

**EDUCATION POLICY IN THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES:  
AN ANALYSIS OF THE DECENTRALISATION YEARS  
(1975 - 2000)**

**by**

**Jane D. King  
Graduate Program in Education**

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## **ABSTRACT**

Guided by Pal's (1987) model of public policy analysis, this thesis examines education decentralisation policy in the Northwest Territories between 1975 and 2000 through two key policy education policy documents: *Learning: Tradition and Change in the Northwest Territories* (1982), and *People: Our focus for the future -- A strategy to 2010* (1994). The education documents are compared against the changes in education legislation and education fiscal data. The thesis also examines the historical antecedents to the decentralisation era, the Carrothers, Berger and Drury Reports, Native politics, the contribution of the reports to education policy in the era, and the history of territorial education legislation.

The thesis arrives at two main conclusions: Territorial decentralisation policy was a political solution to the predominant East-West struggle for administrative and budgetary control over key areas of public policy, one of which has been education. An era of decentralisation will effectively end in the year 2000 with division and the formation of Nunavut in 1999. This is supported through the examination of the changes in education policy after 1975. With division the era of decentralisation is completed, and each western and eastern territory recentralises.

**Keywords:** Northwest Territories, decentralisation, education, policy, administration, legislation, Nunavut, history, Native, Inuit, centralisation

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**Chapter 1**  
**THE INTRODUCTION, PARAMETERS, DEFINITIONS, MODEL AND**  
**THE LITERATURE**

Introduction

The Northwest Territories, to be divided into Nunavut and an as yet unnamed Western territory in 1999, has experienced substantial policy changes in education over the last twenty-five years. A vast area containing about 60 scattered isolated communities and making up one third of Canada's geographical land mass before division, the Northwest Territories had a total population of 64,402 in 1996.<sup>1</sup> After division, Nunavut will be populated by about 25,000 people, 80 per cent of them Inuit. Approximately 40% of Nunavut's initial population will be under 15 years of age, in contrast to less than 25% for Canada as a whole.<sup>2</sup> The Western Northwest Territories will be inhabited by nearly equal proportions of Native and non-Native peoples, with Native age profile and population growth characteristics similar to Nunavut's. With such statistics, the government's emphasis on education in the Northwest Territories is not only justified but necessary.

Despite the compelling facts, there has been little academic examination of education policy in the Northwest Territories [N.W.T.] and only a relatively few key official territorial documents providing data have been published. Prior to the establishment of a legislative assembly in 1975, education policy was a responsibility of the Canadian federal government, and it was not until the 1982 document *Learning: Tradition and Change in the Northwest Territories*<sup>3</sup> that education policy became firmly established under territorial jurisdiction. At this time, Aboriginal education issues also became a substantial concern. A second educational policy document produced in 1994 entitled *People: Our Focus for the Future -- A Strategy to 2010* established another significant marker in the

development of territorial education policy. *People: Our Focus for the Future - A Strategy to 2010* provides a point of comparison to the earlier document that can facilitate academic analysis of education policy issues. The division of the Northwest Territories in 1999 establishes a desirable frame within which the effect of such policy documents can be examined, and also provides an opportunity for a singular case study of policy change under unique conditions.

A 1994-1995 brochure produced by the N.W.T. Department of Education, Culture and Employment indicates that after identifying a strategic educational plan to the year 2010, and consolidating the education department with other programs (Social Assistance and Canada Assistance Plan are specified) decentralisation and devolution of authority to the local level will be a priority in the Northwest Territories. The brochure states,

The department will continue to devolve responsibility and authority for its programs and services as close to the point of delivery as possible. (Organizational Profile and Priorities 1994, 9)

Decentralisation has been territorial policy in departmental jurisdictions other than education. The process of devolution in health care, social services, and forestry to the Northwest Territories is discussed in Gurston Dacks' 1990 book entitled *Devolution and Constitutional Development in the Canadian North*. Interestingly, although education policy is infused with a direct commitment to devolution of powers and is clearly a significant area of political focus and expenditure in government, Dacks does not include education in his analysis.

Territorial figures show that in 1981-82 total government expenditure (both Operations and Maintenance plus Capital) in education was 18.4 percent of total expenditures, exceeded only by Public Works at 19.1 percent. Health and Social Services followed at 15.8 percent. By 1994-95 the actual expenditure in Education, Culture and Employment programs had increased to 23.8 percent, Public Works had decreased to 16.0 percent, and Health had reached 19.3 percent. In 1998-99 the projected government apportionment for the Department of Education, Culture, and Employment remains the largest at

26.0 percent, taking up more than Health and Social Services at 22.4 percent, and Public Works that had dipped to 12.6 percent (see Figure 1). In conjunction, Canada's contribution to total territorial revenue in 1998-99, estimated at 71.0 percent<sup>4</sup>, implies that a sizable portion of the federal grant goes into the Department of Education, Culture and Employment.

La Noue argued in 1973 in *The Politics of School Decentralization* that the value of studying education policy lies in its reflection of the broader political climate, and that much can be learned through a study of this critical social area. He wrote,

The education field is apt to be a serious test of whether the goals sought by reforms -- greater responsiveness, efficiency, increased citizen participation -- can in fact be achieved. ... education ... constitutes one of the central functions of state and local government... education has been increasingly drawn into political controversy and subjected to public scrutiny. Developments within the field of education are likely to have an increasing effect on wider political trends, and in turn, to be influenced by political decisions. (La Noue 1973, 4)

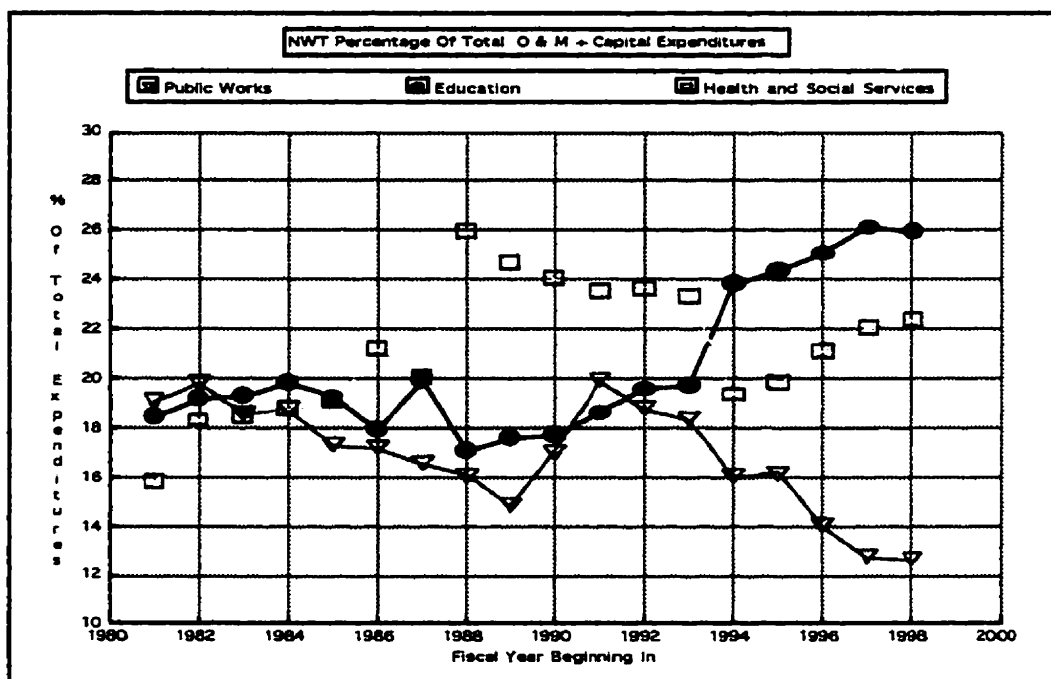


Figure 1. Source: See Appendix A.

Since spending patterns reflect political priorities, it can be argued that La Noue's assertion is supported by the trend in 1983-99 territorial education expenditures mirroring total territorial spending for the same period (see Figure 2).

La Noue's general hypothesis is that a liberal progressive period of decentralisation emerged out of a period of progressive educational centralisation starting early in the American twentieth century. A broad social movement sustaining decentralisation policy began in the 1970s (La Noue 1973, 1). This thesis applies La Noue's cyclical pattern to the Northwest Territories education story proposing that a territorial "decentralisation era" came to political fruition in the early 1980s, but will come to a close with territorial division in 1999. The thesis also proposes that the territorial decentralisation policy of the proposed era was a political strategy (Eliason 1996, 90).

The thesis arrives at two main conclusions: First, an era of education decentralisation in the Northwest Territories will effectively end in the year 2000. Second, territorial decentralisation policy was a political solution to the

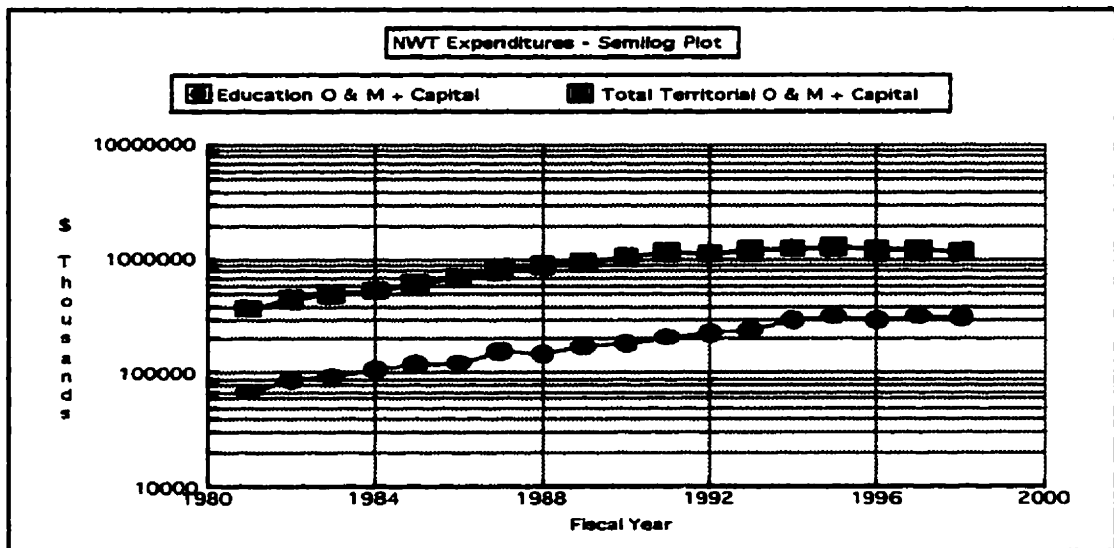


Figure 2. Source: Graphed from Appendix A.

predominant East-West struggle for administrative and budgetary control over key areas of public policy, one of which has been education.

### The Question Guiding the Thesis

Has there been an actual era of decentralisation in education in the Northwest Territories during the last quarter of the twentieth century, and how has education policy during this period influenced political division?

### Defining Decentralisation

In government, the term "decentralisation" refers primarily to distribution of administrative powers which influence decision making, budgetary control, and access to power. Dacks describes this redistribution of powers as "devolution" involving "the transfer of jurisdiction from a senior government to a junior government" (Dacks 1990, 5). Under fully realised decentralisation, the centre disperses administrative powers to the "community" level, and the community in turn can exercise some influence over central powers. In the North where intermediary infrastructure between communities and central government is minimal, the centre-community has produced the major dichotomy in territorial politics especially since the 1970s. Distribution of powers from the centre is directly related to the demand for increased community powers.

Since centralised power in the Northwest Territories has historically been influenced by the federal government through the Commissioner and Council, and the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, the issue of control between Northern communities and the state is particularly significant. In the area of education, the question of active community power has been a key concern, particularly as Native peoples have established education as a political goal of self-government.

Within education, the issues of decentralisation concern what administrative level -- local, board or government -- decisions concerning curriculum, standards, resources and staffing are made. Lauglo defines educational decentralisation as,

a variety of organizational forms which differ in their rationales and in their implications for the distribution of authority... the forms differ in what primacy they give to such different actors as intermediate and local political authorities, state officials at regional and local levels, institutional managers, the teaching profession, the larger group of 'inside' members of educational organizations (including students), parents, and non-government providers of education. (Lauglo, 1996, 20)

The key local control issues in the North were the length of the school year and the hiring and firing of teachers along with demands for culturally relevant curriculum. The pulling and hauling over these matters was occurring primarily between each community and the government until regional organisations of communities formed together to focus the shared concerns of the communities in the 1970s. An additional level of complexity was added by the predominant Native population in the communities and their special relationship with the federal government. Decentralisation in education overlapped with the reality of Native control and self-government derived from Native kinships and tribal ties centred in, and now defined by, community structures and arrangements. In the 1950s the government "centralised" from the Native land camps to the communities in order to provide health and education services for Native people and establish greater control.<sup>5</sup> The community is a centre that preserves centuries of Native traditions and culture. The relationship with the land is primary, the community and the land is central to Native ontology.

Decentralisation as a term and a preferred policy approach in government has been popular in the Northwest Territories. This has been driven not only by its particular utility to northern administrative structures, but also by the power of its connotative meaning. The "spatial" meaning is especially applicable to

the situation of the approximately 60 tiny isolated communities, where each community is defined in part by a population with kinship connections within the community, and a historic relationship with the geographic area. The spatial connotation of decentralisation mirrors the northern situation: "The fact that devolution combines a spatial with an institutional dimension emphasizes that it is preeminently a program for northern resident interests, straining against absentee or remote political control" (Clancy 1990, 15).

The size of the Northwest Territories fostered the development of administrative regions (see Figure 3) derived to facilitate government processes early on. A later development in Northern politics has been regional politicisation with resultant regional political formations that, according to Weller, were themselves decentralised central authorities. The regional organisations served an important role and this was true particularly as Native politicisation and the demand for representation increased. Weller (1990) writes, "Regionalism was developed in the Northwest Territories partly as a consequence of administrative convenience... Regionalism also occurred in the Northwest Territories in response to the development of regional aboriginal organizations" (Weller 1990, 323).

In education, the regional organisations which formed out of community dissatisfaction with school administration and policies in the communities, were recognised in an educational decentralisation plan begun with the formation of "Divisional Boards" in 1983. A linking component in this thesis is the tracing of Divisional Boards, originally intended as a key method of delivering decentralisation in the early to mid 1980s, and assessing the status of educational decentralisation policy by following the changes to this specific organisational entity.

Finally, the modern emphasis on decentralisation policy in education has been explained as a consequence of an historical phase that alternates with educational centralisation, and as a political strategy.



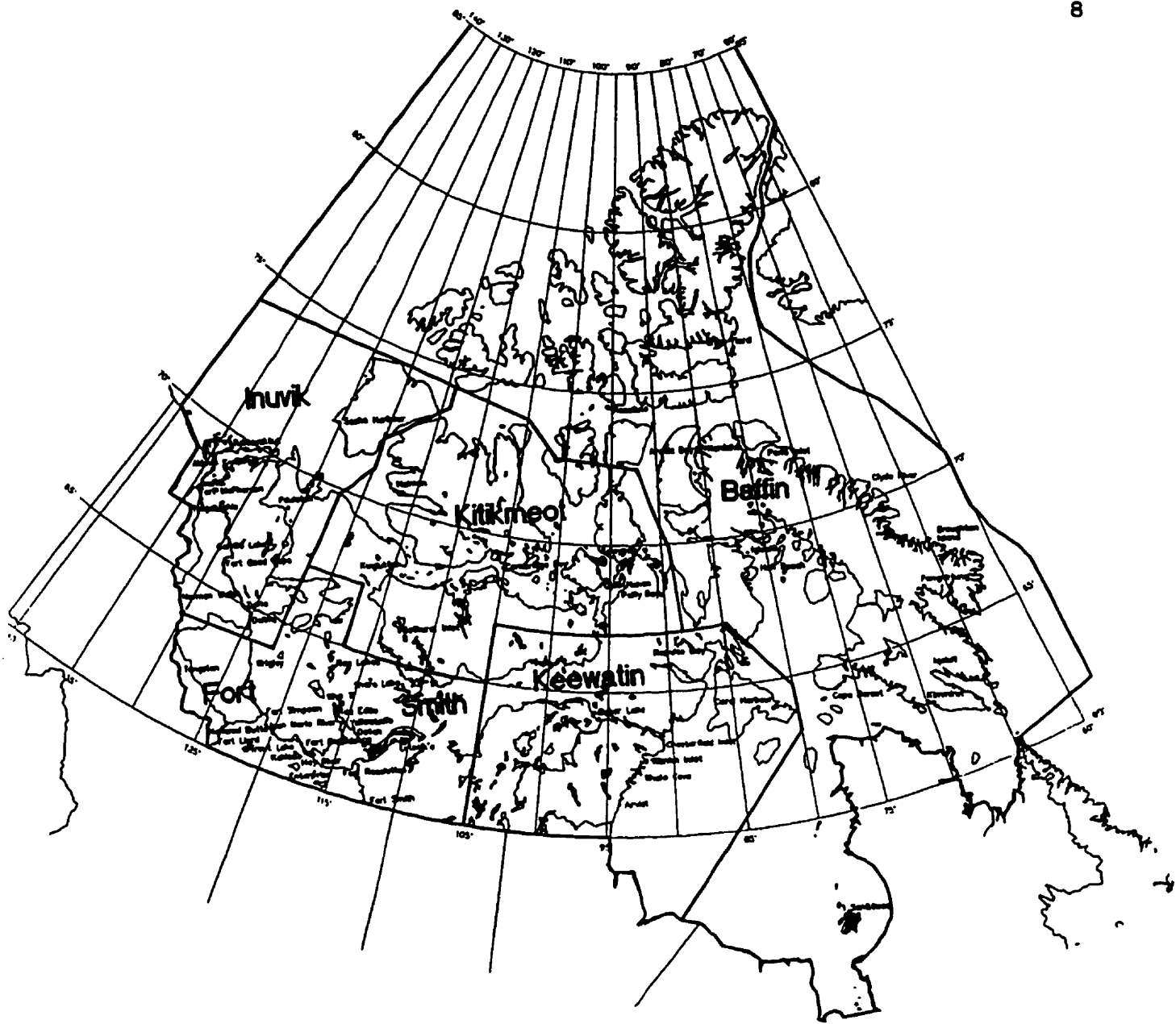


Fig. 3. Administrative Regions

Source: Government of the Northwest Territories. 1997-98 *Main Estimates*.  
Yellowknife: The Financial Management Board Secretariat.

(1) Historical-cycling between decentralisation and centralisation has been attributed to successive progressive movements that have harnessed one or the other to the driving democratic issues in education - accessibility, equity and quality. An American example of such cycling is described by La Noue (1973) in his book *The Politics of School Decentralization*:

Few ideas in American political history have had such resilience and varied appeal as has decentralisation. The idea of government 'close to the people' has been an article of faith since colonial days and has reappeared in different guises in each new epoch in the nation's history. The subtleties of any historical period, of course, defy easy summary, but it is possible to discern a dominant *motif* as each succeeding age has taken up anew the continuing decentralist-centralist debate... There seems little doubt that, for most of this century, the centralist tradition has been the carrier of innovation, while the decentralizers have sought consolidation and slow change in order to maintain continuity with the American past.

By the middle 1960s, the ideological and political spectrum had shifted considerably. While centralization was still proposed by some progressive voices as a solution to certain problems like pollution control, selective service, and welfare reform, decentralization became fashionable among liberals. Somewhat in the style of a modern Jeffersonianism, new forces emerged that saw in decentralization the basis for efficiency, progress, and a restored sense of legitimacy in the institutions of government. (La Noue 1973, 1)

(2) Leslie C. Eliason (1996) in his article entitled *Educational Decentralization as a Policy Strategy in an Era of Fiscal Stress*, argues that decentralisation is a political strategy.

Decentralization's popularity derives from its promise of bringing about change in administrative or governance relations... Most decentralization initiatives are launched and supervised from the so-called centre of the existing system of educational governance. Why should politicians and bureaucrats in the central administration advocate decentralization? (Eliason 1996, 88-90)

### The Model and Literature

This thesis is an academic policy analysis. The overarching type of analysis directing the thesis is descriptive, with process analysis providing an additional focus particularly in Chapter five which analyses and evaluates the evidence. In *Public Policy Analysis: An Introduction*, Leslie Pal (1987) divides policy analysis into two broad analysis areas: applied policy analysis and academic policy analysis, as outlined in Table 1.

"Academic policy analysis" Pal writes, "typically, although not exclusively, focuses on the relationship between policy determinants and policy content, in other words on explaining the nature of policies, their characteristics and profiles" (Pal 1987, 24). Policy determinants may be derived from economy and culture, according to Pal's idea of policy process, or they may also be created by "interest groups." Applying his model to this thesis, this academic policy analysis examines a key territorial reality of interplay between Aboriginal people and educational policy with the goal of understanding and explaining the educational policy in question. The historical and content analysis of the reports, policy documents, debates and other sources, when taken together, address bigger questions lying behind Northwest Territories' education policy.

Pal delineates three areas of academic analysis -- descriptive, process and evaluative -- but he cautions "it should be remembered that they are frequently combined in practice" (Pal 1987, 37). The category Pal describes as "descriptive," has two branches - content analysis and historical analysis. Pal writes that content analysis is:

the most pedestrian type, but it is also one of the most important and frequently neglected. It is an empirical description of the content of an existing public policy, in terms of its intentions, problem definition, goals and instruments.... The focus of content analysis is current policy, though this usually requires some probing of at least the recent past to build a detailed picture of rationales and intentions.... Any discussion of current public policy

will contain some description of that policy's content; that much is unavoidable.... (Pal 1987, 28)

Descriptive analysis may include historical analysis:

It goes well beyond, however, simply examining immediate antecedents. Instead, it assumes that current public policies can only be understood by examining their evolution, preferably from their inception in modern times. Whereas content analysis defines 'policy' as what currently exists, the historical orientation tends to view policy more expansively, as a stable pattern of state behaviour stretching over decades. Alternatively, if current policy is different from its earlier forms, a good way to understand it is to examine these forms for contributions to and departures from current practice.... Historical analysis provides depth in the description of policy content; it also can illuminate aspects of that content which are inexplicable from a purely contemporary perspective. (Pal 1987, 29)

Table 1

Summary of Differences, Academic and Applied Policy Analysis

	<u>Academic Policy Analysis</u>	<u>Applied Policy Analysis</u>
Focus	theory; "big questions"	specific policy; specific problems
Mode of Analysis	explanation	evaluation
Goal	understand policies	change policies
Research Agenda	independent	client determined
Duration of Analysis	lengthy	short
Value Orientation	strive for "objectivity"; neutrality	accept client values; advocate "improvements"

Source: Pal, Leslie A. *Public Policy Analysis: An Introduction* (Toronto: Methuen, 1987) table 2.1.

Process analysis, in combination with descriptive analysis, provides an additional analytical tool in Part Three of the thesis. Leslie Pal writes that process analysis, "may be defined as the interactions of many political actors ranging from professional associations, media, and interest groups to political parties, bureaucrats and the cabinet" (Pal 1987, 31). To analyse policies in the Northwest Territories with any success examination must include recognition of significant policy actors interacting with and acting on policy. Given that educational policy in the NWT must include policy for aboriginal people, my analysis will necessarily include the predominant Aboriginal voices in the north -- the Aboriginal Policy Actors [APAs]. The Aboriginal Policy Actors represent the many varied Aboriginal tribes and nations that together make a majority Aboriginal population in the North.

The Northwest Territories in very broad terms shows an East-West divide between APAs. In the East the predominant Inuit population make up the Aboriginal Policy Actors in what will be the new territory of Nunavut<sup>6</sup>. In the West the construct is challenged by the reality of a diversity of interests and agendas among Aboriginal groups. However, the advances made recently in territorial politics are attributable in large part to the actions and work of Aboriginal policy players. The 1996 Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples makes recommendations to benefit the collective interests of all the Native groups across Canada. The issue of the varied Aboriginal claims and rights is a factor in any discussion concerning territorial policy. Bernard writes:

One cannot examine territorial government in Canada without taking into account the aboriginal treaty rights protected by s. 35 of the *Constitution Act, 1982*. Most of the geographical area of the two territories is or has been under claim by aboriginal peoples. Constitutionally protected land claims agreements within the meaning of s. 35(3) of the *Constitution Act, 1982* have been concluded with the Inuit, Inuvialuit, Gwich'in, Sahtu Dene and Metis, and are in progress with other aboriginal peoples in the western Northwest Territories and Yukon First Nations. In addition, some treaty peoples are

negotiating the fulfilment of Treaties 8 and 11 which were signed in 1899 and 1921, respectively. (Bernard 1994, 138)

Pal also writes that a "second perspective" to process policy "focuses less on the behaviour of players than the structure within which the game is played" (Pal 1987, 31). While other political actors do contribute to the policy process, no other actor in the Northwest Territories makes so clearly evident the structure within which the policy game is played as does the Aboriginal Policy Actor. Pal explains the interaction between the political players as "a complicated game of 'pulling and hauling' that results in policy" (Pal 1987, 31). Aboriginal people have moved from a position as recipients of policies applied without consultation, to policy actors affecting policy development, design and outcome. The Aboriginal policy position is to assume control over Aboriginal education. Extended to the domain of education in the North, the 'pulling and hauling' aptly describes what will be the nature of the interaction between educational bureaucracy and the Aboriginal Policy Actors in the Northwest Territories.

Pal explains that the analytical styles are "frequently combined in practice," and that "good policy analysis is usually comparative" (Pal 1987, 37). Chapter five uses comparative analysis on the documents, legislation and other evidence combined with logical evaluative analysis that "examines current, detailed content of public policy... [and] entails assessing a policy's internal rigour and consistency" (Pal 1987, 32).

### The Players and the System

For the purposes of representing a critical dichotomy that has influenced territorial policy, I propose a practical representation of Aboriginal Policy Actors influencing and interacting with the system for the purposes of explication.

**ABORIGINAL POLICY ACTORS:** In the Northwest Territories the political reality of Aboriginal peoples makes them critical policy actors. That

education policies must respond to the Aboriginal groups in the Northwest Territories is supported by demographics and rights.

#### DEMOGRAPHY:

The North is the homeland of many peoples, among them Inuit, Inuvialuit, and the Northern and Southern Tutchone, Han, Kaska, Tlingit, Tagish, Gwich'in, Cree and Innu peoples, as well as the Sahtu Dene, Deh Cho Dene, Tli Cho Dene (Dogrib), Sayisi Dene and Metis peoples. About 36 per cent of all Aboriginal peoples in Canada live in the territorial North and the northern parts of the provinces ... In [such] regions, Aboriginal people outnumber non-Aboriginal people, and almost everywhere in the North, Aboriginal people are numerous enough to influence the way of life of people who migrate to the North and to form an influential plurality of voters... Aboriginal people form the majority in the N.W.T. -- including and excluding Nunavut... (Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1996, Vol. 4, 391)

#### RIGHT TO SELF-GOVERNMENT:

Aboriginal people in Canada say that they never consented to be governed by the French or the British or the government of Canada.... Aboriginal people are calling for a complete change in their relationship with federal and provincial governments to one that recognizes their inherent right of self-government as distinct peoples and as Canada's First Peoples. (RRCAP 1996, Vol. 2, 4)

The Northwest Territories does not have provincial status. It is run by the federal government under a Commissioner. The federal territorial control experienced in the Northwest Territories up to 1966 was so great that non-Natives were laying a "claim to self-government" (Carrothers 1966, 147). The powers of the Commissioner were complete. Carrothers wrote, "the status of the territorial government cannot be said to be quasi-provincial. It has a status very subordinate to that of a province" (Carrothers 1966, 108). The powers of the Commissioner were so extensive in 1965 that, "The commissioner ... [was] his own premier" (Carrothers 1966, 100).

The territorial government itself has since developed a powerful

pervasive bureaucratic structure. It has been seeking greater provincial-type powers since the 1950s. Suggestions that the Northwest Territories be annexed to the provinces lying below it have been rebuffed with hostility. Internally, the territorial government has compensated for its missing provincial-type powers by maintaining a tight hold on territorial powers gained. It has been argued, for example, that powers devolved to the territorial government from the federal government based on a territorial commitment to further devolution of powers to the community level, have never been carried to their full conclusion of increased community powers (Graham 1990). To ameliorate the problem of territorial fragmentation based on diverse Aboriginal agendas among diverse Aboriginal groups, a policy of local empowerment has been a federal objective. The territorial objective, however, has been to increase its territorial powers. At the same time, however, especially in the West among the Dene, the territorial government was seen as an imposition that did not supersede their treaty agreements with the federal government. The scenario here is, that the predominant Aboriginal population territorially has historically not recognised the territorial government as a legitimate power structure within the territory. The APAs, then, are interacting with systemic powers at two levels of government.

**ABORIGINAL PUBLIC POLICY MAKERS:** A logical continuation of the Aboriginal Policy Actor acting on and with the system, is the Aboriginal Public Policy Maker making and changing public policy from within the system. The designation fits not only Aboriginal politicians but all Aboriginal persons making an impact on the system through their presence and involvement within the system.

### Classification of the Relevant Literature

The literature relevant to the problem addressed in this thesis is extensive. Hence, to facilitate my work, I have classified it into primary and secondary categories. The primary literature is comprised of policy documents,



other relevant government documents, and theoretical academic works guiding the analysis. Under secondary literatures I include political, historical literature on the Northwest Territories and Native culture, education and policy-related literature.

**PRIMARY LITERATURE:** Primary documents, the literature that provides the framework for the analysis, are represented by the 1982 educational policy report *Learning: Tradition and Change in the Northwest Territories* [LTC] and the 1994 Ministry policy document *People: Our Focus for the Future - A Strategy to 2010* [POFF]. The Schools Ordinances and Education Acts for the Northwest Territories also represent documentary sources, especially the Ordinances and Statutes after 1974. The following Government-commissioned reports are also included in this group on the grounds that they significantly shaped historical development: *Report of the Advisory Commission on the Development of Government in the Northwest Territories* (1966), Vol. 1: *Northern Frontier, Northern Homeland: The Report of the MacKenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry* (1977) and *Constitutional Development in the Northwest Territories: Report of the Special Representative* (1979). The 1982 Hansard Report of the Legislative Debate concerning the tabling of the document *Learning: Tradition and Change in the Northwest Territories* supplies additional information. Also included with this group is the 1996 federally sponsored *Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples* [RRCAP], Nunavut Implementation Commission's [NIC's] 1995 and 1996 *Footprints in New Snow* [FP1] and *Footprints 2* [FP2]. The main theoretical work guiding analysis is Pal's (1989) work *Public Policy Analysis: An Introduction*.

**SECONDARY LITERATURE:** The chief political and historical educational sources consulted on the Northwest Territories are Colbourne's (1986) thesis *Inuit Control of Education: The Baffin Experience (Northwest Territories)*, Hamilton's (1994) *Arctic Revolution: Social Change in the Northwest Territories*

1935 - 1994, Duffy's (1988) *Road to Nunavut*, and R.G. Robertson's (1963) article "The Evolution of Territorial Government in Canada" found in a compilation edited by J.H. Aitchison entitled *The Political Process in Canada*. Cameron and White's [C&W's] (1995) *Northern Governments in Transition: Political and Constitutional Development in the Yukon, Nunavut and the Western Northwest Territories* provide political and historical context to current policy orientations that impact on educational policy formation.

Chief education theory and decentralisation sources were Chapman, Boyd, Lander and Reynolds' (1996) *The Reconstruction of Education: Quality, Equality and Control*, La Noue's (1973) book entitled *The Politics of School Decentralization*, and Gurston Dacks' (1990) *Devolution and Constitutional Development in the Canadian North*.

### Conclusion

Chapter one reviewed the models and terminology that shaped my investigation of the phenomenon of decentralisation policy in education. The literature providing chronological parameters and arguments to frame discussion of the "decentralisation and devolution" years was identified.

Chapters two through four of the thesis are summarised as follows: In chapter two the 1966 Carrothers Report, its impact on Northwest Territories government powers and policy and its influence on education policy is outlined. The chapter also reviews the Berger Report of 1977, its impact on politics and its influence on education policy, as well as the effects of the Drury Report of 1979, along with Native politicisation. These three crucial reports, all commissioned by the federal government, have had considerable influence over education policy, and have contributed elements that may be traced through territorial education policy. At the same time over these years, Native demand for more control and Native influence over education has also been a predominant political influence on education policy, and this is probed in

chapter two.

In chapter three, I examine the key education policy documents of the era: *Learning: Tradition and Change in the Northwest Territories*, 1982 and *People: Our focus for the the future -- A strategy to 2010*, 1994. The content of *Learning, Tradition and Change in the Northwest Territories* is examined in greater depth in the section reviewing the legislative responses to the recommendations made by the Special Committee that created *Learning: Tradition and Change in the Northwest Territories* .

In chapter four territorial education legislation is reviewed, and some history and proposed education policy for Nunavut is summarised. Chapter five combines and compares the evidence presented in previous chapters and draws conclusions.

## **Chapter 2**

### **TERRITORIAL POLITICAL HISTORY FRAMING THE EDUCATION DOCUMENTS**

This chapter reviews the major political reports guiding territorial policy up to the critical year of 1975. These reports led into the formation of the Special Committee on Education and as a result, the policy document *Learning: Tradition and Change in the Northwest Territories*.

If education and government are concentric circles, then education, an inner circle, presses up against the outer circle of government policy and politics. In the Northwest Territories government and education greatly overlap each other because of the presence of a powerful Northern civil service that includes teachers. Two critical federally-commissioned reports that influenced territorial policy and politics were The Carrothers Report of 1966, recommending against territorial division, and the Drury Report of 1979, advocating a government-to-government relationship between the territories and the federal government and increased local control. These reports are essential to an understanding of territorial policy history. The Berger Report of 1977 articulated a Native political position nationally.

These three policy documents exist in the outer circle providing context to the territorial education history and framing the educational policy process. The chapter also looks at each document's treatment of education as a further guide to understanding education policy solutions thereafter. The chapter includes a review of Native political history in the Northwest Territories with some discussion of the complex area of land claims agreements.

The Carrothers Report: A Precursor to Decentralisation

The Advisory Commission on the Development of Government in the Northwest was headed by the respected Dean Carrothers of the Law Faculty of the University of Western Ontario, who gave the report its popular name. The Commission's mandate was to report on ways to improve overall government in the Northwest Territories, but the Commission was mainly formed on the basis of "white" demands for more control and separation from the Eastern Arctic.

Carrothers wrote:

The claim of the white population to greater self-government, and, indeed, to patriation of their government, is one of great weight. The question is whether division is a necessary or desirable move in the direction of meeting these political ambitions. We have come ultimately to the conclusion that the claim can be satisfied almost as fully at the present time without division as with it; there will be a certain political price, not so much in the form of government as in its operation and administration. We have also come to the conclusion that division would likely bear consequences for the Eskimos in the residual area east and north of the Mackenzie and for the Indians in the west which should and can be avoided at this time. (Carrothers 1966, 147)

Carrothers was sent in to find a policy solution to the demand for improved Western territorial control over regional affairs. Carrothers decided against division because he believed the Eastern Arctic would suffer from such a decision. He wrote:

The strongest case against division at this time, in terms of the postulates adopted earlier in this report, is that division would be prejudicial to the political interests of the indigenous peoples of the Northwest Territories as Canadian citizens. (Carrothers 1966, 147)

This may have been an underestimation of Eastern potential, and the Carrothers decision would create a fertile environment for Eastern Inuit dissatisfaction in the following years. He recommended a policy solution of both local control and

decentralisation. He decided

... that a continuing and intensified program for the development of local government, in which all residents can be offered the opportunity of a meaningful role which they can understand, is crucial to the economic, social and political development of the north. In a sparsely populated country where the population is polarized into many small communities between which communication is easy -- what has been described earlier as a pinpoint development -- decentralization of government is of first importance. (Carrothers 1966, 189)

The Carrothers Report caused the first stage of federal devolution of powers affecting territorial politics and policy. The seat of government and all its civil servants moved from Ottawa to Yellowknife with the Commissioner. Educational policy decisions would be made with increasing authority from the bureaucratic centre of Yellowknife in the following years. The imbalance in East-West powers would provide suitable political conditions encouraging Eastern politics, politicisation and struggle for control.<sup>7</sup>

The Carrothers Report on Education -- Forming a "Department of Education"

At the time of the Carrothers Report the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources<sup>8</sup> was the most powerful and ubiquitous department in the North. It was one among fifteen that the Carrothers Report identified as governing the Northwest Territories. The Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources was responsible for education in the Northwest Territories:

... [it] affects the lives of Northwest Territories residents more than does any other. It also comprises the largest single federal personnel force in the north. The department's activities cover a broad field. In certain areas they are analogous to the responsibilities of a provincial government, because at present the department acts as the civil service for the territorial government in most territorial spheres. (Carrothers 1966, 27)

The Carrothers Report specifically stated:

We recommend that there be a department of education. Much of the efficacy of the department of economic development and finance and the recommended developments in regional and local government - together the keys to economic, social and political development of the north - will depend on the educational program of the north. Education is, in effect, the touchstone to the future, not only for the young who fall within the normal school age bracket, but for their elders, who should have available to them a program of adult education, of which community development is a part. We found in our hearings an apparently spontaneous recognition of a relationship between education and self-government. (Carrothers 1966, 197)

On Carrothers' recommendation education was centralised under a territorial Department of Education. The sweeping power the Department of Education exercised across one third of Canada, Canada's North, could have been abrogated by early division, but it was not. Carrothers appears not to have been very informed about the legislated status of schooling in the Northwest Territories. It was not his prime policy concern. However, he clearly recommended territorial control over territorial education, and thus territorial control over education is generally attributed to Carrothers.

#### The Berger Inquiry

The political balance in the Northwest Territories was integrally changed by the MacKenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry. Berger tapped into a critical phase of political growth for Aboriginal people. They would move from their position as an "interest group" to policy players, negotiating with the federal government over land claims.

The resultant report of 1977 entitled *Northern Frontier, Northern Homeland: The Report of the MacKenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry* was written by Justice Thomas Berger, a British Columbia Supreme Court judge, who gave the

report its alternate name -- The Berger Report.<sup>9</sup> The report was commissioned by the Liberal government under Pierre Trudeau (with Jean Chrétien as Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development) to assess the impact of the Mackenzie Valley pipeline on the MacKenzie Delta. Berger used the inquiry mandate to present Native land claims to the federal government. Regarding Berger's impact Hamilton (1994) wrote,

Nothing in Berger's report was so astonishing as his long section in both volumes on native claims. Not only did the report describe them, but it appeared to be negotiating them with the federal government, with Berger acting as advocate for the natives.... His introduction to the question of native claims ranged over the whole history of native/white relations in North America, to Treaties 8 and 11, and to Canadian policies involving the extinguishment of native land claims. Berger asked whether a settlement of other native claims to self-determination could be accommodated within the Canadian constitution. He directly challenged the extension of democratic rights to NWT residents, which had followed the recommendations of the Carrothers Commission in 1966. (Hamilton 1994, 199)

#### The Berger Report on Education -- Education as a "Claim"

In the chapter of his report entitled *Cultural Impact* (section, "Schools and Native Culture"), Berger wrote,

I have traced in a general way the impingement of the white man and his institutions upon the native people of the North. The changes that occurred were changes in the native way of life; the world of the native people was altered, whereas the world of the white man -- his religion, his economy, his own idea of who he was -- remained the same. We sought to make native people like ourselves, and native society like our own; we pursued a policy of cultural replacement. Perhaps nothing offers a better illustration of this policy than the schools we established in the North.... When we consider what culture is, we can see the importance of schools and education. (Berger 1977, 90)

Berger closes off with the following observation,



The Dene and the Inuit today are seeking to reclaim what they say is rightfully theirs. At the core of this claim, and basic to their idea of self-determination, is their right to educate their children -- the right to pass on to them their values, their languages, their knowledge and their history. (Berger 1977, 93)

Berger clearly articulated a Native position on education in his report. Three key areas of control in education were identified -- greater control over curriculum especially the cultural content, power to hire and fire teachers, and the length of the school year.

The native people of the North claim the right to educate their children....The native people insist that they must control the education of their children, if it is to transmit their culture as opposed to ours. They say that the curriculum must include such subjects as native history, native skills, native lore and native rights; that they must determine the languages of instruction; and they insist that they must have the power to hire and fire teachers and to arrange the school year so that it accommodates the social and economic life of each community. (Berger 1977, 181)

The Aboriginal view of education as a rights claim was firmly established as a factor in Northwest Territories education policy after the Berger Report, and has remained a dominant Aboriginal political position since. The impact of culture and Native rights issues is reflected in a 1978 education booklet spelling out education philosophy. In its introduction the booklet emphasised "The importance of multiculturalism and bilingualism in the N.W.T. and the need to consider both cultural and linguistic factors in developing programs" (Philosophy of Education in the Northwest Territories 1978, introduction). The complete-education-control approach of Native policy players has remained strong through to the 1996 RRCAP under the Co-Chairs Georges Erasmus and Rene Dussault. Interestingly, Georges Erasmus was a dominant political voice during the time of the Berger Inquiry and was undoubtedly influenced by the Berger Report. The Berger Report is quoted in the RRCAP and the theme of a Native claim over education is central to RRCAP's chapter on education.

Berger's Report was a challenge to the "structure within which the game is played." Aboriginal rights, politicisation and demand for control over education against the centralised bureaucratic structure of education set up the "pulling and hauling" that was to produce emergent education policy.

The Drury Report -- Endorsing a Compromise: Local Control

*Constitutional Development in the Northwest Territories: Report of the Special Representative*, referred to as the Drury Report after its federal government representative and author C.M. Drury, attempted to put a lid on pressing issues raised by the Berger Inquiry in 1979. The timing of the Drury Report also corresponded with Carrothers' recommendation for review of the decision against division in ten years. The Carrothers Report is cited frequently by Drury and, most significantly, Drury like Carrothers, recommended against division. Drury had to contend, however, with the issue of Native rights, and the various Native claims already on the table.

A device the Drury Report used to counter Berger, was to address specifically the financial dependency of the Northwest Territories on the federal government, and provide proof that this dependency would continue as an integral part of Northwest Territories infrastructure. The Northwest Territories, the report declares, is a "fiscally dependent government," therefore,

... it is understandable that the federal government has influenced and would want to continue influencing the conditions under which federal funds are spent, and to exercise sufficient control in order to be accountable for expenditure decisions. (Drury 1979, 113)

The message was clear that the Northwest Territories financial dependency gives ultimate authority to the federal government and imposes to a great degree a recognisable form of government that will facilitate transfer payments to the Northwest Territories (i.e. "public" government as opposed to "ethnic" government). Drury proposed that "evolution of public government" would

provide a reasonable compromise:

The goal of native claims should be the protection and promotion of native economic and cultural interests. With regard to native political concerns, the objectives and terms of the agreements with native peoples while negotiated collectively, should not be incompatible with the individual interests of both native and non-native peoples in the evolution of public government. (Drury 1979, 23)

But Drury also articulated specific concrete changes that would increase local powers and facilitate devolution of powers beyond the earlier federal initiative to decentralise powers to the territorial level. He proposed significant bureaucratic changes. Although the recommendations are extensive -- an example of Drury's impact on policy effecting structural change is devolution of powers from the federal government to the territorial government -- significant changes were concerned with the financial arrangements between the federal government and the Northwest Territories. Drury wrote, "There is both fiscal competence and political willingness in the NWT to assume greater responsibility for financial matters. Thus, fiscal responsibility, as an essential concomitant to increased political authority, should be encouraged" (Drury 1979, 123). He recommended a council where the elected members would have more control over budget and responsibility for the budget, where an elected member from the council would be a member of the Executive Committee overseeing finance. He also suggested that "more formalised government-to-government financial negotiations should be instituted between the federal and territorial governments" (Drury 1979, 124).

Drury's Report proposed a compromise between federal control and Berger's Native control through an increase in local control and local powers. To recognise native claims to control, Drury suggested legislating devolution of powers to the local level, with protections from territorial interference. The legislation of local powers is a key element in the education policy story:

Because political structures are an important concomitant to the protection provided for native

peoples in their claims settlements, a revised NWT Act should recognise the municipal order of government in the Territories. It should also list the minimum authorities that community governments may exercise if they wish. The NWT Council should subsequently define specific authorities in territorial ordinances, but should not be permitted to remove community powers except through recourse to amendment by the federal Parliament. (Drury 1979, 26)

Despite the unpopularity of Drury with his obvious federal agenda and allegiance, the Drury Report did have an impact on territorial policy, particularly with regard to a Northwest Territories' decentralisation plan. Berger's articulation of the Native claims and the radical nature of his report, required mediation and probably significantly advanced the development of the "government to government" relationship between the Northwest Territories and the federal government as recommended by Drury.

#### The Drury Report on Education -- "A Shared Jurisdiction"

Drury proffered that "the territorial government should retain prime or ultimate responsibility for the definition, development and delivery of all programs" (Drury 1979, 45). He characterised education as a "shared jurisdiction." He supported centralised governance of schooling in the education section of his report, but generally advocated local control. Schneider (1988) comments: "... many of the Drury report recommendations, especially on local government, were sound steps for the gradual political development of the North and did eventually become part of the current devolution program" (Schneider 1988, 28).

A key area that Drury addressed was the inflexibility of the existing education Ordinances, and their obvious utilisation by central government to the detriment of communities. This observation was critical of education legislation that had imposed excessive limitations. He observed that

... the Municipal Ordinance, as well as the other relevant ordinances, such as the Education Ordinance, demands a uniformity of approach that inhibits response to the different needs, cultural characteristics and traditions of the communities.... The inflexible nature of the present system is a defect that precludes local institutions from developing procedures and processes that reflect the distinctive culture of those they are designed to serve....The existing legislation and procedures are also unnecessarily complex: they are elaborate, cumbersome and time-consuming and often seem to be designed to meet the requirements of the senior government rather than to facilitate local activities or accommodate traditional practices. (Drury 1979, 37)

Drury's solution to the division between the Aboriginal Policy Actors and the federal and territorial governments who were now all pulling and hauling against each other, was to transform public government to serve both Native and non-Native interests. What he suggested was the "evolution of public government," and devolution of powers to the local level through changes to legislation.

#### The Contribution of the Carrothers, Berger and Drury Reports: Toward an Era of Decentralisation

All three reports made a contribution to the decentralisation era in education. The Carrothers Report established that territorial division was inevitable but that it should be delayed due to the lack of political development in the Eastern Arctic. Carrothers recommended moving the seat of government from Ottawa to Yellowknife. The strengthening of the Department of Education under territorial jurisdiction, a result of the devolution of federal powers, provided the framework for the centralisation of territorial powers in education in Yellowknife. This centralisation would fuel the demand for decentralisation in the years following the Carrothers report, in the key area of education.

Berger articulated the Native claim over education as well as the specific changes demanded. Native culture, as a specific curricular area, was key to the demands. Specific elements of decentralisation policy in education were

elaborated in the Berger report: the Native demand for powers to regulate the school year, and the powers to hire and fire teachers. The Berger report spelled out within a federal document, the critical points that would feature in a satisfactory education policy for Native peoples.

Drury proposed compromises. The Drury report was a response to Carrothers' suggestion that the issue of territorial division be reviewed in ten years, and it also responded to Native demands articulated in the Berger report. Drury recommended a "government to government" relationship particularly in the fiscal area, with increased territorial control over spending. Another key proposal was increased local control, the "evolution of public government," as Drury described it. He pinpointed specific areas of legislation that needed to be changed to reflect and protect local powers -- the Municipal and Education Ordinances -- and recommended that education be a "shared jurisdiction." The Drury contribution to the era under study envisioned the maintenance of public government in combination with increased legislated local powers. Education legislation began to incorporate changes to reflect decentralisation policy meant to meet local demands. The changes began with the formation of the Special Committee on Education formed in 1981 which made recommendations to address the demand for more local control in education. The Drury report essentially recommended changes to traditional forms of school legislation. Even though changes were made to education legislation in 1977, further changes following on the education document Learning: Tradition and Change in the Northwest Territories would try to deal with the issue of local control and the problem of the traditional form of educational governance through boards based on property taxes. Public decentralisation policy in education was at an important second incremental stage following completion of the Drury report in January of 1980. Along with the influence of powerful Native leaders, the decentralisation era in education was fully entrenched as a territorial and Native policy strategy when the Special Committee was formed in February of 1980.

### A Brief Review of Native Territorial Political History

While it may be argued that Berger seated the issue of Native claims in the forefront of national Canadian politics, advances in Native politicisation and claims were made under the direction of some powerful, charismatic territorial Native leaders.

Territorial division began with the formation of a Committee for Original People's Entitlement [COPE] in 1975, led by Agnes Semmler and Nellie Cournoyea. COPE represented the Inuit and the Inuvialuit of the Beaufort Sea and planned to form an organisation that included all the territorial Native groups.

1975 was a critical year for the Dene Nation. James Wah Shee ran for the N.W.T. Council and was elected in 1975, to become one of the first territorial APPMs. The Dene Declaration established in 1975 a Dene political position. The Indian Brotherhood which Wah Shee had created (Hamilton 1994, 139) was organised into the Dene Nation in 1978. Wah Shee sought to promote change from within the system, but this policy was not popular with the Dene. Richard Nerysoo, twenty-two years old at the time (and later to become Minister of Education spear-heading POFF in 1994), was briefly president of the Indian Brotherhood in 1975 until Georges Erasmus was elected to the position several months later. Hamilton suggests James Wah Shee was forced to resign as leader of the Dene Nation because he chose political compromise (Hamilton 1994, 149). The years between 1977 and 1978 were fraught with extensive internal conflicts within the Native organisations.

The Metis Association was asked to join the Dene Nation in order to add political strength to the Native cause. The Metis population was large, but dispersed (Hamilton 1994, 133). The Metis remained, however, a separate entity and supported the pipe-line opposed by the Dene. A Metis Land Claim was proposed in 1977 followed by a Metis Declaration in 1980 that was less "separatist" than the Dene Declaration. Nick Sibbeston (Member of the

Legislative Assembly in 1982 and cited in the 1982 legislative debates in this thesis) was the first Metis elected to the N.W.T. Council in 1970.

Hamilton records that in 1976 "the Dog Ribs gained control of their school and what was taught in it" (Hamilton 1994, 264). The Inuit formed the National Inuit Council on Education (NICE) in 1976 (Duffy 1988, 120-121). Hamilton (1994) writes that southern support groups became significant factors by 1975 also (for example, the "Southern Support Group" of London, Ontario) contributing financial and public support to the Indian Brotherhood in the Northwest Territories (Hamilton 1994, 140). The Dene Nation eventually formed a "corporation" lead by Bill Erasmus, George Erasmus' brother. George Erasmus went on to head the Assembly of First Nations and eventually became co-commissioner of the Federal Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples in 1990.

COPE had begun its claims negotiations in 1978 and by 1984 the first territorial settlement was reached with the Inuvialuit, The Western Arctic Claim Settlement Act. The Inuit had separated from COPE in 1976 to form their own claims negotiating entity, The Inuit Tapirisat of Canada [ITC]. The first ITC president was Tagak Curley. A plan for Nunavut was proposed in 1976 but negotiations broke down in 1983 over the degree of sovereignty Inuit should have within Canada. A new and separate arm of the Inuit Tapirisat was formed to negotiate land settlement, The Tungavik Federation of Nunavut (TFN). The Nunavut Lands Claims Agreement was ultimately signed in 1993 with Prime Minister Brian Mulroney (see Figure 4).

Eventually the Dene Brotherhood narrowed its broad Western territorial representation and separate groups in the West began to negotiate independently. The Inuvialuit Agreement included a land and cash settlement and extinguishment of Aboriginal rights, but the Dene rejected extinguishment as well as diminishment of guarantees to self government. The Gwich'in Land Claim Settlement Act was completed in 1992 with aboriginal rights extinguished (see Figure 5).



The Northwest Territories includes two treaty agreements with the federal government that did not establish reserve areas, Treaties 8 and 11. Treaty 8 was signed in general with the groups south of Great Slave Lake who were identified in the main as the Slavey and Northern Cree. They formed the "Treaty 8 Tribal Council." Treaty 11 generally appears to represent the Dogrib, but Dene now north of Great Slave Lake and in Yellowknife also view themselves as part of Treaty 8 (Cameron and White [C&W] 1995, 70). The Aboriginal view is that the treaties invalidate territorial government because they were made directly with the federal government. The position of the Dene groups who are parties to these treaties, especially the Dogrib, is that territorial government must facilitate self-government. In 1988 the Dene and Metis signed a land claims agreement-in-principle with Prime Minister Mulroney which was then rejected by both parties in 1990. Cameron and White opine that "both in terms of claims and governance issues, the Treaty 8 Dene have adopted the most uncompromising position... they are pursuing treaty land entitlement negotiations with the federal government" (C&W 1995, 71).

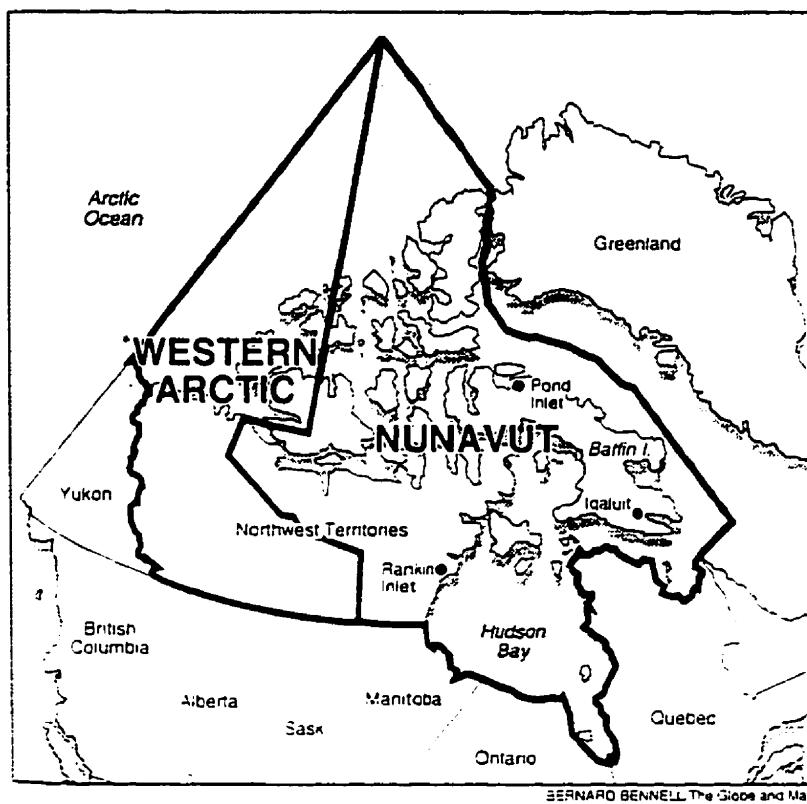


Fig. 4. "Nunavut Territory" from Bernard, Funston, W., Canada's constitutional law in a nutshell (Toronto: Carswell, 1994) 129.

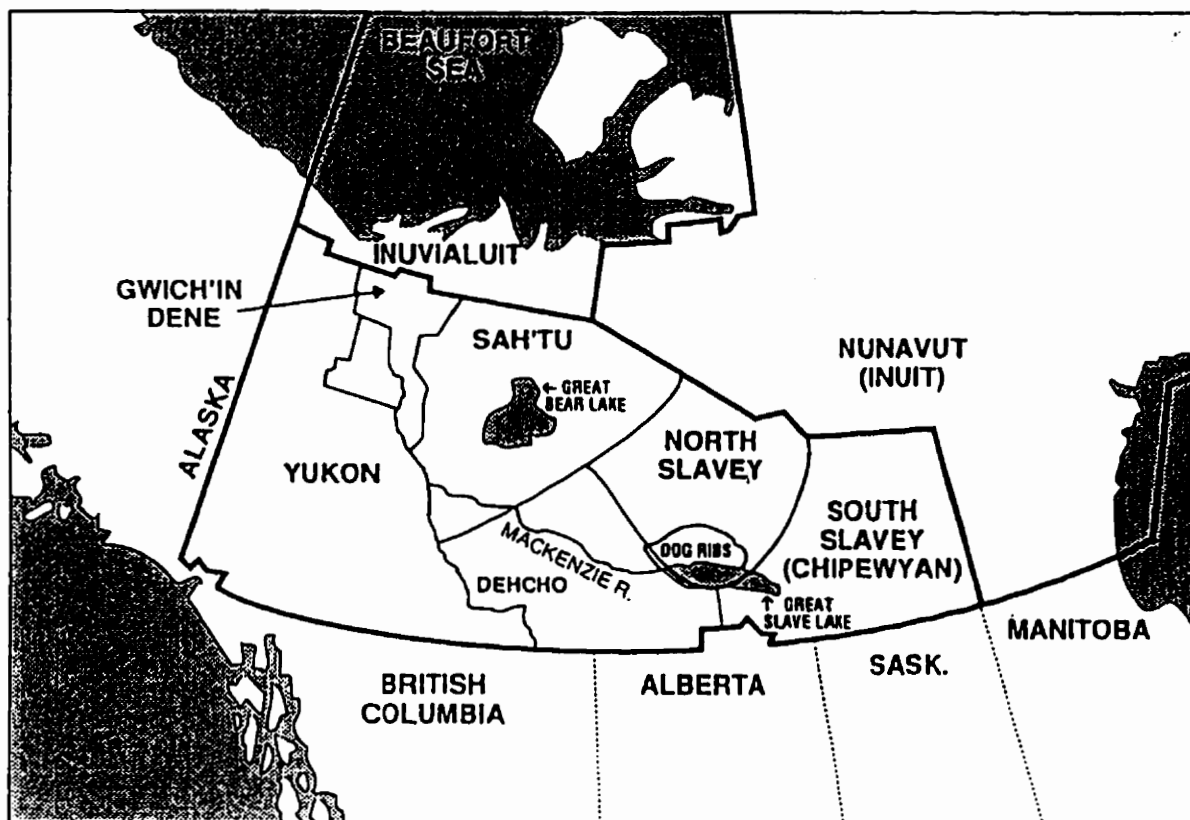


Fig. 5. "Indian (Dene) Native Land Claims in the Northwest Territories, Negotiated or in Negotiations 1994" from Hamilton, John David. *Arctic Revolution: Social Change in the Northwest Territories 1935 - 1994*. Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1994, p. 239.

Hamilton's note: "Gwich'in Dene and Inuvialuit share the area of the Mackenzie Delta in the Inuvik and Aklavik region."

### Conclusion

The reports made a contribution to the policy of decentralisation begun in education with Learning: Tradition and Change in the Northwest Territories. A territorial Department of Education was strengthened in 1967 following the Carrothers recommendation to move the seat of government from Ottawa to Yellowknife. The Berger Report challenged the Canadian constitution, made an impressive presentation of Northern Native land claims, self-government and education issues to the federal government, and contributed to the emergence of a collective Native voice. Drury responded by advocating local control including legislated protections, "evolved public government" as a compromise, changes to the Municipal and Education Ordinances, and shared control over education. Native leaders guiding land claims agreements and representing collective Native political positions, also made a considerable contribution to challenging and changing education policy during the years under review.

### Chapter 3

## THE EDUCATION DOCUMENTS OF THE ERA

In this chapter I provide a synopsis of the two pivotal education documents of the decentralisation era. The chapter includes selected sections of the debate in the legislature following the tabling of *Learning: Tradition and Change in the Northwest Territories*. The descriptive analysis is intended to provide readers with a general picture of the text of the documents. The decentralisation era is clearly represented through these documents produced by the territories. The overall movement in public educational policy has been, in general terms, from the 1982 document's recommendation for Divisional Boards possessing a degree of autonomy, to the formation of the community learning networks proposed in the 1994 document.

I follow the summary of the 1982 document with a review of the first 14 recommendations discussed in the legislature from May 14 to May 22, 1982, and recorded in Hansard for the 9th Assembly, 8th session, within pages 1-144. This section of the debate contains critical information regarding legislative response to *Learning: Tradition and Change in the Northwest Territories*, the document produced by the Special Committee on Education. By comparison, legislative reaction to the 1994 document was less telling, as it did not represent any significant change in policy through the vehicle of a special committee, but rather framed a policy "strategy" that reflected territorial fiscal restraint and the impending division. The debate following the 1982 policy is critical to a policy analysis of the decentralisation strategy adopted in education. Finally, to limit the length of the thesis, I have also limited my review to the 1982 debate, and I leave further Hansard reviews concerning education policy in the decentralisation years to further research.

1982 Education Policy Document: "Learning: Tradition and Change in the Northwest Territories" -- Legislating Decentralisation Policy in Northern Education

WHEREAS there are many educational problems faced by people of the Northwest Territories, and particularly with the Natives, including high drop-out rate, poor comprehension, poor parent/teacher relationship, low recruitment of Native teachers and foreign curriculum for northern lifestyle, lack of proper high school facilities, and lack of continuing and special education facilities;  
 NOW THEREFORE I move that this Assembly establish a special committee on education with support staff to inquire into all aspects of educational policy in the Northwest Territories and an interim report of its findings be tabled during the fall session in 1981 and the final report and recommendations be made by the beginning of 1982 and the size and the nomination for membership be made by the striking committee of this Legislature. (LTC 1982 Mandate, 6)

The resulting 1982 education document *Learning: Tradition and Change in the Northwest Territories* was lengthy at 172 pages which included, however, many large full-page illustrations. The text was split into two-column pages to accommodate English and Inuktitut. The content of this 1982 "manifesto" -- the recommendations and the legislation following from the recommendations -- shaped the era of educational decentralisation policy. The Special Committee members, all Members of the Legislative Assembly, responsible for *Learning: Tradition and Change in the Northwest Territories* were Tagak Curley, Co-Chairman (Keewatin South), Bruce McLaughlin, Co-Chairman (Pine Point), Nellie Cournoyea (Western Arctic), Dennis Patterson (Frobisher Bay), and Robert Sayine (Great Slave East) (see Figure 6).

The policy document is divided into 12 sections -- Introduction, Overview of Recommendations, Recommendations, Common Concerns, Administrative Structure (the longest chapter of the document, and a separate section in this chapter), School Program, Language Program, Teaching Staff, Special Services, Education of Adults, Implementation, and Final Word.

Δεσφδ'σφ: Δεφδ'σφ δελε δρ'σφ<εδσφ δε'ρδ'σφ

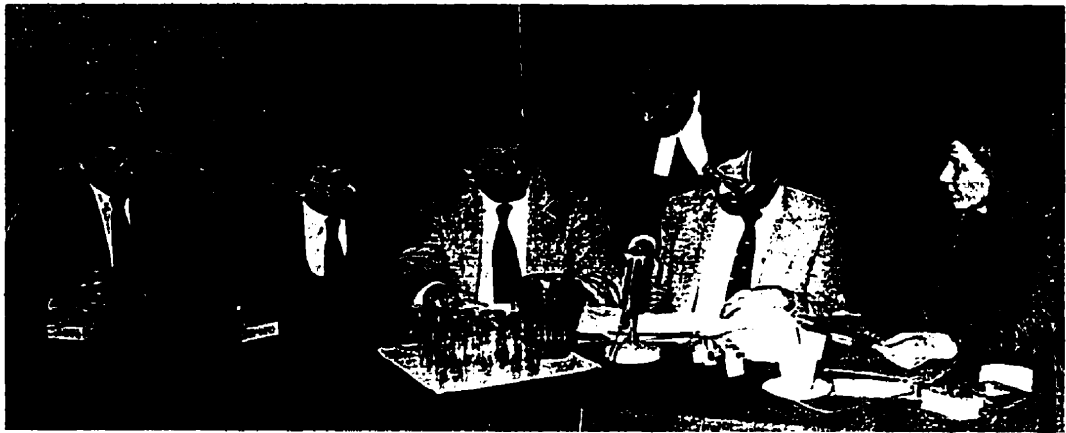
# LEARNING

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## TRADITION & CHANGE

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### IN THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES



  
Northwest  
Territories Legislative Assembly  
Special Committee on Education

Fig. 6. The inside cover of Learning: Tradition and Change in the Northwest Territories, 1982.

Administration in the 1982 Document

Not only was the chapter in LTC entitled *Administrative Structure* (LTC 1982, 39-72) the longest, but it also contained the most significant of the recommendations. First, it explained that "the [education] system...has inherited many characteristics from its special relation with the federal government, [and] has not successfully satisfied the changing needs of ... communities" (LTC 1982, 39). Decentralisation was considered to be in keeping with the trend to local control, but the decentralisation recommended in the Carrothers Report in 1966 had not advanced. The chapter explained a need to redefine the roles of senior administrators, and to establish elected school boards that could be responsible for local decisions in education.

The Committee cited many problems with the centralised control of the system from Yellowknife. Yellowknife had "continued to dictate philosophy, policies, and priorities for the educational system" (LTC 1982, 40). Control over budgets and allocation of money (LTC 1982, 40), and Yellowknife's centralised powers had interfered with the process of decentralisation. The Committee said:

The process [of decentralisation and devolution] seems to have reached a point where the administration of the Department of Education in Yellowknife, although not legally in direct control of schools, is in practice still in control of the system. The central administration can assume responsibility at will or delegate responsibility at will to the regional director, to superintendents, to local authorities, or to school staffs. (LTC 1982, 40)

There were two problems traced to the [1977] Ordinance. It would not allow communities to develop "even to the status of a school society" (LTC 1982, 42), a preliminary level meant to lead to board status. It also did not allow the development of regional organisations:

The present ordinance respecting education provides for the development of community-level committees, societies and boards. However, only a few of the larger communities have the human and



the financial resources that will enable them to evolve to school board status. Under the existing arrangement, most communities can never hope to gain even the status of a school society. (LTC 1982, 42)

The [1977] Education Ordinance and Regulations provide for community-level advisory school committees, school societies, and school boards (Sections 5 to 53), but they make no provisions for regional organisations... (LTC 1982, 45)

While the 1977 Ordinance looked like a "generous form of decentralization and devolution," because guidelines allowed local education councils to develop into boards, the Committee said that, in reality, it "promoted the development of administrative units that are too small, in most cases, to ever become the truly independent units or education boards provided for by Sections 23 to 53 of the present Ordinance" (LTC 1982, 45). The Ordinance specified certain community properties that may be taxed but did not offer a financial formula that was fair to communities without tax bases:

Section 39 of the [1977] Education Ordinance defines which communities are liable to assessment and taxation for school purposes. We must develop a formula for the determination of equalization grants to ensure that communities and divisions that do not have an adequate tax base are not penalized. (LTC 1982, 50)

Bureaucratic inefficiency and budgeting inefficiency affected the local school, and parents had minimal involvement with a curriculum giving little cultural consideration to the two main Native groups, the Dene in the West and the Inuit in the East. The computer system was "plagued with errors and inadequacies" (LTC 1982, 69). The bureaucratic problems were due in part, the Committee said, to the "territorial government's special relation to the federal government. There is a tendency... for senior civil servants to centralize, as far as possible, financial planning and spending authority" (LTC 1982, 65). The problems with budgeting and slow bureaucracy were seen to exist at every level:

**Regional education staff must prepare submissions [to central office] for a budget year that begins in April, although their school year begins in July or late August... A local education authority must plan such changes nearly two years in advance. Given the rate of staff turnover in most communities and regional offices, many staff had not held their positions long enough to establish priorities and to implement them. (LTC 1982, 67)**

To address these problems the Committee recommended "the creation of ten divisional boards of education, each of which will encompass several communities, and each of which will be governed by elected boards" (LTC 1982, 42). The boards would be made up of elected representatives of communities within their jurisdiction who were already elected to a local education authority (LTC 1982, 50). The education councils were envisioned by the Committee as acting like school trustees, and they recommended that they form an association and affiliate with the Canadian Association of School Trustees (LTC 1982, 55). Divisional Boards, among other things, were to be "guaranteed staff to run programs needed" (LTC 1982, 45), and were to have "direct administration of schools transferred from the Department of Education" (LTC 1982, 58). Divisional Boards would have the power to establish their school year between 170 to 200 days, (LTC 1982, 52) and control over budgeting. The Committee recommended that boards have the authority, within budgetary guidelines, to "establish their own priorities, programs, and schedules of implementation" (LTC 1982, 70). Two "Centres for Learning and Teaching" would be established to develop programs for the Dene in the West and the Inuit in the East. Arctic College would be established to provide for education after Grade 10 and to improve the quality of and method of funding post-school programs.

The central administration would be maintained to provide direction and advice, monitor programs, monitor standards, monitor capital expenditures, oversee adult education, train teachers, and administer funds.

Overview, Common Concerns, School Program, Language Program, Teaching Staff, Special Services, Education of Adults and Implementation

The overview of recommendations for *Learning: Tradition and Change in the Northwest Territories* listed as the first priority that

The Minister of Education of the Northwest Territories shall introduce legislation to create divisional boards of education to govern schools. These boards shall seek the advice of local education authorities in making decisions that affect the communities. (LTC 1982, 17)

The 1982 document stated specifically that "The direct administration of schools in the Northwest Territories shall be transferred from the Department of Education to the divisional boards of education" (LTC 1982, 18).

In the chapter entitled *Common Concerns*, the following "problems" were delineated: values confusion (with respect to traditional life/wage economy forces); language of instruction usage; insufficient resources for language programs; culturally inappropriate curriculum; disciplinary problems at school; attendance problems; drop-out problems; parental apathy; lack of motivation; students bored by the curriculum; conflicts of will between different cultures; ill-prepared southern teachers with no cross-cultural education; the need for adult education; and the problem of a centralised educational system seen to be ineffective at the community level (LTC 1982, 27-38).

Under *School Program*, responsibility for program and curriculum was to be delegated to the Divisional Boards. The boards would respond to local needs and encourage local involvement, with the Local Education Authority and Divisional Boards having a reciprocal consultative relationship. An emphasis was placed on decentralising curriculum development (LTC 1982, 75), on local control over curriculum, on training teachers at the community level through the Centre for Learning and Teaching, on developing local curricula, on increasing parental involvement, and on curriculum with the intended benefit of improving attendance and lowering drop-out rates. The *School Program* chapter

suggested assessing the impact of English on Native students and better response to the way Native students learned based on research. It recommended a curriculum resulting from classroom-oriented process, and integrating traditional knowledge (LTC 1982, 73-86).

The Divisional Board system was presented as the most efficient means for facilitating regional needs in curriculum, which in turn would foster better community participation, "the divisional board must be alert to local needs and sensitive to ways that may encourage participation and decision-making at the community level" (LTC 1982, 73). The community's local education authority would be consulted before the Divisional Board made any changes affecting the community school: "the divisional boards of education should not make any decisions about programs in any school without first consulting representatives of that community's education authority" (LTC 1982, 74).

A "highly centralised" territorial curriculum was criticised by the Committee in the following terms: "central control of curriculum development has hindered progress. We consider that the principle of local control of curriculum development must be implemented, if students are to be effectively served" (LTC 1982, 75). The Committee referred to "two principles long honoured in Canadian education" (LTC 1982, 77), namely, parental control and local control of education.

The chapter, *Language Program*, recommended programs that were either alternatively fully or partially bilingual, or oral (excluding reading or writing when necessary to concentrate on Native fluency). It also proposed an "emergency program" meant to develop fluency in either a Native language or English. The Centre for Learning and Teaching could develop, deliver and evaluate language programs, develop curriculum, train teachers, change southern attitudes operating against bilingual programs, and encourage hiring of informed, sympathetic teachers. A local Native language could be designated a school working language, and attention could be given to developing Native-language programs, developing full curricula for ESL

students and hiring and training ESL teachers (LTC 1982, 87-104).

With respect to *Teaching Staff* the document stated that training would involve training Aboriginal/Northern teachers using field-based programs, increasing the numbers of such teachers employed, and increasing training with the involvement of the Local Education Authority. Improving teacher training and integrating it with curriculum development, improving teacher orientation programs, encouraging teachers to continue their university training, and establishing Canadian university recognition for the N.W.T. teacher training program, were all emphasised. Finally, the chapter discussed encouraging classroom assistants to become certificated, and established that more continuity in teaching staff should exist at the local level in order to combat teacher turn-over and resultant disruption and interruptions to students (LTC 1982, 105-118).

The chapter, *Special Services*, recommended "integrating" special students into the local school and the regular classroom: "Students with special needs shall be integrated into regular classrooms, not segregated" (LTC 1982, 125). It emphasised including special students into community life, and providing services at the local level: "We consider that that emphasis on differences and on the separation or segregation of persons with handicaps is not in the best interests of those persons nor of the community and society in which they live" (LTC 1982, 130). It recommended providing training and employment to community members to facilitate this. The chapter aimed at developing individual programs, allocating funding according to individualised program plans, and authorising principals to deliver special services at the local level with the involvement of the Local Education Authority. The document indicated that standards should be established for levels of accomplishment, to train local people to offer special education in local schools and hire special education teachers, to share information about special needs through an information network, as well as to involve parents as acting advisors on their special needs children. It was recommended that schools experiment with

individualised programs for all students (LTC 1982, 119-132).

In *Education of Adults* the Committee recommended the introduction of adult education beyond grade 10 at the community level under the auspices of Arctic College, to provide a means through which a hodgepodge of different government initiatives under various departments could be integrated to accommodate employment training and higher education. The overarching rubric was to provide "life-long opportunities for learning." A central recommendation was to give adult education a legislative basis to ensure funding, staffing and programs. According to the document, improvements to the program would mean developing northern standards, establishing a traditional style Native university, developing programs according to local needs, and placing adult education under community control. It suggested providing a supervisor of continuing and adult education at the Divisional Board level, and assisting adult educators to help adults take community control (LTC 1982, 133-148).

The chapter entitled *Implementation* stipulated that the recommendations must be implemented or the report would be ineffective. Detractors, as well as "persons with authority," were cautioned to facilitate the intentions of the report. A Task Force on Implementation would be formed directing four pilot projects: organising Divisional Boards; organising a new approach to teacher recruitment; informing the public about the changes; and teaching newly recruited teachers to work effectively with Native classroom assistants. Funding would be made available to expedite changes through a special short-term request authorised by the Minister of Education (LTC 1982, 149-154). The *Final Word* contained an exhortation to Northwest Territories people to grasp the opportunity for local control of the educational system (LTC 1982, 155).

### LTC Thematic Analysis

Three key political orientations of LTC are: (1) an emphasis on the detrimental effects of southern teachers, curriculum and standards; (2) an emphasis on the detrimental effect of centralised control with respect to training initiatives, adult education, budgeting, curriculum and administrative powers and authority via federal influence; and (3) an emphasis on locality and/or community used in conjunction and combination with key words such as "control, need, circumstances, curriculum" etc. A main motif is the anti-southern sentiment expressed throughout the document. In particular, southern curriculum and southern teachers are found wanting. In the north/south dichotomy that was rife at this time (such a dichotomy mirroring Berger's frontier/homeland metaphor), northern identity was in a stage of crucial development and southern teachers and southern curriculum provided a convenient scapegoat. Some examples of the anti-southern sentiment in LTC include:

Few teachers [recruited] from southern Canada have had adequate preparation to teach in northern schools, and they do not have the resources to do a good job. (LTC 1982, 31)

Southern teachers come to northern schools with little or no knowledge of the Native cultures, little or no training in cross-cultural education, little or no understanding of instruction in a second language... (LTC 1982, 31)

Teachers from southern Canada who have had little or no experience in a multilingual situation can misunderstand and misinform others about the use of a Native language and the role of English as a second language in the school. (LTC 1982, 89)

Some teachers from southern Canada may regard bilingual programs as undesirable intrusions into their classrooms... (LTC 1982, 89)

New teachers from southern Canada continue to arrive in northern Canada with no knowledge of the history of northern education, no training in cross-

cultural education... (LTC 1982, 107)

The turnover of teachers recruited in southern Canada for service in the Northwest Territories is high -- too high. (LTC 1982, 114)

There is no evidence to show that persons with handicaps are any better off in southern institutions. (LTC 1982, 121)

But, in our opinion, one of the most serious inhibitions that faces innovative responses is the conviction held by some persons that, to have equal access to education, the programs in the north must be the same as those in the south. (LTC 1982, 133)

[The principals] must resist any temptation to adopt inappropriate features of southern institutions, and they must work hard to develop local solutions to particular needs. (LTC 1982, 138)

This anti-southern theme provided a focus for the Aboriginal policy players and strengthened their position. The degree to which southern teachers and southern curriculum may be held solely responsible for the "problems" in so much as they are simply foot-soldiers for the bureaucratic Department of Education is, of course, debatable and highly political. Nevertheless, the common enemy of the "south" bridges the northern differences -- particularly East-West differences, and has unifying power. The territorial Department of Education, in endeavouring to establish future territorial government control and some central powers, and in trying to establish a precarious legitimacy, deflected blame away from itself.

The document reflects the confidence of key policy players. Opinions are stated categorically by the task force and a direction is established and recommended. The political environment of federal/territorial exchange is clear. The 1982 document is clearly directed by the new, radical Native intellectual voices of the time -- a young Nellie Cournoyea (later to become Northwest Territories premier), and Tagak Curley, head of the Inuit Tapirisat. Even though the seat of government had recently been moved from Ottawa to Yellowknife, the 1982 LTC document underlined the continuing systemic



influence of federal bureaucracy and policy in the education system of the Northwest Territories.

An interesting element is the authority of the document and the specification that the recommendations would be legislated. Under closer scrutiny -- as the document is lengthy and not particularly well organised -- the move towards greater territorial control over education in specific areas that were previously outside its purview is evident in recommendations for sweeping administrative changes and increased control over secondary and adult education. A comment that reflects the territorial government's intent to have greater control was made with respect to "regional needs for employment training." The report declares that "the Government of the Northwest Territories clearly has a right and a responsibility to develop its own human resources" (LTC 1982, 145). This statement reflects the general territorial sentiment at the time regarding education and the human resources within its territory.

#### Reviewing the 1982 Council Debate

##### Preamble

The legislative debate of the LTC recommendations covered a range of issues and a range of political complexities. The debates unveil to a greater degree the nature of the "structure within which the game is played" (Pal 1987, 31). The exchanges in the legislature show that the interacting policy actors were lining up along Native/non-Native and dispersed-community/Yellowknife lines. The debates show that the Inuit Policy Actors and the Dene Policy Actors were major contributors on the political field. Interaction between the policy players, the "complicated game of 'pulling and hauling' that results in policy," is represented in its richest form through this information source. The political reality of the Aboriginal Policy Actors is confirmed through the debate. Native policy positions and recommendations were explained and supported primarily by M.L.A. [Member of the Legislative Assembly or MLA] Curley, with MLAs Patterson and McLaughlin. Centralising positions and reasons for them were

represented, in the main, by MLAs Butters, MacQuarrie and Mrs. Sorensen.

### The 1982 Council Debate

The Special Committee on Education consisted of four Ministers plus the Honourable Dennis Patterson, a member of the committee until he resigned upon the tabling of the report on May 14, 1982. Patterson was also Minister of Education. Tagak Curley, an Eastern representative (Keewatin South), was a co-chairman along with McLaughlin (Pine Point). Nellie Cournoyea (Western Arctic), Robert Sayine (Great Slave East) were the other members. Patterson and McLaughlin contributed the greatest clarification of the recommendations providing many background details during the course of the debate.

McLaughlin was also, because of his commitment to defending the document, the most frequently criticised for inconsistency in explanations among the committee members although he appears to have been the most knowledgeable and versed in the content, and represented both Native and non-Native interests in his arguments. Tagak Curley along with Nellie Cournoyea represented territorial Native interests. Cournoyea was particularly tough in this regard and may well have, along with Curley, brought the necessary pressure into the Special Education Committee to address Native concerns. Patterson and Curley represented the Eastern interests, and Patterson as an Eastern MLA and Minister of Education gave considerable legitimacy to the recommendations, as he had obviously been able to review them in progress.

Nellie Cournoyea's lengthiest support for the document was made in her introductory remarks where she argued that the report accurately reflected Native needs and concerns. Regarding many members' concerns about the costs of implementing the recommendations, Cournoyea pointed to the reality of the social costs of social assistance, judicial and other links to unemployment, crime, limited education, and lack of social involvement of Native people in their communities. Tom Butters said that, unlike Inuvik, which he represented, most local education committees were not using the 1977

Ordinance to its full potential (Debates 1982, 142). Cournoyea responded with an observation that pointed to the marginalisation of Native participation in a schooling system that was made up of a majority of Native students. The challenge in policy was still concerned with evolving the education system toward responsiveness to the needs of Native communities regardless of the potential powers available through the Ordinance to the education committees. Cournoyea stated:

... the problem in a community like Inuvik is that there is a mixture of people. The people who maintain the system are generally the people who, if there are any disruptions or changes that the aboriginal people would want to see in a place like this, immediately get themselves on boards and it is very difficult to make that change. I think that that is why the level of a society or an educational committee is still at a very low level, because the people who are here aboriginally have a very difficult time convincing the population of Inuvik, who are generally within the system, and oftentimes do not even use the school system to educate their children -- they send them elsewhere -- they do not have the confidence in the school system. (Debates 1982, 144)

Tagak Curley moved to pass the first recommendation before any extensive discussion, thus raising the ire of other members who pleaded the need for extra time to review the document and asked that the legislative process concerning it be delayed to the fall session. Nellie Cournoyea gave a sharp rebuttal to this request:

... certainly as a Member of the special committee on education, I would not encourage Mr. Curley to withdraw his motion, if the intent is just to put the report aside and come back in October, because there is nobody in this room who is going to hand me that b.s. that they are going to be any more ready in October... I will not ask Mr. Curley to withdraw a motion until such time that I am assured that each Member of this council is willing to sit down and get the education from the educational report so they may pass that education on to their constituents.... (Debates 1982, 190-191)

It should be noted that Tagak Curley had tabled the document in March

with the express intention that the members would review the document in April so that it could go through the legislature in May. Ultimately Tagak Curley withdrew his motion and discussion began on the recommendations. The committee saw their report recommendations as authoritative -- the report assumed the adoption of its recommendations and it was printed for public distribution before it was debated in the house. The Committee's assertion that the report would be accepted without debate was raised as an issue in Fraser's closing remarks (on May 22, 1986) to the Commissioner's Address that followed the legislative debate on the 14 recommendations:

Now we have come up with an education committee report.... It took them two years to decide that they were going to change the Education Ordinance -- and I grant you, it needs some changes; it can stand a lot of changes -- but our co-chairman tells us that he printed 17,000 copies of the already finished draft and thought that he was going to bring it to the House and just run it right through, no problems. "There it is; there is Learning: Tradition and Change in the Northwest Territories. You guys have to take this report and put an 'okay' on it and we are away." Well, that is not the case. (Debates 1982, 440)

The legislative debate focused on a number of issues, but the most central were the powers of the Minister over standards and core curriculum after the enactment of the recommended ten "Divisional Boards," the establishment of grade 10 as the upper level of attainment territorially and the implications thereof. Of great concern was the impact on the Yellowknife school districts 1 and 2 of the proposed eight territorial school boards, especially with regard to preserving Yellowknife's school districts status, and keeping their grades 11 and 12 programs in place. Concerns related to Yellowknife went hand in hand with taxation issues, and the impact on changes to Yellowknife's other programs and administrative arrangements. Further areas of discussion focused on age four as an age of entry to kindergarten, the issue of student reentry into the education system after dropping out, the problem of attendance, the power to determine the school year, and the case of Sanikiluaq on the Belcher Islands,

where the commission had recommended that Kativik School Board of Northern Quebec should provide educational services to Sanikiluaq.

The legislative discussion underlined the advantage that the School Ordinances had afforded Yellowknife, and highlighted the inability of some members of the legislature to comprehend the territorial nature of schooling and the problems that faced small isolated communities. It became clear through the debate that the recommended ten school boards required the formation of only eight new boards, as Yellowknife had two school boards -- public and separate. McLaughlin reiterated what the purpose of the other eight school boards would be:

We realized that the [1977] ordinance says that people can devolve from a committee to a society to a board, but what we found in our public hearings was that there were actually blocks in place -- and not intentional blocks either -- to small communities that were developing that far. One, because if you don't have enough pupils in your community, you can never be a board. You could not afford to have the administration connected with having a board... We felt that because a small community could never make it up to board status, they would never actually have the authority over schools that we feel they need... the only way some of these small communities are ever going to be in charge of their own house is if you can lump several communities which are geographically and hopefully politically and culturally acceptable to each other. We have recommended boards, trying as best as we can, to take that into consideration, but only that way will these small communities every [sic] achieve that authority that they want in their schools. (Debates 1982, 182)

One of the legislative members, Mrs. Sorenson (Yellowknife South), proudly declared to the legislature that the Yellowknife School Districts had very fine schools and had absolutely no problems with their arrangements. Mrs. Sorenson's interests were specifically directed toward protecting the existing public and separate school boards in Yellowknife that offered grades 11 and 12. The separate high school was also, apparently, one of the earliest schools in the Northwest Territories to offer computer programs. Mrs. Sorensen

specifically did not want to see the grade 11 and 12 programs changed by the K - 10 recommendation. Like Mr. MacQuarrie, she was not satisfied with the recommendation that Arctic College be responsible for grades 11 and 12. Mrs. Sorensen's line of argument was that the circumstance of Yellowknife had been ignored and overlooked by the Special Committee on Education. She specifically indicated what she considered her mandate in her introductory remarks:

... the report states that no area should be penalized in respect to control due to the inability to pay their fair share. The report, therefore, reflects a significant change in thinking in the area of responsibility for raising revenues and relating back the degree of responsibility in the school system. Now I am concerned, naturally, that my area should likewise not be penalized because it does raise a portion of its funding and under this new direction my ratepayers and the people of Yellowknife will certainly want to know why they will have to pay when some areas obviously will not... (Debates 1982, 83)

While it is clear that Yellowknife had been "overlooked" because it already had two established boards of education, and the highest academic levels offered territorially, Mrs. Sorensen kept the legislative discussion on the issue of Yellowknife Boards for many pages of Hansard. She demanded specification on changes that would be made to the Ordinance, protection for Yellowknife School Boards' grades 11 and 12 outside the recommendations, and kept requesting specific details as to the impact of new legislation on the separate school system. MacQuarrie (Yellowknife Centre) also challenged the Committee's recommendations saying, for example, "...they are creating 10 divisional boards that will have more power than the school boards that already exist have, particularly in the area of program and curriculum..." (Debates 1982, 169).

McLaughlin defended the Arctic College recommendation to oversee grades 11 and 12 on a number of grounds. He said that the communities wanted to see older, more mature, students kept apart from the younger

students because of undue influence of older students on younger students (another minister countered this argument later). He argued that federal grants to vocational programs might undermine academic content in grades 11 and 12 and that Arctic College should protect academic interests -- and presumably vocational ones. He indicated that the new plan was not intended to take away the gains made by the Yellowknife School Boards, or any other community that had grades 11 and 12. He said that federal grants, particularly anticipated increased funds for vocational education (characterised by him as a "rush of money" (Debates 1982, 176 & 321), might be focused better under the new arrangement, and also that territorial funding would better support grades 11 and 12 if it was not included in the teacher/student ratios that determined general school funding. Despite the fact that the separate school system was protected by the Northwest Territories Act, and also that the funding of 80% to the separate school board from the territorial government was not legally mandated but extended by choice of the territorial government, Mrs. Sorenson persisted. Interestingly, it was Hon. Dennis Patterson, Minister of Education, who explained:

I think that one of the very clear messages that we got, particularly from the many smaller communities outside the larger centres, is that for many students, and perhaps even more so for their parents, grade 12 seems to be an utterly unobtainable goal.... It is a very distant end to education partly because it requires absence from the community.... I think the records of success in the grades beyond grade 10 show very dramatically that we are having a very small percentage of completions of those grades, except in the larger centres... ending the in-school program at grade 10 would mean that at a community level -- and let us recognise that the majority of our residents do live in small communities and will not in the conceivable future be able to take up to grade 12 at home... there will be an attainable, apprehendable goal present in the minds of those students and parents... a goal that they could see reaching without even having to leave their communities, and this is the main advantage of this recommendation.... (Debates 1982, 307)

Patterson admitted that,

... there may well have to be special provisions to accommodate the concerns of those places who feel they must continue to have jurisdiction beyond grade 10... we are going to have to take into account the existing high schools and the existing separate schools. (Debates 1982, 322)

After some discussion and fact-finding it appeared in the debate that Yellowknife District no. 1 had a fourteen to one pupil/teacher ratio, and the rest of the Northwest Territories had a nineteen to one ratio (Debates 1982, 330). Although not discussed with respect to Yellowknife's advantage in the legislature, such a ratio seemed directly related to Yellowknife's tax advantage.

Patterson indicated that,

... while we have responded in a very adequate way to the problem or the challenge of adequately funding our Yellowknife school boards, that if this system were to be implemented, with these divisional boards throughout the Northwest Territories we would certainly have to look at new formula, which would cover the non-urban situation. (Debates 1982, 331)

Mrs. Sorenson's role in the debate underlined the Yellowknife/dispersed-community and Non-Native/Native dichotomies existing in the legislature. Particularly surprising were her comments to the Metis Member, Mr. Sibbeston, regarding the issue of implementing a specialised Native student bursary program intended to provide better support to Native students who were eligible for post-secondary studies. Mr. Sibbeston claimed that the university bursary was being used by

... the rich, the high class people of the North who had good government jobs, who were making \$40,000, \$50,000, \$60,000 a year, whose children were taking advantage of the program... It seemed unfair, because at the time there was a shortage of money for education at the lower levels of school -- in Simpson, they could not even afford toilet paper... We decided to try to change the program to somehow or another encourage more native students to go to university... People like Mrs. Sorenson are the first



to say that , "I agree with aboriginal rights as long as it does not mean anything"... people like Mrs. Sorenson anger native people who are trying to make things and improve things for their own people. (Debates 1982, 423-424).

Mrs. Sorensen replied,

Well, I would simply say to Mr. Sibbeston... that since he has raised the fact that Mr. Butters and Mr. Parker and their children have taken advantage of the grants and bursaries ordinance under the old system even as they were earning \$40,000 and \$50,000 and \$60,000 a year that now what you are doing, Mr. Sibbeston, is replacing yourself in that category. Now your children as Metis children, will be eligible, and naturally will take advantage even as you earn \$40,000, \$50,000 and \$60,000 a year ... (Debates 1982, 424).

This quote ended at the bottom of the Hansard page, and the next full page of the Hansard (Debates 1982, 425) is blank. This exchange shows that racial tensions as a product of perceived inequity between Natives and non-Natives, were overt in the legislature during these years. The fact that Mrs. Sorenson represented Yellowknife centre rather ironically underlines the Yellowknife/dispersed-community dichotomy as due in part not only to legislation but to a predominant non-Native population in Yellowknife.

One problem cited in the legislative debate was that parents actually discouraged their children from completing high school because they did not want them to leave to go to grade 10 elsewhere. The purpose of the recommendation to limit high school to grade 10 was then, according to Patterson and McLaughlin, to provide support to communities to increase any high school grade 10 deficits to a grade 10 level in every community across the Northwest Territories. It was also meant to address the well-established community phenomenon of students who were not emotionally prepared to leave their locality to attend grade 10 elsewhere, and allowed students the option to continue their studies with Arctic College when they were ready. In connection with the problem of high school completion in the isolated

communities, Curley mentioned the legislative limitations of centralised education policy on the outlying regions and settlements. He stated that,

I just wanted to point out that I am glad [MacQuarrie] the Member for Yellowknife is starting to think about other regions, because the debate has very much been focussing on the constituent interest only, and therefore we have been having quite a difficult discussion here, because we seem to be concerned with constituents only and cannot look at the Territories as a whole. (Debates 1982, 332)

Another focus of the legislature over the days of debate were the powers of the Minister of Education, particularly with respect to core curriculum and standards. The most vocal member on this topic was Mr. MacQuarrie. He said,

... [on] the matter of transferring direct administration of schools in the Northwest Territories to divisional boards... I would prefer to have seen... a specific recommendation that deals with what areas of responsibility the Department of Education will still have... I would like to see something about standards and core curriculum... It seems to me that the department has to have some effective means... for ensuring that if the Minister is not satisfied with a program and the standards, that there is some means which he has of ensuring that the program and educational standards are maintained at an acceptable level... there is no doubt at all that I would move an amendment, to ensure that the department retains some responsibility for that.... I will attempt to make sure that the legislation is such that the department's role is clearly specified to those areas.... (Debates 1982, 375)

Hon. Tom Butters (Inuvik) followed up wondering whether,

... there might be some concern on the part of, say, the federal government which provides us with the funds to provide these services, for a further devolution of that administration to 10 divisional boards? Has [the chairman] discussed this devolution with anybody yet at the federal level? (Debates 1982, 376)

To this McLaughlin responded,

... the education system is something that is really sort of an older animal of the federal government, which has been turned over to the territorial

government and so personally I cannot see why the government would be concerned about it... they had the opportunity to disallow the present [1977] ordinance.... (Debates 1982, 376)

Members in the Legislature seemed unaware of the designation of a Department of Education following the Carrothers Report. This perception on their part, however, shows that despite this change, a strong federal, civil-servant orientation continued to pervade education policy. This orientation acted as catalyst in the crystallisation of 1982 education document.

McLaughlin also reiterated frequently that the Minister would retain powers over curriculum, even though the Committee recommended substantial changes that would lessen such powers.

[O]n the Minister's responsibility right now -- as far as curriculum goes, it is the Minister's responsibility to provide that curriculum. We are recommending that he be allowed to delegate the preparation of that curriculum to divisional school boards and learning centres, but he would still have the responsibility for that curriculum, and would still have the funds used to develop that curriculum, so he would still have the responsibility and the power to be sure that the curriculum was academically sound. (Debates 1982, 324)

McLaughlin, in response to the question about the relationship between the Minister and the superintendents, suggested that Divisional Boards should parallel Yellowknife's more direct exchange with the Minister

... our hope is that the superintendent's relationship under the new system would be the same as it is between the superintendents of the boards in Yellowknife -- the relationship that they have. The relationship that we want to create is that the elected people on the boards will be dealing with the Minister, not the superintendents. (Debates 1982, 334)

The Members saw the Ministry as protecting the interests of the Northwest Territories citizens even though the majority seemed to be unclear on the conditions affecting education in the communities across the Northwest

Territories. The largest Eastern centre, Iqaluit, had little property tax base compared to Yellowknife. There was a great deal of pressure from the Yellowknife representatives, and representatives of Western community centres to protect central control to ensure a continuation, it seemed, of the status quo, particularly in terms of standards and curriculum that surpassed those current elsewhere in the Territories. This situation existed even though isolated communities (it was often said that territorially the relationship between Yellowknife and the communities existed in direct proportion to how far West a community was relative to Yellowknife) had no or few high-school programs beyond grade 10. Furthermore, the Department could not afford such programs. The disparity between the powers of Yellowknife and the powers of outlying communities existed despite the stated preference for community-directed affairs in the Eastern Arctic -- as articulated by Tagak Curley:

Regions have been able to operate quite well on a regional basis.... Regions in the isolated places operate on a regional collective basis, and regional government, regional councils, regional education groups, and so on. (Debates 1982, 332)

None of the Members participating in the debate focused to any great extent on devolution of powers to the community level as an overarching goal of a territorial mandate. Neither did they mention or raise any concerns about Native political demands for control over education. More emphasis was placed on maintaining existing powers with the Minister of Education, and in safeguarding the powers of the minister with respect to standards and curriculum. As indicated previously, one Member even asked if the federal government had been consulted! Often the tone of the members with respect to community powers appeared patronising. Mrs. Sorensen said, "... I am not threatened at all by the devolution of more decision making to the *lowest level*, the community level [italics mine]" (Debates 1982, 175). And Butters said:

'A divisional board and its local education authorities shall, together, decide what they want their children to learn'; not what their children have to learn to meet certain academic standards and educational

standards and technical standards. But I guess I am becoming alarmed at the permissiveness which you seem to be devolving onto communities and onto parents. (Debates 1982, 430)

Finally, and of note, even though the document *Learning: Tradition and Change in the Northwest Territories* expressed a good deal of dissatisfaction with southern standards and southern teachers, Minister McLaughlin, co-chairman on the Special Committee for Education, indicated frequently throughout the debate that maintaining an Alberta curriculum and southern standards was a priority. He said, "... I think the Minister would still insist that those communities had to deliver a curriculum that was acceptable and could not stray from southern standards" (Debates 1982, 179). He later reiterated:

Everybody I have talked to in my community and in Hay River and in Yellowknife still wants to have the Alberta diploma or high school certificate given out... Maybe the people in the Eastern Arctic might want to give out an Ontario high school diploma because it might be more easily recognised by universities in the East. That is one of the reasons that we have adopted the Alberta curriculum and give out the Alberta diploma, because people are more happy with that, it being recognised that they really do have grade 12 at the same high standards as the provinces, and I certainly do not want to change that. (Debates 1982, 307)

It may be that McLaughlin's central role in presenting and defending the recommendations of the report rested upon his ability to negotiate politically between the competing interests -- the school boards of Yellowknife and the isolated communities of the rest of the Northwest Territories, between the Western and Eastern halves, and between Native and non-Native interests.

Although he may well have been contradicting himself, he also articulated other important intentions of the report to the assembly:

When we held our public hearings, there was a great demand that more northern curriculum, particularly language curriculum, be developed, and so we felt that we have basically two different native cultures in the Northwest Territories that need curriculum developed for them... we thought with the two

different native cultures being distinct, that we needed one [Centre for Learning and Teaching] located in the eastern part of the Territories and one [Centre for Learning and Teaching] located in the western part... and I can assure you that the committee certainly did not overlook the fact that there is possibly going to be a future division of the Northwest Territories.... (Debates 1982, 377)

MacQuarrie, previously a teacher as well as a principal in Baker Laker in the late 1960s, presented quite a few challenges to the Special Committee for Education, and he also raised some important points. He characterised the Department of Education as an "educational empire," but explained that he didn't agree with the possibility of "10 little autonomous, independent educational kingdoms" either. He preferred a "federation." With respect to Arctic College and the plan to incorporate grades 11 and 12 under it, MacQuarrie warned that there would be no elected representatives on the Arctic College Board, no parental input, and that grades 11 and 12 would be losing this important representation. Finally, MacQuarrie made a salient point about countering balkanization in the education system.

While the position that the committee has taken certainly will help to take account of the differences that exist, and the special needs that arise... we must ensure, too, that our educational system does recognise our similarities as human beings, the common needs that we have, the common interests and common goals, and I say that policy for curriculum must recognise that as well... I do worry about a kind of parochialism in schools, and that to me, as a teacher of many years, is not what education is all about -- a kind of inward-looking approach. (Debates 1982, 433)

With respect to the demand for more control by the Baffin Regional Council, Patterson was the only Member who mentioned their position directly within the debate. In his reference he specifically mentioned the limitations of the 1977 Ordinance with respect to Baffin demands. While the 1977 Ordinance allowed community councils to develop into school boards, Patterson indicated the main problem with the Ordinance was that "that there was no way for

decades -- if not centuries -- that even Frobisher Bay would be able to have a significant enough tax base that the citizens of that community would have any significant powers in their school" (Debates 1982, 171). Patterson suggested alleviating the problem by spreading the available taxes around equitably. "I think we should recognise that, under legislation and principles approved by this House, the taxation of property will be extended to all parts of the Northwest Territories..." (Debates 1982, 171). He continued,

The Eastern Arctic is fully in favour of the community government ordinance being established. I was just at a meeting of the Baffin Regional Council, and they want to know what is happening with that ordinance. The obstacles are arising in the West, and I understand what those obstacles are, because the Dene notion of municipal community government does not accord with the municipal model, but it is not fair to accuse the Eastern Arctic of opposing imposition of that taxation system... now we will see all communities in all parts of the Northwest Territories paying to the best of their ability to the government local taxation revenues, to contribute to the public purse. I would think it would be a matter of justice that communities that do not have a significant enough tax revenue to pay the percentages that are able to be generated in a city like Yellowknife should none the less not be penalized if they have demonstrated the willingness and desire to seek more responsibility and control on a regional basis of their schools. (Debates 1982, 171)

Debates in the legislature, especially concerning the critical recommendation for ten Divisional Boards revealed territorial tensions. The advantages that Yellowknife had with respect to education through its proximity to the seat of government but, more importantly, through its direct influence on the application of the School Ordinances to schooling arrangements, pointed to a large discrepancy between Yellowknife and other communities. The subsequent imposition of School Ordinances across the Northwest Territories posed problems that the educational policy document of 1982 would try to deal with.

1994 Education Policy Document: "People: Our Focus for the Future -- A Strategy to 2010" -- The 'Community Learning Network'

vision ... 1 the act or faculty of seeing, sight (*has impaired his vision*). 2 a a thing or person seen in a dream or trance. b a supernatural or prophetic apparition. 3 a thing or idea perceived vividly in the imagination (*the romantic visions of youth; had visions of warm sandy beaches*). 4 imaginative insight. 5 statesmanlike foresight; sagacity in planning. 6 a person etc. of unusual beauty. 7 what is seen on a television screen; television images collectively.<sup>o</sup>

Twelve years after *Learning: Tradition and Change in the Northwest Territories* another comprehensive educational document was tabled called *People: Our Focus for the Future: A Strategy to 2010* [POFF]. This document, ready by September of 1994, was produced by the Department of Education, Culture and Employment under the Minister of Education at the time, the Honourable Richard Nerysoo (see Figure 7). Authorship was attributed to the Ministry of Education. The document provided a policy plan in education leading up to division and facilitating the transfer of powers after division. It also offered a logical continuation through a proposed model (the community learning network) of the policy of devolution of powers to the community level.

It contrasted strikingly to the earlier 1982 document in its presentation and in its technological orientation. Emphasis was placed on language, culture and heritage as an integral part of a new educational policy, but they were treated within a single chapter. By 1994 the presentation style combines text and pictures on virtually every page. Separate but similar documents in English and Inuktitut were published. Bar, area, line, and pie graphs were included to facilitate comprehension of statistics, which added a new dimension to N.W.T. policy documents. This addition reflected, in part, increased government attention to the collection of data. A central theme was the decentralised model of organisation which the document referred to as the "community



## Minister's Introduction

Within the next few years, the Northwest Territories will see many changes. Division is on the immediate horizon, land claims continue to be negotiated and settled, self-government is becoming a reality and the role of government is changing – and changing dramatically.

Eighteen months ago the Department of Education, Culture and Employment realized it too had to change. But we were not sure what changes to make.

So we asked you – our partners with whom we deliver programs and services, our clients and our own staff.

You shared with us a vision of a new way to provide services: one founded on culture, heritage and language; one that promotes lifelong learning; one that puts the tools of learning in the hands of people at the community level; one that lets community residents make critical decisions.

My thanks to all of you who contributed to this strategy.

As you will see in the pages of this document, we are using the vision you described to reshape our department and change the way we provide programs and services.

Making the changes won't be easy – especially in this era of fiscal restraint. But the path ahead has become much clearer.

We are confident that, working together, we can create a new future for education, culture and employment programs and services to better serve the people of the Northwest Territories.



Richard Nerysoo  
Minister of Education, Culture and Employment



Fig. 7. The inside cover illustration from *People: Our Focus for the Future: A Strategy to 2010*, 1994.

learning network." The document stated, "A community learning network is a philosophy and an organisation, linking together a network of programs and services at the community level" (POFF 1994, xi). The philosophy was built on an administrative arrangement that consisted of, "A local governing body, committed to community learning, [that] owns and controls the network of learning programs and services. And the network is supported by a regional and territorial support system" (POFF 1994, xi).

The document was divided into three parts. Part One, entitled *A Vision for Learning*, explained the reasons and justifications for the policy document and discussed the genesis of the "vision." The key points to the program were outlined -- "the community learning network," "lifelong learning," and the "network of services."

Part Two was entitled *The Strategic Plan*. It contained eight chapters that discussed the program from preschool to adult education. Also included were separate chapters devoted to the issues of "culture, heritage and language" (chapter 4), and "information and technology" (chapter 5), and their integration with the "community learning network." I discuss these and chapter eleven, which addressed administrative changes in the section below. The chapters covering the preschool to adult years in education, spelled out how the community learning network would be integrated, and are covered in a section of their own. Part Three of POFF was devoted to implementation.

#### Synopsis - 1994 Education Document

According to the document, the "forces" directing change in education policy were a growing population, fiscal restraint, political and social development, technological developments, changing role of government, and a trend towards decentralisation (POFF 1994, 95). The "community learning network" was described as meeting "new realities" in a more "effective and efficient" way, and in a more affordable way (POFF 1994, 95).

The proposed community learning networks would comprise two main elements: a philosophy and an organisation (POFF 1994, 15). The philosophy encompassed two main commitments: (1) to continuous lifelong learning (from home and community through to the adult years of work and jobs) (POFF 1994, 15), and (2), to a community learning approach ("a flexible coordinated system of learning... that is continuous and easy for people to access... that recognizes the whole community as a place of learning")(POFF 1994, 17). The flexibility of the new model was contrasted with the limitations of the old approach where programs were portrayed as having functioned separately. The old system was described as rigid, plagued by gaps in continuity; it was seen as an antiquated approach where duplication occurred, where departments protected their programs limiting coordination possibilities, and where communities felt a lack of control over programs (POFF 1994, 18). The community learning model was intended to entrench the new philosophy, be part of a network, promote lifelong learning, reduce bureaucratic red-tape, remove barriers to access, create one governing body, result in a staff/team overseeing a range of linked services, provide flexibility, budget through one funding source, and receive regional and territorial support (POFF 1994, 18). The main programs and services that the community learning network would include were early childhood education, the schools, adult basic, advanced and specialised education, and an information service. As stated in the document, in various communities this core group could also include cultural programs or an elders' council (POFF 1994, 19).

The document suggested "control and ownership" over the community learning network through a governing body called a "learning council," which would include elected members, plus perhaps one or two appointed members, the flexibility to budget accordingly, and "legislation and policies to support these bodies" (POFF 1994, 20). With respect to administration and staff, "[s]omeone would be appointed to coordinate the activities of the various programs and services and would oversee the major administrative tasks" (POFF

1994, 20), which were identified as planning, budgeting, program evaluation, hiring staff, and maintaining links with regional and territorial offices (POFF 1994, 20). At the regional level, the community learning network support system would include program development, finance, budgeting, recruiting staff, labour relations, development of information systems, and development of policies (POFF 1994, 20). Support at the territorial level to the community learning network would be based on the need for "a mechanism to channel funds from the federal government and to establish and maintain consistent standards across the Northwest Territories" (POFF 1994, 22).

A "broad framework" for implementation of the network was recommended with four major orientations: (1) retarget and reshape; (2) clarify roles and responsibilities; (3) develop corporate systems; (4) test the community learning network at the community level through two pilot projects. Shifting resources, sharing responsibilities, creating new partnerships, and modifying "existing corporate systems," were ways in which the four major orientations were to be realised (POFF 1994, 96). The costs of implementation were seen as requiring higher financial inputs for the technological initiative, with reduced costs across departments and in delivery of programs once the infrastructure was in place (POFF 1994, 96).

Financial belt tightening would be achieved through the following: (1) investments with long-term savings (e.g. information networks); (2) cost-effectiveness (e.g. extending high school courses in communities); (3) Cost-recovery (e.g. charging for publications); (4) reallocating funding (e.g. to active support through education and training rather than through welfare); (5) reprofiling programs (e.g. to meet specific needs rather than general needs); (6) integrating programs (e.g. school and community libraries would be integrated); (7) multi-use facilities (e.g. year-round schooling, evening classes, increasing community recreational use of the school); (8) reducing administrative costs (e.g. block funding); (9) cost-sharing (e.g. with participating employers); (10) accessing national cooperative efforts (e.g. joint

curricula development, sharing program costs); (11) increasing effectiveness of programs (i.e. through identification of standards and performance measures); (12) promoting networks (e.g. sharing among communities); and (13) decreasing the level of service from lesser programs to main programs (POFF 1994, 96-97).

The entire plan would be under the direction of the Minister, the Deputy Minister and the Assistant Deputy Minister. Some changes would be immediate, while others would take place over time. The timeframe would be shaped by the formation of Nunavut in 1999 and the necessity of planning for division (POFF 1994, 98). Four phases of implementation were recommended. Phase one involved immediate changes up to March 31, 1995. Between April 1995 and March 1996 "community learning network" pilot projects would be undertaken. Full implementation and preparation for transition to territorial division would take place between April 1996 and March 1999. In phase four, post April 1999, education policy would reflect a continuation of the strategies. Project evaluation would consist of ongoing review and modifications with partners and communities. The plan would adapt to "changing needs" (POFF 1994, 98-99).

The second part of the document contained chapters four through eleven. In general this part of the document explained how the model -- the community learning network -- would be applied to the various levels in education. Chapters six through ten focused on the early years, the school years, adult basic and advanced skills, and employment (reviewed in the following section).

Chapters four and five dealt respectively with the increasing demand for attention to culture and language, and to the impact and possibilities of new technology, particularly information technology. The direction for the Department, as indicated through consultation, was to "coordinate support for culture, language and heritage at the community level" (POFF 1994, 25). This would be represented through legislation and policy, provision of resources, and promotion. Another main point was that, "communities must have more

flexibility to decide how money should be allocated and for what purpose" (POFF 1994, 26).

Chapter five outlined the important role that technology would play in the community learning networks and the commitment the Department had to implementing a comprehensive, integrated, interactive information network system. The commitment was plainly stated, "This Department considers information networks a priority for supporting all department programs and services" (POFF 1994, 36). It was anticipated that, "interactive video conferencing will reduce costs" (POFF 1994, 34). "Developing partnerships" in the north was emphasised -- "More than anywhere else in Canada, we need to foster the partnerships necessary for effective information networks..." (POFF 1994, 34). The network would be used to link libraries, to create "classrooms without walls," to transfer curricular material directly to the school with ongoing updating and links to southern curricular bases. The network was expected to add to staff development by providing "access to extensive professional resources and support." The document indicated that "significant initial investment" would be required, but anticipated long term recouping of costs through the technology as well as lower sustained costs. No comments were made as to the source of the funds needed for implementation, although federal funds were apparently expected to offset costs, and the linking of government departments implied a shared investment.

Chapter eleven - *Creating the Community Learning Network* was the chapter most oriented to administrative concerns. The chapter assessed the new policy at the community, regional and territorial level. At the community level the "community learning network" would: encompass a broad range of learning programs; include a philosophy of life-long community-based learning (consisting of a governing body chosen by the community); have its own administration and staff; and be connected to a regional and territorial support system (POFF 1994, 87). Regional support would consist of regional school boards, regional staff, and Arctic College campuses and the efficacy of the

regional support would be reviewed. "These reviews must consider the expanded coordinating and supporting mandate of regional bodies" (POFF 1994, 88).

The new territorial role in education policy was the main emphasis of the chapter. It breaks down into seven sections covering legislation and policy, finance, management of information systems, human resources development, capital planning, evaluation, and communication. The section begins:

the government and/or the department have developed and maintained at the headquarters level various corporate systems and functions. These include: legislation, policy and evaluation; the financial system; capital planning; information systems; human resource development and communications.... These systems have a dual role. They support the role of the Minister, the person ultimately accountable for the services in public government, and they facilitate the delivery of services (POFF 1994, 88).

The relationship between the Minister --"ultimately accountable for the services in public government"-- and the community learning network would be "mutual accountability" (POFF 1994, 88). The communities, boards and other entities developed over the years are described as "partners" with the Minister (POFF 1994, 88). New legislation and policy would be needed to "clarify the powers of the Minister, community learning councils, school boards, and regional offices" (POFF 1994, 88). Certification and training standards would be established for early childhood educators, teachers, school-community counsellors, educational assistants, and interpreter-translators (POFF 1994, 89). Legislation would mandate the delivery of integrated programs between departments, such as early intervention (POFF 1994, 89). Levels of service for different programs would be reassessed (POFF 1994, 89). Finance could be more "flexible" than an ABBS systems (Accountability Based Budgeting System) especially since the community learning network "collects together a broad range of services under one governing body and administration" (POFF 1994, 89). An improved financing system would: delegate more responsibility

and accountability, use program-based budgeting, simplify administration, predict funding better, apply block funding, and increase use of grants over contributions (POFF 1994, 89).

According to the document, capital planning forecasted a funding gap between what would be required and what would be available in terms of facilities (POFF 1994, 90). To address this, the report recommended new funding categories for small schools, clearer criteria on equity (in the use of buildings), joint use of facilities (school/library), flexible architectural designs, new college standards for facilities, and new student housing standards (POFF 1994, 91). Reduced expenditures were recommended through multi-use facilities, block funding, school board management of projects, reduced design and administration costs on projects, reduced project time-frames, minimised construction delays, and ensured reasonable maintenance costs (POFF 1994, 91).

The need for new "evaluation tools to measure performance at both a program and systems level" (POFF 1994, 92) were asserted. The community learning networks would demand these "new evaluation tools." There would be on-going strategic reviews and program audits by the department (POFF 1994, 92). The community learning network would be reviewed by the community (POFF 1994, 92). Public relations strategies that would keep the public informed were emphasised. The "Managing Costs" section was brief and stated that funds would be reallocated to the community learning networks from other program areas (POFF 1994, 92).

#### POFF -- Chapters Six to Ten

Chapter six -- *The Early Years* -- recommended improved day care for four reasons: culture, heritage and language learning; intervention and identification of problems with the long term goal of offsetting dysfunction; support for parents to access education or employment; and federal



government commitment to the program. The long term benefits of Early Childhood Programs were listed as follows: decreased school drop-out, school failure, remedial education, teenage pregnancy, welfare costs, crime, and an increase in individual earning potential (POFF 1994, 42).

Chapter seven -- *The School Years* -- noted an increase in student numbers, an increase in student achievement levels, and an increase in the number of students graduating. The chapter reiterated that, "for schooling to be appropriate it must be an extension of the community's culture and language" and that "parents in the community should be the ones making decisions about their children's learning" (POFF 1994, 48). The document indicated an intention to legislate such commitments in the new Education Act (POFF 1994, 48). Parent support was expected to increase student achievement at school. "Culture-based schooling" was emphasised -- "A community's culture and language should pervade every part of learning"(POFF 1994, 48). The accomplishments of the Department of Education, Culture and Employment up to 1994 included the existence of eleven Teaching and Learning Centres, the development of culture-based programs by the school boards, the highest number of Aboriginal teachers in the system ever, the involvement of local staff, and the resultant economic benefit to the community. The goal was to have a population of teachers of which 50 per cent would be Aboriginal by 2000 (POFF 1994, 48-49).

According to the document, training staff in the north was more cost effective than recruiting from the south. "Monitoring and evaluating curricula," establishing standards, a "basis for accountability" was going to be more important with community control. Such an orientation would be represented in the new *Education Act* which would "strengthen the focus on standards" (POFF 1994, 50). Some steps to improving classroom teaching were reviewed -- math training for teachers, improved grade level descriptions, better student evaluation, integration of technology, and acknowledgement of teacher effort. Math instruction was highlighted as an area of concern (POFF 1994, 51).

Introducing high school subjects into the local school program was assessed as having improved student participation resulting in improved performance in specific subjects, as well as producing more graduates. Improved access was attributed to technology (POFF 1994, 52). It was expected that all students should be able access all necessary high school courses within their community (rather than having to leave the community) by the year 2000. An emphasis on "student support" was expected to be required in order to offset poverty and connected problems like hunger, abuse, and low self-esteem (POFF 1994, 52-53).

The document recommended a "holistic approach" to such problems, explaining: "The obstacles children face are symptoms of much larger problems -- yet we tend to treat the problems and the solutions in isolation" (POFF 1994, 54). Four suggestions were offered to address this concern: 1) an interdepartmental committee reporting to the Premier through a senior manager to integrate services; 2) The Department of Education, Culture and Employment to join with Health and Social Services to deliver workshops; and 3) the Department to work with the communities on a "wellness strategy" (POFF 1994, 54).

Special needs funding was \$750,000 in 1985, with a projection of \$11 million required for a 15 per cent incidence rate. With an actual 25 to 30 per cent incidence rate, an extra thirteen million were needed to fulfil this requirement at the time of the document. The document actually states:

In 1985, funding for special needs was \$750,000. At that time, projections indicated \$11 million would be needed to provide appropriate support for students who required it. These figures were based on an incidence rate of 15 per cent from southern Canada. But funding has never reached that level. It's now at about \$9 million. In the meantime: there are more students in school; costs have increased; and our incidence rate is between 25 to 30 per cent. (POFF 1994, 56)

The documents suggests sharing the costs by the coordinating with other departments. The capital needs assessment for the next twenty years was

showing a gap between what would be available and what was required based on an increase in growth, enrolments, student achievement, improved graduation rates, improved standards, and increased high school enrolments (POFF 1994, 56). To manage costs the document recommended: economies of scale; local workforce use; cost-effective delivery of programs through technology; improved infrastructure use (multi-use facilities; more daily school time; longer school days; year round schooling; a longer school year; increased student to teacher ratios); block-funding; joint ventures; volunteerism; and early intervention (POFF 1994, 56-57).

Chapters eight and nine covered Adult Education -- "basic skills" in chapter eight, "advanced skills" in chapter nine. The chapter on basic skills suggested that the gap between a 25 per cent unemployment rate for Aboriginal people, and 3.9 per cent for non-Aboriginal unemployment, needed to be bridged. Aboriginal people faced more "barriers" and those who lacked skills faced particular barriers in 1994. The Northwest Territories had a large population of young people who made up 22 per cent of the population and 40 per cent of the unemployed. People with grade 9 or less made up two-thirds of the unemployed. Adult basic education was accessed by those between 25 and 44 years of age, and 12 per cent of the population had reached their highest level of education through adult basic education (POFF 1994, 62). The adult basic education program was identified as requiring some changes: better counselling; better market information about jobs; individual program development; adult job educator-coaches; and an increase in Aboriginal language use in adult basic education. Income support would be evaluated and coordinated more efficiently to programs, as well as coordinated with child care user subsidies for families (POFF 1994, 63-64). Interactive technology was to facilitate career counselling. The document cited an increase in social assistance payments from a 1982 figure of \$8 million to \$30 million in 1993 (POFF 1994, 64-65).

For "advanced skills" in adult learning, the trend showed that Arctic

College courses were increasing in demand and enrolment was increasing. At the same time it seemed that southern institutions were decreasing access through stiffening entrance requirements (POFF 1994, 69). The Eastern Arctic College and the Western Arctic College would require: new legislation; new language requirements; a tailoring of courses to needs; an increase in culturally appropriate courses; and more Aboriginal instructors (POFF 1994, 70). There was also a demand for community-based programs such as CTEP [Community Teacher Education Program], the Community Teacher Education Program. The Department of Education, Culture and Education planned to support the colleges to expand the use of technology. "Flexible access" was a component of Arctic College that provided for academic upgrading programs. University level programs could be delivered through Arctic College, but the small N.W.T. population limited the range of services (Eastern Arctic College was cited as serving 21,000, Western Arctic College cited as serving 36,000 people). Arctic college was not expected to become a degree granting institution. The linking of training opportunities in the north to the south was recommended, along with standards that would be on par with colleges in Canada (POFF 1994, 70-72).

Chapter ten -- *Building Bridges Between Learning and Work* -- begins by explaining the Northern individual's need for help in planning a career path as well as on-going support. The work-place was described as a place of learning where employers could also provide training (in place of the traditional role of schools and colleges). It was explained that employers wanted courses that could specifically meet their needs, "they want a good product" (POFF 1994, 80). Jobs were often filled by people from southern Canada. Improving and strengthening economic development and a northern work force was thus a priority. Nunavut, tourism and mining promised job growth. Mining was a large private sector employer but its long-term employment viability was considered unpredictable. Connecting training and education with potential business and industry mega-projects, sharing timely job availability information, and encouraging involvement of business were recommended (POFF 1994, 81-82).

The benefits to individuals, communities and society in helping individuals plan a career through Arctic College were cited as: more skilled people; decreased staff turn-over; decreased recruitment and removal costs; and restructured benefit allowances. This was expected to help keep more salary-dollars in the community (POFF 1994, 83). The long term benefits would be increased earning potential, decreased welfare costs, decreased crime, and an increase in worker productivity. "Income Support Reform" was going to be integrated with education and adult learning. Emphasis was on lowering the duplication of adult education programs across the departments and integrating them. Social services would be combined with education towards "active" (education) rather than "passive" (welfare) support. Costs were going to be managed through increased partnership between public and private entities, and by decreasing duplication in services (POFF 1994, 83).

#### POFF Thematic Analysis

This document is a strategic plan. It describes how we as a department intend to work with our partners to develop learning programs and services between now and the creation of two new territories in 1999 -- and beyond into the 21st century. As you have already seen, we began with a prologue -- a vision for learning. This vision is built from the ideas people shared with us during consultation. It is the inspiration, the driving force, behind the improvements we will make in programs and services. (POFF 1994, xi)

The text evokes images of community within the context of a territorial identity and, in particular, the motif of technology and the language associated with community play a strong role in overt and covert ways. The text connects the use of the term "vision" with the notion of being able to see people and speak to people at great distance. Communications technology evokes strong feelings in the North, as it is the satellites that connect isolated communities to one another. Native programming on radio and television has linked Aboriginal

people across the territories. Northerners have used media technology to shape Northern identity. The document's technological language, however, is used to create the educational "vision" suggested through terms like "network" or "seamless web." The concept of "network" is combined with "community learning" to create the "vision." On the other side and not widely mentioned is the debilitating component of television exposure in the north, particularly the availability of pornography, materialism, consumerism, video culture, combined with poorly developed abilities to critically evaluate such media. These forces have been detrimental to many Northerners. Still, using a non-educational example, the document predicts that "this technological revolution will continue. The young child of three or four who can now choose one or two cartoon channels on a Saturday morning will soon be able to search through several hundred channels to find cartoons" (POFF 1994, 6).

Images that define our times were used to evoke a sense of power and control, especially in a period of "change" that appears so overwhelming that it is impossible to imagine what the future might hold. The document refers to the "forces" of this change frequently. Community members are dwarfed and disempowered by such forces. The "community learning network" contains within it oppositional forces -- where learning is an individual process, a personal effort, a solitary activity especially in Western cultures, and where the idea of "network" in collocation with "learning" changes the notion of isolated learning as a strong constituent of formal schooling approaches (this operates at the individual as well as at the community school level and ironically counters the emphasis on local orientation at that level). Marshall McLuhan's famous "global village" metaphor is used in this document to support the utility and importance of technology. The term is particularly applicable to the north because small isolated communities/villages make up the north. Technology has brought the incredible complexities of the world to these tiny northern villages. The term carries much evocative power, especially when used in this context. It connects well with the document's repetitive theme of community.

While the term has long since become embedded into the social exchange of the south and is accepted as a hackneyed metaphor of the times, the concept of "global village" in the north is new, fresh and real.

Another strong theme in the document is a focus on "partnerships." Partnership with business is emphasised with an eye to moving more (even all) responsibility for training to employers, as well as garnering some forms of financial support through them. A northerner knows, however, that partnerships among government departments, which generate much of the activity of the community, outweigh the presence of business in many communities, and are a precondition to government service downsizing.

Finally, and most importantly, the message of cost-cutting filters through every chapter except those on technology and early childhood education. The language of the "corporation" where members of the public are referred to as "clients, stakeholders and partners" (POFF 1994, 95), is pervasive. A major shaping component of the community learning network is the issue of government fiscal restraint and fiscal reduction. The community learning network has an integral link with cutbacks as well as with local demands for community control. A plethora of facts and figures are quoted throughout the document. According to the document, \$138 million out of \$145 million in the 1994 education budget would be transferred to the school boards. Salaries represent 70% of the amount. Each student costs an average of \$8400.00 to school per year with the student-teacher ratio at an averaged low of 14 to 1 (POFF 1994, 55). These figures were presumably meant to show the reader the high costs of education in the Northwest Territories. Direct block-funding to community learning councils is frequently mentioned across the chapters as a means of managing costs. This way, the problem of reduced budgets would be dealt with at the community level, and, as the document indicates, the predicted costs in K to 10 education and in special education would exceed available funds (POFF 1994, 56).

The document is dense with words and phrases meant to evoke an ideal

community, a vision, a network, and it all takes place against an avowed political backdrop of land claims settlement, increasing Indigenous politicisation, and public pressure for increasing the powers promised through recognisable decentralisation policy -- more commonly referred to in the 1990s as "devolution." The goal is to seat decentralisation policy ideologically in the public imagination as suggested through unrestrained use of evocative language in the document. Decentralisation was to be fully realised through the community learning network strategy, but the Department of Education, Culture and Employment, and particularly the educational component of it, was clearly interested in legitimating its continuing involvement in a territorial plan and justifying its role in the future arrangement. From this perspective, the policy document of 1994 is successful in combining a range of elements to produce an excellent example of an education decentralisation policy plan.

### Conclusion

The chapter started out with a review of the 1982 policy document *Learning: Tradition and Change in the Northwest Territories*, an education document that is quite remarkable in territorial history. Generally, it reflected integral political change in the Northwest Territories and a commitment to implementation of decentralisation policy. The prime area where decentralisation policy would be recognisable was through the formation of ten Divisional Boards and community representation on these boards.

The legislative debate following on the 1982 document revealed key territorial tensions. The centralised power of Yellowknife contrasted with the lesser powers of the dispersed territorial communities. What could be described as a clear lack of sensitivity to the needs of the outlying communities was evident in the legislative debates. This lack of understanding had brought grievances to a head, but it was also motivating change. The change was in part a product of Native representation in the legislature occurring beginning in



1975. Finally, the legislative debate underlined the territorial East-West divide and the problem of equity in varying education areas -- relevant curriculum, control over hiring and firing, administrative accountability and control. An area where equity was a problem is identified as tax base availability and funding of education in the East and the West.

The 1994 document *People: Our Focus for the Future -- A Strategy to 2010* shows a change from the earlier 1982 document in style, focus and structure. The document presents a new strategy called the "community learning network" and explains why substantial changes in administration and education strategy must be made. Thematic analysis demonstrated that the use of technological imagery in the text also conveys the message of community power, control and territorial decentralisation.

## Chapter four

### THE HISTORY OF TERRITORIAL EDUCATION POLICY

#### Preamble

One feature of the Royal Proclamation of 1763 which impressed a young Eskimo boy in school amongst Qallunaaat children in the 1960s in "White Man's Land" suburbia was the large signature at the bottom signed George R. He must have written the document himself; he must have been a kind man, a good King -- those were the prevailing thoughts then -- ordering his subjects in British North America not to "molest Indians in their Lands." Being a King, he must have been obeyed by those he ruled.... Fast forward to Jan. 7, 1998, first day of the Great Ice Storm. The Eskimo boy is now a middle-aged Inuit leader, observing ceremonies in the Government of Canada's statement of reconciliation to aboriginal people. This in Ottawa, the first place of his first discovery of that Proclamation by King George.... It turns out the George R's subjects and their descendants had disobeyed most of the instructions issued by him in 1763, Indians and others were molested in more ways than one. To hear the words "we are deeply sorry" from the mouth of a Federal Minister was at once soothing, jarring, gratifying, slightly surreal, and somewhat disorienting.... If the statement were a pudding, it would be simultaneously bitter and sweet. (*Globe and Mail*, 29 Jan. 1998, A19)

Pal writes that, "to reconstruct policy content... involves a careful combing of public speeches, legislation, regulations, testimony, and even interviews to ferret out 'what the policy is' (Pal 1987, 28). This chapter reviews territorial education legislation up to the *Education Act* of 1995. Added references provide additional historical information to changes in the Ordinances. The chapter is chronological starting with the formation of the Northwest Territories in 1875. The chapter reviews the years of significant legislation change in 1977, 1983, 1988 and 1995 (see Figure 8, p. 107). The changes in education policy that reflect the parameters set out in the thesis are

particularly apparent between the 1974 and 1977 Education Ordinances, which show the first changes resulting from the formation of the first representative legislative assembly in 1975. Developments in the 1980s starting with the formation of the Baffin Regional Council and the legislation establishing it, show that the Eastern Inuit half of the Northwest Territories brought considerable influence to bear on the territorial political arrangements. This chapter reviews the 1988 *Education Act* that follows 1983 legislation establishing the Divisional Boards recommended in the 1982 document *Learning: Tradition and Change in the Northwest Territories*. It then briefly reviews the 1995 *Education Act* that followed the 1994 education policy document *People: Our Focus for the Future - A Strategy to 2010*. A time line highlighting the changes is provided in Figure 8. This review of the 1995 *Education Act* is followed by a summary of the education system planned for Nunavut, and the chapter conclusion.

#### Legislation Prior to 1974

Rupert's Land, an area that included Alberta, Saskatchewan, much of Manitoba, Northern Ontario, Northern Quebec and most of the area now properly the Northwest Territories, was sold to Canada in 1870 by the Hudson's Bay Company. Rupert's Land took its name from Prince Rupert, cousin to Charles II, who convinced the monarchy to back the fur trading company, one of the world's first stock investment ventures. In 1875 the North-West Territories Act recognised this new addition to Canada. The territory remained mainly in the shape of Rupert's Land until 1905 when Alberta and Saskatchewan were formed. The provincial boundaries were confirmed at the 60th parallel in 1912.

The first appearance of *Ordinances for the North-West Territories* contains Ordinances enacted from 1874 and carried forward to 1879. The first reference to schools appears in the next available volume compiled for 1885. In 1888 a revised edition appears, *Revised Statutes of the North-West*

*Territories*. Volumes of statutes appear almost every year up to the appearance in 1898 of the first "consolidation" since 1875, *Consolidated Statutes of the North-West Territories*. By 1905 and because of the formation of the provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan, the statutes were consolidated from 1898 and revised due to the formation of new legislation carried into a separate Saskatchewan Act. The *Ordinance Respecting Schools* appears to have remained essentially the same in the new consolidation in 1898 with one clause repealed. The 1905 Consolidated Ordinances were applied to the "new" Northwest Territories after Alberta became a province in 1905 and, in effect, the Schools Ordinance was carried forward from 1898 with its own derivation from 1885.

When the "new" Northwest Territories was formed -- the one before division in 1999 -- no new Ordinances were made. The Ordinances remained available for application in the Northwest Territories even though the status of the "new" territory remained dependent on the federal government after the formation of Alberta and Saskatchewan in 1905. Because constitutionally the territories were not provinces, they were represented by a predominantly appointed council (rather than an elected legislature as in a province), and a Commissioner (rather than a Lieutenant Governor as in a province). Only after a representative council was formed in 1975 did the designation of "council" change to "legislature," and the designation of "Ordinances" (secondary in power to statutes) move to the status of laws.

R. G. Robertson writes that after the gold rush of 1896 subsided, interest in the Northwest Territories and Yukon substantially dropped off, and the "white" population in the North was small enough that no political representation was demanded until 1951 (Robertson 1963, 144):

The first real change towards 'government' as distinct from routine administration came with the provision for three elected representatives in legislation passed in 1951.... Since 1951 the character and awareness of the administration as being 'territorial,' and of the Council as being the embryo of a legislative assembly for a future province have

steadily grown. (Robertson 1963, 144-145)

During these years the Commissioner for the Northwest Territories met with his Council in Ottawa to make any necessary political decisions regarding the North. Changes that paralleled the political advances existing in Rupert's Land before 1905 only began in the early 1950s. Robertson wrote:

In [1951] the first elections were held in the Territories. Appointed members still outnumbered the elected ones by five to three, but the state reached some seventy years before in the 'old' Territories had once more arrived. (Robertson 1963, 145)

In 1952 the *Ordinance Respecting Schools* was enacted. It repealed two amendments to the School Ordinances from 1946, and one from 1948. Prior to 1946, the next amendments repealed date from 1901, 1903, and 1904, suggesting little activity concerning the School Ordinances in the interim years." The reference in 1952 to an amendment from 1946 provides the earliest mention regarding activity affecting the School Ordinances in the statutes. Much of the activity with the amendments to the School Ordinances concerned Yellowknife School District No. 1, formed in 1939<sup>12</sup>. For example, legislation to double the mill rate was stimulated by growth of the Yellowknife School District No. 1 (S.N.W.T. 1948, c.14). In 1948 *An Ordinance Respecting the Board of Trustees for Yellowknife School District No. 1 of the Northwest Territories*, refers to the Ordinances for 1901 when addressing the requirements for trustees as including thirty days district residency before eligibility (1948, c.14). In 1950 the Yellowknife School District No. 1 borrowed \$100,000 to pay for an addition to the school (S.N.W.T. 1950, c.10).

The Ordinances of the Northwest Territories were revised in 1956 essentially without much change from 1905. In reference to the Northern activity in the 1950s Robertson makes the following comment of particular importance with respect to school legislation: "Ordinances to establish or amend laws of a provincial character were extremely few: the legislative fabric

of 1905 designed for an agrarian community of that day survived largely unchanged..." (Robertson 1963, 145). The School Ordinances particularly reflect this observation, and despite greater activity after 1947 and the ensuing revisions in 1956 still underwent very little change.

Despite the gap in Ordinance revisions between 1905 and 1948 there was, of course, some educational activity going on in other parts of the Northwest Territories besides Yellowknife. R. Duffy, in his book *Road to Nunavut*, describes this era, citing Canadian public archives<sup>9</sup>, as starting in 1944 where,

... only four residential schools existed in the whole NWT... none of these was in the Eastern Arctic.... Of nine day schools... only one was in the Eastern Arctic.... A total of 216 pupils attended these day schools out of a population, both native and non-native, of 12,028 (1941).... In addition to the permanent residential and day schools, others were operated by the missions 'during such times as the natives were within the settlements....' (Duffy 1988, 95)

Duffy does not make any mention of a 1955 *Ordinance to Authorize the Commissioner of the Northwest Territories to Enter into An Agreement with the Government of Canada Respecting the Education of Indian Children*. This 1955 Ordinance would appear to accord the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources control of all education in the Northwest Territories, but there seems to be a sizable variation of opinion on when federal government involvement with territorial education began. Interestingly, the 1955 Ordinances appear to have been created on the understanding that "centralization of the administration of education in the Northwest Territories will bring about increased economy and efficiency..." (S.N.W.T. 1955.9.1). The desire to improve territorial economy and efficiency in education was principally easier on paper. Part of this agreement between Her Majesty The Queen in Right of Canada and the Commissioner of the Northwest Territories established in the 1955 Ordinance that

... the Commissioner pays to the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources for the cost of education of children who are the responsibility of the Government of the Northwest Territories, and that no portion of the cost of educating Indian Children in the Northwest Territories shall be borne by the Commissioner. (S.N.W.T. 1955, c. 9.2)

Also included is the

... transfer to the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources the teachers, welfare teachers, caretakers, and other employees of the Government of Canada in the Northwest Territories who are at the time of entering into this Agreement employed in Indian educational services in the Northwest Territories. (S.N.W.T. 1955, c. 9.8)

Duffy (1988) does not refer to this Ordinance of 1955 but he writes, citing public archives<sup>4</sup>, that "In 1949 the educational authorities had established a system of territorial schools. The schools came under the aegis of the territorial administration, and all officials including teachers, were 'members of the Civil Service of Canada'" (Duffy 1988, 99). Colbourne (1986) notes that "In 1950 out of a total population of 9000 Inuit in the Eastern Arctic only 120 children were in attendance at the few mission and federal schools that existed at the time" (Colbourne 1986, 1)." Colbourne, citing Diubaldo<sup>5</sup>, acknowledges the 1955 Ordinance, explaining: "In 1955 the Canadian Federal Government took over sole responsibility for the education of the Inuit and put into place an ambitious six year plan for the building of schools through the Arctic" (Colbourne 1986, 1).

Carrothers considered 1953 the turning point, writing that the concept of government was understood by Native people as "the Hudson's Bay Company or the Roman Catholic or Anglican missions, both of which performed services for the federal government prior to the establishment of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources in 1953..." (Carrothers 1966, 10). Finally, as a probable product of the 1955 Ordinance and its mandate, Carrothers also cites incredible growth in educational facilities, between 1955

and 1965, in his report. He wrote:

Particularly significant is the development and utilization of educational facilities. Federal day schools increased from 22 to 51, classrooms from 88 to 321, enrolment from 2279 to 6415, and pupil residences from five to 28. (Carrothers 1966, 31)

A federal school was opened in Iqaluit in 1955 (Duffy 1988, 105), in part as a result of the building of the DEW line, (Duffy 1988, citing public archives<sup>a</sup>), but it may also have been a result of the 1955 legislation and the mandate ensuing from it.

Debate concerning the question of when territorial powers over education were first established has been confused with the issue of the predominant population of Native peoples in the Northwest Territories and authority for their education. The Carrothers figures that show increases in territorial facilities between 1955 and 1965 (see quotation above) would suggest that the Ordinance of 1955 transferring Native education to the territory had a significant impact on territorial education. The territorial governmental perspective attributes territorial control over schooling to the post-Carrothers phase that identified a Department of Education which would presumably, with exception of the school boards already established in Yellowknife, cooperate with the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs and administer all schools under territorial Ordinances.

#### Post 1974 Ordinances and the formation of the Legislature in 1975

The Revised Ordinances of 1974 show very little change in organisation in comparison to the Ordinances of 1956, and the Ordinances of 1956 remain little changed from the consolidation of 1898. In essence, then, the educational structure of the Northwest Territories was revived in the 1950s on Ordinances derived originally from the North-west Territories Act of 1875 and representing the populations -- at the time -- of Alberta and Saskatchewan.



Even in 1974, much of the agrarian, pre-1900 orientation remained embedded in the School Ordinances for the Northwest Territories, despite the many political changes already underway in the 1970s.

Hamilton (1994) credited the 1970s development of the representative legislative assembly in the Northwest Territories to a combination of the progressive attitudes of the territorial Commissioner and Carrothers' recommendation for an executive council that would provide ministers for the various departments of government, and a mainly elected legislature. He wrote: "The main thrust of the [Carrothers] report came into effect over the next twenty years but mainly as a process of evolution presided over by two far-sighted Commissioners, [Commissioner] Stuart Hodgson and [Deputy Commissioner] John Parker" (Hamilton 1994, 101). These Commissioners, who had territorial allegiance rather than federal roots (Parker had been mayor of Yellowknife), had managed, according to Hamilton, to stand strong against federal "mandarins." Hamilton recorded

the growing influence of elected members of the NWT Council. They were giving a voice to the various regions and races of the Territories at the same time that the number of GNWT employees was increasing at such a rate that Ottawa found it hard to control them. The first stages of democratic government were beginning to push the absolute authority of the civil servants out of the way. (Hamilton 1994, 110)

The responsiveness of these Commissioners to the needs of the people of the territories was reflected in the reversal of policies that would have been implemented by the federal "mandarins." Hamilton writes that federal education policy prior to the critical changes in territorial administration brought about by the Carrothers Report, showed education policy leaning towards increasing the number of residential schools, but Hodgson and Parker reversed this policy:

In education, early thinking was that any schools beyond grade six should be residential, located in the bigger communities of Yellowknife, Hay River, Fort Smith, Fort Simpson, and Inuvik. Parents hated losing their children for months at a time, and many

children lost their language and heritage. But after a while good sense took over, and it was decided to supply all basic education in the communities, no matter how small. The residential schools remained, but they were not compulsory. (Hamilton 1994, 111)

The School Ordinances followed the provincial agrarian models dating back to the pre-1905 North-West Territories that had included Alberta and Saskatchewan. Territorial representation was limited by the overarching powers of the Commissioner after 1905, and the School Ordinances, in effect, severely impeded the kind of school reform many saw as being needed in the Northwest Territories. The relevance of Ordinances territorially became more likely after the recommendations of the Carrothers Report, but, in addition, the possibility of problems became particularly evident with the application of ratepayer provisions to jurisdictions outside of Yellowknife. The Eastern Arctic, which had begun to develop along its own lines, had little or no property tax base on which to establish school boards.

The Education Ordinance existing in the *Revised Statutes* of 1974 (the first revision since 1956) provided the basic education legislation up until the next significant revision of Ordinances for the *Northwest Territories Statutes* in 1988. Major changes in the Education Ordinance occurred, however, between the 1974 Education Ordinance and the 1977 Amendment (with no changes listed in 1975 and 1976) to the 1974 Ordinance entitled *An Ordinance Respecting Education in the Northwest Territories*. The School Ordinance, chapter S-3 of the Revised Ordinances of the Northwest Territories of 1974, was repealed and replaced by the 1977 legislation.

A fully elected representative Council of 15 made up the newly recognised Legislative Assembly (changed from the term "council" in 1976) and sat for the first time in 1975. This Eighth Assembly made a significant contribution to education policy reform by passing changes embodied in the 1977 legislation. The following 1979 Ninth Assembly, made up of 22 members, created the Special Committee on Education in February 1980 and brought in

the educational reforms legislated in 1983.

Not until 1975, one hundred years after the territorial formation, was representative government realised. The increase to 22 seats in 1979 and the removal of the Commissioner from general Council sittings made territorial representative government a reality<sup>7</sup>.

The reason for late territorial representation is explained in Robertson's analysis of territorial politics in his early 1963 article "The Evolution of Territorial Government in Canada." Robertson traces the problem of representation and responsible government back to the old North-West Territories formed in 1875, which began with "a government lacking even the element of representation" (Robertson 1963, 139). Robertson wrote that while the old North-West Territories gained some measure of responsible government between 1870 and 1897, in spite of this,

the adjustments of government were highly pragmatic. There is no evidence that the federal government -- whatever its political persuasion -- or the federal Parliament, gave much consistent thought to the principles that should underlie the constitutional arrangements, to a careful adjustment of them to the circumstances of the area, or to an orderly process of development.<sup>16</sup> At almost every stage the Canadian government found itself with no clear programme, and it had to be prodded and shoved into conceding the changes demanded by the steadily more numerous and more vocal settlers of the west. (Robertson 1963, 139)

In the "new" Northwest Territories, the forming of a council in 1975 essentially picked up the shift to responsible government begun before 1905. No political template for development of representative government was crafted for the "new" Northwest Territories formed after Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta were made provinces through statute. "In no case was representation accorded in the initial stage and over much of the territorial areas of Canada and it does not exist today" (Robertson 1963, 137).<sup>9</sup> Despite advances made in representative government before 1905, the Northwest Territories reverted to a

colonial position under a Commissioner. The establishment of the provinces in 1905 was an extension of the representative government that was achieved between 1870 and 1897 in the old North-West Territories, but which was not carried into the "new" Northwest Territories. Robertson wrote, "If the people of the Northwest Territories were apathetic about having a share in their own government, it is clear that the officials of the day were largely unaware that they were handling something different from a purely departmental responsibility within the area of federal jurisdiction. The place of the Council as a legislative body in a 'provincial' role had been forgotten since the exciting days of the 1890's" (Robertson 1963, 145).

For the years between 1905 and 1946, Robertson wrote that with respect to the governance of the Northwest Territories "[i]t is doubtful if any country has provided a more bureaucratic regime than the one that then governed the Northwest Territories" (Robertson 1963, 143). The unique conditions brought about by true representative government that brought to the fore the reality of a territorial Aboriginal demographic majority of the Inuit-West Native divisions, created a favourable environment for political decentralisation.<sup>20</sup>

Robertson also asserts that territorial political inadequacies were not necessarily attributable only to a premeditated plan to centralise powers. He points to a deficiency in future plans for the participation of Native peoples in representative government:

It would require a sublime confidence to assume that the ministers, legislators, and officials responsible for the governmental dispositions of the territories have at all times been guided by a deep and penetrating appreciation of constitutional practice or historical perspective. It would be equally unjust, however, to impute a wilful disregard of recognized principle or a voracious appetite for bureaucratic power. Problems of geographical scale, of sparsity of population, and of inadequate communication could not be ignored, whatever the dictates of principle or judicial precept might be. More frequently, however, one is forced to the conclusion that pragmatism had a pretty unbridled run. With occasional distinguished exceptions, there seems to

have been little weight given to principle or theory. As often as not it is fair to suspect that there has been little appreciation that territorial or "colonial" government has been involved at all, rather than simply the exercise of federal administration in a somewhat awkward and troublesome field. (Robertson 1963, 137)

... In the early years, the question of representation was uncluttered by any concern for the proportionately large native population. They were assumed to have neither the wit nor the wish to be represented and the possibility of their having status as citizens, as distinct from federal wards, apparently did not occur. It may, in part, have been an extension of this invincible belief in the monopoly of political rights and capacities by those of pure white strain that led the Macdonald [sic] government to ignore the informal but effective institutions for local government that had existed in the Red River settlement under the Hudson's Bay Company prior to 1869. (Robertson 1963, 137-138)

In keeping with the political developments that occurred after 1975, territorial changes are reflected in the differences between the 1974 and 1977 Education Ordinances. Ordinances open with "interpretations" to guide the understanding of the text. The 1974 Ordinance includes academic year, board, district, inspector, municipality, occupant, owner, ratepayer, teacher and teaching day (R.S.N.W.T. 1974, c.S-3.2). By 1977 the list of provisions had expanded to include academic year, adult educator, Board of Education, community education committee, community education society, director, education district, education system, executive member, local education authority, ratepayer, superintendency, teaching personnel, teacher, vacation school, and voter (R.S.N.W.T. 1977, c.2.2). Specifically, it is notable that community education committees, societies or authorities replaced a list of redundant terms such as inspector, municipality, occupant, and owner, and became part of the new terminology of education legislation.

"Powers of Commissioner" given in the 1974 Ordinance were replaced in the 1977 Ordinance by "Powers of the Executive Member," the Executive

Member being a "member of the Executive Committee of the Government of the Northwest Territories who is assigned the responsibility for education matters" (R.S.N.W.T. 1977, c.2.i). The direct powers of the Commissioner with respect to education were changed in 1977 through the addition of an executive member and a director of education (R.S.N.W.T. 1977, c.3.1&3). In 1974, the Commissioner had the power to "make regulations as he considers necessary for the purpose of more effectively carrying out the provisions of [the] Ordinance" (R.S.N.W.T. 1974, c.3.3). Under the 1977 Ordinance the Commissioner was to act only with the "advice and consent of the Council of the said Territories" (R.S.N.W.T. 1977, c.2). The Commissioner was "responsible for the administration of the Ordinance" (R.S.N.W.T. 1977, c.2.3.1), and had powers over the Executive Member who in turn had the powers to, "administer [the] Ordinance," and was "responsible for establishment and dissolution of education districts and schools within an education district" (R.S.N.W.T. 1977, c.2.3.2). The Executive Member was to carry out the responsibilities that were the Commissioner's in 1974. The Executive Member (de facto Minister of Education), in turn, appointed a Director of Education who was to "manage the education system in the Territories" (R.S.N.W.T. 1977, c.2.3.3). The Director of Education would head the Department of Education under the Minister of Education.

Another significant change occurring between 1974 and 1977 concerns how a "board" is defined and who may run it. In 1977 it was legislated that groups other than trustees elected by ratepayers could form "boards." These were specified as committees and societies which could form boards with the approval of 50 ratepayers. The 1990 discussion paper *Help Improve the Education Act* [HIEA] identifies the 1977 change to the definition of boards (which was still a foundation of the education legislation in 1988) as a fundamental clause leading to the need for a new Education Act: "A Board of Education is the most independent education authority in the Act. It was first defined in the Schools Ordinance which was revised to be the Education Act in

1977" (HIEA 1990, 32). HIEA cites the clauses derived from 1977:

Every school district and separate school district erected by order of the Commissioner, prior to the commencement of this Ordinance, pursuant to section 28 of the *School Ordinance*, chapter S-3 of the Revised Ordinances of 1974, is continued under this Ordinance as an education district and the Boards of Trustees of such districts are hereby constituted Boards of Education and Separate Boards of Education under this Ordinance. (R.S.N.W.T. 1977, c.2, 24.1)

Any fifty voters of an education district for which a community education society has been the local education authority for at least two years may petition the Executive Member to designate a Board of Education as the local education authority. (R.S.N.W.T. 1977, c.2, 25.1)

The Native position on education strengthened during the 1970s. "In 1976 local education authorities were established. In Fort Rae/Edzo [sic], under the prodding of one of the NWT's remarkable women, Elizabeth Mackenzie, the Dog Ribs gained control of their school and what was taught in it" (Hamilton 1994, 264). The powers of the Rae-Edzo School Society are defined in *An Ordinance to amend the Education Ordinance* in 1977 based on a separate agreement made between Rae-Edzo and the Commissioner in 1971 in section 18. In 1981 the phrase "and any subsequent agreement thereto" was added. The clause referring to Rae-Edzo and their agreement remains in the Ordinance up until 1988:

The Executive Member may, upon termination of an Agreement between the Commissioner and the Rae-Edzo School Society executed on the 18th day of August, 1971, or any subsequent agreement thereto, designate a community education society as the local education authority for Rae-Edzo without the petition required under subsection (1); and the members of the Rae-Edzo School Society shall thereby become members of the community education society. (R.S.N.W.T. 1977, c.4, 1.18 (2))

Section 18 of the 1977 Education Ordinance stipulated that an education

society could be formed with the Minister's permission, and Rae-Edzo established such a society as recognized through their mention from 1971. The 1977 changes allowed a school society to have similar powers to the ratepayers -- and act like trustees. "The Rae/Edzo experience was so successful that it spread throughout the NWT, in both Dene and Inuit communities." (Hamilton 1994, 264). The education society was intended in the 1977 Ordinance as the step above community committees and to board status. Because it was established before 1977, Rae-Edzo's school society required a specific clause in the Ordinance which shows through legislation that local demands for control over schooling with the Western Dene began with the precedent of Rae-Edzo.

This provision by Ordinance for local education authorities that could be formed from voters who were not ratepayers, as found in the 1977 Ordinance, is the first example of a major change in legislation to accommodate the northern reality. The many small communities of the Northwest Territories received transfer payments from the government and did not collect any local taxes for schools, and had, therefore, no representation through elected trustees. The 1977 Ordinance allowed local education authorities to provide local representation if the Executive Member (Minister of Education) gave approval.

Where fifty voters of an education district for which a community education committee has been designated as the local education authority petition the Executive Member to designate a community education society as the local education authority, the Executive Member may, in his discretion, designate a community education society as the local education authority. (R.S.N.W.T. 1977, c.2, 18.1)

By 1977 the role of school trustees is no longer mentioned to any great degree in any part of the Education Ordinance. Under the section entitled *Assessment and Taxes*, a board that formed from a school society would ultimately be empowered to collect any taxes: "the Board shall determine the sum required [to be raised by the education district for education purposes] and demand it of the municipality" (R.S.N.W.T. 1977. c.2, 39.2). The formation of a board was still limited to the condition of fifty ratepayers in 1977 in section 26.



In his report in 1977 Berger confirmed that the length of the academic year and cultural curriculum were issues of great importance to communities. "They insist that they must have the power to hire and fire teachers and to arrange the school year so that it accommodates the social and economic life of each community" (Berger 1977, 181). The recognition of "ethnic and cultural variation" is broadened in 1977 in sections 57 through 59, compared to 1974 where a clause under "Language to be used" briefly states "All schools shall be taught in the English language but it shall be permissible for the board of any district to cause a primary course to be taught in the French or Eskimo language" (R.S.N.W.T. 1974, S-3, 103. (1)). The 1977 clause covers utilising culture in the curriculum, culturally representative staffing, and a budget to pay for culture programs. The 1978 education policy booklet *Philosophy of Education in the Northwest Territories* follows the mid 1970s trend in defining multiculturalism, bilingualism, cultural and linguistic factors as priority issues in Northern education.

The length of the school year may vary in each northern community as the community makes their spring and summer plans according to weather and local traditions of hunting and camping. Each community prefers to establish its own school year, but an established school year was being applied unilaterally to schools prior to 1977. In the Ordinance of 1977, the length of the academic year was to be decided through consultation between the Executive Member (Minister) and the Local Education Authority (R. S.N.W.T. 1977, c.2, 64.2).

Colbourne (1986) relates that, in 1979, the Igloodik used section 64.2 to establish an academic year that suited their community (Colbourne 1986, 10). In this instance the Department of Education resisted, but backed down under the impending possibility that the case would move to the Northwest Territories Supreme Court (Colbourne 1986, 10). This situation provides an example of how the Ordinance of 1977 furnished an opportunity for the regions to exercise more flexibility, opening up the way for the broader legislative changes forthcoming in 1983. It also shows how the Department of Education resisted

change despite legislative mandates. In 1981 *An Ordinance to Amend the Education Ordinance* effected the following addition to Section 65: "The Executive Member, upon recommendation of a local education authority, in an education district, may alter the minimum and maximum hours set forth in subsection (1) for that education district" (R.S.N.W.T. 1981, c.4 (3rd), 65.2).

The 1980s, the Baffin Regional Council, the "Divisional Boards" and the 1988 Education Act

Duffy records the development of the National Inuit Council on Education (NICE) in 1976 as a reaction to educational plans that "allowed the Inuit no input into deciding what could be termed 'satisfactory standards of instruction' and no choice of the language of instruction after the first few years of schooling" (Duffy 1988, 120). He writes that,

The NWT seemed to regard the Inuit as "of secondary importance" and refused to let them become "involved with the educational process at a responsible decision-making level." In view of these feelings, the ICI [Inuit Cultural Institute] created in the fall of 1976 a National Inuit Council on Education (NICE) to "examine the feasibility of Inuit educational institutions in the north, planned and administered by the Inuit themselves." It sought to voice the regional concerns of Inuit people with regard to the educational system and to explore supplementary and alternate methods of making it meaningful, relevant, and challenging for the Inuit. (Duffy 1988, 120-121)

There is a dearth of changes to education legislation, with the exception of minor amendments, between 1977 and the major changes made in 1983. However, *An Ordinance to Incorporate the Baffin Regional Council* in 1980 exemplifies increasing demand by the Eastern Arctic for control over Eastern affairs. The preamble to the Ordinance specifies the rationale for the Baffin Regional Council:

Whereas there is need of a forum to discuss all matters of concern to the people of the Baffin

**Region in order to improve communications amongst the communities of the region;**

**And whereas there is a need to improve the services provided by governments to the communities of the region by the provision of advice to governments in respect of the priorities of the services and programs provided by governments to the communities to be based on the needs of the communities;**

**And whereas there is a need of an agency to advise governments in respect of their policies and a further need to advise government in the formulation of draft legislation proposed to the Legislative Assembly;**

**And whereas there is a need of an agency to advise government in relation to the preparation of the budgets of the communities and the region;**

**And whereas there is need of a forum of debate in the region to assist the communities of the region in being effectively involved in the development of the region;**

**(R.S.N.W.T. 1980, c.5, preamble)**

Finally, and most importantly, the preamble concluded with, "And whereas there is need of an agency to which the Legislative Assembly can devolve powers and responsibilities.... " (R.S.N.W.T. 1980, c. 5). Thus a regional council called the Baffin Regional Council was established, the powers of the council being delineated in the Ordinance. As an example, the regional council was able to "advise and make recommendations to the Executive Committee generally with regard to all matters of local concern within the region" (1980, c.5, 12.f), and "to administer those government programs in the region delegated from time to time by the Executive Committee" (R.S.N.W.T. 1980, c.5, 12.g). Matters of local concern included schooling.

In his thesis *Inuit Control of Education: The Baffin Experience*, Eric Colbourne filled in some of the details concerning the political changes underway in the Baffin Region between the 1977 Ordinance and the 1983

changes to that legislation.

From 1977 on, a series of events serve to illustrate the growing complexity and turmoil in the external environment of the N.W.T. Dept. of Education. The previous year a group calling itself the Baffin Region Education Committee (BREC) was formed as a sub-committee of the Baffin Regional Council (BRC), a council of mayors from each of the communities in the Region.... From the outset the group saw itself as having much broader terms of reference and asked the Territorial Government for official recognition as the Regional Education Authority for the Baffin Region.... In October of 1979 the powerful Baffin Regional Council endorsed the proposed constitution of BREC as well as its request for a name change to the Baffin Regional Education Society (BRES). This act in itself legitimated the existence of a Baffin citizens organisation with its primary goal of being the governing body in Regional education [BREC, 1979].... The centralised decision making machinery in Yellowknife however remained aloof to the turmoil building at the local and regional levels and relied on standardized responses to each issue which arose.... (Colbourne 1986, 8-9)

The next major change in education legislation is found in *An Ordinance to Amend the Education Ordinance* of 1983 that followed the tabling of the Special Committee on Education's recommendations. It was at this point that the "Divisional Boards" which were the key component of the decentralisation plan recommended by the Special Committee were legislated. In 1983 they were arranged as ten Divisional Boards including Yellowknife's Districts No. 1 and 2. The designations for Divisions were: Baffin, Beaufort, Kitikmeot, Keewatin, Mackenzie-Great Bear, South Slave Lake, Southwest, and Inuvik (LTC 1982, 44). (The Eastern Arctic Divisional Boards that would generally have agreement with the territorial administrative regions were Baffin, Kitikmeot, and Keewatin. The Eastern Arctic education divisions of Baffin, Kitikmeot and Keewatin would later fall under the jurisdiction of Nunavut.)

Colbourne has opined that "[t]his amendment to the 1977 Education Act described a process by which local (community) education authorities could assume control over many aspects of education" (Colbourne 1986, 32).<sup>21</sup> The

significance given to this 1983 amendment is represented by inclusion after section 53 of an entire part (Part II.1) called *Organization and Operation of Education Divisions*. The establishment of education divisions under the order of the "Executive Member" was contained therein and the makeup and responsibilities of Divisional Boards were itemised.

An example of a regional council was the Baffin Regional Council that was first incorporated in 1980 to represent the communities of Baffin Island. The Baffin Region was designated a division in 1983. Colbourne wrote that The Baffin Regional Education Society made a significant contribution to the legislation of 1983, and applied for Divisional Board Status as soon as the legislation was passed (Colbourne 1986, 37). Without elaborating any details with respect to the significant changes in legislation from 1977, he said that, due to delays in publication of regulations and delays in establishing the financial details, the Baffin Divisional Board of Education was not formed until 1985 (Colbourne 1986, 37). The significant changes made to the 1977 Ordinance and the political import of these changes probably wrought much resistance, however, in turn slowing down the process of integration of the new powers. Finally, Colbourne argues that decentralisation was a product of the 1983 legislation, stating "the aim of the [1983] legislation was to create this kind of system" (Colbourne 1986, 45).

A 1985 amendment *An Act to Amend the Education Act* simply added a "school counsellor" to the list of interpretations of the 1977 Education Ordinance and delineated the powers of a school counsellor in combination with the Minister and principal to enforce school attendance. The purpose of the amendment was clearly to address the problem of truancy in the Northwest Territories, and improve the community's power through the school counsellor to locate and return truants to school.

In 1988 the Northwest Territories statutes were again revised and the designated Executive Member was recognised as a Minister of Education. References to the powers of the Commissioner had been dropped from the

text. Accordingly,

2. (1) The Minister shall administer this Act and is responsible for the establishment and dissolution of education districts and education divisions and schools within an education district or education division.

(2) The Minister shall appoint a Director of Education who shall manage the education system in the Territories.

(R.S.N.W.T. 1988, c.E-1,2.1&2)

The 1988 *Education Act* emphasised districts over divisions, placing districts first in order of priority in Part II of the Act. The local education authority (defined also as a community education committee and society, a Board of Education, a community education council, and a Divisional Board of one district in section 4.2) is described as an entity within a district rather than an entity specific to a community in section 4.1:

Subject to Parts III and IV, the education system of the Territories shall be organized into education districts in respect of each of which there shall be a local education authority. (R.S.N.W.T. 1988, c. E-1, 4.1)

The term "district" used in education legislation as the primary unit prior to 1977 appears to be redefined to possibly contain a number of communities. Districts, not communities, will contain a local education authority. The definition of "local education authority" in Part II of the 1988 *Education Act* appears positioned in legislation to be redefined as the "district education authority" by 1995. The Divisional Boards retained the power to decide the school year, recruit teachers, and approve curriculum in section 66.1 of the 1988 *Education Act*.

Nunavut Act and the Nunavut Agreement

The *Nunavut Act* creates powers similar to those in the *Northwest Territories Act*. The *Nunavut Act* establishes public government separate from the Inuit claims agreement:

The executive powers that, immediately before coming into force of this section, were vested by any laws of Canada in the Commissioner of the Northwest Territories shall be exercised by the Commissioner of Nunavut.... (R.S.C. 1993, c. 28, 7)

The Commissioner "shall act in accordance with any written instructions given to the Commissioner by the Governor in Council of the Minister [of Indian and Northern Development]. (R.S.C. 1993, c. 28, 6.1)

Following on the model<sup>2</sup> of the *N.W.T. Act*, the "Legislative Powers" in section 23.1 of the 1993 *Nunavut Act* stipulate that "Subject to any other Act of Parliament, the Legislature may make laws in relation to the following classes of subjects:"

- (m) education in and for Nunavut, subject to the condition that any law respecting education must provide that
  - (i) a majority of the ratepayers of any part of Nunavut, by whatever name called, may establish such schools in that part as they think fit, and make the necessary assessment and collection of rates for those schools, and
  - (ii) the minority of the ratepayers in that part of Nunavut, whether Protestant or Roman Catholic, may establish separate schools in that part and, if they do so, they are liable only to assessments of such rates as they impose on themselves in respect of those separate schools; (R.S.C. 1993, c. 23.1)

A major difference between the *N.W.T. Act*, the *Nunavut Act*, the *Yukon Act*, and provincial constitutions exists because territories are not entrenched within the *Constitution Act*, 1982. The *N.W.T. Act* may be amended directly by parliament.

A central point on which Inuit agreed to public government were

guarantees of jobs for Inuit. The agreement includes specific agreement to train Inuit people for jobs in the public service. The employment section of the agreement can be expected to have an impact on education, the largest territorial expenditure area, in creating jobs, as well as training for jobs. The Nunavut Agreement specifies commitment to "a level of Inuit employment... reflecting the ratio of Inuit to the total population in the Nunavut Settlement Area... within all occupational groupings and grade levels..." (Nunavut Agreement 1993, 23.1.1).

Within the *Footprints* chapter on education designed "for the Nunavut Government Work Force" (FP1 1995, A-15.1), the NIC proposed five projects meant to facilitate the prime concern of training Inuit for government employment. According to *Footprints*, additional funding will support "peer tutorial services" (A-15.4-5), "stay in school initiatives" (FP1 1995, A-15.6), "formalised programs of peer support for students in an 'at risk' category" (FP1 1995, A-15.9), "college academic support and counselling" (FP1 1995, A-15.10), and the Nunavut Sivuniksavut Program that provided students with a "transition year" and help in preparing them for relocation for further education and/or employment (FP1 1995, A-15.12). Only one program, Project A, Heritage Programming: Elders in the schools, is specifically dedicated to cultural concerns: "The funding shall be used to provide a minimum of four elders per community for the delivery of Heritage Programming for children in the classrooms of Nunavut" (FP1 1995, A-15.3). Still, the primary focus in new education initiatives and programs in the mid to late 1990s is training people to work for the Nunavut government.



### The 1995 Education Act

The 1995 *Education Act* embodied the legislative response to the education policy document of 1994. Comparison of the 1988 and 1995 Acts shows changes in legislation to counter political pressure to increase powers at the community level following the "community learning network" of the 1994 educational document. The *Education Act* in 1988 covered in hierarchical order the responsibilities of the Minister and Superintendents, the Organization and Operation of Education Districts and Divisions, Boards of Secondary Education, Conduct of Schools, Supplementary Education Programs, Teachers, Students.

By 1995 this act had been restructured under the following headings: Access to the Education Program; Education Staff; Cultural Diversity; Governance; Role of the Minister; and General. *Access to the Education Program* covers the responsibilities of parents and students and focuses attention on these critical members of the education system, followed by the teacher's responsibilities. The section on "cultural diversity" is the first appearance of such a section in any territorial education legislation, and deflects attention from the key area of *Governance* that replaces *Organization and Operation of Education Districts, Organization and Operation of Education Divisions, and Boards of Secondary Education*, three areas separated into sections in the previous 1988 legislation.

The section entitled *Governance* in 1995 begins with the powers of the Superintendent. Although there appears to have been an attempt to camouflage the increase in powers at the board and Ministry level through document organisation that moves the higher level powers toward the end of the document, the Minister retains ultimate control over education. The powers of the Minister are relocated to the centre of the Act in Part V, and also to the section entitled *General*, where it states specifically, "The Minister shall administer this Act" (R.S.N.W.T. 1995, c. E-3, 126.1). The Minister maintains

control over curriculum, standards, and the length of the school day, and may make any changes to regulations.

Under *Governance* in the 1995 *Education Act* the emphasis remains on "education districts" rather than on individual communities. The list of titles under the heading *Governance* is as follows: Superintendents of Education; Education Districts; District Education Authorities; Public Denominational Education District; Education Division; Divisional Education Councils; Dissolution and Trusteeship of Education Body; Duties and Powers of Education Bodies; and Conflict of Interest. The Minister maintains control over the establishment of education districts for every community in the Territories, and every school is required to be part of a district. In section 79 (3) the district is defined: "The limits of an education district must coincide with the boundaries of the community it serves but the Minister may alter the limits of the education district to meet the education needs of the community" (R.S.N.W.T. 1995, c.28, 79. (3)).

An "education district," according to the 1995 definition, "means an education district or public denominational education district established under this Act or a school district, separate school district, education district or separate education district continued as an education district or public denominational education district by this Act" (R.S.N.W.T. 1995, c. E-3, 1.1). The education district must belong to an education division, and specific powers of community education councils are no longer legislated.

"Divisional boards" which the Minister has powers over, are redesignated as councils in section 112. (1) under the marginal annotation "Continuation":

Subject to subsection (2), every Divisional Board of Education established under the *Education Act*, R.S.N.W.T. 1988, c.E-1, in existence immediately before the coming into force of this Act, is continued as a Divisional Education Council under this act with the powers and duties conferred or imposed on it as a Divisional Board of Education under that act until the next election for the governing body of the community held, after the coming into force of this Act, in the education districts that are represented

on the Divisional Education Council, at which time the person selected under subsection 90(2) from each District Education Authority shall replace a member of the Divisional Education Council. (112. (1)).

The protections provided to community powers over education through the "local education authority" are changed by the 1995 *Education Act*. Community powers are no longer legislated and the definitions referring to community and locality have disappeared. In fact, as described in the next chapter, a district electoral model has been proposed by the Nunavut Implementation Committee. Aboriginal rights are now protected in agreements signed with the government. The constitutional protection of separate and public schools is reconfirmed through the *Nunavut Act* and territorial legislation must accommodate this constitutional guarantee.

### Conclusion

Chapter four concentrated on developments in education legislation since 1875 when the *N.W.T. Act* was passed. Up until 1974 two key factors in education legislation were the agrarian-based influences from 1875 in combination with a loss in the representational powers gained in the "old" Northwest Territories after 1905. No demands for representation in the "new" Northwest Territories became identifiable until 1951, and representative government was not realised until 1975. Following on the extensive changes in this year, the Education Ordinances diverge from southern legislation and begin to grapple with the issue of local representation in territorial education without the system of ratepayers and trustees. Local education authorities and Divisional Boards were legislated up until 1988, at which point the *Education Act* shows a phasing out of community councils in favour of district arrangements. By 1995, the local education councils and Divisional Boards were redefined entities within the *Education Act*.

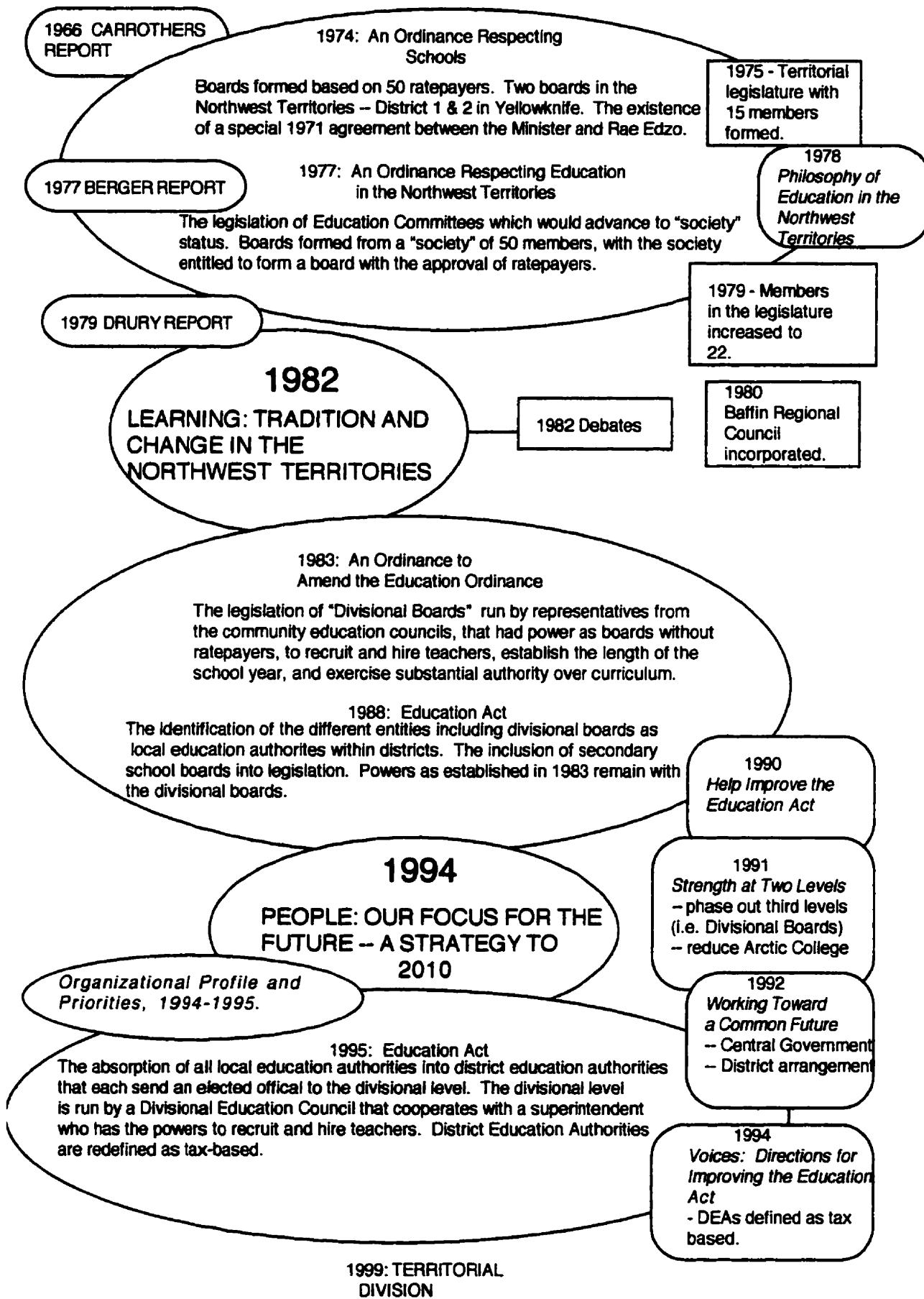
## **Chapter 5**

### **ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSIONS**

This chapter summarises the changes in key education areas according to the evidence. It applies various aspects of Pal's (1987) evaluative analysis, and draws most of its conclusions through comparison. Pal writes, "Comparison shows what is unique or routine about a given policy or policy proposal, and provides a broader canvas for assessment and reflection" (Pal 1987, 37).

The parameters established at the outset of the thesis are the years 1975 to 2000. Two key education policy recommendation documents are placed along this continuum at 1982 and 1994: *Learning: Tradition and Change in the Northwest Territories* [LTC]; and *People: Our Focus for the Future, A Strategy to 2010* [POFF]. The Education Ordinances remained essentially unchanged from their agrarian roots up to 1977. (For general clarification, the reader may refer to the key territorial reports, legislation, and placement of education documents in the chronologically arranged flow chart in Figure 8.

Chapter five opens with the proposal of an "era" of decentralisation in education policy. The first area reviewed is the Aboriginal Policy Actor [APA] and changes in the APA voice in the documents are considered. The next section looks at pieces of 1988 legislative debates, and *Help Improve the Education Act*. The changes in legislation are then reviewed and assessed. Following this section, the analysis examines adult education and technology and administration as major themes. This is followed by a probing of changes in education budgeting in the decentralisation era, the role of education in territorial division, the renewed focus on centralisation in the East and the West, and conclusions.



Identifying a "Decentralisation Era" in Territorial Education Policy

The significant changes occurring in education legislation between the 1974 revised statutes and the 1977 Ordinance suggest 1975 as the year in which education decentralisation became firmly rooted.

Other references outside education, point to the 1970s as a time of critical change, with 1975 as a focal point. The Dene Declaration was written in 1975 and by 1976 the first Nunavut plan had been created. Regarding the importance of 1975, John David Hamilton a northern journalist, in *Arctic Revolution: Social Change in the Northwest Territories 1935-1994* writes:

A lot of things happened all at once in 1975. Tom Berger took his Flying Circus to the people. The Indian Brotherhood issued the Dene Declaration and fired [president of the NWT Indian Brotherhood] James Wah Shee. And full representative government came to the NWT, marking an enormous step on the road to responsible government. (Hamilton 1994, 208)

Colbourne, citing Farrow 1985<sup>2</sup>, places the territorial decentralisation policy, particularly educational decentralisation policy, in the 1970s writing,

The beginning of the 1970's marked a decade of intense technological, political, and administrative change in the Eastern Arctic and in the N.W.T. generally. One of the first moves of the new government was a policy of administrative decentralisation to regions and devolution of powers to local municipal councils (Farrow, 1985). By 1975 the Department of Education had established education advisory boards (EAB's) in most Eastern Arctic communities. These EAB's were essentially a committee of parents elected in each community to advise the principal on the operation of the school. (Colbourne 1986, 6)

The recent 1996 Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal People [RRCAP] positions Northwest Territories policies within similar markers: "The political development achieved in the last 20 years in parts of northern Canada is striking. A framework for the future is beginning to emerge" (RRCAP 1996,

389). Bernard in *Constitutional Law in a Nutshell* writes, "... territorial government has recently been undergoing rapid and fundamental change, particularly since the late 1970s. Significant changes are still to be expected. Implementing the division of the Northwest Territories alone will result in new approaches to government" (Bernard 1994, 138).

Not until 1975, one hundred years after the territorial formation, was representative government realised. Representative government in 1975 gave political voice to the Native people of the Northwest Territories and produced a modern consensus government that is unique. This is clearly shown in the education document of 1982, a product of the profound political changes produced by the forming of the first representative legislature in 1975.

The division of the Northwest Territories into Nunavut and the Western Northwest Territories in 1999 marks the end to the delay to a division that Carrothers foresaw as inevitable. It is a remarkably critical year not only for the territory also but for the nation and the world. Territorial division represents a resolution, through governmental restructuring brought about by the political division, of one of the prime factors motivating decentralisation policy in these years -- Inuit demands for greater control over Inuit affairs in the Eastern Arctic and the problems of territorial system control and equity. The evidence supports the proposal of a unique "era" of decentralisation in territorial education between 1975 and 2000.

#### The Aboriginal Policy Actors and Education Policy Documents

To assess the Aboriginal Policy Actors' [APAs] voice in the documents, an hermeneutic approach is applied to LTC and POFF Theme Analyses, (presented earlier in chapter three, p. 46 and p. 76). The themes represent my initial responses to the two education documents. In the 1982 document in LTC Theme Analysis, I responded to the anti-southern message and the "manifesto"- like qualities of it. This response was probably explained by my

position as a non-Aboriginal and a teacher. I identified an active APA speaking through the document, "pulling and hauling" with the system.

In POFF Theme Analysis, I responded to the document very differently. The overall networking and "vision" images constituted the main motif, and the message of technology and "corporateness" pervaded the document. The APA voice diminishes in strength compared to the technology thread and an unidentified "corporate author." In the earlier document the architects were known (they are pictured together signing the report) and identifiable as producers of the text. By the 1994 document the authors seem distant and the APA message was essentially delivered through a second level. The APA message was, we were told, "community," but the predominant motifs identified were technology, vision, and network.

The design of the document in each case also provided information about the APA voice. The 1982 document incorporated opinions of the APA into the flow of the text. By 1994 the APA was not included in the main text. The authors ("we" in the document) talked to an audience of "partners and clients." For example, the document states, "So, we asked our partners and clients two basic questions...We discovered two things..." (POFF 1994, 11). The "we" voice in the document addressed its message not to the people, not with the APA as an active voice, but to "partners and clients." The document is oriented to business and technology, to the corporate sector, to the system. (The smaller pamphlet called *Organizational Policy and Profiles* also referred to a "corporate identity and culture" and paralleled the corporate orientation of the 1994 policy document. It identified "corporate priorities" as consolidation of services, decentralisation and devolution of authority, improved access, accountability and communication, technology and information management (Organizational Policy and Profiles 1995, 9-10).)

The 1982 document addressed its concerns in accordance with the mandate of the commission to solve problems at the classroom level, but by 1994 the pressing problems were territorial population growth, "impact of



technology," "financial restraint,"<sup>24</sup> "transfer of power and authority," and the "changing role of government" (here division may be the main focus) (POFF 1994, 3). The messages could be interpreted at different levels by the reader. "Transfer of power" and the "changing role of government" mentioned in the document could refer either to the territorial division or to community control and the territorial public policy of devolution. The level is unclear.

There was substantial change from 1982 to 1994 concerning the identification of problems requiring a policy solution. The movement was from an emphasis on classroom level problems to system problems. A possible explanation for this change in focus, which was not only territorial but international, is supported by Pal:

Globalization, increasing cultural diversity, the decline of deference, and the information revolution are virtually impossible to reverse. Governance, or our systems of public policy and administration, are reactions to these forces, and can be expected to change and vary over time. (Pal 1997, 62)

In conclusion, thematic analysis shows change in the APA voices, moving from active APA voices in 1982 to a secondary position in 1994. An emergent question is whether this change reflects greater alienation of Aboriginal participation from policy making or some transformation of APAs into Aboriginal Public Policy Makers [APPMs]. Territorial politics involving a strong majority Aboriginal population will require an APA voices interacting with the system. The extent to which APAs interact with the system may vary, but another cause of the change may be explained when the APAs, instead of interacting *on* and *with* the system, act from within the system and become APPMs. By 1994, Nellie Cournoyea, one of the architects of the 1982 document, was Premier of the Northwest Territories and Richard Nerysoo was Minister of Education.

Moving into the 1990s: Debate in 1988 and HIEA

Even as the 1983 amendment to create the Divisional Boards envisioned by the Special Committee was consolidated in the 1988 Education Act, it became almost immediately redundant. A financially sustainable administrative arrangement under fiscal belt-tightening became increasingly evident as a critical factor in territorial politics. In response to the budget address of 1988, Yellowknife MLA Mr. Lewis stated:

The Commissioner committed this government to deal with the problems of youth in his November Opening Address. It was singled out as the major problem facing this 11th Assembly. I had hoped this budget would reflect to some degree the commitment made to the young people of the Northwest Territories. The problem, Mr. Speaker, is that the last government had plenty of money in the bank. It did not have to think. It is now time to start thinking. What lies ahead of us, Mr. Speaker, as I have said, is four lean years. This balanced budget sets the proper tone for our Members. We have to start living within our means. The Minister of Finance no doubt will have many pressure groups telling him to find more money to spend. But I support the balanced budget that he has placed in front of this House. I agree with the Minister that any new taxes will not raise significant amounts of money. The key to our fiscal policy in future must be a careful evaluation of programs and the political will to drop or cut programs that are not working well. (Debates 1988, 93)

The new challenge in the 1990s in education would be to satisfy communities, while at the same time reducing the expensive divisional boards which were sanctioned by the powerful APPMs in 1982.

Debate in 1988 shows a focus on the issue of decentralisation policy in legislative discussion. In response to Mr. Nerysoo's question asking, "Is this government developing a decentralization policy and at what time is that particular policy going to be made available to this House?" "The Hon." Patterson replies:

Mr. Speaker, the cabinet is committed to discussing

questions such as decentralization and reorganization of government, as well as the role and future of regional bodies, at a strategy session which we plan to hold following the budget session. (Debates 1988, 24)

Patterson responds as follows to a question raised by Mr. Ernerk on government decentralisation policy

I have a return to the oral question asked by Mr. Ernerk yesterday on privatization and decentralization policy. At the appropriate time I will be tabling the government organization policy and the privatization policy. A policy on decentralization, which Mr. Ernerk asked to be tabled, does not exist as a separate policy. However, all government organization, including the method of program and service delivery, is determined by the government organization policy. This policy forms the basis for decentralised service delivery. (Debates 1988, 88)

The cost of decentralisation is raised by Mr. Lewis as well as the problem of territorial budgeting vis-a-vis the role of centralised government:

Mr. Minister, several decisions have been made by this government which could bankrupt the future. Although the GNWT began its mandate in the late 60s with a commitment to strong local government, each community these days seems to want to be a regional centre as well. Government is being spread out all over the place with little regard for the real function of government. We cannot continue to use decentralization as an economic tool to provide community benefits at the expense of good overall service.... Decentralization is very expensive.... All those capital projects begun last year, when we were so rich and did not have to think, will make heavy demands on our future budget. We have not calculated exactly what those costs will be.... The major flaw in this budget, Mr. Minister, despite the kind things I have said about it, is not the fault of the Finance Minister's. It has been created within a government system that has spent little time on development of policy. The program of spending has emerged from a mishmash of departments, secretariats, agencies, boards and commissions, which have uncertain mandates, inadequate policies and unevaluated programs. (Debates 1988, 95)

In 1990 Stephen Kwafki, Minister of Education, introduced a "discussion paper" called *Help Improve the Education Act* [HIEA] which asked for public input regarding new education legislation. The results were collected from the 1990 territorial questionnaire called *Questions: Direction for Improving the Education Act*. The results were presented in *Voices: Directions for Improving the Education Act* available in March of 1994.

The 1990 HIEA discussion paper justified its agenda of legislative change by stating, "The Education Act has been amended so many times since it was approved in 1977 that it no longer provides clear direction" (HIEA 1990, 3). In 1990, with a new education policy not yet presented, education policy was still tied to the directives resulting from the 1982 policy document. The 1990 "discussion paper" described the *Education Act* and asked the people for advice. It indicated that a move to districts in 1988 was forced in part by the need to provide for a Board of Secondary Education (HIEA 1990, 29). It also defined the district: "The boundary of an education district is the same as the boundary of a community although the Minister of Education may extend the boundary of a district" (HIEA 1990, 16). HIEA intimated that Divisional Boards were not going to increase their board powers through taxation or higher educational decentralisation:

Residents in education divisions pay taxes which include a tax to support schools, but this money is not collected by divisional boards. It is included in the general revenue of the Government of the Northwest Territories. Divisional boards are funded totally by the Territorial Government. (HIEA 1990, 23)

Regarding "boards," the discussion paper stated that there were only two Boards of Education -- Districts 1 and 2 in Yellowknife. HIEA described a "board" as it seems it will be defined in the 1995 *Education Act*:

A Board of Education is the most independent education authority in the Act. It was first defined in the Schools Ordinance which was revised to be the Education Act in 1977. Like Boards of Education in southern Canada, Boards of Education in the N.W.T.

hire and dismiss their own staff; negotiate their own collective agreements; own their own land, buildings and capital equipment; and receive only a portion of their funding from government. Seventy-five percent of the funding they require for the delivery of the school program is provided by the G.N.W.T. The boards collect a school tax based on property assessments for the additional twenty-five percent.... There are two Boards of Education in the N.W.T.: the Public Board of Education for District # 1 and the Separate Board of Education for District # 2 in Yellowknife. (HIEA 1990, 32)

By 1994 the amount of time spent in the legislature debating educational issues seems to have declined compared to the 1980s, and shifted to the medium of discussion papers. The Hon. Nellie Cournoyea was premier and the Hon. Richard Nerysoo, Minister of Education. The latter introduced *People: Our Focus for the Future -- A Strategy to 2010*, and explained that research on legislation across Canada would contribute to a new education act. He said to the legislature in November 1994:

We need to open up the education system through progressive legislative change.... Since [1977] the Education Act has been amended eight times and, still, parents and communities are saying that they're not really able to participate in the many important decisions made about their children's learning and in the decisions about the programs offered in their schools. Educators are saying that they need more training and more support to be effective in the classroom. Students are saying that they, too, have a role to play in their learning. Our education system needs to involve all partners in the learning process. (Debates 1994, 3)

The "Standing Committee on Legislation," headed by Chairperson Tony Whitford, MLA, responded to the Ministry's *Review of the Legislative Discussion Paper on the Draft of the New Education Act*. The Standing Committee in their paper entitled *Report on the Review of the Legislative Discussion Paper on the Draft of the New Education Act*, concluded in 1995 that they were satisfied with the 1995 Education Act draft:

The Committee especially supports the move

reflected in the proposed legislation to vest communities with additional responsibility and authority for education. This will allow community and regional priorities and differences to be reflected in education programming throughout the north, while maintaining the quality and standards of the core curriculum. (Standing Committee on Legislation 1995, 14)

Assessing Changes in Education Legislation in light of the Policy Documents of the Era

Up to 1974 education legislation was a product of agrarian roots that dated back to its foundations in 1875. After 1975 APAs began to force critical change in government through legislation, one of the first indications in education being the change to the meaning of "board." The role of "boards" and taxes in the Northwest Territories intersected with three critical areas of debate of quality, equity and control in education. (See Figure 8 for a general outline of the legislative changes.)

Schooling legislation up to 1977 provided for the formation of schools under boards of trustees empowered to collect taxes from Protestant and Catholic ratepayers. The arrangement in the Territories, as indicated by the Ordinances, saw the creation of denominational school boards in Yellowknife, and one Department of Education that was like a trustee for the other communities of the territories that were mainly Indigenous in population (larger centres like Iqaluit chafed at the restrictions imposed by Yellowknife). The Department of Education behaved like a large board, but it did not collect taxes, rather it distributed transfer payments from the federal government.

The 1977 Ordinance was changed from the 1974 version to allow boards to be formed from organisations other than ratepayers but it still stipulated taxes as the basis for the formation of boards. The only existing boards based on ratepayers in the Northwest Territories were the Districts 1 and 2 in Yellowknife. The new legislation provided room for local education councils, societies and boards. The "local education councils" would furnish some local

representation for and involvement between the school and the Department of Education.

Exchanges in the legislative debate in 1982 showed that Butters and MacQuarrie wondered why the 1977 change did not serve to address the problem, and Patterson pointed to the lack of tax bases (or the requirement of ratepayers) as the limitation to board formation. The seriousness of the problem the 1977 Ordinance was causing for regional and local representation is clear from the choice of Patterson's word "centuries," to describe a time-frame for forming boards. As a result of the limitation in the ordinance, Frobisher Bay (Iqaluit) with the largest population outside of Yellowknife would never see representation: "There was no way for decades -- if not centuries -- that even Frobisher Bay would be able to have a significant enough tax base that the citizens of that community would have any significant powers in their school" (Debates 1982, 171). In the legislature Patterson connected the issue of tax base with regional control:

I would think it would be a matter of justice that communities that do not have a significant enough tax revenue to pay the percentages that are able to be generated in a city like Yellowknife should none the less not be penalized if they have demonstrated the willingness and desire to seek more responsibility and control on a regional basis of their schools. (Debates 1982, 171)

In 1982 the Committee said, "We must develop a formula for the determination of equalization grants to ensure that communities and divisions that do not have an adequate tax base are not penalized" (LTC 1982, 50). The problem of inequity was deep and systemic. The goal of the Committee was to establish some fair system concerning tax bases, accountability, distribution and access to educational funding. The Special Committee offered guidelines which underlined the lack of territorial government accountability to the people in the communities. Because of highly centralised government and schools and regions without representation and powers, accountability to the people would be protected through legislation. LTC specified rules regarding finance:

Education grants staff will administer grants to divisional boards of education and to other educational agencies that may be eligible for them. Control and audit staff will calculate education grants. Financial planning staff will prepare budget estimates and long-term financial forecasts for the Minister of Education... audit financial statements from recipients of education grants at the minister's request. Statistical records staff will collect and preserve important financial and statistical data. (LTC 1982, 61)

Drury's identification in January 1980 of the municipal and education ordinances as inflexible and requiring changes and his emphasis on local control in his report, probably provided some pressure on members in the legislature traditionally resistant to change, to pass the new legislation, especially since Drury had proposed local control as a federally acceptable policy solution. It is also clear that the Special Committee on Education felt fairly confident that their recommendations would be passed by the legislature. This confidence is probably explained in part by the legitimising of local control through Drury's report and his criticism of the failure of the existing education ordinances to address that end. Thus a first significant step to allow local involvement in education through a legislative instrument would evolve, with the goal of bringing other jurisdictions up to par with Yellowknife's established boards and advantages.

Just such a step was envisioned in the proposal for the eight new Divisional Boards recommended by the Special Committee on Education in 1982 in the *Overview of Recommendations*. "The Minister of Education of the Northwest Territories shall introduce legislation to create Divisional Boards of education to govern schools. These boards shall seek the advice of local education authorities in making decisions that affect the communities" (LTC 1982, 17). Since the 1977 Ordinance did not allow local and regional councils to evolve to a board level, the 1982 Committee recommended the creation of divisional umbrella boards of cooperative communities that could mirror Yellowknife's. As McLaughlin explained in the legislature:



This idea of creating eight new divisional boards is our response to an initiative that was taken in 1977 with the last ordinance where it was envisioned that individual communities could progress from education committees to societies and then to boards. But the very fact that that ordinance was successful in giving local people the opportunity to advise on how their schools should be run has shown us through the public hearings that those people will never be able to be in control of their schools, like the two boards are in Yellowknife, as 60 individual little communities. So, we are suggesting that instead of having 60 communities working toward having their own boards, we are suggesting having eight new boards with these people having control over the education in their jurisdiction, just like the two in Yellowknife. (Debates 1982, 169)

Inequities between the outlying communities and Yellowknife, where school boards with significant property tax capacity under the legislative framework did not address Native and community concerns, were addressed for the first time in the 1983 legislation "An Ordinance to Amend the Education Ordinance." The Divisional Board arrangement was a decentralisation plan that improved territorial education outside Yellowknife in every area -- budgeting, curriculum, representation, accountability, and access. It was a plan that represented one of the most significant changes in education control in the Northwest Territories. The 1982 recommendation for the formation of the Divisional Boards led to policy planning that directed 1990s policy. The 1990s oriented specifically to the problem of the Divisional Boards, the powers they derived from the 1982 Special Committee and public sanction. The demands of the 1990s clashed with Divisional Board costs and their 1982 mandate to advance to greater board authority.

Generally, the education policy document of 1994 is not supported by the 1995 legislation. This is evident in sections concerning powers of the community. The 1995 *Education Act* maintains the divisional arrangements begun in the 1980s with no real increase in autonomy for local communities. Most of the important powers lie with the District Education Authorities and

Divisional Education Councils rather than with the communities proposed in POFF. The term "district" is a flexible term maintained through the education legislation. The term may be widened ("The limits of an education district must coincide with the boundaries of the community it serves but the Minister may alter the limits of the education district to meet the education needs of the community" (R.S.N.W.T. 1995, c.28, 79.3)) to include more than one community. It also facilitates an electoral model with taxation and assessment capabilities.

The "community education councils" are renamed as District Education Authorities in section 87.1 with what appears potential long-term loss of community control to a district arrangement. The terms "community education committee, council or society" and "local education authority" in the interpretation section in the 1988 *Education Act* were replaced in 1995 with "District Education Authority." This represents a major legislative change from the first appearance of community-oriented definitions in the 1977 Ordinance, an ordinance that introduced a stage of legislation establishing a precedence in the decentralisation era.

Ministry moves to increase central power seemed already evident in 1988. The definition of a "local education authority" was redefined to include community committees, societies, or councils. By 1988 a local education authority was also defined as a Board of Education, Divisional or Advisory Board, and could designate one district. The definition appears to consolidate in preparation for the 1995 "district education authority" designation as the primary territorial unit. (R.S.N.W.T. 1988, c.E-1, 4.2). Under the 1995 legislation, "Each education district shall be a member of the education division..." (R.S.N.W.T. 1995, c. E-3, 101.2). The authority running the divisions was now the "Divisional Education Council," and the legislation removed the term "board" from the earlier definition. Divisional education "boards" became divisional education "councils" in 1995.

The use of the term "community" in the document is reestablished under

the primary unit of the "district," reflecting the reality of public government following on the Nunavut Act of 1993. Complete phasing out of the legislated powers of community education councils would seem to be ensured by the year 2000:

Every community education council established or continued under the *Education Act*, R.S.N.W.T. 1988, c.E-1, in existence immediately before the coming into force of this Act, is continued as a District Education Authority under this Act with the powers and duties given to it as a community education council under that Act until the first election for the governing body of the community held, after the coming into force of this Act, in the education district which the District Education Authority represents.  
(R.S.N.W.T. 1995, c. E-3)

The 1994 POFF education discussion concerning the role of "boards" had less attention compared to 1982. In 1982 boards were intended specifically for the benefit of the territorial communities, but by 1994 POFF alludes to substantial changes in divisional powers confirmed in the 1995 *Education Act* with the new district and council definitions. There is a verification in POFF of organisational change with, despite the document's "vision," some suggestion of retrenchment from the community focus. The document acknowledges that

... there are a number of support systems already in place at the regional level. These include regional school boards and staff, regional superintendents of Education, Culture and Employment, career employment and development officers and Arctic College campuses... Most of these support systems are designed to respond to the needs of specific programs at the community level. But none are designed to support the broad range of programs and services that will be clustered together under the community learning network... reviews must consider the expanded coordinating and support mandate of regional bodies... Organizational changes will follow the reviews." (POFF 1994, 88).

The proposed four year time span required to completely overhaul the

1988 *Education Act* suggested in 1990 would coincide with the 1994 education policy document. Territorial education legislation in 1995 appears to have moved towards limiting community powers by reducing the significant powers of the "Divisional Boards," as they were established for communities in 1983. The superintendent with the Divisional Board Council (referred to as an "education body" in legislation and made up of elected officials from each district) would employ teachers with the Divisional Education Council, but by 1995 the Minister determined the length of the school year through regulations in section 151 (1-r). The recruitment and hiring of teachers were moved to the jurisdiction of the superintendent who is responsible to the Minister and works in cooperation with the Divisional Education Council. Shifts back to greater Ministerial oversight of the key areas of Native education control outlined in 1977 by Berger were evident. Control over cultural curriculum and hiring of cultural teachers remained with the District Education Authority.

"Assessment and Taxation" in the 1995 *Education Act* allows District Education Authorities the right to collect property taxes for education and allocate such taxes without approval from the Minister. The lack of property tax base in the outlying communities, however, remains largely unchanged into the 1990s.

Where an education body has been given the power to acquire funds for education purposes through taxation of property, all assessable property, as defined in the *Property Assessment and Taxation Act* ... is liable to assessment and taxation for education purposes. (R.S.N.W.T. 1995, c. 28, 135 (1))

Every District Education Authority shall... call a meeting of the ratepayers of the education district to discuss the amount required to be raised by the education district for education purposes for the next school year... (R.S.N.W.T. 1995, c. 28, 135 (2))

Where a District Education Authority acquires funds for education purposes through taxation of property, the District Education Authority does not require the approval of the Minister for that portion of its annual estimate of revenue... which relates directly to the

funds acquired by the District Education Authority through the taxation of property. (R.S.N.W.T. 1995, c. 28, 136 (5))

When the *Report on the Review of the Legislative Discussion Paper on the Draft of the New Education Act* was ready in 1995, the role of the Divisional Boards was no longer negotiable. Even though the Divisional Boards had requested increased authority: "Divisional boards of education have said that they want 'full board status' and the N.W.T. School Trustees' Association has supported them" (Voices: Directions for Improving the Education Act 1994, 60), it seems they were slated to be phased out in the new legislation.

The 1995 *Education Act* marked a point of legislative closure to the legitimization of community education authorities through law, and it removed from legislation the "Divisional Boards" formed under that name in the decentralisation plan of 1982. The 1995 *Education Act* is a noteworthy legislative marker closing out the decentralisation period in territorial education.

#### Adult Education

Emphasis placed on "Adult Education" shows remarkable growth across the documents. In 1982 the area was fragmented by federal programs of every size and shape. *Learning, Tradition and Change* recommended the formation of Arctic College to address the problem. A second problem identified by the Committee was a cultural and values issue, where southern standards were seen as preventing progress towards developing viable northern post-secondary alternatives -- the goal, said the Committee, was not to send its graduates on to Harvard or Yale, but to provide opportunities for training that were relevant to local needs and local control. Arctic College was also conceived as a Northern college with a mandate devoted to the needs of its Northern students. The 1982 document's emphasis on learning as a life-long activity that should be supported by a program of continuing education, is

picked up in 1994 as a major motif driving the community learning network system. In 1994 Adult Education had diversified into basic and advanced education and reflects the earlier 1982 plan of improving opportunities for adult education and employment in the communities.

The 1982 plan was guided to a large degree by an ideal of adult empowerment found through education programs that would facilitate decentralisation: "New policy should be supported by organizational structures that encourage the basic principle of adult education, that is, to teach adults what they themselves want to learn and to assist the devolution of educational authority so that communities can determine local needs" (LTC 1982, 144). By 1994, however, Adult Education had become the focus for systems restructuring such as it is described in the plan for Nunavut. It answers primarily to global rather than community forces -- southern standards and links to southern programs are again a part of policy. A new emphasis in decentralisation ideology moved the purpose of decentralisation away from community empowerment as a rationale for adult education, the focus in the 1980s, to the 1990s systems restructuring concern with employment. The new strategy was decentralisation for jobs (FP2 1996, 62), with community empowerment and democracy promoted and/or assumed as a consequence of the new "community learning network" strategy. Changes in Adult Education across the documents suggest that it is a prime area linking with Ministry and government centralisation.

#### Technology, Administration and Special Education

In 1982 technology was mentioned but rarely in LTC, but when it was referred to the reference helped to elaborate critical changes in territorial education policy since 1975. For example, it was suggested in 1982 that special education might want to use micro-computer technology to improve services (LTC 1982, 130), but that was the only suggestion for a significant

application of electronic technology in education.

The change in emphasis from special education to information technology in 1994 is noteworthy. In 1982 special education was treated in a separate chapter of its own, but by 1994 special education was not accorded a special chapter. The 1994 policy document cites the proportion of students in need of special education as being on the order of 25 to 30 per cent, compared to the national average of 15 per cent. It also explains there will a shortfall in special education funding. "The assessment shows a significant gap between what will be needed and what is available" (POFF 1994, 56). The document implies that at the time of the document \$9 million was spent on special education, but that \$11 million were needed. At a Northern incidence rate of 30 per cent the need funding would appear to be \$22 million, suggesting that the shortfall for a dedicated special education program was \$13 million circa 1994. The document cites 1985 projections, and it is ambiguous whether the projected \$11 million is for 1985, somewhere in between, or for the 1993-94 fiscal year. The figure appears to exclude inflation. The reference to 1985 also suggests that the area of special education has not been reviewed since that time.

While the Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples [RRCAP] has confirmed that significant health issues affect Aboriginal people at a rate generally twice the national average,<sup>25</sup> (See Appendix D) the 1994 education document did not review and renew established policies and programs for special education. The substitution in 1994 of technology as a focus in place of a chapter on special education also further identifies the 1994 document as primarily a systems rather than a community document. The possibility that the shortfall in funding for special education indicated in POFF may not be replaced (and certainly special-education funding doesn't seem slated for increase), raises troubling questions about the long term social and political consequences that will result from excluding from policy this important problem area in education in the North. Reduced attention to this area in

territorial communities, the shifting of too much responsibility in special education to the communities, will likely have long term territorial consequences.

The significant change in the orientation between the documents is represented through the organisation of chapters and the treatment of "Administration" within them. In 1982 "Administrative Structure" was one of the earlier chapters. It was also the longest chapter of the document at a length of thirty-four pages (followed by "Language Program" at eighteen pages). By 1994, administration was not afforded its own chapter. In 1982 the Department of Education was scrutinised by the Special Committee, an external body. But by 1994 the Departments generated an internal strategy document defining its position up to, and after, division. The Department recommended a model proposed as the apex of the decentralisation plan. The collective, decentralised model represented by the Special Committee in 1982 (see Fig. 6, p. 38) was recentralised under a Minister (see Fig. 7, p. 64). A shift in emphasis from the community within a territorial collective to the community as an independent entity was evident by 1994:

Community learning promotes the idea that we are each responsible for our own learning... that people in the community are the ones who should create the vision for learning and make critical decisions about it. (POFF 1994, 17)

It was noted at great length by the Committee in 1982 that bureaucratic inefficiency was affecting, at every level and with great destructiveness, the ability of the schools to serve communities and students. Bureaucratic confusion was seen as being compounded by technological problems: "The centralised computer system now being set up to serve all government departments is plagued with errors and inadequacies" (LTC 1982, 69). The Committee documented many instances of bureaucratic inefficiency. The amount of time that was required to change a program involved one to one and one half years advance planning, with two years advance planning at the school level. This problem was exacerbated by the turn-over of teachers -- "Given the



rate of staff turnover in most communities and regional offices, many staff have not held their positions long enough to establish priorities and to implement them" (LTC 1982, 67). The problem was so great that compensatory measures were taken by the interim regional offices which LTC said included "hiding money" and "reappropriating funds," and community refusal to share resources regionally (LTC 1982, 67). The effect of bureaucratic inefficiency on the integral goals and operation of schools were monumental. Budgeting, planning, personnel, program and continuity of program were all affected.

Analysis of the 1994 document, especially its apparent orientation to "partners and clients," with the APA voice filtered through an anonymous editorial "we" rather than presented directly, suggests that the "we" in the document was the system in concert with consultants. The document seems to have been intended as primarily a systems plan to reorganise government bureaucracy and the communities through the application of new technologies. The purposes of the spending priority on technology, as specifically stated in the document, was to improve the efficiency of the bureaucracy in times of fiscal restraint, and improve and streamline the delivery of services to communities after division. In addition to the impending reality of territorial division, additional pressures were being brought to bear on the system by globalisation and reduction in transfer payments. The major networking system would be arranged around the Department of Education with links to Arctic College and Social Services. Technology is the primary theme by 1994 -- "This Department considers information networks a priority for supporting all department programs and services" (POFF 1994, 36). The education document of 1994, preparing for major restructuring, proposes a technological bureaucracy networked through education and described in the document *People: Our Focus for the Future, A Strategy to 2010*.

### Educational Budgeting in the Decentralisation Years

The problem of property-based taxes was cited in the 1994 education policy document as an area of inequity that still needed to be addressed. Little advance had been made with respect to the taxation issue by 1994. Accountability of the Finance Branch in Yellowknife is by then referred to as ABBS, Accountability Based Budgeting System. By 1994, the problem of inequity was mentioned briefly in POFF in the *School Years* section:

*Inequities* -- In terms of revenue for the school system, the two Yellowknife school boards receive taxes raised by the City of Yellowknife. The current model of linking property taxation to governance of the school system creates inequities in school financing and in flexibility and authority of school boards and divisional boards. The department is working with other government departments to review the approach. (POFF 1994, 55)

Cameron and White explain the "conflicts over the [1989] formula by which Ottawa funds most of the GNWT's operations." They observe: "The GNWT claims that changes Ottawa introduced to the formula in 1989 cost it some \$540 million over the period 1990-1995" (C&W 1995, 52)<sup>26</sup>. Additional cutbacks after 1989 as outlined by Cameron and White suggest substantial pressure brought to bear on education funding.

Equity issues and taxation have increased after 1989 following the cutbacks in education spending spurring the changes brought about in the 1995 Education Act. In education the distribution of the total expenditure (Operations and Maintenance plus Capital) after 1988 shows a substantial rise in the proportion going to the Headquarters<sup>27</sup> and an actual decrease in the amounts going to the regions (see Figure 9). The same trend is shown by the Operations and Maintenance Expenditures graph which highlights the domination of this area over Capital expenditures (Compare graphs in Appendix B). The 1988 Education Act suggests that initial changes are beginning to be made with respect to potentially redefining the powers of community, the first

since the legislation reflected community empowerment in the 1982 policy document. Figure 9 suggests that territorial centralisation in the area of budgetary control is underway by 1988. Since Operations and Maintenance would reflect expenditures including administration and administrative powers, the implication is that financial and thus administrative powers are increasingly centralised.

It could be argued that the window of actual decentralisation in the Northwest Territories is very small according to the evidence in Figure 9. The graph shows a flattened area of greater agreement between the regions and Headquarters in the period between 1983, when the Divisional Boards were created and 1988, the date of the next influential *Education Act*. Colbourne's 1986 thesis which concluded, according to his research data, that there was improved Baffin Region satisfaction with territorial decentralisation policy<sup>28</sup>, tested decentralisation within the brief five year span indicated in the graph. This area in the graph suggests that actual decentralisation in terms of financing appears to have been the most equitable between the regions and headquarters in this five year span. Up to 1988 the Headquarters shows a parallel relationship with the regions.

The graph may also suggest that education amounts controlled by Headquarters increased after 1988 and that the increase may be related to the formation of the centrally controlled Divisional Boards and other educational entities, such as Arctic College. Decentralisation could also be identified, according to the graph, as beginning its decline by 1988. The costs of centralised "decentralisation policy" could be reflected in the rise indicated in the graph after 1988, with a subsequent reigning in and flattening after 1994. The regions show no recovery. The argument that decentralisation mediated regional differences, particularly the main East-West dichotomy, is supported by the evidence showing headquarters control over total Operations and Maintenance disbursements. The demand for territorial balance through an Eastern centre may be explained by such figures.

A report completed in 1991 by the Financial Management Board -- *Strength at Two Levels: Report of the Project to Review the Operations and Structures of Northern Government* [STL] -- specifically identifies the 1985-86 fiscal year as the final year in which territorial expenditures would be covered in total by the federal government (STL 1991, 8). While this report is a supporting document to the Nunavut Implementation Committee's plans, it is not referred to in POFF, the education document of 1994. The report indicates that territorial debt is one unpleasant consequence of territorial self-government. It cites the problem of lack of tax base: "With the NWT's small tax base, and already heavy tax burden, the GNWT does not have the option of significantly increasing taxes to deal with expenditure pressures and declining federal funding support" (STL 1991, 2). The report proposes deep cuts to Arctic College, and even presents an option of closing Arctic College and sustaining basic adult education via another type of facility such as regional offices (STL 1991, 122).

The cost savings resulting from this alternative would be closer to \$15 million to \$20 million rather than the total cost of Arctic College, because of the continuing cost of adult educators (\$3 million), the utilities, etc. associated with the facilities, the cost associated with third party funding and increased demands for student financial assistance (travel costs would be greater as well as tuition, etc.). (STL 1991, 122)

The report suggests that there be organisation at the territorial level and the community level -- at only "two levels." The intermediary level is "deflecting public funds from the provision of public services such as education and housing" (STL 1991, 92). The report says that

... the GNWT has relied heavily on third party boards and agencies, and there are now about 800 such structures in a territory of only 64 communities... In the non-taxed communities, there are over 320 special purpose bodies costing about \$66 million a year... Few if any of these boards and agencies were invented by communities or community governments... Community residents find the mass

of boards confusing and community talent is fractured into dozens of weak and competing structures. (STL 1991, 92-93).

A specific "third party board" or intermediary level that has "added to the cost of government and [left] the average citizen and elected official feeling powerless," says *Strength at Two Levels*, is the "divisional board of education" (STL 1991, 94). The report proposes to cut out this "third level" of government and focus powers at two levels only, the community and territorial level. That is, the Divisional Boards created in 1983 to provide a board structure to a group of communities, ensuring government accountability to them, is now defined a "third level" that does not have the accountability to government that southern models, for example, ensure when citizens pay taxes.

Most communities in the north do not have a tax base, and the Project Group heard many times that this was a major obstacle to the further development of local government in the north. Without a tax base there are no taxpayers and there are no accountability links between those providing services and those receiving services. Those receiving services become excessive in their demands because they do not pay for them, and those providing services are not held to account for how prudently and efficiently they spend the money. (STL 1991, 55)

The report suggested that public representation should be achieved through the elected officials rather than the "third party boards" that had been "selected" instead of "elected," and were thus not accountable as taxpayers to the government for "services" provided.

Accountability between elected officials and citizens, between those providing services and those receiving services, is an essential element in local government. The Project Group believes if local governments are to be expanded in scope and authority, the issue of accountability in non-tax-base communities will be met head-on. (STL 1991, 55)

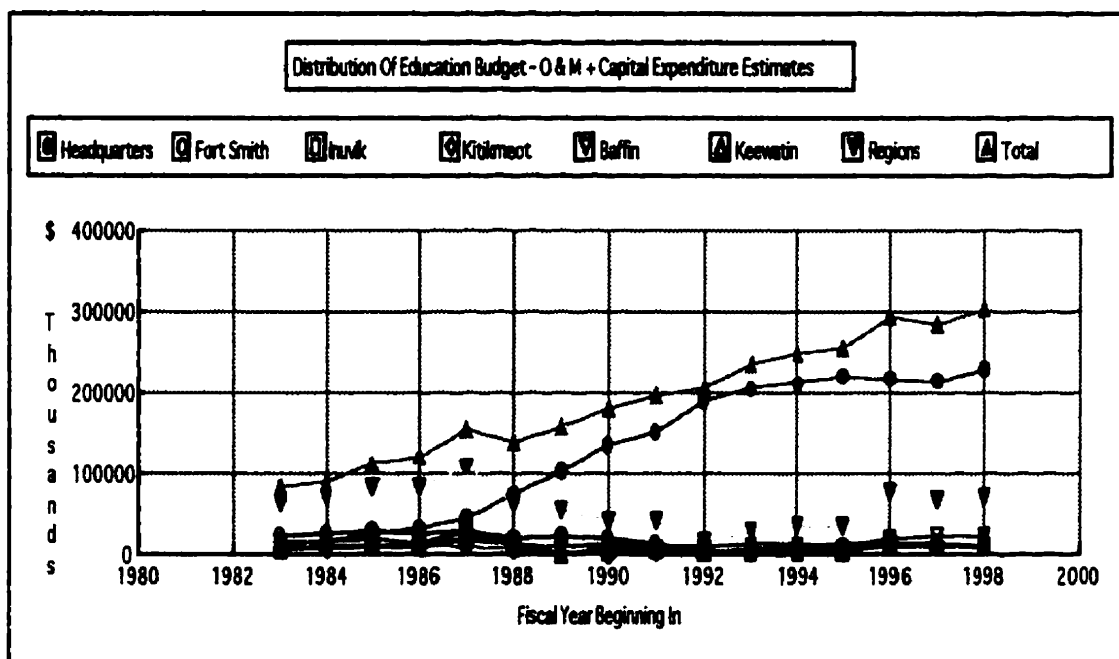
Three approaches mirrored in the 1994 education document that appeared to have responded to this territorial report aimed at "belt-tightening,"

were "block-funding" (STL 1991, 169, 183), a "community service model" (STL 1991, 169), and consolidation of education, employment, and income support programs (STL 1991, 73). Despite its exclusion from the bibliography in the POFF document of 1994, the influence of the report on POFF appears to have been significant. The significance is denoted by the similarities mentioned above. The POFF document parried STL with a "strategy," one that enhanced adult education and designated it as central to the restructuring plan. *Strength at Two Levels* confirmed that accountability and taxation issues were under increased scrutiny after 1988. The cutbacks in education spending *Strength at Two Levels* proposed, appear to have significantly influenced the 1994 education strategy. The 1995 *Education Act* appears to limit "Divisional Boards" by converting them into Divisional Councils. The Divisional Councils operated by elected councils made up of elected officials from the districts of the division, continue a system of representation.

The distribution of the total expenditure (Operations and Maintenance plus Capital) in education after 1988 shows a substantial rise in the proportion controlled by Headquarters<sup>29</sup> and an actual decrease in the amounts controlled by administrative regions in education (see Figure 9). At the same time the proportion going to Health Care (see Figure 1, p. 3) jumped significantly reflecting the 1988 transfer of health care to the territories. The health transfer established territorial self-government in the two key expenditure areas of both education and health.<sup>30</sup> Furthermore, in 1988 a land claims agreement-in-principle was signed between the Metis and Dene. This agreement would have stabilised the West before division, but the agreement failed in 1990. Since the 1988 *Education Act* did not respond to or follow a major territorial education document, it seems that the 1988 Act consolidated the 1983 Amendment and made some preliminary adjustments to reposition for later changes. The 1995 *Education Act* primarily reacted to various influences, particularly the fiscal pressure and the fiscal outlook as outlined in *Strength at Two Levels*. That is, it followed on government response to the new factor of

territorial debt that was cited as a reality after the fiscal year 1985-1986.

The 1988 *Education Act* began to position itself to amalgamate the various local entities formed over the years into a district plan, and to reposition for the changes in the 1995 *Education Act*. The 1988 *Education Act* also, nonetheless, retained the Divisional Boards and their powers thus maintaining decentralisation policy to some extent.



**Figure 9. Source: See Appendix C**

**Note:** The graph shows distribution of NWT budget to Headquarters and the Administrative Regions for Education Operations and Maintenance plus Capital amounts. Headquarters, the Ministry (or Department) of Education, located in Yellowknife, disperses Annual Operations & Maintenance contributions to Education Authorities, presently to Yellowknife District Education Authorities and Divisional Education Councils, for the operation of school programs. For example, in 1997-98 Education Authority Contributions made up 53.5 per cent of the amount of money going to Operations and Maintenance for Education, Culture and Employment (1997-98 Main Estimates, 9-29).

According to this thesis' analysis of the legislative changes in education, the unmistakable influence of education in territorial politics is suggested by what seems the phasing in of the district plan to replace community committees, societies and councils, as early as 1988, and the response of education legislation to the change in the funding formula and territorial belt-tightening. The education document POFF may also be assessed, following on these factors, as strategically positioning education as the territorial program largely directing the restructuring plan, with a strategy designed to protect the gains made in its programs (particularly Arctic College) through increased central control.

Figure 1 (see p. 3) shows that from the 1992-1993 fiscal year there was a sharp increase in the percentage of total expenditure, as education became a priority in territorial spending. The increase in investment in education could be explained by a number of factors. First of all, spending would respond to the amalgamation of Education with Culture and Employment in 1992 as well as the implementation of the 1994 education policy strategy which was the "community learning network." The increase may also be explained by finalisation of the *Nunavut Act* in 1993 confirming public government and the role that education (protected as a component of government in the Nunavut Agreement) would play in new Eastern territorial government, and could play in the West (based on the precedence set by Nunavut). The Headquarters expenditure increase is also explained by the government's centralisation plan following the last fiscal year (1985-86) in which territorial expenditures were identified as federally covered. A further point is that "The Commission for Constitutional Development" under Jim Bourque specifically recommended central government at the completion of its report *Working Toward a Common Future* in April 1992.<sup>31</sup> Despite financial belt-tightening, education has increased in relative fiscal territorial importance from 1993. This also supports identification of the 1994 education document as a significant systems restructuring document leading up to territorial division.



Finally, Figure 9 shows an education system where the school-based approach of the 1980s reverts to central control of expenditures and administration. Territorial legislation and fiscal policies of the last two decades follow the international trend outlined in *The Reconstruction of Education: Quality, Equality and Control* (1996). International research in education shows a decline in decentralisation policy in the mid to late 1980s and increasing central control into the 1990s:

During the early 1980s, the main emphasis in school improvement efforts in most developed nations was a school-based approach. However, in the last half of the 1980s and the early 1990s the emphasis in policy and governance shifted more towards an approach based upon centrally determined quality control (Chapman, Boyd, Lander and Reynolds 1996, back page abstract).

The territorial changes over the 25 years examined here provide a case study supporting trends identified world-wide.

#### The Role of Education in Territorial Division

The Northwest Territories education experience is congruent with La Noue's observation derived from his urban decentralisation policy research: "it is in the field of education where the most significant [decentralisation] implementation occurred... The education field is apt to be a serious test of whether the goals sought by reforms -- greater responsiveness, efficiency, increased citizen participation -- can in fact be achieved" (La Noue 1973, 4). The evidence supports education as a major area for application of territorial public decentralisation policy to address not only the factors La Noue outlines, but also Native participation and the problem of little tax base.

The Dene and Inuit were aligned along an East-West division observed and described by Carrothers in 1966. He wrote "... there is no pan-arctic socio-cultural structure. The East and the West are divided down ethnic lines, in terms of the aboriginal population, along the tree line from Tuktoyaktuk in the

north-west to Churchill, Manitoba, in the south-east" (Carrothers 1966, 13-14). The East-West divide means that there is a dominant Inuktitut population in the Eastern Arctic to which an education program could and should be focused for more efficiency and curriculum quality. The Eastern Inuit APA is recognised in the existence of a split page arrangement accommodating Inuktitut and English in the 1982 document. The document proposes East and West Centres for Learning and Teaching, and an East and West Arctic college.

Major interests in the East-West divide were represented by two powerful Native politicians, Curley as the head of the Inuit Tapirisat, and Cournoyea, head of COPE and representative for the Western Inuvialuit. Division was also encouraged by the West's Nellie Cournoyea working with the East's Tagak Curley for more regional Native control. The West's Cournoyea was a major policy actor in the education document of 1982 and a key political figure in the division plebiscite. Inequities in education funding were a significant factor forcing decentralisation policy to perform as an interim step to division. The regional arrangements that Tagak Curley says were satisfactory to the East suggest that the majority of Inuit in the Eastern Arctic were developing significant regional identity. The forming of the Baffin Regional Council, and its protection through legislation was indicative of the political regionalism forming in the East. Patterson's role as a politician and MLA representing Iqaluit (formed from a military base with a large non-Native community) combined with his designation as Minister of Education was a significant political development. Patterson would provide regional representation in the Department of Education that would mediate the East-West factionalism resulting from Inuit powers combined with growing non-Native and Native Eastern Arctic administrative dissatisfaction with centralised control and power.

The roots of Baffin regional powers can be traced through legislation confirming the formation of the Baffin Regional Council and its derivative, the Baffin Regional Education Society. The West's Rae-Edzo had their school society, formed from community members rather than ratepayers, recognised in

ordinance in 1977. The Divisional Boards facilitated regional curriculum planning that represented regional needs, particularly for the Eastern Arctic. The three large Divisional Boards of Baffin, Keewatin, and Kitikmeot, particularly Baffin, addressed the East-West inequity existing prior to *Learning: Tradition and Change in the Northwest Territories*. Indeed, by 1990, there is evidence that the Eastern Arctic block maintained the decentralisation plan (refer to Fig. 3, p. 8). According to *Help Improve the Education Act* [HIEA] by 1990 there are seven divisional boards with the town of Inuvik and five communities of the South Slave not administered by a Divisional Board (HIEA 1990, 21).

Carrothers' recommendation against division in 1966 was a decision based on what he perceived to be Eastern Native political immaturity. The concession to the West was the transfer of the seat of government to Yellowknife from Ottawa. This established the potential for growth, which was mainly non-Native, in the West. The result could be assessed as limiting the potential for gradual, incremental Eastern political growth. Over time the West showed more APPMs involved with the system, but the East has since secured a similar arrangement through guarantees of Inuit participation in government in the Nunavut Agreement. Carrothers said in 1966 that division was inevitable and should be reviewed in ten years. Drury delayed the division issue again in 1979, but the territorial plebiscite established the primacy of division as a political priority in 1982. Costs of division could be viewed as a result of the delay and the decision that Carrothers made concerning development of the Eastern Arctic. The political response to the East-West divide was the decentralisation of powers from Yellowknife, and the territorial decentralisation plan was certainly one product of Carrothers' recommendations. Even though Carrothers said he was protecting the naive immature East from aggrandising Eastern politicians who he believed would take over if division occurred at that time, the build-up in Yellowknife may well have exposed the East to more inequity than would have occurred under an early division plan. The centralised powers of Yellowknife were so extensive over education in 1982 that the

territorial regional inequity issue in the Northwest Territories before division, was probably among the most noteworthy of Canadian regional equity problems.

The federal government through Drury responded to Native demands by pressing for improved public local government as a compromise to territorial fragmentation through land claims. Territorial policy has shown ambivalence to devolution within the post-1906 territory, as territorial governments had been fighting hard against systemically entrenched federal system powers, for provincial type powers since the 1950s. Division removed decentralisation policy as a factor directing territorial political identity. Decentralisation policy was an alternative to the costs of division, and an alternative to the significant potential losses to the West if division was to occur. Decentralisation policy thus had substantial Western benefits as a policy. The "goals sought by the reforms" were realised as the East developed towards the political autonomy now found through Nunavut with Iqaluit as capital. Decentralisation policy was unsuccessful in large measure because it was unable to solve the underlying problem of inequity and a lack of tax base in the East through the decentralisation program. The devolution of powers from the federal government to Yellowknife after Carrothers, through to the formation of the first legislature in 1975, has resulted in the further incremental step of devolution of powers to an Eastern Arctic government.

Debate in the legislature in 1982 showed the degree and nature of centralisation in Yellowknife and the problem with funding formulas, especially for the major expenditure area of education, and the Eastern demand for a new tax funding formula. Eastern demands for more control over education lead to and maintained decentralisation policy. The policy facilitated the development of Eastern political growth and the Inuit-System partnership that strengthened the possibility of division. Figure 9 suggests that Headquarters as a Western entity, notwithstanding the fact that it distributes grants, maintenance and capital amounts to the territories generally, would still strengthen the West over the East and provide Western weight.

The Inuit concession to public government in exchange for public service jobs, suggests, like the Nunavut Act itself, that division was a product of the Inuit land claim and a strong Eastern system wanting greater control over transfer payments in the large governmental Department of Education. The restructuring program after division is described through the systems-oriented document of 1994, with the major expenditure area of education as the primary focus for restructuring. As mentioned at the outset of the thesis, territorial expenditure is highest in the Department of Education, Culture and Employment. That expenditure is followed by expenditures in Health and Social Services. In the policy document of 1994 it was proposed that Social Services be linked with education in the systems restructuring.

This thesis shows that decentralisation policy was particularly important to the Eastern Arctic of the territories since centralisation had created problems of inequity. Once the East-West divide was alleviated through the guarantee of division and public government in 1993, legislation and policy moved toward centralisation in Iqaluit and recentralisation in Yellowknife. This outcome points to some of the reasons why decentralisation policy in the Northwest Territories has never been fully realised at the local level. It was a policy strategy mediating Eastern demands for control. The education story helps to shed more light on existing academic observations that decentralisation policies moving powers to the local level in the territories have been ambivalent: "It would seem that the current trend is for the GNWT to guard key aspects of its newly devolved responsibilities at the territorial level" (Graham 1990, 220). Even though *Strength at Two Levels* recognised that powers had still not been delivered to the community, the powerful area of education through the 1995 *Education Act* increases "district" rather than "community" powers. The education legislation suggests that the two-level plan proposed by the Financial Management Board in 1990 is also a centralisation plan, since education legislation shows that community powers are limited under public government by tax base powers, the Constitution and other Acts.

Ironically, legislation seems to have gone full circle over the ten years leading to the *Education Act* in 1995. This legislation reverts to the district model that existed as the only educational entity defining jurisdictions prior to the 1977 changes. The protections providing communities some powers over education are reduced by the 1995 *Education Act*. Boards are redefined as tax based. But Aboriginal rights are protected in agreements signed with the federal government and protect substantial powers. Bernard (1994) asserts:

Modern aboriginal land claims agreements can now be seen as an integral part of the territorial constitutions. The agreements recognize and affirm a wide range of rights in relation to lands and resources, including management of these matters. The agreements create "institutions of public government" and various administrative bodies which have protection under the Constitution of Canada as a result of s.35 of the *Constitution Act*, 1982. The provisions of the modern day treaties in many cases are paramount in situations where a federal or territorial law is in conflict with the aboriginal land claim agreement. The more recent agreements, some of which are still under negotiation, contain provisions that contemplate the establishment of self-government arrangements. (Bernard 1994, 132)

#### Nunavut and Educational Centralisation

In the area of education, the Nunavut Implementation Committee's [NIC's] stated orientation through its two reports *Footprints* [FP1] (1995) and *Footprints 2* [FP2] (1996) has been that Nunavut will represent a decentralised government generally, and that the decentralisation principle will extend to education. However, the Nunavut Implementation Committee's direct centralising move to disassemble the established regional divisions, reverses the very structure which defined educational decentralisation during the decentralisation era. The plan is spelled out in Recommendation 5-4 in *Footprints 2*.

The NIC recommends that, because of their size and significance, the future of regional education and health boards not await the general review.... In

relation to education, the NIC recommends that the three existing regional boards be merged and redefined as a single Board of Education... (FP2 1996, 50)

The apparent assumption that decentralisation at the regional level is no longer necessary after division contradicts the reality of the geographical divide between Baffin and Keewatin and Kitikmeot lying West across Hudson's Bay. These regional divisions still represent cultural and linguistic distinctions that exist within the territory of Nunavut.<sup>2</sup>

Centralisation includes the adoption within Nunavut of modes of administration that were, before division, contentious and unpopular in the Eastern Arctic of N.W.T. However, the centralisation initiative which defers to the previously unpopular premise of Yellowknife's "overall control of education," is justified according to NIC in *Footprints*:

In the case of education, regional boards in Nunavut emerged and evolved as structures which could provide a degree of regional input while ensuring that Yellowknife retained overall control of education across the NWT... boards were established essentially in response to the early physical, social and political distance of GNWT headquarters from Nunavut... The key question, then, is the degree to which the political realities of Nunavut alter, and perhaps displace, the rationale for the existence and operation of the boards as they are today. (FP1 1995, 26)

*Footprints* alludes to resistance against the impending demise of regional representation and confirms the political nature of the organisations.

Many dedicated community delegates -- selected by individual community education councils -- put in a great deal of hard work to ensure that the school systems in the three regions developed policies and programs which better reflected the needs of the communities. That being said, the regional boards -- like any other management structure -- have also developed their own momentum and agendas. (FP1 1995, 2)

The regional councils formed, strengthened, and experienced through the era of decentralisation wish to maintain their jurisdiction. A question exists about

the consequences of too great a disassembling of the long fought for regional representation.

In the case of the proposed Nunavut Department of Education, decentralisation will be recognised through the creation of three regional offices to be located in Pangnirtung, Baker Lake and Kugluktuk (FP2 1996, E.2). The departmental office, following on the historical predominance of Iqaluit in education in the Eastern Arctic, will be located in Iqaluit. Will the old regional organisations counter the Nunavut proposal due to factionalism within Nunavut between Baffin, Keewatin and Kitikmeot? These divisions were formed in 1982 based on the homogeneity of the Inuit within them. Iqaluit (political base for the Baffin Regional Council) is now the capital designate of Nunavut and also the Departmental Headquarters for education. The NIC specifies in *Footprints 2*:

Currently, regional councils, periodically bringing together the mayors within a region, exist in Kitikmeot and Keewatin. A Baffin Regional Council existed for a number of years but was recently wound up.... The NIC takes the view that the mayors, local councillors and citizens of each region should examine the utility of maintaining regional councils having the kinds of advocacy and advisory functions that they now perform.... It should be noted that the Nunavut Government could easily be designed to accommodate differing regional preferences in regard to regional councils, leaders meetings, and other methods of reliable regional opinion gathering. (FP2 1996, 27)

The administrative apparatus being promoted, however, leans towards a small central department overseeing many dispersed "community learning networks." The territorial situation is compared with the changes contemplated in Ontario:

It is worth noting that there is a continuing trend in provinces across Canada to consolidate existing regional boards and, in some cases, do away with them altogether. A recent example is the Government of Ontario's musings about the wholesale elimination of school boards or their radical restructuring so as to confine responsibility



for curriculum development and collective bargaining to the relevant provincial ministry (FP2 1996, 51).

Western territorial influence will remain strong in education until Nunavut is on its feet and possibly beyond. Cameron and White (1995) explain that the new territory of Nunavut, while having a responsible viable government in place, will contract out programs and services in many areas until such time as they are prepared to take on the services within the territory.

NIC strongly favours a minimal phase-in period.... This poses some interesting challenges to the implementation process. Canada, the GNWT and the TFN [Tungavik Federation of Nunavut] agreed that provision should be made for the possibility of contracting-out delivery, on an interim basis, of many programs for which the Nunavut Government will be responsible. The Nunavut Act authorizes such contracts, and if this approach is taken it is possible that many of these contracted management services will be negotiated with the western territorial government. (C&W 1995, 101-102)

Even though decentralisation is promoted, the new Nunavut education department appears to be modelling itself to some degree on the territorial centralised model -- the same model that forced the formation of the Baffin Regional Council in the 1970s.

Infrastructure after division in 1999 and education are integrally and politically linked through legislation. The Nunavut Agreement increases the responsibility and political power of the Department of Education. The Nunavut Act establishes and confirms public government. Education is one of the foundations of public government and a powerful governmental department. Not only does it educate, but it also employs. The Nunavut Agreement establishes education as a key system area of control that may well exceed, for example, the 1998-99 estimated territorial proportion of 25.95 percent of the budget, in the post-division years. Within Nunavut, education is an area of governmental focus, that points to recentralisation rather than decentralisation. A new emphasis in decentralisation ideology has moved the purpose of

decentralisation away from community empowerment that creates employment, the focus in the 1980s, to the 1990s focus on employment leading to community empowerment. The new strategy is decentralisation for jobs (FP2 1996, 62).

The Nunavut Implementation Committee policy and planning documents suggest that Iqaluit is now aiming to centralise powers in one Department of Education. Paralleling this, the tax inequity issue had diminished to a paragraph in the 1994 education policy. Nunavut Implementation Committee wants to "[shrink] the number of education boards from three to one" (FP1 1995, 27), and dissolve the regional councils (FP1 1995, 27). The new arrangement suggested is "a 10 to 12 person Nunavut Board of Education, with members elected directly [on the basis of Nunavut Legislative Assembly electoral constituencies]" (FP1 1995, 27). The proposal plans to disassemble the three Divisional Boards making up Nunavut, and create one board of education based on electoral districts. This plan will presumably end community power at the divisional board level as was recommended in *Strength at Two Levels*. The powers of Yellowknife, decried in 1982, arise legitimated as a model within Nunavut. "In the case of education, regional boards in Nunavut emerged and evolved as structures which could provide a degree of regional input while ensuring that Yellowknife retained overall control of education across the NWT" (FP1 1995, 26).

Since territorial history has shown how Yellowknife as the headquarters for the Department of Education was initially highly centralised without the built-in protection of regional powers through Divisional Boards, the Nunavut Department of Education could also centralise to a degree that would lessen community involvement in the process. Centralised departments which are not accountable to the communities based on a power to tax, but are government departments responsible for transferring education grants, in the case of Yellowknife, had allegiance to the system and its inefficient bureaucracy rather than to the communities and the people. The powers of the system were

intended to be balanced by legislated local powers focused at the divisional board level through 1983 legislation. On the other hand, the lack of tax base has produced a community assumption that the public do not play any role in paying for the schools in their community. By extension, the Northern public are still not experiencing the kind of control that would be forthcoming through the power of "boards" if they were. In the case of a system with very little tax base, territorial education policy has shown that the intermediary level is much more critical as it is a means of protecting local representation, checking centralisation, and ultimately protecting democracy.

The importance of efficient restructuring is a major territorial challenge leading up to division. The 1994 education policy document POFF reflected this focus by highlighting the integral position education had in decentralisation policy and in restructuring. To the extent that bureaucratic inefficiency was a major problem addressed in 1982, the restructuring program in the 1990s points to a level of efficiency that may possibly make the system inaccessible through centralisation. Of greater concern perhaps, is that the networking system will track an individual's history from grade school through to their employer and make it accessible to any government department. Such forms of system efficiency also require checks and balances, not only for the protection of Native and community interests, but also for the protection of the rights of the individual. The question for the future is whether the the new divisional/district arrangement can protect local powers sufficiently and provide the necessary balance between central and community control.

#### Western Northwest Territories and Centralisation

The future role of territorial government is unclear in the Western Northwest Territories. Historically Treaties 8 and 11 set the terms between the Aboriginal Treaty parties specifically and the federal government. These parties, made up of the Deh Cho, Dog Ribs, and Slaveys, would accept territorial government only on the condition of extensive self-government. This

situation and the lack of legitimacy and faith in the territorial government among the Western Native population, will leave the Western Northwest Territories, after division, in perhaps more unstable a condition than before division. The design of a Western constitution is made more difficult, compared to Nunavut, by the lack of homogeneity and the significant political differences between the groups. It could be argued that, to a significant degree, the stability of the West was maintained through its centralised administrative powers over the entire Territories. Thus the adoption of the decentralisation strategy in the area of education by Headquarters in the years before division provided substantial stability to the West and may be understood as politically pragmatic policy for the West during the era.

Cameron and White write that,

"the inherent instability that characterizes the institutions of public government in the NWT thus render the legitimacy of the GNWT, and its successor in the Western Arctic, highly problematic. The GNWT is clearly a government in transition faced with an extraordinarily complex set of political and constitutional forces. (C&W 1995, 44)

An additional factor concerning the Western Northwest Territories is the power of the existing governmental system based on a tradition of centralisation with Yellowknife at the core: "the GNWT is a powerful force for the retention of extensive public government, one with strong central institutions" (C&W, 1995, 79). Cameron and White also point out that the Metis and the non-Aboriginal people (such as the Association of Western Tax-Based Municipalities) are supporters of territorial centralisation (C&W 1995, 73). The "Commission for Constitutional Development" under Jim Bourque, former president of the Metis Association, recommended centrally controlled government with a district organisation. Territorial education legislation in the 1995 *Education Act* particularly reflected the district model suggested by the Commission for the Western N.W.T. at the completion of the report *Working Toward a Common Future* in 1992.<sup>3</sup>

The systems document of 1994 which is a product of Education Headquarters in Yellowknife, establishes the role of Western government in the Western half after division and creates the education strategy spelled out in the document to provide for the transition. The document appears to leave whatever options Nunavut chooses open to it after 1999, but the document holds greater authority in the Western Northwest Territories as the main Western policy strategy pending revision. Presumably the general plan or philosophy remains valid until 2010 (about 15 years from POFF) and the design of a new education policy document. The sense of the document as coping with not only with Western administrative arrangements and Aboriginal self-government, but also with territorial division, shapes its most compelling message. The five years leading up to division in 1999 are seen as the critical years in the document:

There is a significant event on the horizon which overshadows all others -- division of the N.W.T. and the creation of Nunavut in 1999. Transfer of programs are scheduled to occur at different times. But after 1999, everything within government, including this plan, will have to be re-examined and the new governments will decide the future.

Because of the significance of division, we feel that much of the work must take place over the next five years -- in preparation for division -- although it may still be possible for aspects of the plan to be implemented after that date.

Therefore, it seems logical to plan implementation of as much of the strategy as possible over the next five years, according to the availability of resources. (POFF 1994, 98)

Extrapolating from Cameron and White's observations about central powers in the West, and the highly divisive powers struggling within and against it, the position of government established in the 1994 policy document would suggest that reestablishing strong Western centralisation in education after division is key to political position within Canada, and territorial financial, social and political stability. The 1995 *Education Act* appears arranged to accommodate the West under a strong central Department of Education.

Decentralisation as historically alternating with centralisation, and as a policy strategy

1. Historical alternation with centralisation: The decline of the move to decentralisation may be seen as cyclical in nature. A cyclical explanation suggests that territorial indicators will show tendencies toward increasing and protecting central powers parallel national and global trends, and that these will follow on a sustained period of decentralisation. The influences prompting these more global trends appear to reflect a shift in social values and the possible peaking of a cycle that is Western in scope. The 1994 policy document refers to changes beyond its control. Globalisation and changes in technology are the "dominant *motifs*" directing new centralising forces in territorial politics: "[E]ach succeeding age has taken up anew the continuing decentralist-centralist debate" (LaNoue 1). In education, progressive liberal values embrace a new era of technologically-derived centralism, a social policy response to a new epoch in human history, the globalised information age. The policy approach in the 1990s shows international shifts towards greater central control in education moving away from a school-based emphasis (Chapman et al. 1996)

2. Political strategy: Eliason (1996) wrote, "Decentralization's popularity derives from its promise of bringing about change in administrative or governance relations".... "Most decentralization initiatives are launched and supervised from the so-called centre of the existing system of educational governance. Why should politicians and bureaucrats in the central administration advocate decentralization" (Eliason 1996, 88-90)? Division of the N.W.T. was predicted but delayed by Carrothers and by circumstances. Drury, as the Special Representative to the federal government, established that improved local public government was an acceptable federal position. Decentralisation was adapted to territorial political issues at both the regional and local level. The demise of decentralisation policy in education indicated by

the documents, legislation and other evidence, suggests that it was a strategy utilised to manage the essential differences existing between the Western and the Eastern territories. Division with central control in Iqaluit creates a new "structure within which the game is played." After the "Sword of Damocles" of division that had been hanging over the Northwest Territories fell, the central impetus to advocate decentralisation policy was politically altered, and strategies to centralise are resurgent.

### Conclusion

While territorial control over education is generally attributed to Carrothers, the documents, legislation and other evidence show that territorial control over education did not begin until crucial changes were introduced into legislation after the recommendations by the Special Committee on Education in *Learning: Tradition and Change in the Northwest Territories*. Territorial control over education thus can be more accurately attributed to the year 1982 when the Special Committee finished its report and tabled it in the legislature. Some changes were made to 1977 legislation, but substantial changes were reflected in the 1983 Amendment particularly through the formation of "Divisional Boards."

The 1982 education document *Learning: Tradition and Change in the Northwest Territories* belongs with the most progressive of the Canadian education documents. It may be classed with the Hall Dennis report as a major document triggering critical policy changes in education. The 1982 document is thus key to unlocking the relevance of the era of decentralisation policy, not only in Northwest Territories education but in Northwest Territories policy generally. Within the context of the earlier reports by Carrothers, Berger and Drury and the ensuing legislative debate, the reasons for division's eventual emerge are clarified and broadened. The balance was tipped in favour of territorial division with the addition of Inuit regionalisation and politics.

The 1994 policy document was primarily concerned with restructuring after division and was mainly a systems document. The document showed that education was a primary government area to which decentralisation policy was applied, and a primary area that pressed for such policy. Education is also an essential area affected by division and restructuring. The 1994 education document established the position of the department after division and provided a flexible framework for smooth division, but centralisation was key to the strategy. The decentralisation era in territorial education primarily addressed the East-West divide, and the changes leading up to division in 1999 suggest that system centralisation recovered once division was guaranteed.

The Committee Report of 1982 reflected increased APA involvement with territorial affairs through system change. The involvement of key Native players in the document -- Cournoyea, Curley and Sayine along with key system players such as Patterson show the impact of Native politicians in the creation of a governmental system that would respond to Native demands for government accountability in the dispersed communities. Looking across the documents, legislation and other evidence, the APA voice in the 1994 education document had changed substantially from 1982. By 1994, the major policy statement of the time conveyed the value of "community" but through a second-level voice directed to clients and partners. The problem focus motivating the policy response had changed from classroom level problems such as dropouts, irrelevant programs and unresponsive teachers to global problems of government change, fiscal restraint, and technology. At the same time that local control remained a public policy issue, the response in 1994 policy and legislation was diverging from the 1983 legislation. The 1983 legislation that created Divisional Boards and Community Education Councils that were to act as umbrellas of protection to community-level councils, was going to be replaced by Northern district designations and District Education Authorities. Regional and divisional structures were under review and, according to the NIC, for example, would possibly become redundant after division. The 1995



*Education Act* reestablishes tax based education bodies.

In 1982 special education was an area for substantial consideration within the education document, but by 1994 a chapter on technology supplants this concern. The possibility that the shortfall in funding for special education may not be replaced or increased, raises troubling questions about the long term social and political consequences that will result from excluding from policy this important problem area in education in the North. Technology was the area of priority by 1994., and technology underlay the development of the community learning network which was a systems arrangement facilitating education restructuring. Technology as the underlying factor shaping the "community learning network" has disadvantages and advantages. The advantage of an efficient bureaucratic infrastructure may reduce systems costs in the long term, and potentially increase community autonomy in the long term. The 1982 problems with bureaucratic inefficiency showed that an efficient bureaucracy would enhance education in all areas, especially curriculum planning and programs. On the other hand, changes in legislation shaping community level organisations through the centralising powers of technology give cause for concern regarding community powers and individual rights in the long term. The success of what seems an excellent education decentralisation plan -- the community learning network -- will be the focus for further academic or applied policy analysis in the future.

With the lessening of the APA voices in the 1994 document, the authority of education community authorities reduced, and the legislative emphasis on districts increased, with plans in Nunavut to disassemble the Divisional Boards and regional councils, central powers in education were strengthened even as the community learning network was established in policy. The graphed fiscal data suggests this is the case (refer to Figure 9). Centralisation in education legislation by 1994 was, however, directed by Aboriginal Public Policy Makers who participated in government and who as participants in territorial self-government had a direct interest in containing

territorial debt and maintaining central control. A cost of territorial self-government was territorial debt and the requirement to reconsider the issue of accountability. The situation spelled out by Drury in Recommendation 6.15 remained: "As the federal taxpayer will continue to pay a substantial portion of GNWT costs, it is incumbent on the GNWT to ensure its budget credibility with the federal government" (Drury 1980, 127). The territorial education story had thus evolved to consider "authentic stewardship" leading to authentic "control over education." The territorial story underlines Paquette's (1986) observation that successful local education control can be sustained, but that it requires some measure of local fiscal responsibility and involvement.

Over the decentralisation era, then, the emphasis shifted from the 1980s focus of government accountability to the public, to government demands for public accountability (as evidenced in *Strength at Two Levels*). Such accountability was sought through a disassembling of the "third level" Divisional Boards with a district arrangement that allowed for formation of bodies based on taxation. While this may seem a regression to pre-1980s education legislation, positive gains were made in the years under review. The decentralisation era made substantial changes to education policy. The contribution of the decentralisation era to education reform in the Northwest Territories provided for representation, representation at a "district" level through an elected entity that represents the district schools. Representation at a divisional level was also maintained. At the Divisional Education Council level, each district education authority is represented by one official and this body of officials negotiates with a superintendent in key areas of school year length, recruitment of teachers, and culture-curriculum budget and teaching staff. These were the core areas of accountability identified by communities in the 1980s. A contribution of the decentralisation era was the establishment of a system providing better territorial public involvement with education without tax base limitations. On the other hand, a system of accountability of public to government, a predominant concern of the 1990s, led to reinstatement of tax

base as a feature of board status. The extent to which local and regional involvement will be unfavourably affected by the 1995 legislation remains to be analysed in the future.

An unfortunate by-product of division is expenditure related to division and start-up costs that squeeze the budget and force centralisation in order to manage them. The Northwest Territories education story shows that decentralisation policy, in a scenario where tax base is minimal and where centralisation predominates due to the condition of transfer payments, challenges fiscal resources in times of budgetary restraint. Traditionally, Yellowknife's powers undermined the role of communities in territorial politics, and centralisation created bureaucratic inefficiency extending down to the community level preventing all levels of administration from making the necessary changes at the local level in budgeting, program, personnel, and administrative areas that were vital to a responsive viable community school. Government accountability to the people was demanded. By the 1990s central government is run from a legislature representing the people. A lack of public accountability for expenditure can no longer be sustained under a territorial government faced with increasing fiscal responsibility after 1986.

The Northwest Territories education case also shows that decentralisation policy was incremental in nature and that certain points of change could be identified -- such as 1967 when territorial powers increased after the Carrothers Report; 1975 when a representative legislature was formed; 1988 with a consolidated *Education Act*; and 1993 when public government was confirmed in the Eastern Arctic through the *Nunavut Act*. A federal funding-formula in 1988 shifted accountability back to the public, in turn stimulating policies (such as those evident in education legislation) pressing for public accountability. Claw-back of powers from middle level entities (such as Divisional Boards) without tax accountability mechanisms were predictable. The division of the Northwest Territories creates a more equitable arrangement by which transfer payments and the administration that accompanies them, may be

distributed. Transfer payments will be distributed to an Eastern and a Western centre after 1999. These centres will, in turn, manage their amounts for their jurisdictions with much renewed central control. Over time such control under an incremental plan would, ideally, be decentralised to the districts.

Centralisation is a key system focus particularly under territorial belt-tightening. The issue of the financial expense of division and national public monitoring of the expense, suggests that each territory after division must and will centralise. Centralisation has benefits -- one of which is budget management -- which will be crucial to Nunavut's success and acceptance by Canadians, and critical to the Nunavut economy and economic rating in the coming years. New centralisation policy that is generated by a representative government is key. Representation is an essential component to modern centralisation in the Northwest Territories. All the evidence suggests that centralisation, in many respects, is absolutely essential to the success of each new territory after April 1, 1999. Centralised government continues to be a factor in the North and division will require centralisation to manage the extensive bureaucratic changes and the demand on budgets.

The sustainable first stages of future decentralisation such as are envisioned through regional education offices, for example, should be nurtured and protected as they create the future base for distribution of powers and they provide a means by which the prior progress made through councils and authorities may be rejuvenated to some extent. Good centralisation policy could allow room for attention to the critical concern in education -- the children -- the human capital for the future. Increased funding to special education and renewed attention to the school years under a strong central government would yield future benefits to the divided territory.

The thesis was a product of my interest in decentralisation and community control as a pre-eminent territorial policy. The language of decentralisation has permeated territorial education policy since the 1982 policy document. I chose to research the issue when my interest was piqued

after reading the 1994 education policy document. The purpose of the thesis was not to cast the "era" as the lost golden years after division. Certainly, the study suggests that the decentralisation plan through the Divisional Boards became unsustainable with the prospect of division, the costs of division, technology and territorial self-government. The language of public policy in Northwest Territories education has been decentralisation, and the political pressures generated by the issues primarily of representation, accountability, tax base, and employment in the communities, provided and still provide the essential ingredients that would define decentralisation as a necessary territorial ideology. The purpose of the thesis was to provide some insights through an examination of the twenty-five year time frame in a key political area -- education. What follows on the era? The evidence suggests that recentralisation is inevitable, but that central government will represent the collective in each territory much more so than it has ever done before. The education legislation suggests that public government and local control, particularly local control without a tax base, are mutually exclusive. Nonetheless, regional organisation through divisional councils should reemerge as an important element to representation in the territories after division and a period of centralisation.

Finally, the three significant contributions of the decentralisation era to the education policy at the millennium are the maintenance of some form of local representation through District Education Authorities and Divisional Education Council; the legitimation and protection through legislation of curriculum that is cultural; and the development of Arctic College. The changes in the 1990s point to the possibility of active future district "stewardship," of education through an integral component of education control -- contribution. As Paquette observed, "There is... simply no precedent against which to measure the prospects for meaningful local control in the absence of *any* contribution to the financing of education" (Paquette 1986, 30).

Appendix A<sup>34</sup>

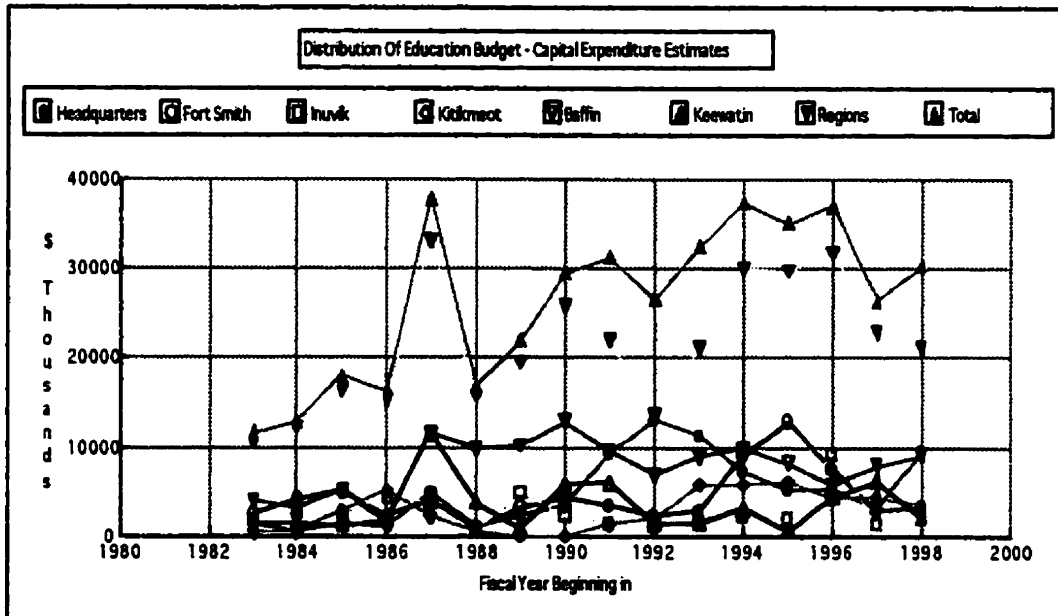
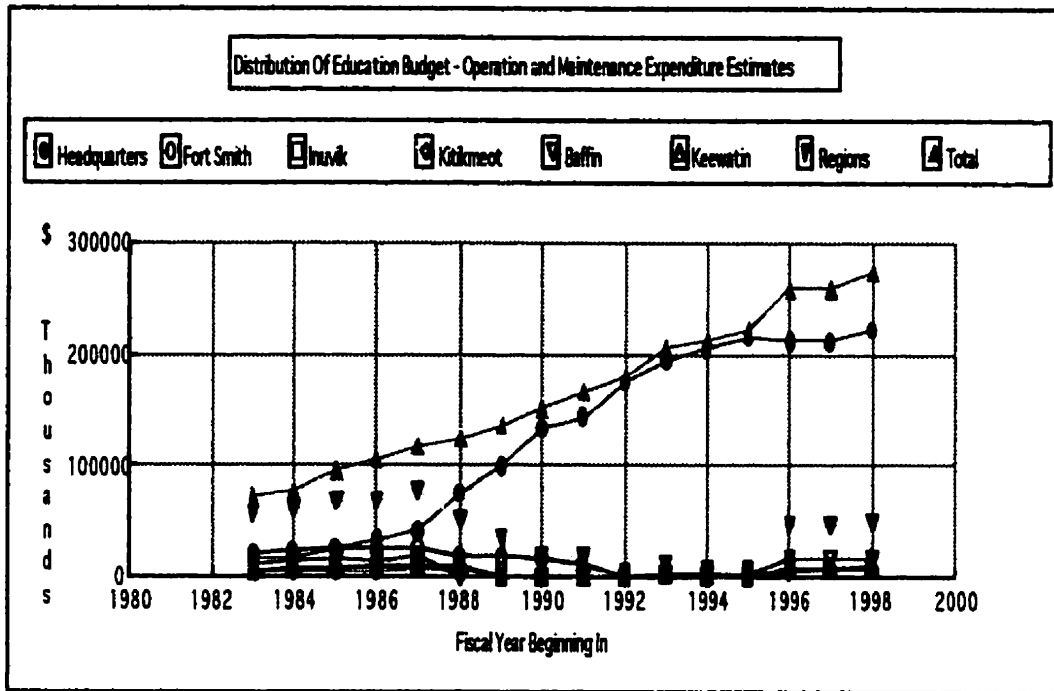
NWT Capital Expenditures				
Fiscal Year	Public Works	Education	Health and Social Services	Total Capital
1981	11342	13780	2042	69330
1982	16806	19115	2689	78855
1983	10575	10672	3639	73490
1984	12123	16716	8393	91543
1985	15491	19048	11924	118501
1986	15614	15578	23965	127209
1987	16514	38232	20577	161432
1988	13494	16041	12943	107546
1989	17201	22764	11512	140521
1990	30019	25342	10013	162421
1991	53087	28710	8335	173794
1992	41897	27497	10356	167834
1993	48034	23972	8111	176484
1994	50952	40567	6708	191537
1995	53396	45690	8836	200981
1996	45250	34484	5432	170860
1997	38972(RE)	42460(RE)	12787(RE)	175321(RE)
1998	31583(ME)	30519(ME)	6108(ME)	141808(ME)

## NWT Operations &amp; Maintenance Expenditures (\$ 000s)

Fiscal Year	Public Wks. & T.	Education	Health and S. S.	Total
1981	59747	54948	56765	303274
1982	72588	67560	80000	373744
1983	79714	83046	85971	412403
1984	88327	89694	91789	444242
1985	90326	98420	104763	493365
1986	103182	108480	122531	565802
1987	115552	120510	139291	636221
1988	124156	130498	209582	750495
1989	126797	147823	228484	831478
1990	148497	159846	242224	887059
1991	174963	184006	261831	970061
1992	169844	193015	256340	959557
1993	173462	214944	273265	1033346
1994	148351	255746	233657	1052846
1995	153545	266599	245731	1081021
1996	121828	264874	246924	1023236
1997	113752(RE)	270759(RE)	252264(RE)	1025346(RE)
1998	115788(ME)	273048(ME)	255258(ME)	1027808(ME)

Source: Government of the Northwest Territories. *Main Estimates and Capital Estimates*. Vols. between 1980-81 and 1998-99. Yellowknife: The Financial Management Board Secretariat. All figures are Actuals, except: (RE) 1988 Revised Forecast for 1997, and (ME) 1988 Main Estimates.

Appendix B



Source: Government of the Northwest Territories. *Main Estimates and Capital Estimates*. Vols. between 1980-81 and 1998-99. Yellowknife: The Financial Management Board Secretariat.

Appendix C

## Education: O &amp; M Estimates (\$ 000s)

	Headquarters	Fort Smith	Inuvik	Kitikmeot	Baffin	Keewatin	Regions	Total
1983	17161	22347	9198	4416	13092	5890	54943	72104
1984	17979	24103	10007	5009	14572	6488	60179	78158
1985	27072	25877	10912	5570	16434	8485	67278	94350
1986	34839	27395	11688	6088	15254	8808	69233	104072
1987	41353	27738	14080	6617	18374	10119	76928	118281
1988	74924	19700	13146	6709	80	10448	50083	125007
1989	100686	20407	13527	251	526	499	35210	135896
1990	133345	16206	736	400	883	597	18822	152167
1991	144615	12334	6207	459	968	680	20648	165263
1992	176465	913	907	517	1033	717	4087	180552
1993	194062	2258	2224	1564	3324	2019	11389	205451
1994	205685	1383	1193	911	2057	1318	6862	212547
1995	215245	1244	1044	789	1939	1142	6158	221403
1996	212071	6814	8995	6079	15994	7942	45824	257895
1997	212500	6898	9276	6256	16360	8131	46921	259421
1998	223145	7373	9986	6643	17263	8638	49903	273048

## Education: Capital Estimates (\$ 000s)

	Headquarters	Fort Smith	Inuvik	Kitikmeot	Baffin	Keewatin	Regions	Total
1983	1375	2646	1749	548	3980	1425	10348	11723
1984	694	4188	2634	473	3410	1523	12228	12922
1985	1656	5201	2112	2804	5195	1056	16368	18024
1986	1080	2275	4403	5057	1837	1783	15355	16435
1987	4846	3950	3769	2204	11511	11585	33019	37865
1988	1109	850	711	680	9751	3715	15707	16816
1989	2525	3405	4995	20	10118	980	19518	22043
1990	3600	4455	2541	10	12978	5866	25850	29450
1991	9310	3622	1340	1358	9620	6001	21941	31251
1992	13091	2284	1010	1905	6884	1496	13579	26670
1993	11277	2960	1960	5745	8810	1633	21108	32385
1994	7395	9184	2205	5667	9848	3026	29930	37325
1995	5335	12816	1965	5999	8325	741	29846	35181
1996	5172	7504	9310	4528	5854	4537	31733	36905
1997	3412	2815	1398	4442	8074	6198	22927	26339
1998	9487	3295	2991	3631	9138	1977	21032	30519

Source: Government of the Northwest Territories. *Main Estimates and Capital Estimates*. Vols. between 1980-81 and 1998-99. Yellowknife: The Financial Management Board Secretariat. Actual figures for Headquarters and Regions are not provided in the documents only the Estimates for the given fiscal year. Hence all figures are Estimates.



**Appendix D****Estimated Life Expectancy at Birth, Total and Aboriginal Populations, 1991**

	Male	Female
	Years	
Total population	74.6	80.9
Total Aboriginal population	67.9	75.0
Total, North American Indians*	68.0	74.9
Registered North American Indians	66.9	74.0
On-reserve	62.0	69.6
Non-reserve, rural	68.5	75.0
Non-reserve, urban	72.5	79.0
Non-Registered North American Indians	71.4	77.9
Rural	69.0	75.5
Urban	72.5	79.0
Métis	70.4	76.9
Rural	68.5	75.0
Urban	71.5	78.0
Inuit	57.6	68.8

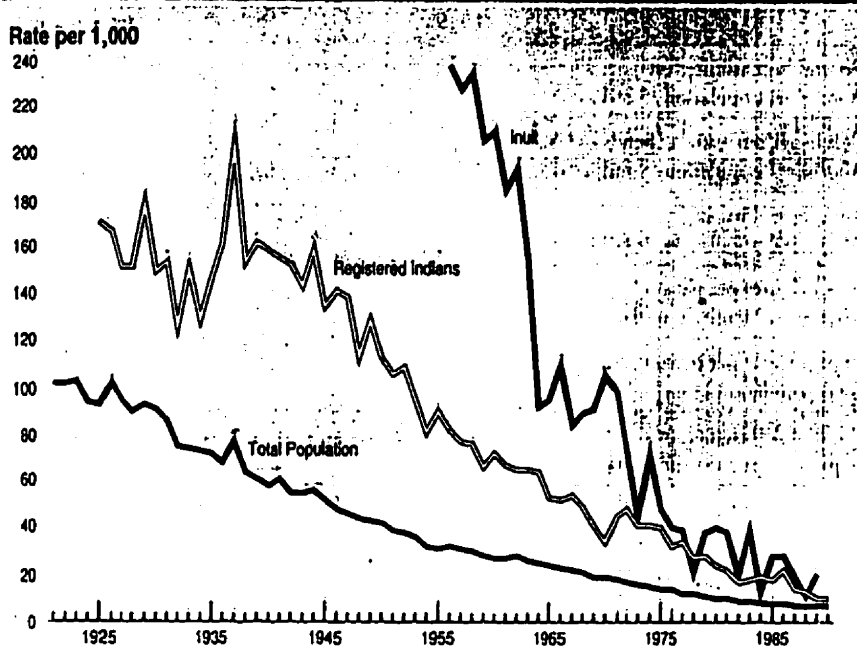
*Note:*

\* North American Indians includes all who self-identified as North American Indian on the 1991 Aboriginal Peoples Survey, whether or not they are registered under the *Indian Act*.

Source: M.J. Norris et al., "Projections of the Aboriginal Identity Population in Canada, 1991-2016", research study prepared by Statistics Canada for RCAP (February 1995).

Source: Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, vol. 3. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1996, p. 121.

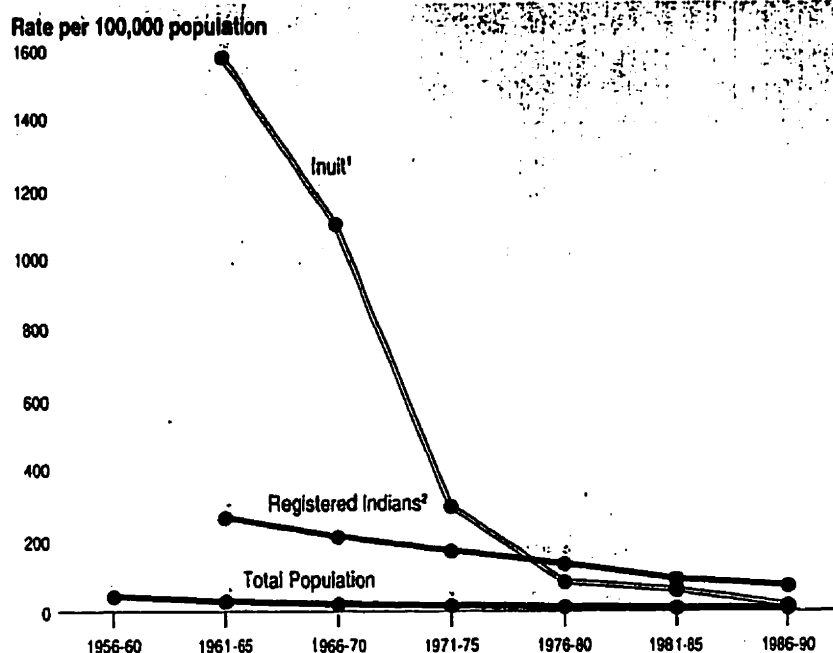
### Infant Mortality Rates, Registered Indian, Inuit and Total Populations



Source: Kue Young, "Measuring the Health Status of Canada's Aboriginal Population: a statistical review and methodological commentary", research study prepared for RCAP (1994).

Source: Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, vol. 3. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1996, p. 128.

### Incidence of Active Tuberculosis, Registered Indian, Inuit and Total Populations, 1956-1990



*Notes:*

1. Inuit living in the Northwest Territories.
2. Data on registered Indians for the years 1965, 1970, and 1975 are single-year figures; all other rates shown based on five-year averages.

*Source:* Kue Young, "Measuring the Health Status of Canada's Aboriginal Population: a statistical review and methodological commentary", research study prepared for RCAP (1994).

Source: Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, vol. 3. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1996, p. 139.

Persons with Physical Disabilities, Total and  
Aboriginal Populations, 1991

	Total Population	Total Aboriginal	North American Indians		Métis	Inuit
			On-reserve	Non-reserve		
Mobility disability	45	45	47	45	44	36
Hearing disability	23	35	39	33	34	44
Seeing disability	9	24	32	21	22	24
Agility	44	35	34	36	38	26
Speaking disability	10	13	14	13	13	10
Other disability	37	36	37	37	35	36

*Notes:* Population is those 15 years of age and older.

*Source:* Statistics Canada, "The Daily", 25 March 1994, catalogue no. 11-001E.

Source: Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, vol. 3. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1996, p. 149.

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Zebedee Nungak, "An Inuit leader reacts to Ottawa's apology," *Globe and Mail*,

29 January 1998, A19.

## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> Government of the Northwest Territories. Government of the Northwest Territories: Cool facts, Tuesday 19th May 1998 [Online]. 19 May 1998. [cited 19 May 1998]; available from <http://www/gov.nt.ca/coolfact.html>.

<sup>2</sup> *People: Our Focus for the Future - A Strategy to 2010* reads, "In the N.W.T., women between the ages of 15 and 19 have three times more children than women of the same age in Canada as a whole. Nunavut will have the youngest (and the fastest growing) population in Canada. Approximately 40 per cent of its population is under 15 years of age, compared to less than 25 per cent in Canada" (*People: Our Focus for the Future - A Strategy to 2010* 1994, 3).

<sup>3</sup> This document is often referred to as *Learning, Tradition and Change in the Northwest Territories*. The Committee presents the document and in this thesis it is punctuated as they presented it. The change in punctuation reassigns emphasis equally across the three key words which would subtly change the meaning possibly sought after through the style of punctuation applied in the title in 1982. In the earlier version that uses the colon, "tradition" and "change" are acting together on the focus area "learning." The latter popular form of the title gives equal weight to the three areas. The government Main Estimates for 1994-95 refers to the 1982 document without the colon on p. 18-3, and it is referred to in Colbourne's 1986 thesis in the same manner.

<sup>4</sup> Government of the Northwest Territories. *Main Estimates 1998-1999*. Yellowknife: The Financial Management Board Secretariat, 1998, p. vi.

<sup>5</sup> Matthiasson writes, "When I first visited the Tununermiut [the people of Pond Inlet], the contact-traditional period was in its last stage, and soon the people were to enter what I have elsewhere termed the "period of centralization." There would be a mass migration from the camps to the settlement. The people would come under the influence of planned change directed by government policies and carried out by federal and territorial civil servants. The consequences of that change, or what I call "intervention acculturation" were not precisely what the planners anticipated, but they were profound and irreversible. Few human populations have ever experienced such dramatic social and cultural disruption in one generation as did the Tununermiut Inuit in the 1960s and 1970s. What happened to them was similar to transformations experienced by Inuit across the Canadian Arctic, as they all entered the period of centralization" (Matthiasson 1992, 25).

<sup>6</sup> A 1924 amendment to the Indian Act placed the Inuit under Indian Affairs providing medical services, but Duffy explains that unofficial government support for Inuit, for mission schools and medical attention is documented between 1918 and 1923 (Duffy 1988, 10). In 1939 Inuit were defined as Indians by the Supreme Court of Canada (Duffy 1988, 10-11).

<sup>7</sup> Robertson documents the first call for division to the year 1962 "into two parts: a Territory of Mackenzie, comprising the more settled and better developed Western area, and the remainder, as yet unnamed, to the north and East. The purpose is mainly to render more feasible the establishment of the executive and administrative elements of the government on the ground within the confines of the Territory, and to lead gradually towards fully elected councils" (Robertson 1963, 146). The legislation was not passed.

<sup>8</sup> The Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources eventually became the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development [DIAND] in 1966. Carrothers writes that, "The Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources was created in 1953 to succeed the Department of Resources and Development, which in turn was the successor of the Department of Mines and Resources (established in 1936), and Department of Interior (established 1873) and the Department of State (established 1968). In creating the new department, the federal government gave notice of its intention to expand its role in northern development and administration" (Carrothers 1966, 29-30). Federal Government Information 1997-1998 specifies that, "The Department [of Indian and Northern Affairs Canada] was established under section 15 of the Government Organization Act, 1996, now the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development Act (RSC 1985 c.1-6, as amended). The Department is an amalgamation of Northern Affairs and Natural Resources, and then Department of Citizenship and Immigration pertaining to Indian people in Canada." (p. 465)

<sup>9</sup> The Berger Report was a powerful report in that it effectively ended the National Energy Program under Trudeau. Berger paid the price. According to Hamilton (206), after Berger gave a speech at an Ontario university expressing his opinion on Aboriginal rights, he was brought before Chief Justice Bora Laskin for making public statements revealing political bias. Berger resigned in 1983 from his position as a British Columbia Supreme Court Judge after Laskin ruled against him. In 1985, Berger reviewed the *Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971* which he concluded was a monumental failure that did not protect the basic right of Alaskan Natives to own land for themselves and maintain a subsistence economy. The Settlement Act had undermined the collective nature of the Alaskan Native communities by designating them regional corporations and assigning the people as shareholders in the arrangement. Impending doom was promised to the Alaskan Natives by the opening up of shares for public exchange (44 million acres of land) in 1991 after the 20 year moratorium built into the act expired. Shares were dispensed only to those living in 1971 and children born after 1971 were not protected, except through an inappropriate inheritance process. Berger documents the Native Alaskan bitterness and dissatisfaction with the settlement and its failure to represent their interests and the future of their children.

<sup>10</sup> *The Oxford English Reference Dictionary*, 1996 ed., s.v. "vision."

<sup>11</sup>Mimeographs of about 100 regulations do exist, but are not found in government documents in libraries.

<sup>12</sup>Northwest Territories Archives. Yellowknife Education District No. 1 fonds: Monday 20th July 1998 [Online]; available from [http://pwnhc.learnnet.nt.ca/fond\\_database/ms-270.html](http://pwnhc.learnnet.nt.ca/fond_database/ms-270.html).

<sup>13</sup>Duffy's footnote 1: "Public Archives of Canada, Record Group 85 (Northern Affairs), Vol. 1505, File 600-1-1, Pt. 2, Data re schools in the NWT, August 1944."

<sup>14</sup>Duffy's footnote 12: "Public Archives of Canada, Record Group 85 (Northern Affairs), Vol. 300, File 1009-3, Pt. 1, Memo re administration of the branches of the Department of Resources and Development in the northern portions of Canada, n.d."

<sup>15</sup>Colbourne's reference, no page number given: Diubaldo, R. (1985). *The Government of Canada and the Inuit: 1900-1967*. Ottawa: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.

<sup>16</sup>Duffy's footnote 37: "RG 85, Vol. 1507, File 600-1-1, Pt. 7, Memo for the Cabinet, February 1955." Also Duffy's footnote 39: "W. Ivan Mouat, 'Education in the Arctic District,' *Musk-Ox* 7 (1970): 4."

<sup>17</sup>Parker summarised 1979 in 1983: "1979 was an important year in the history of the Northwest Territories' progress toward responsible government. It was in 1979 that the N.W.T. Act was amended to allow the Commissioner-in-Council to establish the number of seats within the 15 to 25 range; it was in 1979 that the N.W.T. Council Ordinance was amended to establish in law the Executive Committee; and it was in 1979 that Council rules were amended to remove the Commissioner from Council sittings except for Committee of the Whole...1979, the year in which most of you were elected to this legislature, was a red-letter year in our history, with its 22 elected members and its seven-man Executive Committee, five of whom were elected" (Address of Commissioner John H. Parker to the Eleventh Session of the Ninth Assembly of the Legislative Assembly of the Northwest Territories at Yellowknife, N.W.T., August 30, 1983).

<sup>18</sup>Robertson footnotes this paragraph with the following observation: "One possible exception to this general statement was the provision in the North-West Territories Act of 1875 which provided that where any district or portion, not exceeding an area of 1,000 square miles, contained 1,000 adults, exclusive of aliens and Indians, the Lieutenant-Governor could establish it as an electoral district to return one member to the Council for a two-year term. As soon as there were twenty-one elected members, the Council was to become the Legislative Assembly of the North-West Territories. Like other sections of the Act, the provision for a Legislative Assembly does not in retrospect appear to have been fully thought out; Thomas comments (*Struggle*, p. 76) that 'had the probable intention of the Mackenzie Administration been more clearly expressed the later constitutional development of the Territories would have been very different'." (Robertson's footnote 1963, 139).

<sup>19</sup> In a relation to this point, Robertson footnotes, "Representation in the federal parliament was accorded to the Districts of Assiniboia, Alberta, and Saskatchewan in 1886, to the Yukon in 1902, and to the District of Mackenzie in 1951. In March, 1962, the boundaries of the electoral district of Mackenzie River were enlarged to include the whole of the Northwest Territories, and the name changed accordingly. (Robertson footnote 1963, 137)

<sup>20</sup> Hamilton (1994) documents James Wah Shee assessment of representation in the Northwest Territories. Hamilton writes, quoting Wah Shee, "James Wah Shee traces the political difficulties back to the 1950s and 1960s when 'neither the Dene nor the whites nor the Inuit had any political rights at all.' He says the Indian chiefs had no voice in their own government -- but neither did the northern whites. All were equally under the control of Ottawa:

When we started the Brotherhood we had to interpret and explain to our people and to the rest of the world. First of all we even had to get recognition of our right to make claims. We were aware of the evolution occurring in the Legislative Council, which originally involved only whites. Ultimately, the aboriginals had to participate in elected government as soon as it was available. (Hamilton 1994, citing James Wah Shee, 282).

<sup>21</sup> For the purposes of clarifying territorial changes in legislation, the thesis maintains the titles "Ordinances" and "Acts" as they were initially designated in the statutes.

<sup>22</sup> Bernard refers to it as a "modernized version of the NWT Act" (Bernard 1994, 128)

<sup>23</sup> Colbourne's reference, no page given, citing Farrow, M. (1985). *A comparative study of education in selected northern circumpolar lands*. Unpublished master's thesis, University of Cambridge.

<sup>24</sup> POFF explains, "Recently, the federal government announced it intended to cut the deficit significantly over the next three years. Since the GNWT receives over 80 per cent of its budget from the federal government, this will undoubtedly impact on the GNWT budget" (POFF 1994, 8).

<sup>26</sup> Volume 3 of the Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (1996) provides a comprehensive of Aboriginal health in Canada. For example, it reports that the incidence of tuberculosis, diabetes, HIV/AIDS is higher among Aboriginal Canadians (RRCAP 1996, Vol. 3, 138-142), and that Aboriginal people have twice the national average in disabilities (RRCAP 1996, Vol. 3., 148). Inuit children have some of the highest rates of the ear condition otitis media leading to hearing loss in Canada (RRCAP 1996, Vol. 3, 150), the rates of infant death among Aboriginals is about twice the national rate (RRCAP 1996, Vol. 3, 127), and life expectancy is shorter compared to total populations (RRCAP 1996, Vol. 3, 121). Fetal Alcohol Effect is high among Aboriginal Canadians (RRCAP 1996, Vol. 3, 132).

<sup>28</sup> Cameron and White cite Pollard, Budget address, p. 1.

<sup>27</sup> *People: Our Focus for the Future* refers to the Department of Education, Culture and Employment as "headquarters." The reader may refer to page 88 in POFF for an example.

<sup>28</sup> The abstract to Colbourne's 1986 thesis entitled *Inuit Control of Education: The Baffin Experience (Northwest Territories)* summarises the thesis as follows: "The purpose of [the] study was to investigate the shift in focus of control from a centralized administration towards an Inuit board of education as a result of the decentralization efforts of the Northwest Territories Department of Education. The study additionally investigated the consequences of this shift as well as the satisfaction levels of the client group. A questionnaire was used to gather data from the board as a whole and an interview protocol was used with a group of key informants. It was found that a shift in locus of control towards the Divisional Board of Education had taken place. This had resulted in higher satisfaction levels in terms of the overall system and improved outcomes in terms of participation in decision making, consultation processes, flow of information, services to communities, and conflict resolution. It was concluded that while these outcomes had been realized the board was constrained in its actions and in the exercise of its authority by the limited decentralization that had occurred, by the lack of direction, and by the lack of an informed membership."

<sup>29</sup> *People: Our Focus for the Future* refers to the Department of Education, Culture and Employment as "headquarters." The reader may refer to page 88 in POFF for an example.

<sup>30</sup> See "The Devolution of Health Care to Canada's North" by Geoffrey Weller in Dacks' 1990 book entitled *Devolution and Constitutional Development in the Canadian North. Strength at Two Levels* traces the "transfer" of health care in 1988 originating through the 1984 transfer of Baffin Regional Hospital from HWC, and the 1986 transfer of Baffin Health Services from HWC (STL 1991, 62).

<sup>31</sup> *Working Toward a Common Future*, c. 6 (iii), p. 29.

<sup>32</sup> Hamilton writes: "Now that the Nunavut deal has been struck, how great are regional differences still and how seriously should they be taken? Dennis Patterson, the former government leader, doesn't think they are very serious. He feels that the central Arctic and Keewatin Inuit must follow the South Baffin lead in their own interest. Only in that way can Inuit culture be preserved, he believes. But then Patterson lives in Iqualuit [sic], and his wife's family ties are with South Baffin...Gordon Wray, married to a Keewatin Inuk, says nobody wants to talk about the antagonisms among the various regional groups. They are particularly intense in the Keewatin, where for centuries there have been rivalries between the Caribou Inuit living inland around Garry Lake, the Baker Lake people who ate both seal and caribou, and the people from the Hudson Bay coast who subsisted solely on marine mammals...The most obvious symbol of the Inuit split is in the written language. In Baffin Island, syllabics are used, in the central Arctic the Roman alphabet. This means that an Inuk from Cambridge Bay cannot read an Inuktitut newspaper published in Iqualuit [sic]" (Hamilton 1994, 268).

<sup>33</sup> *Working Toward a Common Future*, c. 6 (ii), p. 26.

<sup>34</sup> The numbers in Appendix A and B represent the actual figures for the given fiscal year as collated in the Government of the Northwest Territories "Main Estimates" and "Capital Estimates." Official estimates are used for the figures in 1997-98 and 1998-99 fiscal years as provided in the 1998-99 document. "Operations and Maintenance" and "Capital" amounts are tabulated separately and in Figure 1 they are added together to arrive at the total expenditure amounts. In the case of the Department of Public Works, the areas of "Transportation" and "Public Works" were added prior to their amalgamation in 1987-88 as "Public Works & Highways." Health and Social Services were separate departments, and so they are added together in the data until the figures are combined in 1994-95. The graph does not include a correction for inflation.