

certain that the issue could be resolved by the jurisdiction itself without Ministerial intervention (NSD file: 155-P61-D01; 104-J02-Z99).

On May 30, 1984 senior division administrators corresponded by memo and the expectation was that the teacher evaluation policy would include the evaluation of principals. It can be assumed that the problems mentioned above influenced this suggestion. (NSD file 103-D61-T62). In the end the policy did not address the evaluation of principals or other administrators.

The policy committee met three times during the summer of 1984 on June 19, July 5 and July 16. On August 17, the policy was presented to the board for review and for consideration by the LSBCs, if that was considered appropriate. The decision was to gather responses from the LSBCs before a final October decision on the issue.

On August 27, 1984 the policy was submitted to one of the regional offices of Alberta Education asking for comments before the policy went before the board on October 20, 1984. Also on this date the superintendent submitted the policy to the president of the Alberta Teachers' Association local, and to the lawyer for the Alberta School Trustees' Association for comment (NSD file 103-D61-T62).

After receiving comments during September a revised policy was prepared and those who responded were thanked for their input.

On November 16, 1984 the policy was presented to the board and was accepted as presented (motion #12835).

The next time the evaluation policy appeared before the board was on August 23, 1985. In an administrator's memo to the board that accompanied the request for approval of the change, the administration informed the board that the changes required were a result of Alberta Education requirements for "natural justice" and for "an appeal mechanism." The notion of "natural justice" required statements on "a) Confidentiality of Report, b) Sharing and Signing of Report, c) Opportunity for Changing Behaviour." The notion of an "appeal mechanism" included "a) Two-level hierarchy of Evaluation, b) Provision for Board review." These changes to the policy were approved by the board (motion #13253/85).

Comments from Interviewees

In January 1985 a senior administrator stated that there was in his mind a policy on policy development. This was that the policy should be submitted to the board for review and tabled for study at the local level.

The chairman of the teacher evaluation committee indicated that it was his initial intent to have the committee develop the policy but in the end he developed an initial draft and that was the basis from which they started.

The major comment from the board member on the committee was that the process although fair and allowing input was a bit rushed: rushed from the point of view of allowing the LSBCs to consider the implications and direction the policy was taking.

Summary

The teacher evaluation policy was initiated by factors external to the division. The initiative came from Alberta Education.

In any event, the administration guided the process. The administration identified the make-up of the development committee, and the administration informed the board when changes were required. The urgency with which the policy was developed, plus the added pressure that Alberta Education demanded the policy made it seem impossible for the board member on the development committee to slow the process.

The process involved the LSBCs, the teachers' organization, the board and the administration as distinct entities. Their roles, although not that clear, were individually important. The process did reinforce, or strengthen, the roles of the participants by clarifying the role of the administrators, as policy developers, and the role of the board, as policy ratifiers, and the roles of other groups as distinct participants having input that could help shape the policy. The process also supported the demands of

Alberta Education for the policy.

This was a policy expected in all school divisions in the province. However, the actual resolution of the policy decision-making and the influences of the participants could not have been predicted. The process was unique to the division.

J. 1980-81 POLICY RELATIONS

There is very little formal policy development evident in the board minutes during the 1980-81 period. In fact, from January 1980 to June 1981 there is only one small change in one policy noted in the board minutes. That change was in the school year policy on May 19, 1981 (motion #10958/81).

A senior officer of the board (and CEO) at the time indicated that there was a policy committee with board representation, that this committee met once a year and that the recommendations from it were brought before the board. He also suggested that the executive committee of senior administrators would often develop policies and bring them before the board for ratification. A former trustee suggested that this was correct and that the board did discuss, develop, change or adopt policy. There was no documentation in the organized files of the division to support this contention - the files may not have been complete.

The difference in perception here about whether policy was or was not brought before the board is perhaps easily resolved by reference to the MacNeil report (1981:21) which contains comments on the governance of the division.

A policy manual has been established, but it is deficient in many areas. There is an absence of written policy in most matters, and regulations and procedures have been inappropriately included.

The sum of these problems is the inability of the Board to address its primary responsibilities - the establishment of policies and the examination of issues and problems facing the Division. The Board should place more emphasis on policy development....

The major point is that during the 1980-81 period there was very little formal policy development.

Summary

The absence of board policy development suggests decision-making was done on an ad hoc basis. This appears to have placed most of the decision-making authority in the hands of the chairman of the board. The MacNeil report indicated that there was such a problem. The report stated that because the chairman of the board was also the CEO responsible for the administration he was continually in a conflict of interest since he "presided over a board which must make decisions regarding matters for which he is responsible" (1981:22). It went on to say

as Chief Executive Officer he is also privy to information which other trustees do not have. This limits their effectiveness.

There is a strong suggestion that the trustees who were charged with representing the people of the division could

not fulfil their responsibilities as well as they might otherwise have. Policy decisions were made, whether consciously or unconsciously, but the process did not necessitate a distinction between board and administrative functions.

A main point here is that in policy issues the main functional distinctions were between those who governed the division and those who were not part of the division decision-making process, namely the local people.

K. CHANGES IN POLICY RELATIONS FROM 1980-81 TO 1984-85

There was one major change that had taken place in the area of policy relations in the division from 1980-81 to 1984-85.

During the 1980-81 period there were no distinctions between the roles in policy decision-making of the board and the administration and other groups within the division. In the 1984-85 period the processes of decision-making helped reinforce and clarify the roles of the participants. The processes also supported demands made on the system by Alberta Education.

In the 1984-85 period the policy statement on the superintendent goals and objectives is particularly interesting because it turned out to be a very necessary policy in the context of the strong distinction between the board and the administration - a distinction which did not exist in the 1980-81 period.

L. HIGH SCHOOL PROGRAMMING, 1984-85 AND 1980-81

The context within which high school programming took place in the two periods under investigation includes the regulations and other requirements of Alberta Education as outlined in the "Junior-Senior High School Handbook." This handbook indicated such requirements as the number of hours instruction required for a high school diploma, the number of credits for particular courses, the prerequisites for courses, the number of credits required for high school diplomas. Also, the provincial curricula outline the topics and the content of the topics that must be covered in a particular course before credit can be granted. There is room in these curricula for locally developed topics.

These requirements were equally applicable to all school jurisdictions in the province and were in no apparent way adjusted to meet the circumstances of Northland School Division.

For the 1984-85 period, two issues of high school program implementation, at SCH9 and SCH10, will be discussed briefly. One of these issues, the program at SCH10, was fairly easily resolved; the other, however, at SCH9 was not easily resolved. Neither of these issues involved much decision-making and input from the Board of Trustees but they did require a good deal of involvement of the LSBC in each case.

In the case of SCH9 the issue is important in that it illustrates the push for increased decision-making autonomy

on the part of the LSBC.

The discussion of high school programming during the 1980-81 period is more general in nature dealing with the overall orientation of the board and the administration to these issues. It also mentions one specific case, COMM1, where there were repeated requests for high school programs.

M. 1984-85 HIGH SCHOOL PROGRAMMING AT SCH9

Discussion about, and the implementation of, a grade 10-11 program at SCH9 were well underway in the fall of 1983. By January 24, 1984, the LSBC received a report about the progress of each student and was asked by the administration to consider what they would like in the future.

An alternative high school program was considered necessary so that students who might otherwise have dropped out would continue their education.

The area officer and one other individual, then, prepared a proposal regarding the approach to grade 10-11 for the 1984-85 school year. At the March 19, 1984 meeting the LSBC accepted the proposal for the grade 10-11 program. The board accepted the LSBC motion (Motion #12528/84) at its April 13, 1984 meeting, with the provision that a senior administrator discuss the matter further with the LSBC and the principal.

In a letter to the secretary of the LSBC on April 19, 1984, an administrator stated that a senior administrator

would discuss the proposal and alternatives "keeping in mind Alberta Education regulations for credits, financial implications, staffing, etc., with the principal and the Local School Board Committee" (NSD file:104-T01-Z99).

After discussions between the LSBC, the principal and the administrator, a renewed proposal, developed by the administrator, was accepted by the board on June 15, 1984. On June 25 the chairman of the LSBC discussed the approval with the other members of the LSBC.

By the October 18, 1984 meeting the LSBC chairman was disapproving of the high school program and discussed his displeasure with the LSBC. This issue was addressed at a November 26, 1984 meeting between the superintendent and the LSBC. In a letter to the principal the superintendent stated that the grade 10 program seemed satisfactory but the grade 11 program needed more flexibility to meet the individual circumstances of students. The superintendent stated further that he had met with the four students in the program after the November meeting and he reached agreement with them on the content of the program. He outlined the grade 11 program in that letter as well (NSD file: 601-K01-Z99).

At an April 25, 1985 meeting the LSBC requested an evaluation of the high school programs by the Grande Prairie Regional Office of Alberta Education.

And finally, on June 6, 1985 there was a special meeting between the LSBC and a newly appointed assistant superintendent to discuss the high school program. A further

meeting was held on June 18, 1985 to discuss alternative forms of delivering the program.

Comments from Interviewees

One senior administrator suggested that an influence on the issue was the fact that the LSBC had expressed non-confidence in the principal in the spring of 1985. The board had not accepted this because at a meeting in the early spring it had been decided to leave all principals in their positions and to review their tenure at the end of the next school year, June 1986, instead of in June, 1985. The administrator suggested that the LSBC members, particularly the chairperson, were affronted by this threat to their autonomy. The issue continued through the fall of 1985 when the administration and the LSBC again seemed to disagree on the approaches to the program.

The principal, and other administrators felt that an important issue for the LSBC was "who was calling the shots." The chairperson of the LSBC felt that the problem was that the school system could not adapt to meet local requirements which to him were obvious. These requirements were that the students required a good deal of flexibility and understanding to avoid their becoming "early school leavers." The main difference was framed by the LSBC chairman in terms of conflict between administrator interests and local interests.

N. 1984-85 HIGH SCHOOL PROGRAMMING AT SCH10

The issue of high school programming at SCH10 began in February, 1984 when the LSBC made a motion that it wanted a grade 10 program to be offered. Following this, there were discussions with administrators.

The board considered the request on March 16, 1984. The administration stated that the offering of the program depended on the "outcome and finalization of the 1984 budget." (NSD board Agenda for March 16, 1984):

At the April 13, 1984 board meeting the administrator presented a proposal for the program, including costs and approach. This was accepted (Motion #12494/84) and the program was implemented without further ado in September, 1984.

O. SUMMARY OF HIGH SCHOOL PROGRAMMING 1984-85

In the case of SCH9, the administrators involved negotiated with the LSBC. However, throughout the issue there were conflicts evident.

There were no direct conflicts in the positions of the administrators or the LSBC members with the Alberta Education requirements. These could have been met whichever proposal had been implemented. It is important to note there was a conscious decision on the part of LSBC members to provide the students with an education that met the provincial requirements and in that sense, the LSBC members felt they were not being unduly controlled by provincial

policy. Provincial policy was seen as a mechanism for providing guidance and high quality education. It was the positions of the administrators about course delivery that were problematic for the LSBC members.

By contrast with the SCH9 high school program issue the situation at SCH10 had none of the controversy and drama. The SCH9 issue becomes more evidently an issue of control and conflicting interests.

The decision-making process in both cases has reinforced the roles of the LSBC. Thus, it was apparently possible for the LSBCs to be intimately involved in the decision-making processes to provide meaningful input into the way in which programming is delivered.

The processes however, were unique to the division. The interaction between the LSBCs and the administrators were in no way influenced by external factors other than to be provided provincial structuring (courses available, credits required and so on) within which to work. The resolutions of the issues, as far as they went, were internally defined.

The internal processes, the influence of each participant, were so complex that the resolutions to these internal decisions could not have been predicted.

P. 1980-81 HIGH SCHOOL PROGRAMS

There were a number of requests in the 1980-81 period for high school programs. Very few of these requests, however, came before the board. One exception was a request

for a high school program, grade 10, from community COMM1. High school programs for grades 10-11-12 had been given in this community in the early 1960s but according to a former board officer a reduction in the numbers of students and the availability of programs in a nearby community made bussing the alternative to having the program delivered in COMM1.

There is a sporadic history to these requests for high school in COMM1. In the spring of 1976, there was, following community meetings, a proposal put forward by a senior administrator that a high school program be offered in COMM1 to serve a number of nearby communities in the Division (NSD file 601-G03-Z99). At a board meeting at that time there was a motion put forward to conduct a feasibility study regarding the development of a grade 10 program "as requested by the area residents" (motion #7801/76). There was no further mention of the program in the board minutes. Another administrator suggested that there was not much support for the program at the local level.

In any event, again on May 16, 1980 there was a request for grade 10 this time by the principal who had discussed the idea with parents, students, and teachers. The board considered the proposal on June 25, 1980 but tabled the issue at that time (the principal had been transferred just before that to a classroom position elsewhere). At the July 29, 1980 board meeting there was a motion that the board explore the possibility of offering grade 10 in the community (motion #10246).

At the August 25, 1980 meeting the board made a decision to offer grade 10 for the 1980-81 year (motion #10299/81). The program was offered to 7 girls and 4 boys in grade 10 and the principal requested extra teaching help to offer the grade 10 program (NSD file 601-G03-Z99). The extra allocation of teaching help does not appear in any board minutes.

The next mention of high school programs in documentation is at a public meeting on June 17, 1981 in COMM1. The meeting was called to discuss the building of a new school. A senior board officer was pessimistic at the time about whether provincial support for the program would be forthcoming because of the numbers of students (NSD file 107-G01-Z99).

In the 1981-82 school year there was 1 girl registered in the high school program. After this year the program was offered in a community outside the jurisdiction and students were bussed.

Aside from this specific program request, there were many other community meetings at which such requests were made [e.g. COMM3, November 2, 1981 - the request was for high school programming (NSD file 155-P61-J03); COMM4, June 20, 1980 - request for a home economics program; and COMM5, June 17, 1980 - request for grades 9 and 10 (NSD file 107-C04-Z99)]. None of these programs was developed.

Q. SUMMARY OF HIGH SCHOOL PROGRAMMING 1980-81

During the 1980-81 school year "three schools provide(d) senior high school instruction, only one of which provide(d) Grade 11 and 12 programs" (MacNeil 1981:35). At the time the division did not have a "philosophy of curriculum" and there was felt to be little need for local involvement in the identification of the learning needs of students (MacNeil 1981:35).

In comparison to the 1984 program issue at SCH9 and SCH10, there is apparently very little local input into program development in the 1980-81 period. The method of high school program delivery was not open to discussion. In the case cited, COMM1, the overwhelming professional opinion (either departmental or administrative) was that senior high school students should be bussed to communities outside the division where it was assumed better quality programs could be offered.

The board, at its formal meetings at this time, dealt little with the issue of senior high school programming, or any other type of programming for that matter; when it did there appeared to be administrative foot-dragging in cases where the "professional" opinion was that the program would not be "beneficial."

The processes involved in implementing or offering high school programs did not, in any systematic or consistent way, involve the board or community residents. The processes were in the main only administrative and involved only the

administration. The problem during this period is that the board and the administration worked so closely together that, it becomes difficult to identify the distinction between administrative and board decisions.

The internal processes involved in the decision about high schools are so complex that it would have been impossible to attempt to predict the outcomes. At times programs were offered, at others they were not.

R. CHANGES IN HIGH SCHOOL PROGRAM DECISION-MAKING FROM 1980-81 TO 1984-85

The structuring of the program was the same in both periods. Alberta Education set guidelines as has been mentioned.

The major change came in 1984 with the participation of LSBCs. Through their participation they could and did influence the high school program in ways that were left unrestricted by Alberta Education. One of these areas was the number of years in which a student could be expected to finish the high school program. Through this sort of negotiation, the LSBC and the administration came to compromises about the high schooling that students could receive at SCH9 and SCH10.

The processes of decision-making were quite different in 1984-85 and as a result provided for high school programming that came close to meeting local resident needs. This would have been an impossibility in the 1980-81 period.

S. CONCLUSION

The political context of domination/dependency evident between the division and Alberta Education has shaped the major decision-making structures of the division. In the both periods of this study, the administration, the board and the involvement of local people were under the control of the provincial government. Also, the economic context of dependency showed that in both periods the province had considerable control over the resources that were used to run the division.

But even in this context, during both periods, the processes of decision-making were unique to the division in that the involvement of the decision-making structures (those imposed and those internally developed) and the kind and quantity of influence each had over particular issues could not have been predicted or controlled from outside the division. The decision-making processes were internal matters.

The processes did support the decision-making structures and reinforce their roles as important to the resolution of issues. The processes of decision-making also provided an internal context which promoted cohesion amongst those involved in decision-making. In most of the decision issues investigated the issues were resolved to the satisfaction of those involved. The unity of the division was perhaps reinforced through the participation and the resolution of issues.

The major changes that took place between 1980-81 and 1984-85 in the resolution of issues were a) that the decision-making structures changed (this mainly as a result of the revision in the Northland School Division Act) and b) during the 1984-85 period the processes provided local people with input into the decision-making processes: the 1980-81 period did not. As a result, it appears that the processes were more dynamic, the resolutions of issues had to involve local ideas in 1984-85.

Chapter VII

COMING TO TERMS WITH THE ISSUES RAISED BY THE INTERNAL COLONIAL MODEL

A. INTRODUCTION

In Chapter Three a claim was made that the internal colonial model at the macro social level of analysis is applicable to the region and the people of Northland School Division.

With land tenure rights different from other Albertans, with administrative control in the hands of Native specific government structures - reinforcing dependency, with a body of legislation which treats Native people as collectivities rather than individuals, with territorial segregation and the material deprivation of the population, there is strong evidence of the rule of this particular ethnic group by others in the province of Alberta.

I also showed in Chapter Five that the division was operated in a context of political and economic domination/dependency during both periods of the investigation. A context in which there was the denial of the participation of the local people in decision-making also existed during the 1980-81 period. In the macro social domain of the contexts of political and economic domination/dependency, the major influence from Alberta Education is on the structuring of the division, not on the internal processes of decision-making.

The data in Chapter Six show that with the decision-making relations in 1984-85 there is considerable participation of the local people. The extent of their influences through the LSBCs and the board was considerable in all issues discussed. This very basic observation would suggest that in general the rule of Native people by another ethnic group did not apply within the division in 1984-85 because there was participation in the decision-making.

As a result of this conclusion, this chapter deals with the significant problem of the relationship between macro and small group (micro) levels: the mutual influences between macro-context of domination and the micro-social context in which small group decision-making takes place.

As well, the chapter addresses issues problematic to the internal colonial model: the language of social science with regard to power and change, the question of racism and its relation to the structures of society, the problem of the inherent separation of populations through the use of ethnic markers.

B. AN INTRODUCTION TO "POWER"/INFLUENCE IN NORTHLAND SCHOOL DIVISION

Decision-making Processes

Throughout the decision issues discussed in Chapter Six the internal decision-making processes of the division have supported structures imposed in the political domain (i.e.,

structures imposed by Alberta Education - the LSBCs, the administration and the board).

There was also support in the decision-making processes for structural impositions from Alberta Education in the economic context of dependency. For example, Alberta Education's structuring of the budget was supported by the decision-making processes.

It is of note that in contexts other than those of colonial domination the internal processes also supported imposed structuring from Alberta Education. A particularly important example of this was in 1984-85 when the teacher evaluation policy was developed. Alberta Education demanded the same policy of all Alberta school jurisdictions; the context was not that of the uniqueness and dependency of the division.

It can be concluded that in all contexts the organization of the division decision-making processes supported impositions that were necessary for the division to survive as an educational institution in the educational environment of Alberta. This support was not blind and unquestioning. The decision-making participants did express their opinions and often those opinions were not in support of the eventual outcome of an issue. It is the differing contexts of those impositions that make some impositions unique to the colonial situation evident in Northland School Division.

Resistance by the Board to Imposed Structuring

It would be simplistic to suggest that there was no resistance to attempted external interference in the division. For example, the members of the board were unwilling to accept the notion that the board should not be responsible for, or involved in, staffing. The board proceeded with the development of staffing policies that met their requirements. The development of policies in the areas of staff hiring, transfer, and assignment was an important indicator of the determination of the board members to come to terms with issues in their own way. Attempts at coercion were ignored. These policies were not imposed by internal or external sources.

There was also board resistance to attempts by the administrators to "impose" their views and directions on decisions. For example, the board members were not willing to take the superintendent goals and objectives at face value. Board members suggested changes to the structure of the superintendent goals and objectives document.

A further example of attempted internal "imposition" shows an unwillingness on the part of the local people to acquiesce. During 1984-85 high school programming, the resistance came from the LSBC for SCH9 which negotiated the form of and the timeframe for the delivery of the high school programs with the administration. This was a further example of resistance to internal administrative positions.

An analysis of many decision issues shows that the board and LSBC members felt compelled to arrive at solutions negotiated with administrators. They took the time to do this when they felt such action was required.

Examples such as these indicate that the participants in the decision-making within the division did not acquiesce to all external or internal demands.

C. THE LOCUS OF AUTHORITY IN 1984-85

The LSBCs - Mandated by Legislative Act

The influence of individual decision-making structures over internal decisions during the 1984-85 period varied.

The first area of discussion is with regard to the powers available to the LSBCs through the Northland School Division Act. Legislatively the LSBCs have been given the power to participate in the selection of certain staff (not teachers) by Section 9 (g) of the Northland School Division Act. The most important aspect of this is that the LSBC members are local people and bring a local perspective to the decisions regarding staffing, including the hiring of principals.

In general, though, the powers given the LSBCs were that they could request, recommend, nominate or advise.

The LSBCs provided a source of input into board decisions. The board thus had access to certain local opinions which helped it in its decision-making. For

example, the complaints of the LSBC members for SCH6 about the transfer of one of their teachers gave the board important information about the issue. In this case the board overruled the administrator's decision to transfer the teacher.

The example of the authority of the LSBC for SCH9, with regard to aspects of the structuring of the high school program, shows that in some circumstances the LSBCs had power on their own without appeal to the board for assistance.

The LSBCs, then, were important to the decision-making processes by providing input that certainly the board in 1980-81 period lacked. This local influence derives from the legislation; but the legislation is part of the context of dependency. Thus, while the powers available to the LSBCs may well be beneficial to the running of the division, they are not a result of a decision process made in a fashion similar to those in other school jurisdictions in the province. This structuring of the LSBCs in Northland is part of the colonialism exhibited in the relations between the division and Alberta Education and is unique to Northland.

The Superintendent - hired by Alberta Education

The Northland Act goes on to state that the superintendent will be an employee of Alberta Education. This provides for a superintendent who is ultimately responsible to the Minister of Education: a situation which

is uncommon in Alberta although there are occasionally provincially-appointed superintendents administering school jurisdictions. In the decision-issues considered in this investigation it is not clear how this reporting relationship affected the resolution of issues. The superintendent, as the CEO, did have access to input from other members of Alberta Education and it could be concluded that in some cases that influence on the superintendent's opinions was considerable. Yet, such an analysis of the superintendent was not the focus of this investigation and can only be assumed to have been an important source of input for the superintendent as he presented his positions to the board on some issues. This input for the superintendent was probably as important as the input the LSBCs provided the board. That input did not necessarily provide the superintendent with an overwhelming amount of influence that could sway decisions. Take for example, the issue of the staffing. The superintendent and senior officials of Alberta Education wanted to see the board step back from being directly involved in staffing. Their wishes were not accepted by the board. In the end, the board and the administration developed staffing policies that met the concerns of each.

What happened as a result of the legislation was that the superintendent tended to be caught between two masters: Alberta Education and the board. As a result, there may have been a dependency of the superintendent on Alberta Education

which only served to reinforce the domination of the division as a whole. This relationship between the superintendent and Alberta Education was not a focus of this study and could be fruitfully investigated to determine the relationship between the superintendent's expressed opinions and those of Alberta Education personnel, including the Minister of Education.

The Ability of the Administration to Structure

There were instances in which the administration held sway over the structuring of events. These decision-issues included the budget where the administration virtually led the board members through the process and gave the event shape - this happened in both 1980 and 1985. Another issue involved the selection of the principals in SCH7 and SCH8 during 1984-85, and at COMM2 during 1980. A third example was the teacher evaluation policy development where the administration had considerable influence over the structuring of the event. None of these issues involved contentious interaction between the board (or the LSBCs) and the administration. But they do illustrate the contexts within which the administration tended to have considerable power to structure.

The first event, the budgeting within the division, is an example of the administration's power deriving from the economic context of dependency unique to the division. The administration's opinion on how the budgeting should be

approached was taken for granted by the board, evidently, because the board members felt that the administration knew better than they Alberta Education's requirements. In this case the administration could crudely be considered "agents" of Alberta Education who were supporting the context of economic dependency. This is not to suggest that the administrators were consciously disenfranchising the board. They were not. They were helping the board deal with budgeting, the structuring of which was out of the hands of both the administrators and the board.

The second example, the hiring of the principals, involved the administration's control of the structuring of the events so that the LSBCs were involved and the process was a comfortable one for all. Again the administrator's intentions were commendable. But the context of political dependency in which the division was operating denied the need for local decision-making regarding the structuring of the event. The Northland School Division Act mandated that the LSBCs be involved, thus creating a dependency. But it must be remembered that the imposed structures provided an arena for considerable influence. That dependency was supported by the administrators. The administrators again could be thought of as "agents" of colonialism. But they were most likely unwitting accomplices to colonial domination. It must be reemphasized that the other participants in these events were also accomplices by the mere fact that they participated; but again they were

unwitting and they lacked the power to structure the events.

During 1980, the hiring of the principal at COMM2 was in the hands of the administration completely. The local community did, only after considerable conflict with the division (the administration and the board) have enough influence to have the principal removed. But during this period the division was even more clearly a government within a government ruling a subject people.

The third example is necessary because of the comparison it provides regarding the macro-social contexts. This event was the development of the teacher evaluation policy. As has been mentioned this decision issue arose as a result of the demand by Alberta Education that all school jurisdictions develop such a policy. This decision issue was not one which can be considered part of the contexts of dependency unique to the division. Thus the power of the administrators to structure the event came not from a colonial context but from a context in which all school jurisdictions operate. This is a context which provides administrators access to Alberta Education resources that the boards of jurisdictions do not have. This access to provincial resources provides them with the power to structure events.

Thus the influence of administrators may come from the macro-social contexts within which they have to operate. The critical issue, for the social scientist, is that the context in which this influence shows itself must be

analyzed. In Northland School Division administrator power can be, and has been in some instances, derived from a colonial context of dependency, but not necessarily.

Conclusion

The locus of authority in the division, in legislative terms, appears to give the superintendent access to the weight of the resources of Alberta Education such that the superintendent and Alberta Education together could have overwhelming influence over internal decision-making. But the legislated involvement of the LSBCs, and the local input that involvement provided to the board, tends to counter-balance the influence of the superintendent to a certain extent in certain issues.

Even when the power to structure an event lies with the administration it is impossible to predict the outcomes of decision-issues. There was, in the end, mutual influence in decision-making, though not necessarily equal influence.

By comparison, the decision-making in the 1980-81 period was obviously weighted in favour of the administration. The chairman of the board was also the CEO and as such he controlled decision-making. The locally appointed board members had no legislated, or otherwise organized, inputs from local people other than occasional meetings with communities which provided little opportunity for the board members to explore local issues and to empathize with local concerns. There was essentially no

local input into decision-making.

During the 1980-81 period there is evidence that there was considerable control by one ethnic group (non-Native administration) over another (Native - local residents).

During the 1984-85 period, it is clear that local people are involved in the decision-making with the division. It is also clear, however, that in some instances that participation is limited by the context of colonial dependency: in the political and economic domains.

In summary, the locus of authority to structure decision issues lies with the administration when those issues are within the contexts of colonial dependency. This influence can also be derived from the control to which all school jurisdictions in the province are subject. The board, however, has power to structure events as well when the contexts of dependency are not operative.

D. INFLUENCE IN NORTHLAND SCHOOL DIVISION COMPARED TO OTHER SCHOOL JURISDICTIONS

The context of political dependency provides for the inclusion of LSBCs in the decision-making processes of Northland School Division. This inclusion has been shown to be a positive factor in the influence the board exerted over the resolution of issues. But still the fact that the LSBCs exist is part of an internal colonial imposition by Alberta Education and the Minister of Education.

In this respect Northland School Division is unique. Other school jurisdictions in the province come under the aegis of the Alberta School Act. This Act indicates that it is one of the powers of the Minister to implement local school advisory committees if petitioned by three electors. An advisory committee would have powers very similar to those of the Northland LSBCs - other than regarding the hiring of principals and dissolution. (Sections 26, 27, 28, School Act, RSA, 1980).

Also in the political domain, the fact that the superintendents of school jurisdictions in Alberta are normally employees of boards gives the boards of these jurisdictions the authority to hire and fire the superintendent at their discretion. This is not the case with the board of Northland School Division, and again, reinforces the dependency of the division.

In the economic domain, Northland is again unique from other school jurisdictions in that the budget was structured to such a great extent.

While it is the case that the Northland board is restricted in the hiring of the superintendent and has the LSBCs imposed on it, there appears to be no unique influence on the processes decision-making other than the fact that the processes have supported these restrictions. That is, the processes of decision-making in Northland, and I would suppose other school jurisdictions, perform the functions of helping to distinguish decision-making structures and of

binding the division together as a unity and as a unique social organization.

E. THE NOTION OF "POWER"

The internal colonial model is usually framed in terms of the concept "power," implicitly if not explicitly. One such implicit statement is that of Thomas Berger (1981:xii):

Diversity is anathema to the rulers of many modern nation-states. The government of such a state can be an instrument of repression, denying a minority the right to speak its own language, to practise its own religion, or to pursue a way of life that differs from that of the majority - in short, denying the members of a minority the freedom to be themselves.

While this is not a social scientist speaking, he is expressing what makes great common sense, that power in this instance is a negative thing. It may be the ability to refuse or restrict.

Such impressionistic notions of power are evident in administrative and in social science discourses on power. The concept of "power" in these instances is then an orienting device, helping the observer to focus on certain aspects of situations. However, the notion requires much more elaboration in any social science investigation.

An analysis of authority in this investigation suggests that the notion of power is not one which can be framed in terms of absolute domination or coercion. There is an imperative that power be framed in terms of mutual interaction and influence, that there be an analysis of the structures and processes involved, and that there be an

analysis of the contexts within which decision-making took place.

First consider the political and financial contexts of colonial dependency on Northland School Division. These contexts are not predictive of the processes of decision-making within the division. These processes of decision-making were unique to the jurisdiction, as they would be to any school jurisdiction. The internal processes did, though, support the structuring that was imposed on the division as a result of macro social relations.

These contexts are, however, predictive of the ability of the administrators to structure issue resolution.

Secondly, consider the internal decision-making of the division. The analysis of the issues and the intra-divisional interactions indicates that coercive power of one decision-making structure or another was not a describable phenomenon in all situations. There were instances where the administration tended to have more influence, for example, in budgeting; the administrators power derived from the macro-social context of colonial dependency. There were situations in which the LSBCs and the board tended to have more influence, for example, with regard to the transfer of the teacher back to SCH6.

What can be concluded from this investigation is that there was, mutual, but not necessarily equal, influence in regard to the internal decision issues, depending on the macro-social context.

The notion of power, then, requires a multi-dimensional explication of influence in the structural and processual explanatory domains while taking into account the context of an event. It is this sort of comprehensive description which can give the word "power" more precision.

At no time in the internal Northland School Division decision-making relationship has there been absolute control exerted from the domain of the relationship between Alberta Education and the division over all the elements, processual as well as structural, of internal decision-making. There has been extreme control over structuring and, as a result, much of the processes supported those structures. But always the resolution of issues has been an internal, complex dynamic.

F. CHANGE AND NORTHLAND SCHOOL DIVISION

As mentioned in Chapter Two change can be described as taking place in both structures and in processes.

In the case of Northland School Division the processes are those processes that define the components (board, administration, LSBCs, local administration, other committees within the division as well as policy statements and other decisions), their distinct roles and functions. These processes were those described in Chapter Six.

The question to be answered in this investigation is this: "Have these internal processes changed?". We know the structures have changed. In the 1980-81 and in the 1984-85

periods the structure of the division was determined in part by that relationship between the educational environment and the division. There is considerable difference noted in the structures of the division in the two investigation periods.

With regard to processes, in that same 1980-81 period it is evident that there was little distinction between the board and the administration since the chairman of the board was also the CEO. This relationship was so indistinct as to cause confusion in the minds of the trustees about their roles as trustees (they dealt with administrative issues almost completely) and responsibilities (they were not clear about their responsibilities for geographic areas and neither were the people for whom they were supposed to be responsible, e.g., the principal issue at COMM2). As well, the board did not take upon itself an address to major educational issues.

There were also few relationships which enabled the local residents to become recognized as organized groups and to participate in the affairs of the division.

During the 1980-81 period the incorporation of local views in the decision-making was rare, to say the least. Even when there were meetings between those involved with the governance of the division and local residents, there was very little participation in the decision-making, for example, the transfer of the teacher back to COMM2. In this same case, the local residents did, however, have considerable influence over the transfer of the principal.

In other decision issues, during the same period, the residents had little influence even though in many cases they did request changes, for example, in high school programming or involvement in staffing.

In the 1984-85 period, many of the structures, although changed, are still determined by the financial and political context of dependency.

During this period, there were, however, processes in place which helped distinguish the roles of these structures. The involvement of local people in the board and in the LSBCs provided an internal context within which there were different and much more dynamic processes of decision-making during 1984-85 when compared to 1980-81.

On the one hand, during this period there is easily observed a process of distinction between the administration and the Board of Trustees. Take for example the processes of discussion between the board and the administration regarding the hiring of the assistant superintendent. The processes of discussion helped create a distinction between the two with regard to staffing responsibilities. These processes continued in other issues which were noted (e.g. teacher hiring, teacher transfer, the superintendent goals and objectives). This sort of distinction can also be seen between the LSBCs and the governance level. Take for example, the teacher transfer issue at SCH6 or the high school programming issue at SCH9.

The main changes in the processes within the division were the incorporation of the LSBCs in the decision-making relationships as well as more clearly defined distinctions between decision-makers.

The change in the processes that distinguish elements of the system indicates that the system besides being more autonomous and self-sustaining was a different system: fundamental change had taken place. This change in processes was one in which the processes of decision-making were more clearly defined in the 1984-85 period. During the 1980-81 period, the processes were indistinct. The change is that the processes became evident.

Within the division there has been change in the structures and in the interaction processes since 1980-81. A great many of the structures, however, in both periods, were imposed by the educational environment. Certainly the structuring of the division remained equally under the control of Alberta Education in both periods.

At the level of the relationship between the Alberta Education and the division, during the 1984-85 period, there appears to have been minimal change in the processes of interaction from 1980-81. These, however, were not a focus of this investigation and could be pursued in another investigation.

G. THE LOCUS OF CHANGE

The results of this study suggest that the locus of change in structuring is both within the division and outside the division.

Take the following examples. The interaction between Alberta Education and the division changed the decision-making structures of the division. Decision-making structures were also created because of internal divisional requirements as in the case of the development of the Finance Committee or the policy committees.

As a further example, there were structural changes required by Alberta Education in the policy system of the division (e.g. teacher evaluation) - an external influence. There were also structural changes required by internal dynamics to the policy system (e.g. staffing assignments).

This suggests that the locus of change in structuring is in the processes of relationships. This is evident at two levels of analysis in the relationship between the division and Alberta Education and in the relationships between the internal decision-making structures.

Change in processes had been generated by the imposition of different structures during 1984-85. Thus, there is mutual interaction between processes and structures, change in one reinforcing change in the other.

Change, as I have discussed it, focuses on different levels of analysis at each of which there are structures and processes to be considered. Structural change comes from the

processes of interaction and participation. Changes in processes constitute fundamental change.

Social change, then, can take place at any level of analysis. It must be distinguished 1) by reference at each level to structure and process and 2) by reference to the influences from one level to another.

H. THE SEPARATION OF POPULATIONS: SOCIAL SCIENCE DESCRIPTOR USE

The initial analytical framework for this investigation is that of internal colonialism. The model is framed in terms of Native/ non-Native interaction. The internal colonial model as classically defined (i.e., in Chapter Two) suggests that not only should the macro social relationships but also small group and individual interactions be given the same descriptors - Native and non-Native.

I have argued that the designations Native and non-Native are appropriate at the macro social levels. Thus, the division can be characterized as Native and the educational environment including Alberta Education can be characterized as non-Native in the contexts of dependency.

At the small group and individual level of interaction it can be said that only in some situations do the ethnic markers apply. Where the ethnic markers do apply is in situations in which it can be clearly seen that there has been structuring of an interaction scene by the contexts of dependency.

For example, the ethnic markers would apply when considering the interaction between the administration and the board during budgeting. The processes of decision-making supported the structures that were put in place as a result of the context of economic dependency. Thus, the administration maintained considerable influence over the structure and much of the processes of the budget decision-making relationship. The budgeting then becomes a process of interaction between the non-Native administration and the Native board. While the administration, as a collective group, can be termed non-Native, individual administrators may well be either Native or not. The same holds true for board members.

Two questions were raised in Chapter Two about ethnic markers. The first dealt with the imposition of ethnic descriptors on individuals whose behaviour was then perceived to be culture bound. This study shows that for the social scientist it is the context of description which defines the relevant circumstances in which groups of individuals may be identified by ethnicity mainly. For example, in the context of political dependency individuals who are LSBC members could be characterized by their ethnicity when they are participating in the resolution of school division decisions involving the LSBCs.

The context I have developed is one which focuses on individuals as they are members of one of the decision-making structures within Northland School Division

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and as they are involved in processes of decision-making relevant to the issues of the division. These same individuals in another context would not necessarily be identified by an ethnic marker or by the same ethnic marker.

This approach to the use of ethnic markers does not deny that ethnicity can be a most salient descriptor regardless of social context. For example, an individual's ethnicity can be very salient to himself without partaking in social interaction, or ethnicity can be a salient descriptor when the individual is being investigated. The discussion in this dissertation is aimed at social scientists who investigate groups in interaction (in social contexts) and it is the social scientist who must develop and present a context for the interpretation of social phenomena.

The second question raised in Chapter Two is about the separation of the social world into the Native/non-Native dichotomy. When is such a designation appropriate?

The first point I would like to make is with regard to the cohesion within the division decision-making processes. Even with the use of ethnic markers to designate the interactants it cannot be assumed there is continual conflict of interests.

It can be said about both periods of the study that while there was support in the decision-making processes for imposed structures and resistance to other forms of imposition, there was cohesiveness within the division. This

cohesion kept individuals working together even though a number of those individuals would have considered the processes difficult, and at times close to the point of breaking down altogether. The view that there was cohesion is supported by the fact that board members, even though they may have been dissatisfied with the processes, continued to participate until issues were resolved.

A case in point was the 1984-85 process of development of the teacher evaluation policy. One of the decision-making structures, the administration, had considerable influence over the structuring of the event. Even though the administrators a) designated members, b) structured the environment, and c) judged the appropriate speed of the process, the board continued to work on the issue and a policy was developed and agreed upon.

While the same sort of cohesion was evident between board members and the administration during the 1980-81 period, cohesion between local residents and those who participated in internal decision-making was not then the case. During this period the local residents were shut out of the internal divisional decision-making processes. As a result there was often conflict between the administration and the board, and the local residents.

The second point I would like to make is regarding the level of analysis. The example of importance here is when the interactions between Alberta Education and the division are being considered. At this level of analysis

administrators, board members and LSBC members are working together as a unit which must be considered cohesive. The separation of populations within the division becomes a meaningless exercise at this point.

It becomes clear that the ethnic designation of interactants, whether these be of individuals or of small groups, is dependent less on observed events and the behaviours of individuals than on the context developed by the observer.

I. ETHNIC MARKERS AND THE SOCIAL SCIENTIST

Ethnic markers when used by social scientists must be justified. The justification does not depend on how the subjects of the study view themselves - although the subjects could agree at times with the social science designations. The ethnic descriptors depend more on how the observer of the situation characterizes the interaction scene, on the context within which the interaction takes place, and on what criteria the observer uses for the designation. The criteria will necessarily include an understanding of the context in which the interaction occurs.

An appropriate use of the ethnic markers in social science will necessarily depend in the last analysis on the observer, on his/her motives for using them.

J. RACISM WITHIN THE DIVISION

It is very difficult to suggest that "racism" exists within the division. From the time I spent in the division it is clear to me that most individuals did not approach their interactions in terms of the perceived "race" of the other individual. Also, it was certainly the case that none discussed with me other individuals in pejorative terms on the basis of "race." Nor was "race" an explicit factor in the documentation reviewed.

What I am referring to here is a notion of racism which is the inappropriate use of ethnic markers such that action is influenced, positively or negatively, by the perceived "race" or "culture" of another individual or group of individuals, when that ascription is manifestly not germane to the context of the action. Inherent in this definition is the assumption that in most social contexts, ascribed "race" or "culture" is a peripheral or incidental construction.

The question addressed here is one of the situations in which ethnicity becomes an motivating factor for inappropriate action.

In decision issues investigated in the 1984-85 period the individual interactants did not frame their interactions in terms of ethnic markers.

Thus, with regard to internal decision-making, it is difficult in the extreme to discuss racism and to address the "materialist/idealist" question raised in the Flores/Gonzales debate in Chapter Two.

In some of the decision-making there appeared to be stereotyping, however. For example, stereotyping is evident in the inappropriate perception by some administrators and board members of the LSBC and board members as not having experience enough to understand budgeting.

It might be argued that this perception of LSBC and board members was influenced - perhaps even structured - by the macro-context of economic dependency in which the budgeting took place. In that macro-context it is clear that perceptions of board members by Alberta Education personnel was a factor in keeping the division economically dependent on Alberta Education.

The criterion for deciding whether or not racism was a factor in any of the case study data, is whether or not there was an explicit appeal to the "Native" nature of the division, and no logical substantiation beyond what was considered to be "given" - the invoking of "Nativeness" as an explanatory category.

K. RACISM EXTERNAL TO THE DIVISION

The reasoning behind the existence of Northland School Division is based on the "race" of the people served by the division: the people of the division are considered "Indian."

During the 1980-81 period, the residents of the division were excluded from decision-making because it was felt they could not handle the franchise or the budget. This

is undoubtedly action taken on the basis of race and must be considered inappropriate, especially since the Minister of Education, government agencies, and the local people themselves felt participation was a right the local people should have.

During the 1984-85 period, the division was still considered an "Indian" jurisdiction. As a result, even with a change in the Northland School Division Act to provide participation by local people, the division continued to be dependent on Alberta Education, the Minister of Education, and the Northland School Division Act. While the justification for the control is framed in terms of financial control and political stewardship, the clear indication is that is the perception that "Indians" are unable to be responsible for their own affairs that justifies provincial control.

Racism, then, can be said to be extant in terms of the structuring of the division within the contexts of dependency described in Chapter Five.

Once again it is difficult to relate this type of "bureaucratic" racism to the idealist and materialist notions explored by Gonzales and Flores. Racism in this case is evident in the macro social domain. As a result, the only meaningful conclusion to be made in this study is that there has been provided an orientation to further study which could lead to an increased understanding of "racism."

L. INTERNAL COLONIALISM: STILL EVIDENT?

It is clear that during 1980-81 internal colonialism was present in the relationship between Alberta Education and Northland School Division. That relationship structured the division and created a colonial context in which 1) there was clearly evident the separation of the people of the division as an ethnic group from other ethnic groups, 2) the division was economically dependent on Alberta Education, 3) the division had special legal status and was, as a result one aspect of the infrastructure of dependency - a government agency which administered the people of the division: political dependency, and 4) the Native people of the division were clearly ruled by another ethnic group, i.e., internal decision-making did not involve local residents more than was absolutely necessary as a result of local initiatives. Thus, it can be seen that van den Berghe's (1984) criteria for internal colonialism still hold well as a descriptive framework.

The internal colonial situation continues to exist for Northland School Division in 1984-85, although to a slightly lesser extent. The relationship between Alberta Education and the division was virtually unchanged from 1980-81. Alberta Education continued to have control over the division's economic and political aspects. The internal processes had changed, however. The first three criteria outlined above continue to apply. The change has come in the rule by one ethnic group over another. Whereas that rule in

1980-81, tended to be more or less complete, in 1984-85 that rule has been modified considerably. There is still rule (over the structuring of issues' resolution) by one ethnic group (the administration) over another (the Native board) in decisions that fall within the political and economic contexts of dependency derived from the macro-social domain. There is less likely to be rule by the administration when decisions are not linked to such contexts.

The processes of decision-making are not controlled by one ethnic group although the processes do support imposed structuring. These internal processes have changed considerably over the time periods investigated. It is assumed that the process of interaction between Alberta Education and the division have not changed significantly, although this analysis is not part of the investigation.

Thus it can be concluded that an internal colonial context of dependency continued to be evident for the Native people of northern Alberta, albeit in a modified form from 1980-81 to 1984-85. This colonial context finds some fundamental changes have taken place with regard to decision-making in Northland School Division.

While van den Berghe's criteria for internal colonialism are supported in the relationship between Alberta Education and the division, the indicator that internal colonialism within the division is present is this: that the ability of one group of decision-makers to structure the critical elements of an event be derived from

(determined by) the context of internal colonial domination at a macro level as described by van den Berghe. There is a hierarchy here. The internal colonial relations between Alberta Education and the division, determine the ability of the administration to structure certain situation. In these situations internal colonial control continues through to the administrators within the division.

Chapter VIII

CONCLUDING COMMENTS: INTERNAL COLONIALISM AS A COHERENT SYSTEM OF IDEAS

A. INTRODUCTION

The internal colonial model if used, as van den Berghe (1984) and Union (1983) suggest, to refer to fourth world peoples and the macro social relationships they encounter, is a nearly adequate framework for analysis. But there are certain attendant issues which are problematic.

The following will address a reformulation of the internal colonial model. The problematic issues raised in Chapter Two have been discussed in the previous chapter, Chapter Seven. This chapter will focus on a) the predictions of the model as they apply to small group and interpersonal interaction in the case of Northland School Division, b) the differentiation of levels of analysis required if the relationship between macro and micro social analysis is to be understood more accurately, c) the clarification of some of the language of the internal colonial model as it is reflected in notions of change and power, d) the use of ethnic markers to distinguish populations, e) notions of the ideology of racism as presented in the model, and f) on the responsibility of the social scientist.

B. THE PREDICTIONS OF THE CLASSICAL INTERNAL COLONIAL MODEL ABOUT NORTHLAND SCHOOL DIVISION

The analysis of the relationship between Northland School Division and the educational environment of Alberta (i.e., Alberta Education) indicates that the use of the internal colonial model to describe that relationship is as appropriate in 1984-85 as it was for the 1980-81 period. The political and economic domination of the division by Alberta Education changed very little. This statement is in reference to the macro-social domain in which the relationship structured the division to a considerable extent that was unique from other jurisdictions.

The conclusion then is that internal colonialism has continued to be extant at the macro social level of analysis and in some micro social aspects. The micro social aspects are when the administrators as a group had control over the structure of critical elements of an event. This control derived from the domain of the relations between Alberta Education and the division.

The predictions derived from the model about decision-making processes within the jurisdiction turn out not to be so accurate.

To illustrate let me discuss each prediction about Northland School Division outlined in Chapter Three in turn.

- 1) That the Native board is relatively powerless in the face of the administration and its resources to influence, to a significant extent, corporate decisions.

The board was not so "powerless" as the prediction would suggest. The administration did have considerable support for the approaches taken to issues when it came to issues that fell into the political and economic contexts but even in some of these issues the board was able to influence the structuring of the resolution and the processes to some extent. It was illustrated that decision-making within the division was a complex endeavour.

2) That the local residents are relatively unable themselves to organize input into the decision-making process and may believe that their input is inconsequential.

In no issue investigated is it possible to say that the board members or the members of the LSBCs were unable to organize input into the resolution of the issue. Nor was there any evidence that these individuals considered their input inconsequential. The local residents considered themselves to be playing an important role in guiding of the educational system in which they had chosen to take part.

3) That even with a change in the law (the 1983 Northland School Division Act) the internal colonial situation is still predictive of small group (administration/board of trustees) interaction in decision-making.

Even with the change in the law, the colonial situation continued to exist on a macro social level. But on the small group level of the decision-making within the division the simplistic notion that domination continued to be pervasive

is not supported. In both periods of the study the processes of decision-making were very complex. Control over a major portion of the structuring of the division continued as a result of the macro relations but internal processes changed fundamentally with the incorporation of the LSBCs into the decision-making of 1984-85.

The implication of these comments is that there is an imperative to distinguish levels of analysis in the internal colonial model and at the same time to deal with structures and processes.

C. LOGICAL LEVELS OF ANALYSIS

When considering the internal colonial model earlier, one question which arose was with regard to the characterization of levels of interaction. Principles may be applied to macro social relationships and to small group interaction which would allow for a similar approach to explicate these different levels of analysis?

In a reoriented model, the observer must be aware of and clearly define the criteria for the distinction of the level of analysis. The level of analysis will need to be described in terms of the processes of interaction between the sub-units or elements of the system identified.

For example, in the case of this study one level of abstraction dealt with Northland School Division which was described in terms of the processes of interaction between decision-making structures (e.g. the administration, the

board, and the LSBCs).

The second level of abstraction was characterized as the interaction between the division and the educational environment in which it existed (i.e., mostly Alberta Education). This was a level of interaction that structured the division.

This second level was assumed to be iconic of the macro social relations between Native people and non-Native people and would have been, thus, describable by reference to the processes of interaction between Alberta Education (as representative of non-Native interests) and the division (as representative of Native interests) had this level of abstraction been the focus of the study.

It cannot be assumed that these two levels of abstraction and the descriptions of processes that may be applied are analogous. Macro relations did influence the division in the economic and political contexts in such a manner as to determine many of the structures of the division. The processes making up the decision-making of the division were in the main aimed at supporting these imposed structures; but the processes themselves were defined by the participants.

The hierarchical nature of the model has to be more adequately described than has been the case in the past. In previous models of internal colonialism, levels of analysis have not been clearly differentiated: except to indicate that the domain of interpersonal or small group interaction

would be predicted by the macro relationship. There has also been a lack of clear differentiation of structure and process as they relate to these influences and to the level of analysis. This requires a further exploration of the notions of power, and change.

D. NOTIONS OF "POWER" AND CHANGE

To increase the social science value of the notions of change and "power," I have suggested that the concepts of structure and process need to be distinguished in social science discourse by the observer. It is through this analysis of the interactions of identified social systems that the observer of these systems may come to begin to understand more clearly the meanings of these terms.

"Power"/Influence

In this study I have suggested that domination (determinism) in the context of internal colonialism must be understood with reference to the determination of structures within which fourth world peoples are confined to operate as a result of their ethnic status. These structures themselves require certain processes to support them.

There were two levels of influence discussed here. First was the determination of some of the internal structures of Northland School Division as a result of the interaction between the division and the educational environment in which it existed. In the political context

these structures included the board, the administration and the LSBCs, all determined by the Northland School Division Act. In the economic context control was of the budget.

The second level was influence exerted internally by interactants in the division. This must be understood in terms of the influence accorded each group in decision-making. The focus of this study was not on the "mechanisms" of control in specific events. This would constitute a further line of study requiring concentration on one interaction event. "Power" at this level needs to be considered in terms of mutual influence during the processes of interaction: one of the interactants undoubtedly being more influential in some circumstances than the other, given the contexts of the interactions.

Ability to influence outcomes came from the board both in situations where the administration appeared to have control (e.g., the board did insist on a certain structuring of the superintendent goals and objectives) and in situations where the administration does not necessarily have control (e.g. teacher transfers).

Thus, the model must reorient our notions of "power" and domination to account for influence over structures and processes both at the macro-social level and at the level of small groups. The two levels cannot be considered analogous.

Change

Change in this study has been investigated in terms of the history of interactions between Alberta Education and Northland School Division and between the internal structures of the division. It has been framed in terms of processes and structures.

For example, at the level of the interactions between the Alberta Education and the division the resulting structures of the division changed: there were describable differences in structures between 1980-81 and 1984-85. Whether or not the processes of interaction at this level remained the same would constitute another investigation. My suspicion is they did not change that much.

On the other hand, during the two periods on which this study focused there was evidence of change within the division. There were in place in 1984-85 different structures (specifically the LSBCs) and these promoted a different set of integrating processes. During 1984-85 the processes became more evident. These processes themselves provided the division with structures that could not have been developed without the inclusion of the LSBCs in the decision-making. This, then, is a significant and fundamental change in the processes of operating; it provided for meaningful local input from the people served by the division.

Change, then, I would suggest, in the internal colonial model must be characterized anew in terms of structural

changes and processual changes and must be analysed in terms of the context (different logical levels) within which the system under study exists. This would provide a more nearly adequate characterization of social change whether it be in internal colonial situations or otherwise.

E. POPULATION BOUNDARIES

There was initially the issue of when ethnic markers applied to a particular situation and when they did not. The model has been reoriented such that I have used the internal logic of the contexts of dependency to suggest when ethnic markers should be applied to a situation. For example, the description of the interaction between the school division and the environment in which the division existed justified the ethnic markers, Native/non-Native, used to describe the division and Alberta Education.

Within the division where the markers did apply was in interaction scenes that had been structured by external forces in the political or economic contexts. It was then, and only then that the ethnic markers used to describe the administration and the board became nearly applicable.

The model then must be reoriented so as to avoid the imposition of ethnic descriptors on discrete populations in all circumstances. The logic of the context must provide justification for the use of these descriptors.

This avoids the problem of pegging the individual with one identity, ethnicity in this case, in all situations. It

also avoids the problem of ethnicity being defined in cultural or behaviourist terms.

F. THE IDEOLOGY OF RACISM

When racism is considered in the context of internal colonialism it requires better definition than has been the case in the past. In this investigation I have used the criterion that there had to be an explicit appeal on the part of those investigated to the "Nativity" of individuals or groups of individuals without logical substantiation beyond what was considered to be taken for granted. Such inappropriate use of the ethnic marker then had to lead to action that was obviously influenced by the perceived "race" or "culture."

There have been assumptions in literature on internal colonialism that racism would be immediately identifiable in most all situations. This investigation has tentatively suggested that racism may not be evident at a small group level.

Clearly, the notion of racism requires appropriate definition and situational analysis when raised in writing on internal colonialism. It is difficult to assume that an ideology of racism follows the logic of "materialist" or "idealist" conceptions of the generation of ideational structures.

G. THE OBSERVER AS RESPONSIBLE SOCIAL SCIENTIST

One of the issues of this investigation has been the role of the observer in the study of social phenomena.

Von Foerster (1981: 258) indicates that when descriptions about phenomena in the universe (read social phenomena) are made there is affecting the description an imperfect observer who describes imperfectly. He supports his contention with the following.

- (i) Observations are not absolute but relative to an observer's point of view (i.e., his co-ordinate system: Einstein);
- (ii) Observations affect the observed so as to obliterate the observer's hope for predictions (his uncertainty is absolute: Heisenberg).

The point about the social scientist is clear. The social scientist provides an interpretation of the world as observed. That interpretation is always present and it provides the substance for communication. As such the interpretation must be justified. And justification means that the community to which the social scientist is writing must understand the reasoning.

Varela (1979), using a similar epistemological base, indicates that the scientist and the ideas generated are, and must be, part of a community that communicates and that provides intellectual support. A social scientist works in a community which sanctions the manner of undertaking observations and the orientation to the interpretation of these observations. Thus, the ascendant focus of this investigation and of the endeavour of social science becomes the processes of observation and analysis.

Von Foerster (ibid:258) concludes that "(1) life cannot be studied *in vitro*, one has to explore it *in vivo*." He also indicates that scientists, and I will include social scientists, are perhaps on the verge of coming to terms with a most important challenge.

...now we are challenged to develop a descriptive-invariant 'subjective world,' that is a world which includes the observer: This is the problem.

Jantsch (1980:23/24) lends support to the notion that observers are intimately involved in the processes of distinction which require interaction between the observer and the object:

...in the domain of life and to an even higher degree in the domains of social and psychological relations, the inclusion of the observer is even much more evident. With every action, every thought - and also with every observation and theory - we interfere with the object of our study.

As the observer in this investigation I have chosen to be guided by a meta theory of observation derived from what I refer to as post-modern cybernetics, what von Foerster (1981) refers to as "constructivism," what Maturana and Varela (1975) refer to as Autopoietic Systems Theory.

The system of ideas and the language used in these descriptions suggest that here is a more nearly adequate model for the description of social phenomena. Fundamental questions about the language of current social science are addressed to some extent by reference to these ideas.

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APPENDIX 1: ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

A. CONSENT TO CONDUCT STUDY.

Consent was obtained to conduct the study from the Official Trustee in 1983. Following that, the current Board of Trustees approved a motion of support for the study (#12352 - January 14, 1984).

B. INTERVIEWS

1. The initial set of orienting interviews with administrative staff did not require written consent. However, each interviewee was given written information on the purpose of the study. A verbal explanation was also given during the interview. Most of those interviews were recorded on tape.

2. Further interviews with board members and administrative staff are focussed interviews addressing only those issues with which they are familiar. A release form is given with each of these interviews explaining the purpose of the study, the objectives, confidentiality, the possible need to conduct further interviews and my name and address.

APPENDIX 2: THE INTERVIEWING PROCESS

Husen *et al.* (v.5, 1985:2676ff) in a section on interviewing refer to Carl Roger's ingredients for good interviewing.

These are warmth, empathy, and positive regard. While I would hope that I exhibited these characteristics, there is, of course, no way that I could ensure such an approach other than to be aware of its importance.

Otherwise, I maintained a non-directive approach (i.e., did not give clues about what could be interpreted to be the right answers). I also needed to be aware that if I expressed my opinions about the issue being discussed this could have swayed the respondents answers in one direction or another.

Husen *et al.* (ibid) identify four components to interviews. I will mention each and follow each with a brief discussion of how I addressed the component.

1. introduce the interview, get the respondent to partake and to apply him/herself diligently.

I introduced the interviews in a standard way explaining the purpose, objectives, confidentiality, that the respondent was free to ask questions at any point before, during, or after the interview and that he/she was free to stop the interview at any point.

2. use standard procedures for administering the questions.

I first identified the topic(s) on which the questions would focus and asked for the respondents general

impressions of what happened and with whom. Following that, the focus was on specific decisions with questions about interactions which took place and factors which may have influenced the decisions.

3. delve into inadequate responses.

I did this as the need arose and as my wit suggested.

4. record the responses accurately and completely.

During the preliminary interviews, I used a tape recorder; however, during the in depth interviews which focused on specific decision issues, I recorded using paper and pencil. The tape recorder tended to make me feel uncomfortable in conversations which were very specific. In fact, I had one respondent ask me to turn the tape recorder off after which the conversation got particularly controversial.

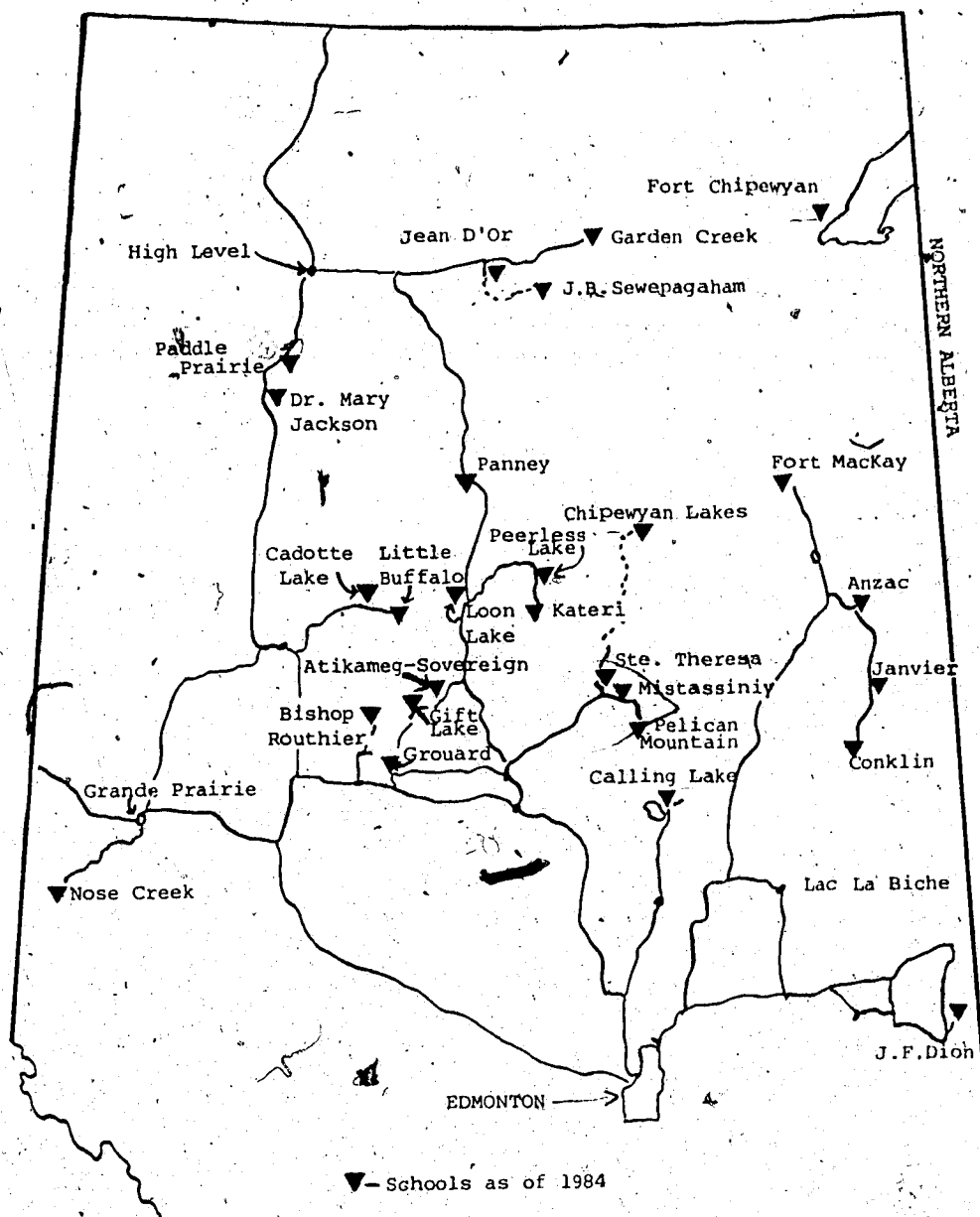
APPENDIX 3: NORTHLAND SCHOOL DIVISION COMMUNITIES, 1984

<u>SCHOOL NAME</u>	<u>DISTRICT & NUMBER</u>	<u>CODE</u>
ANZAC	Anzac School District #4979	1801
ATIKAMEG-SOVEREIGN	Atikameg School District #5115	1802
CADOTTE LAKE	Cadotte Lake School Dist. #5174	1803
CALLING LAKE	Calling Lake School Dist. #4124	1804
CHIPEWYAN LAKES	Chipewyman Lakes School Dist. #5128	1805
CONKLIN	Conklin School District #4835	1806
MISTASSINIY	Desmarais School Dist. #5112	1807
J.F. DION	Fishing Lake School Dist. #4850	1809
FORT CHIPEWYAN	Fort Chipewyman School Dist. #4924	1810
FORT MACKAY	Fort MacKay School Dist. #5145	1812
PANNEY	Panney Camp School Dist. #5458	1814
J.B. SEWEPAGAHAM	Indian Reserve No. 162	1815
GARDEN CREEK	Garden Creek School Dist. #5247	1816
GIFT LAKE	Gift Lake School Dist. #5180	1817
GROUARD	Grouard School Dist. #3722	1818
JANVIER	Janvier School Dist. #5114	1820
JEAN D'OR	Indian Reserve No. 215	1821
DR. MARY JACKSON	Keg River School Dist. #4784	1822
LITTLE BUFFALO	Little Buffalo School Dist. #5094	1823
LOON LAKE	Loon Lake School Dist. #5099	1824
PADDLE PRAIRIE	Paddle Prairie School Dist. #4893	1827
PEERLESS LAKE	Peerless Lake School Dist. #5241	1828
PELICAN MOUNTAIN	Pelican Mountain School Dist. #5088	1830
KATERI	Trout Lake School Dist. #5111	1832
BISHOP ROUTHIER	Utikuma School Dist. #4904	1833
ST. THERESA	Wabasca School Dist. #5113	1834
NOSE CREEK	Nose Creek School Distr. #5373	1837

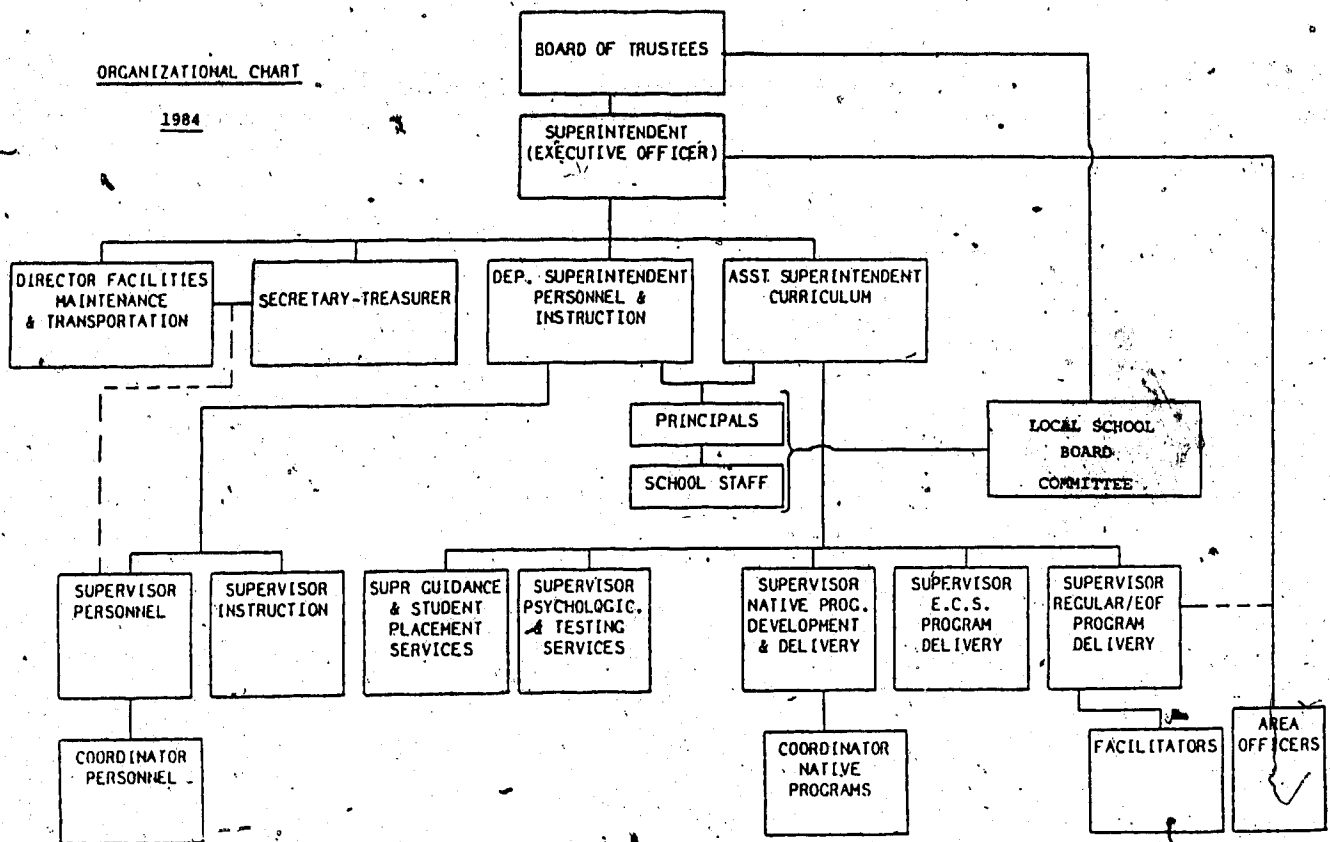
NORTHLAND SCHOOL DIVISION NO. 61

1280

APPENDIX 4: MAP OF NORTHLAND SCHOOL DIVISION



**APPENDIX 5: NORTHLAND SCHOOL DIVISION ORGANIZATION CHART,
SEPTEMBER, 1984**



GLOSSARY OF TERMS

ALBERTA EDUCATION:

The provincial department of education.

BOARD:

The board of trustees of Northland School Division.

DECISION CATEGORIES:

General categories of decision made within the division. These categories were professional staffing, budgeting, policy relations, and high school programming.

DECISION ISSUES:

Specific decisions made by the board of trustees. Each decision comes within a decision category.

DIVISION:

The Northland School Division #61 with central offices in Peace River, Alberta.

EXTERNAL FACTOR:

An influence on decision-making generated outside Northland School Division.

INTERNAL DECISION:

The resolution of an issue relevant to Northland School Division alone by division decision-making structures.

INTERNAL PROCESS:

The relations between division decision-making structures.

LSBC:

A local school board committee which advises the principal of one of the schools in the division or advises the board.