AN EXAMINATION OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEACHING PRACTICES IN AN INNU SETTING FROM 1951 TO 1982

BRIAN WILLIAM VARDY

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AN EXAMINATION OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEACHING PRACTICES IN AN INNU SETTING FROM 1951 TO 1982

by

© Brian William Vardy, B.A., B.Ed.

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Every chisel stroke on sculpture, every brush stroke on canvas, every word put down on a page, modifies the preceding one, adds to or detracts from the already achieved meaning, for it is the pursuit of the ideal wholeness of the work that dictates the changes and the handling of the details...

The vision of the whole does not exist in the artist's mind, it grows with the work, for, while he works, this vision progressively emerges and only reaches its full development at the end of his efforts.

Joseph Chiari
Art and Knowledge
New York: Gordian Press, 1977

Abstract

An examination of the English language teachers' practices in Sheshatshit (the Indian community adjacent to North West River) is viewed by this writer as the first step in preparing for a total evaluation of the school's program of studies. It is felt that any determination of a needs assessment requires information on the student, the community, and, of course, on previous attempts to meet needs. Limitations of this study are obvious: a complete evaluation would be a long-term project at considerable cost. What is intended is an overview of the events which have led to the present program of studies in English language. Little has been written on the history of education in this area, and even less has been written on the school's attempt to deal with what must have been an impossible situation. The facts as they have been determined will be presented and brief analyses will be attempted.

In this paper there are more questions to be asked than answers given. However, a review of relevant literature in the area of second language teaching and testing will serve to place the actual happenings in perspective.

There is no doubt that if educators of the day had been more aware of the complexities of second language teaching they would have sought out available literature in the area. Instead, they chose to go it alone as it were, charting a course without a map. This applies to every

level within the educational system, as will be demonstrated throughout the study.

While the past cannot be altered, the future remains a challenge. This writer is calling for the educators of today to consider the past, evaluate the present, and prepare for the future needs of students.

The sources upon which the following account is based are wide and varied. Certain historical facts were retrieved from personal contacts, telephone calls and letters to people in Labrador. Recent issues of Decks Awash and Them Days Magazine were extremely helpful, as well. (See Bibliography)

Acknowledgements

This writer wishes to express sincere gratitude for the daily support and advice provided by Dr. Frank Wolfe. Our frequent discussions were indeed a lift and will long be remembered.

I wish to recognize all those educators who gave freely of their time to recall the past.

In addition, my parents are deserving of a simple thank-you for offering at every occasion a note of encouragement.

Finally and especially to my wife, Heather; your continued faith and re-assurance throughout this entire venture has lessened the burdens considerably.

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CHAPTER I

BACKGROUND

Introduction

> Educational programs should stand or fall, persist or be modified, because of the quality of their effects upon students. (William Spaulding, 1962)

The teacher, as presenter of any educational program, must believe in that program. It is imperative that he understand the philosophy of education upon which the program was built. The teacher as interpreter of the given aims and objectives must engage in evaluative techniques which in the final analysis will determine the success of the program; that is, the effect of teaching as well as the result of learning. Teaching for teaching's sake is at best haphazard, and to teach without a clear understanding of what the society, the province, the local school board or the community expects is simply indefensible.

This paper intends to evaluate one school's attempt at educating students. The paper will not systematically evaluate the program of study in all subjects at every level for one historical year. Rather it will look back in history to the very first attempt at schooling, tracing the various curriculum emphases to the present. The reader will be able to determine for himself the success of this school in delivering a useful, relevant and consistent program of studies.

In particular this study will determine the approaches used in the teaching of English to Indian students in the community of Sheshatshit, Labrador, and provide an analysis of these approaches - that is, upon what basis one approach was chosen over another. Upon what research the educators of the day did rely will have determined the types of programs offered. Further questions to be answered include: Upon what curriculum models (if any) did educators rely? What criteria were used in assessing student needs and the success of given programs? To what extent did educators rely upon their predecessors in retaining or rejecting programs of study? What role did the Provincial Department of Education play in providing leadership and expertise? What was the role of individual educational leaders and what role did the community play in the education of their own children?

These questions represent only a few of those which could be asked. They do, however, suggest the investigator's adherence to some basic principles of curriculum development, improvement, change, and evaluation as subscribed to by such curriculum writers as Tyler, Taba and Doll.

Another pursuit of this study will be to determine the need for and inclusion of "diagnosis" in second-language teaching. A review of some recent and often controversial literature will be offered in the area of second language testing. The need for various tests of language proficiency

will be considered. It is this writer's view that diagnostic testing is one effective way of ensuring that the students described herein become proficient in the language of instruction at a given level before moving to advanced levels. Deficiencies in the second language, if diagnosed in time, can be re-taught and the student can then reach a readiness level probably unattainable should certain skill deficiencies go undetected. The inability of the school to identify specific skill deficiencies may well be the principle cause for the intolerably low success rate both in school and in the matter of academic proficiency itself.

John W. Oller speaks to this issue.

> Surely for the sake of the child, it is necessary to detain reliable and valid information about what language(s) he speaks and understands (and how well) before decisions are reached about curriculum delivery and language policy in the classroom. (Oller, 1979)

The Critical Issue

It is disturbing for an educator at any level in any teaching-learning situation to discover that only one student of an original 1971 kindergarten class of twenty was able to attain a high school diploma. It is even more disturbing to realize that no attempt has been made by the educational system to find specific reasons why these students could not cope with the education provided them.

Of the original class only two additional students were enrolled in a Grade Eleven program by Fall 1982. They were, incidentally, unsuccessful. In fact, in the thirty year history of the school fewer than twelve students have graduated from high school. Few have enrolled in vocational education schools and many are functionally illiterate, even after several years of schooling.

Although it has been reported (Royal Commission Report, 1974) that for many of these Indian students education is a low priority, the startling fact remains that just thirty years ago the Indians of Labrador had no opportunity for formal instruction in school, since before that time no permanent community existed where Sheshatshit now lies. In spite of advances in communication, transportation and education services generally, the school has simply not provided a meaningful education for its students. Proof of this statement may be found by considering the numbers of ex-students who never completed Grade 11. In recent years most students are encouraged to remain in school in order to receive a Grade 11 diploma. The rationale behind this seems to be that with a diploma, entrance into the various trades is possible. As a human strategy this social promotion has been a failure. Students are just not able to use the language of instruction - (English) adequately for such purposes.

These facts and observations in isolation do not constitute adequate evidence. The actual history of the Indians' transformation from nomadism to semi-nomadism and then to permanent settlement in Lake Melville will be offered.

History of the Community

All of Labrador has felt the pull and push of modernity over the last thirty years. The Canadian society as part of the modern world community has viewed such areas of Labrador as primitive and in need of assistance if the basic rights of human beings are to be preserved. Electricity, clean running water, communications systems, and education are the main issues of concern. The early advocates of education were of course the missionaries. They saw as their mission the need to provide Christianity to the Native Inuit (Eskimo) population. It was also their intention to civilize and humanize them (Moravian Journal, 1771).

The Roman Catholic missionaries were less ambitious at first, deciding to move with the Indian rather than to establish a permanent mission. Later, such a mission was eventually established at the head of Lake Melville, the summer home of the Montagnais Indian.

This Indian community at North West River (hereinafter referred to as "Sheshatshit") has become the permanent

home for over six hundred Montagnais. In thirty years the movable canvas tents have been replaced with wooden houses. The nomadic patterns of these people have given way to a permanancy which has all but eroded the traditional economy. Today, the community relies heavily if not totally on government funding to provide jobs and nearly every other service presently available.

One may wonder if the type of education offered the Indian student during this period was designed to meet both immediate and long term needs, or if indeed any plan was drafted to consider this issue. The answer is not easily determined. It is worth noting that no attempt has been made until now to offer a history of education from the beginning to the present.

Although it has been documented that in 500 A.D. Indians became active along the Coast of Labrador, it is believed that they were resident there countless generations before that. The first European, however, may have happened upon Labrador much later, in 986 A.D. The extent of this contact is not fully known. Corte-Real, in 1500 A.D., arrived upon the coast of Labrador but chose not to remain for any length of time. Later, other explorers did stay for varying lengths of time and eventually the well-documented trade relationship developed between the Indians and English/French furriers. It was the fur trade, therefore, that lured men to the wilds of Labrador. After a time the

secrets and mysteries of Labrador and its indigenous people slowly became known to the outside world. Sugar, flour, tobacco, and rum soon became the basis for barter - items that the Indian and Inuit came to desire and could be obtained only through the exchange of their valuable furs.

North West River (the Indians call it Sheshatshit) (Shay-hat-sheet) was for many years before the settling of the traders and trappers the summer home both of the Montagnais and Naskapi Indian. The annual summer migration to Sheshatshit followed a long winter of hunting and trapping. Here, tents were set up and the people engaged in trout and salmon fishing. This provided an excellent opportunity for such men as Louis Fornell to set up a trading post in 1743. Here the French traders could obtain the Indians' furs while they were plentiful and when food supplies were low. This trading post was taken over by a French Canadian group in 1773 and by 1836 the Hudson Bay Company had established itself permanently in the area.

The Indians, as early as 1763, had become Christians under the spiritual guidance of the Jesuits of New France (Parsons, 1970). As a result the Indians made great efforts to visit a Roman Catholic priest at least once a year, and so, it was not uncommon for an Indian family to travel to the St. Lawrence where they could both trade furs and meet with the priest (Wegenart, 1981). It would therefore appear obvious why the Hudson Bay Company lobbied the Roman Catholic

church to assign a permanent priest for the Indian people of North West River.

It was 1850 before the Roman Catholic missionaries travelled into Labrador with the Indians. Very often these priests would travel inland with the people during the winter. In 1873, however, a mission was established by Pere Arnaud, Oblate missionary. He named the mission "Notre Dames des Neiges" (Our Lady of the Snows). An inter-church dispute over jurisdiction forced the Oblate brothers to withdraw their services in 1895. It was the Harbour Grace diocese who initiated the dispute. Yet they did not send their own priests until 1921, some twenty-six years later. It was the famed Monsignor O'Brien who began what was to become a yearly event, by travelling with the Newfoundland fishermen to Labrador each summer. For twenty-three years Monsignor O'Brien provided spiritual guidance to the Indians of North West River (Wegenart, 1981).

Many white settlers began living at North West River around 1890, during which time no Roman Catholic mission existed. These settlers set up permanent trapping lines which forced the Indians to travel further to obtain food - indeed, to survive. The only relief during a period of hardship and hunger was that provided by the Roman Catholic mission (Daily News, 1939). Such incidents may have encouraged the Indians to depend on the mission and eventually to live near it.

By the time when Monsignor O'Brien's annual journey ended in 1949, the Indians of Labrador could be described as semi-nomadic. True, they still relied heavily on trapping and fishing as well as upon the age-old ritual of following the migrating caribou, yet more and more of these once totally nomadic people found it acceptable for various reasons to remain in North West River for longer periods of time. No doubt the availability of the basic food stuffs and emergency medical aid were factors. Also, the religious practices of the Indians became more similar to other non-Indian Roman Catholic parishioners. Mass was held more often. Marriages, baptisms, funerals (and school) became a part of their everyday lives. The possibility of earning "cash" most certainly provided an option previously unavailable.

After the final journey for Monsignor O'Brien in 1949, the mission was turned over to Oblate brothers once again. (Personal taped interview with Father Pirson).

By the mid 1950's a permanent Indian settlement seemed inevitable. Dr. Charles S. Curtis, a doctor with the Grenfell Hospital, remarked in 1954 that

> The Indians at North West River.., who formerly came out to the coast to trade at the Hudsons Bay Posts twice a year, are today establishing permanent settlements under the care of devoted Oblate fathers. (I.G.A., 1954)

In that same year Dr. Erwin Miller noted

> I spent nearly a whole day visiting the ... Indian families in their tents at their village river from the hospital and learned much about this proud tribe of people from their spiritual friend and advisor, Father Pirson, the Oblate priest living in the area. (I.G.A., 1954)

As for the area, Dr. Frank C. Babbit told of the growth of the Roman Catholic Mission, saying, "A parish house and a church are being built and it is anticipated that under Father Pirson's leadership the Indian colony will steadily increase" (I.G.A., 1953).

These proposed changes in the life style of the Indians certainly may have been justified at the time. It may be inferred, however, that such drastic changes in the Indians' socio-political and economic system must have created a generation of children who had expectations placed on them that were at the very least difficult. Indeed, this is what appears to have happened. The Indians desired spiritual guidance and wanted the priest to provide this service; however, the move to a "white man's" house and school was more than most could accept. From the outset a major educational issue arose: how to provide an education to children who spent part or all of their time away from the community. Furthermore, how could a "white man's" education be useful to an Indian? This question and others can best be answered by examining the thirty year period (1951-1982).

CHAPTER II

THIRTY YEARS OF (LANGUAGE) TEACHING

1951 - 1961

Father Pirson arrived at Sheshatshit in 1951. At that time his parishioners, the Montagnais Indians, lived along the River in canvas tents. In the fall of each year many families left the village to engage in hunting, trapping, and fishing, choosing to remain relatively close (within thirty miles) to their village, camping at Grant Lake, Churchill River and Kenimou.

Father Pirson remembers 1952 as the year he started teaching in the community. The first classes were held in the priest's newly-constructed house. Twenty-five children would arrive at 9:00 in the morning to be instructed in the very rudiments of geography, math, English and religion. According to Father Pirson the Indian parents were very supportive of this move. They could see that Goose Bay was growing; they felt that education could help them find employment; and they regarded this as essential (Tape, 1982).

For Father Pirson, too, education was the way of future. Without preparation to cope with the changes which were bound to occur, the Indians of Labrador would be doomed to second class citizenship.

In his second year at Sheshatshit, Father Pirson contacted the school board chairman, Father Tessier, asking that the school be recognized officially. Once this was accomplished the school received its first financial support. The sum of $96.00 per month was allocated to cover a few scribblers and pencils, all provided by Father Pirson. Two years later, in 1954, a school building was constructed. Parents were not expected to remain in the village if only to keep their children in school. Rather, the school existed primarily for children of families who stayed in the village. Father Pirson was keenly aware, however, that children who were away from school for several months necessarily fell behind their peers who continued to attend school. Another instructional problem developed when he noticed that some students would begin their first day of school at age fourteen. This meant that as a teacher, Father Pirson had to determine exactly "where the students were when they arrived at school and start from there" (Tape 1982). Father Pirson claimed that it was very important to know each student individually. Presumably this was how students' progress was assessed and maintained through individualization.

Father Pirson was teaching for three years before becoming certified in 1955, the first year he received a teacher's salary (Department of Education, 1955). Until 1957 he was the only teacher on staff. He did this in addition

to the other duties usually performed by the priest. Although it is believed that Father Pirson had at least one teacher to help him before 1959, the payroll records indicate that Stuart Pike was the first. (Pike's contribution will be discussed later.)

In those early years the language of instruction was Indian for Father Pirson had acquired a basic knowledge of the Indian language. He felt that the best place to start was with the native language. (The merits of this approach will be discussed later in the paper.) It is worthy of note, however, that as new teachers came on stream the use of English for instructional purposes increased. Since Father Pirson was the only teacher who could work within the native language, the instructional time afforded it decreased. Not surprisingly, by the time Father Pirson retired, English was the only language of instruction.

The unavailability of suitable instructional materials had been obvious from the beginning. Materials relevant to Indian students or even second language learners were practically non-existent and the Newfoundland curriculum could not be depended upon for such special purposes. The decision to adopt curriculum materials must depend largely on the aim of the school, and by Father Pirson's own admission, he did not realize "how far education would go" (Tape, 1982). This must not be viewed as a criticism but rather a realization that in those early years the immediate needs of

students had to be considered before any attempt could be made to determine long-term policy. Indeed, the school attempted to offer students an education which was relevant to the changes ongoing around them. Since the benefits of acquiring the basics of math and English are self-evident, it must have seemed entirely logical therefore to begin at the most basic level.

Father Pirson must have approached his teaching with unusual vigor, working often to the point of exhaustion. He used whatever methods seemed to work: "learning as he went along", as he put it. His approach to the teaching of English was most probably based on his own experiences as a learner of English as a second language. He advocated what may be described as L_1 (native language) / L_2 (target language) comparison. The actual term used to describe this approach is "contrastive analysis" (Finocchiaro, 1969).

Father Pirson recognized that some aspects of the Indian language were not present in English and therefore not easily understood by his students. The opposite is also true. For example, the Indian language has no equivalent for the pronoun. Persons, places, and things are distinguishable not by gender but whether or not they are animate or inanimate. For the Indian child therefore the he/she distinction is difficult to grasp.

The length and timing of the school year became a major problem for both Father Pirson and the Department of

Education in the early years. St. John's questioned the sporadic attendance of students. They also rejected Pirson's request that the school year be changed to reflect the absenteeism created.

Stuart Pike arrived at North West River in September, 1959, having taught at Black Tickle the previous year. He assumed the role of principal immediately but must have relied heavily on Father Pirson for direction. His initial aim was to organize students in age-grade levels. This would have been no easy task, but it had to be done if the school were to adopt the regular Newfoundland curriculum. There was no other alternative! Materials in use at the school prior to Mr. Pike's appointment were limited to the few books borrowed from the American base by Father Pirson. The Department of Education may have been anxious to have the school brought up to a standard, on par with other Newfoundland schools. Mr. Pike recalled that as far as he was concerned the running of the school and the type of instruction was to be no different from instruction in any Newfoundland school. The language of instruction was to be English and the materials were to be ordered from Newfoundland with no special provisions for the Indian students. It seemed inevitable that instruction in Indian, a practice that Father Pirson considered valuable, would only last as long as Pirson himself. This may have been an advancement in the eyes of some educators of the day; however, it can be argued today that it was really a step backward.

The year 1960 was a significant one in terms of the history of education. Goose Bay and North West River schools, then under the direction of the Roman Catholic church, came under the jurisdiction of the newly formed Roman Catholic School Board for Labrador. This most northerly Roman Catholic board was an essential development within the area and its presence suggested that Roman Catholic students in Labrador would receive the same quality of instruction as other students within the province of Newfoundland and Labrador. With this came the standardized curriculum, a curriculum that presupposes that any student's language of instruction shall be English.

In the Indian school in that year the subjects taught included history, geography, mathematics, English language, English literature (reading) and general science.

It became obvious rather quickly, however, that total integration would not occur easily, over a short period of time. There were other factors to consider. One of these concerned the effect of the Indians' seasonal hunting pattern. In the same year (1960) only thirteen students of a total enrollment of seventy-three remained in school from September to December. When these remaining students returned after Christmas the immediate task of placement had to be attended to. The main technique used by the teacher to make such important decisions was the personal interview. Some testing was used but this was limited to

teacher-made achievement tests. (A severe disadvantage of these tests is their inadequacy in distinguishing learning problems from language problems.) A student, therefore, with a basic knowledge of English would likely be placed in a grade level beyond his conceptual ability. Similarly, a very bright student whose English is poor is assumed to be dull and is placed in a lower grade level. The possibility of inappropriate placement was very likely, resulting in inappropriate instruction, which most certainly limits the potential for success.

Stuart Pike left in June 1961, assured that the school was moving in the right direction. He points out today that several of his students had benefited from the instruction they received. This point is well taken and indeed there are examples of students who today are community leaders and politicians - however, many more people from that same era are today unemployed, unskilled and a long way from being proficient in English, even after having spent several years in school. In short, these students, (today's adults) have been unable to improve their lot in life through education.

"Success" is a relative term and best viewed in terms of the philosophy of the school and the aims and objectives outlined for all students, not only the most intelligent or advantaged. This becomes a relevant issue when one deals with such a mixed abilities situation as that found in Sheshatshit.

It may be concluded that during the ten year period from 1951 to 1961 the teaching of English to Indian children was viewed as a significant part of the total instruction but not as an end in itself. This was demonstrated by the absence of a pedagogically sound scheme of staging, sequencing, or grading. Since the learning of a language must take place over a period of time, decisions about what to be taught first and what will be offered later become very important. In Sheshatshit, the teaching of English did not appear to be organized around any existing curriculum design. Nor were attempts made to find alternatives to the regular Newfoundland curriculum.

Neither Father Pirson nor Stuart Pike had had the type of training or exposure to second-language teaching that may have led them to seek alternatives. The Department of Education, for whatever reasons, did not consider the need for a program of studies specifically tailored for the Indian students. Finally, the Indian people themselves were necessarily reliant on anyone who came, since they could not have been aware of such abstract concepts as "curriculum models". It can only be assumed that whatever was accomplished was solely the result of hard work and individual determination on the part of those who participated.

In ten short years a school had been established and a program of studies pursued in spite of incredible odds. Unfortunately, the decade can best be described as a trial

and error period. Education was a day-to-day affair, with only a very basic awareness of how to approach the very complex task of teaching English to Indian children within the confines of a "foreign" curriculum.

Mrs. Anna Hammond, 1960 - 1974 -- A New Look

The year 1960 was very significant in terms of the history of education in Sheshatshit for yet another reason. In that year Mrs. Anna Hammond came on the scene. She was to become a central character in developing and re-shaping the direction of education in the community of Sheshatshit.

As was pointed out earlier, in that September, only thirteen students remained in school. In an attempt to utilize teachers in the area, Mrs. Hammond was assigned teaching duties in the settler community across the river until Christmas. When the children returned to Sheshatshit, so did she. This brought the total teaching staff to three. For the remainder of the 1960-61 school year, Mrs. Hammond worked with Father Pirson and Stuart Pike in determining the abilities of students. Pike left in June of 1961 and was replaced as principal by Mrs. Hammond.

Mrs. Hammond was born in Shea Heights in 1920 and was trained as a teacher in St. John's under a Veteran's scholarship.

For several years prior to accepting a teaching position at North West River, Mrs. Hammond had lived at Davis Inlet, Labrador, with her husband, Roy, who worked with the Department of Wildlife. She had not taught in Davis Inlet but recalls learning much about the Indian way of life (Tape, 1982). This may have been why Mrs. Hammond was in her words "pressured" to take the job. It seems some officials of the Department felt that Mrs. Hammond was the person best suited for the principalship. It was not long before the "school" took on a more structured look, with the teaching staff increased gradually to five by 1964. At that time there were two classrooms in the community hall building and three in the main school building. The enrollment for that year shows ninety-two children from ages 6 - 18 (Hammond, 1965).

Mrs. Hammond considered her way of running the school at that time to be "a one-woman show". That is to say, the school board and Department of Education, for the most part, left the school principal and staff to their own devices. Of course, the school was required to handle all the administrative duties expected of any school in Newfoundland, but the Department of Education did not demonstrate much if any innovativeness in offering alternative curriculum models. Mrs. Hammond admits that the main thrust of education was toward assimilating the Indian child and therefore his culture into the dominant society - that is, teaching the

Indian student so that he/she is to become able to be part of the world outside his immediate milieu. In spite of the view of others, however, Mrs. Hammond felt that the regular course offering of the typical Newfoundland school could not be applied directly to the Indian child. It was her belief that an alternative approach had to be found. The problem for Mrs. Hammond became: (a) What type of program is best suited for the Indian child of Labrador?, and (b) Where could such a program be found? These were bold questions and without extensive training in curriculum design Mrs. Hammond realized answers would not be found easily. In the meantime, more compelling issues were about. These included the need for a new physical structure and more teachers, better teacher accommodations, and the factor of low attendance rates. It was apparent that a "school" that had classrooms in three different buildings was less than adequate. It was equally obvious that if teachers were to be recruited to teach in such a difficult situation, the very least that could be offered were comfortable surroundings. Furthermore, Mrs. Hammond felt that a low teacher-student ratio and hence a larger staff could alleviate many of the instructional problems which surfaced daily. In this spirit Mrs. Hammond wrote a seven page report entitled "Indians of Labrador". The report, dated 1965, (which appears, incidentally, to have been the basis for the much later Royal Commission's recommendations

of 1974), covered in brief the entire range of difficulties experienced by the teacher as well as the parents and students as they struggled to deal with the relatively sudden social rift experienced by the Indians of Labrador at this time.

Mrs. Hammond kept looking for curriculum alternatives. She reported in 1965 that her students were able to work close to their pre-determined age-grade level in arithmetic but were unable to handle problem solving. This applied also to basic algebra and geometry. History, geography and science were offered as part of the regular curriculum, but as Mrs. Hammond says ".... all essay types of subjects are being acquired slowly because of vocabulary difficulties and those experienced in English composition" (pp. 53-4). These realizations indicate that many of the problems experienced by the Indian children were a result of language deficiencies in English.

Mrs. Hammond argued that the Indians of Labrador were changing socially and that it was the school's role to help the people prepare for change. This idea assumes the gradual but eventual integration of the Indian into the dominant culture.

Mrs. Hammond used a U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs publication, dated 1958, to justify her demands for better school facilities and programs. Since the Department of Education was simply unable to assist in the development of

alternative programs it was likely an easier chore to support social integration.

She observed in her 1965 report that the Indians of Labrador deserved the right to a more relevant education and called for a government-subsidized kindergarten program. She also gave a rationale for building a school complete with a small-machine and carpentry shop, home economics facilities and an auditorium/gymnasium. Part of the rationale argued that such a school could help Indian students adjust to the accelerated rate of cultural change. Two years later, in 1967, such a school was opened.

With such facilities to support a chosen curriculum, Mrs. Hammond on her own initiative began searching for reading programs that could be used in place of the programs offered in Newfoundland schools. A 1972 report prepared by Father Charles De Harving stated that two such programs had been sought out. The first was a reading course for Kindergarten and the Grade 1 beginner. It was authorized for use in Federal Indian schools and as such had been published by the Federal Department of Indian Affairs. This must have been a breakthrough in education for Indian students. For the first time in the history of the school a program was implemented which accepted the basic principle that Indian children whose Li was other than English would have difficulty integrating into a regular Kindergarten program. This is not to say that teachers prior to this

time were not aware of the problems. Father Pirson, nearly twenty years earlier, had seen fit to use the native language for instructional purposes. In this regard Mrs. Hammond herself wrote in 1965: "Because of his knowledge of Indians, Father Pirson taught and continues to teach the youngest children" (p. 2). In fact, the inclusion of the above-mentioned program occurred after Father Pirson retired as teacher/priest in 1968.

The Basic Oral English Course is still in use in the school today. (Attempts to obtain documented information about the course have been unsuccessful. The Department of Indian and Northern Affairs officials have no copies of the course, nor do they have any information on file that could be used for analysis.) Since this course had not been re-evaluated following its introduction into the Indian school, one could argue that it is dated and therefore does not subscribe to more recent trends in second language teaching. This argument could be challenged, however, on the ground that "if it works, then use it". As a curriculum person, however, I would have to review the rationale for including such a course in a school. Simply put,

> If materials are selected in disregard of the larger curriculum, the result is likely to be a disconnected instructional program that fractionates students' learning opportunities rather than allowing them to build one upon the other. (Gall, 1981)

A second course adopted for use in the school was a reading program. Produced by the National Council for Teachers of English, the program called "English for Today" was intended to help foster reading in English in a way that regular Newfoundland reading programs could not.

This program was researched and written by Dr. Harold Allan of the University of Minnesota (Tape, 1982). It was originally designed for use in Latin America and the Philippines and it may have been the Philippine teachers who actually helped initiate this program. Reasons for the eventual dropping of the program are not known by the present administration. Dr. Allan points out that he has recently written a new program, rejecting nearly all of the approaches used in "English for Today" (Conversation, 1982). It is doubtful if the school's decision to stop using this program was based on any formal evaluation or appraisal of its effects on students.

Eventually, Mrs. Hammond found a program which was designed for second language learners in English whose L_1 is Spanish. This program, called "Miami Linguistics", was newly-developed at the time and was based on up-to-date research on the second-language learner. This action may also be considered a breakthrough, since it recognized that the language needs of the second-language learner are or can be different from the student learning to read in his own L_1.

The teachers of this program, mainly Indian teacher aides, felt it was useful in teaching basic English but that the references to life in the city and to American values were not relevant to the personal experience of either teacher or student. In 1972, however, it was apparently the only material available and at that time it was a bold attempt at approaching language teaching in a new way. There seems to have been no concerted attempt at monitoring the actual use of these materials. Again, as Gall suggests:

> Data on strengths and weaknesses of the materials can be collected to determine whether to continue distributing them. (Gall, 1982)

From 1961-1972 many foreign teachers had to be hired for teaching positions at the Indian school. There were teachers from Quebec, Newfoundland, Scotland, Ireland, England and the Philippines working in Sheshatshit during this period. The teaching methods used by these teachers were probably varied. It was remarked by one teacher that

> ...when classes are in session, it sounds like a session of the United Nations General Assembly, with the varied accents coming from each room. (De Harving, 1972)

According to Mrs. Hammond, teachers, especially the Hispanics, used pattern drills, suggesting an adherence to an audio-lingual approach. Furthermore, language skills were taught in the following sequence: listening, speaking, reading and writing. Rivers (1981) points out that the

teacher of the audio-lingual method requires "...near native-like articulation and internation in modeling utterances for students" (p. 48). It is clear therefore that the teaching of English could not have been systematically or pedagogically organized.

Elements of the grammar-translation (G/T) method prevailed. Teachers placed great emphasis on grammar and translation at various phases. (Stages cannot be identified and it is likely that no staging or sequencing existed.) Nonetheless the teachers may have been better suited to the above mentioned method for two reasons. First of all, little stress need be placed on pronunciation or intonation, and secondly, communication is rarely used traditionally by users of the G/T method. This is not to advocate its use, since the heavy emphasis on grammar may well have been beyond the level of non-intellectual students. Rivers (1981) supports this claim: "Less gifted students find language study very tedious and usually drop out of class as soon as they possibly can" (p. 30). This is not to suggest that the Indian student lacks intelligence; rather, it points to the limited educational experience of many students.

These observations are based on interviews with teacher/administrators of the day. There is no evidence that the school made any choices in methods, since this was the responsibility of the teacher. Teacher turnover, which was exceptionally high during this period, further

contributed to frugal attempts at offering a consistent approach to language teaching.

In the late 1960's as Mrs. Hammond's career was ending, the phonetic approach was considered (or re-considered). Mrs. Hammond had been impressed with her "foreign" teachers' dedication and sensitivity but was not so impressed with the language teaching practices. One classroom teacher, for example, was teaching the word boat. Students watched attentively as this teacher held up a picture of a boat and attempted to repeat the sentence; "This is a boot" with the teacher. The next structure was "This is my boot".

Such mispronunciations of 'minimal pairs' by language teachers could have served only to confuse the language learner. A more direct approach was attempted — phonetics. It is unlikely though that it was more than coincidently related to the earlier-mentioned "Direct Method". Nevertheless, "This emphasis on acquiring an acceptable pronunciation from the beginning remains a feature of direct-method teaching today" (Rivers, p. 33). In the 1960's the schools in Newfoundland were including the teaching of phonetics in the primary grades. This possibly filtered its way to the Labrador schools which, as has been demonstrated above, relied heavily on the Newfoundland curriculum.

Another aspect of the regular language teaching programs that became a main feature of language teaching in

Sheshatshit is the language/literature distinction. Often referred to as "language arts", these two terms are also identifiable with grammar and reading, respectively. The distinction between these two aspects of language learning may well be the cause of much confusion in language teaching even today.

Sister Coffey, 1971 - 1982

Although Sister Coffey did not become principal until 1975, she had begun teaching at Sheshatshit in 1971. Her duties at that time included those of home economics teacher and school/home co-ordinator. She offered Canada Manpower courses as well. As a sister of service and a trained educator, she was recognized immediately as an apparent replacement for Mrs. Hammond, who was soon to retire.

Shortly after Sister Coffey became the principal, the Royal Commission Report for Labrador was published. The section on education in Volume One levied heavy criticism against the educational system in Labrador. In particular, the report said of the Indian school:

> One outstanding feature is the extremely high drop-out rate among students, particularly Indian students, due to language and cultural difficulties, and lack of parental encouragement and interest. An almost completely academic curriculum is probably the major cause.

Teaching in the Native language was recognized as important but rejected on the grounds that "such a plan would be retrospective and likely alienate Native people even farther" (p. 174).

The Commission, however, recognized the need for an adjustment period for all children, who had to learn in a language that was not their own. The employment of teacher aides was encouraged since they could assist the students in learning by explaining concepts to them in their own language (Royal Commission, 1974).

The Commission moved its emphasis from the issue of "language" to "curriculum", a curriculum that would include vocational and technical courses. This was done with the hope that it would reduce the drop-out rate, increase the options open to students, and teach students things they could use in their own community (viz., engine repair and wiring).

As if responding directly to the above recommendations, the school under Sister Coffey began hiring Indian people or teacher aides. An industrial arts room was lavishly equipped and opened at approximately the same time. The latter was also Mrs. Hammond's aim and certainly appeared to be a move in the right direction.

Sister Coffey recognized that the audio-lingual approach had been used by several of her teachers during her first years as principal. This "rote method", as she referred to it, was challenged during the mid 1970's.

Phonetics again became popular, and together with the Miami linguistics, the emphasis of language teaching at Sheshatshit focused on reading. At that time a teacher - counselor and his wife became involved in the area of reading in the school. Sister Coffey says that the school as a result had become very much a second language school. Until that time, however, no E.S.L. methods or materials had been used in the school.

E.S.L. was adopted in the school in 1976 (Coffey, tape, 1982). The authenticity of this is challengeable. Only one trained E.S.L. teacher has been ever hired to teach in the school. This year was 1978, and in 1979, when this writer began teaching in the school, there was little reference to E.S.L. methodology and little in the way of materials. No E.S.L. program existed. There may have been several teachers who attempted to adapt some materials to their teaching situation, but the school did not recognize this. The trained E.S.L. teacher mentioned above was unsuccessful in having the school administrator accept her approach other than within her own classroom.

It is pointless to continue debate on when E.S.L. was recognized, because its recognition did not significantly alter the school's program. Nevertheless, it should be noted that in other parts of Canada E.S.L. teaching had been on-going since the mid-sixties, at least a decade before.

> In the past fifteen years or so, Ontario educators have been instructing English as a second language (E.S.L.) for non-official language speaking children. (Burnaby, 1981).

In Sheshatshit E.S.L. teaching methods were finally accepted — for two reasons, says Sister Coffey.

1) It was becoming popular all over Canada.
2) The school was becoming more Innu oriented.

It was inevitable that some educators would become aware of this E.S.L. approach: teaching children whose spoken language at home was not the language of instruction at school. Regarding the second reason, it looks as though the school decided to be more Innu-oriented. In actual fact the Indian leaders demanded it:

> At the present time our Naskapi and Montagnais children are being fed an educational diet of irrelevant trivia regarding life and experiences of the South. (N.M.I.A. Comment - Paper on 1977 Dree Proposal, 1978, p. 58).

The administration did attempt to prepare students to meet the demands of high school, where departmentalization and the regular Newfoundland curriculum surfaced. These efforts, however, were well-intentioned but poorly organized. Individual teachers gave extra help, counseled students and tried to make their teaching more effective by providing relevancy to much of the culturally irrelevant material. Unfortunately, the school administration was not equipped nor able to offer alternative programs specifically tailored to determine specific needs as well as ways of meeting these needs.

The philosophy of the school in 1974 was "to teach English" (Tape, 1982). "This has changed", says Sister Coffey. "We are saying (now) that Kindergarten students should be taught in Innu" (Tape, 1982).

Presently, the school intends to teach Indian children in their own language, starting in 1983 with the Kindergarten and Grade One class. As these students move to Grade One, Two, Three and Four they would continue to be instructed in Indian but would be offered an oral English program. Two main obstacles stand in the way of implementing this program, says Sister Coffey:

1) The native teachers are not yet convinced of the merits of the program.

2) No materials are available.

For Sister Coffey this new approach will ensure that Indian students will learn to read and write in their own language, excluding the use of English on the basis that you can't do both at the same time. It is not known if this approach has been adequately researched and deemed suitable to this particular situation. (No committee was formed to do this work!). Some interesting comments by Sister Coffey makes one wonder if any rationale for this new approach was submitted to the school board, community, or Department of Education.

> If you learn to read and write in your own language, it is simple to read and write in English ... You have to teach the language, and not the method. By the time the student gets to Grade Three or Four, you teach the words but he already knows how to read ... Whether you learn to read in English or in Indian it is the same method. (Tape, 1982)

Testing in the second language in accordance with the above-mentioned program would not take place until Grade Six (Tape, 1982). Therefore, students who would be participating in the oral English program would not know, nor would their teachers know, what problems, if any, they were experiencing. (Later in this paper a section on testing should provide a rationale for including testing as part of the total program and not as an exercise aimed at passing or failing students. Some alternative language programs will be discussed later as well.)

Although at first glance it appears that the theory and philosophy upon which this new approach to language teaching is based is sound, there is no indication that any particular language theory, curriculum model or implementation procedures were considered. Furthermore, the claim that the program had difficulty is almost certainly an understatement. When the teachers who must implement a program are not convinced of the program's worth and when there are no materials to support the program, it is likely that the program can be considered premature in the absence of the necessary groundwork (i.e., diagnosis of need or total

evaluation of the school).

In a brief submitted to the Royal Commission by the Faculty of Education at Memorial University of Newfoundland in 1973, it was concluded that:

> To deal adequately with the education of Indian children more planning and research are needed and that planners and researchers are needed, should give consideration to the following: school facilities, appropriate programs, suitable texts, teacher accommodations, special learning problems of Indian children.

It appears that consideration was given to teacher accommodations and school facilities; however, there is no evidence of research carried out on the special learning problems of Indian children. At any rate, they have not been reflected in any subsequent programs. The acquisition of suitable texts has been a pre-occupation of this era and although justifiable, it has long been known that few, if any, texts exist that can be used in the Indian school at Sheshatshit without major alteration or adaptation. The seeking out of materials to meet the needs of the students presumes that there has been some form of needs assessment.

> Without such information the curriculum can either overreach or underreach the students and teach what they already understand or expect what is impossible for them. (Taba, 1962, p. 233)

Teachers hired after a particular text book or series is adopted can have no opportunity to determine the value. In this situation the teacher is removed from active participation, leaving major curriculum decisions to

administrators. Doll (1980) responds to this:

> ...the present expectations of curriculum leaders is usually that teachers will work additionally in group planning and that they will involve themselves at differing levels and to differing degrees in the improvement tasks the school undertakes. (p. 20)

Conclusions

The thirty-year history described above was coincidentally rather neatly divided into three periods of approximately ten years each. In each period gains were made in the quality and quantity of schooling offered the Indian child. Indeed, the dedication, patience and determination of all those involved must be apparent. However, a critical view must be attempted.

CHAPTER III

LANGUAGE TEACHING: A GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE

Introduction

There are two broad topics which form the basis for our examination of the Language Teaching Practices afforded the Naskapi/Montagnais of Labrador. In the first place, there is the issue of curriculum development, change, innovation and evaluation. The researchers of this period (1952-60) and before offered ideas which could have been adopted, considered, or at the very least identified. At that time, although Labrador was isolated socially, economically, politically and geographically - the world outside was a beehive of activity in the area of curriculum. Alludy (1953) wrote on the topic of evaluating student needs, Anderson (1953) on curriculum issues, Bloom (1954) offered his taxonomy of objectives, and Bobbitt (1922) had already told how a curriculum could be made. Tyler (1950) discussed curriculum theory, as did McKenzie (1951). Merrian (1920) had written of child life and the curriculum. Druncker (1945) discussed the issue of problem solving, while Dobbin (1950) wrote on necessary achievement in a changing curriculum. In 1946 Storen showed the role of the layman in curriculum planning, and Whitehead (1979) outlined some general aims of education. This list represents only a

cursory view of the literature available to anyone who might have sought it out.

The second and equally important topic is language teaching theory and practice. Many of the following researchers directly addressed the issue of teaching English as a second language (ESL). Many of these names have since become cornerstones in the area of second- and foreign-language research. They include: Bloomfield (1933), Finocchiaco (1933), Friad and Lads (1954), Gateorly (1944), Harris (1951), Hojer (1954), Hesperson (1922), Palmer (1940), Stevick (1957), Wallace (1957), McCarthy (1956) and Greris (1892). Even with this limited number of sources, a credible approach to language of teaching could have been attempted. No doubt many of the applications promoted by these writers/researchers will continue to be challenged. This, however, does not deny the fact that the issue of second language acquisition teaching and testing was very much alive in the mid 1950's.

During the 1950's, then, no clear aims were established, while no real attempt at seeking curriculum models of second language teaching was attempted. Any parallel that existed between the teaching of English in Sheshatshit and that of any other language teaching situation was purely coincidental. It resulted from the efforts of individuals directly involved rather than from any systematic approach to curriculum design.

As Tyler (1981) sees it, the schools

> can do only a limited amount of curriculum development without encouragement, support and technical assistance. The ... district bears the responsibility for encouraging the local school, for helping to obtain necessary resources and providing assistance. The State (Province) can aid curriculum development by clarifying what the state and its public expect of schools in terms of .., function and objectives. (p. 3)

In 1972 Father Charles De Having wrote:

> Nothing has been done by the Department of Education in this Province to provide a special curriculum for Indian children. (p. 3)

As stated earlier, the campaigns to get a new school dominate the first half of the 1960 - 1972 period. Certainly there was good reason for such a preoccupation; however, the issue of curriculum development in the area of language teaching remained in the preconception stage. The new school had been built, and opened, and better qualified and international staff offered new alternatives (DeHaving, 1972).

The availability of literature in the area of language teaching continued to increase, yet the school officials did not see fit to begin with a curriculum model which could be developed and expanded. Rather, they sought a ready-made program that could be adopted easily to the unique teaching situation of Sheshatshit. Of course it was eventually accepted that no such program existed. The

school programs were known to be ineffective, but even this was ignored. No attempt was made to evaluate the program in light of its aim and objectives. By the late 1960's research in curriculum evaluation saw such writers as Gagne (1969), Tyler (1969) and Groliman (1969), speaking to this very issue.

Bibliographies of E.S.L. materials and research were available. Allen and Forman (1967), published such an item, as did Marcella (1960, 1962). The Center for Applied Linguistics of Washington, D.C. were forerunners in the area. They published "English as a Second Language in Elementary Schools: Background of Test Materials (1966)". There were numerous others, but no attempt was made by educators in Labrador or within the Department of Education to obtain them.

As late as 1972, then, only meager attempts at searching curriculum alternatives had been made. This is not to undermine the efforts of Ms. Hammond. On the contrary, such individual efforts must be commended. The real culprit, it seems, was the total system of education.

Language Teaching Controversy

Generally speaking, language teaching practices over the past century have attempted to respond to the changing demands of the language learner. Several well-known methods will be discussed briefly, accepting the realization that no single method can ever be expected to accomplish all that a language program may aim for. For Diller (1978), "Language

teaching methods are manifestations of linguistic presuppositions". In fact, he argues that most methods are variations on but two theories of language learning. Rivers (1981) agrees, stating that in the history of language teaching, two streams of thought are distinguishable, "each developing an integrated system of techniques devoting from its functional premises".

It is incumbent on those who choose methods of language teaching to be aware of several methods as well as the school of thought from which a selected method derives. Then too, Stern (1979) suggests that a history of language teaching theory form part of a language teacher training program (See Appendix).

The early empiricists such as Jesperson (1904) and Palmer (1917) would agree with Bloomfield (1914) that man is essentially a machine with habits which can be moulded by outside forces. Jesperson advocated the "imitative method", while Palmer proposed the use of pattern drills (Diller, 1978).

Rivers would call this group the "formalists". She characterizes this stream as advocating passive student involvement with language learning. The formalist teaching has often been based on "artificial exercises and led to a stilted use of language" (p. 26).

The "Rationalists" represent an opposing view. Teachers from this school of thought reject the habit

formation view of language. Rather, man is born with the ability to think and therefore must be able to learn the cognitive code called human language. Rivers applied the term "activists" to those who would advocate the direct method. Students of this method "are encouraged to form their own generalization about grammatical structure by an inductive process through reflecting on what they have been learning" (1981).

Table 1 (Stern, 1982) shows the changes and innovations in language teaching from 1880 - 1980. It provides a skeleton view of various methods which dominated each decade. (Its major drawback is its failure to indicate that methods continue to be used even when a new approach is advocated.) For example, Lado (1964) refers to the classical grammar translation method as the very first. Diller (1978) rejects this statement on the basis that since the G/T method did not teach students to speak the target language it could hardly qualify as language teaching. Nevertheless, the Rationalists would have to accept the theoretical foundations of the G/T. Diller refers to it as 'ill-conceived' (p. 6), while indicating that his rationalists presently hold no allegiance to this method.

As a matter of fact, proponents of the different schools of thought cannot even agree on the history of their development. Diller (1978), for example, rejects Lado's (1964) assertation that the direct method failed.

> The direct method did not die out at all, but is alive and flourishing, particularly in the Berkeley schools (where it has been going strong for a century, now), and in the Cleveland public schools where they have been using Emile B. De Sauze's Cleveland plan for more than 50 years. (p. 4)

The 1920-1940 period saw the development of the reading method. In 1929 Algernon Coleman reported that most U.S. Students studied only foreign (second) language for two years and since the time offered language study was not enough to permit competency in the language skills (reading, writing, speaking, listening), the only reasonable objective for such a short period of study was the development of reading ability.

It was Lado's observation that many "rationalists" who once supported the direct method had now adopted the empiricist/formalist's position favouring the reading method. There the oral approach to reading was partially acceptable to direct method teacher, but according to Diller (1978), "no advocate of the direct method accepted Coleman's report" (p. 54).

These differences in opinion serve to remind the language teacher that language teaching methods have not developed systematically, each built upon the other, leading to a single complete method which can be adopted en toto.

An earlier claim that language teaching methods often were developed as a result of changing times is supported by the "new approach" to language teaching coming as a result

of World War II. The objectives of the so-called "American Army Method" (Stern 1982) in the 1940's was described by Rivers (1981). "National interests and those of increasingly mobile populations demanded a re-emphasis on oral communication as a basic objective of the language course" (p. 38).

By the 1950's the "audio-lingual method" had been quite fully developed. Rivers credits Brooks (1964) with this term but views the early work of Palmer (1921) as providing the basic idea upon which the method was structured.

Both Stern and Rivers note that technological developments of the 1950's aided the creation of language laboratories which for obvious reasons were useful in language teaching. During the 1960's Carroll recommended consideration of a "cognitive-code learning" method of language teaching. Although it was a reaction to the "audio lingual habit theory", in 1971 Carroll insisted that:

> Neither alone, is adequate...; for effective teaching there must be considerable alteration between rules and examples. It hardly matters whether one starts with the rule or the example as long as this alteration exists. (pp. 103-11, 1966)

It would serve no purpose here to carry out a lengthy discussion of Chomsky's theories, except to echo "During the 1960's and early 1970's, the mentalistic-cognitivist views of transformationalists such as Chomsky dominated all aspects of psycholinguistics" (Titone, 1981).

Mackey (1965), through "Method Analysis", attempted to diffuse existing controversy in language teaching methods. He looked at language teaching in terms of how it should be done.

During the 1970's there was a strong move away from method toward content. This was initiated by the Council of Europe, and emphasized systems development: not how, but what (Stern, 1982).

While in Europe the issue centered on "Curriculum Emphasis", the U.S.A. was preoccupied with a "human relations approach" and "language learning research emphasis" (which asks what goes on when someone is learning a second language). These three, along with such new approaches as Silent Way, community language learning and Suggestopedia, combine to form what Stern calls the "communicative approaches". These approaches have led to a total rejection of the audio lingual methods. The 1980's are viewed by many recent writers as the time for a new beginning.

It has been suggested above that program developers and language teachers themselves would be well advised to consider the various theories and methods of language teaching as documented in the history. The value of this exercise might be to ensure that the merits of a given method or program are compared with proven limitations. It also permits the decision maker the luxury of determining which approach he

considers most applicable to his particular situation. Too much flexibility in decision making may, however, give rise to a pointless eclecticism.

Diller (1978) states: "It is possible to learn a great deal from unusual and unconventional methods of language teaching without adopting any recognizable feature of the method" (p. 151). He cautions teachers, however, to involve "judgment" in decision making.

Rivers (1981) states: "Eclecticists ... try to absorb the best techniques of all the well-known language teaching method..." She distinguishes these from the "drifters who adopt new techniques cumulatively and purposelessly..." (p. 55).

Wilkins (1974) doubts if it is possible to "decide what is the best method of foreign (second) language teaching" (p. 58). He goes on to say,

> The readiness of some methodologists to condemn certain kinds of language teaching and to promote others ... is in my view the result of far too narrow a conception of the principles that govern language teaching. (Prologue)

Though by no means exhaustive, the history as presented may be extensive enough to permit a discussion of how teaching practice in Labrador may well have related to the sociocultural changes occurring over time.

During the entire period there is no indication either that a particular method of language teaching was

subscribed to or that such was even considered. The use of translation in the classroom could indicate an approach to language teaching similar to that proposed in the Grammar-Translation method. According to Rivers' (1981) description of the G/T method, the student would be required to memorize (learn by rote) certain vocabulary items along with the equivalent native language structures. Students often were given written tests wherein they would write down the vocabulary words in their target language but orally would spell out their answers letter by letter in the native language. Students would not by this have been targeted in the new language. Reading in the target language was attempted but students often stumbled over the words, and their own endeavors were replaced when the teacher offered to read the given passages. Next, the translation began, with students being given the grammar rules of the new language, but in their native language. Classroom exercises (seatwork) would be assigned near the end of the lesson. Unfinished applications of grammar rules and paradigm were to be finished for homework.

To differentiate Rivers' scenario from the approach Father Pirson claims to have used, for example, one must consider that Father Pirson was teaching English, the target language, without being himself fluent in English. Secondly, he used the native language (Indian) for most instructional purposes. The G/T method anticipates that the teacher be

near-bilingual in both L_1 and L_2. Unlike the G/T method, Indian students were in fact taught the letters of English early in their schooling. Homework was rarely assigned to Indian students because of their home conditions and the lack of such materials as pencils and paper. Another significant difference was the lack of Indian-language materials. Until 1968 all of the Indian language seen and used by students must have been translated by Father Pirson, or found in books of Prayer. One can assume that oral teaching of English must have been difficult for a teacher who himself was a learner in both L_1 and L_2.

There seemed to be no awareness that the teaching of English to Indian speaking children was in fact language teaching. Furthermore, there was no active search for ideas or materials beyond the Newfoundland context.

On a more positive note, bold attempts were made toward individualizing instruction and in incorporating L_1/L_2 contrastive analysis. The former was born out of necessity since the attendance rate was extremely irregular due to the seasonal hunting/trapping patterns. The latter was possibly very successful since it permitted the language learner opportunity actually to use the L_2 in a variety of situations.

To re-iterate an earlier point this teaching strategy (contrastive analysis) was not continued during the 1971-1982 period.

Curriculum Consideration

The value of curriculum models lies simply in their ability to clarify for the teacher where he is going and how he will proceed, as well as to provide checkpoints along the way to monitor program effectiveness and student/teacher responsiveness. Curriculum models are guides and depend on the accuracy of the data collected about the student, school and community. They require long-term school board involvement and depend on a commitment to change.

Mentioned earlier here were the names of various writers who, as early as 1900, had written of the importance of decision making in curriculum development. To establish further the focus of the curriculum issues prior to the 1960's, a brief history will be provided.

According to Doll (1981) it was generally assumed prior to the 19th century that the curriculum should be fixed whenever possible and that the learner would be expected to adjust to fit the standard curriculum (p. 8). John Dewey, as early as 1896, founded a laboratory school at the University of Chicago which addressed itself to special concerns of the learner. This challenge to the "fixed curriculum" continued with the work of Franklin Bobbitt. In his book The Curriculum (1918) Bobbitt argued that the starting point for any curriculum activity should be through the analysis of life activities. This so-called process of "activity analysis" was more logical and effective than the subject-matter

approach which held that the discipline provided the content of the curriculum. Curriculum specialists of the 1920's therefore sought to have the curriculum reflect the problems of contemporary life (Doll, 1981). By the mid-twenties and thirties, curriculum workers in the U.S. focused upon the activities experienced by pupils in school rather than upon the particular courses taught. Doll (1981) reported however that in actual practice many schools continued to reflect a subject-centered approach.

A major breakthrough occurred in the late 1930's, from 1934-42, during which time Ralph Tyler conducted an eight-year study of U.S. schools. This study was initiated as a response to social conditions of the day. The county was coming out of a major depression, and the high school program had demonstrated its inflexibility in offering relevant courses of study for college-bound students. Tyler concluded that 1) schools were not able adequately to identify specific problems, nor were they organized in such a way so as to permit the solving of specific problems; 2) schools varied differently in their approach, that is, there was little coordination among schools; 3) schools had not devised any method of combining the various theories of learning with the philosophies held by the schools.

Ironically, the social conditions of the day also affected the impact this study had on curriculum change. Since the depression had ended, the emphasis in education

had shifted to school construction and public transportation with the belief that curriculum issues were secondary. World War II tended to fuel this trend.

Nevertheless in 1950 Tyler reworked his four basic questions which defined curriculum as he viewed it. Although his questions do not offer specific answers, educators then and now find them useful when considering or re-considering the curriculum of a given school. They were:

1) What educational purposes should the school seek to attain?

2) What educational experiences can be provided that are likely to attain these purposes?

3) How can these educational experiences be effectively organized?

4) How can we determine whether these purposes are being attained?

Taba (1966), a well known colleague of Tyler, carried this idea further by identifying seven steps:

1) Diagnosis of need
2) Formulation of objectives
3) Selection of content
4) Organization of content
5) Selection of learning experiences
6) Organization of learning experiences
7) Determination of what to evaluate and ways of doing it. (p. 12)

From 1933 to 1959 the researchers involved in the "Cooperative Study of Secondary School Standards" began developing school evaluation strategies in an attempt to aid schools, striving for excellence in all aspects of the school work rather than aiming merely at the accomplishing of

minimum standards. Re-named the "National Study of Secondary School Evaluation" in 1959, this "corporate body administered by six voluntary regional accrediting associations" (Evaluation Criteria Manual, 1978) provides a systematic approach to school evaluation. There is an emphasis on self-evaluation, in that the school staff work on various committees within and outside their own area. Although the American purpose of the evaluation is for school accreditation, the approach could be used for any self-examination within any school system.

Since the 1960's the availability of curriculum models and evaluation techniques has become more pronounced. Advances in retrieval services at universities permit the educator access to worldwide sources. Research leading to the development of curriculum materials for specific learner groups has been an ongoing concern. For example, the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education has had a modern language center since the late sixties. In the past the center initiated innovative research in the area of second and foreign language teaching, and has continued to encourage graduate students to engage in meaningful projects in the area of English as a second language.

This suggests that if a given school or a school board is able to determine that one of its programs lacks clear direction or fails to meet the needs of its students, then a starting point for curriculum improvement might be a total evaluation of the school.

Even as early as 1960, a review of the teaching practices in Sheshatshit could have indicated specific weaknesses in the program of studies. This did not occur. At the end of the 1960's, there was evidence that the Indian schools' curriculum was severely limiting (Snowden Report, 1973); however, still no systematic diagnosis of need was initiated. From 1972-82 some gains were made, but additional demands were placed on the school administration to ensure that students leaving the school were prepared to pursue courses at the District Vocational School.

The school has failed to achieve this goal. Indian students with Grade Ten diplomas simply have not acquired or developed since those language skills required at the trade school level. According to the trade school personnel, students accepted for courses lack the communicative and linguistic ability to complete a course (Tape, 1982). In the past, several students who showed signs of potential in their chosen field could not graduate because of their inability to master "related theory" (Tape, 1982).

The failure of these students is a failure of the system. Undoubtedly, there are many other factors which might affect a student's performance in addition to skill deficiency. It is this inability of the school to pinpoint what a student's strengths or weaknesses are that must require re-consideration.

There are no quick, easy solutions or answers, but there are several directions and options that can be pursued. An initial step is to reconsider what is expected of a language teaching program.

Stern (1982) summarized what is entailed in the curriculum of a language course: It is

> a comprehensive, explicit or implicit plan of language teaching which organizes into a more or less coherent whole, the goals, content, strategies, techniques, materials as well as timing, sequential arrangement, social organization and procedures of a course or program or a set of courses or programs.

Sterns' "multidimensional approach" will be discussed in a later section.

Taba (1962), and, to a lesser extent, Tyler (1950) offered to educators in Labrador a view of "diagnosis" which if applied to Sheshatshit may have functioned to identify areas requiring re-evaluation.

It is entirely logical, as Tyler suggests, to start with an assessment of <u>what is</u> or as Taba suggests, a "diagnosis of need". Taba, though, distinguishes two aspects:

> At one extreme one can speak of diagnosing the whole state of the educational system, including its resources and facilities, in order to determine where the weaknesses are and where improvements are either necessary or possible. At the other extreme one can speak of diagnosing an individual student or a group of students to determine what causes problems and difficulties in their learning behavior. (p. 231)

The former view of diagnosis should probably occur before the latter since it may identify problems within the "educational system" which can affect the individual students achievement in schooling. The total evaluation called for earlier would require such a diagnostic approach. This would therefore involve a general examination of the school's program.

The second view of diagnosis would be the one to be applied to such a specific area as second or foreign language teaching. Diagnosis in any case is necessary for any type of evaluation.

> Diagnosis is essentially a process of determining the facts which need to be taken into account in making curriculum decision. (Taba, p. 231)

Furthermore,

> If curriculum development is to be adequate, ... these decisions need to be made competently, on a recognized and valid basis, and with some degree of consistency. (p. 137)

This is more general than is a diagram of achievement.

Again, Taba points out:

> Diagnosis also provides the information needed to gauge the level of attainment possible. Diagnostic information can be used to decide at which part to start in any particular grade, subject or unit. (p. 233)

By this reasoning, this perspective of the nature of diagnosis is more applicable to second language teaching and learning. The teacher in an E.S.L. class accordingly must have at his

disposal the aims of the school and the pre-determined needs of the student and other pertinent information that will help determine if the student is progressing. The broader aims may be obtained through an evaluation of the school (which would include Taba's diagnosis of the whole state of the educational system); however, the language teacher must be more precise.

Language Testing - The Need for Diagnosis

> One needs to think of diagnosis as a continuous process which may center on some formal diagnostic testing but is also aided by many less formal means. (Taba, 1962)

> If students are to gain from an evaluation program the results of the tests must bring about some change or improvement in the teaching. Weak spots revealed on the tests must be re-taught more effectively. (loc. cit.)

The use of testing procedures as a teaching strategy is in many school situations a well-practiced ritual. The decision to select or construct specific types of tests depends on the use for which they are intended. For example, a test could determine what the content of a course should be or it may be used to discover exactly what was the result of instruction. Since tests are considered an integral part of the curriculum process, a program of testing for placement and/or evaluative purposes must be clearly defined.

It will be argued here that testing has been and should continue to be a relevant part of second-language teaching. Several questions will guide the discussion: What is the function of a test? Under what circumstances is testing most effective? What alternatives are there to formal testing?

This writer believes that the diagnostic testing in Sheshatshit, Labrador, from 1950 to present has not been used to full potential.

This may be due mainly to two factors. The unavailability of standardized tests which are culturally unbiased has always been a problem. Another ongoing problem has been inadequate teacher training and inservice in the area of testing. Prior to 1976 in Sheshatshit, the program reflected teaching practices whereby English was taught as just another subject in school. Subjects in school such as history, geography and English therefore were taught and tested in the second language, English. This approach to testing does not make it possible to differentiate between language and learning problems.

The views of various writers on general testing practice as well as second language testing approaches will now be presented.

Harris and Smith (1972) remind us of the relationship between needs assessment and teaching. In this case, testing would be useful in helping the teacher of a reading class, for example, to use test results to plan instruction strategies.

> Native speakers and second language teachers all approach reading with different language equipment and different cultural differences. Teachers need to make a decided effort to diagnose these and other differences and then to provide for them in an instructional program.

Harris and Smith carry this one step further by referring to the use of tests of achievement in diagnosis.

> In order to diagnose children's reading needs a teacher must be able to analyse the reading problems he meets.

Presumably these reading problems would surface as a result of some sort of testing procedure. Although not a second language teacher himself, Hoover (1976) sums up the function of a test.

> Tests are designed to provide the teacher with a quantitative measure of some experience. The quality of a test, on the other hand, is an assessment of the value of the quantity being measured.

Hoover was keenly aware that as an evaluative technique teacher tests are widely used and therefore must be carefully constructed. He provided a rationale for using the pre-test/post-test approach. The pre-test would be useful in assessing student readiness and it would serve as a baseline for student progress. Any student's performance on this type of test would not be compared with his peers, since the aim is toward an individual assessment needs.

Harris and Smith's view that student deficiencies, once identified, must be dealt with in the instructional program was echoed by Hoover.

> Tests perhaps serve their greatest function as an instructional activity for improving learning ... students who fail to master portions of the test are recycled through the instructional process until mastery has been achieved (Hoover, 1976).

This writer saw little evidence of this "recycling" over a three year period from 1979-1982. It is doubtful if the testing procedure over the past thirty years could claim that testing was intended either as a needs assessment or as a determiner of any student's specific skill deficiencies. The interviews and discussion with past and present educators do not indicate a conscious attempt to use testing in this way. In fact, it appears that there was but minimal awareness of the function of tests themselves. This issue will be discussed later relevant to the role of testing in the 1980's.

In 1972 the Ontario ministry of education produced a handbook entitled "General Methodology for Teachers of English as a Second Language". In the section on testing and evaluation, the following observation was made:

> In any educational process, some sort of measurement is necessary to determine if the students are deriving full benefit from the teaching, and if they have developed the essential skills to progress. An English language program is no different. Testing and evaluating the progress of students towards linguistic competency is an integral part of the instructional program. (p. 76)

The main reasons for testing were outlined:

1) to measure the achievement of students and the success of teaching,
2) to diagnose areas of language study which need more work,
3) to provide continuity of instruction for learners as they move through the program,
4) to judge the effectiveness of experimentation in classification screening, teaching methods and materials,
5) to permit promotion to a higher level (diploma),
6) to find out if placement has been correct; if further grading is necessary.

It is understandable how the aims of a testing program in a school could become confusing. Given the situation in Sheshatshit where testing could and should be an integral part of the instructional program, who would monitor the testing procedures? The staff, although highly educated, most likely have never been trained in the area of testing (general or specific). Certainly there is little evidence in the history of resource persons at the school board or school level who had had such training or experience in second language testing procedures.

This situation appears to exist in many second language schools in Ontario as well.

> The real difficulty in second language teaching lies in the fact that most teachers lack adequate knowledge of testing techniques and general test construction, not to speak of the different types of tests. In addition, in the field of testing such experimentation is still going on: the perfect "all-purpose" test has not yet been devised and perhaps this should not be the goal, because the situation and the students in language-teaching programs vary so widely (E.S.L. Methodology, Ontario Ministry, 1972, p. 577)

This statement may open the door for the eclectic once again. It would be easy simply to choose this test or that test without subscribing to any particular principle. Similarly, it could give the teacher full reign to test whatever he wishes, however he wishes. This should not be confused with the right and obligation of teachers to make forceful decisions when required to do so. What is called for here is a testing program which reflects current research and flexibility in its application to a particular situation with built-in mechanisms for evaluating the various types of tests and the instructional program should the need of adjustment arise.

There are many decisions to be made in terms of placement by second language learners and their teachers. As suggested by Stern (1982), in an earlier section, the timing, sequential arrangement, and social organization of a course are vital. These can best be determined by a testing program aimed at needs assessment.

For Clark (1972), prognosis is one of two broad categories for all language testing activity.

> It is highly desirable, both for the successful articulation of second language courses and to best serve the needs of individual students, to be able to determine the most appropriate path for students to take at different decision points in the language training program. (p. 2)

This is the function of the prognostic test - one of placement. Such testing presumes that a language program has two or more qualitatively different instructional courses or sequences available to the student.

Once the test results have been compiled, Clark points out, in many cases other types of tests can function as placement tests if the teacher is aware of the limitations that may be imposed.

The aptitude test would fall under this category as well. This type of test, however, may not be applicable to language teaching in Labrador simply because the students do not have or have never had a choice of learning English. Furthermore, unlike students in foreign language class, Indian students have been exposed to English in various social situations, making aptitude tests poor predictors of future performance. Again, these tests are usually reserved for students with no previous exposure to the target language (Clark, 1972).

A second category outlined by Clark refers to the evaluation of attainment, and has three sub-classifications.

Clark (1977) considers diagnostic type tests as part of the "achievement" measure, the first sub-classification. Since a significant aim of testing is to obtain information on each student's attainment of language skills, it is imperative that "highly detailed inventories" be obtained. These inventories would show either the student's "mastery or lack of mastery of specific linguistic points". Tests intended to obtain this information are referred to as "diagnostic achievement" tests.

For Clark the benefit of diagnosis is clear. It "offers the most highly detailed information about the language accomplishments of students". "This", says Clark, "is of utmost importance in a day when the student is becoming more and more depersonalized" (1972).

Valette (1967) reduced diagnostic tests to "tests of retention" on the basis that research has not established that retention ability is directly proportional to comprehension. She does say that the retention test, from the teacher's point of view may be considered diagnostic. Valette justified the testing of the student's ability to recognize specific grammatical forms in the target language on the basis that "until all students can identify given forms, it is futile to engage in more complex discussions, explanations or drills utilizing the forms" (p. 75). The diagnostic test thus may be more useful in the beginning or elementary class.

By way of an example, Lado (1967) suggests that if we want a comprehensive diagnostic test of pronunciation to be used for pinpointing specific problems yet to be mastered by the student, we would obviously choose a test that ranges over the sound system, a specific test of listening comprehension. If, on the other hand, we merely want a general-level score to tell us whether this student may go on to study other subjects using foreign (the second) language as a tool, we may choose a skill of auditory comprehension plus one of reading and perhaps one of writing.

Continuing with Clark's outline, we arrive at the "achievement" measurement (the second sub-classification of the evaluation of attainment type). This is a more general test of a student's achievement.

Achievement tests as an evaluation of attainment can be divided into the four main skills: listening, speaking, reading and writing. These four could be further subdivided, as in the reading skill, which presumes vocabulary learning and grammar learning. Students beyond this level would be expected to 'derive as much semantic information from a given test as would a native speaker' (Clark). Valette (1967) suggests that if you teach such skills then you must also test them (p. 55).

"Testing procedures which are aimed at certifying the acquisition of real-life competencies may be referred to a proficiency test" (Clark, 1972). These tests have not

been very well developed, claims Clark. The reason lies in the inability of test constructions in

> defining in an objective and testable manner the linguistic aspects of typical 'real life' uses of the language. The value of these tests is their potential in measuring a student's ability to use the language for real-life purposes - not how much he has learned but how closely his performance meets the goal standards specified.

Valette (1980) equates proficiency testing with determining a student's level of achievement in reference to a specific type of employment or instruction. Unlike Clark, Valette considers the placement test a type of proficiency test. She attempted to apply Bloom's taxonomy to language testing.

> Before one can discuss evaluation of second language learning it is necessary to clarify precisely what is to be tested. (p. 162)

> In preparing second language tests the test writer must decide which stages of the taxonomy are to be covered. (p. 164)

Test construction during the 1960's tended to favor the use of "discrete point items" when testing elements of grammar, spelling and pronunciation. An obvious advantage is that objective scoring is possible. These elements of language, however, could also be tested using "integrative items". The advantage of this type is that a natural context can be provided and that more than one skill can be tested. This type of test did not gain much use until the 1970's. Even so, the "natural context" such as a simple

contrived translation cannot actually be considered "real language" use (Valette).

Valette (1980) distinguished among the elements of language and communication skills. One aspect of the latter is the differentiated testing of the four skills. However, the test writers of the 1960's who developed tests of the four skills failed to "differentiate between items testing elements of language and items testing communication ability" (p. 169).

Other attempts at measuring communication ability were the Dictators (Oller, 1979), the Noise Test (Gredman and Sprocky, 1975), and the Close Test (Oller, Briece and Hinofotis, 1979). Valette calls these "global language proficiency tests" (p. 171).

Finally, a self-assessment of a student's communication ability was introduced recently by the Council of Europe (Oskarsson, 1978). Here the student determines to what extent he is able to utilize the four skills for communication purposes.

Thus far this discussion on testing is an attempt to reestablish the realisation that the focus of language teaching has changed since 1960. A main change of emphasis has been a move from tests of language skills per se to tests of communication skills.

Brendan Carrol (1980) supports Valette's view that the testing of communication skills has only been developed

since the 1970's.

> Traditionally language programs are devoted to the acquisition of lexical and syntactic items with little systematic consideration of the communicative aims of the individual learner; and tests or examinations are only loosely or fortuitously related either to the learner's needs or to the content of his learning program. (p. 5)

Carrol distinguishes between "use" and "usage". These items ban be equated with Valette's "language communication ability" and "elements of language" respectively. Similarly, Rivers (1975) would consider "use" as "skill getting" whereas usage would be "skill using". Krakher (1978) calls use, "language learning" and usage, "language acquisition".

These distinctions have been developed and identified to clarify two important aspects of language learning. Carrol considered it a case of emphasis and priorities. For Carrol, the priorities are: the use of a language in the objective, and the mastery of formal patterns, or usage, of that language as a means to achieve the objective. The ultimate criterion of language mastery is therefore the learner's effectiveness in communication for the setting he finds himself in. The implications for teaching and testing are clear. Tests cannot rely on linguistic based tests given the exclusion of how the student intends to use the target language.

Carrol writes:

> Test tasks must be drawn from a range of inter-related systems, from consciously systematic function, skills and linguistic categories, brought together in the performance of an authentic communication operation; performance whose value is judged by reference to the satisfactory resolution of pattern of communication, function, skill and language in an effective system of language measurement. (p. 121)

Finding a balance between communicative ability and linguistic ability is the chore of language teachers and hence of test makers.

Lenskyj (1980) reports that recent research has identified two components of language proficiency. The first, "basic interpersonal communicative skills", (B.I.C.S.) is comprised of aspects of language production set as grammar and pronunciation in cognitively undemanding situations. The second component is "cognitive academic language proficiency" (CALP) which requires students to perform communicative latency-related tasks such as reading, spelling and comprehension.

Cumming (1980) notes that development in these two areas occurred independent of each other, concluding that BICS is a poor predictor of CALP. The CALP is dependent on cognitive ability, whereas the BICS is not. This implies that the ability to acquire a native-like proficiency in conversational English does not indicate competence in the literacy-related aspects of language. Therefore,

discrepancies in scores on BICS and CALP should not be interpreted simply as a learning "disability" (p. 64).

Lenskyj's article, "When Children Speak English, Do They Know English?", provides an interesting argument for including tasks which foster cognitive academic language proficiency in E.S.L. programs. She concludes that

> programs which integrate this kind of linguistic activity into regular reading readiness program will more effectively prepare young E.S.L. students for the task of achieving language proficiency in the academic context.

Whether language teaching programs should be based on linguistic (usage) or communicative (use) is an ongoing debate. Writers argue pro and con, but increasingly the issue is being resolved by language teachers themselves. In the classroom a balance must be found. No longer can language teaching submit to inflexible programs. Carrol (1980) tells what could happen to students taught using one or the other approach.

> It is easy to see how either of these approaches could go badly wrong. The "usage" emphasis could result in a mastery of sentence patterns coupled with an inability to use them for day-to-day communication. The "use" emphasis could lead to fluency in a Pidgin language embarrassing to the student and unintelligable to the listener. (p. 7)

Testing and teaching English as a second language appear to be inseparable in the final analysis.

Michaels and Prochinsky (1980) in the article "Assessment Materials: Determining Student Readiness for the Regular Program" describe their materials they use for assessment. A somewhat lengthy quotation seems warranted for our purposes here.

> All the selected language arts assessment materials are global in nature. The reading test selected is a criterion-referenced Cloze Test. The test results provide a reading level rating of the student's ability to literally and inferentially comprehend passages of different rated reading levels. The listening test selected requires students to demonstrate literal, inferantial, and critical comprehension of simulated natural speech samples. The test results provide proficiency scores for different types of listening. The writing test is based on the United States National Assessment Evaluation Process (NAEP), primary and secondary trait writing model. The student writes to meet a purpose. His success is measured in terms of how clearly this communication succeeds in accomplishing the purpose of the assignment. The oral expression task measures the student's ability to communicate by participating in a conversation which was taped. His success in communicating is measured by using a checklist. The intention with all the E.S.L. assessment material was to give students the opportunity to demonstrate their ability to understand or make communication. Linguistic errors were counted only if they interferred with communication. All testing was done in a situational context. The situational context was as close to a real communication situation as possible. Each task required the student to apply a number of language skills to successfully

> communicate. In general, the test scores reflected the student's ability to participate in the English Language. (p. 74)

This approach to testing for a specific purpose can serve other purposes such as determining skill and communicative differences.

The assessment materials referred to in the above-mentioned article intended to provide:

> 1) E.S.L. teachers with a consistent format by which students are assessed;
>
> 2) E.S.L. teachers with an indication of where the student is at as compared to students in the regular class at the same age/ability level;
>
> 3) E.S.L. and regular teachers about areas of weaknesses and strength in the child's cognitive development; and
>
> 4) E.S.L. teachers with information to design instructional programs for their students. (p. 77)

Testing as it presently exists at the Indian school is no more than an exercise of the student's ability to recall (probably) unrelated facts. This is not to say that the tests are bad in themselves. The reality is, however, that these tests do not appear to relate to any long-term proficiency rating. In short, tests measure the student's knowledge <u>about</u> the target language (L_2) rather than knowledge <u>of</u> it.

Conclusion

It has been established thus far that second-language teaching is more than the dissemination of linguistic facts to the learner. A language program is more than a slot in a school timetable in which a teacher thumbs through a set number of pages over a set period of time. It is more than a test at the end of a unit of work. True, even though, within a language teaching program, linguistic facts are dispersed, text books are often used as instructional tools, and tests are given, effective language teaching requires more than cursory planning. It requires planning at all levels. Teachers must have at their disposal supplementary curriculum materials as well as curriculum guides. The students' short-term and long-term needs must be determined and program effectiveness must be evaluated. Clearly-defined goals must be established and programs and materials should be implemented (or replaced) only after careful selection procedures have been followed.

CHAPTER IV

NEW DIRECTION FOR THE 80'S

Multi-Dimensional Approach

In earlier sections of this paper language teaching theory was examined globally. It was discovered that educators responsible for providing an education to Indian students might have taken advantage of the opportunity to examine a number of curriculum models and second language teaching approaches. Language testing procedures were also available to them. Admittedly, a great deal of work would have had to be done before a decision could be made on the type of program which would best suit the needs as determined. Indeed, as has been stated on several occasions before this, a starting point would be the assessment of the students' needs. It should be clear by now that in the thirty year history of the school, this was not begun.

In the 1980's, however, certain research has led to the realization that second- and foreign-language programs must be based on curriculum planning which re-examines the limitations of previous language teaching as well as its main achievements. In the past (both globally and in Sheshatshit), any decisions to adopt or replace particular language programs were made on an either/or basis. H.H. Stern (1982) offers a more considered approach, in which

curriculum development in language teaching encompasses four major focuses: language, culture, communicative activities and general language education. These will be discussed each in turn, but first Stern outlines four significant trends in curriculum development in the 1980's which should be noted and taken into account. (Stern refers to it as the "foreign language curriculum" but would permit using the multi-dimensional approach for second-language curriculum development as well.)

The first new trends in the language sciences have already been considered in this paper (Chapter II, Section III). Since the 1970's there has been a widening of the scope of language studies, as well as the development of a more social view of language and language learning. As a result, communicative teaching activities such as speech acts, notions, functions and discourse analysis have been developing (Stern, p. 2).

The second significant trend is language-learning research. The language teachers of the past assumed full control over the language learner; that is, students were taught as though they all learned at the same pace in the same way. By way of contrast, recent research has revealed that

> ... the learner constructs his L_2 competence relatively independently and not necessarily following the graded steps of a program. (Stern, p. 3)

By this, one can conclude that language learning can occur more informally, with the learner taking more responsibility for his own role in the process of language learning.

A third, the "human relations" emphasis, would be apposite to the audio-lingual approach. "In language learning the student is at first very dependent on help but can and should be gradually emancipated" (Stern, p. 2). Since the development of an immediate interaction relationship between the student and the teacher would be more conducive to learning, such an instructional setting suggests oepedia and Silent Way (see Figure 1).

Finally, Stern outlines two major curriculum emphases, both of which are communicative or functional in nature:

1) Council of Europe, threshold level;

2) immersion experience.

The first item points to the fact that "... a language curriculum need not be primarily organized around a grammatical sequence" (p. 3). Examples of this trend include the Council of Europe's threshold level syllabus and Wilkin's national-functional syllabus and special purpose syllabuses. Developing out of this trend has been the concept of specific purpose language learning combined with "language needs" analysis. A selection of language items based on semantic and situational criteria has also been developed.

The second main emphasis has been the Canadian immersion experience. This approach to language teaching was described succinctly by Stern:

> In this approach language is so to speak 'deschooled', as if to say 'take care of the content then language will take care of itself'.

With these trends duly considered, Stern points to the module-making project at the O.I.S.E. Modern Language Center. Teaching materials have been and are being developed, placing emphasis on content and activities rather than simply upon language itself. These "modules", as they are called, aim at engaging students "in matters of real concern to them" (p. 4).

The four main focuses referred to on page 77 would be supported by curriculum guides and each component would have a separate syllabus. For Stern, the language curriculum

> ...must not be too narrowly conceived. That is, hammering away at language practice in isolation does not produce proficiency; in the long run it merely frustrates teachers and students and is educationally indefensible. (p. 9)

The difference between the multi-dimensional approach and any other is that the language component is considered no more important than any of the other three focuses. Previous curriculum approaches to language teaching place culture, teaching, and communicative activities as by-products of the language component, if they are present at all. Therefore, the four distinct syllabi make up a single curriculum, each interrelated. Stern says this approach gives

> ...the L_2 curriculum greater strength, greater balance, and greater educational impact, and to alleviate one of the main objections to current language curriculum, triviality of content, lack of substance, lack of impact and, in addition, inadequate language proficiency. (p. 10)

The four main focuses of the multi-dimensional approach are described as follows:

1) The language component represents the traditional approach to language teaching. The development of this syllabus will, however, require additional linguistic research to assure that what is included as "content" is theoretically sound and proven effective through evaluation. Although Stern notes that the total time spent on language would not be reduced, there would be a reduction in the time spent on "purely structural or functional study or practice". This would be compensated for in the cultural and communicative activities syllabus.

2) The second focus is the <u>cultural component</u>. This syllabus would aim at providing the L_2 learner with an understanding of C_2, the culture where L_2 is spoken.

3) The third focus, <u>L_2/C_2 communicative activities</u>, would expose the language learner "to the living totality of a speech community or to some of its aspects ... What is intended ... is not merely a

physical movement but a meeting of minds" (p. 15). This component should be developed early in the L_2 learner's language experience if it is to be an effective agent in helping the learner survive in the L_2/C_2 environment. Stern admits that some attempts have in the past been made in this area but that they have been haphazard.

4) The final focus of the multi-dimensional approach is general language education. A syllabus in this area would offer the L_2 learner general knowledge about language, culture and society. Stern argues:

> Not only can this emphasis contribute to the learner's skill in tackling the L_2/C_2 in question but it provides an educated approach to L_2 speakers and bilinguals generally with whom everyone in North America comes into contact at almost every stage in one's life. (p. 16)

These modules produced with this focus could then be used in the social studies classroom and/or as support material for promoting multi-culturalism in education.

Given the systematic approach offered by this multi-dimensional language curriculum, this writer can see its application to language teaching in Sheshatshit. Stern realistically points out "Because so much of this is a departure from current practice, it cannot be done quickly nor can it be done by a simple formula" (p. 19). However, the development of modules can be begun immediately and

expanded whenever money and time permit. Then too, this approach could reduce the effect of teacher turnover by permitting each teacher to contribute as his time and experience allow. Furthermore, modules can be changed, altered, or updated as deemed necessary without affecting the total program offerings. This would eliminate the costly expense of replacing total programs.

This multi-dimensional approach lends itself to long-term curriculum development, but as Stern assures us,

> Once the process has been set in motion, there is every expectation that its effects could be substantial and immediate. (p. 20)

Language Program Options

Over the past decade Indian communities in Canada have become more active in formulating philosophies of education. In addition, some have initiated curriculum projects aimed at providing educators with meaningful data on the effectiveness of particular programs. Vera J. Kirness (1976) for example, has made available the aim, designs, curriculum materials and evaluation results of a bilingual education pilot project which was begun in 1971. This project was designed to teach native Indian children in their own language from Kindergarten to Grade Four. The results of the test revealed increased scores on self-concept and attitude tests. Furthermore, students taught under the

pilot program scored as well or higher than student in a total immersion program in English. Such projects can offer to communities guidelines which, if properly tailored, can generate programs best able to achieve desired aims.

The administration of the school at Sheshatshit could obtain pilot projects such as the above-mentioned bilingual programs and use them experimentally. This would be invaluable in providing the school or district with information on the learner as well as the effectiveness of instruction. Barbara Burnaby has in recent years studied language programs, has considered options open to Indian communities in Northern Ontario, and has offered a basis for determining the type of program best suited to for a given community. She has differentiated between "submersion" and "immersion" type programs.

> The present French immersion programs are designed to give children a special educational opportunity - a chance to gain fluency in an additional language to their mother tongue over and above the usual school achievement in regular curricular work. Submersion occurs when it is assumed that a certain minimum standard of fluency in a medium of instruction must be achieved before the real business of education can proceed. (p. 254)

There is a major difference between the expectation of French immersion and of Indian students.

> Native children do not have the same freedom. The control of English they gain in school is a necessity not a plus, and failure to adapt to the English medium environment is total school failure. (p. 274)

Presently in Sheshatshit a practice of social promotion exists. Students can find themselves moving from grade to grade, meantime not having mastered the necessary communication and writing skills. Subject tests are held at the end of each semester. In an attempt to provide incentives for achievement, students are coached toward passing teacher-made tests - so much so that very often memorization can replace the process of problem solving. In this situation the school is honestly attempting to foster learning, yet, in effect, this practice has provided students with a way of passing a specific test without having gained an overall proficiency rating in English. This practice undermines a major aim of native education as stated, that "native children be bilingual by the end of junior division" (p. 283, quoted from P.O.N.A.). Bilingualism is also an established goal of education for Indian students in Labrador (Coffey, 1982). In the study conducted by Burnaby and Tooney (1980), five alternatives for language education are described. A particular school could determine where it lies in the taxonomy and then alter its teaching practices to reflect the language teaching approach adopted. The following is a list and explanation of the five alternatives:

1) The first alternative is <u>English Submersion</u>. Here non-English speaking children are taught English with no allowance made for a possible situation where children speak no English.

2) English with Interpretation is a second alternative for non-English speaking children. Classes are in English except where native teachers (or aides) interpret the material. This type of program is often used in the early grades in Northern Ontario. E.S.L. materials can be used.

3) English with Interpretation and Other Courses. This would be similar to number two, with the addition of a native literary course, craft teaching, or home economics all taught in the native language.

4) A Vernacular Transition program would have all subjects taught in the native language during year one or two of school. English would then be introduced as a second language (E.S.L.). By Grade six or Seven all subjects except "Indian" would be taught in English.

5) The Maintenance Bilingual Program begins much like the vernacular transition program; however, English is introduced in only one-half of the classes. Both languages would be developed equally and independently.

The old submission approach is still there, but Burnaby is confident that programs and policies are moving in the direction of the immersion model. In the French experience, however, all teachers are bilingual in both languages (L_1 and L_2).

> It could well be that this factor ... makes immersion experiences not as threatening to the children as submersion in schools. (p. 270)

Burnaby's book "Languages and Their Roles in Education Native Children" has invaluable implications for second language education in Sheshatshit. As this paper has suggested (and Burnaby would agree) no single approach can or should be expected to produce entirely satisfactory results. Careful consideration of all possible options together with a wide research base will at least ensure that decision makers select materials and programs that are defensible. Burnaby refers to Spolsky, Green and Read (1974), who emphasize the diversity of factors that must be taken into consideration in the planning, implementation and evaluation of bilingual programs for native students. These include linguistics, psychological, sociological, economic, political, and religiocultural factors. Burnaby concedes that these factors alone merely represent a starting point. The gathering of such data at the provincial level may be less significant and more time consuming than would be the concentrating on the local community, where most decisions are actually made. By her own admission, this realization has kept much of Burnaby's discussion on program alternatives and options at the descriptive rather than the prescriptive level. Another reason is the lack of real research evidence upon which to make recommendations. This

approach, though cautious, does not give local educators the false hope that one particular program is guaranteed to be effective. It does, however, place the local decision maker in a situation where he must clarify the community's aims and objectives.

> One cannot find a good route to a desired goal unless one has a sound idea of where to begin and what destination to head for. (p. 381)

Engle (1975) suggests twelve points which need to be considered if further research designs (and, presumably programs) in the area of bilingual education are to be undertaken (p. 335, in Burnaby).

1. The linguistic relationship between the two languages.
2. The functions of the two languages in the broader community, and the possible uses of literacy in each language.
3. The cultural context of learning in the community.
4. The relationship of the two ethnolinguistic groups in the larger society.
5. The initial linguistic status of the child.
6. The period of the child's development in which the second language is introduced.
7. Instructional methods and materials used.
8. The ethnic group membership of the teacher.
9. The training and linguistic knowledge of the teacher.
10. The length of time necessary to observe an effect.

11. The specific subject matter under consideration.

12. The appropriateness of the assessment devices for both languages.

These considerations reiterate the need for extensive data collection and information gathering in Sheshatshit before the new administration of the 1983-84 school year decide to adopt or reject particular programs.

Saskatchewan, British Columbia and the North West Territories have also had to deal with the complex issue of native education. In a memo addressed to teachers in the Caribou-Chilestin (#27) district, Allan Haig-Brown reprinted some ideas which had been found useful by Saskatchewan educators. (This trading of language teaching strategies can be quite a useful exercise.) The brief addressed the special needs of northern children and "...how they (i.e., their needs) can be met by a realistic program oriented to the northern situation" (p. 30). Specifically, the brief builds a case for determining and implementing a bilingual T.E.S.L. Kindergarten program, which would help alleviate problems caused by the language barrier, pre-school experience, and culture conflict. Such a program

> would build on the children's pre-school experience and vernacular language, give systematic instruction in English as a second language with an emphasis on the language needed for mental development, and include stories and songs in the traditional Indian Languages. Specific training for teachers in the use of the bilingual TESL Kindergarten Program is essential.

The above-mentioned program option is only one of many that have been proposed by educators across Canada. It seems incredible simply because no one in Labrador saw fit to initiate a survey of programs in use across Canada.

In the North West Territories much has been accomplished in the area of language teaching. The problems of Northern communities are never the same but certain characteristics persist.

> Many students, on leaving school are not competent to pursue a traditional life nor to compete for jobs in a wage economy. Students should be taught the attitudes, skills, and knowledge to be successful both in the traditional economy and in the wage economy. (Commission Report, N.W.T., 1981, 1977)

This statement was taken from a recent report prepared for the North West Territories Legislative Assembly entitled "Learning: Tradition and Change". The report is divided into twelve sections with a significant section devoted to the Language Program. (The terms of reference for this report is found in Appendix J.)

Native peoples across the Territory were given opportunities to voice their opinions and views on the education provided for their children. The Report gives the reader a balanced view of the success and failures of education in the North West Territories. Of particular relevance for this paper is recommendation Number 22. The actual recommendation and an accompanying rationale follows:

> Funds should be made available to the divisional boards to finance a program to assess the proficiency of native children in English. (p. 98).
>
> Teachers must be able to assess the ability of students with respect to the use of language and to know whether or not language is the cause of a student's strength or weakness in a particular subject. Without the ability to make this kind of assessment, teachers may mistakenly regard some children as retarded and in need of remedial work. Such an impression, mistaken or not, may negatively influence the student's self-image and the teacher's expectations of the student's abilities.
>
> Many students who are considered to have problems with language may really be responding normally to the problems met in learning a second language. Teachers may create problems by regarding children who speak a dialect of English or older students who have some facility in English as though they were proficient in English. We consider this is an urgent need for research into the means of assessing English language proficiency among school-age children in the North West Territories, and we recommend that the divisional boards shall finance a program to assess their proficiency.

Recommendation Number 22, if applied to the Indian school in Sheshatshit, would significantly alter the language teaching practices for obvious reasons. It would soon be realized that the existing programs, although possibly effective in offering an adequate knowledge base, do not and cannot under present circumstances claim to be successful in providing for a bilingual (or even a literate uni-lingual).

Another recommendation, Number 16, (which offers language program options) could be considered with the five

outlined by Burnaby (1980) and mentioned earlier in this paper. Together, they might well provide the Indian school at Sheshatshit with a framework upon which to evaluate their present status. It reads: "Each local authority shall determine options" (p. 87).

> 1) A fully bilingual program to enable residents to use their native language in public administration, business transactions, health care, broadcasting, publishing, and other local services and activities as well as education.
>
> 2) A partially bilingual program to enable students to retain and use their native language for whatever purposes the community deems important or necessary (both the fully and the partially bilingual programs include literacy in the native language).
>
> 3) An oral language program to enhance the student's fluency in his native language, without reading and writing; (We regard this program as short term or temporary because we believe the community will decide to adopt either a fully or partially bilingual program or it will allow the native language to disappear in favor of a second language, probably English.)
>
> 4) An emergency language program to enable students to develop fluency in both their native language and English: Communities in which both young adults and their children are deficient in both languages will need this short term or temporary program. (p. 598).

The sole purpose for including the above-mentioned options, alternatives, and views of native education in the Canadian context is to reiterate the point made earlier - that educators in Labrador must make use of theoretical

research, curriculum models and the experiences of educators in similar situations. It hardly seems credible that the Labrador educator should set about the task of curriculum improvement in isolation.

Language Across the Curriculum

The concept of "language across the curriculum" has long been an issue for English teachers of English speaking students. In recent years it has been proposed that L.A.C. is applicable and is indeed a necessary approach in schools where English is taught as a second language. A major concern is that in the secondary school where departmentalization occurs students are expected to work within L_2, yet practice in that target language is often sacrificed for the sake of content.

The value of continued language practice in the various subject areas was recognized by the North West Territories Committee Report, "Learning: Tradition and Change".

> Teachers of every subject, in some sense must be regarded as a teacher of English as a second language. (p. 18)

This writer would offer L.A.C. as an immediate option for schools who as yet have been unable to make decisions on which specific programs would best serve their needs. Even when a new program is adopted, the L.A.C. concept could be maintained. In order to substantiate a claim for L.A.C.

within an E.S.L. context, the views of various writers will be offered.

Coelho (1978) felt that the L.A.C. approach is necessary if students are to succeed in high school.

> A very important goal of an English as a second language program is to enable students to continue their education in the subject classroom. (p. 56)

It is presumed that every teacher is a language teacher, and, as such, must help students transfer language skills to other learning situations. Sampson (1978) would advocate this view.

> If the E.S.L. curriculum does not focus on developing that abstract tool called language into a tool for thinking, then the E.S.L. curriculum will be irrelevant to the purposes which the rest of the student's education is directed. (p. 56)

The Ontario Ministry of Education is aware of this problem and have recognized the need to increase the students' use of language. In the secondary school,

> the move from an integrated to a specialist curriculum constitutes... a considerably increased demand upon the linguistic powers of the pupil. (p. 2)

The integrated curriculum is in fact language teaching across the curriculum; and the specialist curriculum, the departmentalized approach.

Sargunasiri (1978) makes his view clear.

> Indeed, has not the secondary school put asunder what the primary school put together?

Figure 1 offered by Sugunasiri shows the change of emphasis from the primary to the secondary school in Phase I and II. The third phase presents the teacher-subject interaction as represented in a language across the curriculum approach (Appendix H).

Sugunasiri suggests that the E.S.L. teachers are best qualified to take leadership roles aimed at ensuring that language is central to all learning. Before teachers can engage in this work they must "be acquainted with current thought in the field of language development" (Resources Document, 1978).

A major drawback, however, is teacher training.

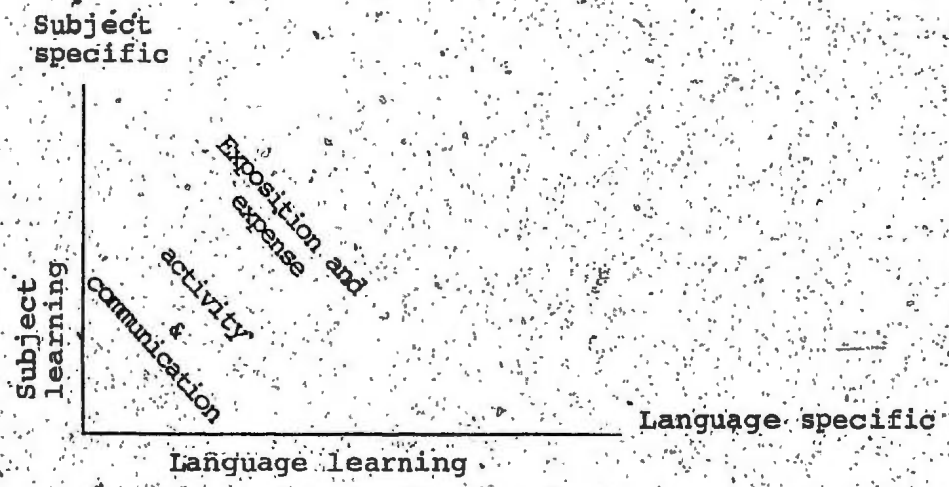
> Faculties of Education assume these (language) skills already well developed in their trainees, and as such student-teachers of perhaps all but English have never been trained to teach such language-selected skills. Even English teachers, at best, have been trained to teach language in relation to literature. (p. 123)

The E.S.L. teacher, therefore, is very likely the most relevant trained professional on staff for the L.A.C. Program.

> The major benefit of the E.S.L. teacher of an involvement in L.A.C. is the opportunity to be maximally relevant to the learner. (Marland, 1977)

With the subject teacher and the E.S.L. teacher both helping in English and dealing with the same subject matter, the learning process is attentuated, and the faster the

language can be learned. The notion was captured by Marland (1977) in the following diagram:



Robin Barrow (1982) felt that if an individual's command of language were increased, then that person's scope of thought and power of communication might also be increased. He noted that "a person's thinking capacity is co-extensive with his command of language. More precisely, "... to enable people to articulate with understanding, or to understand articulate expression is to increase their power of thought".

A language across the curriculum policy presumably would function to achieve this end. Barrow debated the correctness of the term but concedes that the phrase has no sole meaning and therefore is subject to interpretation.

He would strongly urge educators somehow to help the student move away from personal language towards a mastery of public language (p. 37). Barrow also called for an increased emphasis in general language, which he contends schools have failed to do. Instead, the school system, as indicated by the Ontario Ministry (1976), often emphasizes the initiation of children into various specialist languages (i.e., math, science). Barrow, who challenges the above-mentioned view, points out that the original expectations of those who advocated the idea of language across the curriculum was to escape from domination by the formal language of school subjects.

Although Barrow's discussion is limited in scope to first language teaching, there are implications for second language teaching. For example, if, as Barrow suggests, you have to have language in order to think then the inarticulate second language learner has no ability to demonstrate his capacity for thought in the target language. This is further complicated when the native language is an oral language such as is the case of Indian. The mono-lingual Indian speaker can only express himself as far as his language will permit. Since his frame of reference is Indian it must be difficult to conceptualize a non-Indian concept. The bilingual (Indian/English) speaker might not have this problem; he is able to switch back and forth, often relying on his English thinking abilities to explain an abstract concept in Indian (see Appendix I).

The language teacher must be aware of this phenomenon. Contrastive analysis might be a starting point. Although it primarily concerns itself with discrete linguistic comparisons (and contrasts) it could be expanded to consider analyses of differences in the level of abstraction of L_1 and L_2. These concerns must be considered in the early stages of curriculum development and even more importantly in teacher training programs.

Therefore, language across the curriculum is a concept which must be reconsidered in light of new approaches in second language teaching practices in the 1980's and beyond.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION/SYNTHESIS

Clearly the next decade offers a challenge for all these educators given the responsibility for Indian education in Labrador. The challenge will be to reassess the very aims of education for the Indian school at Sheshatshit - and by extension to Davis Inlet. Although a statement of philosophy was offered to teachers some four years ago, it was a single-handed effort and neither the school board nor the community were consulted. It has no educational impact.

During the next ten years, data which is accurate and unbiased [must be collected] about the community and the nature of the Indian child. A common difficulty experienced in collecting this type of information is the diversity of the population. In Sheshatshit this position is substantially reduced because of the homogenic nature of the school. All two hundred and fifty school age children in the community attend Peenamin McKenzie School. The exigencies of this situation will not be attempted here except to point out that in terms of research many variables can be controlled when all the children in school have such similar backgrounds.

The community must be given opportunities to participate in the education of their children. This will

require a form of in-service which could be planned as part of a community/curriculum project. The presently defunct Indian Education Authority would have to be reactivated and supported by the community at large as well as the school staff. It is the local community that requires the most support. Guidance in school-community relationships (for staff and parents) would ensure that conflicts would be kept at a minimum through an effective school/community communications network.

The teachers need support as well. They must be given freedom to initiate teaching strategies that they find useful and yet in-servicing must function to keep them abreast on new or innovative ideas found useful elsewhere. A Steering Committee might be established in an attempt to identify specific areas of the curriculum which require re-evaluation. Individual committee members would assume responsibilities for a particular area and report back to the committee at large. This simple committee structure, once running smoothly, should be able to prioritize problems and suggest directions for change. Existing programs would be assessed as time permits; however, no new program would be adopted before the rationale and timing of implementation were well established and duly accepted.

In the past there has been a noticeable apprehension toward English as a second language teaching program. This may be due to a lack of understanding by teachers of the

principles which guide T.E.S.L. No trained E.S.L. personnel have been hired either at the school or school board level. This indicates a lack of expertise in the area and has resulted in few concerted efforts at choosing, designing and the implementing tailored progress. Furthermore, the strengths and weaknesses of present programs - that is, the actual positive or negative effects of instruction - are simply not known.

Language teaching practices and indeed teaching practices generally suggest a lack of support for diagnostic teaching. Diagnostic teaching presupposes that a diagnosis or assessment of students has taken place and it practically demands that measures will be taken to alter an identified problem area.

The relationship between diagnosis and prescription may be as Peters (1965) sees it:

> The purpose of diagnosis is to determine the educational relevance of handicaps. Prescriptive teaching is based upon those diagnostic findings.

This call for diagnostic teaching presumes that at some point not only will individual student's needs be determined, but at some point in the immediate future a total evaluation of the school's program will have been activated. The year 1983 would be a good year to prepare for such an evaluation. In September 1983 a new principal will be hired and it is expected that a renewed co-operation and relations approach toward education in the school will

be fostered. Since it is the principal who traditionally made all curricular decisions in addition to regular administrative functions one wonders where the priorities will lie. Nevertheless, the time is ripe to look carefully at the directions the school will follow in the next few years.

Memorial University of Newfoundland has proven that it has an important and functional role to play in Native education through its Native and Northern Education Programs. This small department co-ordinates with other university departments to offer a rounded degree program (and diploma) for Native teachers presently working in northern communities. It is also likely that teacher training will be expanded to offer courses to teachers in pursuit of other education degrees, who may find themselves in Labrador. School boards have and should continue to support these programs. In fact, the boards might insist, or at the very least encourage prospective teachers to obtain credits in courses which relate to teaching in northern (and native) communities.

The Department of Education must also play a more consistent role in Indian education, lending expertise to the school to enable teachers to make pedagogically sound and economically viable program selections. The schools and school boards appear to desire autonomy from "the bureaucrats from St. John's". This autonomy has cost the local education authorities over the years. The boards

and school principals did not want curricula decisions made in St. John's, and presumably for good reason. However, the local education and decision makers seem to have taken a nearsighted view of the educational possibilities of the local community. In the future, therefore, it is imperative that a new partnership be established, wherein curriculum specialists, second language consultants and experienced teachers of Indian children share their knowledge in pursuit of new ways of approaching old problems.

In the 1980's patience must be exercised by those who advocate change. The directions must be clear and well planned. This will require an unquestionable commitment to change. Time must be taken to reflect on the past and careful deliberation of the future must be exercised. Specifically:

> In any discipline where the evaluation of thought is occurring at an accelerated rate, it becomes more and more difficult with each passing year to reconcile the practices of the past with promises of the future. The gaps between theory and practice are especially visible in language teaching in the 1980's. But because responsible theory-building is a slow and deliberate process, one must expect new ideas to be evaluated, tested, accepted and absorbed more slowly than they are produced. In this sense, the gap between theory and practice is a productive one.
>
> (Omaggio, 1982, p. 47)

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APPENDIX A

APPENDIX A

Native Education

Ten Designated Communities (Fed. - Prov. Agreement)

	Nain	Hopedale	Makkovik	Rigolet	Mud Lake	Davis Inlet	NWR (Indian)	Black Tickle	Post-ville	Conne River	Total
General Population Source: Lab. Service Division	930	450	340	270	100	300	550	200	200	550	3,890
Student Population 1976-77 Source: (Dept. of Ed.)	272(k-10)	149(k-8)	95(k-9)	51(k-8)	25(k-9)	107(k-9)	218(k-10)	56(k-9)	61(k-9)	214(k-9)	1,248
1977-78	253(k-9)	149(k-9)	98(k-10)	65(k-8)	22(k-8)	102(k-8)	232(k-9)	60(k-9)	62(k-10)	220(k-10)	1,263
1976-77 No. of Teachers	15	10	8	3	2	9	17	3	3	8	78
1977-78 Source: (Dept. of Ed.)	16	11	8	3	2	10	16	4	3	9	82
1976-77 No. of Native Teachers	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	1	3
1977-78 Source: School Bds.	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	1	3
1976-77 No. of Native Teacher Aides 1977-78 Source: School Boards	4	4	3	2	—	2	4	—	—	—	19
School Board Responsible	LEISB	LEISB	LEISB	LEISB	LEISB	RCSBL	RCSBL	RCSBL	PA	HSBSB	

APPENDIX B

APPENDIX B

DEFINITIONS OF LEVELS

Adapted from TRIM, J. L. M.: Developing a Unit Credit Scheme of Adult Language Learning. Toronto, Pergamon Press, 1978, pp. 66 ff.

	Listening	Speaking	Reading	Writing
I	• can differentiate English from other languages • can understand a few words and phrases • may recognize some words in a stream of speech	• single words • can be understood by teachers • supports speech with gestures	• can understand most common signs in English	• can copy English
II	• can identify topic when a person speaks but cannot follow content • frequently misunderstands	• dependent on memorized speech, not able to create original sentences • hesitant, many errors	• can identify topic • can understand gist of public notices • can get information from charts, maps	• can fill in forms • not creative with language • can take slow dictation
III	• can only identify topic when listening to normal conversation between native speakers • can follow speech directed to him or her but needs frequent repetitions or rephrasings • frequently misunderstands speech on radio, telephone	• single sentences • only competent to deal with predictable needs • not able to invent new sentences readily • requires a patient listener • slow and with errors	• can get topic and main idea • needs dictionary for details • slow • difficulty reading handwriting	• can construct sentences but not continuous text • dependent on dictionary

DEFINITIONS OF LEVELS

(Cont'd)

	Listening	Speaking	Reading	Writing
IV	• can follow formal speech directed at him. • difficulty with colloquial speech • does not get jokes in English	• can convey most types of information related to his interests • fluent enough to interact with native speakers • fewer errors • still needs vocabulary development	• can read most texts in area of interest with limited comprehension—may have to reread to extract information • unfamiliar vocabulary can be deduced from redundancies • slow • can read most handwriting	• can construct continuous text to report series of events or information • still needs dictionary
V	• can follow native speaker in area of interest, some difficulty in following a discussion • colloquial speech difficult	• adequate related to interests • may have to plan ahead or reformulate statements • finds common situations easy	• can read variety of texts with high level of comprehension • slower than native speaker	• can write for a variety of purposes related to interests • slower than native speaker
VI	• can understand as much as native speaker does, except in unusual circumstances—e.g., sudden topic change, or high noise level	• adequate for areas of interest, may have to plan or reformulate language • may have to clarify	• complete comprehension in areas of interest • reading rate may be less flexible	• competent in area of interest • free of spelling and grammatical errors • more problems of style or choice of vocabulary than native would have
VII	• native-like comprehension of varied style and speed	• like native speaker	• like native	• native-like proficiency

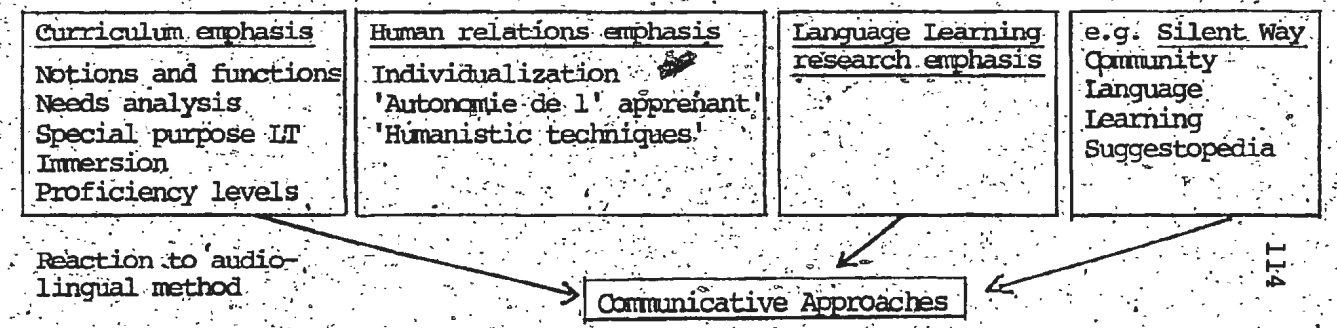
APPENDIX C

APPENDIX C

CHANGE AND INNOVATION IN LANGUAGE TEACHING: 1880-1980

H.H. Stern

Period	Decade	Main features
I	1880-1920	Reform/Direct Method Phonetics
II	1920-1940	Compromise Method / Modern Foreign Language Study Reading Method (U.S.A./Canada) BASIC English
III	1940s	Linguistic approach to language teaching American Army Method. Intensive language teaching
	1950s	Audiolingual (U.S.A.) and audiovisual (France/Britain) methods FLES Language Laboratory Psycholinguistics
	1960s	Audiolingual Habir Theory v. Cognitive Code Learning (Carrol, 1966) Impact of Chomsky's theory. Sociolinguistics. Method research (Scherer-Wertheimer, Pennsylvania Project etc.) Method analysis (Mackey, 1965)
IV	1970s	Breakaway from Method Concept New Methods



	1978	Reaction to audio-lingual method
V	1980	New beginning

APPENDIX D

APPENDIX D

Personal Afterthought

When I became aware that my studies in Anthropology/Sociology could be applied to issues in education, the idea of teaching seems much more exciting. An English major with a degree in the social sciences! Teaching in Labrador was inevitable I suppose, although I didn't know it then. I was exceptionally thrilled when the job offer came, however, the effect teaching in an Indian school would have on such a person as me was not clear. How could I have known that I would be first the science teacher and then the high school English teacher? The realization that as teacher I had to develop units of work based on the specific aims and objectives set for particular grades gave way to such questions as what am I expected to teach? What is to be the result of my teaching? To these questions I could find no answers. But why? Was this not 1980? Hadn't Labrador education and administration heard of needs assessment and program evaluation? To my dismay there was little indication that they had. The curriculum guidelines to be followed by teachers were as wide and varied as the subject matter. The school seemed to be the focal point of decision making regarding what was to be taught. It was as though everyone knew what was expected of them. Classes began and teachers taught but the exact sequencing and scope of many programs appeared somehow inexact. Staff members often

shook their heads in dismay as to how a given student ever got to his assigned grade level. In more cases than not a given text was the total program. In such cases teachers questioned the appropriateness of that particular solution. Still no meetings were held to discuss the availability of new texts.

As an instructor to Indian teachers and teacher aides, it came to my attention that the reading course used for nearly ten years had been replaced by a new one. The delivery of this new program was largely the job of these Indian teachers. They were not asked to meet and offer suggestions. In fact they were told in June that a new program would be offered. In September - without ever having seen the material - teachers began to use this program daily. Apparently no in-service was offered and no evaluation scheme has since been proposed. These teachers were upset with this new program, yet their views were not considered. When instituting change in a school system teachers should be given opportunities to preview materials before new programs are selected or adopted for use in the school. Unless teachers are able to actively participate in the curriculum process the effect of their instruction upon students probably will be severely minimized.

APPENDIX E

APPENDIX E

"Issues and Options in Language Teaching Training"
H.H. Stern

Proceedings of the Symposium on Teacher Training: The Neglected Aspect of Second Language Pedagogy.

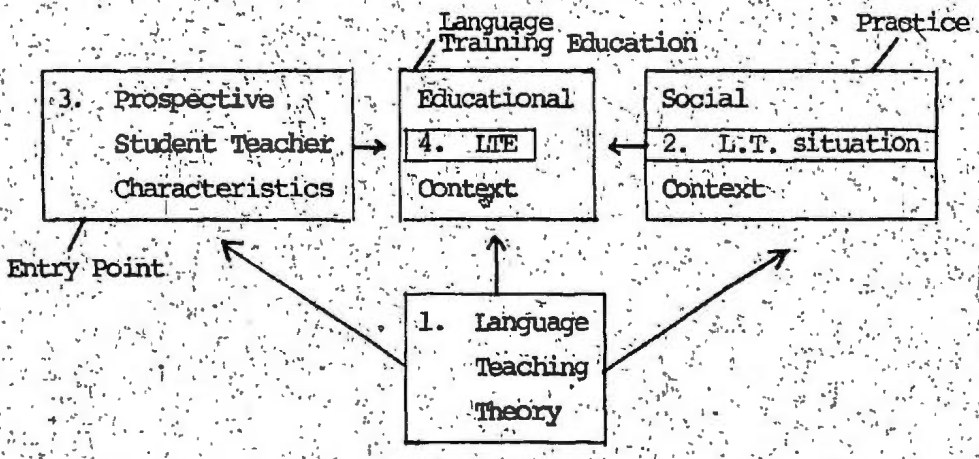
Journal 19, Special Issue of the Centre for S.L.L., University of Ottawa, May 1979.

1) "The question of integrating theoretical, academic, or substantive studies in relevant disciplines with practical experience on actual professional tasks, problems, or cases - ... is an equally difficult question for professional education generally."

2) i) "What qualities do student teachers already have before training?"

ii) "What qualities should the training give them?"

3) Model of Factors in LTE:



4) "A language teaching theory implies a view of * the nature of language, * language learning, * the role and function of teaching, * the characteristics of language pedagogy in different language learning settings."

5) "The analysis of a language teaching situation should always be done in the context of a broader view of the institution, the educational system, the curriculum, the language situation of the region or country as a whole, and the historical-political circumstances which bear on this situation."

6) 4 Directions:
- i - Universality of LTE.
- ii - Planning LTE on a continuous and integrated basis.
- iii - Research and development in LTE.
- iv - Professionalization of the language teaching profession.

Language teacher education must be responsibe to student needs, social contect, and educational context.

APPENDIX F

November 12, 1982.

TO: Dr. E. Cramm, Head, Department of Curriculum and Instruction

FROM: Brian Vardy

SUBJECT: Funding for Research

In my thesis I intend to analyze the various approaches that have been attempted over the last thirty years to teach English to Indian students in Labrador. Eventually I hope to justify diagnostic testing at various grade levels. This will require a brief history of education in the area.

A major difficulty exists, however, little or nothing has been written about Indian education. For this reason I feel that I must visit Labrador in person. I intend to interview several key people who will ensure that my research reveals accurate information.

I have made initial contact with the following people in Labrador:

1. Mr. Gerald Butler (superintendent)
2. Mr. Stuart Fairhurst (school v.p.)
3. Mr. Edward Kelly (school board official)
4. Father Len Paradis (priest)
5. Father Pierson (priest and teacher from 1950-1962, presently living in Sept-Isle)
6. Sister Joan Coffey (school principal)
7. Mrs. Hammond (principal 1962-1971)

All of these people have told me that a personal visit would be more beneficial. In particular Father Pierson invited me to spend "a couple of days" with him. From his accent I assume that he would be more comfortable if he could speak of his work without pressure of time and the coldness of the telephone (his native language is French).

The following is a budget and an expanded rationale for this proposed trip.

RATIONALE

Since the Indians of Labrador were encouraged to settle at North West River, their lifestyles have changes considerably. When Father Pierson was charged with providing spiritual guidance and education for these people the only buildings in the community were the school, church, and the priest's house.

At that time the teaching of English was introduced to help the Indian prepare for the changes he would face. Although the strides forward are noticeable, few students left school proficient in the English language. It appears that the approach taken by the school in those early years toward language teaching was relatively unsuccessful, however. Students who were able to spend the time in school did acquire those skills necessary to communicate with English speakers as required.

Today, the expectations of these students has increased to the point that the curriculum assumes bilingualism. The high drop-out rate and low success rate does indicate a problem. It may be that the school's emphasis has moved away from the teaching of English as a second or foreign language. Before I can attempt any form of analysis, I must first discover where the emphasis has been over the years. It is important therefore that this thesis study the "History of Education" in its attempt to justify diagnostic testing. The purpose of these assessments would be simply to determine a student's readiness to move into classes that demand a higher level of language usage. They will also ensure that courses and programs are set achievable goals for students. Students who are unable to master various skills may be re-taught before moving to the next grade level.

BUDGET

Travelling from St. John's to Sept-Isles December 1, 1982
Travelling from Sept-Isles to Goose Bay December 4, 1982
Travelling from Goose Bay to St. John's December 8, 1982

1.	Total cost of air fare	$522.50
	tax	57.25
		$579.75
2.	Taxi fares	60.00
3.	Food - 6 days @ $18.00	108.00
4.	Hotel (if required)* 3 nights @ $50.00	(150.00)
		$747.75

*not included in total

I have had to book these above flights in order to save approximately $175.00 from the regular fares. If need be, I will absorb the food and taxi cost myself.

The time involved in getting the information I require is extensive, and therefore an approval of this request would ensure that the time devoted to this thesis is best spent.

Than you for the opportunity to justify this claim.

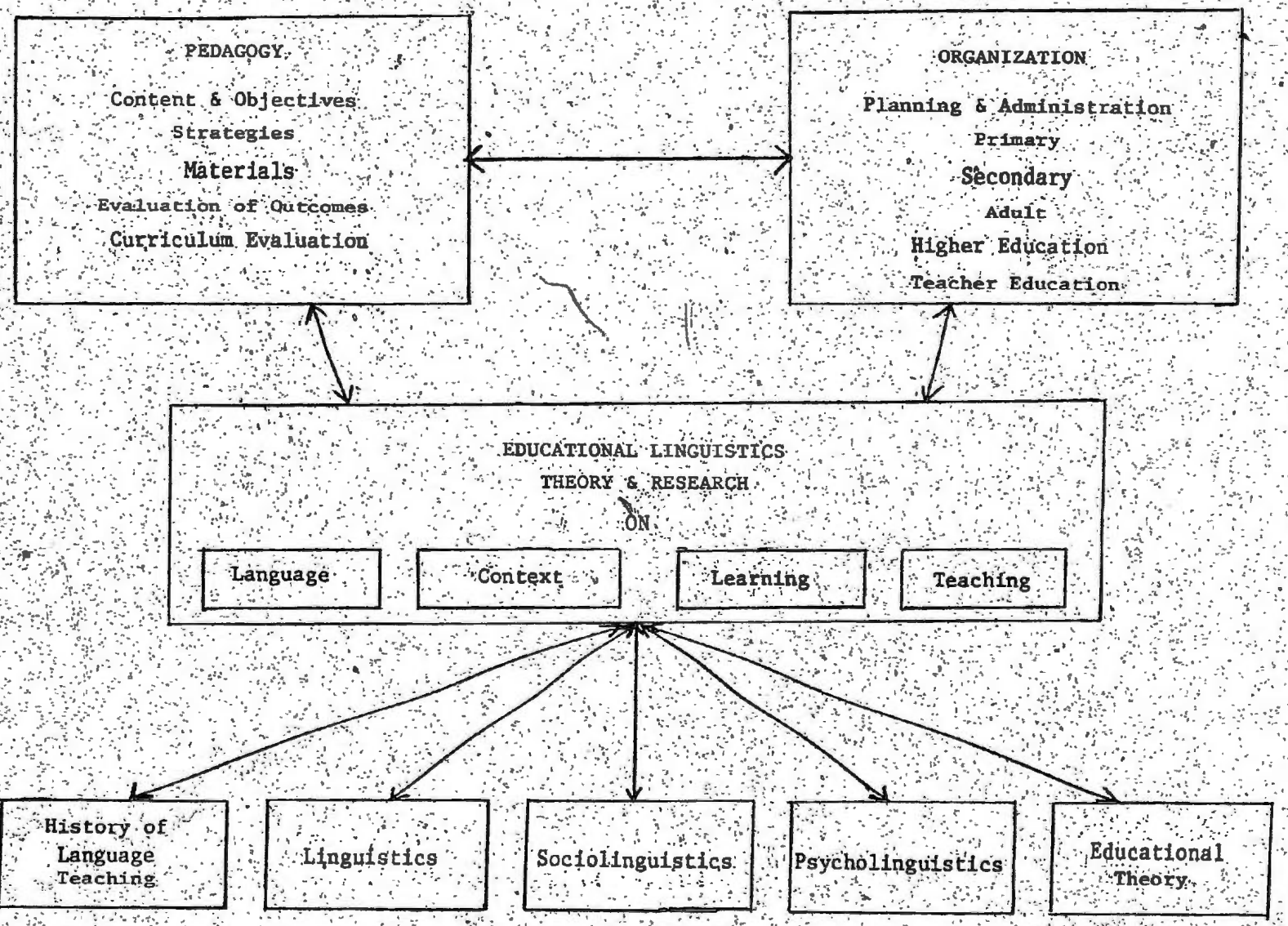
Brian Hall

APPENDIX G

APPENDIX G

A GENERAL MODEL FOR SECOND LANGUAGE TEACHING

H.H. Stern, 1982



APPENDIX H

APPENDIX H

Primary School

English	Math	Science	Art	Social Studies	Health
Lit in Lang	Math in Lang	Science in Lang	Art in Lang	Social Studies in Lang	Health in Lang

1 (a) Primary school teacher as "content (subject)-in-lang teacher".

Secondary School

T_1	T_2	T_3	T_4	T_5	T_6	T_7
Eng	Math	Science	Art	Shop	History	Phys. Ed.
Lit & Lang	Math	Science	Art	Shop	History	Phys. Ed.

1 (b) Secondary school teacher as teacher of content.

Language Across the Curriculum

T_1	T_2	T_3	T_4	T_5	T_6	T_7
Eng	Math	Science	Art	Shop	History	Phys. Ed.
Lit in Lang	Math in Lang	Science in Lang	Art in Lang	Shop in Lang	History in Lang	Phys. Ed. in Lang

i.e. language across the curriculum view of secondary school teacher as "content (subject)-in-language" teacher.

Figure 1. The Teacher, Subject and Language Relationship

APPENDIX I

APPENDIX I

Happy Valley District Vocational School

XXXXXXX

TO: Mr. A. van Kesteren - Director of Vocational Education

FROM: Dave Lough - Principal - Happy Valley D.V.S.

RE: Job Readiness Training - North West River - Sheshatshit

DATE: 1980 06 24

I have been involved on a committee with the Indian Community of North West Rover during the past year identifying learning objectives. The result of the process has been the submission of a proposal for a JRT centre for that community. I am therefore familiar with the project proposal and have been in contact with the local Canada Employment Office regarding this project.

The objectives of this program as ifentified in the proposal are valid.

1. To help overcome employment problems by developing abilities in English, Life Skills and Leadership.

2. To enable clients to select occupation or Training goals and provide specific skills for their achievement.

3. To help the clients assume responsibility for themselves, their family and their community.

The Sheshatshit JRT program should not be grade oriented, that is, designed to upgrade participants to a grade eleven standard, instead it should focus on the key learning needs, English as a second language and Life Skills.

Almost all educators connected with the Indian people of Labrador in the past two years are in agreement, that there is a major need in oral communication, reading

and writing skills. The TEPL program has identified this need although a lot of unnecessary money was spent and expectations raised before it was realized that a solid and consistent program in the basics is needed for the Indian people.

METHOD -

To be effective this proposed program must build on the current situation as well as the experience of adult upgrading in 1971-72 and 1974-75 in North West River. I feel strongly that three instructors would be required for fifteen students. At least one of these instructors would be an Indian who is bilingual, to assist in communicating the program within the class and within the community. Another instructor should have extensive experience in English as a second language with Canada's native people and a third instructor should have some basic education and life skills experience. I would suggest that a Canada wide search for an ESL instructor may be desirable to ensure that we utilize the extensive experience gained in Alberta, Saskatchewan and the Territories in this field.

An Adult Education Centre has been designed by the Indian Band Council in co-operation with the Drafting Class of the Vocational School. Funding to build the centre is being requested through the Federal Provincial Committee for Native funding. In the meantime temporary space is available in the old teachers apartment building currently owned by the RC School Board.

COST -

Salaries: - an average cost of $20,000, Labrador Allowance included, may be necessary. An experienced ESL instructor may be higher and the Indian instructor may be lower with average community salaries in the $15,000 range.

Rent: Two classrooms would be desirable and with heating costs rent would be at least $500.00 per month.

Materials & Supplies: - Besides for materials currently in use the Province resources from Native Education Centres in Western Canada would have to be purchased. $3500.00 would be a starting figure.

Captial Equipment: - tables, chairs, desks, tape recorders, audio visual aids, a 16 mm projector, a slide projector and a VTR unit would be essential. $8000.00 would be necessary.

Administration: - A budget for program support to ensure that the instructors can avail of relevant learning opportunities and that they can seek out help from support agencies is essential. $2000.00 would be minimum.

Total cost of approximately $80,000. with 15 students for 200 days would mean a per diem cost of $26.66.

ACTION STEPS -

Immediate approval will be necessary for a start this fall.

1. Advertising for staff -
   1. One ESL instructor (nationally)
   2. One life skills and basic education instructor
   3. One instructor - translator
2. Requisition for supplies should occur within the next few weeks to ensure North West River delivery by September.
3. Location needs to be finalized so minor repairs can be made to temporary location.

Program Support:

A co-operative effort between the resources of the Division of Adult & Continuing Education (Rene Enguehard and Fail Gosse) Vocational and Technical Education (Staff & resources of Happy Calley District Vocational School) and Memorial University TEPL Program will be invaluable. All parties should meet to work out support details as soon as possible.

It should be noted that while this JRT is being identified as dealing with the Indian community of Sheshatshit, it is anticipated that the Indian community of Davis Inlet could perhaps participate in the program and steps could be taken to encourage this in the fall.

As is well known, projects in North West River have often faced numerous obstacles. In this project flexibility and awareness of the local situation will be key. As an example it may be necessary to enroll 20 - 25 students to achieve an average daily participation of 15. As well absenteism for hunting & fishing trips can be anticipated and a certain amount of flexibility by instructors will be necessary.

I would like to emphasize the urgency in approving this project in order that it can proceed this fall. I look forward to working on this project since it has community support and interest and can meet some of the real needs of Labrador's Indian people.

Yours truly,

Dave Lough
Principal

DL/tw

enclosure

Writer's Note: This program is ongoing and largely successful. Many of its students, however, are just out of school with a grade eight or nine diploma. Yet they lack the skills required to fill out simple application forms, attend personal interviews or succeed in Trade School courses.

APPENDIX J

APPENDIX J

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES
SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

Terms of Reference

The Special Committee on Education shall:

A inquire into current problems and public concerns about education including without limiting the generality of the foregoing:

- special problems of Native students
- languages and education
- curriculum
- facilities
- quality of education
- grants and bursaries
- special education
- teacher training
- continuing and secondary education

B review all aspects of existing legislation, policy and philosophy concerning education in the Northwest Territories and make recommendations to the Assembly for reform.

C consult in all parts of the Northwest Territories, members of the public, local education authorities and interested groups through public hearings and other meetings, written and oral submission and other appropriate means.

D initiate action research projects to demonstrate new approaches to solving education problems.

E recommend urgent changes in existing policies from time to time as deemed necessary.

F present to the Legislative Assembly a report and recommendations respecting education grants and bursaries at the fall session of 1980, and an interim report of its findings at the fall session of 1981 and a final report and recommendations to be made early in 1982.

APPENDIX K

APPENDIX K

The following table shows statistics on Indian men and women between ages 20 to 40 who are presently enrolled in a job readiness training program (J.R.T.) during 1981-82 year.

Three groups have been identified by teacher Judy Norman.

Level I (*) Estimated Grade Level - nine or below

These students are able to speak, read and write English well. Persistent problems include 1) omission of articles/prepositions, 2) verb endings/tense, and 3) word order. Possibly lacking in communicative skills required for many jobs and training programs. Several of these students had finished Grade 9 or 10 or 11 in school. (See Table)

Level II (**) Estimated Grade Level - seven to eight

This group had six months of life skills training before developing reasonable oral skills. Reading and writing skills remain lower than grade level achieved in school. (See Table) Similar grammatical problems as listed for Level I. Communicative skills deficient but improving. Several of these students had finished Grade 8, 9, or 10 in school.

Level III (***) Estimated Grade Level - five or six

Very poor oral and communicative skills. Reading and writing skills well below grade level achieved by students in school.

These statistics support the claim that the 'Social Promotion' is practiced by the school. The school does not have any reliable data on the language skill abilities of any of its students.

Student	Birth Date	Grade Left School	Year Left School	Date of Entry to JRT
* 1	6/7/57	9	1975	1981
* 2	11/2/56	8	1970	1981
* 3	17/8/53	7	1969	1981
* 4	23/4/61	9	1975	1981
* 5	13/02/62	9	1978	1981
* 6	20/02/61	10	1979	1981
* 7	08/12/61	11	1981	1981
* 8	26/12/62	9	1979	1981
* 9	24/07/56	10	1976	1982
*10	18/08/58	9	1977	1982
*11	01/08/61	9	1979	1982
*12	/61	9	?	1982
*13	/63	9	?	1982
*14	/64	8	?	1982
*15	/63	9	?	1982
*16	/63	9	?	1982
*17	/58	11	?	1982
**18	4/4/60	9	1975	1981
**19	28/5/61	10	1979	1981
**20	7/04/62	9	1978	1982
**21	17/08/63	9	1980	1982
**22	/59	7	?	1982
**23	/65	9	?	1982
***24	14/08/52	6	1968	1981
***25	2/06/53	8	1971	1981
***26	03/05/62	8	?	1982
***27	21/02/62	10	1980	1982
-28	24/02/64	8	1978	1982
-29	/63	10	?	1982

? indicates that data was unavailable for these students.