

THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

A HISTORY OF THE FRONTIER SCHOOL DIVISION
WITH EMPHASIS ON CENTRALIZATION AND DECENTRALIZATION
IN THE ORGANIZATION
AND ADMINISTRATION OF THE DIVISION

by

Keven Van Camp

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DEDICATION

To my first teachers,
Robert S. and Marjorie B. Van Camp

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I must also recognize a group of people and a process commonly known as confluent education through which I learned to believe in myself.

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to provide a history of the origins and establishment of the Frontier School Division No. 48 in the province of Manitoba. This history gave particular attention to centralization and decentralization in the organization and administration of education in what is now known as Frontier School Division between 1899 and 1979. Factors which influenced centralization and decentralization in the evolution of the Division were identified.

The study relied upon descriptive, biographical, and qualitative data relevant to the origin and development of Frontier School Division. The data were treated in a manner appropriate for historical research and presented in a chronological narrative divided into eras corresponding to the tenure of senior administrators who were instrumental in the development of Frontier School Division.

There were four principal findings of the study. First, it was found that the geographic, demographic, racial, political and economic milieu within which Frontier School Division developed greatly affected its development. Secondly, it was seen that the style, preferences, and actions of the senior administrators were more significant than the structures within which they operated in determining the evolution of Frontier School Division. Thirdly, centralization and decentralization were found to be influenced by a combination of factors. The most important of these proved to be educational ideas, organizational conditions and the preferences of senior administrators. Finally, increased centralization resulted in corresponding losses of

local control. However, residents of Frontier School Division in 1979 occupied a unique position in terms of educational governance, in that they had increasing influence over policy and yet made a negligible financial contribution.

Some important implications for further research and for the ongoing development of Frontier School Division were suggested. For example, a study which analyzed the organization and administration of schooling for 'fringe' peoples in other parts of Canada is certainly warranted, if only to answer the question whether or not the case of Frontier is unique. In that the location of decision-making power proved to have important consequences for the development of Frontier School Division, it was also suggested that the Division's development can usefully continue to be viewed from the perspectives of centralization and decentralization.

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Chapter 1

THE NATURE OF THE STUDY

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to provide a history of the Frontier School Division in the province of Manitoba. This history paid particular attention to centralization and decentralization in the organization and administration of education in what is now known as Frontier School Division between 1899 and 1979.

The study focussed on three sub-purposes:

1. To describe briefly the Division as it was in 1979, including its geography the communities contained within it, the economic and social circumstances of those communities, the people served by it, and the organization itself.
2. To describe the significant educational developments within what is now known as Frontier School Division between 1899 and 1979.
3. To examine and explain the organization and the administration of education within Frontier School Division in terms of centralization and decentralization.

Significance of the Study

Students of educational administration and educational history will find this study significant because of the uniqueness of Frontier

School Division and because of the absence of studies on developments within it. Also, persons who are actively involved in or with the Division will find this study valuable because they will gain a better understanding of its present state by seeing its origin and development in an historical perspective.

Although the Frontier School Division bears some resemblance to other school divisions in Manitoba and elsewhere, it is unique in several important respects. First, the legal administration of the Division is vested entirely with the government of the Province of Manitoba through a Cabinet-appointed Official Trustee. Other school divisions and districts are administered by locally-elected school trustees and their appointees. Second, the elected representatives of the adult residents of the Division may only advise the Official Trustee and have no legal power to make decisions. In all other school divisions and districts adult residents do exercise control over educational affairs within the Division through the election of school trustees. Third, over 85% of the population served by the Division is Native. Frontier School Division is the only provincial school jurisdiction in which Native people are in the majority. Fourth, the Division receives 98% of its funds from provincial and federal sources. The other school divisions in Manitoba receive 40-60% of their funds from municipal sources. Fifth, the Division is comprised of generally small, isolated and economically poor northern communities dispersed over 170,000 square miles, approximately two-thirds of the geographical area of Manitoba.

To this point, the development of this unique School Division

has not been studied. In 1935, Lysecki undertook an exploratory study of education in Manitoba north of the 53rd parallel of latitude.¹ Wilson's thesis on the development of education in Manitoba to 1959 does not deal specifically with the area of concern here.² The works of Rempel³ and Toombs⁴ focus on periods before 1905. There have been three studies in, not of, the Frontier School Division: Van Camp conducted a follow-up study of high school students in the Division⁵ and Sealey⁶ and Reimer⁷ studied student achievement in specific programs in the Division. Of the two major studies on school system organization and reorganization in Manitoba, Bergen's thesis⁸ on rural school district reorganization specifically excludes Frontier School Division and Perfect's thesis⁹ on school district formation in Manitoba makes only brief mention of Frontier School Division.

Key Concepts in the Study

The history of Frontier School Division could be viewed from the perspective of many significant concepts in educational administration. The concepts to which this historical study was related are those of centralization and decentralization in school division organization and administration. The purpose of this section is to clarify centralization and decentralization as working concepts for the study.

The Meaning of Centralization and Decentralization

The most significant power in any organization is the authority to make decisions. Newman states that centralization and decentralization are terms used to characterize the location of or distribution of

dispersion within an organization of the power or authority to make decisions.¹⁰ According to Cronin,¹¹ and Sher,¹² centralization means that such powers are being retained by those at the top or the center of the organization, resulting in a loss of local, regional or unit autonomy. Decentralization is usually considered the converse of centralization. It is commonly understood to mean the placement of the power to decide at delegated lower or more local levels within an organization. Forms of centralization and decentralization which occur at the pleasure of senior management are known as administrative centralization or decentralization. Centralization and decentralization may, according to Fantini and Gittell, also be conceived of as "a balance between professional and public interests".¹³ This approach to centralization and decentralization, which indicates the nature of the interdependence between an organization and the public it serves, allows us to speak of political centralization and decentralization.¹⁴ Because school systems have professional and public components, both administrative and political conceptualizations were useful to this study and are further differentiated later in this chapter. However, the seminal idea in the terms centralization and decentralization is the location of the power to decide.

The obvious question which follows, is this one: the power to decide what? In educational systems there are five areas in which major decisions must be made. First, decisions have to be made as to the priorities of the district at any given point in time. The recruitment, selection, employment, deployment and dismissal of personnel comprise a second area. Third, curricula must be selected. Fourth,

buildings must be erected, maintained, upgraded, replaced and supplied. Finally, in order to accomplish any of these decisions must be taken with regard to the collection, control and dispersal of funds. In this study, the location of the power to make these decisions was used to determine the form and degree of centralization or decentralization which characterized the organization and administration of education in the development of Frontier School Division.

Administrative conceptualizations. Administrative conceptualizations of centralization and decentralization are those which specifically address the internal functioning of an organization. They are not, generally, concerned with the relationship of the organization to a 'public' as are political conceptualizations. Much of the literature on administrative conceptualizations relates to the private sector and understandably is concerned with efficiency, control, consistency and profit. Nevertheless, public organizations do adopt practices from private industry and thus it is important to explore this conceptualization.

Newman states that, from an administrative point of view, the most significant issue in the balance between centralization and decentralization is the placement of power to decide, which is guided by anticipated increases in the output of the organization.¹⁵ Administrative centralization is, according to Glueck, a "measure where decision-making authority is centrally located",¹⁶ and Blau¹⁷ and Hall¹⁸ define it as the central coordination of organizational functions. Decentralization, in their view, is the delegation of responsibilities from top management to lower levels in the same headquarters

or in regional units. Dale outlines the characteristics of managerial (administrative) decentralization:

"We may say that the degree of managerial decentralization. . . . is the greater:

1. The greater the number of decisions made down the management hierarchy....
2. The more important the decisions made lower down the hierarchy....
3. The more functions affected by decisions at lower levels....
4. The less checking required on the decision. Decentralization is greatest when no check at all must be made; less when superiors have to be consulted before the decision is made. The fewer the people to be consulted, and the lower they are on the management hierarchy, the greater the decentralization."¹⁹

In Dale's characterization, centralization may be viewed as the opposite of decentralization. Thus any organization which places its decision-making power at or near the top is considered to be administratively centralized, while one which delegates authority to subordinates is administratively decentralized.

Pfiffner and Sherwood further differentiate between administrative centralization and administrative decentralization by examining the formal structure of the organization, the behaviour of executives, the level at which policy is made and the social climate within and outside the organization. In their scheme centralized organizations are pyramidal, executives have rigid lines of authority, policy is made at the highest level and both the internal and external climates are stressful. Decentralized organizations are flatter, and executives within them have more latitude as only broad policies are decided at the top and the climate is usually less stressful.²⁰

Champion, in an observation which proved critical to this

study, indicates that in administrative conceptualizations ultimate authority remains with senior management because the delegated authority inherent in decentralization may be recalled at the pleasure of the central authority.²¹

Generally, up to World War II, administration in the private sector was centralized. The positive experience of massive decentralization during World War II lent credence to the work of Alfred Sloan at General Motors and Ralph Cordiner with General Electric in attempting to successfully decentralize the administration of large corporations. Such was the impetus provided that administrative decentralization became the "gospel"²² of post-war organizational and administrative theoreticians and practitioners, and continues to date.²³

The essence of the administrative conceptualization of centralization and decentralization is two-fold. The ultimate control in an organization, whether administratively centralized or decentralized, remains with top management because decentralization is based on delegation which senior management controls. The role of the public is normally that of client of the organization and not that of participant in organizational decision-making.

Political conceptualizations. Political conceptualizations of educational organizations are specifically concerned with the relation of the school system to its immediate public rather than the organization as an entity unto itself. Centralization and decentralization still refer to the placement of the power to decide but are discussed in terms of the sharing of power between the public and the professionals in the organization. In the educational context, political

conceptualizations of centralization and decentralization typically do not refer to the wider political decision-making process at either the state or community level except in terms of the general policy direction these levels provide. Rather they refer to the balance of power between the public and the professionals it hires in making educational policy and administrative decisions.

Sergiovanni and Carver,²⁴ Brownell,²⁵ Lanoue and Smith,²⁶ characterize the political centralization of education as the transfer of community level authority in the areas of personnel, curricula and finance to large central boards and professional bureaucracies. Zimet,²⁷ Sizemore²⁸ and Katz²⁹ state that political decentralization of education involves the transfer of power and authority to persons who have in some way been selected by a group of electors and represent a neighbourhood or community size unit. Thus, these writers direct attention to the way in which and the extent to which the control of the educational organization is shared between professionals and lay persons. They also indicate that the ultimate control of an educational system, if it is to be conceived from a political perspective, lies with the elected representatives of the public.

Political centralization, as a modern phenomenon in education, began on both urban and rural fronts around 1900 as a response to the "corruption, incompetence and lack of responsibility"³⁰ of the educational (and other social) systems of the late 1800's. The massive centralization^{31,32} of schools in North America which reduced the number of schools by 400% occurred because of a belief that education would improve by removing it from local politics and placing

educational decision-making power in the hands of professionals and distant boards.^{33,34,35,36} In the late 1960's and 1970's the trend was reversed, as particularly in urban settings, the large systems had become remote and insensitive to the needs of people.^{37,38,39} Many writers^{40,41,42,43} concur with Fantini and Gittel's contention that minority groups wanted more power at the local level.

" . . . the powerless see community control as a way not only to make institutions more responsive to their needs but also to exercise their share of power within society."⁴⁴

Political centralization and decentralization have waxed and waned over this century, each being regarded as a solution to the evils of the other.

The essence of a political conceptualization of centralization or decentralization is also two-fold. Authority is shared between the central professional authority and lay authority, though the lay authority may be a distant board or a local one. The public in this conceptualization is both the client of the organization and hold authority over it.

Fantini and Gittell suggest that the two conceptualizations of centralization and decentralization, administrative and political, are often mixed and confused. Particularly in education, administrative decentralization is confused with political decentralization.⁴⁵

As Cronin states this confusion, the rhetoric of administrative decentralization is often used by professionals as a method of mollifying demands for lay authority and retaining central professional control, by deceptively implying political decentralization.⁴⁶ Such terms as "community participation",⁴⁷ "functional decentralization",⁴⁸ "develop-

ment model",⁴⁹ "pseudo-participation",⁵⁰ and "informing, consultation, and development"⁵¹ must be viewed with suspicion because they usually mean that the professionals have retained control. Fantini claims that if it is clear that a state of partnership of control exists between the public and professionals and if the public dominates the relationship then political decentralization exists.⁵²

Thus the difference between administrative and political conceptualizations of centralization or decentralization in educational management and governance is a difference in focus or interest. If we are primarily interested in the character of an organization's internal management and decision-making and if we observe that ultimate power for decision-making clearly rests with professionals, then we should speak of administrative centralization or decentralization. If, however, there is a demonstrable sharing of power between the public and the professionals and ultimate power for decision-making remains with the public then we should speak of political centralization or decentralization.

Working definitions of the key concepts. From the preceding discussion it was possible to devise a series of working definitions which allowed the researcher to differentiate between individual types of centralization and decentralization, and to recognize trends toward centralization and decentralization as these emerged in the evolution of Frontier School Division. Prior to presenting these working definitions it is important to make very clear two assumptions on which they were based. The first assumption of this study is that Frontier School Division can usefully be viewed from both administrative and political

conceptualizations of centralization and decentralization, indeed, the case of Frontier requires that we try to make these distinctions. This is because, in its recent historical development for examples Frontier School Division exemplifies an educational organization in which there is no legal form or requirement for the involvement of the public in the jurisdiction's governance. However, as an agent of the Division's operations, administrators have come to share decision-making power on some important matters with representatives of the local school committees. This uniqueness deserves to be recognized. The second assumption is that centralization and decentralization each represent both a state of organizational affairs (i.e. centralized or decentralized), and an evolutionary process which reveals changes over time in the style of organizational decision-making. In other words, at any given point in time, the location or distribution of the power to decide in an organization may be characterized as of a certain type or as indicative of a trend in a particular direction. Given the insights of the literature and these assumptions the following working definitions of centralization and decentralization were adopted for this study.

Centralization. A state of affairs or a process in which the power to make decisions is or is tending toward the top or center of an organization and away from lower or more local levels.

Decentralization. A state of affairs or a process in which the power to make decisions is or is tending away from the top or center of an organization toward lower or more local levels.

Administrative centralization. A state of affairs or a process in which the power to decide within an organization is at or tends toward the top or center

and away from lower or local levels. In this situation, the professionals within the organization dominate whatever relationship they have with the public and are usually at a distance from it.

Administrative decentralization. A state of affairs or process in which the power to decide within an organization is or tends away from the top or center and toward lower, local or regional officers or offices within the organization. The power is delegated to lower levels by the most senior officers at their discretion. Again, in this circumstance, the professionals dominate whatever relationship they have with the public although the two groups are often proximate to each other.

Political centralization. A state of affairs or a process in which the power to decide within an organization is or tends to be shared between the professionals who work in the organization and the public to whom the organization is responsible. In this type of centralization, the public ultimately dominates whatever relationship it has with the professionals and it is represented by a central board elected to represent a large area and is distant from the immediate or local community level.

Political decentralization. A state of affairs or a process in which the power to decide within an organization is or tends to be shared between the professionals who work in the organization and the public to whom the organization is responsible. In this type of decentralization the public ultimately dominates whatever relationship it has with the professionals and is represented by elected boards representing a community or neighbourhood.

Factors Influencing Centralization and Decentralization

While they are often thought of as being mutually exclusive, Pfiffner and Sherwood⁵³ and Presthus⁵⁴ argue that a shifting balance between centralization and decentralization is characteristic of organizations throughout their history. Authority to make decisions within organizations is occasionally redistributed resulting in changing patterns of centralization and decentralization. The shifts in

the balance or changed patterns may be viewed as a change from one type to another, for example, from administrative decentralization to political decentralization and as part of a trend, such as toward a more centralized organization. Pfiffner and Sherwood, Newman, Bergen, Presthus, Fantini and Gittell, and Greenfield⁵⁵ suggest a number of factors that might, singly or together, determine the actual balance between centralization and decentralization in any organization at any point in time. The suggested factors include: the history of the organization; the task of the organization; the structure of the organization; the geography served coupled with available communication and transportation technology; the cultural and racial context; the personal style of chief executive officers; current social and organizational trends; and the stress or pressures faced by the organization. Organizations often maintain a particular operational system for little other reason than history. The massive decentralization of authority during World War II was an example of task determining the location of power. The organizational structure which arises out of history and task may become a factor in itself, although it is most often perceived as a consequence. As the structure of an organization becomes ingrained it becomes a cause for retention to some and reason for change to others.^{56,57} Bergen indicates that the massive North American centralization of education between 1920 and 1960 was made possible in part because improved communication and transportation technology 'shrank' the geography.⁵⁸ The cultural and racial context of a public organization is critical as evidenced by the racially motivated urban decentralization of the 1960's. The

personal style of the chief executive officers is important in that considerable personal latitude may be exercised and greatly affect the actual balance between centralization and decentralization.^{59,60} Also, organizations tend to follow trends which are social or based in current popular theory.⁶¹ Finally, an organization adjusts its balance of power in response to the stress it faces, typically becoming more centralized when under duress.⁶² It must also be considered that additional factors unique to Frontier School Division may affect the type of centralization or decentralization exhibited by that organization from time to time.

Limitations of the Study

First, the study was limited to the time period from 1899 to 1979. This period was chosen because it represents the time during which public education was evident in the community now located in Frontier School Division. Second, the study was intended to provide an historical account and explanation of educational developments over a relatively long period of time. Additional studies of shorter periods will likely provide more indepth understanding of these same developments. Third, the study attempted to explain the shifting balance between centralization and decentralization revealed by changes in the organization and administration of Frontier School Division over time. In this explanation, the focus was upon administrative decision-making and upon the ideas, preferences and actions of key senior administrators. The explanation did not deal in any detail with the partisan or governmental aspects of decision-making in northern educational development

in Manitoba, nor did it deal with political developments at the local level which, at least in recent times, are perhaps quite important to a fuller understanding of these educational developments.

Methodology of the Study

Kinds of Data

This study relied primarily on descriptive, biographical, and qualitative data relevant to the development of Frontier School Division and its organization and administration. Only limited use was made of statistical data and such statistical data were handled descriptively. Evaluative data concerned with the effectiveness of current approaches to Division organization and administration were not sought.

Sources of Data

There were six sources of data for the study:

- a) official records pertinent to the Frontier School Division located in government offices and the Archives of the Province of Manitoba;
- b) unofficial records, diaries, etc., located in the personal files of individuals who were influential in the development of the Division;
- c) interviews with individuals instrumental in the development of the Division;
- d) legislation and records of legislative debates in the Province of Manitoba relevant to Frontier School Division;
- e) studies and accounts of education in Frontier School Division and in Manitoba generally; and
- f) press releases and news stories relevant to developments concerning the Frontier School Division.

Interviews with individuals significant to the development of the Division were an important part of the research of this study. These individuals were identified using a combination of reputational and positional approaches, as outlined by Gergen.⁶³ This well established process involves the identification through documentation, reputation or position of individuals who are or ought to be knowledgeable in a specific situation. An initial list was prepared and expanded on the advice of those interviewed. A semi-structured interview ranging from one to six hours was conducted with each of the interviewees who are listed in Appendix A. The interviews were used to collect and corroborate data, to gather personal reflections and interpretations of events, to gain insight as to the course and the causes of particular developments and to assess the influence of particular individuals upon those developments. A semi-structured interview guide (Appendix B) was used with all interviewees to begin the interviews which then evolved in individually tailored directions in order to gain data deemed significant to this researcher. Field notes were made and transcribed immediately following the interview.

Treatment of the Data

The data were treated in the manner suggested for historical research by Fox.⁶⁴ That is, the data are presented to describe what happened, where and when it happened, who was involved and to ascertain why it happened in the way in which it did. They were subjected to the usual processes of examination for external and internal consistency, with attention being paid to over- and under-statement in the case of interview data and where the independent verification of such statements was not possible, caution was used in reaching conclusions.

Preliminary research indicated that the data were best presented in a chronological narrative separated into two eras: the origins of Frontier School Division from 1899 to 1965 and the later development of Frontier School Division subsequent to its legal foundation in July, 1965. Each of these two eras is divided into three time periods which correspond to the official(s) in charge of educational affairs within the geographic area now known as Frontier School Division. These officials and the years for which they were responsible are:

1. The Commissioner of Northern Affairs and Visiting Officials, 1899 - 1933.
2. C. K. Rogers, 1934 - 1948.
3. B. Scott Bateman / Bernard Grafton, 1948 - 1965.
4. K. R. Japser, 1965 - 1976.
5. L. Orlikow, 1975 - 1976.
6. J. L. Handley, 1976 - 1979.

There was some overlap from period to period and all of the above administrators were influenced by their predecessors. Yet each period of administration seems to have been distinctive in some important ways.

As well as being presented in an historical narrative, the data were analyzed from the perspectives of centralization and decentralization. First, were there discernible trends toward centralization or decentralization during the evolution of the Division? Second, what were the stages within these trends? Third, what factors seemed to influence the placement of and changes in the location of decision-making authority?

The purpose of this analysis in terms of centralization and

decentralization was not to evaluate past or present political, legal or administrative arrangements, but rather to more clearly explain the origins and evolution of what is now known as Frontier School Division.

Definition of Terms

The following definitions of terms were held for the purposes of this study.

1. Frontier School Division: The Frontier School Division No. 48 was legally established by Ministerial Order on July 8, 1965. An extensive description of the formation of the Division, including documentation, forms part of the text and appendices.
2. Native: was used in this study to denote persons who are descendants of the aboriginal inhabitants of this continent. Where additional clarity is needed the following specific definitions were useful:
 - a) Status Indian - refers to those persons registered as status Indians with the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.
 - b) Non-status Indian - refers to persons who are regarded as Indian but do not have status as such with the Department of Affairs.
 - c) Metis - refers to one who regards himself as such, usually defined as one of mixed ancestry - Indian and white - and who has no special legal status, as do status Indians.
3. Non-native: refers to persons who are immigrants or descendants

of immigrants to this continent and includes such common terms as 'Euro-Canadians' and 'whites'.

4. Local control: "(is defined as) maximal involvement in decision-making. It will mean that the community has formal authority over the following areas: hiring and firing, curricular content (and) budget allocations."⁶⁵
5. Public School: "means an institution for educational purposes established and maintained under this Act (Manitoba Public Schools Act)"⁶⁶
6. Orphan school: this term refers generally to those schools of unorganized territory, cut off from outside contacts or in fringe settlements.
7. Unorganized territory: "means any portion of the province not included within a municipality."⁶⁷
8. Special schools: those schools which were placed under the Special Schools Branch of the Department of Education subsequent to 1948.
9. Official Trustee schools: those school districts which were placed under the Provincial Official Trustee by the Minister of Education, usually because the district had become or was nearing bankruptcy or because of a severe factional dispute in the community.
10. Consolidated school district: "means a district for school purposes formed by uniting a school district with one or more districts adjacent thereto."⁶⁸
11. Remote school district: a district designated by the Minister of Education as remote and not included as part of a School Division.⁶⁹

12. Closed schools: schools which have been closed either due to consolidations or student counts dropping below minimum levels.
13. Joint school: a school which receives funding from both the federal and provincial governments. Federal contributions to provincial schools are based on per pupil costs for status Indian children attending. Provincial contributions to federally operated schools are likewise based on the number of non-status Indian and Metis and non-native children attending.
14. Unitary school division: a single division structure which controls both secondary and elementary education.

The Organization of the Thesis

The thesis is organized into six chapters.

Chapter One has presented an outline of the study including its purpose, significance, key concepts, limitations, methodology and necessary definitions.

Chapter Two briefly describes the Frontier School Division, including its people, its communities, and its social, geographic and economic circumstances.

Chapter Three outlines the significant educational developments in the geographic area of what is now known as Frontier School Division between 1899 and 1965. There is an attempt to describe what happened, how it happened, who was involved, when, where and why it happened in the way in which it did.

Chapter Four describes developments subsequent to the legal establishment of the Frontier School Division to 1979. Like Chapter

Three, it chronicles significant events - how they happened, the persons involved and the explanation for those events.

Chapter Five is an analysis of the data from the perspectives of centralization and decentralization. The factors affecting centralization and decentralization are also identified and discussed.

Chapter Six provides a brief summary of the study, draws conclusions and speculates about the implications of the study for continuing research and for the continuing development of the Frontier School Division.

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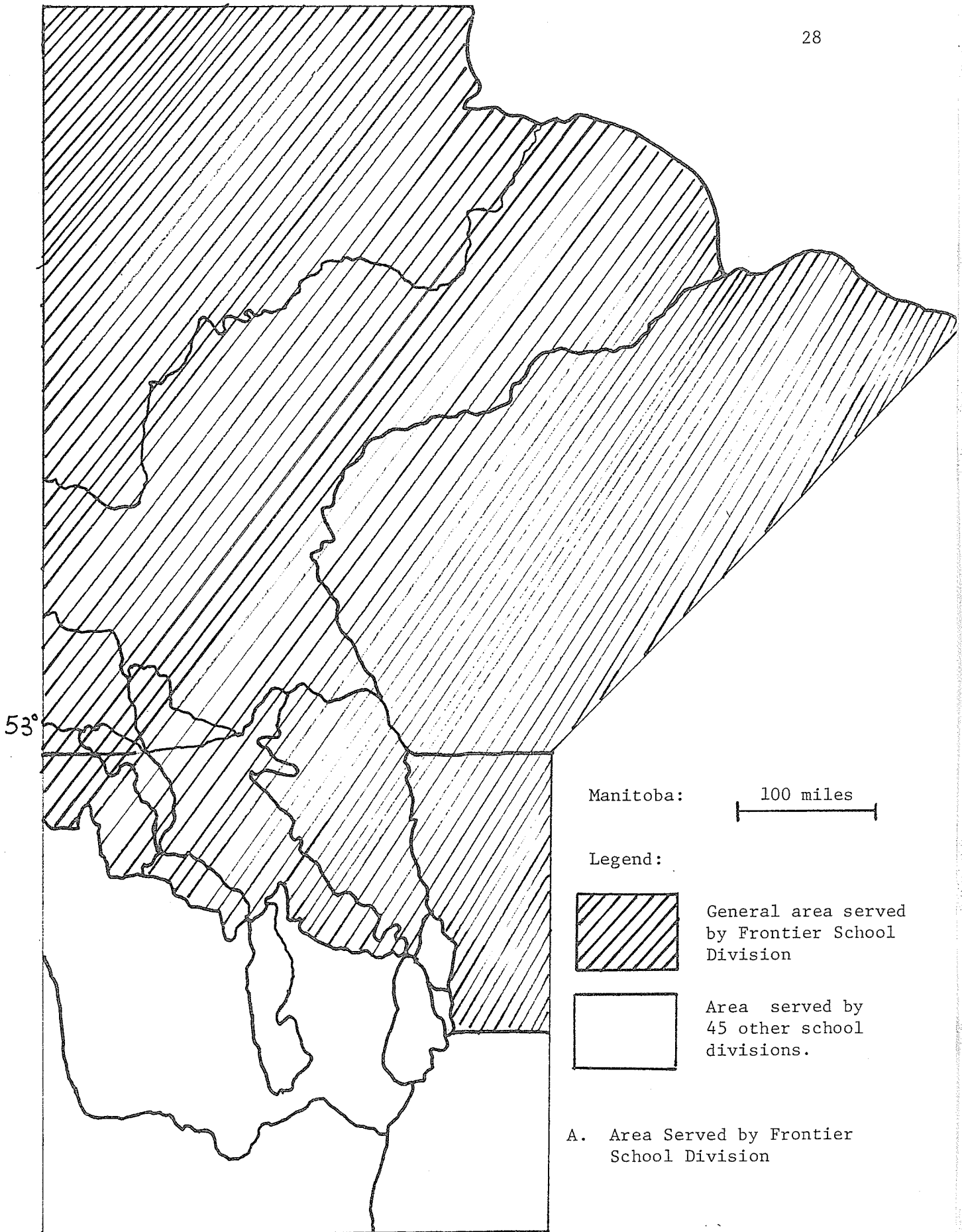
Chapter 2

THE MILIEU OF FRONTIER SCHOOL DIVISION

The purpose of this chapter is to describe briefly the environment of the Frontier School Division including its geography, its communities, its economic considerations and social circumstances, the people who live within its boundaries, and the organization of the Division. This description includes only the necessary historical and statistical references to capture the essence of the Division and its people. In order to understand and appreciate the origin and development of Frontier School Division it was considered important to provide a description of the Division as it exists today. Thus this chapter, representing the first sub-purposes identified in Chapter One provides both data in the study and context for the remainder of it.

The Geography

Frontier School Division is located in the northern two-thirds of the Province of Manitoba. Its location with respect to the rest of Manitoba and other school divisions and districts is illustrated by Map A. The Division covers approximately 170,000 square miles - two-thirds of the geographical area of Manitoba. The Frontier School Division is not responsible for education in the so-called 'growth centres' of northern Manitoba such as Thompson, Lynn Lake, The Pas,



Flin Flon, Snow Lake, Leaf Rapids, Churchill. On many large Indian reserves such as Nelson House, the Government of Canada operates the school system.

The communities of the Division are located almost exclusively in the Canadian Shield (pre-Cambrian) and the northern portion of the First Prairie Plain areas of the Province. The Canadian Shield is a land of rock, water, muskeg and mixed coniferous and deciduous forest. The northern portion of the First Prairie Plain is marginal to sub-marginal arable land interspersed with bog.¹ Virtually all communities are located on or near a lake or river or both.

Schools in the Division range from a distance of 150 road miles to over 700 air miles from Winnipeg. Distances between schools are large, commonly a hundred and more miles from one school to the next. Transportation to seventeen of the schools is by road although only two schools are on paved trunk highways; five schools are accessible by rail and by air; four can be reached by boat or aircraft; and one is accessible only by air. Scheduled all weather air service and/or roads have become a reality for most schools only in the last decade. Transportation prior to the early 1970's to a great many communities could only be accomplished by charter pontoon or ski-equipped aircraft or lengthy boat or bombardier trips. These communities were inaccessible for periods of 3 to 6 weeks during spring and fall as ice was either melting or forming. Transportation within communities is accomplished most commonly on foot. Roads in most communities have been built in the 1970's but many local residents use boats and skidoos on the surrounding waterways.

Climatically the chief characteristic is the gradual increase

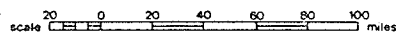
in the length of the winter season as one moves northward. Freezeup generally occurs two to three weeks earlier in the northern half of the Division than in Winnipeg and breakup is correspondingly later.

The Communities

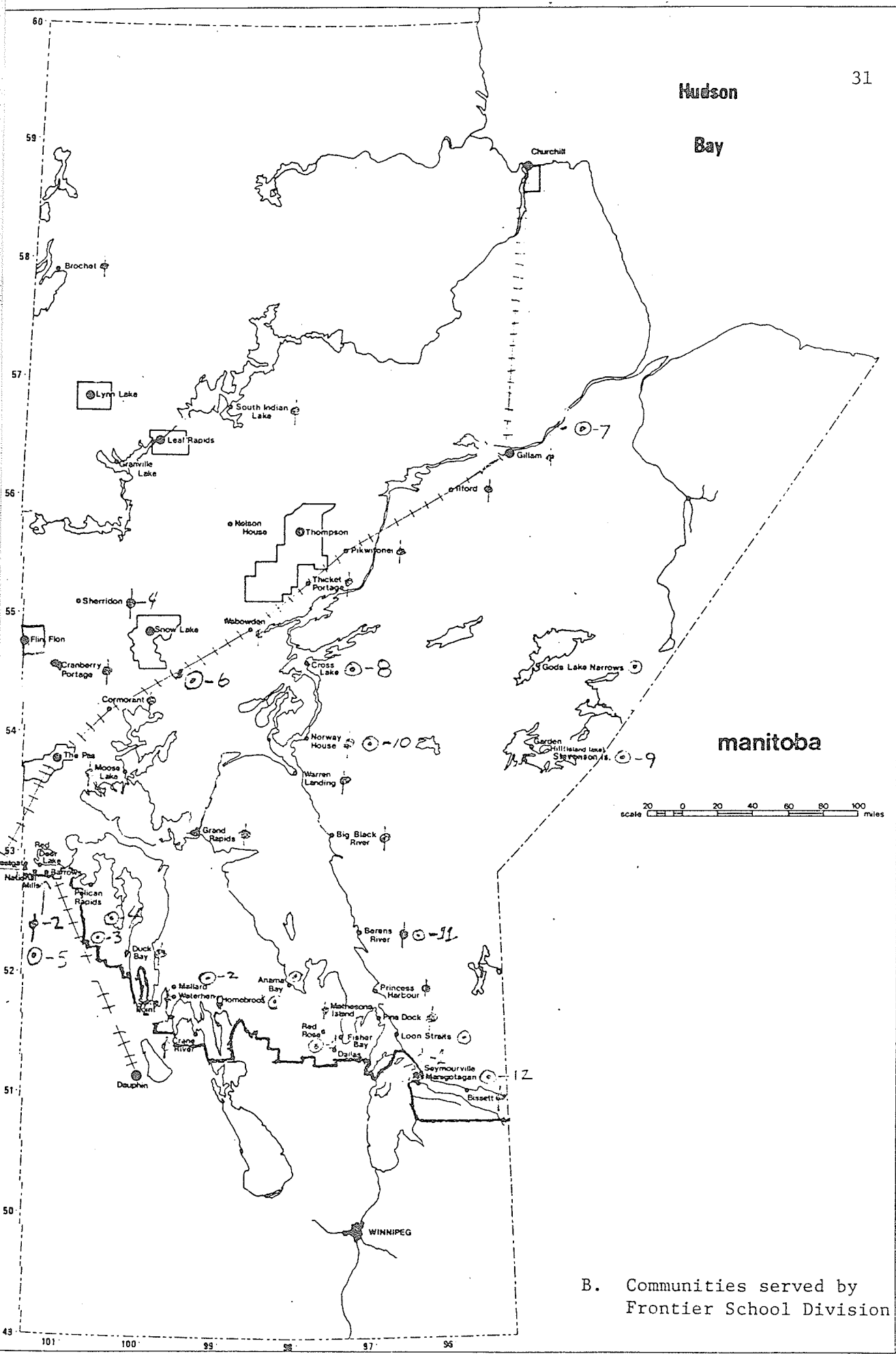
The communities of Frontier School Division are predominantly small, relatively isolated and northern. They are located along the shores of Lake Winnipeg and Lake Winnipegosis, the Hudson's Bay Railroad (the Bay line), adjacent to several large Indian reserves, in once booming mining and logging towns, in sub-marginal farming areas, and in several very remote communities. The following map (Map b) identifies the communities in which Frontier operates schools or is responsible for students.

The settlements of Frontier School Division are, with the three exceptions of Cranberry Portage, Gillam and Grand Rapids, located in unorganized territory. The community members do not usually hold title to the land on which they live, and thus most do not pay land tax for school or other purposes. It should be noted that the three exceptions only became part of organized territory within the last decade.

As indicated earlier, Frontier School Division communities range from small hamlets to medium sized towns. The populations are racially mixed. In only three (Cranberry Portage, Gillam and Jenpeg) are non-Native people in the majority. Throughout the Division, Native people constitute over 85% of the population. The following



B. Communities served by Frontier School Division



Legend for preceding map of Frontier School Division Schools

Operating Schools.
 Closed or Consolidated Schools.

Wanipigow School.
 Barrows Junction School.
 Jenpeg School.
 Cold Lake School.

- 1 Closed Schools: Northland S.D., Fisher Bay S.D., Sunny Vally S.D.
- 2 Consolidated Schools: Skowman (Waterhen Reserve), Mallard,
 Salt Point.
- 3 Brigg's Spur.
- 4 Golden Acres.
- 5 Consolidated Schools: Westgate, National Mills, Rice Creek,
 Red Deer Lake (Barrows, Barrows-on-the-Lake)
- 6 Wekusko (Herb Lake).
- 7 Sundance.
- 8 D. R. Hamilton S.D.
- 9 Island Lake S.D.
- 10 Consolidation of eleven schools to three.
- 11 Consolidation of two schools to one.
- 12 Bad Throat S.D.
- 13 South Bay.
- 14 Sceptre - Dillingham.

*On April 1, 1980, Frontier School Division became responsible for all children north of its southern boundary and not part of existing provincial districts or divisions, who are not status Indian children. This included portions of several communities like Red Sucker Lake, Nelson House, Split Lake, Granville Lake, St. Theresa Point, Oxford House and others. Education in these communities is provided by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Canada. Frontier pays tuition for the non-status children on a joint school basis. Until March 31, 1980 these tuitions arrangements were conducted by the Provincial Official Trustee.

tables (Tables I and II) provide population data for each community.

With a few exceptions the populations of the communities are now growing slowly or remaining relatively constant. These exceptions are usually the product of short term population explosions or declines caused by the initiation, or termination, of major construction projects. Detailed census figures are beyond the interest of this study so 1931 and 1971 were chosen as benchmarks. Between 1931 and 1971 the populations of the remote communities of northern Manitoba (generally included in Frontier School Division) doubled in population. In 1931 these centers represented thirty percent of the total population of northern Manitoba. In 1971, they represented less than seventeen percent. The settlements in question had doubled in size in four decades but the percentage of the total population of the north which they represented was reduced by half.² The tremendous increase in the population of the northern growth centers, resulting from mining as discussed in the next section, has been from migration from the south. Thus the total population of the north contains proportionately fewer natives in 1971 than in 1931.

There is a sense, and evidence, in many communities of their once having been larger and more thriving centers. Bissett, for example, from the 1930's to the 1950's was a busy gold mining centre. A one room school now operates in a four-room building and is surrounded by decaying mining buildings. The communities around Barrows Jcn. (Junction) in the 1920's and 1930's were supported by a booming logging industry. Loon Straits, Princess Harbour and others on Lake Winnipeg,

FRONTIER OPERATING SCHOOLS, COMMUNITIES AND POPULATIONS, 1978-79

School	School Population	Grades Offered	Communities Served	Community Population	
				Status	Non-status, Metis, Non-Native
<u>AREA I - THOMPSON</u>					
Brochet	210	N-9	Brochet	285	299
Gillam	357	K-12	Gillam Fox Lake Band	315	N.A.
Jenpeg	28	K-8	Jenpeg		N.A.
Julie Lindal	40	K-8	Ilford		217
Oscar Blackburn	305	N-11	South Indian Lake		773
Pikwitonei	65	K-9	Pikwitonei		203
Thicket Portage	57	N-8	Thicket Portage		229
Wabowden	250	K-12	Wabowden		761
<u>AREA II - DAUPHIN</u>					
Barrows Jcn.	96	K-8	Barrows National Mills Red Deer Lake Westgate		222 72 43 40
Cold Lake	39	N-8	Sherridon		196
Cormorant Lake	166	N-9	Cormorant		436
Cranberry Portage	170	N-6	Cranberry Portage		N.A.
Frontier Collegiate	260	7-12	Cranberry Portage & other Division schools		N.A.
Crane River	140	N-8	Crane River	175	360
Duck Bay	214	N-9	Duck Bay		681
Grand Rapids	324	N-12	Grand Rapids	340	N.A.
Pelican Rapids	165	N-8	Pelican Rapids Shoal River Band	628	255
Waterhen	252	N-9	Waterhen Waterhen Band Salt Point Mallard	395	152 76 96
<u>AREA III - NORWAY HOUSE</u>					
Berens River	35	N-12	Berens River Band Berens River	882	269
Big Black River	14	K-8	Big Black River		42
Matheson Island	28	K-8	Matheson Island		124
Moose Lake	333	N-9	Moose Lake Band Moose Lake	320	594
Pine Dock	18	K-9	Pine Dock		111
Princess Harbour	12	K-8	Princess Harbour		31
San Antonio	12	K-8	Bissett		143
Wanipigow	265	N-12	Hollow Water Band Manigotogan Seymourville Aghaming	488	210 126 53
Norway House Rossville	300	N-6	Norway House Band	2436	
Jack River	505	N-9	Norway House		665
Norway House High School	151	7-12			
Home Placement	137				
TOTALS	5283		All Communities	5924	7819+

TABLE II
 ADDITIONAL COMMUNITIES FOR WHICH FRONTIER HAS RESPONSIBILITY
 AND POPULATIONS, 1978-79

School	Community Served	Community Population		School Attended
		Status	Non-Status, Metis Non-Native	
<u>AREA I - THOMPSON</u>				
Sundance	Sundance	0	0	Closed Community
Wekusko	Wekusko/Herb Lake		32	Snow Lake
South Bay	South Bay		0	Closed Community
<u>AREA II - DAUPHIN</u>				
Anama Bay	Anama Bay		53	D.I.A.N.D.* Anama Bay
Briggs Spur	Briggs Spur		15	Swan Valley
Rice Creek	Rice Creek (Baden)		N.A.	Barrows Jcn.
Golden Acres	Golden Acres		0	No students
Home Brooke	Home Brooke		45	Gypsumville
<u>AREA III - Norway House</u>				
Sceptre-Dinningham			0	Closed Community
Northland	Dallas		N.A.	Closed School
Sunny Valley	Red Rose		99	Peguis
Fisher Bay	Fisher Bay		45	Peguis
Island Lake/Stevenson Island	Island Lake		171	D.I.A.N.D. Garden Hill
God's Lake Narrows	God's Lake		74	D.I.A.N.D. God's Lake
D. R. Hamilton	Cross Lake		299	D.I.A.N.D. Cross Lake
Loon Straits	Loon Straits		17	Closed School (no school-age children)
TOTAL:			850	

* Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.

Source for Tables I and II:

- a) May, 1978 Census of Remote Northern Communities, Manitoba Department of Northern Affairs.
- b) Frontier School Division School enrollment as at October 31, 1979.
- c) Manitoba Health Service Commission, for status Indian populations to April 1, 1979.

at one time, contained many families and fish processing plants. Cold Lake contains the remnants of the mining community of Sherridon which flourished between 1931 and 1951 and then was moved across winter roads to form the town of Lynn Lake. Grand Rapids, Gillam, Jenpeg and South Indian Lake still show the effects of the boom and decline of the hydro-electric development between the mid 1950's and the mid 1970's. Each community has a unique historical population pattern but many Frontier communities share the common history of having experienced boom and bust at some time in their development.

'Southern' amenities are scarce in Frontier communities. In most settlements the nearest paved road is twenty-five to several hundred miles distant. Rail service is notorious for not keeping to time tables. Although air service has improved markedly in the last decade, air-strips are made of gravel and where control towers exist they are not radar controlled. Thus air service is subject to weather variations and extremes. In small communities mail and freight arrive once to three times a week, and southern daily newspapers are at least one day late. In all cases the cost of freight is high.

In all but the largest communities there is one 'general' store selling essentials at high prices. The largest centers commonly have a "Bay"³ store. The cost of freight, lack of competition, and high overhead result in poor quality produce and very high prices. In Brochet in 1979 the price of milk was \$1.25 per litre, gasoline was \$2.25 per gallon, lettuce (if available) was over \$1.00 per head and a pineapple cost \$4.00. In Norway House, milk ranged from 69¢ to 88¢

per litre, gasoline was \$1.50 per gallon, lettuce was 75¢ per head and pineapple was \$2.99. In Winnipeg in 1979, milk was 57¢ per litre, gasoline was 97¢ per gallon, lettuce 45¢ to 50¢ per head and a pineapple was \$1.59.⁴ In all northern remote communities there is little variety in available goods.

Although an extensive radio telephone network was established in 1948 and still serves the most remote points, dial telephone service did not begin until 1968.⁵ One radio and one television outlet are usually available, with television arriving in the last decade. Most communities which had electricity were served by diesel generating units until 1971 when main line hydro-electricity began to reach the larger centers.

In all but the largest centers medical services consist of a nursing station or periodic visits by a doctor. As these services often prove inadequate, medical evacuation by road, rail, water or air is frequently necessary. The extensive construction of air strips in the early 1970's has greatly improved access to medical services. Dental services are generally not available in the communities unless sponsored by the school division or another agency. Virtually all social services are available only from 'fly in' southerners.

In 1971 only sixty-three percent of homes in the settlements under question had hot and cold running water compared to virtually one hundred percent in Thompson, other northern growth centers and southern Manitoba. In southern Manitoba in 1971, nine percent of the population lived in overcrowded housing while in the remote north fully one third of the population lived in overcrowded housing.⁶

Sewage facilities and fire protection were and are primitive if they exist at all. Police protection, except in the largest communities, is received on an on-call basis from another community. These factors exacerbate already high rates of communicable disease, house fires and crime.

Hotels, restaurants, lounges, etc., exist only in the larger centers and then it is usually one of each, and prices are extremely high. Dry cleaners, movie theatres, specialty stores, liquor stores, florists, etc., are, except in one or two of the larger centers, non-existent.

In short, goods and services for northern residents are few and costly. In comparison to southern rural residents their problems are more significant due to the lack of easy access to larger trading centers which deliver a wider range of services at lower costs.

The Economic Conditions

Frideres states that "the economic and social status of the Canadian Indian is one of abject poverty".⁷ As a broad generalization, this statement could hold for many of the people and the communities in Frontier School Division. Native people have not shared in the recent mining, hydro-electric and construction booms in the North. Although there are many families (indeed, several communities) which are financially independent, welfare is the major source of income for most.

Traditional types of economic activity such as trapping, fishing, seneca root gathering and others⁸ have declined in many areas. This decline is the result of numerous factors including the depletion of resources, increasing production costs, pollution, and the choice by community members of less strenuous methods of gaining money. In the once booming mining centers, logging towns, and hydro-electric projects, jobs (and many townspeople) left with the industry. In many instances temporary, high paying jobs resulting from short term industry have drawn people away from traditional income patterns and sources. When the industry leaves those residents are left with higher expectations and less opportunity to fulfill them. The advent of the 'baby bonus' and other forms of social assistance encourage families to remain in one location and not follow the traditional nomadic life styles.⁹ Traditional and temporary boom income sources have not been replaced in most remote centers with viable alternatives. Thus income opportunities are limited to diminishing natural resources, the local service sector, occasional construction projects, or welfare. The alternative is to leave the community.

The remote points in northern Manitoba and the native people resident in them have not received direct economic benefit from the massive economic boom experienced by the growth centers. The mining industry has been the chief source of economic input for the north in the last five decades with later surges in forestry and hydro-electric development. The Guidelines for the Seventies report on northern Manitoba indicates a "duality of the north"¹⁰ which means a high standard

of living in the growth centers and a much lower standard in the remote centers and for native persons. The following statements from the report are illustrative of this duality:

"In 1930, northern Manitoba was basically a set of small native communities. Many were isolated and lacked access to each other or to the south. Fishing, trapping, hunting, and forestry were the main economic activities and, on the whole, they were sufficient to meet the needs of the communities. While life might well have been hard, it was independent and within the control of the individual and the community.

The extensive mining developments of the past 40 years have radically altered the complexion of the north in many important respects. Considerable new wealth has been generated: the value of mineral production, insignificant in 1930, was \$30 million per year by 1960 and approximately \$300 million annually by 1970. The increase in mining activity has been accompanied by a rapid growth in population and by the establishment of relatively large urban centres. There is growing dominance of the urban centres, which are increasing in population primarily by immigration from the south and from outside the province. The growth of Thompson is particularly notable. A tent community in 1958, it is now (1971) the third largest city in Manitoba.

The remote north continues to exist beside these newcomers to the north. There has been a simultaneous and steady increase in the non-urban population on the Indian reserves and in the remote and smaller communities. These communities, primarily Indian and Metis in composition, have grown mainly because of natural population increase, rather than through immigration. Fifty percent of the population is under 15 years of age and the fertility ratios (the number of children under five years of age per 1,000 females aged 15 to 44) are two, three, and even four times greater than the provincial average.

However, on the whole, the remote north has not participated in, nor really benefitted from, the tremendous economic growth of the north as have the urban centers. Indeed the situation of the remote communities has been deteriorating. The income of people in traditional industries such as trapping and fishing has, in many cases, become inadequate. For fishermen on some lakes, restrictions due to mercury pollution have further added to the difficulties. The overall result is that the economic

base of many communities has been eroded.

The vast disparity between the remote and urban north is readily apparent."¹¹

Income statistics relate further evidence of economic disparities within the north. The "Guidelines for the Seventies" report states:

"Incomes tend to be high for those persons employed in the urban centers. In 1970, persons filing income tax returns using Thompson as their address had an average income of \$7,101. The average income reported in Gillam returns was even higher. For the province as a whole, the average reported income was \$4,921. and for Winnipeg it was \$5,390. For the whole north the average income was \$6,135.00. While this is higher than the provincial average, it hides the great income disparities which exist in the north. For example, the federal Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development reports that the average earned income in Northern Indian communities (reserves) in 1969 was approximately \$1,735.00. Average incomes (1970) for places such as Cross Lake, Pikwitonei, and Moose Lake were in the range of \$2,600 to \$3,000."¹²

Thus while a white southerner in Thompson might enjoy high wages and a corresponding standard of living, a Metis living in Cormorant or Duck Bay did not generally share the same possibilities.

Russell Rothney contends that the current economic plight of many northern communities is due, for the most part, to three centuries of colonization in the north.¹³ The Hudson's Bay Company, through the fur trade, trained native people to be economically dependent and this dependence in many instances has carried over to other facets of life. The churches, government and other agencies have also created dependency relationships with the people. The result of this has been lost independence and economic self-reliance. Whether or not one agrees with Rothney's analysis many Frontier communities are not presently



economically viable and independent. Government money, in one form or another, provides a living for most.

The Social Circumstances

Closely linked to economic conditions are the social circumstances of the people. It is a struggle in most Frontier centers for the people to survive economically and socially. Social stability is related to the economic factors operating in a community. The degree of social disintegration in many communities is very high. The incidence of student absenteeism, juvenile offenders, child abuse, vandalism, drunkenness, etc., is much higher in communities with a poor economic base. Vandalism to school property in Frontier School Division has often been high. In 1976-77 in Pelican Rapids the Division was forced to pay in excess of \$35,000 to repair damage, install bulletproof glass, and wire netting on windows, hang shutters on teacherages and to install expensive computer door locks.¹⁴ The community at the time was in a virtual state of anarchy, as at times, literally the whole settlement, including children, was drunk. Some remote communities send charter plans to Thompson to bring back full cargoes of beer and liquor. When the 'booze charter' arrives, a community-wide party begins and ends only when all the alcohol is gone. It is a sad but well known truth that the main social activities in many communities are organized around booze and bingo.

On the other hand, Frontier settlements do exhibit many of the positive attributes of small community living. One finds a strong



sense of community pride, rich local histories, genuine concern for individual and community futures, much self-made entertainment and evident knowledge of and concern for friends, neighbours and kinfolk. An elaborate kinship structure is an integral part of northern community life and supports the social fabric of these settlements. The anonymity of urban life is unknown in Frontier towns and villages. Abundant wild life and often spectacular scenery are additional positive aspects of life in these centers.

The advent of modern transportation and communication technology is having a tremendous effect on people. The writer watched high school students in 1970 encounter multi-story buildings and indoor plumbing for the first time. The sons and daughters of these students in the late 1970's watch Sesame Street and Fantasy Island on television. Communities, that for generations were accessible only by long arduous journeys, now have all-weather roads and daily air service.

It is difficult to measure the effect of all of these factors on the social fabric of a community and on its members. However, there can be little doubt that Frontier School Division residents are caught in a struggle to survive economically and socially, both individually and as communities. This struggle is exacerbated by the relative affluence of the growth centers and the south. Rapidly changing transportation, communication, society and technology are also significant forces.

In a single statement this writer, who has been in most of

the communities in question between 1967 and 1979, characterizes the atmosphere in them as a mixture of incredible humour and optimism mixed with liberal quantities of fatalism and despair.

The People

What then of the people? As indicated earlier some 85% of the residents of Frontier School Division are native. The majority of these persons are Metis.¹⁵ The Metis are the so-called mixed-blood descendants of European sailors, traders, settlers, etc., and Indians. Sealey aptly and with some humour describes the historical origin of the Metis as dating from "nine months after the first white man set foot in Canada."¹⁶ And as in most societies the mixed bloods of Canada have generally fared badly.

Howard Adams claims that both the Metis and the Indian have at all times since the European invasion been an exploited minority with little control over their fates.¹⁷ As Sealey indicates, the role of the Metis from 1816-1870 may be an exception.¹⁸ For both Metis and Indians their history is characterized by a sense of nationhood destroyed by an invasion of Europeans and followed by subjugation. That subjugation has included education systems designed to inculcate European (chiefly Anglo-European) values and to deny Indian and Metis history, language and culture.¹⁹

In order to resist assimilation the Metis and the Indian retreated to areas unpopulated and undesired by white people. The Metis basically settled wherever they would be left alone. Subjugation

was slowed by distance and poor communication and transportation facilities for generations. However, the advent of modern systems of transportation, etc., and economic expansion have greatly decreased the distance between cultures.

"There is nowhere for the Metis (and Indian) to retreat, for the dominant white society's economic, political and social ways are rapidly penetrating the hinterlands. Economic penetration through mines, pulp and paper mills, the tourist industry and the building of hydro-electric dams is influencing almost all those areas of Canada that a generation ago, would have been classified as unspoiled wilderness." ²⁰

Although status Indian people still have the barrier against assimilation provided by the 'reserve', non-status Indian and Metis people face enormous pressures "to integrate as quickly as possible into white society". ²¹

The advent of various forms of social assistance and white entrepreneurs has drastically changed the attitudes of natives. Sealey details change in Duck Bay, one of the communities in the Frontier School Division. Prior to World War II, Duck Bay was a self reliant and economically independent community. Community members earned a livelihood from traditional income sources (fishing, hunting, seneca gathering) and from farm labour in neighbouring agricultural districts. By 1964 the situation had changed dramatically for the worse. A white entrepreneur had taken over the outfitting and the marketing of fish and fur. He had successfully encouraged increased fishing and trapping to the point where stocks were depleted and these pursuits had stopped. However, this had, meanwhile, developed a dependency relationship with

the merchant. Baby bonuses and welfare completed the cycle. They were dependable sources of income and represented a plausible rationale for no longer engaging in traditional work. By 1970 welfare was the chief 'employer' in Duck Bay and ingenious ways to 'beat the system' were proudly devised by members of the community. A deadly game had begun and become widespread within one generation.²² Woodley's study of Camperville confirms Sealey's contentions.²³ The 'system' imposed by white society exerted destructive pressure on native communities to form dependent rather than independent or interdependent relationships.

Residents in many Frontier communities appear to be caught between two strong forces. On the one hand they face enormous pressure from the dominant white/urban/and southern society. On the other are the strong forces of tradition, their own culture and the adaptations they have made to live in their present milieu. This tension was most graphically portrayed for the writer in the late 1960's when counseling Indian and Metis high school students who had left their communities to attend the residential Frontier Collegiate. After having been away from a much loved home for four to six months they tearfully did not want to return because of the taunts to be received from their peers who had not attended school. The taunts were 'sell-out' and 'whitey', surely evidence of a painful dilemma.

The Division

It is hardly surprising, given the foregoing, that the administration of education in this region is, as indicated in Chapter One,

unique. It is unique with respect to its administration, manner of parental involvement, funding, the racial background of its residents and its geographical size. The following paragraphs describe its administrative structure, staffing and budget.

In 1979 Frontier School Division No. 48 operated thirty schools in twenty-seven communities in northern Manitoba. In addition, the Division was responsible for students who lived in areas once served by thirty-one closed or consolidated schools. These students were transported to other schools in the Division, other school jurisdictions, placed in boarding situations or taking correspondence courses. In several communities for which the Division was responsible, there were no students at that time. The operating schools ranged in enrollment from 12 to 505 with a total student population in the Division of 5283.²⁴

The central administrative office of the Division was located in Winnipeg. The Official Trustee, the Secretary-Treasurer, the central administrative support staff²⁵ and several educational support staff²⁶ operated from this office. The Division was divided into three geographical areas for the purposes of administration. There was an area office located in or near each of these areas. Area I of Frontier School Division in 1979 contained eight operating schools generally located along and north of the Hudson's Bay Railroad (the Bayline) with its office in Thompson. Area II contained ten schools chiefly located along Provincial Trunk Highway No. 10 north of Dauphin where the area office was situated. Area III, with its office in Norway House con-

tained twelve schools mainly located around Lake Winnipeg. Each area was administered by an Area Superintendent. In addition to the Area Superintendent there were several subject area specialists, a psychologist, a community liaison officer, an administrative assistant, and secretaries in each office.

In 1979 the Division employed 333 teachers and paraprofessionals. Its support staff complement was 212. Principals and vice-principals are included in the teacher count. Paraprofessionals include teacher aides and home-school coordinators. Support staff include janitors, maintenance men, bus drivers, boatmen and school secretaries as well as the aforementioned support staff in the central and area offices.

The operating budget for the Division for the calendar year 1979 was \$17,050,771.²⁷ With this budget the Division operated and supplied its schools, offices, transportation systems, and over 250 units of teacher accommodation, as well as paying the salaries of its employees. This budget figure does not include capital expenditure for major construction projects which in any given year might increase the total budget by half.

Summary

Frontier School Division provides the delivery of education services to persons who live in a variety of small isolated northern communities. The Division, the geography, the communities served by it, the economic and social circumstances of those communities, and most importantly the people in them, are to a very great degree unique.

Perhaps the best word to describe the area and people served by the Division is 'fringe'. A great many aspects of the lives of the people in the Division seem to be on the fringe of the mainstream. Yet, they have hopes, dreams, and contributions of value to make to society. The task of Frontier School Division is to prepare children to make their contributions and to try to fulfill all hopes and dreams.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

¹Keith Wilson, Manitoba: Profile of a Province, Winnipeg: Peguis Publishers, Ltd., 1975, p. 204.

²Manitoba, Guidelines for the Seventies, Regional Perspectives, Queen's Printer, March, 1973, p. 56.

³The Hudson's Bay Co. A fur trading and mercantile corporation which has operated in the Canadian North West since 1670.

⁴Prices obtained by the writer during visits to these communities in 1979.

⁵Manitoba, op. cit., p. 65.

⁶Ibid.

⁷J. S. Frideres, Canada's Indians: Contemporary Conflicts, Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice-Hall Canada Ltd., 1974, p. xiii.

⁸Emile Pelletier, A Social History of the Manitoba Metis, Winnipeg, Manitoba: Metis Federation Press, 1974.

⁹See D. B. Sealey and A. S. Lussier, The Metis: Canada's Forgotten People, Winnipeg, Manitoba: Metis Federation Press, 1975.

¹⁰Manitoba, op. cit., p. 57.

¹¹Ibid., p. 56-7.

¹²Ibid., p. 60.

¹³Russell Rothney, "A Brief Economic History of Northern Manitoba" (Manitoba, Internal Government Working Paper). Department of Northern Affairs, July, 1975, p. 118.

¹⁴G. K. W. McCormick, Secretary-Treasurer of Frontier School Division. Interview, February 20, 1980.

¹⁵Population figures in Table 1 which indicate a closer balance are badly skewed by large status populations in such centers as Norway House and Berens River.

¹⁶Sealey, op. cit., p. 1.

¹⁷Howard Adams, The Outsiders, Saskatoon: Metis Society of Saskatchewan, 1972, p. 14-15.

¹⁸D. Bruce Sealey, "The Education of Native Peoples in Manitoba," University of Manitoba: Monographs in Education, 1980, p. 1.

¹⁹Ibid.

²⁰Ibid., p. 181.

²¹Ibid., p. 179.

²²Ibid., p. 182-5.

²³Kenneth Woodley, "An Ethnographic Study of a Typical Metis Community in Manitoba" (unpublished M.Ed. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1977). p. 160-64.

²⁴As at October 31, 1979. See Appendix C.

²⁵These staff persons are responsible for accounting, payroll, purchasing, transportation, capital projects supervision, etc.

²⁶These staff persons include library, nutrition, curriculum and home placement support staff.

²⁷McCormick, loc. cit.

Chapter 3

THE ORIGINS OF FRONTIER SCHOOL DIVISION

The purpose of this chapter is to trace the historical development of education in what is now known as Frontier School Division from 1899 to its legal foundation in 1965. The chronology of events in this chapter is divided into three main sections each corresponding to the tenure of the senior official or officials responsible for education in what later became Frontier School Division. These sections are further divided into appropriate sub-sections which encapsulate significant developments. This chapter and the subsequent one describe the significant educational development indicated in the second subpurposes of the study stated in Chapter One and provide with Chapter Two the basis for further analysis in Chapter Five.

In many respects, Frontier School Division today is similar to any other large school jurisdiction. As will be shown, it has modern facilities, transportation systems, a large and efficient administrative support system, well qualified and well paid teachers, and uniform curricular programs. This state of affairs was not always the case.

1899-1924: The Commissioner of Northern Affairs
and Visiting Officials

The Early Years and
Ad Hoc Schooling

Schooling in the communities now served by Frontier School Division, in the first quarter of the twentieth century, might be described as rare, sporadic, haphazard and inadequate. Sealey's description of the situation during this period as an "ad hoc system of education"¹ is apt. Although much of the history of public education during this period was never recorded or has been lost, enough remains to illustrate the character of education during this time.

From 1899 to the mid-1930's, public schools in the unorganized territory of northern Manitoba were under the supervision of the Commissioner of Northern Affairs, who acted for the Department of Education² or visiting school inspectors from the south who formed schools at the request of community members. Thus, education, in the area of concern to this study, was a secondary duty to an official whose primary function was to represent government authority or was attended to by periodic visits from Department of Education officials when their southern duties were completed. As an example, the first evidence of public education in what is now Frontier School Division records the formation of the School District of Bad Throat No. 1014 on April 26, 1899. The district was formed by Inspector Rochon of Winnipeg and the people of the Manigotogan settlement. There is no record of continuity in the operation of the school, but it remained an official district until

its dissolution into Frontier School Division on April 7, 1968.^{3,4} Also, the School District of Grand Rapids No. 1660 was formed on March 23, 1913,⁵ by the Commissioner on request of the community. The school operated during 1913-14 in a log building supplied by the community. The Department of Education provided a teacher. However, property taxes were not collected for 1915 and the school closed in late 1915 as a result of this lack of financial support from the community.⁶ No record has been found as to when the school opened again, although Lysecki reports it operating in 1934-35.⁷

Further examples of the school district formation process and educational conditions are found in the Annual Reports of the Department of Education. The June 30, 1917 report indicates that on May 1, 1916, "there were in Northern Manitoba only three schools operating in the regular way, those at The Pas, Barrows, and Moose Lake".⁸ A district had been organized at Barrows on March 20, 1913.⁹ The school at Moose Lake operated in the trading post and was primarily a school for the children of the white trader, with a few Indian children allowed in at the discretion of the trader. Although The Pas and its surrounding native communities have never been part of Frontier School Division the following reference is an indication of the state of education in the remote north during World War I. A school for "half-breeds"¹⁰ was being organized at the Big Eddy Settlement, immediately north of The Pas in 1917 where a building there was "properly fixed up for school purposes"¹¹ by local people and the Department of Education was to supply a teacher. In late 1916 the Hudson Bay Railway Co. workers constructed

a school building for their children at Mile 214 of the railroad, Piquotona (Pikwitonei). The Department provided a teacher in the spring of 1917. Despite the presence of Metis children in the area, the school evidently was open only to the children of white construction workers during their stay at Mile 214.¹² Pikwitonei School District No. 2231 was not formed until June 13, 1931.¹³ It may be speculated, therefore, that schooling for native children living there during the intervening years, was sporadic if available at all.

The Annual Report of 1917 also indicates the wide variety of agencies involved in the delivery of education. In the words of John A. Campbell, Commissioner of Northern Affairs, in his report to the Minister of Education following a visit to Norway House in 1917, "The education system there is peculiar."¹⁴ Children in the southern half of this large native community had opportunity to attend a school conducted by the Anglican Church. This school received a yearly grant from the Department. Students in the northern portion of the community either attended a school conducted by the Methodists (and underwritten by the Department of Education) or attended the 'Indian School' operated by the Government of Canada, or did not attend school at all. In the spring of 1917, however, when the northern residents of Norway House moved further down river, away from the Methodist mission, the school was closed. A public school district (the School District of Norway House No. 1917) was formed by a visiting school inspector on March 23, 1918,¹⁵ and operated independently until 1935, when it was placed under the Provincial Official Trustee for financial failure.¹⁶

Schooling in Norway House continued to be a mixture of public (Provincial), 'Indian' (Federal) and church (Anglican, Methodist, Catholic, United) until 1969, when all education in Norway House became the responsibility of Frontier School Division.¹⁷

As suggested in Chapter Two the communities of Frontier School Division have long been considered to be on the 'fringe'. Expansion of settlement from the south into these fringe settlements was another feature of northern education during the early years. Three school districts were 'settled by whites' following the return of soldiers from the Great War. The School District of Waterhen No. 1955 (March 2, 1919) and the School District of Dallas No. 1970 (March 28, 1919) operated as individual districts until becoming part of Frontier in 1965.¹⁸ The School District of Sunny Valley No. 2027 (February 25, 1920) operated independently until 1959 when financial difficulty forced the Province to take over its administration under the Provincial Official Trustee.¹⁹

As Sealey indicates,²⁰ there were also a number of 'Indian schools' operated by the Federal Government operating in Norway House and other settlements in or near what became Frontier School Division. Some of these schools were residential both on and off reserves, and others were day schools on reserves. In the residential schools, Metis and non-status Indian children were allowed to fill empty spaces if some agency, usually church or charity, offered to pay their tuition. Indian day schools also permitted Metis and non-status Indian students to attend if there were insufficient status Indian children to fill the

school. In both cases, however, if the number of status Indian students increased, Metis students were forced to leave.

Ira Stratton, Special School Organizer for the Department of Education from 1917-24, indicates a variety of difficulties in carrying out his duties. Although Stratton's assignment concerned the organization of schools in areas recently settled by European and Scandinavian immigrants his difficulties parallel those in the native settlements of northern Manitoba. The difficulties included the securing of teachers, providing for their accommodation and pay, and educating local people in the ways and means of conducting a school. These difficulties were compounded by incompetent local trustees, indifference to the nature of education, lack of roads, fear of taxation and the nonpayment of taxes where assessments did exist.²¹

A Summary of the Early Years

In summary, education within the area now served by Frontier School Division during the first twenty-five years of public schooling (1899-1924) was, by current standards, primitive. However, these early years contained the seeds for later developments which characterize the evolution of Frontier School Division. First, there was an attempt to establish public education where none had previously existed. Second, these attempts to establish public education were shared initiatives, with impetus from communities being supported by government. Third, the cost of implementing public education was shared between the community and the provincial government. Fourth, there were the beginnings,

although informal, of shared service agreements between the Governments of Manitoba and Canada. Fifth, educational services from the Province, in this area, were viewed as an appendage to those of other areas rather than as a priority. Finally, there was recognition by officials that education in the settlements in question was unique or 'peculiar'.

1925-48: C. K. Rogers: The Beginnings
of a System

During the second quarter of this century development of public education in the remote north began to accelerate and show signs of systematization. Although certainly still primitive in nature, the opportunity for schooling increased considerably between 1925 and 1948.

The Murray Commission

The establishment of the Murray Commission on Education, which reported to Premier John Bracken in 1924,²² proved to be a significant development toward the systematization of education in rural and northern Manitoba. It was significant in terms of what it made possible. The Commission was established to investigate and report on post World War I needs and on an alarming increase in the number of closed schools and financially failed school districts. The Commission was also charged with the responsibility of reporting and recommending on "the needs of the more recently settled and less developed districts of the Province for better educational facilities and the ways and means of providing such facilities".²³

The Murray Commission's principal findings focussed on the inability of small rural and remote school districts to afford the cost of a continuously operating school. The report states:

"Your Commission have found: --

That there has been in 1923 a marked increase in the number of schools open only part time or closed throughout the year:

. . .

That these schools are mainly in the unorganized territory and rural municipalities along the eastern border of the Province, between and around the northerly portion of Lake Winnipeg and Manitoba where the settlement is more recent and agricultural conditions less favorable:

That the average assessment per teacher for the many of these municipalities is less than one-third and for some less than one-quarter of the provincial average:

. . .

In unorganized territory, where very few districts have an assessment greater than \$50,000, there is no municipal levy or municipal grant for schools."²⁴

The Report concluded:

"There is only one thing to do. As in 1921, the basis of support was broadened from the district to the municipality so now it must be extended from the municipality to the Province. Only the Province can, with justice, be held responsible for the provincial duty of keeping open the elementary schools for the children of the Province."²⁵

The communities on the fringe were clearly becoming a strong concern of government. The major conclusion of the Commission was that schooling in rural areas ought to be more centralized. An increased size would provide a larger tax base and greater educational opportunity, especially

in secondary education and areas of special interest.

The Commission made the following recommendations:

- "1. That special grants be payable for schools in unorganized territory, and for schools in rural municipalities where the average assessment per teacher of the municipality on the equalized basis is less than \$100,000.
2. That these grants be in addition to the Legislative Grant and be apportioned to the districts according to their equalized assessment per teacher, the grants decreasing as the assessment increases.
3. That these grants begin with \$2.25 per teaching day for each teacher in districts with an equalized assessment per teacher of \$10,000 or less and decrease 25 cents per teaching day with each \$5,000 increase of assessment until an assessment of \$50,000 is reached when they terminate.
4. That in order to promote efficiency through continuity of service an additional 25 cents per day be payable to the teacher remaining a second year in the same district.
5. That in addition to the Legislative Grants and the Special Grants proposed above and in consideration of the absence of any Municipal Grant, schools in unorganized territory receive an additional grant of \$1.00 per teaching day, thus giving the weakest school per day 75 cents from Legislative Grant, \$2.25 from Special Grant and \$1.00 additional grant or \$4.00 per teaching day, a sum sufficient to provide \$80 per month towards the teacher's salary.
6. That in order to insure that the grants recommended in section three, four and five above, may be used in the most effective manner, the Inspector shall be empowered to appoint, control and pay the teacher or teachers in school districts receiving these grants.
7. That the Minister of Education be empowered to make such temporary arrangements in readjusting districts, combining schools, providing transportation for children, in districts receiving special assistance as will result in greater efficiency and economy and that he may withdraw

all or any portion of these special grants if the attendance falls below a fixed minimum or the total expense of the school for teachers' salary and supplies falls below the combined Legislative, Special and Municipal Grants."²⁶

The recommendations of the Murray Commission were enacted into legislation in 1925.²⁷

Significant to this study are the following results of the establishment of the Murray Commission and its findings, and the subsequent legislation. First, the Province by the establishment of the Commission recognized the inadequacy of its education system in general and in particular that of northern remote settlements. Second, the government acting on the advice of the Commission, established the principle of providing extra funds to remote settlements in unorganized territory.²⁸ Third, the power of central officials (inspectors) over local affairs was increased and correspondingly the power of local authorities (trustees) was reduced. Finally, the Minister was provided with direct powers of intervention into the operation of local districts, including the removal of grants, changing of boundaries, and assumption of the powers of local boards when it became necessary, in his opinion, to "provide educational facilities for the children of such districts at a minimum cost."²⁹

Subsequent to the Murray Commission there was a general trend towards centralization within municipalities in rural Manitoba. Consolidated school districts greatly increased in number between 1925 and World War II. In the remote north, however, a different state of affairs existed, as is indicated by Lysecki and the annual reports on

education.

Dr. H. H. Elliot had been Commissioner of Northern Manitoba for a decade when he wrote to Lysecki in late 1935. His following description of education in the remote north of Manitoba indicates that the priority was not consolidation or improved secondary education, but the establishment of rudimentary schooling. He wrote:

"Schools have been established in the Unorganized Territory in communities having ten or more children of school age, on receipt by the Department of Education of a petition signed by parents of such children, stating name, age and sex of each child. The Government, through the Department of Education, would undertake to supply roof, floor, windows and doors for a school building; the rest of which would be erected by and at the expense of the residents of the community. Upon completion of the school building the Government would supply equipment and secure a teacher, whose salary the people would be required to pay by subscription or otherwise. The people would also be required to provide for the heating and care of the school building. Occasionally the people have failed to raise the necessary funds to finance their obligations, in which event the Government has come to their assistance, even to the extent, in some instances of paying the teacher's salary in full.

With the passage of time, the various communities in Northern Manitoba have been granted the privilege of electing or selecting a School Board. In most instances a school district has been established."³⁰

Lysecki indicates that teachers' salaries, in the main, were the grants paid as a result of the 1925 legislation and were not usually augmented by local taxation or subscription.

Teachers in these schools were usually young, inexperienced and minimally qualified; they were paid low salaries. They characteristically stayed in a settlement for one year or less. Many schools operated for much less than the legally required two hundred day school

year, and some were closed for a year or more if a teacher and funds could not be found. Curricula were supposed to follow provincial standards but were usually a rudimentary adaptation based on teacher expertise and available materials. Secondary education was virtually non-existent. Buildings and furnishing provided by the community were very primitive in comparison to the south. Departmental supplements to the buildings were of little help due to a variety of difficulties including transportation. It was very much a 'catch as catch can' system of schooling.^{31,32}

The formation and operation of schools between 1925 and 1948 continued to be a shared responsibility of community members and the Province, with an evident increase in government involvement. Increased government involvement as a result of the 1925 legislation is evident from increased grants to northern schools which amounted to \$6,843 in 1928 and \$23,289 in 1939. This process resulted in the formation of several districts which would later form part of Frontier School Division. Table III outlines these districts, the dates they were formed, the dates they were dissolved and the disposition of them following dissolution.

The dry language of annual reports provides little of the flavour of the development of education in areas of interest here. A search of Annual Reports 1925-45, indicates little change in educational opportunity for students in these areas beyond the establishment of schools and their continuing need for improvement. There was during this time, however, the unreported beginning of another trend, critical

TABLE III
 SCHOOL DISTRICTS FORMED BETWEEN 1924 AND 1948^{3a}
 WHICH BECAME PART OF THE DIVISION

District	Formation Date	Dissolution Date	Disposition
Herb Lake ¹ No. 2114	1/12/24	1/ 7/61	Orphan School ²
Mallard No. 2121	30/ 4/25	15/ 9/49	Orphan School
Cormorant Lake No. 2129	26/ 6/25	1/ 4/67 ³	Frontier S.D.
Duck Bay No. 2163	21/ 1/27	1/ 8/52	Orphan School
Wabowden No. 2181	30/ 7/28	1/ 4/67	Frontier S.D.
Rice Creek No. 2185	8/ 8/28	11/ 3/59	Official Trustee School ⁴
Northland No. 2199	1/ 6/29	1/ 4/67	Frontier S.D.
Cranberry Portage No. 2201	23/ 7/29	1/ 4/67	Frontier S.D.
Pikwitonei No. 2231	13/ 6/31	1/ 4/67	Frontier S.D.
Sherridon No. 2233	1/ 7/31	23/ 1/53	Moved to Lynn Lake
San Antonio ⁵ No. 2234	22/ 9/32	1/ 7/68	Frontier S.D.
Gillam No. 2250	1/ 1/34	1/ 4/67	Frontier S.D.
Cold Lake No. 2253	16/11/34	1/ 4/67	Frontier S.D.
Thicket Portage NO. 2290	1/10/38	1/ 4/67	Frontier S.D.
Berens River No. 2291	1/ 1/39	1/ 4/67	Frontier S.D.
Barrows Jcn. No. 2296	29/ 8/39	1/ 4/67	Frontier S.D.
D.R.Hamilton ⁶ No. 2310	11/ 9/48	1/ 4/67	Frontier S.D.

1. Herb Lake is the English translation for the Cree term, Wekusko,
2. The origin of this term is not known. It was understood to include those schools cut off from outside contacts and lacking the wherewithall to operate a school.
3. Although Frontier S.D. was officially formed 8/7/65 and on that date became responsible for all of these districts, formal legislation dissolving them was not passed until 1/1/67.
4. See definitions in Chapter 1.
5. San Antonio is the name of the gold mine at Bissett, Manitoba.
6. D. R. Hamilton is located in the non-status settlement at Cross Lake, Manitoba.

to later developments.

C. K. Rogers and the Orphan Schools

C. K. Rogers was a senior official of the Department of Education from 1928-59 who occupied various roles including Administrative Officer, Assistant Deputy Minister and Registrar. He became a dominant figure and established important precedents in the origin of Frontier School Division. As early as 1934, he began to funnel surplus Departmental funds to 'orphan schools'. The surplus funds of the Departmental supply budget (i.e. desks, paper, etc.) allocation were used each spring, at the end of the fiscal year, to fund a special account under Rogers' control. These funds were used by Rogers to hire teachers to teach in the orphan schools. These schools commonly operated during the summer, primarily because transportation was easier and fuel costs were minimal. No mention of such financial arrangements was made in the Departmental reports, the Government being officially unaware of the practice. However, those familiar with northern education^{35,36,37} attest willingly to this practice.

Rogers was aware that there were attempts at schooling in settlements too small or poor to organize a district. The lack of educational opportunity in these 'orphan' communities greatly disturbed him. Bernard Grafton, later to be Supervisor of Special Schools, was hired by Rogers under such an arrangement to teach at Big Black River in 1934. Grafton and others interviewed indicate that it is their understanding that throughout the 1930's and 1940's Rogers submitted

requests for and received relatively large supply budgets which were primarily used to support his orphan schools. Grafton further contends that Rogers, "a terrific human being who could persuade you to anything,"³⁸ took this action on his own initiative, indicative of his interest "in areas that couldn't afford schools".³⁹

Rogers' method of instituting schooling was to make 'deals' with communities. If the communities provided a building for a school, room, board, and fuel, then he would provide a teacher. This action was taken for communities which could not receive grants under the 1925 legislation because they did not have any tax base. These 'schools' operated in churches, living rooms, kitchens, H.B.C. storage sheds, etc., and offered very rudimentary curricula. Although few ever became organized districts, nevertheless through Rogers' efforts the first 'schools' were operated in a number of communities.⁴⁰

Rogers' action set an extremely important precedent for the communities of the future Frontier School Division. That precedent, later exemplified by others was the direct action by a Department of Education official to provide initiative, leadership, service and money to remote communities. It is important to recognize the leadership that was taken by a civil servant without the official approval of his elected supervisors. Grafton and others claim that many MLA's were against such an arrangement because there were few votes available in these areas and people living there did not pay taxes and thus, in their opinion, did not deserve support.

Another significant explanation of Rogers' willingness to act

in the way in which he did is provided by R. W. Dalton. He states: "Don't forget, politics was much more a part time business in the 30's and 40's. The Department of Education acted much more on its own than it did later."⁴¹ Whatever his rationale, Rogers' action established him as the dominant figure in northern education.

There were two developments in the mid-1940's which add to the collage of events in the evolution of Frontier School Division prior to 1948. The first of these was a legislative committee report and the second was the appointment of a school inspector.

The Special Select Committee
on Education

A Special Select Committee of the Manitoba Legislative Assembly on Education was struck on March 10, 1944.⁴² This committee was to investigate and report on all aspects of education in Manitoba, and recommend action to answer post war educational needs. The Committee report had little direct effect on education in the northern remote communities, but it established an ideology which later had a profound effect.

The principal findings and recommendations of the Committee were:

"The Committee finds that the present system of educational organization was developed originally to suit pioneer conditions; that it was a practical, workable system for such conditions, and that over a long period of years, it was reasonably effective; that there are some advantages in the system at the present day, and that it is widely supported by a majority of the people of the Province. While recognizing these facts, the Committee finds that in view of the far-reaching social,

economic and demographic changes, there is definite and urgent need to re-examine the whole system of educational organization in the light of present day needs.

. . .

The Committee, having considered the arguments, accepts the general principle of the larger unit of school administration. It considers that such units could provide a greater degree of equality of educational opportunity, particularly at the secondary level. It further considers that the administrative areas should be sufficiently large to provide a complete educational programme at the elementary and secondary levels, including provision for differentiation of educational opportunity.

. . .

The Committee is impressed with the necessity of maintaining local interest in the schools and recommends that local boards be retained with certain specific and definite powers.

. . .

The Committee finds that the control and support of education in Manitoba should be shared by the Province and the local administrative areas, i.e., the municipalities and the school districts.

. . .

The Committee recommends that the major aim in the field of finance should be to secure stabilization of school finance and to lessen the inequalities of the tax burden required to support the schools.

. . .

The Committee finds that the educational responsibility of each municipality is fundamentally the same, but the financial ability of the municipality to assume such obligation varies greatly between different municipalities.

. . .

The Committee finds that as between individual school districts there is a wide variation in the financial ability of the school district to meet educational obligations.

The Committee finds that variations in the educational standards maintained by school districts are inevitable unless the burden of educational support is equalized and that there can be no real equalization of educational opportunity until the financial burden for the support of education is equalized on a provincial basis.

The Committee considers that the equalization of educational opportunity can be provided only by the establishment of adequate standards, and that essential educational standards for the whole Province should be set out in detail in departmental regulations. Standards should be established with respect to the qualifications of teaching personnel, the school plant and equipment, and health requirements. It further considers that the payment of the provincial grant should be contingent upon the meeting of such standards by the local school authority.

The Committee is of the opinion that a re-allocation of the burden of educational support is necessary as between the Province and the municipalities, in order to ensure regularity of educational income at all times and to guarantee the maintenance of reasonable standards of education."⁴³

In essence the Committee recognized that the 'pioneer system', although beneficial in the past and revered by the people, was outdated. It felt that a new system needed to be much more centralized and based on larger administrative units. Local interest must be maintained but control and support for education was shifting toward the Provincial

level. The Committee had found great inequalities in educational services between the various municipalities and districts, with particular evidence of weakness in "unorganized territory".⁴⁴ In the Committee's view, such inequality could be alleviated by stronger Provincial support and control. Equal educational opportunity would be guaranteed by stringent Provincial standards. Interestingly, there were no specific recommendations aimed at the schools of interest to this study. The Committee only recognized the problem.

The recommendations of the report did not result in much specific action, as only one large unit - the Dauphin-Ochre School Area No. 1 - was formed subsequent to 1945. The reasons for such a limited response, according to Dalton,⁴⁵ were the general readjustment of society following the World War II and the lack of a sufficient financial carrot. However, the Committee report did strengthen the recommendations toward centralization of the Murray Commission. Although centralization on the scale recommended did not take place until 1959 following another commission, the Committee report established within the minds of educational professionals that 'bigger was better'.

Scott Bateman and an
Inspector's Report

As indicated earlier the inspection of schools in unorganized northern territory and in the larger northern towns was the responsibility of the Commissioner of Northern Affairs or of visiting southern inspectors. In 1940 the first school inspector to be officially assigned to the north was appointed. He was stationed at The Pas and was respon-

sible for The Pas, Flin Flon and unorganized territory.⁴⁶ However, this inspector and his immediate successor confined their efforts to The Pas, Flin Flon and Sherridon. The remote settlements received very little more service than they had received previously. The level of service changed quickly and positively with the appointment by the Minister of B. Scott Bateman as inspector for this area on September 1, 1945.⁴⁷

Bateman, whose considerable influence on Frontier School Division is outlined in the next section of this chapter, served the Department of Education for over two decades, leaving as Deputy Minister in 1966. His experience in the north, by his own admission⁴⁸ and corroborated by those who know him well, had a great effect on his later actions.⁴⁹

Bateman was Principal of The Pas Collegiate from 1939 to 1945. As such he received boarding students from communities on the 'Bayline' who were sent by their parents to The Pas for secondary education. He was struck by the generally poor elementary education they had received and the hardship for them and their parents of having to attend school far from home.⁵⁰

Bateman, after consultation with Rogers and others, began his inspection in 1945 of a territory which extended from "Grand Rapids to the Territories and from Hudson's Bay to the Saskatchewan border and had never seen anything other than cursory inspection before."⁵¹

Bateman states:

"I liked the country and the people and I wanted to get to it. I had, as Principal of The Pas Collegiate, received their kids and they needed help. I poked into places where no one had been before; thirty, forty, fifty kids, but no school. In some places there never had been one, in others it had been shut down, in others it operated on a shoestring.

I was appalled and I sent in reports that showed a certain amount of indignation."⁵²

Exerpts from Bateman's 'indignant' report follow and indicate much about the state of education in what is now Frontier School Division immediately following World War II.

"...districts in the Division (inspectional Division No. 25) where accommodation is unsatisfactory are: Cold Lake, with a very unprepossessing building; Cranberry Portage where one of the classrooms is in very poor condition; ...; Pikwitonei, with a very poor type of shelter; and Moose Lake, with totally inadequate accommodation.

. . . .

A modified curriculum is suggested for remote localities with special emphasis on Health, First Aid and Nature Study.

. . . .

Financing of some districts is very difficult, especially in those districts where there is little taxable property and where the population is Indian or Half-breeds. Some method of securing a share of the Fish and Fur catch for education is recommended. On account of the fluctuation in revenues reserves should be set aside in good years to carry over during the poor ones.

In this Division a desirable coverage of schools is not possible because of distances and difficulties of transportation. The mediums of transportation here are car, truck, passenger train, various types of extras, freight train, gas-car, snow-plane, snow-mobile, canoe, launch, dogs, aircraft, caterpillar-swing, bus and on foot. The mileage last year was about 12,000 and, in this

Division, it should be about 20,000 to do the job. The ratio of nights away from home is high. Accommodation is haphazard. The sleeping bag is always carried except when visiting Sherridon and Flin Flon. I have slept and dined at trappers' cabins, fishing camps, lumber camps, railroad extra gangs, sectionmen's homes, in the bush, in deserted bunk cars, at settlers' homes, at trading posts, at Game Branch posts, on motor launches, at Air Bases, at hospitals and with the men of the Muskox Expedition.

There should be a plan of joint action on the part of Provincial and Federal Governments to provide suitable education under the same roof to Indians and Half-breeds; a plan of setting up one or possibly two schools per year until present needs are met; revision of present methods of raising funds, locally through taxation on property; adjustment of curricula to suit the needs of students.

The children scattered along the Hudson's Bay Railroad now have to go far from home for their education. Their education might be provided for by boarding schools at selected points on the railroad."⁵³

"There are a good many correspondence pupils in this Division: most of them are taking high school courses. Correspondence courses have their limitation in remote districts due first to the haphazard mail service, and second to the difficulty of getting proper assistance in the home community."⁵⁴

Such were Bateman's findings and reports of two years of travel to the remote northern communities. It is hard to accurately measure the effect of personal experience on action but as Dalton states, "the fact that Scott Bateman travelled up and down the Bayline in a gas car, had a very great deal to do with his later actions."^{55,56} In the spring of 1947, Minister of Education John Dryden visited The Pas and offered Bateman the position of Chief Administrative Officer. Bateman did not want to leave the people and the north country. He was informed by

Dryden that his choice was to assume the new position on September 1, 1947 or "rot in The Pas".⁵⁷ Again, following consultation with Rogers and others, Bateman accepted the appointment. Physically he left the north; however his experience, by his own admission and readily supported by those who know him, had left him indelibly branded with the north and its people.

A Summary and Early Precedents Continue

What might be concluded about the 1925-48 period in the development of education, particularly in the settlements of concern to this study? The following summary captures the developments significant to later growth.

The rudimentary and primitive schooling of 1899-1924 was slowly improved. New districts were formed, and although teachers were quick to leave and underqualified, there was, in the opinion of those who witnessed it, perceptible improvement.

Public schooling remained a joint responsibility of the community and the Province. There was evidence, however, of greater involvement by the Province. The Murray Commission and legislation subsequent to it furnished greater funds for remote settlements but it also provided for a greater degree of control by the central authority.

Educational interest by the Province spread to communities which did not fall under the 1925 legislation. These were settlements where there was no tax base at all and yet there were enough children to operate

a school. However, this interest was demonstrated in a unique manner. A department official of considerable rank (Rogers) took personal initiative and responsibility to provide extra help to communities outside the 1925 legislation. He 'cheated' the system and then used the resultant dollars to make informal agreements to 'deals' with communities to operate their schools.

This singular action by a civil servant later proved to be a critical precedent. More importantly schooling began, as a result of Rogers' initiative, in many settlements where it had not previously existed and likely would not have for some considerable time.

The Department of Education had by Rogers' action accepted increased responsibility for education in the north. The appointment of the first full time inspector specifically assigned to the north in 1940 was also a significant indication of increased central interest. Although the position was not actualized in a meaningful sense until 1945, schooling in the north became less of an appended responsibility.

The 1944 Legislative Committee produced little in the way of concrete results for the north or the south. However, ideologically it established the rationale to replace the pioneer system and planted the idea that centralization was the key to quality education in the future.

Bateman, who later became the top civil servant in Manitoba education (the Deputy Minister) was evidently influenced by his experience in the north as a principal and school inspector. Grafton, also later a senior civil servant, was similarly moved by conditions in Big Black River in the mid-1930's. It is dangerous to speculate on the effect

of a person's sense of mission in carrying out a job. However, there can be no denial that a person's experience affects his later attitudes. The next section of this chapter details the actions of Bateman and Grafton, whatever their motivations.

1948-65: Scott Bateman and Bernard Grafton:
The Continuing Evolution to One System

The years between 1948 and 1965 saw several important developments toward the formation of Frontier School Division. First, the important precedents established in earlier periods were continued, including the Department of Education officials taking initiative and responsibility to provide service to northern schools, the provision of extra funding to remote districts, and the continuing importance of schooling in some of the remote northern settlements. Second, the Special Schools Branch was formed specifically, and other methods were used, to provide support to the northern remote schools. Third, the first formal shared service agreements between the provincial and federal governments were established. Fourth, as a result of a Royal Commission, the 'pioneer' education system of Manitoba was revamped and centralized. Fifth, legislation was drafted to allow formation of a school division specifically for the communities of interest here. This section outlines how earlier precedents were maintained as new developments such as the evolution of Special Schools Branch, the effects of the Royal Commission and the events leading to permissive legislation and the formation of Frontier School Division took place.

The Establishment of the Special
Schools Branch

The formation and growth of the Special Schools Branch was critical to the development of Frontier School Division. It was the first attempt to formally 'systematize' education in remote northern communities.

The Special Select Committee of the Manitoba Legislative Assembly on Education recommended that Hutterite classrooms be placed under direct Provincial control. The Committee suggested that the Chief Inspector or his designate be the civil servant responsible for administering the Hutterian classrooms.⁵⁸

D. L. Campbell, later Premier, represented the constituency of Lakeside, which at that time, was the area surrounding Portage la Prairie. His constituency contained several Hutterite colonies and in 1947 he expressed his concern for their schooling to Minister of Education Dryden. Dryden assigned his Chief Inspector of Schools, C. K. Rogers, to the problem. Rogers met with several colonies and was informed by the Hutterite people that a single supervisor of their education services was their desire. They did not wish the continuation of the practice of occasional visits by neighbouring school inspectors. Rogers was also informed by the colonies that Bernard Grafton, who had taught for a term in Hutterite classrooms, "was a man they trusted and would be good for the job".⁵⁹

On Rogers' recommendation and supported by the Committee report the Special Schools Branch was formed effective September 1, 1948. The

Supervisor of the Special Schools Branch was Bernard Grafton. He was placed in charge of the twenty Hutterite classrooms and reported to Rogers. However, Rogers, Deputy Minister R. O. MacFarlane and Dryden did not view the supervision of the Hutterite classrooms as a full-time responsibility. Rogers suggested appending responsibility for his orphan schools (38 classrooms) to the job and his recommendation was accepted.⁶⁰ Dryden accepted the recommendation on the basis of helping orphan schools not necessarily 'native orphan schools'. Rogers and Grafton, however, were clearly concerned with the native orphan schools.⁶¹

While these developments were taking place, Scott Bateman had assumed his new position of Chief Administrative Officer of the Department of Education in September, 1947.⁶² In this position he was responsible for the general administration of the Department including grants to school districts and for the preparation of the annual spending estimates. In November, 1947, while he was preparing the 1948-49 estimates Bateman was approached by MacFarlane. MacFarlane said:

"I've got one hell of a problem. I want you to look after it. I don't know what to do about it, but the fellow who wrote these reports thinks he does."⁶³

At that point the Deputy handed Bateman his own 'indignant' reports of 1945 and 1946. Bateman took this action to indicate MacFarlane's support for whatever he could do to help the schools in question.

Bateman knew:

"that some of the situations were pretty desperate. I looked into the tax reports and there was no reasonable tax base at all. In many cases taxes had

not been collected in ten years and from my experience I knew were non-collectable. There was no possible way to support a system on existing grants plus taxes."⁶⁴

Thus Bateman felt it was important to find a method of increased funding and support for these schools.

There were two other developments which happened at approximately the same time and were interwoven with the Special Schools Branch. They were another 'system' called the Official Trustee Schools and the establishment of the first formal joint educational agreements between the Provincial and the Federal governments.

Official trustee schools. During the 1940's an increasing number of existing school districts in the Province failed financially. The Minister, under the 1924 legislation, placed these schools under the Provincial School Administrator (later Provincial Official Trustee) Angus A. MacDonald. Throughout the Province, MacDonald was the administrator of over two hundred failed districts, including perhaps a dozen in what became Frontier School Division.⁶⁵ The government used this strategy to provide extra funds and thus to keep the schools open in these districts. Although many schools could operate only part of the year, schooling was maintained.⁶⁶ This crude system of equalization grants was formalized by Bateman. Included in the total estimates of \$5,140,000 for April 1948 was an appropriation of \$70,000 to cover part of the costs of schooling in the Special Schools Branch and what were known as the Official Trustee Schools.⁶⁷

Joint agreement number one. During the 1948-49 school year Bateman organized an educational survey of northern Manitoba carried out by Grafton for the Manitoba Department of Education and by an official of the Federal Government Indian Affairs Branch.⁶⁸ This survey involved visiting all settlements and all Provincial and Federal schools in northern Manitoba. It was the first joint survey of its kind. It led to the first school jointly constructed for status Indian and Metis by the Province of Manitoba and the Government of Canada. 'Joint Agreement Number 1',⁶⁹ as it is commonly called, brought about the construction, in 1950, of a single school for the status Indian, Metis and non-native populations of Southern Indian Lake. The major negotiators for the Province were Bernard Grafton and Scott Bateman. This development is significant when related to an earlier quoted statement in Bateman's 'indignant' report of 1946 that a way be found to provide education in the same facility for Indians and Half-breeds.⁷⁰

As is indicated later this agreement led to other joint schools and formal agreements for the education of status and non-status children in the same school.⁷¹ The survey also confirmed the claims of Bateman's indignant report. Until the survey, Bateman was feeling unsuccessful in convincing the government of the education needs of the remote north. He recalls:

"The schools were mostly hovels. In Moose Lake, as an example, there were forty-two kids on the roll, twenty-four desks and never more than fifteen at school at once. Not one window has both an inside

sash and a storm, the door knob was a piece of rope. My moccasin rubbers stayed under the wood heater for an hour and did not thaw out. As I listened to the lesson I leaned back, looked up and saw sunlight streaming in through the peak of the roof. And people wondered why I thought the situation serious."⁷²

Bateman contends that the survey was instrumental in providing credibility to his assertions. Officials at both Provincial and Federal levels knew, on the basis of the report, the state of educational services in the remote north.

The initial budget appropriation of \$70,000 was, however, difficult to obtain. Bateman and Grafton felt that many Members of the Legislative Assembly opposed the idea politically because "the people didn't pay taxes and therefore didn't deserve support and few votes were to be had."⁷³ No doubt, the politicians involved at that time may have had a different view. Nevertheless, the first formal budget called 'Assistance to Schools in Unorganized Areas' was passed and the Special Schools Branch was born. The following excerpt indicates Deputy Minister MacFarlane's sense of success with the first year of operation of the Branch. In his June, 1949 report to the Minister he states:

"For some years the administration of schools in more remote parts of the Province where there was either inadequate assessment or none at all to operate a regular school district, has caused considerable concern. To meet this situation, an administrator of special schools has been appointed. An appropriation of \$70,000 was provided by the Legislature to meet a portion of the teachers' salaries in these districts, and to begin a policy of school and teacherage construction, which would

make it possible to provide a competent teacher in reasonable living conditions for these schools, and thus make available a better educational opportunity for the children of these parts of the Province. An educational survey of Northern Manitoba has been undertaken and completed. This was a joint project of the Indian Department of the Dominion Government and this department. A start has been made on a building programme to meet the needs of children in these remote areas. One new two-room school and a one-room school have been completed and several others are planned for the near future. It is interesting to note that 34 qualified teachers have been employed in the current year for service in these remote areas, whereas only 7 were available in the previous year, the balance then being staffed by permit teachers or closed. Because of the special problems which prevail in these schools it is necessary that we have the most competent teachers available if satisfactory work is to be done. In some cases in the more remote areas it is necessary to make substantial deviations from the standard programme of studies, if the best interests of these children are to be served. Courses in Basic English, Health, Cleanliness, Citizenship, Homemaking, and where possible, Manual Training, are being stressed. The progress reported is heartening, but there is still much to be done if the children of these areas are to receive the full benefits of education."⁷⁴

It is important to note the increased involvement of the central authority in determining priorities, staff, buildings, curricula and finance. This increased control was based on the 1925 legislation subsequent to the Murray Commission.

The Growth of the Special Schools Branch

It is difficult to chronicle the developments within the Special Schools Branch during its early years. The dry, formal language of Annual Departmental Reports provides 'facts and figures' but

little flavour of actual events. Interview data prove a much richer source of information regarding the growth of their 'system'.

On June 30, 1950 there were four types of schools operating in what later would become Frontier School Division. They were:

- 1) Special Schools (formerly orphan schools) operated by the Province under the supervision of Bernard Grafton.
- 2) Existing districts which had failed financially and were operated by the Province under C. K. Rogers or Angus A. MacDonald, as Provincial Official Trustees. These schools were known commonly as 'official trustee schools'.
- 3) Joint Schools operated on a cost shared basis by the Province and the Government of Canada. Provincial supervision and inspection of this category were supplied by Bernard Grafton.
- 4) Existing and functioning school districts. Supervision of these schools was provided by local boards and school inspectors.

Exact numbers in each category cannot be established but the majority according to Bateman⁷⁵ and Grafton⁷⁶ were in the first and second groups.

Any account, whether written or oral, of educational development in northern remote Manitoba between 1948 and the 1960's, centers on the efforts of Bernard Grafton. It is a singular tribute to Bernard Grafton that all persons involved in education in small northern communities recognize his efforts. Sealey describes his task and accomplishments as "herculean".⁷⁷ Bateman states flatly "what Bernard Grafton

accomplished with literally a few thousand dollars was amazing".⁷⁸

Grafton was continually travelling, as Dalton indicates,

"Bernard would typically disappear up north and reappear in the Department six to eight weeks later several times a year. If he got near a phone that worked he would give us a call."⁷⁹

All persons interviewed who were in the north during this time attest to the efforts of Grafton in establishing the first 'school system' in this area.⁸⁰ Grafton provides several graphic examples of his work:

"in whatever primitive education (sic) had existed, local people were involved, so I picked up from that point.

. . .

Commonly if there were enough kids and it looked like the people were going to stay around a while I'd start a school.

. . .

In Ilford, right on the spot, I established a school in a settler's living room. I paid the rent and hired a teacher.

. . .

In York Factory the old school was closed, so right on the spot I revitalized it, hired the Bay manager's wife as teacher.

. . .

In Brochet there never had been a school. So I started one in a log flour storage shed behind the Bay. Set up a local committee with representatives from all areas of the community. Then I went back to Winnipeg, found a teacher and sent him up there.

. . .

In Southern Indian Lake, Scott Bateman had started the first school in the United Church in '45 or '46, but it had been closed for two years. So following the joint survey we (Manitoba and Canada) formed the first joint school there on 'no-man's land' between the reserve and non-reserve people."⁸¹

Grafton's methods of travel were the same as Bateman's in 1945 and 1946, bush plane, rail, boat and on foot. He commonly travelled seven days a week because his budget would not allow the cost of 'holding a charter' over the weekend.⁸²

As indicated above, Grafton involved the community in the process of establishing and maintaining education. He followed the pattern established by Rogers and made 'deals' with communities. These arrangements evolved into relatively formal rules of operation. They were:

- 1) Grafton would provide a basic salary (which was lower than that offered in the south).
- 2) Communities provided room and board for the teacher.
- 3) Communities provided janitorial service and fuel for the school.

Additionally, there was an elected three person school committee with the following responsibilities:

- 1) Chairman, responsible for buildings and equipment.
- 2) Secretary-Treasurer, responsible for teacher relations.
- 3) Trustee, responsible for attendance.⁸³

The operation of schools, although heavily influenced by the Province, remained a shared process between the government and the community.

With respect to buildings, local persons supplied rough lumber

and labour, the Department of Education supplied finishing materials and a head carpenter to supervise construction. The building program which MacFarlane mentioned, begun in 1948, was progressing well in 1951⁸⁴ and complete in 1953⁸⁵ except for communities newly added to the Branch. It is important to note that, although the building program produced improved facilities, school buildings, teacherages and conditions were, in Grafton's⁸⁶ own view, still spartan. However, the 'hovel' schools mentioned by Bateman and schools in living rooms, etc., were replaced by new frame structures. In most instances oil fired furnaces were installed. In some schools indoor toilets were amenities. Furniture consisted only of essentials. Supplies were meager. In many locations a small teacherage was attached to the school.

The building program was viewed as a necessity by all concerned. It would provide a healthier place for children to learn and would attract and hold better teachers. However, despite the good intentions, it reduced the input required by the community. By the mid-1950's community members not only had little financial responsibility but no longer were required to supply fuel or in many instances room and board for teachers.

A continuing problem for Grafton and the Special Schools Branch was obtaining qualified teachers. Grafton indicates that they needed particular and exceptional qualities, including "above average initiative, determination, faith in their mission, tact, patience, and courage".⁸⁷ However, despite the improved conditions as a result of the building program, Grafton's report of June 1952 indicates that nearly one half of

his Special Schools teachers were teaching on permit.⁸⁸ Although Grafton made a concentrated effort each year to attract teachers with a higher level of qualification and more of them, the proportion of non-qualified and partially qualified staff remained, according to Bateman, significantly higher than elsewhere in the Province. Bateman claimed that "the teachers we got seemed to always have one foot pointed south".⁸⁹

Significant to note was that with the establishment of the Special Schools Branch Grafton assumed total responsibility for teacher recruitment. Community members were no longer involved at all, even those who earlier had had some responsibility in the hiring of teachers.

With regard to curricula, a major effort by Grafton was made to develop school programs which reflected Provincial guidelines and standards. Grafton reported in 1951 that, "With the exception of a few new Special Schools, all now seemed to be able to use the full curriculum in each grade."⁹⁰ The school program essentially stopped at Grade VIII, as the June 30, 1952 report indicates that of a total enrollment of 935 students in Special Schools, five were in Grade IX, three in Grade X and none beyond that. Grafton also indicates in this report that schools in these settlements were open, for the most part, for a full school year which was perceived as a major accomplishment.

During this time developments in the other three types of schools were similar if not parallel. The Provincial Official Trustee, A. A. MacDonald, made his own series of 'deals' with financially failed districts. These districts, in Bateman's opinion, were commonly

slightly better off than Grafton's settlements. Grafton contends that because they paid some taxes they were looked on more positively and received a slightly larger amount of money in the budget estimates.⁹¹ Decisions related to schooling, however, increasingly were taken over by the Province. However, educational conditions in these Official Trustee schools, were not significantly better than the Special Schools.

The number of joint schools increased from one in 1950 to eleven by June 30, 1951. These schools were operated by the Indian Affairs Branch of the Government of Canada, were inspected by Grafton and received grants for non-status children from the Province. Community members, particularly the status Indians, had little or no input into school operation. There were two significant differences. The facilities built by the Federal Government were much more elaborate and better equipped. Second, the salaries paid to teachers in Joint Schools were nearly twice those paid in the Special and Official Trustee Schools.⁹² This salary differential occurred because the schools followed a federal pay scale. Whether or not these differences led to better teaching in Joint Schools is left to speculation.

Inspector H. P. Moffat, who replaced Bateman at The Pas, indicates, in 1951 and 1952, ongoing difficulties in the independently functioning districts. The log school at Thicket Portage was too small. Those at Herb Lake and Grand Rapids needed to be replaced. It was no longer possible to collect taxes at Herb Lake and the district was likely to fail. The number of permit teachers was high. Wabowden managed to build a new school with local labour and funds.⁹³ Local

revenue, in general, was proving to be inadequate.

Thus the 'system' grew and became more sophisticated. Educational opportunity improved, the involvement of the central authority increased, and local involvement decreased.

Legalizing Increased Central Authority

Schooling throughout the north was slowly improving but not fast enough in the opinion of those involved, particularly Scott Bateman. In order to strengthen the power of the central authority and to legalize what was already taking place, Bateman prepared legislation which was passed in 1952. It read:

- "1) In the case of unorganized territory or any other district or place where there is no school district and wherein in the opinion of the Minister, it is inexpedient to establish a school district, the Minister, in his discretion, may
- a) establish and maintain a school of facilities for the instruction of pupils;
 - b) provide for the erection, maintenance and furnishing of a school house;
 - c) pay the salary of a teacher or any part thereof;
 - d) operate a van route and transport children to and from an existing school or pay all or part of the cost of board in lieu of transportation.
 - e) pay all or any part of the costs of an incidental to any of the things hereinbefore mentioned out of the monies annually authorized by an Act of the Legislation to be so paid and applied.
- 2) Where a school is established or services provided under sub-section 1) the Minister shall perform all the duties and have all the powers vested in a board of trustees under this Act."⁹⁵

This legislation was significant in three major ways. First, it (as earlier indicated) legalized what the Special Schools Branch was already

doing. Second, it placed the full powers of control, normally vested in locally elected trustees, with the Minister (and implicitly his delegates). Finally, it allowed the Province to assume the total cost of education.

The same legislative session passed a statute which allowed for the appointment of an Official Trustee by Cabinet to administer the affairs of any school district which was not in the opinion of the Minister, administering its own affairs in a satisfactory manner. The statute reads:

- "1) The Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council may appoint an official trustee for any school district the affairs of which are not being, nor cannot be, in his opinion, satisfactorily managed by a board of school trustees.
- 2) Every official trustee
 - a) shall have all the powers and authority conferred by this Act upon a board of trustees, and upon its officers;
 - b) shall comply with the provisions of this Act relating to boards of trustees in so far as they apply to him;
 - c) may appoint a secretary-treasurer for the district for which he is appointed; and
 - d) shall be remunerated out of the funds of the district, or otherwise, as the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council may decide.
- 3) Upon the appointment of an official trustee for any district, all other trustees and officials of the district, if any, shall cease to hold office; and they shall forthwith deliver to the official trustee all monies, books, and records, pertaining to the district, to be retained by him while he holds office."⁹⁶

Failure of a school district was determined by a school inspector on behalf of the Minister of Education. If in the opinion of an inspector

a local school board of a district could not raise sufficient funds or mismanaged funds or in any other way demonstrated incompetence to run their school(s) the Minister could assume control of the districts' affairs. Thus the legislation went beyond solely financial considerations as it allowed direct Provincial intervention into local districts. The Official Trustee was given all the powers of the locally elected trustees which he replaced. This legislation legalized the practice of placing financially failed school districts directly under Provincial jurisdiction and the direction of the Provincial Official Trustee. The method earlier employed by the Province was now supported by statute. Informal arrangements were now formal; however, in the process of formalizing all power had shifted to the Province.

The above legislation, authored by Bateman, was later to prove instrumental in the formation of Frontier School Division. Bateman contends that the rationale for the legislation, other than to support what was being done, was related to taxes. There was not, nor would there be, in his opinion, a sufficient tax base in these communities to support education. Taxes were often many years in arrears and simply non-collectable. Where assessments did exist they were so low as to not be worth the effort of collecting. If education was to continue in these communities it seemed apparent to him that it must come from the Province. Bateman believes the political compromise in this regard was central control (loss of local control) for central funds (loss of local requirement for financial input).

Developments with respect to Special Schools, Official Trustee Schools, Joint Schools, and the independent districts continued in much the same manner between 1953 and 1958 as they had between 1948 and 1953 with the exception of two developments which proved critical to the evolution of Frontier School Division.

In the mid-1950's it became apparent that school populations in the settlements were increasing rapidly. This increase was due, no doubt, to a variety of factors. However, the advent of family allowances and their effect on native communities was significant. The allowances encouraged people to remain in the settlements and to register all children for school.⁹⁷ It was not uncommon to find 16 year olds who had spent a childhood trapping and fishing "showing up for Grade One smoking a cigarette or chewing snuff".⁹⁸ By the end of the 1950's the Directorate of Special Services operated 65 classrooms in 22 locations.⁹⁹ Improvements and additions continued to be made to schools as necessary to support a burgeoning population. As Bateman indicated in 1956, "These places frequently lack almost everything but children..."¹⁰⁰ Where a one room school had sufficed in 1948-50, three and four rooms were a minimum requirement in 1958.¹⁰¹ This increase in population forced Bateman, Grafton and MacDonald to reassess their programs as they were having difficulty coping with the growth.

In the meantime, Dr. Macfarlane left his position as Deputy Minister to assume a new job in Ottawa. Scott Bateman was appointed Deputy Minister on September 1, 1953. His replacement as Director of Administration and later instrumental in Frontier School Division, was

Inspector R. W. Dalton of Winkler.¹⁰² In his new position Bateman was better able to develop educational policies that were more favourable to northern Manitoba. He states:

"Dr. MacFarlane wasn't against the north, but he hadn't seen it as I had. He was concerned about the south which also had lots of problems."¹⁰³

During his vacation in the summer of 1954, Bateman sat on his dock at Clearwater Lake (near The Pas) and dictated a plan to change education in the northern remote settlements. It included upgraded facilities, joint schools for status, non-status and non-native children and a method of delivering secondary education. The government agreed to the plan. However, the agreement was, for the most part, in principle. Concrete action was limited to small grudging increases in the annual appropriations to Grafton and MacDonald.¹⁰⁴ The plan prepared by Bateman, however, became his blueprint for later action.

The Special Schools Branch had greatly improved educational opportunity in the remote north. The Official Trustee Schools and Joint Schools also provided for increased educational service. However, those 'systems' had reached their limits and despite the advances there was considerable room for improvement.

The MacFarlane Royal Commission

The next major phase in educational developments of interest here, between 1958 and 1965, was the result of another commission. Precisely how this Commission came about is difficult to assess, but there are some clues.

The 1945 Select Committee Report had recommended large scale centralization of the school system. As indicated earlier this had resulted in more of a philosophic shift toward centralization than a concrete one. The Dauphin-Ochre School Area No. 1 was formed on January 1, 1947, and was reported by MacFarlane, in his June 20, 1948 report, as a significant educational development,¹⁰⁵ which would lead to an improved delivery of education services. The larger administration unit concept was obviously valued highly by Departmental Officials in that the annual reports between 1949 and 1951¹⁰⁶ lauded the experiment as a demonstration of the success of such an arrangement. However, despite referenda to establish school areas in other sections of the province the concept was not expanded beyond the initial experiment. As earlier cited, the referenda failed, according to Dalton, because the government did not offer financial incentives. In spite of what appeared to be public reluctance to accept, Department of Education officials continually recommended the concept. Their recommendations, and the move toward large scale centralizations in other provinces,¹⁰⁷ led the government to establish another Commission.

On July 9, 1957, Premier D. L. Campbell established a Royal Commission on Education for the Province of Manitoba.¹⁰⁸ Two of the terms of reference of the Commission were to have general influence on the communities of the remote north, administration and finance, and one specific influence, that of official trustee and special schools.¹⁰⁹ The chairman of the Commission was R. O. MacFarlane of Carleton University and formerly Deputy Minister of Education for Manitoba.

The MacFarlane Commission, as it became commonly known, presented an interim report in August, 1958,¹¹⁰ and its final report on November 31, 1959.¹¹¹ Both reports were presented to the newly elected government of Premier Duff Roblin. The Roblin government accepted the Commission report as its blueprint for education. Educators in Manitoba point to the MacFarlane Commission as the watershed in terms of educational reform in the Province. They view it as the single most important development in turning a pioneer system into a modern system,¹¹² although they were equating 'modern' with centralization.

The MacFarlane Commission Report recognized that the 1945 Special Select Committee Report had called for a centralization of the school system and concluded that the need in 1959 was even greater.¹¹³ Of the Commission's many recommendations, those pertinent to this study were as follows:

1. That the Province be divided into 50-60 school divisions, including all present schools, excluding only a district "so isolated and remote that its inclusion is impractical."¹¹⁴
2. "That each school Division Board have full responsibility for public high school education within its boundaries."¹¹⁵
3. That "...if we are to be at all practical about giving effect to the principle of equal educational opportunity which we espouse so fervently...the Province can and must provide from provincial revenues considerably greater sums of money in support of education than at present."¹¹⁶
4. That in all communities, except those which would later be

be in Frontier, the schools under the Official Trustee be transferred to Division Boards.¹¹⁷

5. That the Special Schools concept be continued in areas of "inadequate or no assessment".¹¹⁸
6. That in order to provide some sense of "local interest" local advisory committees to Special Schools be authorized to spend up to \$100/year/classroom of Department funds for emergency repairs.¹¹⁹
7. That each family in a Special School community should be required to provide "a measure of local support"¹²⁰ for the education provided with the Minister empowered to determine what that support was to be.

The interim report contained the same recommendations with respect to the general rearranging of education in the Province.¹²¹ It was used as a plan to centralize the system. All schools in the Province except those in what was to become Frontier School Division, several independent districts, and a handful of other remote school districts were combined into forty-seven school divisions between November, 1958 and January, 1959. Bateman claims that the Roblin Government felt that it had been elected in part on the basis of educational reform and it wished to demonstrate the seriousness of its intent. He was ordered in October to have the massive centralization scheme complete by the succeeding February. Bateman placed the major responsibility for accomplishing the task on his Director of Administration, Bob Dalton.

In one stroke the Manitoba public schools, largely unchanged in sixty years, were centralized. The ideology of 1924, 1945 and 1958-59 had been implemented. There are several significant factors within

the report and its aftermath, relevant to this study.

The pioneer system had been changed. The attitude towards larger units had been actualized. Never again could education in Manitoba be viewed from the perspective of the one-room school house.

Divisions were required, by legislation subsequent to the MacFarlane Commission, to provide secondary education for all students. Prior to 1959 high school education had been a district option. In most divisions elementary education remained the responsibility of local districts within the division. This was merely an interim measure in the minds of the government but was an important retention of local control to the local districts.

The Province dramatically increased its financial input to school divisions. The financial carrot which sold the system, according to Dalton the seller, was provincial funds to build and supply new high schools. Even the most vociferous proponents of local control and small districts wilted under the logic of a high school nearby paid for by non-municipal dollars. Prior to 1959, all capital funding for schools had been a municipal or district responsibility.¹²²

Excluded from the scheme and left to function much as they had previously were the communities of the future Frontier School Division. Although the Commission recommended equal educational opportunity for these communities it gave no direction as to how it might be attained. The Commission demanded a token level of community responsibility in a minor way parallel to the responsibilities of local boards. They had the right to disperse government funds and would be responsible at the Minister's direction for raising some local financial support.

These factors plus the burgeoning population of the north and the deplorable conditions placed increasing pressure on the Government and its civil servants. The lack of direction given by the MacFarlane Commission only exacerbated the situation. Another government commission increased the pressure because it focussed specifically on native people.

The Lagasse Report

Premier D. L. Campbell, had in late 1956,¹²³ established a commission entitled "A Study of the Population of Indian Ancestry Living in Manitoba" under the Department of Agriculture and Immigration.¹²⁴ The study, which became known as the Lagasse Report, was presented to the government of Premier Duff Roblin in February, 1959.¹²⁵ Jean Lagasse was appointed to

"undertake a study of the Metis population of Manitoba and such of the Indian population as is not resident on a reserve...
...and...
report... on all matters related to his study, including social integration and economic advancement."¹²⁶

The findings of the Lagasse Report are viewed by Native people as an important benchmark in their history. Sealey claims that the Lagasse Report was viewed as a blueprint for action by the Roblin government much as was the Macfarlane Report.¹²⁷

Lagasse made twenty-nine specific recommendations regarding the needs of Metis and non-status Indians. All twenty-nine recommendations focussed on the two central themes of:

"1) the Indians and Metis have a lower standard of living than that which is acceptable to the

rest of the Canadian population, and
 2) a new approach must be used to solve their
 problems and prevent the number of unintegrated
 Indians and Metis from increasing indefinitely."¹²⁸

The recommendations specific to education were:

"That the Provincial Government provide vocational
 training facilities especially designed for those
 whose educational background is not sufficient to
 qualify them for apprenticeship training nor for
 acceptance at the Manitoba Technical Institute.

. . .

That the Provincial Government establish a Commu-
 nity Development Program to help people of Indian
 ancestry solve their own problem.

. . .

That the list of Official Trustee schools be re-
 viewed annually with a view to re-establishing local
 school boards wherever possible.

. . .

That the Provincial Government make a concerted
 attempt to help residents of school districts under
 an Official Trustee master the skills required for
 operating their own schools.

. . .

That a school inspector be appointed to assist the
 Supervisor of Special Schools.

. . .

That the Department of Education adopt a special grant
 formula based on equalized assessment to help school
 districts with low assessments.

. . .

That the Department of Education develop speech exer-
 cises to help overcome verbal retardation in Indian
 and Metis schools.

. . .

That the Provincial Government help establish kindergartens in predominantly Metis and Indian communities in order to overcome age retardation problems in the pupils.

That the Provincial Government offer isolation grants to schools located in remote areas in addition to regular teacher grants.

That a seminar course in Applied Social Anthropology be given as part of the summer school program of the Department of Education."¹²⁹

The other recommendations, in a similar fashion, called for improved services from other government agencies to Metis and non-status Indian communities. The Report supported each of its recommendations with statistics,¹³⁰ indicating the generally deplorable conditions and the need for vast improvements if native people were to enjoy a quality of life similar to other Manitobans.

Sealey claims that the Lagasse Report created a new level of consciousness amongst Manitobans about native people. From the report and the pressures it encouraged various groups to bring to bear on the government, came many significant developments. An example of these developments were the first provincial housing program for Metis, the strengthening of community development programs, the Community Welfare Planning Committee and the development of the Manitoba Metis Federation and the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood. Of specific importance to this study, the Lagasse Report pointed out the need for educational improvement and in doing so increased the pressure on the government and its civil servants. It also provided support for whatever actions they

might take.¹³¹

The Pressure to Act
in 1964

The MacFarlane and Lagasse reports were major forces leading to the foundation of what is now Frontier School Division. Along with developments discussed below, these reports led directly to a new system in the 1960's.

By 1964 the Special Schools Branch had reached an unworkable size. The orphan school group had grown from 38 classrooms in 1948 to 45 in 1954 to 80 in 1964. In 1964 there were also 46 Hutterite classrooms as part of the Branch.¹³² This total number of classrooms was not beyond the level of most of the former inspectoral districts, but when spread over the entire Province, they were impossible to service. Student population during this time had more than doubled.¹³³

The amount of money which the government would provide to the Special Schools was limited to the pre-centralization level plus small special grants. This according to Bateman¹³⁴ was neither enough nor equal to that received by divisions under the new centralized scheme. He claims that provincial legislators were not willing to increase the special grants.

High school opportunity in the communities was extremely limited. Students were, in all but the largest communities, forced to take correspondence courses or leave the community to obtain any high school education. Thus, virtually no students within these communities attended high school.

By 1964, Bateman had completed a decade as Deputy Minister.

Although he felt much had been accomplished, his vision of northern education had not progressed nearly as far as he wanted, nor to that recommended by the MacFarlane and Lagasse Reports. His plans of 1954 remained largely in the form of ideology and hope. He felt he must soon take some concrete action.¹³⁵

The other types of schools in question (official trustee, joint and struggling school districts) were also becoming obsolete, overcrowded, less and less within the financial resources of their communities. The number of schools under the Provincial Official Trustee had increased as several of the independent districts had failed financially.¹³⁶ According to those involved at that time, conditions in these schools were only slightly better, if at all, than in Grafton's.¹³⁷

The progress in the south between 1959-64 brought the need of the north to an even more stark contrast. New high schools were being built throughout the province and secondary education became a real possibility for all students outside what was later to be Frontier School Division. In addition, as a spinoff of this development, elementary education was also improving.

Bateman felt increased pressure to act and the final straw was Bernard Grafton's health. The tremendous energy, dedication and worry he put into his task had resulted over the years in severe stomach ulcers. In an automobile journey north to inspect schools, Bateman was forced to hospitalize Grafton in Dauphin. Later Bateman asked Grafton if he would be willing to be relieved of the orphan

school portion of his Branch if a suitable alternative delivery model could be found. Grafton agreed.¹³⁸

These were the factors and forces which, according to Bateman, Dalton, and Grafton brought about the decision to form Frontier School Division. The next sub-section details the formation of the new system.

The Northern School Division Legislation

How the Frontier School Division became structured in the way it did provides commentary on the administration of education in the remote north by this time. Dalton provides the simplest and perhaps most accurate answer to the question of how Frontier School Division was designed: "Because Scott Bateman and I sat down in his office at the Legislature one night (in 1964) and decided that's how it would be."¹³⁹ The process was more complicated than a single meeting, but the essence of the future division was worked out in that evening session.

Bateman decided after this meeting with Dalton, the chief financial official of the Department, that the formation of a school division was the best solution. He also conferred with Provincial Official Trustee, J. Cameron, his assistant Charles Bridle and Grafton, all of whom concurred.¹⁴⁰ A school division would provide the extra funds which were available as carrots to new divisions but not special schools. The new school division would be forced under the legislation subsequent to the MacFarlane Commission to deliver

secondary education service to its residents.¹⁴¹ Placing all three types of schools then operating under one administrative structure was perceived as a method of generally improving education in the area. Finally, a new administration would dramatically reduce the workload of Bernard Grafton.

Consequently, permission legislation was drafted by Dalton, on Bateman's instruction, for the spring 1965 session of the Manitoba Legislature to form a 'Northern School Division'. Bateman oversaw the preparation of the legislation and remained the major impetus behind it.

The legislation,¹⁴² appended in its entirety as Appendix D, was a combination of three previous statutes. First, the legislation contained the procedures for establishing a school division. Second, it included the process for the appointment of an official trustee and a statement of his powers. Third, it provided the Minister with the powers to operate schools as he had under the previously cited Special Schools legislation (Section 181). A summary of the key points of the legislation follows:

1. The Minister could establish a school division, north of Townships 22, and include in it any communities, their schools and assets as he saw necessary.
2. The Minister, once such a division was formed, would appoint an Official Trustee, who would have the power of an official trustee plus those of elected trustees. Additionally, he would have special powers to:

- a) arrange transportation of pupils;
 - b) establish secondary schools, determine the curricula, provide residence and necessaries for students attending secondary schools;
 - c) hire staff to accomplish the above.
3. The Minister could appoint central and local committees within the Division to assist and advise the Official Trustee.
 4. The Official Trustee would submit yearly estimates of expenses to the Minister. The Division would receive grant entitlements as any other Division. Taxes raised within the Division would form part of its revenue.
 5. The Minister, on Cabinet approval, might make additional special grants to cover capital and non-capital costs not covered in (4).¹⁴³

The 'Northern School Division' was to be a division like any other except for several key areas. The Minister had the right to establish the Division and include schools and districts without a local referendum. Responsibility for all Division affairs and powers were vested with the Official Trustee. Community members were restricted to an advisory role. The Government had the power (and implicitly the responsibility) to provide special grant funding in lieu of local revenue and in addition to regular grants. The Minister had the right to establish a residential secondary school and assume the total cost of its operation. The new division also would receive all the benefits it

was entitled to under the legislation and regulations affecting the formation and operation of the other 47 divisions in the Province. The legislation was passed in the spring of 1965 and the way was clear to form the new division.

There were three more pieces to the puzzle which became Frontier School Division. These were the establishment of a secondary school, the selection of an Official Trustee, and a series of meetings at the Department and community level to decide who would join the Division.

' Frontier Collegiate Institute. The secondary school provided for in the legislation and dreamed of by Bateman as early as 1945 came about by an incredible series of events. On an early April Saturday of 1965, Bateman was visited in his Winnipeg home by a family he had known during his years at The Pas. In passing conversation, he was informed that the Mid Canada Line Radar Base at Cranberry Portage was about to close. Bateman was familiar with the installation through his northern experience and his maintenance of a summer home near there. The base was an intact living unit complete with its own utility systems, a dining facility, a large gymnasium, laundry and several buildings which might be converted to classrooms. Additionally, many townspeople had been employed there and as Dalton states: "the Government was about to hear one hell of a hue and cry."¹⁴⁴

Bateman drove the 500 miles to Cranberry Portage the next day, a Sunday. He woke the ranking officer who was recovering from a base

party the night before and informed him that he was the Deputy Minister of Education for Manitoba and wished to tour and measure the buildings with a view to buying the place. The officer replied that he would need permission from Ottawa and it was, after all, Sunday afternoon. Bateman persisted and the officer finally agreed to pursue the matter. While he was trying to reach his supervisors, Bateman began the process of measuring the buildings and visualizing them as an educational complex. On receiving permission to survey the sight several hours later he was conducted on a tour and completed his measurements and descriptions late in the evening. He drove back to Winnipeg the next day (Monday) and on the way dictated a brief to the Minister outlining the potential of the base as the high school required by legislation. He had the brief typed Tuesday morning and he presented it to the Minister on Tuesday afternoon. The Minister agreed in principle and agreed to take the idea to Cabinet.

To ensure that the idea was not lost, Bateman arranged for a tour of several of the future school communities of the Northern School Division and the Cranberry Portage site for Minister of Education George Johnson and himself in early May, 1965. Their itinerary included much of the worst of the schools and the communities. Johnson, on seeing the conditions, supported Bateman's proposal to Cabinet. "He was absolutely astonished, so I had his full support and red tape was quickly broken."¹⁴⁵ The radar base was purchased from the Government of Canada for \$1 and was thus destined to become Frontier Collegiate Institute."¹⁴⁶

Although Bateman did and does have doubts about the efficacy of residential schools, there was in his opinion, no other viable alternative. In his words "the combination of the critical need for a high school and the fortuitous occurrence of the base being available and my hearing of it, could not be passed up."¹⁴⁷

While the above events were occurring the two other pieces to the puzzle were falling into place. Bateman had been wondering who might be appointed Official Trustee and decisions needed to be made as to which communities and schools would be included in the new Division.

The first official trustee is hired. Kenn Jasper laughs when asked how he came to be the Official Trustee of Frontier School Division. He explains:

"I was an inspector based at Steinbach in 1965. I was attending the spring Teacher's Convention at the Royal Alexandra Hotel in Winnipeg in early April. I was leaving for lunch, and as I walked out the front door of the Royal Alex I saw Scott Bateman in his car parked across the street. We hailed each other and began to talk. He told me of the new division and asked me if I would consider the job. After much consideration I agreed to take it on. To this day I don't know that if I had decided to stay in the hotel for lunch if I would have become Official Trustee."¹⁴⁸

Bateman does not deny the sequence of events. However, he claims:

"It was a little more complicated than that. Kenn had experience in the north at Sherridon and Lynn Lake and was recognized as a good educator. Also, there is a common bond of experience and friendship between people who have worked in the north. Again, it was one of those fortuitous things. I was, I suppose, thinking about the position as Frontier occupied most of my thoughts those days. I looked up and there was Kenn and it just fell into place."¹⁴⁹

Although there certainly are other factors, in essence the above captures the hiring of Kenn Jasper as Official Trustee. The Division was not officially formed until July 8, 1965; however, Jasper began his new position on May 1, 1965.

Who joins? Bateman arranged several meetings to decide which communities would be involved in the new Division. Present at the meetings were Bateman, Dalton, Grafton, J. Cameron, Charles Bridle and Jasper.¹⁵⁰ They decided to include in the new Northern School Division four types of schools generally north of townships 22. Independent school districts which were experiencing financial difficulties; the schools administered by the Provincial Official Trustee; and the Special and Joint Schools that Grafton had either administered or inspected. Bateman recalls: "It was exciting deciding! Was Township 22 far enough south? Did we include everyone we should?"¹⁵¹

The list decided upon by these civil servants acting on behalf of the Minister follows:

1. Existing, but struggling school districts:

Cormorant Lake No. 2129.	Cranberry Portage No. 2201.
D. R. Hamilton No. 2310.	Pikwitonei No. 2231.
Thicket Portage No. 2290.	Wabowden No. 2181.

2. Schools administered by the Provincial Official Trustee:

Bad Throat No. 1014.	Barrows Jcn. No. 2296.
Beren's River No. 2291.	Cold Lake No. 2253.
Dallas No. 1970.	Gillam No. 2290.
Northland No. 2199.	Norway House No. 1917.
Rice Creek No. 2185.	Sunny Valley No. 2027.

3. Special and Joint Schools:

Anama Bay	Brochet
Barrows-on-the-Lake	Crane River
Briggs Spur	Duck Bay
Fisher Bay	National Mills
God's Lake Narrows	Pelican Rapids
Golden Acres	Pine Dock
Hillridge	Princess Harbour
Homebrook	Salt Point
Ilford	South Indian Lake
Island Lake	Stedman
Loon Straits	Wanipigow
Mallard	Warren's Landing
Matheson Island	Wekusko
Moose Lake	Westgate

Then, according to Bateman, "We had to make a tour and convince the people that their opportunities would be greater if they joined the Division."¹⁵² Department of Education officials including all of those above held meetings in all communities during May and June, 1965 to 'sell' the Division. In all community meetings but two, there was apparently general agreement. There were no referenda to fully determine opinion. Hillridge (Ebb and Flow) and Stedman (Fairford) successfully petitioned the Minister to remain as Special Schools under Grafton. "They did not want their kids sent up north to high school."¹⁵³

The stage was now set to officially form the Northern School Division. On July 8, 1965, George Johnson issued a ministerial order legally establishing Frontier School Division No. 48. The Manitoba Gazette of this order is found on the following page of this thesis. A concurrent cabinet order was issued appointing K. R. Jasper as Official Trustee. Bateman's dream had become a reality after two decades.

FIGURE 1

MINISTERIAL ORDER ESTABLISHING FRONTIER SCHOOL DIVISION

712705
M314 Ga.



PROVINCE OF MANITOBA

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THE MANITOBA GAZETTE

July 31, 1965

UNDER THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS ACT

ORDER OF THE MINISTER TO
ESTABLISH THE FRONTIER
SCHOOL DIVISION NO. 48

Whereas subsections (1) and (3) of section 471D of The Public Schools Act provide as follows:

"471D. (1) The minister may, by order, establish a school division to include such territory north of the northern boundary of townships 22 in the province as he considers advisable.

(3) An order made under subsection (1) or (2) shall include

(a) the name and number of the school division;

(b) the date on which the order takes effect; and

(c) a description of the territory included in the school division, added to the school division, or withdrawn from the school division, as the case may be."

And whereas it is deemed expedient and advisable to establish a school division comprising the lands hereinafter described:

Therefore under and by virtue of authority vested in me by section 471D of The Public Schools Act, I do hereby order:

1. That a school division be established on the 8th day of July, 1965, to be styled and known as The Frontier School Division No. 48, comprising

(a) all the lands that may from time to time be included in the following school districts:

The School District of Bad Throat No. 1014

The School District of Barrows Junction No. 2296

The School District of Berens River No. 2291

The School District of Cold Lake No. 2253

The School District of Cormorant Lake No. 2129

The School District of Cranberry Portage No. 2201

The School District of Dallas No. 1970

The School District of D. R. Hamilton No. 2310

The School District of Gillam No. 2250

The School District of Northland No. 2199

The School District of Norway House No. 1917

The School District of Pitwitonei No. 2231

The School District of Rice Creek No. 2135

The School District of Sunny Valley No. 2027

The School District of Thicket Portage No. 2290, and

The School District of Wabowden No. 2181 and

(b) all the lands bordered in red on the maps attached hereto and in the communities commonly known as

Anama Bay Loon Straits

Barrows Mallard

Big Black River Matheson Island

Briggs Spur Moose Lake

Brochet National Mills

Crane River Pelican Rapids

Duck Bay Pine Dock

Fisher Bay Princess Harbour

God's Lake Narrows Salt Point

Golden Acres Wanipigow

Homebrook Warren's Landing

Ilford Wekusko

Island Lake Westgate

Dated this 8th day of July, 1965.

G. JOHNSON,

Minister of Education.

A Summary of the Final Steps

In concluding this account of the origins of Frontier School Division it is important to point out the significant developments between 1948 and 1965.

The early precedent of educational leadership being provided to the north by outsiders was continued and became stronger. Grafton, Bateman and to a lesser degree MacDonald, provided educational leadership with increasing strength between 1948 and 1965.

There was a general centralization of educational services within the Province. The ideology of earlier years became concrete. This centralization was a major force on the people concerned with the remote northern communities. The Lagasse Report raised the consciousness of the general population and increased the pressure upon government.

The informal provision of extra funds begun by Rogers was expanded and formalized. The Special Schools legislation of 1952 provided the government the statutory right to provide greater amounts of money to areas of low tax revenue.

The 1952 legislation also provided the framework for the first education 'systems' in the northern remote areas. The Special Schools Branch and the Provincial Official Trustee Schools were these systems.

The informal shared service agreements begun in the 1930's between Manitoba and Canada became formalized. Joint Agreement Number 1, re Southern Indian Lake in 1950, began a process which resulted in master tuition agreements between Ottawa and Manitoba in the 1960's.

These master tuition agreements provided cost sharing for status Indian children and others, for all schools in the province.

The role of the community members during this time was reduced to an advisory role at the discretion of the central authority, the Minister. Community members who shared in the control of the operation of schools in 1948 were advised of decisions in 1965.

The enabling legislation of 1965 drew together all of the major building blocks. The systematization which had its earliest roots at the beginning of the century was now possible.

The stage was set to further change the delivery of educational service in the settlements of interest. The changes which occurred are the subject of the next chapter.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

¹D. Bruce Sealey, "The Education of Native Peoples in Manitoba," Monograph, University of Manitoba, 1980, p. 48-9.

²John Edward Lysecki, "Education in Manitoba - North of 53" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Manitoba, 1936).

³Mary Brewster Perfect, "One Hundred Years in the History of the Rural Schools of Manitoba: Their Formation, Reorganization and Dissolution (1871-1971)" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Manitoba, 1978), p. 111.

⁴It is important to note that Manigotogan is south of the northern boundary of Manitoba established in 1881. All subsequent formations followed the 1912 expansion of the boundaries of Manitoba to their present location.

⁵Ibid., p. 143.

⁶Manitoba, Report of the Department of Education; for the Year Ending June 30, 1917, Winnipeg: King's Printer, 1917, p. 202. (Hereinafter, Annual Report).

⁷Lysecki, op. cit., p. 113.

⁸Ibid., p. 201.

⁹Perfect, op. cit., p. 143.

¹⁰Annual Report, op. cit., p. 201.

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Ibid., p. 203.

¹³Perfect, op. cit., p. 166.

¹⁴Annual Report, op. cit., p. 204.

¹⁵Perfect, op. cit., p. 153.

¹⁶Lysecki, op. cit., p. 115.

¹⁷Perfect, op. cit., p. 58.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 155.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 158.

²⁰Sealey, op. cit., p. 42-4.

²¹Annual Report, op. cit., p. 273-82.

²²Manitoba, Report of the Educational Commission, Winnipeg: King's Printers, 1924. (Hereinafter, Murray Commission).

²³Ibid., p. 4.

²⁴Ibid., p. 26.

²⁵Ibid., p. 24.

²⁶Ibid., p. 118.

²⁷Manitoba, Revised Statutes of Manitoba, 1924, c. 49. (Hereinafter R.S.M., etc.)

²⁸Annual Report, June 30, 1924, p. 12-13.

²⁹Ibid., p. 14.

³⁰Lysecki, op. cit., p. 94.

³¹Lysecki, op. cit., p. 93-130.

³²Bernard Grafton, interview, January 24, 1980. Grafton, who later became Supervisor of Special Schools and as discussed in depth later in this chapter, taught under these conditions in Big Black River, 1934-35.

³³Annual Report, June 30, 1939, p. 134.

³⁴Perfect, op. cit., p. 160-162.

³⁵Sealey, op. cit., p. 48.

³⁶Grafton, loc. cit.

³⁷Kenneth R. Jasper, interview, January 25, 1980. Jasper was the first Official Trustee of Frontier School Division and taught at Sherridon in the late 1940's.

³⁸Grafton, loc. cit.

³⁹Ibid.

⁴⁰Ibid.

⁴¹R. W. Dalton, interview, January 31, 1980. Robert Dalton was the key civil servant with regard to educational finance from 1953-74. As a teacher, principal and inspector through the 1930's, 1940's, and early 1950's he is intimately familiar with the Manitoba public school system of the time.

⁴²Manitoba, Report of the Special Select Committee of the Manitoba Legislative Assembly on Education, Winnipeg: King's Printer, 1945. p. 5.

⁴³Ibid., p. 55-57.

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 33.

⁴⁵Dalton, loc. cit.

⁴⁶Annual Report, June 30, 1940, p. 7.

⁴⁷Annual Report, June 30, 1945, p. 12.

⁴⁸B. Scott Bateman, interview, Winnipeg, February 8, 1980.

⁴⁹Dalton, Grafton, Jasper, loc. cit.

⁵⁰Bateman, loc. cit.

⁵¹Ibid.

⁵²Ibid.

⁵³Annual Report, June 30, 1946, p. 43-45.

⁵⁴Annual Report, June 30, 1947, p. 47.

⁵⁵Dalton, loc. cit.

⁵⁶A gas car or jigger is a gasoline motor driven rail conveyance, approximately the size of a small automobile, used for transporting section men in the maintenance of railway lines. Government officials commonly 'hitched' rides on gas cars to gain access to remote settlements.

⁵⁷Bateman, loc. cit.

⁵⁸Annual Report, June 30, 1949, p. 15-16.

⁵⁹Grafton, loc. cit.

⁶⁰Annual Report, June 30, 1949, p. 69-

⁶¹Grafton, loc. cit.

⁶²Annual Report, June 30, 1948, p. 17.

⁶³Bateman, loc. cit.

⁶⁴Ibid.

⁶⁵Ibid.

⁶⁶Grafton, loc. cit.

⁶⁷Private copies of Departmental files kept by Scott Bateman.

⁶⁸Grafton, loc. cit.

⁶⁹Canada, Department of Citizenship and Immigration Annual Report, Ottawa: King's Printer, 1950, p. 76.

⁷⁰Annual Report, June 30, 1946, p. 43-5.

⁷¹See Annual Report, June 30, 1953, p. 77.

⁷²Bateman, loc. cit. Confirmed by Grafton who visited the school a year later.

⁷³Bateman, Grafton, loc. cit.

⁷⁴Annual Report, June 30, 1949, p. 15.

⁷⁵Bateman, loc. cit.

⁷⁶Grafton, loc. cit.

⁷⁷Sealey, op. cit., p. 50.

⁷⁸Bateman, loc. cit.

⁷⁹Dalton, loc. cit.

⁸⁰Including D. Bruce Sealey who began his teaching career under Grafton at Matheson Island in 1948. D. B. Sealey, interview, Winnipeg.

⁸¹Grafton, loc. cit.

⁸²Grafton's accounts were confirmed in interviews with Bateman, Bridle, Dalton, Jasper, Sealey and others. C. Bridle, interview, Winnipeg.

⁸³Grafton, loc. cit.

⁸⁴Annual Report, June 30, 1951, p. 77.

⁸⁵Annual Report, June 30, 1953, p. 77.

⁸⁶Grafton, loc. cit.

⁸⁷Ibid.

⁸⁸Annual Report, June 30, 1952, p. 74. Teaching on 'permit' meant that persons were given a permit to teach by the Department of Education although they had not received teacher training.

- ⁸⁹Bateman, loc. cit.
- ⁹⁰Annual Report, June 30, 1952, p. 77.
- ⁹¹Bateman, Grafton, loc. cit.
- ⁹²Annual Report, June 30, 1951, p. 76.
- ⁹³Annual Report, June 30, 1952, p. 69-71
- ⁹⁴Annual Report, June 30, 1951, p. 71-72.
- ⁹⁵Manitoba, R. S. M., 1952 (1st Session), c. 50, s. 181.
- ⁹⁶Ibid., c. 50, s. 114.
- ⁹⁷Annual Report, June 30, 1953, p. 77.
- ⁹⁸Bateman, loc. cit.
- ⁹⁹Annual Report, June 30, 1960, p. 122.
- ¹⁰⁰Annual Report, June 30, 1956, p. 15.
- ¹⁰¹Bateman, Grafton, loc. cit.
- ¹⁰²Annual Report, June 30, 1954, p. 9.
- ¹⁰³Bateman, loc. cit.
- ¹⁰⁴Ibid.
- ¹⁰⁵Annual Report, June 30, 1948, p. 12.
- ¹⁰⁶Annual Report, June 30, 1949, p. 13. Annual Report, June 30, 1950, p. 19. Annual Report, June 30, 1951, p. 18.
- ¹⁰⁷John Jacob Bergen, "School District Reorganization in Rural Manitoba" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Alberta, 1967), p. 54.

¹⁰⁸Manitoba, Order-in-Council 1208-57, 9-7-57.

¹⁰⁹Manitoba, Report of the Royal Commission Education, Winnipeg: Queen's Printer, 1959, p. ix-x. (Hereinafter called the MacFarlane Commission Report.)

¹¹⁰Manitoba, Interim Report of the Manitoba Royal Commission on Education, Winnipeg: Queen's Printer, 1958. (Hereinafter called the MacFarlane Commission Interim Report.)

¹¹¹MacFarlane Commission Report, op. cit.

¹¹²Those interviewed who were active in education at the time including Bateman, Bridle, Grafton, Jasper.

¹¹³MacFarlane Commission Report, op. cit., p. 21-2.

¹¹⁴Ibid., p. 28.

¹¹⁵Ibid.

¹¹⁶Ibid., p. 18.

¹¹⁷Ibid., p. 205.

¹¹⁸Ibid., p. 208.

¹¹⁹Ibid.

¹²⁰Ibid.

¹²¹MacFarlane Commission Interim Report, op. cit., p. 1-103.

¹²²Dalton, loc. cit.

¹²³Manitoba, Order-in-Council 1993-96, 7-11-56.

¹²⁴Manitoba, Report of the Study of the Population of Indian Ancestry Living in Manitoba, Winnipeg: Queen's Printer, 1959, Volumes I-III. (Hereinafter Lagasse Report.)

¹²⁵Between the interim and final MacFarlane Reports.

¹²⁶Lagasse Report, op. cit., p. 1.

¹²⁷Sealey, loc. cit.

¹²⁸Lagasse Report, op. cit., p. 3.

¹²⁹Ibid., p. 4-6.

¹³⁰Ibid., p. 88, 106, 122-136.

¹³¹Sealey, loc. cit. The emergence of status Indian as a political force, subsequent to receiving the right to vote provincially in 1952, was also a factor.

¹³²Annual Report, June 30, 1964, p. 73, and previously cited reports.

¹³³Grafton, Bateman, loc. cit.

¹³⁴Bateman, loc. cit.

¹³⁵Ibid.

¹³⁶Bridle, loc. cit.

¹³⁷Bateman, Bridle, Dalton, Grafton.

¹³⁸Bateman, Grafton, loc. cit.

¹³⁹Dalton, loc. cit.

¹⁴⁰Bateman, Bridle, Dalton, Grafton, loc. cit.

¹⁴¹The legislation referred to here is R.S.M., c. 7, s. 3. (s. 446) En. S. M., 1958, (2nd Session).

¹⁴²Manitoba. R.S.M., c. 66, s. 1. (5471D through K), En. S. M., 1965.

¹⁴³Ibid.

¹⁴⁴Dalton, loc. cit.

¹⁴⁵Bateman, loc. cit.

¹⁴⁶Although this relation of events was recounted by Bateman from memory it is readily supported by those involved at the time or shortly thereafter including Dalton, Jasper, Grafton and the first principal of the Collegiate, John Milner.

¹⁴⁷Bateman, loc. cit.

¹⁴⁸Jasper, loc. cit.

¹⁴⁹Bateman, loc. cit.

¹⁵⁰Unsigned departmental memoranda of minutes contained in Frontier School Division "Organization and Formation" file dated 21-4-65.

¹⁵¹Bateman, loc. cit.

¹⁵²Ibid.

¹⁵³Grafton, loc. cit.

¹⁵⁴The selection of the name 'Frontier' rather than 'Northern' is attributed to Bateman.

Chapter 4

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF FRONTIER SCHOOL DIVISION, 1965-1979

The purpose of this chapter is to trace educational developments in Frontier School Division from 1965 to 1979. The account is divided into three sections which correspond to tenure of the three official trustees who have been in charge of division affairs during its first fourteen years as a school division. These three sections are further divided as appropriate to delineate significant events. This chapter completes the chronicle of educational evolution indicated in Chapter One and a long-range view of the evolution of Frontier School Division necessary for an analysis in terms of centralization and decentralization.

Although many advanced toward a single education system had occurred between 1899 and 1965 much remained to be done to bring the delivery of education services to the 1979 level. This chapter outlines how that came about.

1965-75: K. R. Jasper: The Building of the Frontier School Division

The first decade following the formation of Frontier School Division saw the establishment of a school system comparable in many ways to any other in Manitoba. This development was not without difficulty and the level of sophistication is relative to the situation. However, the Frontier School Division on July 8, 1965 was vastly changed when Kenn

Jasper retired on October 31, 1975. This section details what the changes were and how they came about.

Bateman's Final Involvement

Scott Bateman was chiefly responsible for the formation of Frontier School Division. His actions were, of course, in response to all of the previously outlined pressures including his own motivations; nevertheless, he was the chief architect. He was responsible for drafting the enabling legislation, doing the work necessary to secure a high school and presenting the case to the Minister for Cabinet approval. As Kenn Jasper was later to comment, the Division was "Scott's baby from day one."¹ Bateman's interest in the Division continued, of course, but his active involvement was evident to the end of his tenure as Deputy Minister of Education in November, 1966. The following examples illustrate the important effects of this involvement.

On July 27, 1965 Bateman wrote an interdepartmental memorandum to the Minister outlining "Matters of Principle for the Operation of Frontier School Division".² This memorandum (attached as Appendix E) contains the direction and policy under which the division operated for the first several years.³ This statement outlined policy with respect to staffing, budgeting, Frontier Collegiate Institute, legal procedures and the role of community members. The following brief paragraphs indicate the direction taken in each of these important areas at the outset of the Division.

Bateman determined that teaching staff and non-teaching support staff ought to be Division employees and not civil servants. This

would allow for a degree of separation of the Division from government. The single exception to this was Kenn Jasper, who throughout his tenure as Official Trustee remained a civil servant. Bateman also issued a one page salary schedule for the 'Northern School Division'.⁴ Although collective bargaining had existed in Manitoba since 1956, it was not practiced in Frontier in 1965.

The Official Trustee was to prepare a yearly budget of Division expenses. In addition the Official Trustee ought to prepare a five year forecast of capital expenditure needed to bring Division facilities to a level at par with the rest of the Province. The Division would also provide teacherages of good quality in all school communities. Revenue was to include grants, fees, taxes and special government grants.

The Frontier Collegiate Institute, Bateman declared, would be open to all eligible resident students regardless of ability to pay. The Division would provide transportation in September and June from and to their homes. The Government would provide bursaries to students whose parents were unable to pay nominal room and board rates.

All property of former districts or the Province was to be legally transferred to Frontier School Division.

Bateman also outlined the role of community members in Division affairs. The central advisory committee was to be composed of:

"one person named by Welfare, one named by Health, one by Public Works, five responsible people selected from localities in the division, the Official Trustee the Assistant Official Trustee and the principal of Frontier Collegiate Institute."⁵

Local committees were to be formed as quickly as possible. In both cases

all members were to be appointed by the Minister. He also suggested that a number of representative community members be brought to Cranberry Portage,

"to familiarize themselves with the physical and academic advantages it will offer and do some missionary work back home."⁶

Thus Bateman determined how his 'baby' would begin.

Perhaps the best example of Bateman's continuing interest is found in a memorandum he addressed to R. W. Lightly, Assistant Deputy Minister, dated October 3, 1966. Lightly had been given initial Departmental responsibility for Frontier but Bateman continually became personally involved.

"I permitted my personal interest in its success to involve me more deeply than should have been."⁷

According to Jasper, Bateman's resolve later in the memo to withdraw his involvement was never fulfilled, "he was just too damn interested and cared too much".⁸ Several of Bateman's own comments strengthen the point:

"I drove up there many weekends that first year.

. . . .

I started worrying about the kids' teeth in September, 1965. Called up the Dean of the Faculty of Dentistry and asked him to lunch. I told him about the Collegiate and asked if he had any students who might be available to work on the kids' teeth. He indicated that it was too important for students but that his fellow executive members of the Manitoba Dental Association might be able to handle it. He asked me if I could have beds, food and the kids available on a weekend. Of course. Those fellows drove up for a weekend, brought portable equipment and worked practically around the clock. They treated every student, many of whom had never seen a dentist. I'm afraid in their enthusiasm there may have

been a couple of unnecessary extractions. But actions like that made it very easy for me to pry money from Cabinet.

. . .

In fact, in all my time with government, I can't think of anything on which it was easier to pry money than Frontier."⁹

These actions are not usually those expected of or attributed to the most senior civil servant.

Scott Bateman was appointed Deputy Minister of Youth and Manpower Development in November 1966, thus ending his direct involvement with Frontier.

K. R. Jasper: The First
Official Trustee

Despite Bateman's early involvement, the clearly dominant figure from 1965-75 was Official Trustee and Superintendent Kenneth R. Jasper. Jasper's name became as synonymous with Frontier School Division as Grafton's had with Special Schools. There are a number of reasons for this phenomena which are worthwhile exploring at this point.

As indicated earlier, the legislation forming the Division, vested unparalleled power in the position first occupied by Jasper. Frontier is the only school division in Manitoba in which the Chief Executive Officer (Superintendent) and the Board (Official Trustee) are the same person. It is an old joke that there are more Board meetings in Frontier than any other Division. There is no statutory provision for a Superintendent (only an Official Trustee) in Frontier School Division. However, Jasper and his successors,

being by legislation in total charge of educational affairs within the Division, adopted the additional title. The tradition of a single authority had been built over sixty years by the Commissioners Rogers, Bateman, MacDonald and Grafton. Jasper was a civil servant before and during his tenure with Frontier. He believed himself quite literally to be an 'official in trust' of education within the communities of the Division. These factors led to a form of decision-making in which either Jasper or his superiors (Bateman, Dalton, The Minister) made every decision of any significance during the first decade of division history. Jasper comments now:

"I'd like to think they (i.e. decisions) were a consensus. But they were basically my decisions. I got all the financial support from government I wanted. I made all major decisions in concert with Scott Bateman and later Bob Dalton. Basically we (Jasper and Bateman or Dalton) made all of the decisions. It's a hell of a thing to have to say, but I believe it's true."¹⁰

This is not to indicate that Jasper operated in a vacuum. On the contrary he sought advice from many quarters, but retained the right to decide as the official in trust.¹¹

Jasper's Initial Priorities and Actions

Jasper's task was extraordinary. He had to organize a school division in a matter of months. He had inherited the varied collection of schools and school districts discussed in Chapter Three, located in the communities spread over an immense area, as indicated in Chapter Two. Transportation and communication were difficult. He had no staff. There were no models to follow because Frontier was so dissimilar to other jurisdictions in Manitoba. Nevertheless, school would begin in

in late August, 1965. Needless to say the months from May to August, 1965 were hectic.

Jasper states:

"We were under such pressure those days we operated out of our back pockets with little sense of history and few things were recorded."¹²

Jasper did record a list of questions, concerns and thoughts some time early in the summer of 1965 which indicate the magnitude of his undertaking. The list, in its original form, follows:

"CRANBERRY PORTAGE

Teaching Staff

Who

Principal

Vice-principal

Eight teachers

Duties re residence

Oversight

Residence Staff

Who

House mother

Maids

Seamstress

Janitors

Cook

Schools

How many grades involved at beginning 9 - 12?

Courses - General Course - University Entrance.

Classrooms - academic, shop, home economics, library, laboratory.

Textbooks and other school supplies.

Residence

Rooms

Infirmary?

Dining Hall

Transportation of Students

Do we transport from every school in the division?

Payment of transportation costs?

Residence and Boarding Fees

How assessed and how paid?

Bursaries to provide for those who cannot pay full fees.

Possibility of some students earning pocket money through serving, etc.

Other Division Concerns

- 1) Obtaining or re-engaging staff for other schools in Division.
- 2) Arranging for purchase and distribution of supplies.
- 3) Arranging for sending out necessary school information re next fall.

- 4) Arranging and carrying out some sort of public relations program through the Division to acquaint people with purposes and plans.
- 5) Arranging for repair and maintenance work on schools during summer.
- 6) What about the advisory board?

Setting up Office

Obtaining Office Space.

Staff

Assistant	obtaining staff and setting out duties
Accountant	setting up bookkeeping & budgeting
Secretary	
Maintenance man	

Office equipment and supplies.

Where to work from during the next two months?

Priorities:

- 1) Planning of school set-up at Cranberry.
- 2) Advertising for school staff for Cranberry and for other vacancies in the Division. "13

It is very clear from the above that Jasper faced an enormous assignment.

Jasper then announced the Division and its new high school. The following public notice was posted in all communities in the summer of 1965.

"

PUBLIC NOTICE

The new northern school division has been named Frontier School Division No. 48. A residential high school to serve all the districts within Frontier School Division is being established at Cranberry Portage. Our aim is to offer first-class high school education to all eligible students within the division. Careful supervision of all aspects of student life will be provided.

Tuition at the residential high school will be free. We will also be providing for transportation to and from the high school. The cost of board and room for students resident within the division has been set at \$1.00 per day. Students who cannot afford this

amount may apply for assistance through bursaries. Our purpose is to make high school education available to all eligible students (students who have completed Grade Eight this year or in recent years) regardless of their financial circumstances.

Applications for admission to the residential high school at Cranberry Portage should be sent to the undersigned. Bursary Application Forms will be sent to all applicants.

K. R. Jasper,
Official Trustee,
Frontier School Division,¹⁴
No. 48

As Jasper's list and the public notice indicate much of the focus of the first months and years of the Division was on the establishment of secondary education. The elementary schools had, in whatever way, been operating and with less support than secondary education would continue to operate.

On reflection, Jasper feels that his priorities at the time were five in number. First, he needed to develop an administrative structure to oversee and support the school operation. Second a massive building program was required because "the school buildings and teacherages, where they existed, were pretty deplorable in '65."¹⁵ Third, a permanent basis for funding had to be developed. Fourth, the quality of the teaching staff needed to be significantly improved. Finally, program content (curricula) relevant to the students had to be developed and implemented in the schools. Jasper feels now that he followed those priorities in this order throughout his tenure.¹⁶

Jasper feels that the establishment of these priorities was a combination of necessity and personal choice. In other words all of these aspects of division functioning needed attention and he chose to

pursue them in that order. A good administrative structure coupled with modern attractive buildings would attract a quality staff. This improved staff could in turn, develop better programs for children. This transformation was going to be expensive and the need for regular consistent funding was evident, and need for this funding in Jasper's view, preceded improvements in the quality of staff and in curricula.¹⁷

Jasper, when interviewed, did not specifically mention relations with community members as a separate priority. It was, rather, a facet of all his priorities. Later in this section it will be addressed separately following discussion of his first five priorities.

Each of the priorities outlined by Jasper is treated separately in the following sections. The purpose of this treatment is to determine, as nearly as possible, how he addressed his priorities and the results which were achieved.

The Organizational and Administrative Structure

The structural organization and administration of the Division was a large enterprise in itself. It had and has two aspects, the organization of schooling (including consolidations, etc.) and the administration of them. It also had two levels, elementary and secondary. As indicated earlier Jasper had inherited a confusing array of schools and school jurisdictions. The most obvious need was to organize them into one administrative unit.

The consolidation of elementary education. In order to accomplish this, a major program of consolidation of elementary schools was

undertaken, much of which took place in conjunction with the building program which is discussed later. However, it is useful to discuss the consolidation as a separate issue. The consolidation primarily took place over a period of seven years (1965-72) with the greatest activity between 1965 and 1968. The consolidation took four forms.

They were:

- 1) The placement of all secondary education within one school, the Frontier Collegiate Institute. This removed the few operating high school grades from the elementary schools.
- 2) Elementary schools which had few students and little prospect for population increase were, where possible, closed. The remaining students were transported to neighbouring school jurisdictions. In several situations communities disappeared entirely.
- 3) Where several small schools existed within neighbouring small communities, these were combined into one larger elementary school. This school was generally located in the central and/or largest of the small communities.
- 4) Joint school arrangements were made with the Government of Canada to provide schooling for status and non-status students in one elementary school. In some cases this meant that students for whom Frontier had responsibility attended federal schools, while in others Frontier assumed responsibility for status students. In both situations, costs were shared on a per pupil basis.

Tables IV and V outline the consolidation of the elementary schools. In the case of each of the founding districts or schools, the eventual placement is indicated along with a description of the action taken. Division records do not indicate actual dates in some cases and those interviewed were unable to be precise. In cases where approximate dates are given data do exist to indicate that they were established prior to the date given.¹⁸ Over the first decade of the Division several schools were added to the Division and several were formed and operated for a short period of time. Table V outlines these schools and their eventual placement. These consolidations and closures resulted, during the first decade, in the closing of twenty-eight small schools. In addition, three others opened and operated for brief periods during hydro-electric projects.

At the conclusion of the consolidation and closures the vast array of schools and school jurisdictions had been considerably narrowed. Although one room schools with very small enrollments still existed, wherever possible larger schools were built accommodating larger numbers of students. All schools were under one administrative organization, namely Frontier School Division. The special schools, official trustee schools, special revenue schools, and joint schools¹⁹ had disappeared.

The consolidation of secondary education. As indicated earlier the consolidation of secondary education into Frontier Collegiate was a major thrust of Jasper. The emphasis on secondary education occurred for several reasons. First, the enabling legislation for the Division

TABLE IV
 CONSOLIDATION OF FOUNDING SCHOOL DISTRICTS AND SCHOOLS
 OF FRONTIER SCHOOL DIVISION 1965 - 75.

Original School or District: 1965	Position in 1975	Change
The School District of Bad Throat No. 1014.	Wanipigow School, operated by Frontier on cost share with DIAND (joint agreement).	Consolidated with I.A.B. School at Wanipigow in 1969.
The School District of Barrows Jcn. No. 2296.	Barrows Jcn. School	Absorbed Barrows, National Mills, Westgate & the School District of Rice Creek No. 2185 by consolidation in 1967.
The School District of Berens River No. 2291.	Berens River School (joint agreement)	Consolidated with DIAND School at Berens River before 1968.
The School District of Cold Lake No. 2253.	Cold Lake School	District dissolved 1/4/67*
The School District of Cranberry Portage No. 2201	Cranberry Portage Elementary School	District dissolved 1/4/67.
The School District of Dallas No. 1970.	Closed School	School closed in 1965, students transported to Peguis I.R.
The School District of D.R. Hamilton No. 2310.	Closed School	School closed in 1971, students attend DIAND School at Cross Lake
The School District of Gillam No. 2250.	Gillam School	District dissolved 1/4/67.
The School District of Northland No. 2199.	Closed School	School closed in 1967, students transported to Peguis I.R.
The School District of Norway House No. 1917.	Jack River School Rossville School Norway House High School	Consolidation between 1969 and 1972 of 11 separate schools into the present three.
The School District of Pikwitonei No. 2231.	Pikwitonei School	District dissolved, 1/4/67.
The School District of Rice Creek No. 2185.	Consolidated School	Consolidated into Barrows Jcn. School in 1967.
The School District of Sunny Valley No. 2027.	Closed School	School closed in 1965, students transported to Peguis I.R.
The School District of Thicket Portage No. 2290.	Thicket Portage School	District dissolved, 1/4/67.
The School District of Wabowden No. 2181.	Wabowden School	District dissolved, 1/4/67,
Anama Bay School	Anama Bay School (Joint agreement)	
Barrows (a.k.a. Barrows-on-the-Lake)	Consolidated School	Consolidated with Barrows Jcn. School in 1967.
Big Black River School	Big Black River School	
Briggs Spur School	Closed School	School closed in 1967, students transported to Swan Valley S.D.
Brochet School	Brochet School (joint agreement)	

TABLE IV
(continued)

Crane River School	Crance River School (joint agreement)	
Duck Bay School	Duck Bay School	
Fisher Bay School	Closed School	School closed in 1968, students transported to Peguis I.R.
God's Lake Narrows School	Closed School	School closed in 1972, students attend DIAND School at God's Lake
Golden Acres School	Closed School	School closed in 1965 due to lack of students
Homebrook School	Closed School	School closed in 1970, students transported to Gypsumville.
Ilford School	Julie Lindal School at Ilford (joint agreement)	
Island Lake School	Closed School	School closed in 1967, students attend DIAND School at Gardenhill.
Loon Straits School	Loon Straits School	
Mallard School	Consolidated School	Consolidated with Water- hen School District & DIAND. Skownan School to form Waterhen School in 1969.
Matheson Island School	Matheson Island School	
National Mills School	Consolidated School	Consolidated into Barrows Jnc. School in 1967.
Pelican Rapids School	Pelican Rapids School (Joint agreement)	
Pine Dock School	Pine Dock School	
Princess Harbour School (a.k.a. Rabbit Point)	Princess Harbour School	
Salt Point School	Consolidated School	Consolidated into Waterhen School in 1974.
South Indian Lake School	Oscar Blackburn School at Southern Indian Lake (Joint agreement)	
Wanipigow School	Wanipigow School	Part of consolidation of Wanipigow area schools in 1969.
Warren's Landing School	Warren's Landing School	
Wekusko (Herb Lake School)	Closed School	School closed in 1967, students transported to Snow Lake.
Westgate School	Consolidated school	Consolidated into Barrow Jcn. School in 1967.

*All existing School Districts at the foundation of the Frontier School Division No. 48 in 1965 legally remained as such until April 1, 1967. On that date all existing districts in Manitoba were dissolved into the secondary school divisions formed in 1959. In the case of Frontier Jasper contengs, "It was simply a formality because we operated all of them from 1965."²⁰

TABLE V

ADDITIONAL SCHOOLS JOINING FRONTIER SCHOOL DIVISION, 1965-75

School or School District	Origin	Eventual Placement
The School District of Waterhen	Transferred from Duck Mtn. S.D. to Frontier 31/8/66. Dissolved as a district 1/4/67.	Consolidated into Waterhen School with Skownan IAB School and Mallard Special School in 1969.
The School District of Grand Rapids No. 1660.	Transferred from a re- mote school district to Frontier 1/3/67.	Grand Rapids School.
The School District of San Antonio No. 2234.	A special revenue school funded by the San Antonio Gold Mines of Bissett, Man. Transferred to Frontier S.D. 1/7/68.	Now known as either San Antonio or Bissett School.
Sceptre-Dillingham School	Operated 1975 to 1976 as part of hydro-elec- tric construction on Lake Winnipeg.	Closed with the com- munity.
South Bay School	Operated 1974 to 1975 as part of hydro-elec- tric construction at Southern Indian Lake.	Closed with community.
Sundance School	Opened 1977/78 for chil- dren of hydro-electric workers near Gillam, Man.	Closed with the com- munity in June 1978.
Jenpeg	Opened 1971 for child- ren of hydro-electric workers at Jenpeg oper- ating site northwest of Norway House.	Closed with community in 1980.

* Source: a) Annual Reports, 1965-72.
b) Frontier School Division files.
c) Jasper, McCormick.

implicitly demanded the formation of a secondary school in that it made the Division responsible for secondary education and the size of the feeder schools prohibited individual high school programs. Second, Scott Bateman had by his actions and 'Principles of Operation' determined the direction of secondary education. Third, Jasper chose to follow the directions set out by the legislation and Bateman. Finally, there was an existing structure (however poor) for elementary schooling, but one did not exist for centralized secondary education. The result of these forces was a major emphasis on the development of Frontier Collegiate.

The establishment by the Division of Frontier Collegiate Institute at Cranberry Portage provided the first real opportunity for high school education for students of the area. Bernard Grafton's final report on the northern special schools in spring 1965 indicates 79 high school students,²¹ many of which were taking courses by correspondence. Other students received some instruction from elementary teachers who were mainly concerned with the instruction of younger students. Parents who could afford it sent students to other larger centers to board with relatives, etc., and paid tuition to those school jurisdictions.

In May, 1965, while Jasper was transferring to his new position, Bateman advertized for the position of Principal of Frontier Collegiate Institute. From the applicants Bateman selected that of John W. Milner, an elementary principal at Swan River. Bateman recalls:

"Milner was by far the best prospect. I drove to Swan River on a Friday in May, picked up John and his wife

and drove to my cottage at Clearwater Lake (near The Pas). I'm afraid that I talked long into the night about my hopes and the possibilities at Cranberry. John and Marion (Milner's wife) were very patient. On Saturday we toured the site. John was very impressed and after another night at Clearwater, took the job."²²

Bateman obviously wanted to ensure the success of 'his' high school and attempted to do that by hiring the Principal. He was convinced he had done so with the hiring of Milner. Milner began his new position in July, 1965. "Without his incredible energy," Bateman asserts, "We simply would not have got the place off the ground."²³ Gary McCormick who worked closely with Milner during his tenure as Principal (1965-68) says:

"There is no doubt in my mind at all that the Collegiate (and secondary education) got off the ground because of John. He suffered, I think, from that common white man's disease of wanting to help the Indian, but it gave him immense energy, and a sense of task and without it I doubt we would have made it."²⁴

What was to become Frontier Collegiate Institute had been designed as a military installation and not as a school complex. Although it had many of the facilities necessary for a residential school, there was considerable work to do. In late August 1965, approximately 125 students were expected and before that happened, much needed to be accomplished. Milner needed to hire the teaching and non-teaching staff including a dozen teachers, a chef, several cooks, kitchen support staff, janitors, maintenance men, laundresses, residence supervisors, stores personnel, a bursar/accountant and office staff. The conversion

of an 'operations' building to classrooms, the conversion of another structure to a home economics facility and of a maintenance garage into an industrial arts center were necessary. The purchase of 'stores' for the incoming students included supplies of linen, soap, toothpaste, etc. The immense distance indicated in Chapter Two necessitated elaborate arrangements for the transportation of students from their communities to Cranberry Portage including the scheduling of road, water, rail and air transportation from over fifty communities as close as fifty air miles (Moose Lake) and as far as 700 road miles (Bissett). A bursary system needed to be arranged to provide 'destitute' students with money to buy clothing and in the words of the legislation, 'necessaries'. A restructuring of residential accommodation to provide for both male and female students was needed because the barracks at the base of course, was constructed only for males.²⁵

Another significant problem for Milner was to settle the hue and cry from the community of Cranberry Portage. This resulted from the loss of jobs, the loss of considerable social activity centered around the base and wonderment about "all of these Indian kids coming to town".²⁶

Milner, with support from Jasper and Bateman, quickly assembled a staff and began to transform the radar base into a residential school. Much of the 'hue and cry' was reduced by the hiring of Cranberry Portage residents to fill support staff positions. Other positions were filled with 'northerners' from other centers. Gary McCormick,

who was hired as Bursar in November 1965, had been working in the mining industry (and studying accountancy at night) in Snow Lake.²⁷ Other northerners became residence supervisors, cooks and storekeepers. By September 1965 a staff of eleven teachers, eight residence supervisors and twenty-five support staff (janitors, maintenance, nurses, etc.) had been assembled. A total of 150 residence students arrived and joined 36 high school students from Cranberry Portage. Thus began large scale secondary education in Frontier School Division.

The first years of Frontier Collegiate were hectic and to use a term indicative of an earlier time 'ad hoc'. Many significant developments happened because a single individual took decisive action. These initial actions were later formalized. Bateman's provision of dental services is illustrative. This was expanded into a regular dental and medical program involving dentists and physicians on campus three days per week. Gary McCormick recalls that the most significant characteristic of the first years was a lack of system. The following are indicative of both the lack of system and actions by individuals:

"We never knew from '65 to '69 or so how many kids were coming. The principals of the elementary schools would send us a list of students finishing Grade VIII and we would send Government Air Services to pick them up, but tell them to bring any kids who wanted to come. Meanwhile, the priests in places like Cross Lake, Norway House, Berens River and Grand Rapids rounded up every kid they could find and then jammed them on the plane. Lots of them hadn't been to school in five or six years. We would expect, say, 3 Muskego's from Norway and we'd get 6 or 7."

. . .

"At Christmas time 1965, Government Air Services refused to fly the kids home without heavy clothing. The airforce had left a mountain of heavy parkas and flying boots. We clothed the kids in an hour and got them on the planes. No record of who had what. But we must have clothed half the north because the kids all came back in their street clothes."

"Most of the kids arrived absolutely broke or soon were. No pocket money which led to thieving, etc. So the Division put up \$3000 so each of the 150 residence kids could get \$10 twice before Christmas. They just lined up outside my office and I handed it out to all of them. Then I got hell because I gave provincial money to treaty kids as well. I had no system to tell the difference.

The clothing the kids had varied a great deal and was often really poor. We decided to provide basic clothing. So Mr. and Mrs. Jasper went to Wolch's (a wholesale clothier in Winnipeg) and bought clothes for all residential kids. That is, they'd buy, say, 150 boys shirts in various sizes and patterns, or 300 sets of underwear, and had it all shipped up. We had uniforms made for the girls. Then the head supervisor's wife just handed it out - no record or system.

Staff pay cheques were sent out with no deductions. Finally got that sorted out, then a hell of a ruckus when we deducted four months taxes at once."^{28, 29}

It is not difficult to picture the hectic nature of the first years given these descriptions.

McCormick also recalls the reaction of the students as they drove into the Collegiate grounds from the float plane base and his recollections sum up the nature of the experience of Frontier Collegiate

Institute for them. The Collegiate retained for many years the look of most military bases including a perimeter chain link fence.

"The kids arrived -- and immediately we could sense their feeling of doom and lost freedom."³⁰

The students encountered many difficulties adjusting to the schedules necessary to running a residential school. McCormick states:

"The hardest thing for them was eating at regular times, rather than when they were hungry."³¹

Nevertheless the Collegiate grew at an astounding rate. In 1969 there were 431 students in residence with a total school population of 521. The adult staff was 117 including thirty-three teachers, twenty-two supervisors, twenty-one kitchen staff and forty-three other support staff. The difficulties over the first five years were many but were related to size and 'system', most of the ad hoc nature of the first years becoming systematized by 1970. For example, during the first five years most of the glut of students who had been out of school for many years passed through the Collegiate and each succeeding year much more accurate knowledge of who was arriving was available. A regular bursary system for both status and non-status children was established providing them with funds to pay room and board, purchase clothing and have pocket money. A relatively elaborate stores system which sold clothing at wholesale cost to students was set up. Although residence life remained a burden to students they became more accustomed to it, helped younger family members adjust and, indeed, recalled it quite favourably.³² Significantly, students usually proved to be less of a problem in the early years than staff, as McCormick recalls, "The

kids were okay, some of the staff, though, were real haywire people."³³

During this five year period the school program also grew. The initial offering of a university entrance program in 1965 was expanded to include a general program, business education and occupational entrance option by 1970.

In essence, the main focus of the first five years of secondary education and, as discussed later, of the Division itself, is best described as systematization. McCormick's comments again are apt:

"There was no system for anything. By 1970 and now everyone is slotted. Then, whoever was there did it. Milner and I did every job on that campus. John was results-oriented. Dalton and Jasper were procedures-oriented. We moved from doing what needed to be done as we perceived it to a process for everything."³⁴

Thus secondary education in Frontier School Division began and progressed for five years. However, the character of high school opportunity began to change rather dramatically at the end of this period.

Problems and changes in secondary education. A number of forces began to coalesce to change secondary schooling. The students who were coming to the Collegiate were increasingly younger. In 1965 students were often 2 or 3 years grade retarded, but by 1970 most students were entering the Collegiate within six months of their 14th birthday. Parents felt this age to be too young to attend a residential school far from home. In 1970 the age of majority (and legal drinking age) was lowered to 18 years. Overnight, at least one half of the student population became legal adults and could adjourn to the local beer parlor and return later to residence. The increased number of incidents of

drunken students and resultant difficulties was beyond the capacity of the institution. Also, a residential institution which houses over four hundred adolescents and young adults produces its own set of problems. A very few pregnancies, inter-community brawls, bullying, etc., were translated into 'horror stories' in home communities. Finally, many parents in southern communities distant from Cranberry Portage, wished to place their children in boarding situations in a neighbouring division, feeling this would allow for closer supervision and more frequent home visits. These pressures together forced Jasper to act.

He responded in 1970 by instituting two programs. First, communities whose populations warranted such were provided with a ninth grade (and in some instances tenth) in their local schools. By 1975 Grade IX programs existed in all but a handful of tiny communities, and wherever feasible other high school grades were offered. Second, the 'Home Placement Program' was instituted. Parents could choose, via this program, to place their children in boarding situations closer to home. The Division paid tuition costs and provided bursaries to defray room and board charges. The net result of these programs was a dramatic decline in population at Frontier Collegiate and a change in its emphasis. By 1975 the resident population at the Collegiate had dropped to less than 100 students with a total school population of approximately 200. There was a corresponding drop in staff. The school continued to provide regular high school programming to students who chose it and those from Cranberry Portage. In addition it began to offer programs in areas not available in the

feeder community schools such as home economics, industrial arts, business education and occupational entrance. Students who wanted these options attended the Collegiate for short periods of time.

In 1975 (and in 1979) the Division offered three options for its high school students. Students could choose a residential high school education at Frontier Collegiate. Second, they could attend one or more high school grades in all but the smallest of community schools. This option included transfer to Frontier Collegiate or home placement for specialist programs or subsequent grades. Finally, they could utilize a home placement program allowing them to board in neighbouring school divisions or in the larger population centers. Students also had the choice of changing options during their high school career.³⁵

Despite many changes, much pioneering effort and difficulty, Bateman's dream of a high school education for norther remote students was fulfilled between 1968 - 75. Perhaps the most significant forces in this development were the actions of himself, Kenn Jasper, John Milner, Gary McCormick and others, including the students.

Implementation of an administrative structure. The administrative structure set up to guide and support the schools underwent substantial development during this initial decade as well. Jasper, although a civil servant, was the only person employed to work for Frontier School Division in May, 1965. The size of the staff grew quickly and not without difficulties. At this point the administra-

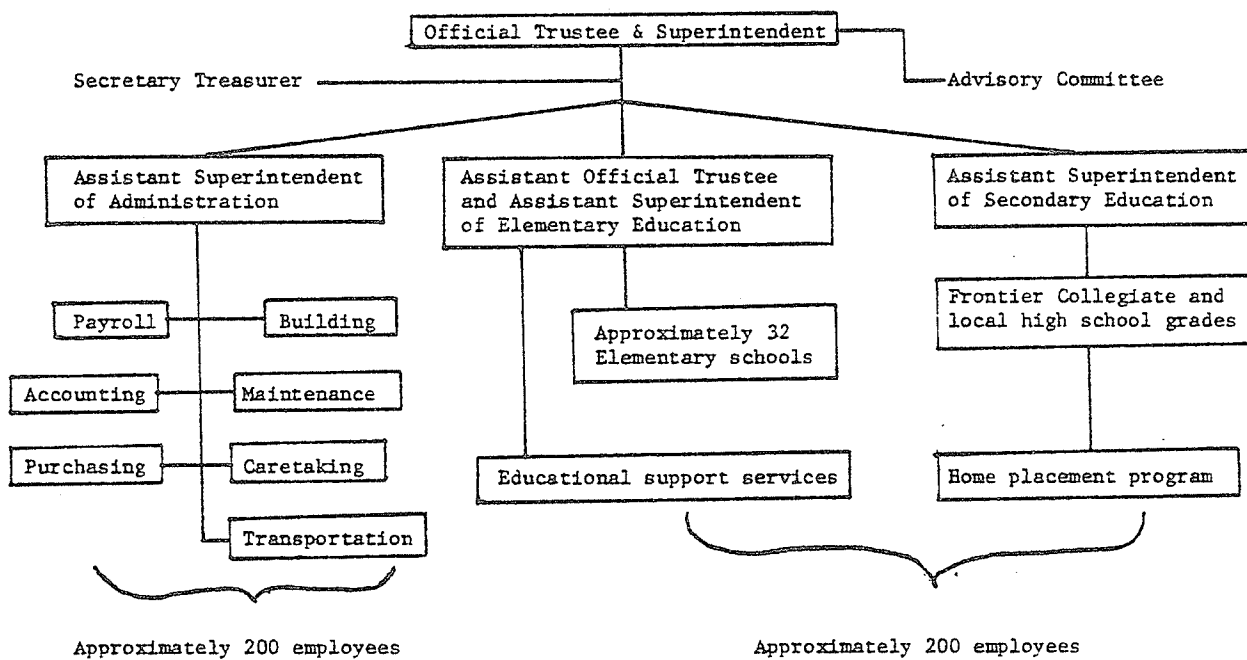
tive structure that developed is presented, with a later discussion of the people who filled the structure.

As McCormick indicated earlier, and Jasper confirms, Jasper and his superior Dalton were very much concerned with system and procedure. Jasper's priority was to organize and develop an administrative system which would regularize the Division and its affairs. The administrative structure during Jasper's tenure contains what appears to be a large number of non-teaching positions. This is true in comparison to other Divisions and is accounted for by Jasper's emphasis on this area and the unusual nature of the Division.

Jasper began to build the structure by hiring an assistant in June, 1965. Teachers who had been successful under the previous administrations were offered positions in the new Division. As other needs were perceived persons were hired to fill them. The Division had an open budget for the first year and, as is indicated in a later subsection, there was often more attention to expediency in filling jobs than quality.³⁶

An organizational chart (Figure 2) outlines the administrative structure in 1968. It is also indicative of the rapid growth of the administrative unit. With the advent of high school grades in the communities, Jasper decided in 1970 to regionalize his administrative structure. This began with two area units of approximately 16 operating schools in 1970 and evolved to four areas in 1972. A second organiza-

FIGURE 2
 ORGANIZATIONAL CHART, FRONTIER S.D. #48, 1968



* Source: G. K. W. McCormick and others.

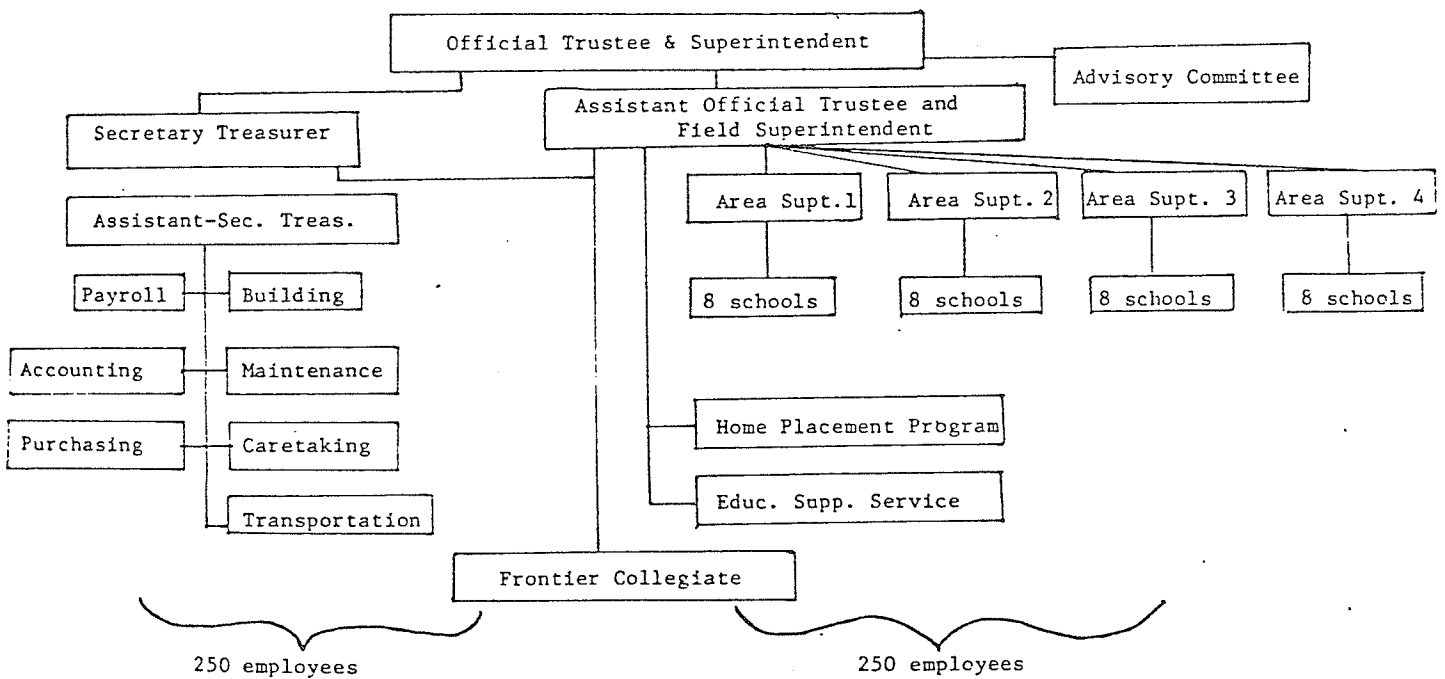
tional chart (Figure 3) represents the administrative structure in 1972. Worthy to note is that all administrative responsibility rested with the Secretary-Treasurer's department in 1972 as Jasper decided to eliminate the position of Assistant Superintendent of Administration. Also, responsibility for Frontier Collegiate Institute was split between the administration and educational functions of the Division. Despite the evident regionalization of the Division, all major decisions (and a great many minor ones) were made by Kenn Jasper.

In the three years 1965-68 Frontier School Division grew to a size which required the employ of over 400 people and in seven years to over 500. At any one time at least half of those persons occupied administrative as opposed to educational positions. In most school divisions in Manitoba the ratio is 1 administrative support person to 3 or 4 educational staff.³⁷

A number of conclusions may be drawn about the structural organization and administration of Frontier School Division between 1969 and 1975. The following points are significant. Elementary schooling, wherever possible, was consolidated. Schools which were not viable were closed or consolidated. Joint agreements were formalized with the federal government in all locations which included status and non-status populations. Secondary education was established and organized. The options available were increased midway through the decade. Of critical importance was the establishment of high school opportunity for students within the area served by the Division. A structure to supervise and support schooling was built. This structure was built with a heavy

FIGURE 3

ORGANIZATION CHART - FRONTIER SCHOOL DIVISION #48, ca. 1972



Source: G.K.W.McCormick

emphasis on the administration of the Division. The unusual nature of the Division was a major factor. However, the prediliction of Jasper and Dalton for procedures cannot be discounted. Frontier School Division operated in 1965 'out of back pockets' and in an 'ad hoc' fashion. In 1975 it was a large, well organized bureaucracy. Throughout this important decade all significant decisions with respect to the Division's organization and administration came to Kenn Jasper's desk. There, he either made the decision or sought guidance from Bob Dalton, or other superiors.

A Massive Building Program

Concomitant with developments in the organization and administration of the Division was the second of Jasper's priorities, buildings. The building program exemplified the growth of the Division during its first decade and was closely linked to consolidation and the growth of the administrative structure.

The 'spartan' buildings constructed during Grafton's term were, when viewed in the mid 1960's, not adequate. Buildings in the communities whose schools were administered by the Provincial Official Trustee were scarcely better. In the school districts still operating independently at the founding of the Division, buildings were also poor because of shortage of funds. Jasper found during his tour of the communities in May and June of 1965 that the "schools in every case were in bad shape".³⁸ Often teacher accommodation was an unused classroom in the school. In many communities there simply was not accommodation available which would attract and hold teachers of the quality

desired. Bateman's arranged tour of the communities for the Minister in May, 1965 confirmed the need for the Government. Bateman and later Dalton, ensured that the Government continued to remember what Johnson had seen.³⁹ The consolidation which Jasper decided to undertake was a major factor in the building program. Existing buildings would not accommodate the influx of another school or schools.

A meeting was held in May, 1965 between Jasper, Grafton, Bridle and others to assess the state of buildings. The minutes of the meeting are contained in Appendix G but the following excerpts are indicative of the need.

" 1965
BUILDING, MAINTENANCE AND REPAIR

Princess Harbor - a building needed here.

. . .

Warren's Landing - at present using living room of a house. Building needed soon.

. . .

Barrows - This is a settlement that should not exist. Peach and Moffat buildings not worth fixing. Some work should be done here, but if consolidation were carried out soon one would need to be cautious.

. . .

Homebrook - Present school is not worth fixing. If we continue to operate at this site we will need a school building (not necessarily this year).

. . .

Westgate - A good teacherage here. School basically poor.

. . .

Rice Creek - Neither school nor teacherage good.
Could write off.

. . .

Briggs Spur - Give some thought to hauling kids
into Cowan another year.

. . .

Pikwitonei - Two-room school with a fair cottage.
Furniture may be needed.

. . .

Gillam - School should have indoor toilets.
Teachers' quarters may be a problem.

. . .

Berens River - An unusable one-room school here.
Indian Affairs wants to get together with us and
build a joint school here.

. . .

God's Lake - An arctic hut school - hard to move
(about \$2000 to move). Also have a trailer house.
We are on an island. Indian Affairs is on shore.
They are trying to get us to go in on a multi-room
school. Their costs are very high. Bernard has
always held out for controlling any joint school.

Golden Acres - Being closed. Only four kids left
when teacher moved. "40

Obviously, buildings were not at par with elsewhere in the province as
Bateman had indicated and pointed out to Johnson.

Many communities contained several schools. These communities
were split by geography, legal and/or religious differences. Norway
House is a case in point. This community of 3500 persons is located
along both shores and on several islands in the Nelson River as it

empties out of the north end of Lake Winnipeg. Its population is 85% status and 15% non-status and non-native. For generations the Roman Catholic, Anglican and Methodist churches as well as the provincial and federal governments had operated schools there. Wm. Arthurson, a life long resident of Norway House, indicates that in 1965 there were eleven schools of one to ten rooms in size operating in the community.⁴¹ There was an obvious need for consolidation.

Thus Jasper decided, in concert with his superiors and supported by the Government, that a massive building program was warranted. This program began with an extensive repair and temporary classroom program in 1965 and evolved into extensive construction in 1966. In a report to Manitoba Government Northern Task Force in February, 1970, Jasper outlined the extent of the building program and stated that the erection and maintenance of modern schools, teacher and student accommodation was a Division priority. He indicated that between 1965 and 1970 the Division had constructed 145 new classrooms, 266 units of student residence accommodation (at Frontier Collegiate) and 61 units of teacher accommodation. Capital expenditures during this time period were:

"1965-66	\$	491,638.	
1966-67		1,294,357.	
1967-68		2,561,781.	
1968-69		1,392,108.	
1969-70		1,441,464.	"42

Figures were not readily available for subsequent years; however, Division records reveal the estimated capital expenditure for 1973-74 was \$8,842,283.⁴³ A review of Annual Reports of the period indicates construction of new schools and teacherages in virtually all communities

between 1965 and 1975.⁴⁴ In that the building program occupied a prominent portion of each report, there is little doubt of the importance attributed to it by Jasper and his superiors. Exceptions were communities subject to consolidation or where schools had been built in the early 1960's by the Special Schools Branch or Indian Affairs. In all, the program produced 26 school plants and 266 teacherage units. In addition, during this decade the Division spent \$7,183,144 on minor capital projects which included repairs and minor additions to school plants.⁴⁵

Capital projects in Frontier School Division most often included unusual expenses not common to building projects in most other areas of the province. The building program and consolidation process at Norway House again is useful as an illustration. In 1969 the Province represented by Frontier School Division and the Government of Canada represented by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development agreed to consolidate the schools at Norway House under the jurisdiction of Frontier School Division. The agreement reached between the two levels of government included the following clause:

"The parties hereto have agreed to share the cost of construction, conversion, furnishing, maintenance and operation of the school buildings hereinafter mentioned, the cost of constructing and initially purchasing equipment to maintain certain roads, boat docking facilities, a causeway and a bridge, the cost of sewer and water systems at Rossville and Jack River, the cost of acquisition of certain motor barges and the cost of acquiring land for the said schools, the said roads, and transportation facilities as more particularly hereinafter mentioned."⁴⁶

The building and maintenance of roads and boat docks, causeways, bridges, complete sewer and water systems and the purchase of motor barges are

not common capital expenses to school divisions. However, given the geographical milieu of Frontier School Division, such expenses were common.

Such expenditures not only facilitated the consolidation of schools but also changed the social fabric of many communities. Automobiles were of no use and thus were not present in Norway House until Frontier School Division built the roads in 1970. Small communities separated by rivers were often isolated from each other for several weeks during 'freeze-up' and 'break-up'. With the building of bridges these communities now had year-round access to each other. Another facet of the building program was the construction of ultra modern school buildings and teacherages in communities that often had no other modern buildings. This facet was complicated by the location of schools and teacherages together in a compound separate from the community. The rationale for such an arrangement was quite practical. The teacherages needed sewer and water connections and the only connections available were the systems built for the school. Nevertheless this situation gave rise to a community within and separate from the larger community it was meant to serve. It exacerbated an already existing 'we-they' atmosphere.⁴⁷

Decisions to build schools and teacherages were based on several factors. First, a general priority to upgrade facilities was established by the Official Trustee and his superior. Second, the increasing educational space needs of a particular community was a factor. The relative willingness of governments to spend monies on capital projects was a

third factor. Most significant to note is the lack of evidence of community involvement. Reports generally reveal that decisions to build were made by Division and Government officials and then the community was asked if they approved.⁴⁸

In virtually all communities, the building program resulted in educational facilities which compare favourably with any in the province. Most school buildings contained all modern amenities including the first gymnasias in these communities. Furnished three bedroom bungalows or condominiums with free utilities were available at low rents to teachers. Several communities were linked by roads and bridges for the first time. The program poured construction dollars in unprecedented amounts into the communities resulting in improvements that could not have otherwise been made.

There were other less desirable effects. The construction of modern teacherages and school within but separate from the community, created the impression of two communities rather than the school as an integral part of the settlement. Also, communities were not required to make any input into the construction of the new schools other than to approve the largesse which came their way.

Whatever view is held of the program, Jasper completed his second objective. Frontier School Division communities, by the end of 1975, boasted new modern educational facilities.

A Regularized System of Finance

K. R. Jasper's third priority on assuming office was the estab-

lishment of a regularized system of finance. As has been stated earlier, there was a mixture of funding patterns prior to the existence of the Division, none of which was adequate. Further, it had been determined that property tax revenue had not and was not going to be a viable source of revenue. Scott Bateman included in the enabling legislation and had further determined in his 'Principles of Operation' what the funding pattern would be. This pattern was institutionalized under Jasper and R. W. Dalton.

In 1975, Frontier School Division received funds from several sources. First, it received all normal grants based on pupil count as any other division. Second, it received monies from other governments and government departments on a cost shared basis. This primarily involved arrangements with the federal government for status Indian children and with Manitoba Hydro for schooling at hydro construction sites. It has included bursary money from Manitoba Government Student Aid which students used to purchase supplies at Frontier Collegiate Institute. Third, the Division received a variety of miscellaneous income from such sources as teacherage rentals and the sale of meals at Frontier Collegiate. Fourth, the Division did receive modest income from property tax revenue. This constituted 2-3% of revenue whereas in other divisions in Manitoba property taxes raise 40-60% of revenue.⁴⁹ Fifth, Frontier School Division received special grant funding from the Manitoba Government. This special grant was determined as the difference between revenue and actual expenditure. That is not to say that the Division has an open ended budget, because the special grant

must be estimated and voted each year as part of the regular government budget process. These sources combined provided the Division with its operating capital. Table VI provides the budget figures for the Division during Jasper's tenure outlining for each calendar year the estimated budget, the total expenditures and the special grant received. It should be noted that the figures shown do not include capital costs. These funds are received separately through the Public Schools Finance Board. This system was established by Jasper and Dalton in 1966 and remained basically unchanged in 1979.

Despite the development of a regularized system there remained within the Frontier Division financial scheme remnants of earlier 'special' arrangements. Jasper believes that C. K. Rogers' habit of channeling surplus funds to orphan schools was the genesis of a "trend to a good deal of money for Frontier".⁵⁰ Jasper claims, "There never was a shortage of money, and I believe that is the case to date. Scott (Bateman) and Bob (Dalton) always ensured that. They were defenders of the underdogs by nature and it showed in their actions."⁵¹ Such was the emphasis by Bateman, Dalton and the government that for the 1965-66 year the budget was literally opened-ended. Purchases were made as necessary and funds were found later. The system or rather the lack of one was so loose, McCormick recalls that through much of 1965-66 bills received by the Division were "filed, not paid, there was no system to pay them and no budget to attribute them to".⁵² Of course, much of this could be attributed to the general chaos of forming the Division but it also indicates the willingness of Bateman and Dalton to 'cover

TABLE VI

FRONTIER SCHOOL DIVISION No. 48 Budget Totals 1965-75

Year	Total Budget	Actual Expenditure	Special Grant Received	Special Grant as % of Total Expenditures
	Estimates			
1965	495,770	500,956	285,000	57%
1966	1,631,680	1,686,036	935,000	55%
1967	2,336,835	2,474,278	650,000	26%
1968	2,812,430	2,865,806	710,000	25%
1969	3,495,266	3,714,222	900,000	24%
1970	4,560,697	4,459,387	1,390,000	31%
1971	5,546,423	5,309,351	1,975,000	37%
1972	6,447,078	6,444,310	2,548,000	40%
1973	7,457,414	7,220,713	2,654,051	37%
1974	9,969,016	9,418,458	2,948,495	31%
1975	11,457,027	11,045,811	3,866,715	35%

Source: J. C. Pritchard, Assistant Secretary-Treasurer, Frontier
School Division.

the costs'. Also characteristic of funding arrangements through Jasper's era was the lack of financial input by communities. The mill rate for all property in the Division where assessments existed was set at 20 mills in 1965 and remained so through 1975. Frontier Collegiate sent bills to parents for room and board charges (\$1/student/day), but made no serious attempt to collect. In effect, parents were not required to make any financial contribution or any other contribution in lieu of money.

Despite several anomalies, Frontier School Division did develop an efficient, regularized funding and expenditure system. In 1975, this system gathered funds from unique sources, funded the operation of twenty-nine schools, supplied those schools with materials from text books to mops, paid over 500 employees and paid for goods and services promptly over an immense geographical area. Such was the system built that the Division accounting system is being used now (1979) as a model for other divisions.⁵³

Also characteristic throughout this period was the placement of financial responsibility. Although department heads (area superintendents, supervisors etc.,) estimated their cost requirements for the coming year, all decisions related to the final submission to government were made by Kenn Jasper. Once the budget had been approved, first by Dalton and then government, department heads were informed of budget amounts and allowed to spend within them. Any variation needed to be approved by the Official Trustee. Area Superintendents had no real financial responsibility.

With respect to his third priority, the regularization of funding, Jasper developed from chaos an exemplary financial system. Certainly Jasper (a teacher) had great support from his employees and his superiors in accomplishing this. However, his emphasis on procedure was, no doubt, a singular factor in developing this system. Frontier communities continued to receive extra and special funding. This was ensured by the priorities set by the government, the enabling legislation and the actions of key civil servants. The system established during Jasper's era ensured that the 'poorer fringe areas' would receive money for education equivalent or surpassing anywhere else in the province. No longer would teachers and students in these communities have to endure substandard conditions because of a shortage of funds. Jasper retained all effective financial authority at the Division level. Decisions he was not prepared to make were made by Dalton or the government. Community financial input during this first decade declined to near the zero point. The government, through the Division, was providing all funds for schooling.

The Increased Qualification of Division Staff

The fourth priority established by Jasper was to improve personnel. His belief was that significant improvements in the quality of program delivered to students would not happen without a vast improvement in the quality of staff.⁵⁴

The chaotic nature of the summer of 1965 lent itself to the employ of persons to fill a job rather than the selection of a well qualified individual. McCormick's earlier characterization of

the initial staff at the Frontier Collegiate as "pretty haywire"⁵⁵ also applies to other areas. The first secretary-treasurer had a severe drinking problem and a dearth of accounting abilities which led to bills being 'filed'. McCormick's predecessor as bursar at the Frontier Collegiate had similar difficulties. There was a general shortage of teachers in Manitoba in the mid-1960's. As a result, a new division in a remote area with spartan facilities tended to attract five types of teachers. First, there were many excellent teachers who wished to teach in a remote setting. Second, there were many, both good and not-so-good, imbued with the 'missionary zeal' alluded to by McCormick. Those who could not for any one of several reasons hold a job elsewhere, represented a third type. Fourth, there were those who went to the north to hide or leave bad personal situations elsewhere. Fifth, there were many who "taught on permit"⁵⁶ in the north for several years to earn money to return to school or as an interim step to a career not yet chosen. Regardless of the reasons, students in the Division in its early years had teachers and the administration had staff of mixed quality.

There was considerable improvement in the general quality of staff over the first decade. The change in the qualification of teaching staff is illustrative. Table VII outlines the qualifications of teachers and how they changed between 1965 and 1970. These figures are significant in that the number of permit teachers dropped from 38% to 14% in the first five years. McCormick indicates that by 1975 the number of permittees was less than 2%. Although the percentage of

TABLE VII

FRONTIER SCHOOL DIVISION NO. 48, TEACHER QUALIFICATIONS, 1965-70

% of Total Staff

Year	Permitees	Class 1	Class 2	Class 3	Class 4	Class 5	Total Staff
1965-66	38	43	8	5	5	1	125
1967-68	24	40	21	6	6	2	191
1969-70	14	41	19	15	15	2	227

Source: Jasper, K.R. "Report to the Northern Task Force".

Class 1 teachers (i.e. those with Grade XII plus one year of teacher training) remained constant through 1970, by 1975 they constituted less than 15%. Also significant to note is that less than 6% of teachers in 1965 had an undergraduate degree (Class 4 or higher), but in 1975 over 60% of the teaching staff had a minimum of one degree.⁵⁷

The number of 'permitees' dropped and qualifications increased elsewhere in Manitoba during this period as well. However, the changes in the Frontier School Division were more dramatic. Although credentials alone are not necessarily the prime indicator of teacher competence, these figures do signify the improvement in qualifications.

There are two other indicators of change in personnel which are significant. In 1965 there were 2 or 3 native teachers in the Division. In 1975 approximately 20% of the teaching force of 300 were native. Second, in 1965 the teacher yearly turnover rate exceeded 60%. In the spring of 1975, less than 20% of the teachers employed for the previous year left the Division.⁵⁸ Thus at the completion of the decade the teaching staff had higher credentials generally, contained many more native teachers, and stayed with the Division longer.

There were a variety of factors responsible for this increase in the quality and stability of teaching staff. There was a dramatic and general increase in the quantity, quality and stability of the teaching profession throughout Manitoba in the late 1960's and early 1970's. Teacher salaries increased sharply to compare more favourably with other professions and the government introduced a program of free tuition to students entering teacher training.⁵⁹ Jasper instituted, in 1968,

tuition bursaries to teachers who completed summer and evening training courses. Teachers who completed a course leading to a higher qualification were reimbursed for their tuition costs. He also, during the process of collective bargaining, agreed to a sabbatical leave policy. The collective agreement contained other monetary incentives such as isolation allowances, and increased salary for married teachers. Throughout the late 1960's and early 1970's Frontier School Division salaries remained at or near the highest in the province.⁶⁰ The building program provided much more attractive facilities for teachers. Aside from vastly improved school facilities, modern furnished housing, complete with utilities, was available at modest rates. Jasper willingly participated in a variety of programs to train native teachers. For example, Frontier worked closely with Brandon University to form the Program for Education of Native Teachers (PENT) which trained most of the native teachers employed in the division.

Although a direct parallel between the teaching and non-teaching personnel is dangerous, there is an area of commonality. Through dismissal, recruitment and training, the non-teaching staff was greatly improved between 1965 and 1975. There was also during this period, a significant increase in the number of native persons who occupied non-teaching positions.⁶¹

There were then, significant changes in personnel during Jasper's tenure. Quality, stability and the number of native persons were the chief areas of improvement. Although many factors were involved, decisions and direct action by Jasper was significant.

Curricula

On reflection now, Jasper feels that the priority area in which

he accomplished the least was school program. He states, "I just didn't move as far in program as I would have liked. Getting the other things (priorities) done seemed to take all of the time."⁶² There were, however, important curricular developments during his tenure.

The formation of the Division led to the use of standard curricula in the elementary schools. Prior to 1965, the program varied considerably due to the mixture of jurisdictions under which they operated. The establishment of the Division also led to the delivery of complete high school curricula for the first time, as a high school program had not been available until Frontier Collegiate was established. Jasper made specific attempts to strengthen the elementary program. From 1967 to 1972 he employed two elementary supervisors to assist in the development of strong elementary programs. These positions were filled by experienced elementary teachers who assisted teachers in strengthening their program. In 1974 these positions were eliminated and were replaced with one reading consultant per area. In 1973 Jasper reported that the curricular program of the Division had been "enriched"⁶⁴ in several ways. They were:

"Kindergartens operated in twenty-two schools.

. . .

Nurseries functioned in seven schools.

. . .

A spoken Cree course was taught at Gillam.

. . .

Instruction in fishing, hunting and survival skills was provided at Pikwitonei with the assistance of community residents.

Bead work taught as part of the arts and crafts program at Thicket Portage.

. . .

An outdoor education program initiated in conjunction with the development of an Indian history program of studies at Moose Lake. Areas covered were trapping, canoeing, survival skills, customs and traditions, local history and culture.

. . .

A science program in grades eight and nine adapted to stress the local area at Duck Bay.

. . .

Cree taught at the junior high level in Norway House by a local resident selected by the school committee.

. . .

A Native Language Project at the nursery to grade three level, under the supervision of Ida Wasacase of the Curriculum Branch piloted at Berens River.

. . .

The following were among developments at Frontier Collegiate:

A native studies option (Grade IX) with emphasis on Metis history.

. . .

An Amerind history course with emphasis on local and Canadian native studies.

. . .

An elective English course (Grades X, XI, XII) providing optional content materials stressing Indian stories, and Canadian novels based on the history of the native people."⁶⁴

Throughout Jasper's tenure program additions similar to the above waxed and waned in Division schools. The emphasis placed on them was primarily

the result of individual teacher and community initiative, rather than on concentrated leadership from the Division. Although once initiated, Jasper supported their efforts.

The curricular program in Frontier School Division between 1965 and 1975 was changed, then, in several ways. The standard provincial curriculum from kindergarten to Grade XII became available to Division students. There was an attempt to provide support expertise to elementary teachers. There were a variety of largely teacher and community initiated attempts to enrich the standard curricula. Despite these efforts it is possible to conclude that the emphasis placed by Jasper on curricula was not as strong as it was in other areas.

Community Involvement

For Kenn Jasper community involvement was not a separate priority but one which permeated others. However, given the critical importance of relations between the Division and the communities, it is discussed specifically.

The legislation which enabled the formation of the Division essentially removed the necessity for any community involvement. The legislation provided for the appointment by the Minister of committees of residents at the Division and local levels to "advise and assist the Official Trustee on or in respect of school matters".⁶⁵ As earlier cited, Bateman's directive indicated that a central committee ought to be formed of five community members, three civil servants from departments active in the north, and the three most senior division officials.

The most significant factors here are that members of the committee would be appointed by the central authority and that they would advise and assist the official trustee.

Evidence of Jasper's response indicates that there were two relatively distinct phases of the community involvement during his era; 1965-70 and 1970-75. There appears to be a considerable increase in the importance attributed to school committees beginning in 1970.

The nature of school-community relations, 1965-70. However, an attempt to characterize the first five years is necessary before discussing any change. Division records related to school committee involvements are scanty during this period particularly from 1965-1968. The first central committee was formed in December 1965 and met in February 1966. Its members were appointed by the Minister on the recommendation of Jasper who solicited names for civil servants from the respective Deputy Ministers and of "responsible local persons including an Indian chief from Bernard Grafton."⁶⁷ Minutes of the initial meeting indicate that Kenn Jasper chaired the meeting, advised the members of their role, informed them of progress in the Division and solicited general policy directions.⁶⁷ Minutes of subsequent meetings during 1966 and 1967 indicate a similar format.

Division correspondence files indicate the method of selection used for community representatives in 1968. The following letter is an example of several sent to Frontier School Division principals from the Secretary-Treasurer:

"Private & Confidential

May 29, 1968.

Mr. A. Kornelson, Principal,
Waterhen School,
WATERHEN, P. O., Man.

Dear Mr. Kornelson:

re: Advisory Committee, Frontier School Division.

You may or may not be aware that the Division has an Advisory Committee who are appointed by order in council. The purpose of this committee is: (1) To consider generally what is being done in the Division and to give advice. (2) To receive reports from the administrative staff of the Division and to advise on matter of policy. (3) To act as liaison between the Division administrator and the various northern communities within the Division. (4) To deal with such other matters that may be referred to it by the Minister or his senior officer.

We are presently asking for recommendations for membership on this committee and would appreciate you forwarding the name or names of anyone in your area whom you would think could serve on such a committee.

Your co-operation in an early reply would be much appreciated.

Yours truly,

H.S.Inskip, Secretary-Treasurer"⁶⁸

The Division also solicited names for members from the Department of Health, Welfare, Public Works, and Northern Affairs. Those selected by Jasper were then referred to the Minister who appointed them. The following letter is typical of appointment letters to either community members or civil servants:

"Mr. Cec. Smith,
Northern Co-ordinator,
Department of Urban Affairs,
27 Selkirk Drive,
Thompson, Manitoba

October 10, 1968.

Dear Mr. Smith:

Two years ago it was decided to establish an Advisory Committee for the Frontier School Division, the duties

of which are as follows:

1. To consider generally what is being done in the Division and to give advice.
2. To receive reports from the administrative staff of the Division and to advise on matters of policy.
3. To act as liaison between the Division administration and the various northern communities within the Division.
4. To deal with such other matters that may be referred to it by the Minister or his senior officials.

The Committee includes representatives of the Departments of Health, Welfare, and Public Works, and five citizen members who are resident within the Division area. The Official Trustee of the Frontier School Division, the Assistant Official Trustee and the Principal of the School itself, are ex-officio members. Because of the active involvement of Northern Affairs in the development of the North, it would seem appropriate that this branch should be represented in our Advisory Committee. Your name has been suggested to me and I have obtained concurrence from Mr. J. M. D. MacDonald. I am pleased, therefore, to appoint you to the Committee for a two-year term expiring on December 31, 1969.

Sincerely yours,

Donald W. Craik

c.c. Mr. J.M.D. MacDonald
Mr. K.R. Jasper

"69

The nature of the relationship of the advisory committee to the Division and vice versa is clear from this correspondence. The Division committee was not composed of persons residing in the community as the legislation demanded but rather a mixture of local residents and civil servants. The Committee was selected entirely by Division personnel (principals, Secretary-Treasurer, Official Trustee) or civil servants in other departments. It is also clear from the terms of reference of the committee, outlined by both Craik and Inskip, that either Jasper or his superiors

determined the agenda for the Committee. The Committee heard of decisions once they had been made and were only peripherally involved in making them.

Local school committees were appointed in some communities during this period. The principal of the school suggested the names of potential members to the Division who in turn appointed members. However, it is clear that for most communities committees did not exist prior to 1970.

A change in school community relationships, 1970-75. In 1969 several forces began to coalesce which forced the Division to place more emphasis on local involvement. First, much of Jasper's first four priorities had been accomplished, consolidations were complete or substantially underway, the building program was progressing rapidly, the Division's administrative structure was in place, and a financing procedure was functioning. Thus, Jasper had time for other concerns. Second, the NDP government was elected in June, 1969 partly on the basis of reform for the north, in particular, greater local autonomy for northern communities. It established a northern task force which held public meetings in most northern communities between October, 1969 and February, 1970. The purpose of this task force was to gather information about the needs and concerns of northern residents on all aspects of their lives, including education. Third, the Division central advisory committee had raised the need for local committees⁷⁰ and there developed in one or two communities a strong voice for more involvement and control. Usually these efforts were spearheaded by

one or two strong-willed individuals. Mrs. D. Beaupre of Gillam is a case in point:

"I had nine kids in school. I wanted more say in what happened to them there. But I really had to force myself on the Division. When I went to visit the Collegiate to report back to parents, I was treated almost like a spy."⁷¹

Fourth, the teaching staff in the Division was becoming stronger and wished a less distant administration. This was particularly so in Cranberry Portage where teachers from the Frontier Collegiate began to dominate the school committee for Cranberry Portage Elementary School. They demanded a much stronger voice in the control and administration of the school. These forces together produced two phenomena: there was an evident need for change and Jasper and his administration became targets of a variety of forces for change.⁷²

Jasper responded in two ways and changes became apparent. His first response, on February 27, 1970, to criticisms of lack of local involvement was made to the northern task force.

"The Frontier School Division recognizes the importance of local involvement in the school situation in its communities. We believe that a considerable degree of local control is essential to an effective educational system.

. . .

We believe that the Government should take whatever steps are necessary as soon as possible to initiate with people concerned, a transfer of local government to elected representatives of school communities.

. . .

The Frontier School Division has, by statute, an appointive advisory committee. Recently we have asked selected communities to recommend appointees to us. We, in turn, pass these recommendations

on to the Minister of Youth and Education. The communities are free to use elections to determine their nominees. Our hope is that if the Minister sees fit to accept the community recommendations the appointments will be both representative of the community and responsible to it.

The Division has tried to establish effective local advisory committees in its communities. We have not been able to grant these committees fiscal responsibilities but we have been and are willing to give them a wide area of important responsibilities.

Many committees have shown little interest in the area of authority discussed with them. We have tried changes. Our aim recently has been to have the committees set out their own responsibilities but there has been rather little positive reaction.

This is an area which is causing us some concern and we are anxious to cooperate with the Government in seeking a remedy to this situation.

It may be that fiscal authority and responsibility are necessary to any useful involvement by our communities in the affairs of their schools. I think however, that the problem of getting useful involvement is so complex that it does not hinge on the presence or absence of financial control."⁷³

Jasper, by his statement, was obviously looking for direction from the government and indicating that it was, in his view, their responsibility to transfer control to local authorities. He also indicates that communities may elect persons who then would be recommended to the Minister for appointment to the Central Advisory Committee. He indicates the difficulties he perceived in the establishment of local committees.

Finally, he raises the spectre of fiscal responsibility and authority as being an unresolved issue.

As a second response, in February, 1971, Jasper appointed a Secretary to the Central Advisory Committee. Lee Heroux had grown up in Duck Bay and was a graduate of Frontier Collegiate Institute. Jasper sent the following notice to all schools, in September 1971:

"In February, 1971, a Secretary was hired for the Frontier Advisory Committee. His initial task was to implement a plan to reorganize the (Central) Advisory Committee.

In order that all schools in the Division have equal representation on the Advisory Committee, the two existing Areas (I & II) became part of the seven regions, with each region being as well balanced as possible according to population.

The first step to this task was begun by conducting meetings with community residents in each locale where we had a school. At these meetings, through a DEMOCRATIC (sic) process, elections were held; thus a local School Committee was formed.

Within each region, each School Committee was asked to elect a representative to attend a regional meeting, where the regional representatives, amongst themselves, elected one person who then became the Advisory Committee member for that region.

A Constitution and set of By-Laws for local School Committees has been drafted, and final approval is expected at the next Advisory Committee meeting."⁷⁴

Thus Jasper ordered the establishment of local school committees and the election of all members.

The original terms of reference for these school committees are not available. However, Jasper's June, 1973 report to the Minister indicates the duties undertaken by school committees.

"Community Involvement and Participation

Community involvement and participation in the operation of Frontier division schools is considered vital. Accordingly, school committee involvement in recruitment, orientation, programing, and decision-making in other areas was increased in 1972-73.

In at least ten communities school committees had a direct involvement in selecting candidates to fill vacant teaching positions. In all cases where teacher aides were hired the school committee played a key role in making the decision, and in a number of cases the school committee influenced decisions to retain teachers. In five communities grade nine was introduced in response to a request from the school committee.

To increase the potential for meaningful involvement in the school operation, school committees were provided with a grant ranging from \$200 to \$1,000, depending upon school enrolment. School committees were involved to a greater or lesser extent in planning new schools and school additions; communities were involved in curriculum enrichment endeavours as well as in local orientation for teachers."⁷⁵

The language of the Annual Report could be interpreted in a variety of ways. However, the following 1972 draft of 'suggested duties for local committees' is more indicative of the level of involvement of local communities.

"Suggested Duties for Local Committees

NOTE: Not all of the following responsibilities need be adopted by any School Committee, on the other hand, the list of responsibilities may be extended upon consultation with the Official Trustee.

1. Budgeting: Local Committees may wish to develop a concern and to become informed about budgeting for their school. Should this be the case, principals would discuss the local school supply budget with the Committee.

2. Teacher Aides: The School Committee would make recommendations regarding the hiring and retention of teacher aides where such positions have been established by the Official Trustee.

3. Nurseries: The approval of the School Committee would be required before nurseries were introduced. The School Committee responsibility would involve informing the community about the need for nursery school and the Committee would encourage and support good attendance.

4. Grade Nine Classes: The School Committee would be consulted before a high school class was established in the community.

5. Playground Equipment: The School Committee would assist in the preparation of the local school budget for playground equipment.

6. Support Staff (Janitors, Bus Drivers, etc.): The School Committee would consider applications and make recommendations on the hiring and retention of school support staff.

7. Educational tours: The School Committee would be consulted by the principal regarding any proposed educational tours, and the final detailed plans would require the School Committee's written approval.

8. Sports Events: The School Committee would have the responsibility of approving trips to other schools for sports events.

9. Pupil Transportation: The School Committee would advise and report on the suitability and effectiveness of pupil transportation.

10. Raising of Funds: The School Committee would raise funds for school programs not provided for in the school budget. Such programs might include educational tours, trips to sports events, lunch programs and provision of equipment for the schools.

11. Physical Hazards and Other Elements of School Operation: The School Committee would consult with the principal and might report to the District Superintendent any conditions or situations which, in its view, required change.

12. School Attendance: The School Committee would use its influence to improve school attendance.

13. Public Relations: The School Committee would consult with the principal and make recommendations with respect to local school policies and practices that affect public relations.

14. Suspension and Expulsion of Students: The School Committee would be advised by the principal when a student was suspended. Similarly, the School Committee would be advised regarding a recommendation for expulsion.

15. Tenure of teachers: The School Committee would make recommendations relating to retention of teachers. Any recommendations made would be forwarded, in writing, to the District Superintendent before the end of April in each school year.

16. Orientation: The School Committee would cooperate with the principal and teachers in setting up and carrying out a yearly program that would foster a friendly and cooperative relationship between the teaching staff and the community.

17. School Programs: The School Committee would discuss with the teaching staff ways in which the school program might be changed to better meet the needs of the community. The teaching of arts, crafts and other local skills might be encouraged through the joint efforts of the teaching staff and the School Committee.

18. Visits between the Home and School: The School Committee would encourage and arrange visits by parents to the school and by teachers to the homes.

19. Community Use of School Facilities: The School Committee would approve such use of school facilities as are made after regular school hours or after school programs have been completed."⁷⁶

It is quite clear that through the consistent use of 'may' and 'would' that all decision-making power remains with the Division (Jasper).

Nevertheless, for the first time since 1965, community residents had some involvement in the operation of their schools.

Pressure for more local control. In 1971 a particularly vocal and active school committee was elected for the elementary school in Cranberry Portage. The committee began to actively campaign for more 'local control' and 'local autonomy'. Its members complained vigorously in

1971 and 1972 that they were not involved in personnel selection (and release) and budget. A series of letters were sent to the Minister, the Deputy Minister and the Official Trustee.⁷⁷ Jasper received the following directive from the Minister of Education Ben Hanuschak on December 4, 1972:

"Last spring, the Cranberry Portage School Committee requested that it be allowed to become directly involved with the District Superintendent in the hiring and firing of teachers at the Cranberry Portage Elementary School.

I believe at that time, I had indicated my reluctance to move on this matter. I am wondering if it is not possible to draft some Terms of Reference for their involvement in such a way as to make them feel part of the teacher recruitment process but at the same time in no way eroding your authority.

I would appreciate your comments."⁷⁸

Hanuschak's position is surely one of tokenism and ironic when received from a minister of a government elected and pledged to increased local autonomy in the north.

The Committee continued its petitioning for more control.

Jasper responded to its letters as follows:

"...I would like to give the Advisory Committee at Cranberry Portage whatever involvement is within my power to give under existing legislation. Further than that we would have to go to the Minister, and probably to the legislature for legislation change."⁷⁹

The Committee with the assistance from a variety of sources including the local M.L.A. Tom Barrow and Department of Education Director of Planning and Research, Dr. Lionel Orlikow planned a town hall meeting for January, 1973. It was attended by Jasper, Orlikow, Barrow, the School Committee and a variety of townspeople. The majority of those

attending were teachers from both schools. Only one or two members of the Metis community which makes up one-half of the population of Cranberry Portage attended. There was little resolution arising out of the meeting other than a further statement by the committee of a desire for more local control and a statement to them by Jasper that they perhaps were not representative of the whole community.^{80,81}

Letters and meetings continued throughout the winter of 1973. The terms of reference for school committees did not change. However, at least in the case of Cranberry Portage there was a change in practice. On June 12, 1973 Jasper appointed a teacher as recommended by the Cranberry Portage School Committee.⁸²

There were other pressures evident at this time as well. The National Indian Brotherhood in 1972 had published a position paper calling for the control of Indian education by Indian people.⁸³ This position was supported by the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood. The Manitoba Metis Federation, in 1972 as well, published a document calling for increased involvement of Metis persons in the education of their children.⁸⁴ These groups pressured governments and the Division for action.

The Cranberry Portage situation produced an interesting result. The Minister asked the Central Advisory Committee to study and recommend to him the desired levels of local control or autonomy in the communities of the Division. The Committee began the task in March, 1973 and submitted its report in December, 1974. The Minister replied in May, 1975 indicating that committees could on their own initiative choose one of six alternative levels of local control ranging from the

existing system to full control. It was left to each community, however, to initiate whatever action necessary to change the situation in any particular community, which effectively stopped any collective action. To the Committee members this was an unsatisfactory, and much delayed response. The most significant development was that a study of the school system was undertaken and carried out by community members.⁸⁵

There is other evidence of change in the relation between the Division and its communities. A study of joint agreements completed between 1969 and 1975 indicated an increased level of community involvement. The 1969 agreement with respect to Norway House cited earlier required no involvement from local people. However, an October 1973 agreement between Canada and Manitoba with respect to Wanipigow required the signature of the Chief of the Hollow Water Band to acknowledge that he understood the nature of the project.⁸⁶ This is not a significant change but nevertheless is indicative of some shift. Developments were occurring more quickly for non-status people. The NDP government had instituted community councils in most northern settlements. A 1975 agreement to build a gymnasium at Pine Dock was signed equally by the Pine Dock Community Council, the Province and Frontier School Division.⁸⁷ During this critical period there was concrete evidence of increased power by communities in determining what happened in their midst. It is only fair to indicate, however, that the vast majority of real powers in these settlements rested with the provincial and federal governments.

A critical sidelight. There was between 1970 and 1975 a development within the Department of Education which was critical to Frontier

School Division. As this writer has documented there was, during this period, a decided split within the civil servants in the Department of Education. One group was identified with the previous Roblin Conservative government, having largely been appointed during that time. The 'leader' of this faction was R. W. Dalton, first Associate Deputy Minister, then Deputy Minister during this time period. This group generally wished to maintain existing systems and opted for slow, moderate change. Civil servants within this group were reactive in response to new situations and generally used existing legislation as their base for operation. Kenn Jasper, who reported to Bob Dalton, belonged to this group. The other faction was identified with Dr. Lionel Orlikow who successively was Director of Planning and Research, Assistant Deputy Minister, Associate Deputy Minister and Deputy Minister during this time. Orlikow and those who identified with him were pro-active; they either promoted new educational ideas or political ideology or both. They openly bypassed the bureaucratic hierarchy which the other group insisted on using. There was open fragmentation in the Department and a definite 'we-they' atmosphere.⁸⁸

This atmosphere was critical to Frontier in that it and Jasper became a target for the changes advocated by Orlikow and others. It explains in part Orlikow's involvement with the Cranberry Portage situation. It was particularly critical later when Orlikow became Official Trustee. Suffice it to say, at this point, that Kenn Jasper faced constant pressure to change from this faction of the Department and constant support from Dalton's group during the early 1970's. He

states: "The support I received from Bob Dalton never wavered."⁸⁹

A changed role for school committees. As a result of his own sense of the Division's development and these pressures, Jasper slowly involved school committees in more responsibility. The following 1975 draft local school advisory committee duties is indicative of these changes.

"SOME DUTIES WHICH THE LOCAL SCHOOL ADVISORY COMMITTEE
MAY ADOPT. APRIL 10, 1975.

The following list of duties which school committees may adopt can be extended. Not all of them need to be adopted in any one school community. Duties now being adopted are indicated with (YES).

1. BUDGETTING: Principals shall discuss with the local school committee any budget recommendations submitted to the Division. This will ensure that the needs which the school committee identifies can receive consideration at budget time.
2. TEACHER AIDES: After consulting with the principal on the function of the teacher aide, the school committee may recommend the hiring of the successful applicant. (i.e., assuming the budget provides for one)
3. NURSERIES: Nurseries shall not be introduced except with the approval of the school committee. The school committee will inform the community on the need for such a program and do the selling job. (YES)
4. COMMITTEE SHALL ADVISE ON:
 - a) The establishing of local Grade IX classes
 - b) The provision of playground equipment; and
 - c) The hiring of local support staff (janitors, etc.) (YES)
5. EDUCATIONAL TOURS: The school committee shall be consulted on educational tours and the final detailed plans shall have the written approval of the school committee. (YES)
6. SPORTS EVENTS: Trips to other schools for competitive sports must have the approval of the school committee. (YES)

7. The School committee may raise funds for programs for which the school budget does not make provision. These may include educational tours and other trips, hot lunch programs and specific equipment for the school.

8. The school committee shall advise on pupil transportation and shall be consulted before decisions are made. (YES)

9. The school committee shall periodically check the school premises for any hazards. If the removal of such hazards is not within the means of the school committee, it shall notify the district superintendent. (YES)

10. The school committee shall report to the district superintendent any situation in the school which it considers detrimental to the proper operation of the school.

11. SCHOOL ATTENDANCE: The school committee shall use its influence to improve school attendance. It may recommend the appointment of an attendance officer and may nominate the person to be appointed. (YES)

12. The school committee shall be consulted on local school policies and practices that affect public relations. (YES)

13. The school committee shall be advised by the principal when a pupil is suspended and its concurrence shall be sought prior to any recommendation for expulsion.

14. The school committee may make recommendations relating to the tenure of teachers and shall make such recommendations before the end of April of each school year to the district superintendent. (YES)

15. The school committee shall assume some responsibility for the welcoming of new teachers and shall assist them to establish good relations with the community. This assistance shall include some formal and/or informal orientation.

16. The school committee shall explore with the principal ways in which the school program can be changed to satisfy specific wishes of the community. This may

for example, include arranging for members of the community to visit classes for the purpose of introducing some native culture. (YES)

17. The school committee shall encourage and arrange visits of parents to the school and of teachers to the homes.

18. COMMUNITY USE OF SCHOOL FACILITIES: The School Committee shall explore with the principal ways in which members of the community can profitably make use of some of the school facilities without interfering with the school program. (YES)

19. The School Committee shall continually explore new areas for participation and examine whether participation in areas set out above is satisfactory. (YES)⁹⁰

Although it is still quite clear that the Division (Jasper) retained basic authority, increased involvement of school committees is evident. This statement makes use of 'shall' and 'must' more often than before and to a lesser degree uses 'would' and 'may'.

Several developments occurred in relations between the Division and the communities between 1965 and 1975. There was a Division appointed central committee with a significant proportion of civil servants between 1965 and 1970. In 1971 the central committee and local committees were elected for the first time. Continuing pressure slowly increased the involvement of communities in school affairs; however, much of the pressure for change came from white southern teachers in Cranberry Portage, rather than community members. Generally, Jasper and the Division became a target for change. In 1965 community members had no voice in school affairs. In 1975 although their involvement did not approach control, community members did have important input. However, most significantly, throughout his entire tenure, Kenn Jasper lived up

to the legislation establishing his position and essentially maintained absolute control.

A Summary of the Jasper Years

What happened within Frontier School Division in its first decade? What, in particular, did Kenn Jasper accomplish? And what factors caused events to develop as they did?

The Division evolved from a varied collection of jurisdictions into one administrative unit. There was extensive consolidation of small schools into larger units. Secondary education was begun, consolidated and later, in many situations, returned at least in part to the communities. A larger than normal administrative structure was developed to oversee and support the organization. A massive and unique building program was undertaken and completed producing new schools and teacherages in virtually all communities. A regularized, uniform and almost unique system of funding was developed to ensure financial stability. Teaching and non-teaching staff were vastly improved. There were beginning efforts made to establish curricula which were more relevant to Division students. There was the removal of virtually all community input followed by the return of some level of involvement.

Characteristic of all developments was the retention by Kenn Jasper of all decision-making power.

There are a variety of reasons why this development took place in the way that it did and the following are the most critical reasons. Scott Bateman, Bernard Grafton and C. K. Rogers had laid a solid foundation. Although Jasper and his colleagues had much to do with

directions taken, the way had certainly been cleared for them. Kenn Jasper determined his priorities and carried them out. He received support and guidance from important civil servants. Although there was certainly friction between the NDP government and Jasper, the government supported continued development in the north. Under legislation (The Northern Affairs' Act), non-status communities in the north began to have a greater input into the conduct of their communities. A few strong voices from the community level exerted a great deal of pressure on the Division.

The following are the most discernable and consistent developments and causal factors which carried over from earlier years. Education in the north continued toward higher levels of centralization. Important developments often came about as the result of action by one or several strong individuals. The remote settlements continued to receive special financial considerations. Despite the emphasis by government to increase community power, the decline of community responsibility, control and input in terms of education continued.

Regardless of the above, Kenn Jasper accomplished an incredible amount. More than any other individual he was responsible for the actualizing of the dreams of Bateman, Grafton, Rogers and no doubt, countless northerners. The development of Frontier School Division is a tribute to Jasper.

When Kenn Jasper retired in October, 1975 he had completed the centralization process begun by C. K. Rogers. Frontier School Division became a large, modern, well-run school system in ten years, following

a half century of chaos and fifteen years of pioneering effort by Grafton and Bateman.

Jasper Retires and a Controversial
Successor is Appointed

In the autumn of 1975 Kenn Jasper decided to retire effective October 31st of that year. He had reached sixty years of age, had ample years of service for pension and felt he had accomplished his task. His mentor and compatriot Dalton had retired in late 1974 and he simply felt it was time to go. There were a series of incidents surrounding his retirement which are indicative of the state of affairs between the Division, the Department and the Government at that time.

October 31, 1975 was a Friday and Jasper's last day of work. He was asked late that morning to meet the Minister at the legislature for what would be his one and only consultation about his successor. He returned to his office in mid afternoon and assembled his staff. He informed them that the Minister had thanked him and would on Jasper's suggestion appoint Jasper's Assistant Official Trustee, Abram Bergen as Acting Official Trustee effective November 1, 1975. Jasper, Bergen and McCormick (Secretary-Treasurer) spent the remainder of the day discussing the succession.^{91,92}

On Monday morning, November 3, 1975, Bergen and McCormick were meeting to discuss imminent concerns of the Division and to establish priorities for action. In mid-morning Bergen took a phone call in McCormick's presence, from Deputy Minister Orlikow's secretary. He was informed that Orlikow wished to meet with him that afternoon because

Minister Hanuschak had appointed Orlikow as Acting Official Trustee that morning. A meeting with Orlikow that afternoon confirmed for Bergen and McCormick that Orlikow had indeed been appointed and did not provide explanation.⁹³

Needless to say, Bergen, McCormick and others were shocked by this sudden change of events if not duplicity on the Minister's part. It did not provide for a positive beginning to Orlikow's tenure as Official Trustee which is detailed in the next section of this chapter. It is stark evidence of the nature of the relations of the Division to Government to say nothing of a lesson in human relations.

1975-76: Lionel Orlikow: An Important Interregnum

As indicated earlier, the Minister appointed Deputy Minister Orlikow as Acting Official Trustee of Frontier School Division on November 3, 1975. He was to carry out the duties of Official Trustee in addition to those of Deputy Minister, until a successor to Jasper was chosen which was expected in early 1976. Orlikow recalls:

"The Minister called me over to the legislature late on October 31st and informed me that I was to be acting Official Trustee. My mandate, such as it was, was maintenance, there was to be no real change in direction."⁹⁴

He met with Bergen and McCormick on November 3, 1975. He informed them that he had indeed been appointed, that he had not solicited the job and that he had one-half day per week to devote to it. Thus Orlikow's appointment was seen as transitional. However, this transition time which lasted seven months until the appointment of J. L. Handley on

May 1, 1976 was critical in the development of Frontier School Division.

The Minister had not given Orlikow a mandate to change the Division; rather, his task was one of maintenance. Orlikow now feels that

"any oblique direction toward change came from the northern M.L.A.'s. They wished to have increased local control. However, they never defined what local control was."⁹⁵

Orlikow, as indicated earlier was identified with a faction within the Department of Education which were pro active and opposed to the group with which Jasper and Dalton had been identified. He states:

"My assumption was that Dalton and Jasper ran the Division and that when they left there would be a high level of panic and no direction. So I felt it absolutely critical for the internal people to feel part of the action. We had to find out where the people were at and start from there. And the issue of local control needed to be tackled."⁹⁶

Orlikow responded in four ways: a 'management team' administration, a study of educational needs, a study of administrative procedures, and action on local control.

The Management Team

At his first and subsequent meetings with Bergen and McCormick, Orlikow introduced the concept of a team management administration for the day to day running of the Division. This team was composed of the Assistant Official Trustee and Field Superintendent (Bergen), the Secretary-Treasurer (McCormick) and the four Area Superintendents, a representative of Division principals and a person from the Deputy

Minister's office designated by Orlikow. Major policy decisions would be made by Orlikow in conjunction with this group.^{97,98} This concept, Orlikow felt, would allow these administrators greater involvement than they had previously and allow him to attend to his major role, that of Deputy Minister. The concept, for reasons discussed later, had mixed success.

The Minnesota Study and Report

Orlikow commissioned in November, 1975, the Minnesota Center for Social Research at the University of Minnesota, under the leadership of Michael Q. Patton, to conduct a study of the educational needs of Frontier School Division. The research group met with the Frontier School Division management team in January, 1976, and in Orlikow's view:

"convinced them that a sound external evaluation was a positive step which would help them."⁹⁹

The research group conducted its research in February, and reported to the Division in March, 1976.¹⁰⁰ The primary purposes of the study were:

- "1) To stimulate self-evaluation, and program innovation by Frontier staff as a consequence of participating in the study.
- 2) To provide systematic information on the perceptions, needs, attitudes, behaviours, and capabilities of principals, teachers, and aides so as to enhance program planning and implementation in Frontier School Division."¹⁰¹

The Minnesota group, after interviewing the Management Team, interviewed all principals and approximately three teachers or aides in each of twenty-two of Frontier's communities. Interview data were processed

to determine major themes and recommendations.¹⁰² The bias of the study according to Patton was "Toward change and improvement, an emphasis on the identification of problems and suggestions for change."¹⁰³

On completion of the study, the report was presented to Orlikow, the Management Team and distributed to all schools. The chief conclusion and recommendation was this:

"...the need for a Division direction and philosophy. At present the Division appears to operate on something of a crisis basis, handling individual problems as they arise, oiling squeaky wheels when the noise gets too loud, and generally reacting in a piecemeal fashion to the diversity of issues facing the Division. There is little real long-range programming or planning."¹⁰⁴

Specific conclusions and recommendations included:

"The Division should begin more systematic program development and staff development efforts, particularly in language arts.

. . .

Teacher recruitment efforts should be greatly intensified. Quality teachers are the backbone of any educational system. Principals would like to have more input into the hiring of teachers.

. . .

New teachers and principals should be given a thorough and relevant orientation to prepare them for the particular conditions of working in Frontier.

. . .

There is a need for Division direction and clarification of such issues as (1) how to meet the needs of individual students, (2) how to meet the needs of local communities, and (3) what is the meaning of "Native Education".

. . .

A thorough review of the relationships/interactions among teachers, principals, and area superintendents is needed for the purpose of improving these relationships and increasing the amount of direct, personal contact that occurs.

. . .

The Division should identify a theme that would serve to focus program and staff development efforts while providing a basic thrust for Division activities during the next year or two.

. . .

Principals want a review of administrative procedures aimed at reducing irrelevant paperwork, inefficient procedures, and "administrivia".

. . .

Both teachers and principals support decentralization of decision-making and clarification of decision-making responsibilities."¹⁰⁵

There were no conclusions or recommendations concerning buildings or finance and only one minor one with respect to administration, which called for improvements in the ordering of teaching supplies.

Several conclusions from Patton's study are relevant to this one. Teachers, aides and principals were obviously satisfied with those areas that Jasper had most emphasized, organization, administration, buildings and finance. They were less satisfied with the quality of teachers and much less with the relevance of program. They were particularly concerned with what they viewed as a dearth of educational leadership as opposed to administrative leadership. They wanted more educational leadership and direction and more involvement in both the setting and implementing of that direction.

The Patton study team did not interview members of the Central Advisory Committee or any other community persons. Its views were strictly those of professional people, although virtually all aides were native people from the settlements in which they worked. This stance was taken because Orlikow felt that one part of local control was increased involvement by local professionals and that a later strategy would increase lay input.¹⁰⁶

The Patton study was significant in three ways. First, it was an external study by researchers who were not part of the Manitoba educational establishment. All previous evaluations had been by Division staff or Department of Education school inspectors. Second, it gave teachers, principals and administrators an important opportunity for anonymous opinions on their Division and an opportunity to feel, in Orlikow's term, 'part of the action'. Third, it provided valuable data about the Division, its staff, and the incoming Official Trustee.

The MacGillivray Report

Orlikow, in April 1976, commissioned a study of the administrative function of the Division. Orlikow wanted to know if the administrative wing could be more efficient and decentralized. The study was conducted by a management consulting firm, H. V. Chapman and Associates of Winnipeg, and was headed by J. S. MacGillivray, a consultant with the firm. This study was to ascertain:

- "1) savings that could be made in the operation of the Division by elimination of duplication;

- 2) organization and personnel changes that could be made to increase effectiveness of the Division;
- 3) administrative procedural changes that could be effected, and
- 4) facility planning and maintenance improvements that could be made."¹⁰⁷

It was also "to consider the implications of decentralization into local control".¹⁰⁸ MacGillivray interviewed the four Area Superintendents, all central office staff which included the Secretary-Treasurer and the Field Superintendent, and several representatives from Orlikow's office. His report was commissioned, undertaken, completed and reported during the month of April, 1976.

MacGillivray concluded that there was no lack of efficiency, little if any duplication and few improvements to be made in administration, facility planning and maintenance.¹⁰⁹ The majority of the report centered on the issue of decentralization and local control, which was only part of the mandate which Orlikow gave to MacGillivray. The report did not suggest decentralization toward local control, rather it essentially suggested maintaining and making more effective the current system.

"The consideration of decentralization of activities of the Division we understood is in response to the request of local communities for control of the running of the education in their area. We understand the Minister of Education has concurred with this.

There are many ramifications to this concept, all or some of which do not apply in each community.

These ramifications include consideration of the prime objective of the Division - that of providing a relevant and high level of education throughout the Province. The question to be asked is "How will local control enhance this objective?" In our opinion it

will not enhance it and in all likelihood will denigrate from this objective because of the inexperience of the local citizenry (for the most part) in administering a complex operation.

The question of motivation of the local citizenry to do a good job in running an educational operation must also be considered. They have no financial commitment or obligation at the present time and until or unless a use or head tax or tax base is established a high level of motivation will not exist."¹¹⁰

Further:

"Local input into the decisions made respecting the Division's local operations is totally different from local control. This input should and must be encouraged. This is the first step in a long process of permitting local control.

The program proposed in this report, we believe, will enhance this local input, but where alternatives are apparent a final authority in the Division should have the right of decision, at this time. Better communication between the Division and the local committee is essential or there will be increasing demands for local control when the expertise is not yet available."¹¹¹

MacGillivray's recommendations were:

"Generally, we feel that over a protracted period decentralization can evolve, in most respects. However, premature moves without due consideration and development of expertise at the local level could result in failure. This, in turn, would inhibit further decentralization. The Department has recognized this.

In contemplation of decentralization we feel the initial step would be to increase local input into the Division activities. We visualize this occurring in the following areas:

- 1) the selection and induction of new teaching and support staff in the area.

- 2) the development of budgets and long term plans.
- 3) the development of local or pertinent educational programs.
- 4) the consideration of changes in the support functions which will affect the local students.

With increased local input will be developed understanding of how things should be done. The succeeding steps of evolvment would then be:

- 1) Complete local control of repairing and maintenance and minor capital projects, with input into major capital requirements.
- 2) Local control of transportation.

The local control of financing should not be granted in our opinion until the local residents have a financial commitment or contribution into local costs. Without some contribution towards costs the commitment to economize will at least only be token."¹¹²

MacGillivray, having concluded that the existing administrative operation was sound and that local control ought to be well into the future, then supported the findings of the Minnesota Report. He stated:

"Prime emphasis has to be placed on the school curricula, the level and type of teaching and the calibre of teaching staff to effect this. This is the educational function."¹¹³

"Within the Division itself there should be a re-emphasis on the educational function and the planning thereof by the new Official Trustee. One of his major tasks should be to strengthen and direct the Area Superintendents in the provision of increased contact with the teachers, principals and local School Committees. Through them and this increased contact, there will be an increase in local input into decisions affecting area schools. This in turn, can and should lead to a gradual and effective transition into local autonomy."¹¹⁴

MacGillivray's report was presented to Orlikow and the Management Team.

The results of MacGillivray's study were greeted with mixed

response. Those who felt the administrative function to be 'fat' and advocates of a quick transfer to local control were deflated. This group included, according to McCormick, Orlikow and some of his staff. Those on the opposite side of the issue, Bergen, McCormick and others, who had designed the administrative system, were correspondingly elated. The Area Superintendents were again admonished to spend more time on educational issues and less on administration. Perhaps most significant in MacGillivray's report was its general endorsement of slow, gradual well rehearsed change. A skeptic might view it as a recommendation for no change whatsoever.

MacGillivray's results must be assessed in light of the fact that he did not interview any of the advisory committees or any other community persons. His conclusions were based entirely on the opinions of professionals.

However, MacGillivray's report did uncover a most serious difficulty faced by the Division at that time.

"In the conduct of this study it became very apparant that the staff of the Frontier School Division were under considerable duress. An extreme fear exists in the staff that they are about to lose their jobs. This fear had to be overcome in order to get their co-operation and in this we believe we were successful."¹¹⁵

MacGillivray in the opinion of several of those who worked with the Division at that time was, if anything, understating the case.^{116,117}

The duress and extreme fear stated by MacGillivray had several sources. Senior division officials were afraid, with or without justification, that Orlikow was out to get them and unease spread to other

staff. Two major studies of a type not previously undertaken had unnerved people. Jasper had provided a secure buffer between Division employees and government. There was rather constant rumour and some action that Orlikow and his Assistant Deputy Minister Reeve Cramer were going to dismiss or demote many civil servants who had been part of the Dalton faction. A serious rift developed in the management team. The four Area Superintendents were aligned against the Field Superintendent, the Secretary-Treasurer, and the Planning Officer. Beyond early January, 1976, there was no effective functioning of the team. The dispute was based on a lack of trust and a jockeying for power. This rift was obvious to other staff and increased the unease.¹¹⁸

As a result there was little or no change in the main areas of Division responsibility during this time period. There were no significant changes in personnel, curricula, buildings, administrative procedures or finance. It was rather a time of introspection and often painful anticipation.

MacGillivray's report was valuable to the Division in several ways. It defined the administrative wing as being sound and in doing so silenced some of the criticism which the Division had been receiving. It made public the degree of unease felt by Division staff. It confirmed Patton's view of a dearth of educational leadership. Its recommendations against 'local control' could be viewed as valuable or harmful, depending upon the bias of the observer. Chiefly, the MacGillivray Report lauded the organization and administration of the Division.

Orlikow's Local Control Initiative

The fourth initiative taken by Orlikow was directed specifically at local control. On the suggestion of one of the northern M.L.A.'s a Coordinator of Local Control was hired. The purpose of this position was to work with communities who wished to exercise one of the six options under the Minister's 1975 plan following the Central Advisory Committee's 1974 report. Communities, who wished to, would study local control and decide what level of control they wished. It is Orlikow's feeling now, and supported by the Minister's 1974 memo to Jasper, that there was no real intent by the government toward local control. He also feels that both he and the Coordinator were not directive enough on the local control issue and thus very little was accomplished.¹¹⁹ But little was accomplished for another reason as the appointment took place between the time Orlikow's replacement was appointed and the time he assumed his position. This period for Division employees was a 'holding pattern' until the new Official Trustee provided direction.

As MacGillivray's report indicated and as those interviewed confirmed, it was a seriously split, demoralized and unorganized staff that awaited its new Official Trustee. The Minister appointed Joseph L. Handley as Official Trustee in mid-February, 1976. Handley was to assume his new position on May 1, 1976.

A Summary of Orlikow's Contributions

The Orlikow tenure as Official Trustee has several important

features but the legacy is difficult to assess. Certainly, the molds and patterns of previous years had been seriously shaken and any complacency which may have set in under Jasper was certainly destroyed at the senior staff and central support staff level. The studies and the management team concept had disrupted the manner in which the Division had previously operated.

Principals, teachers and aides clearly sought some new program directions for the Division. Jasper had not, by his own admission, stressed program development. The studies, which Orlikow commissioned, indicated a strongly perceived need for program improvement.

There was also clear evidence from the studies, that in the opinion of the professionals, Jasper had done his job very well. There were no data indicating concerns related to administration, buildings or finance. In fact, there was evidence that too much time was spent in these areas at the expense of educational leadership.

There was a clear statement by the professionals that decision-making ought to be decentralized. Decentralization meant to the respondents more power to the Area Superintendents and to principals, to ensure increased local decision-making.

One pattern which was not broken was the level of involvement of local persons. Although the studies Orlikow commissioned each related to local people and the education of their children, community members were not directly involved in the research. Rather, profes-

sionals continued to decide what was best for community members in terms of education.

Perhaps Orlikow's most significant contribution was that he had shaken the status quo in preparation for a new administration. A new administrator might find such ground to be fertile for new initiatives or conversely as too rocky to till productively. The next section details the hopes and accomplishments of Joe Handley as well as the history of Frontier School Division between 1976 and 1979.

1976-79: Joseph L. Handley:
Changes in Emphasis

Joe Handley became Official Trustee and Superintendent on May 1, 1976 with a different purpose than his predecessors. His task was to take over an existing school division and provide it with new leadership and direction. Jasper had built the Division, leaving behind a functioning organization, with new schools, an improved staff and secure financing. Orlikow had rattled whatever complacency existed and commissioned studies which provided the Division with a look at itself. Particularly in contrast to Kenn Jasper, Handley faced a different set of needs and concerns.

Handley brought to his job a background in many ways different from Jasper. He was a Metis and thus viewed the issues and concerns of native education from a different perspective. He had lived and worked extensively in northern Saskatchewan. His background included experience as a teacher, university instructor and director of a teacher training institution in Africa. He had not risen through the education hierarchy

in Manitoba, but was familiar with it.

He also knew that his task was different from that of his major predecessor, Jasper. Jasper had built the Division and thus Handley had a solid base from which to operate. He did not have to operate in an ad hoc fashion and of importance to the data collection for this study he could take the time to record his directives, goals, objectives and thoughts. Thus this section contains proportionately less interview data.

Handley's Objectives and Philosophy

Handley relied on his own ideas, the Minnesota Report and to a lesser degree the MacGillivray Report to design his objectives. The Minnesota Report was important. As Handley himself has stated, "We've followed it pretty closely."¹²⁰ He agreed with the Minnesota Report that new leadership and direction was needed particularly in program development. He concurred with Patton that communication within the Division needed improvement and that decision-making needed to be decentralized. He agreed with MacGillivray's recommendation for minor administrative changes, but felt his views on local control were much too cautious. In his first month on the job, Handley also visited twelve communities and there met with the school staffs, school committees, local government administrations and community members. Although he did not have a complete view of the Division he felt he had enough to provide some urgently needed direction.¹²¹

The initial leadership taken by Handley was to produce a working paper on his priorities for the Division.¹²² He mailed the paper, attached as Appendix H, with a covering letter to all division staff

and school committee members on May 31, 1976, with the following statement:

"I look forward to your cooperation in designing the most effective, refreshing education system possible within our abilities."¹²³

The working paper outlined the priorities as Handley saw them:

"The goals of the Division aimed at providing a high quality learning program for all pupils can be grouped under three broad categories: administration, communication and program development. All are of equal priority and importance, although it may be necessary to concentrate on some more than others in the immediate future.

Very little can be accomplished in the classrooms of our schools without the backup support of an effective administration. Administration is meant to be supportive and should only be directive in terms of ensuring that the resources available are deployed to the advantage of the majority of the students and/or those with greatest need.

Effective administration is a major goal of myself as Official Trustee and Superintendent.

In any organization in which frequent face-to-face contact among all employees and clients is impossible communication becomes a major concern. It is my intention to develop a higher level of awareness among all staff and school committee members of what are the functions of all individuals and Division programs.

Without a clear conception of what constitutes the Division, it is doubtful that the ultimate goal of providing any effective and high quality program for all learners will be achieved. The goal of increased awareness and efficient, accurate communication is particularly important in light of the interest taken by some communities in the possibility of assuming more local autonomy in education. We must develop more effective means of communication within the Division as well as between the Division and involved individuals and agencies.

School program development and implementation is a third major goal of the Division. Program development and implementation includes both the process of actually preparing and teaching a program as well as recruitment, orientation and inservice training of staff to carry out these functions. Provision of support facilities and materials are a joint responsibility of administration and program development. While program implementation is primarily the responsibility of those who work at the instructional level, they require the support of all staff in the Division and especially the principals, area superintendents, and special service staff (psychologist, reading consultant, school health worker, resources coordinator). As a goal I intend that we work toward a situation one year from now in which principals and area superintendents spend at least seventy-five percent of their time on program development and implementation activities.

Program development and implementation is of particular interest to me and I intend to remain very active in this area. After all, this is what the Division is all about."¹²⁴

Thus Handley declared his position and declared it directly to all staff and school committee members in a way which did not leave room for interpretative confusion as it filtered through the ranks. This action also indicated his willingness to be pro-active, and to provide the direction and leadership that were his mandate. As he has stated, "that working paper became our statement of goals".¹²⁵

Of particular significance was the change in stance taken by Handley over previous administrations. Administration were perceived to be supportive to the educational function rather than the overseer of it. Increased communication, particularly toward community members became a stated goal of the Division. Program development was to be the main focus of Division activities. This was to be operationalized, in

no small way, by an insistence that Area Superintendents and principals spend three quarters of their time on educational leadership issues, and conversely much less time on 'administrivia'.

Handley also included in his working paper the following philosophical statements as background to his priorities, again indicating his willingness to provide leadership. He wrote:

"FRONTIER SCHOOL DIVISION PHILOSOPHY - SOME THOUGHTS

Essentially a philosophy is a statement of basic principles, underlying policies, goals and actions.

First, it is important that as a school division we operate on the assumption that all people directly or indirectly involved in the education of students within our Division are motivated toward providing a service that facilitates achievement of the goals of the Division. To assume otherwise becomes self-defeating and frustrating. Too often confusion and inability are disguised as creativity and creativity is misinterpreted as confusion. Creativity does not preclude planning and organization. As a Division we must encourage creativity but not accept confusion.

Generally our goals in education for the Division must be to provide the student with basic skills, knowledge and attitudes essential for successful adjustment to his immediate and future environment.

School should be a pleasing place to be for both the students and the staff as well as the community. Every person must have more experiences there that make him feel proud, happy, powerful and a part of team than experiences that are neutral, negative, demeaning or isolating or he will leave as soon as he can. School must be a positive extension of the home and larger community.

Finally, as a Division we must return to the parents the pride and responsibility for their children that has been taken away in the past. A first step is to develop an awareness of what is happening to their children in school then be willing and able to hear what they are asking even if it is not written as a

memo or verbally articulated. Positiveness and involvement grow from responsibility. Responsibility is only meaningful if it is founded in accountability. As teachers in Northern communities we must define our tasks as both in-school instruction as assigned and as facilitators of community involvement within parameters determined by the School Act and our own abilities."¹²⁶

Philosophical statements such as these are often made by Divisions and their senior officers. Unique to this statement are the relation of the Frontier Division to the people it serves and particularly the statement referring to the return of responsibility to parents from which it has been taken. This statement is critical to later actions by Handley.

Handley concluded his working paper by setting some operational direction for himself, the staff and the division, during the 1976-77 school year. In selected operational areas the directions Handley favoured were:

"Administration

An external study has been made of the organization and administration of Frontier School Division. Recommendations made by the author of this report will be reviewed and acted upon in light of the current trend toward decentralization and increased local autonomy.

. . . .

Regular meetings of the Official Trustee and Superintendent, the four Area Superintendents and the Secretary-Treasurer will continue to be held for the purpose of coordinating program and policy developments.

. . . .

The Official Trustee and Superintendent will continue to meet regularly with the Central Advisory Committee

made up of representatives of local school committees. This Committee is advisory to the Official Trustee. A gradual move toward involvement of the CAC as advisory in major policy and procedural matters will take place. It is anticipated that routine community concerns can best be handled by Area Superintendents meeting with local school committees.

Communication

An outline of all Frontier School Division departments' goals and activities will be prepared for circulation to all Division staff and school committees.

School staffs are urged to hold information exchange and communication sessions in their communities in order to help communities understand what the school is doing and for the teachers to better understand what the community is doing and requesting.

A Frontier School Division Educational News Bulletin will be prepared and will feature one article each month on an outstanding staff member or educational activity. School Committee news will be covered as well.

Program Development and Implementation

Whenever possible teacher aide positions will be designated as Native teacher training positions (PENT or other alternative programs).

Alternative training programs will be explored as possible means for increasing the number of Native professional and para-professional employees in Frontier School Division.

Community orientation for new staff will become the responsibility of the local school committee, current principal and staff and the Area Superintendent.

Professional development will receive primary direction from the Northern Inservice Committee Frontier representatives and the Frontier Division Association. All professional developments must be within the broader goals of the Division. Area Superintendents will be responsible for providing leadership and advice in planning and conducting professional development activities.

Coordination of program development services available from Frontier School Division, provincial government departments, federal government and private agencies, as well as consultation to teachers, principals and superintendents on program development, will become the major responsibility of a Division staff member.

Area Superintendents will be responsible for providing leadership in development of area and division-wide educational programs as well as local school programs.

Where feasible and possible within budget restrictions communities are encouraged to proceed with plans to develop high school programs.

Development of a design for long-range planning for programs, facilities and administration will be the responsibility of the Division Planning and Personnel Officer to be appointed."¹³⁷

Clearly, Handley was stating that he desired greater educational leadership from within the Division and from the committees. The thrust of the Division was to increase the quality of its service centered around the school program. Later developments demonstrate that this paper became as much of a blueprint for Handley and his staff as Bateman's 'Principles of Operation' did for Jasper.

A statement of goals. Such was Handley's belief in these goals that a synopsis of them is framed and prominently posted in all Division offices, schools, and are part of major division publications.

"
Frontier School Division
STATEMENT OF GOALS

1. It is the purpose of the Division to provide a high quality learning program for all its pupils. Such a program will provide pupils with the basic skills, knowledge and attitudes which are essential to successful adjustment to the immediate and probable future environment.

The Division assumes that the basic skills involved in reading, writing and verbal expression, mathematical computations and thinking will be of value wherever an individual eventually chooses to live.

The Division also assumes that knowledge of the individual's relationship to history and to present-day society, the development of feelings of positive self-awareness and of a sense of responsibility for the well-being of others, are essential outcomes of its educational programs. The Division strives to prepare students for full participation in local, provincial and national affairs.

The Division recognizes the importance of physical development and supports programs emphasizing health, nutrition, physical fitness and participation in recreational and competitive sporting activities.

The Division encourages program adaptations that recognize the needs, interests, history and culture of northern Manitoba and of the particular communities in which the schools are located.

2. It is the intention of the Division that responsibility for the education of pupils should be a cooperative effort between teaching and support staff of the Division, parents and other community members. The effective sharing of ideas and concerns should result in continual improvements to the processes and content of the Division's educational programs.

It is the hope of the Division that teachers will define their tasks as in-school instructors and also as facilitators of community involvement.

3. The Division intends that its schools should be pleasing places for the students, staff and community. Every person should have more experiences there that make him/her feel proud, happy, powerful and a part of a team than experiences that are neutral, negative, demeaning or isolating. School must be a positive extension of the home and of the larger community. The Division encourages community use of school facilities.
4. It is a goal of the Division to provide, within the means available to it, the resources necessary to support a high quality learning program. Specifically, the Division attempts to provide:
 - a) qualified, effective instructional and support staff,
 - b) opportunities for community involvement in the educational process,
 - c) well designed, equipped and maintained educational facilities,
 - d) a safe and effective pupil transportation system,
 - e) guidance and control in respect of the effective use of all resources and
 - f) support and direction for all staff and community persons involved in the operation of the Division.
5. It is a goal of the Division to provide residents of the Division opportunity to participate in the functioning of the Division. Specifically, Division residents are encouraged to participate:
 - a) as members of school committees, area advisory committees or of the Central Advisory Committee, of
 - b) through employment as teachers, teacher aides, administrators, secretaries and other support staff."¹²⁸

It is Handley's contention and supported by others that all major Division decisions are through 1979 made within this framework.¹²⁹

As indicated earlier, later discussion deals with the relative success of the Division in reaching the goals set for it by Handley. Before entering that discussion, it is important to relate a series of developments concerning the senior staff.

A resolution to the senior staff split. Handley inherited a seriously divided senior staff. Within days of issuing his working paper Handley dismissed two senior officers, the Assistant Official Trustee and one of the Area Superintendents. Although long term Division employees, they would not, in Handley's opinion, be positive influences toward new directions for the Division. This action, in the short term, greatly increased the unease on staff. In early June, Handley contracted for a major organizational intervention with the senior staff to be carried out in July and August, 1976. This intervention culminated in a three day intensive encounter group during which the senior staff were able to air differences, resolve them and establish new working relations amongst themselves and as McCormick recalls, "that workshop turned it around for us."¹³⁰ During this time, Handley also began to follow through on his goals by giving Area Superintendents more responsibility, seeking their advice more often and making decisions in concert with them. The result was that by mid September the senior staff was working as a harmonious unit and the effect was rippling throughout the Division.¹³¹

The Minnesota Follow-up Study:
A Measure of Progress

Handley, in mid 1977, began to concern himself with whether the Division was accomplishing the goals and directions that he had set for it a year earlier. In the fall of 1977 he contracted with the Minnesota Center for Social Research to conduct a follow-up to their earlier study. The purpose of the study was to measure improvements in the area which

the 1976 study had determined to be lacking and:

"In particular, this study was to focus on the issue of local involvement, i.e., the relationship between the school and the community."¹³²

The study was headed by Patton in concert with Ronald Geizer.

Similar to the 1976 studies the issue of local control or involvement, was to be addressed: however the methodology of this study was substantially different from that of the 1976 studies. Community persons were to be involved rather than speculated about. The methodology of the study provided for data from three sources. First, a questionnaire was sent to all professional staff. Second, members of the Central Advisory Committee conducted standardized interviews with a large sample of school committee and community members throughout the Division. Third, five communities were studied in greater depth as to their desires for local control. The study was conducted in November, 1977 and reported in January, 1978.

The study reported substantial change in the 18 months since the first Patton Report. Two major conclusions of the follow-up study which have relevance to this one were these:

"1. Frontier is a much changed and much improved Division. The needs assessment study two years ago found a dearth of educational leadership. Teachers and principals felt isolated and unappreciated. Morale was low. There was considerable confusion about goals, policies, expectations, curriculum, and the locus of decision-making responsibility. Teachers and principals expressed considerable dissatisfaction. Now, two years later, the climate is quite different. Teacher morale is high. Principals have a much better sense of their responsibilities and powers. Goals and policies have been codified. A primary school reading curriculum has been established. Communications within the Division are much improved. Teachers

and principals feel like they're part of something; they like teaching in Frontier. There is a sense of progress, of movement, and of accomplishment. Nearly two-thirds of the Frontier teaching staff and three-fourths of the community respondents believe that "during the past two years Frontier School Division has improved in quality." Our own observations fully corroborate that judgment.

There appear to be two major barriers to increased local involvement in the Frontier Division. The first impediment is passive acceptance of the status quo. That is, as long as there is no immediate crisis or overriding necessity for local involvement, the majority of the community members will remain content to allow the school committee and the school staff to run the schools. Given a lack of motivation or reason to participate, it is doubtful that the degree of local involvement will change substantially. Thus, the central objective would seem to be the creation of an atmosphere that encourages and facilitates local participation.

The second major impediment to local involvement appears to be a lack of information about the school on the part of community members. While ultimately it is the responsibility of individuals to obtain whatever information they might want or need, easy access to that information facilitates or enhances the information acquisition process. Underlying all of our recommendations, then, is the assumption that information and understanding are necessary conditions for effective participation in school matters."¹³³

The report also concluded that although there had been considerable improvement in the attention to school programs much work had yet to be done as program remained a central focus of concern for professional staff. In the opinion of those surveyed, Frontier School Division had, obviously, changed dramatically in a positive direction. No doubt much of this had to do with the leadership provided by Handley; however some measure must also be attributed to the chaotic nature of the

Division when he assumed office.

The 1978 Patton study was important to the Division in several respects. First, community persons were an integral part of the evaluation process. Community members had direct input rather than, as in the earlier studies, being speculated about. Second, the report outlined that there was a significant relationship between earlier research and action taken. Third, it provided positive feedback that the efforts of staff were worthwhile, particularly for the educational arm of the Division which had not fared well in the 1976 studies.

The findings of the 1978 study which are significant to this one are related to decision-making. It is quite clear that there was a much clearer delineation of powers and responsibility between 1975 and 1977. There had not been a legal change in terms of the placement of power but lower echelon staff obviously felt more involved. Progress toward local control seemed to be more an issue of overcoming inertia than anything else. If the findings of the study accurately represented the beliefs of Division residents, then, except in situations of crisis, there was a preference for the status quo.

Handley took direct action, based on two areas of concern in the report. He established a curriculum development support staff and gave them the task of producing curricular programs more relevant to the students of the Division. This program has produced since 1976 new curricula in health, elementary social studies, and of particular significance a high school social studies supplement outlining all legislation and governmental structures relating to northern and native communities. He also provided for subject area specialists in each area of the

Division as a support service to teachers. For example, reading specialists have developed and adapted primary and elementary reading programs to better suit the needs of Frontier students. These reading programs have resulted in a significant increase in reading abilities of students across the Division as tested by the Canadian Test of Basic Skills.¹³⁴ There has been since early 1979 a particular emphasis on teaching English as a second language, which has involved the hiring of a consultant, extensive inservice and the redesign of reading programs.

Handley has also emphasized high school programming. In response to needs expressed by the community the Division began construction of a comprehensive high school, offering vocational and academic streams in Norway House in 1979. Frontier Collegiate rebounded in 1979 and 1980 as a more viable high school institution with an increase in resident student population to 175 students. There was no single factor responsible for this resurgence but Handley's continued support of the institution was certainly a positive force.

In another area he tripled (from one to three) the staff of the school community liaison program. These actions again demonstrate Handley's penchant for operationalizing research findings.

Another measure of change. Another measure of Division progress is the opinions of long term staff members. G. K. W. McCormick, currently Secretary-Treasurer and who has served the Division in a variety of administrative posts since 1965, indicates a series of important changes that have occurred during Handley's term. He states:

"The Division is run much more separately from the Department than was the case under Jasper who was and functioned as a civil servant. Handley reports directly to the Minister, despite efforts to change that relationship by some Department of Education personnel.

There is a much more meaningful role established for local school committees and for the Central Advisory Committees.

The Senior Staff (Official Trustee, Area Superintendents and Secretary-Treasurer) has become a strong management team. Although the Official Trustee is still the absolute authority, much more power is delegated.

Specific problem areas are researched, tackled and solved. The Patton report is an important example. It led to a tripling of the amount of time Superintendents spend in schools dealing with educational leadership issues.

There has been a greater increase in emphasis on educational as opposed to administrative issues by Handley. For example, the educational support staff has increased from zero to eleven positions during his tenure, while the administrative support staff has remained the same.

The Division has shifted greatly in function from crisis management to long range planning and direction. All administrators are required to produce yearly management objectives and are evaluated on the basis of fulfilling those objectives."¹³⁵

McCormick also points out that there has been a continuing increase in the number of native teaching and non-teaching staff under Handley.

In 1979, 25% of the school staffs and over 50% of the total Division

staff were native.

Most important, concludes McCormick, is that none of the above improvements have come at the expense of the system built by Jasper, rather they have augmented that system. Indeed, this has probably been possible in large measure because the foundation established by Jasper was there.¹³⁶

Handley's personal assessment. Handley's own comments, at this point, augment those of others. He thinks that the main changes between 1975 and 1979 were these:

"The administration has more long term direction, is less crisis oriented and sees itself as supportive to educational functions rather than as overseers.

. . .

It's a happier Division. Internal politics have dropped - much less suspicion and jealousy. In 1975-76 there was a zeroing in on the people involved in problems, now we solve the problems.

. . .

There is a lot more money spent on program and staff development at the school level.

. . .

There is simply no comparison in terms of community involvement."¹³⁷

With regard to the use of research in the Division, he asserts:

"The Chapman Report confirmed what was being done administratively. I disagreed with its stance on community control.

. . .

The first Minnesota study was important in terms of setting direction. The follow-up measured the changes and we still use it as a basis for establishing priorities. I think we'll have another

study done within a year or else we risk becoming complacent."138

Handley's views on decision-making are particularly apropos to this study. They are:

"Most of the decisions directly affecting schools, staffing, purchasing, transportation, school policy, are made at the school level with more or less involvement from the school committee depending on its level of activity. We (i.e. senior staff) very seldom overrule them.

It's similar at the area level. They make their own decisions. I'm not concerned how they do their job but rather what they accomplish.

. . . .

At the Division level decisions are made by concensus, if the senior staff makes a decision it must be cleared by the Central Advisory Committee before it becomes policy. If the Central Advisory Committee and I decide on a policy we will not proceed without consulting the senior staff.

. . . .

Although I retain absolute legal authority for the Division, I usually only exercise it in a few specific cases. If there is an emergency involving money, usually I'll decide. If my neck is personally on the line I want the power to decide, although that's very rare. I also make most political decisions because I'm closer to it, for example, how to approach government for a new school.

. . . .

People generally have much more autonomy. I suppose some of the old guard might think I've lost control, but I've seen a lot of staff really blossom with the increased responsibility I've given them.

. . . .

We've learned that school committees are not to be feared. They want the same things we do.

. . . .

The decision-making process is a lot more open now. Before I came on Area Superintendents had not seen the entire Division budget before, only their portion. They were amazed. Now they produce the budget and we go over it with the Central Advisory Committee."¹³⁹

Reagan and McCormick readily confirm these views. The decision-making process of the Division is much more open and decentralized. Handley remains the absolute authority and all staff know that, but he accurately claims, "I rarely have to use the clout: given the same information, most people most of the time arrive at the same conclusion."¹⁴⁰

Advisory Committee Power Increases

An important development has been increased parental involvement through an increase in the importance of school committees. A revised and extensive terms of reference was developed in June, 1978, for school committees and is attached as Appendix I. The significant points in these terms of reference include:

"Although final authority for decisions on educational matters rests with the Official Trustee, the Official Trustee is committed to very seriously consider all advice and recommendations presented by school committees.

It is the intention of the Official Trustee that school committees act in essentially the same capacity and with the same procedures as would a duly elected school board in a school district or school division, with the limitation that school committees shall advise and assist rather than make final decisions.

As does a school board, a school committee provides each community with an insight into and a voice in the operation and organization of the schools and also provides an avenue for wider community understanding and participation in the educational process. Should a community or group of communities decide at some time in the future to request permission from the Minister of Education to form a school district the Official Trustee will assist

in training interested community members in school board operations.

Specifically, school committees may choose to provide advice and assistance in any or all of the following areas:

- a) School Policies, Procedures, Programs and Activities
- b) Annual School Budget
- c) School Personnel
- d) Pupil Transportation
- e) School and Community Orientation for New School Staff
- f) Maintenance of School Facilities (including teacherages)
- g) School/Community Liaison
- h) Community Involvement in School Activities "141

As an example of the level of involvement the following outlines the participation by the school committees in personnel selections:

"Responsibilities for school committees choosing to be involved in this area would include:

(i) Approval of the recruitment of all staff. The level of involvement by the school committee shall be determined by discussions among Area Superintendent, principal and the school committee. In granting this approval the school committee shall abide by Frontier School Division recruitment policies, as well as the relevant federal and provincial requirements.

(ii) Awareness of the performance of staff members. Actual evaluation of the performance of school staff is the responsibility of the principal and/or the Area Superintendent. Should the school committee have reason to question the performance of a staff member, they may request the principal and/or Area Superintendent to submit evaluations of the individual in question. The school committee may then make appropriate recommendations to the principal, Area Superintendent or Official Trustee."142

Although the Division remains the signing authority, Reagan, McCormick and Handley concur that a teacher is very rarely hired without direct

involvement by the school committee. The Division exercises its rights in terms of dismissal only as protection against 'witch hunts'. For example, in 1979 only 1 or 2 of over 60 teachers hired were signed to contracts without being interviewed and accepted by the local school committee. In those very few cases the lack of community involvement was due to such factors as the unavailability of committee members due to seasonal employment, etc.

Another example of increased involvement is provided by community involvement in building projects. When capital projects were being planned the Division, by virtue of its own policy, had, in 1979, to not only receive resolution from the local band and/or community council but had to form a building sub committee of the school committee to advise and approve building design. Also, in general all school policies had to be approved by local school committees and all Division policy by the Central Advisory Committee.

The committee in effect functions as a school board in many instances, even though they have no legal power or financial responsibility.

The New Emphasis Causes Some Problems

The changes brought about during Handley's tenure have brought problems as well as successes. The considerably increased separateness from the Department is perceived by Handley to be of some concern to the Department. The Department's concern arose following the 1977 general election in Manitoba. The new government undertook to reestablish a 'traditional order of things' throughout the public domain in

Manitoba. In education this task was given to R. W. Dalton who was reappointed Deputy Minister on the dismissal of Orlikow in October, 1977. There followed considerable pressure on Handley to become a civil servant and to establish closer reporting relationships with Department of Education officials. The new government believed Handley should follow the precedents established by Jasper. Handley refused. He stated that, in his best judgment, the Division would function best if he did not become a civil servant and if it remained as separate as possible from the government. This position created for Handley the reputation of being bold and rather brash, and in his view has made him somewhat of a target. Handley states that the increased positive atmosphere in the Division has exacerbated the situation. He says, "We feel so good about some of our accomplishments we alienate people. People in government and other divisions are jealous of us."¹⁴³ The gist of the problem (if there is one) centers around Handley's leadership of the Division away from the 'established order' and the success of the Division. Handley feels very strongly that if parents are at all to feel involved and responsible for the education of their children the Division must maintain some distance from government.

In a slight digression it is important to point out that the return of the Conservatives to power in 1977 has had a distinctive benefit to Frontier. R. W. Dalton, although relinquishing the position of Deputy Minister, remained through 1979, the chief financial advisor on education to the government. Despite "acute protracted restraint in the public service,"¹⁴⁴ funding for Frontier School Division has remained sufficient in the view of Division officials.¹⁴⁵ The earlier precedent

of strong funding to Frontier School Division has been maintained and a significant factor has been the presence of Bob Dalton.

Another area of concern for Handley is the effective involvement of middle management in decision-making. Principals, the most significant middle management group, are actively involved at the community level, less so at the Area level and rarely at the Division level. The reasons for this are the enormity of distances in the Division, the lack of an effective mechanism for involvement, and full agendas of administrative issues at the community level. Nevertheless Handley feels that a way must be found to increase the input of middle management and have them be and feel "less closed out".¹⁴⁶

The most significant issue facing the Division at this point, in Handley's view, is one of momentum. Jasper built the Division and Handley has revamped its program and established strong relationships with the communities. Immense changes have taken place in the fourteen years from 1965-79, but Handley's optimism cautions:

"The momentum simply cannot be maintained. How do we handle the slow down? It will take a different set of skills to stabilize without becoming entrenched and recreating the initial problem."¹⁴⁷

Surely the problem of momentum decline is difficult, but one to which Handley is directing action. He says, "We don't know the answers, but we're aware of the problem and we are working on it."¹⁴⁸

A Summary of Handley's Tenure

What might be concluded about developments in Frontier School Division between 1976 and 1979?¹⁴⁹ Handley has maintained the continued

the positive contributions of Kenn Jasper. The Division continues to build and maintain excellent facilities throughout its communities. This includes, for example, the beginning of construction of a new academic and vocational high school in Norway House in late 1979. The efficient administrative structure first developed under Jasper is continuing to improve, for as cited earlier, it is being used by Manitoba Association of School Business Officials as an example of efficiency to other divisions.¹⁵⁰ Frontier School Division continues to strive to improve teacher qualifications. As did Jasper, Handley believes the keys to excellent educational programs are excellent teachers. The Division has an improved sabbatical leave policy and increased in-service training under Handley.

Although Handley remains the single legal authority for the Division, the distribution of power has changed significantly. Much more power is delegated (de facto if not de jure) to the community and area levels. To a greater extent than under Jasper, other senior and middle management administrators have the power to make decisions. Handley seeks less direction from government in deciding Division priorities than did Jasper. This practice is consistent with his position of 'distance' from government.

Significant developments and improvements have taken place in the school program. This area was a priority of Handley's and he was able to concentrate on it because of Jasper's accomplishments.

There has been a considerably extended and more meaningful role established for community members. Simply put, no major decisions take place in the Division without the active involvement of community members.

Finally, the crisis oriented nature of the Division's early years and chaos immediately prior to Handley's appointment have been replaced with a positive forward looking atmosphere. However, the questioning atmosphere established by Orlikow has not been lost. Division personnel characteristically seek out problems and find solutions.

In sum, Handley has built on the strengths of his predecessors and attempted to fill the gaps left by them. The Division changed significantly between 1976 and 1979 yet retains the marks of previous eras. The test of time cannot yet, however, be applied as conclusively to Handley's administration as to that of his forerunners.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR

¹K. R. Jasper, interview, Winnipeg, January 25, 1980.

²B. Scott Bateman, Deputy Minister, Inter-departmental memorandum to Honourable G. Johnson, M.D., Minister of Education, July 27, 1965.

³Jasper, loc. cit.

⁴Attached as Appendix F.

⁵Bateman, op. cit.

⁶Ibid.

⁷B. Scott Bateman, Deputy Minister, Inter-departmental memorandum to R. W. Lightly, Assistant Deputy Minister of Education, October 3, 1966.

⁸Jasper, loc. cit.

⁹B. Scott Bateman, interview, Winnipeg, February 8, 1980.

¹⁰Jasper, loc. cit.

¹¹This view of the decision making mode of the division is readily verifiable by persons who worked with Jasper and by himself and Dalton in interviews.

¹²Jasper, loc. cit.

¹³Frontier School Division files.

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵Jasper, loc. cit.

¹⁶This contention is supported by G.K.W.McCormick who worked closely with Jasper in a variety of administrative posts between 1965 and 1975.

¹⁷Jasper, loc. cit.

¹⁸Table IV and Table V were compiled by the writer from Manitoba: Report of the Department of Education; for the Years Ending June 30, 1965 - June 30, 1972, Winnipeg: Queen's Printer, 1965-72, and Division files and interviews with McCormick and Jasper. (Hereinafter Annual Reports.)

¹⁹There were schools administered by Frontier which contained status children on a joint agreement basis, but the situation differed from the earlier joint school. Under joint agreements either the province or the federal government administers the school, while under the joint school concept administration and control were shared.

²⁰Jasper, loc. cit.

²¹Annual Report, June 30, 1965, p. 81.

²²Bateman, loc. cit. This recollection was confirmed by John W. Milner, telephone interview, February 19, 1980.

²³Bateman.

²⁴G. K. W. McCormick, interview, Winnipeg, February 20, 1980.

²⁵Compiled from interviews with Bateman, Jasper, McCormick and Milner. See Bateman, interview, Winnipeg, February 8, 1980.

²⁶McCormick, loc. cit.

²⁷Ibid.

²⁸Ibid.

²⁹The recollections are confirmed by Milner, Jasper and others involved at the time.

³⁰McCormick, loc. cit.

³¹Keven Van Camp, "A Descriptive Study of Ex-Frontier Collegiate Students" (unpublished M.Ed. thesis, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, 1971). p. iii.

³²McCormick, loc. cit.

³³Ibid.

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵Compiled from interviews with Bateman, Jasper, McCormick and Milner.

³⁶Ibid.

³⁷Manitoba Association of School Business Officials (M.A.S.B.O.)

³⁸Jasper, loc. cit.

³⁹Bateman, Dalton, Jasper, loc. cit. R. W. Dalton, interview, Winnipeg, January 31, 1980.

⁴⁰Frontier School Division files.

⁴¹William Arthurson, interview, Norway House, January, 1980.

⁴²K. R. Jasper, "Report to the Northern Task Force," Frontier School Division, February, 1970.

⁴³Frontier School Division files.

⁴⁴Manitoba, Annual Reports, 1965-75. See sections on Frontier School Division.

⁴⁵McCormick, loc. cit.

⁴⁶Canada, Manitoba, "Agreement Respecting Education of Children at Norway House, Manitoba," Frontier School Division files, 1969, p. 1.

⁴⁷Jasper, McCormick, Milner, loc. cit.

⁴⁸The Norway House agreement previously cited indicates that the only community input was a Band Council Resolution approving the use of reserve land for school purposes.

⁴⁹M.A.S.B.O.

⁵⁰Jasper, loc. cit.

⁵¹Ibid.

⁵²McCormick, loc. cit.

⁵³M.A.S.B.O.

⁵⁴Jasper, loc. cit.

⁵⁵McCormick, loc. cit.

⁵⁶This term means a temporary permit to teach, granted to someone without teacher training.

⁵⁷Compiled from interviews with Bateman, Dalton, Jasper, McCormick and Milner, loc. cit.

⁵⁸McCormick, loc. cit.

⁵⁹The writer was trained under this program in 1967.

⁶⁰The writer was Teacher Salaries Chairman, 1967-71 and negotiated the collective agreement with Jasper.

⁶¹McCormick, loc. cit.

⁶²Jasper, loc. cit.

⁶³Annual Report, June 30, 1973, p. 15.

⁶⁴Ibid., p. 16.

⁶⁵Manitoba, Revised Statutes of Manitoba, c. 66, s. 1 (s471f) En. S. M., 1965.

⁶⁶Correspondence and minutes contained in Frontier School Division files, dated October 22, 1965, November 18, 1965, and February 4, 1966.

⁶⁷Minutes of Division Advisory Committee Meeting, Cranberry Portage, Manitoba, February 15, 1966.

⁶⁸H.S. Inskip, Frontier School Division Secretary-Treasurer.

⁶⁹D. W. Craik, Minister of Education, correspondence dated October 10, 1968.

⁷⁰Frontier School Division Advisory Committee minutes June 4, 1969.

⁷¹Doreen Beaupre, interview, Winnipeg, January 18, 1980. Mrs. Beaupre served for several years as a member of the Central Advisory Committee.

⁷²Compiled from correspondence files and interviews with Jasper, McCormick and Milner, loc. cit.

⁷³Jasper, op. cit.

⁷⁴K. R. Jasper, directive sent to all schools dated September 2, 1971.

⁷⁵Annual Report, June 30, 1973, p. 15-16.

⁷⁶Frontier School Division, statement dated 1972.

⁷⁷Correspondence signed by P. R. Weese, Secretary of the Cranberry Portage Elementary School Advisory Committee, June through November, 1972.

⁷⁸The Honourable Ben Hanuschak, Manitoba Government Interdepartmental memo to Mr. Kenn Jasper, Official Trustee, Frontier School Division, December 4, 1972.

⁷⁹K. R. Jasper, Letter to Cranberry Portage School Committee, December 22, 1972.

⁸⁰K. R. Jasper, Memorandum to the Honourable Ben Hanuschak, January 23, 1973.

⁸¹McCormick, loc. cit.

⁸²K. R. Jasper, Memorandum to P. R. Weese, Secretary of Cranberry Portage School Committee, June 12, 1973.

⁸³National Indian Brotherhood, "Indian Control of Indian Education," Ottawa: National Indian Brotherhood, 1972.

⁸⁴Manitoba Metis Federation, "In Search of Tomorrow," Winnipeg: Manitoba Metis Federation, 1972.

⁸⁵Compiled from interview with Ms. D. Beaupre, formerly of Gillam, Mr. T. Laperre of Waterhen who were members of the Central Advisory Committee between 1973 and 1975, and Mr. Lee Heroux, who was Liaison Secretary to the Committee. Mr. Laperre was interviewed in Winnipeg in March, 1980 and in Waterhen in May, 1980. Mr. Heroux was interviewed in Waterhen in May, 1980.

⁸⁶Canada, Manitoba: Memorandum of Agreement dated October 15, 1973, respecting the construction of Wanipigow School.

⁸⁷McCormick, loc. cit.

⁸⁸Keven Van Camp, "The Shaping of Policy for the Delivery of Service to Special Children: The Pressure Group Forces, with a Focus on the Manitoba Department of Education." (unpublished paper, University of Manitoba, March, 1979).

⁸⁹Jasper, loc. cit.

⁹⁰Frontier School Division Policy Statement, dated April 10, 1975.

⁹¹McCormick, loc. cit.

⁹²The writer was present when Jasper made this announcement to his staff.

⁹³McCormick, loc.cit.

⁹⁴Lionel Orlikow, interview, Winnipeg, August 11, 1980.

⁹⁵Ibid.

⁹⁶Ibid.

⁹⁷Ibid.

⁹⁸McCormick, loc. cit.

⁹⁹Orlikow, loc. cit.

¹⁰⁰M. Q. Patton, "Frontier School Division Needs Assessment Project." Minnesota Center for Sociological Research, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn., 1976. (Hereinafter the Minnesota Report.)

¹⁰¹Ibid., p. 2-6.

¹⁰²Ibid., p. 3-5.

¹⁰³Ibid., p. 6.

¹⁰⁴Ibid., p. 64-65.

¹⁰⁵Ibid., p. 72-75.

¹⁰⁶Orlikow, loc. cit.

¹⁰⁷M. MacGillivray, "Report on the Organization and Administration of the Frontier School Division," H. V. Chapman & Associates Ltd., Winnipeg, 1976, p. 1.

¹⁰⁸Ibid.

¹⁰⁹Ibid., p. 36-43.

¹¹⁰Ibid., p. 4.

¹¹¹Ibid., p. 6.

¹¹²Ibid., p. 34-35.

¹¹³Ibid., p. 7.

¹¹⁴Ibid., p. 43.

¹¹⁵Ibid.

¹¹⁶Dan Reagan, interview, Norway House, February, 1980. Reagan was an Area Superintendent with Frontier School Division during his term.

¹¹⁷McCormick, loc. cit.

- 118 McCormick, Reagan, loc. cit.
- 119 Orlikow, loc. cit.
- 120 Joseph L. Handley, interview, Winnipeg, Manitoba, July 10, 1980.
- 121 Ibid.
- 122 Joseph L. Handley, "A Working Paper," Frontier School Division No. 48, May 31, 1976.
- 123 Ibid., covering letter.
- 124 Handley, op. cit., p. 1-3.
- 125 Handley, loc. cit.
- 126 Handley, op. cit. p. 4.
- 127 Ibid., p. 16.
- 128 Frontier School Division No. 48, "Information Brochure," December, 1976.
- 129 Handley, McCormick, Reagan, loc. cit.
- 130 McCormick.
- 131 Handley, McCormick, Reagan, loc. cit.
- 132 Michael Patton and Ronald Geizer, "Frontier School Division Needs Assessment Followup Project," Minnesota Center for Social Research, Minneapolis, Minn., January, 1978, p. 2. (Commonly called the Minnesota followup study, or Patton's 1978 study.)
- 133 Ibid., p. 39-40, 61-65.
- 134 Reagan, loc. cit.
- 135 McCormick, loc. cit.
- 136 These contentions are corroborated by Reagan.

¹³⁷Handley, loc. cit.

¹³⁸Ibid.

¹³⁹Ibid.

¹⁴⁰Ibid.

¹⁴¹Frontier School Division No. 48, "Terms of Reference for School Committees," June, 1978, p. 2-5.

¹⁴²Ibid., p. 3.

¹⁴³Handley, loc. cit.

¹⁴⁴A campaign slogan used extensively by Conservative Premier Sterling Lyon before and following the 1977 election.

¹⁴⁵McCormick, loc. cit.

¹⁴⁶Handley, loc. cit.

¹⁴⁷Ibid.

¹⁴⁸Ibid.

¹⁴⁹M.A.S.B.O.

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Chapter 5

CENTRALIZATION AND DECENTRALIZATION IN FRONTIER SCHOOL DIVISION

The purpose of this chapter is to examine and explain the development of Frontier School Division in terms of centralization and decentralization. The chapter is organized in three sections. In the first, the key concepts of the study are restated. In the second, the educational developments outlined in Chapters Three and Four are characterized in terms of centralization and decentralization, and the factors which influenced movement toward and away from centralization in the history of the Division are detailed. In the third, particular attention is paid to those factors which seem to have been the most significant over the history of the Division.

The Key Concepts of the Study

As a prelude to the analysis which follows, a brief recapitulation of the key concepts of this study is valuable. Centralization and decentralization are terms used to characterize the placement of power with respect to organizational decision-making. In educational organizations significant decisions made center around priorities, personnel, curricula, facilities and finance.

Centralization means that the power to make decisions is located near or at the top or center of an organization. Decentralization means that the power to make decisions is located away from the

center or at lower levels. In the literature, centralization and decentralization are conceived of administratively and politically, both conceptualizations being of value to this study. Administrative centralization and administrative decentralization refer to the placement of the power to decide within the organization itself, irrespective of the relationship of the organization to a public or client group. That is, in the administrative view, the placement of power is a matter determined within the organization. In the political conceptualization, on the other hand, centralization and decentralization refer to the balance of power between the professionals within the organization and the public which they serve. In this conceptualization the final authority rests with the public.

As indicated in Chapter One, the literature suggests that both centralization and decentralization tend to change over the history of an organization. The literature also indicates that there are a variety of factors which, either singly or together, may influence this change. One is the history of the organization. A second is the organizational task. A third is the structure of an organization. A fourth is the geography served by the organization coupled with the communication and transportation technology available to it. A fifth possible factor is the cultural and racial context within which the organization operates. A sixth cause for change may be found in the personal style of the chief executives of the organization. A seventh possible influence is the social and political context of the organization. An eighth influence is the stress or pressure faced by an organization and its members.

Centralization and Decentralization in
Frontier School Division

The location of decision-making authority over educational affairs in what was known in 1979 as Frontier School Division changed over the years. There was, as evidenced in Chapters Three and Four, a long evolution toward centralization and a more recent small movement away from it. This rise and slight decline seems to have occurred in stages, which although not entirely distinct, are discernible.

The following section of this chapter identifies the sequence of stages which made up the rise and decline of centralization. In the discussion of each stage the location of decision-making power is identified; an attempt is made to characterize this decision-making in terms of centralization and decentralization; and those factors which have influenced centralization and decentralization are considered. It should also be noted that, although there is some relation between these stages and the time periods used in Chapters Three and Four, the intent of this section is to view developments more from the perspective of centralization and decentralization and less from that of administrative regimes.

Political Decentralization
in the Early Years

With the exception of a few federal and church schools, decision-making authority with regard to public education in what is now Frontier School Division between 1899 and the end of World War I was located in practice within individual communities. The establishment of schooling was initiated by communities; the concurrence of

the provincial government represented by the Commissioner of Northern Affairs or a visiting school inspector followed. The formation of school districts at Bad Throat (Manigotogan), Grand Rapids, Norway House and others detailed in Chapter Three occurred in this manner. Similarly, for most of this period, teachers were hired, deployed, were responsible to and were retained or dismissed by local boards. Infrequent and cursory professional supervision was provided by visiting school inspectors. Although curriculum standards were set by the province, the rudimentary schooling provided in the remote north was usually determined by teacher expertise and materials provided by local boards. Buildings were constructed, maintained, heated and supplied by the community, often in the form of existing structures "properly fixed up for school purposes".¹ Communities also raised and allocated funds, much of this contribution being in the form of the provision of facilities and teacher room and board. Schools in communities which could not raise sufficient funds closed, as evidenced by Grand Rapids in 1915. Although the role of the provincial authority increased through the provision of teachers there can be no doubt that communities had the primary responsibility for education.

Thus, communities controlled the establishment and operation of public schooling. Each community had a local board which was responsible for their local professional - the teacher. Although the central authorities aided local attempts at schooling, their role was clearly minimal, but supportive. There was no significant inter-community connection. In terms of the definition put forward in Chapter One, this pattern or type of educational decision-making

and governance most closely resembles political decentralization.

There was a combination of factors which brought about and maintained this politically decentralized arrangement of educational decision-making. Historically, the small one or two-room school had been the method used to respond to the task of providing basic education to children within walking distance of their homes. It was, in retrospect, natural to use this structural model in response to the educational needs of children in remote northern communities. The formidable geography, detailed in Chapter Two, and the lack of communication and transportation technology available made any other structure impossible. The lack of significant inter-community connections, mixed jurisdictional arrangements for the control of education in the remote north, and the uncoordinated involvement of two levels of government and a variety of churches mitigated against centralization. The schooling provided at Norway House during World War I is a graphic example. The education of northern residents was not a high priority of governments, as evidenced by the practice of making responsibility for education an adjunct or secondary role of the Commissioner for Northern Affairs and southern school inspectors. As indicated in Chapter Three, this secondary responsibility led to communities receiving government inspection once every several years and because of the variety of officials involved, there was little or no inter-community linkage. These forces together contributed to a varied and politically decentralized format for the provision of schooling.

The Movement Away from
Political Decentralization

Beginning as early as World War I and continuing through World War II there was a definite movement away from political decentralization in the governing of education. Although decision-making authority was shared between the communities and the province there was a considerable increase in the amount of authority held by the central authority.

An examination of the location of decision-making power and significant educational developments between the wars provides many examples of such changes in the balance of authority. The increased involvement of the province in determining educational priorities and how they would be reached was evident in the legislation following the Murray Commission. The province made the education of northern residents a priority: the goal was to be equal educational opportunity and it was to be achieved by increased provincial money and control. In very small communities the provincial role was increased by the singular action of C. K. Rogers. The 'deals' made by Rogers invariably involved the provision of a teacher by the province. As the inability and unwillingness to pay for schooling by the communities increased the province enlarged its authority but in return for more control. By 1935, as Lysecki reports,² provincial grants comprised the total salary of most northern teachers. In 1935 the province became involved directly in the provision of facilities which had until then been a community responsibility. The informal joint funding arrangements between the provincial and federal governments to the exclusion of the

communities are further instances of increased central involvement. A final example of increased central authority was the placement of failed school districts under the direct control of the Provincial Official Trustee. Thus, although communities generally remained actively involved in educational decision-making the provincial or central share had been decisively increased by the end of World War II.

Fantini³ states that when decision-making authority is shared between professionals and the public, political decentralization exists. He also indicates that an increase in the authority of the centre in a partnership is a movement away from political decentralization. The balance of authority which was held by the communities prior to World War I had by the end of World War II moved toward the central authority. Thus the political decentralization still evident in the 1940's was considerably weaker than earlier.

Once again, there was a combination of factors responsible for this change rather than a single issue. The demand for equal educational opportunity was a critical force behind increased centralization. This demand was enunciated by returning soldiers from World War I who settled in the fringe areas and by southerners who populated the boom towns of the north. It was also a motivation for Rogers' actions in the smallest and poorest communities. This demand for equality of services as a force for centralization was especially evident in communities which lacked ability or willingness to pay for education. The government, if it was to respond to these demands and follow its own goals as outlined in the 1925 legislation, had little

choice but to intervene. This intervention, in financial terms, was made despite the shortage of government funds due to the depression of the 1930's and World War II.

Also, the actions of a single senior civil servant proved significant. Never before had one individual taken responsibility and provided leadership for education in northern, remote Manitoba communities. Rogers' actions were a strong influence toward increased centralization. Bateman's 'discoveries' and reports of educational conditions supported Rogers' actions.

The native people continued to be the objects of education efforts by two levels of government and a variety of churches. Much of this attention had its roots in cultural and even racist motivation to 'whiten' the natives. Howard Palmer suggests that it is safe to assume that the public school systems of Canada were 'Anglo-conformist' in style and approach through the first sixty years of this century.⁴ Huel states that in response to minority groups attempting to retain their culture "the Anglo-Saxon elite attempted to compel minorities to adopt norms based on Anglo-Protestant values".⁵ It is possible to speculate that a primary purpose of all educational agencies and agents in the north was to replace native culture with Anglo-Canadian values. Although jurisdictional arrangements were mixed and this mixture was accurately cast as a decentralizing force, the fact that most jurisdictions shared a similar ideology was a strong centralizing influence. No matter who ran the schools, Manitoba, Canada, the churches, or some combination, the role of community persons in decision-making was reduced.

Increased centralization through consolidation in the south placed additional pressure on government to intervene in the north. As the historic pattern of neighbourhood schooling began to change in the south it was less of a support for decentralization in the north. The 1944 Committee report clearly stated the then current trend in education.

"The Committee finds that the . . . system . . . developed . . . to suit pioneer conditions . . . was in urgent need of reexamination.

The Committee, having considered the arguments, accepts the general principle of the larger unit of school administration."⁶

While these factors combined to increase the level of central involvement in educational decision-making, their effect was reduced by several others, thus preventing more rapid movement toward centralization. Although there was a slight improvement in transportation because of the construction of the Hudson's Bay Railway in 1929, the Provincial Trunk Highway #10 in 1939, and improved air service, the geography of the north remained a major block to any attempt to centralize. Bateman's 'indignant' reports graphically indicate the transportation and communication difficulties between communities.⁷ The continuation of mixed jurisdictional arrangements had a decentralizing as well as a centralizing effect. Finally, although financial contributions were increased despite of a shortage of funds, the effects of the depression and war were such that these contributions were limited, slowing the process of centralization. That one of the main financial contributions by government to education in the remote

north was money that Rogers could exact from a supply budget is evidence of the shortage of money.

The Beginnings of
Administrative Centralization

Accompanying the movement away from political decentralization was a shift in the balance of decision-making authority over education exercised by the public and professionals. Following World War II and until the early 1960's, the authority to make decisions increasingly rested with the professional agents of the central authority and less and less with communities, even though these professionals often made their decisions 'on the spot', at a level far removed from the top of the organization. The result of this shift, in terms of the definitions identified in Chapter One of this study, was a change from political decentralization to administrative centralization.

Many examples of the change in the balance of power are to be found in Chapter Three of this thesis. The most obvious of these examples was the establishment of the Special Schools Branch in 1948 to provide one system to govern a large number of widely scattered schools. The decision to form such a 'system' out of previously autonomous boards and agencies was taken by politicians and civil servants. The decision to undertake a joint study of northern education by the provincial and federal governments was initiated by a civil servant. The provision and supervision of teachers in most northern remote communities during the 1950's was the responsibility of civil servants. Grafton's building program was another example of a decision, however justified, made by the province. Curricula were

increasingly controlled by the Department of Education. The Official Trustee schools, the joint schools, and the federal schools were three "separate" systems operating in the north during this time. The Special Schools Branch, the Official Trustee schools, the joint schools, and the 1952 legislation all were examples of the shift of power away from the communities. These more formal systems required fewer and fewer contributions from the community and correspondingly reduced their influence. As indicated in Chapter Three, Grafton and MacDonald continued Rogers' practice of 'making deals'. However, although community members were involved to varying degrees in decisions about many areas of educational concern, the most significant educational decisions were taken by civil servants and politicians.

Fantini states that any sharing of educational decision-making authority which is dominated by professionals is not political decentralization.⁸ Administrative decentralization, normally, does not consider the relation of the organization to the public in terms of a sharing of power. In this conceptualization, state Cronin⁹ and Sher,¹⁰ all significant education decisions in what was to become Frontier School Division were made by professionals with limited involvement by community persons. Even though Grafton, Bateman and MacDonald, with obvious goodwill, attempted to involve the public via 'deals,' these civil servants at the pleasure of the Province held the balance of power. Educational decision-making during much of the time from World War II until the early 1960's most closely resembled administrative centralization.

Not surprisingly there were a variety of factors which

influenced the shift from political to administrative decentralization. By 1945, the movement toward centralization had considerable momentum. Rogers had been steadily increasing government involvement for eleven years and increased government grants had been the practice for two decades. The formation of the Special Schools Branch, the increased use of the Provincial Official Trustee's office and the increased formation of Joint Schools, particularly between 1948 and 1952, were all evidence of an increased perception of northern remote education as a government task. This historical momentum was augmented by a reduction in the effect of geography. As transportation and communication facilities increased through the 1950's geographical barriers to centralization became less significant.

There were other forces which were perhaps stronger. There can be no doubt about the influence of organizational and social trends current after World War II. The 1945 Legislative Committee Report had recommended greatly increased centralization of education to answer post-war needs. As Bergen indicates, there was a continuing trend to rural consolidation throughout North America.¹¹ The relative affluence of the 1950's in the south provided a stark contrast to conditions in the remote north. Native people had received the vote after World War II, were more politically active and thus demanded improved services. There continued to be a desire for equal educational opportunity, coupled with a lessening ability to pay by communities. The personal style and preference of the chief executives emerged as critical to an increased level of centralization.

Campbell initiated the Special Schools Branch and Rogers ensured the inclusion of the orphan schools. Bateman and Grafton organized the building program. Bateman instigated the joint educational survey and drafted the 1952 legislation. There were, no doubt, many factors which caused these men to act in the way that they did; the point here though is that they and their actions were most significant factors in increased centralization. Importantly, whatever the pressures felt by civil servants or politicians, the solution they perceived as best was increased central control. As Bateman stated, "There was no possible way to support a (decentralized) system on existing grants plus taxes, as there was no reasonable tax base at all. If we wanted equal educational opportunity the government had to take over."¹²

The Strengthening of Administrative Centralization

The location of decision-making power had become highly centralized by the early 1960's, with communities having a minimal role in decision-making. Nevertheless, the trend to even more centralization continued. In 1965, the Division was formed and centralized in law as well as in practice. The power of communities became negligible, and remained so until centralization reached its apex in 1970.

The most obvious example of the total control of educational affairs in the remote north by central authorities was the enabling legislation for the northern school division drafted by Dalton on Bateman's instruction in 1964. This legislation collapsed all previous jurisdictions into one, placed all decision-making authority under a government appointed trustee and reduced the community role to an

advisory capacity. Bateman's 'principles of operation' filled in any gaps left by the legislation in that it clearly indicated an organizational structure in which all decision-making authority rested with the government through the Official Trustee. It is also quite clear from the data in Chapter Four that Kenn Jasper exercised all effective control over educational decisions in Frontier School Division between 1965 and 1970. He established educational priorities, controlled staffing, decided on curricula, set down building priorities, and made all financial decisions. In instances where he did not want to decide he sought a decision from a superior who represented more central authority. In situations where the two levels of government were involved, such as the Norway House consolidation of 1969, decisions were made on an inter-governmental basis. Thus, at least until 1970, all decisions in Frontier School Division were made by the central authority.

Although Frontier School Division and its immediate predecessors were public institutions there was no meaningful sharing of power with the public. Thus, despite the fact that public organizations are not normally thought of as administratively centralized, this characterization most accurately identifies the state of the Frontier School Division between 1965 and 1970.

There were a large number of factors which contributed to the shift from administrative decentralization to administrative centralization and which supported a strongly centralized administration. For over sixty years educational decision-making in what was in 1965 finally one school jurisdiction had slowly but definitely become more

centralized. The MacFarlane Commission had resulted in a massive centralization of the rest of the public schools of Manitoba. Thus, if historical precedents were necessary Jasper and his colleagues certainly had them. This historical pattern was strengthened by the organizational structure which was designed to deliver northern remote education. Bateman, the architect of the legislation, ensured a totally centralized organization, the consolidation of elementary and secondary schooling, and the relegation of community power to an advisory role. Thus Jasper, at least at the beginning, had no option but to operate a centralized administration.

Jasper faced the task of building one organization from a wide variety of previously independent jurisdictions. This enormous task was expedited in many ways by a centralized administration. For example, new schools would not have been built quickly if it had been necessary to wait for local decisions to raise dollars and to collect them. Centralization was not slowed so drastically by geography as all forms of communication and transportation improved dramatically during this period.

The personal style, preferences and actions of the chief executives were well suited to the task of centralizing the Division. Scott Bateman decided how the Division ought to be constructed. Dalton wrote the legislation to ensure that it happened that way. Jasper chose, for the most part, to act out his role as it was drafted. Jasper, with Dalton's support and encouragement, created a Division with a stronger than normal emphasis on administration. Milner and others ensured the development of Frontier Collegiate. Jasper designed

and redesigned the Division and its administrative sub-units to suit his style of operation. Jasper made nearly all important decisions himself; if he chose not to make a decision himself, he sought direction from a more central authority. Dalton, as the government agent responsible for Frontier School Division, acted to perpetuate the system designed by Bateman. In short, the decision-making power of the Division rested where those responsible for designing and operating it wanted it to rest. If politicians wanted it otherwise they did little to effect change.

Money continued to be a major issue. Given the principle, in Manitoba public education, of shared provincial and municipal responsibility and the unwillingness or inability to pay in these remote areas, the use of finance as a rationale for centralized control was a powerful argument. The communities involved could not have afforded any significant portion of the massive infusion of money the government spent through Frontier School Division. Whether or not that is a legitimate argument for complete loss of control is another matter. But the fact that successive governments and their officials have used it as an argument for increasing their power and decreasing the autonomy of communities makes it important in this case.

There was another force at play, which in the last half of the 1960's supported centralization. As indicated in Chapter Three, the Lagasse Report had pointed out the poor standard of living of Manitoba's native people. This report and its aftermath significantly raised the awareness of natives and non-natives, about the inequality of lifestyle faced by the native people of Manitoba. The government

and its agents were, according to Sealey,¹³ embarrassed into action. The action they took in education was the formation of Frontier School Division. As indicated earlier in this discussion the architects of the Division felt improved educational service would arise only from a highly centralized organization.

Thus an historical pattern, a deliberately centralized organization, an enormous task, the preferences of the key actors, and the obvious need for increased government funds combined to establish and maintain a very highly centralized organization. Factors such as geography which had previously slowed centralization had much less effect.

Toward Decentralization

At the beginning of the 1970's there began to be a shift in the location of decision-making power. The shift was slow to start and was much more perceptible after 1975. While Frontier School Division remained highly centralized in legal terms in 1979, it was in practice much more decentralized.

The movement towards decentralization began with the establishment by Jasper of the school committee system in 1971 - it was designed to increase the level of input from community persons into Divisional decision-making. The area scheme of Division administration was an attempt to locate some authority closer to the communities and to decentralize the operation of the Division. Although neither of these changes altered the real location of power they were nevertheless the first steps toward decentralization. The involvement of school committees in hiring, following the Cranberry Portage issue, was a

concrete example of power being shared with the communities. The 1975 terms of reference for school committees clearly indicate an increased role for them when compared to their involvement in 1972.

The actions of Orlikow were definitely supportive of further decentralization, both politically and administratively. He commissioned studies which sought to assess the desire for decentralization. His introduction of the management team concept was another action which furthered the movement away from centralization. But perhaps Orlikow's most significant impact was that his actions greatly augmented the mood in favor of decentralization.

Joe Handley redistributed power in the Division by delegating it to his subordinates and by increasing the role of school committees. His attempt to keep the Division separate from the Department decreased government influence over the Division.

Frontier School Division, in 1979, was in legal terms as highly centralized as it had been in 1970 or indeed in 1965. In practice, however, it was much more decentralized. There had been a series of successive attempts to share the exercise of power. In 1979 the organization called Frontier School Division was administratively decentralized in that Handley delegated considerable authority to his subordinates. The power of community members has been increased as well and community members clearly exercise considerable influence over affairs in the Division. This decision-making mode is, in some important respects a form of political decentralization in that community members exercise considerable influence at all levels of the Division, but this influence is not a final legal authority.

This shift towards decentralization occurred over the better part of the decade and under three different administrators. Yet, the factors responsible were not dissimilar. Kenn Jasper, Lionel Orlikow and Joe Handley were each responsible for much of the changes which occurred during their tenure. Jasper formed school committees and increased the level of their responsibility, whatever his motivations. As the Division grew, Jasper found the structure to be too unwieldy for one person to handle, and so he regionalized it, although he retained ultimate control. Orlikow instituted the studies and the management team concept and deliberately sought to change the centralized structure. Orlikow viewed the still highly centralized structure he inherited from Jasper as a target for change and he sought to dismantle it. Handley delegated authority and increased the level of influence of school committees. He viewed an administrative structure as a support for the educational function of the Division and delegated authority in order to change the emphasis of the administrative structure. Thus the preferences of the chief executives emerge as a critical factor.

Obviously, however, these men did not act in a vacuum and their actions were motivated by more than their personal preferences. Thus other factors influenced the movement toward decentralization. The state of the Division itself was important. By 1970, the Division had been organized and was functioning smoothly. Thus Jasper and his successors had time and opportunity to turn to other issues, such as increasing the power delegated to others.

No doubt, the political and social trends of the times affected

the actions of these chief executives. Jasper responded to the local political pressure first exercised by Cranberry Portage and involved community members in hiring. He must have been influenced by the election in 1969 of the NDP government which was pledged to a decentralization of services, a return of power to the community and increased local control for northern communities. This same government hired Orlikow and Handley. The Manitoba Indian Brotherhood and the Manitoba Metis Federation exerted pressure on government^{14,15} to improve services in the north and to increase the involvement of native northerners in decision-making about services to be provided to them. That Orlikow at least was responsive to this is exhibited by his formation in 1974 of the Native Education Branch within the Department. In the early 1970's multiculturalism was a catchword in many parts of Canada, including northern Manitoba. Joe Handley, as a Metis, is perceived differently than his predecessors. He appears to the native people served by the Division to be more responsive to their demands. This may have led the people of the Division to be more active in their demand for increased power.

All of the above were affected by two earlier concerns. One was the continuing desire to improve educational opportunity in the Division. This desire for improved school programs led Jasper and particularly Handley to support curricular programs relevant to Frontier. This contributed to decentralization inasmuch as the curricula came to vary considerably from that used elsewhere.

The other concern was the lack of ability to pay for education at the local level. This continues to be a centralizing force, in

that virtually all funds come from government purses.

The Significance of Educational Ideas,
Organizational Conditions and
Administrator Preferences

The location of decision-making power did not remain static over the history of Frontier School Division. This study has borne out Pfiffner and Sherwood's contention¹⁶ that this shifting of the balance of authority is characteristic of organizations over time. There was a long movement toward centralization, followed by a shorter trend toward decentralization. The movement toward centralization was characterized by the steady erosion of community authority in return for provincial funds. The move toward decentralization was typified by an increasing level of influence of community members and lower level professionals in practice, despite the maintenance in law of centralized authority.

This evolution, and its various stages, have been brought about by combinations of factors. The effect of any one force varied over time and each was at some point in time predominant. Nevertheless, three factors emerge as consistently important in the evolution of Frontier School Division. First, the desire for equal educational opportunity for remote northern communities was a constant force. This desire, of course, was supported by the lack of ability of communities to pay for increased educational service. The poor economic conditions detailed in Chapter Two prevented any significant increase in the ability to pay at the community level. Thus government, which as early as 1925 fervently espoused educational equality in the fringe

areas, had no option but to increase its financial contribution. The toll exacted in return was a corresponding increase in government control. The significant feature of this development was the commitment to equal educational opportunity and the belief that it would only be accomplished through increased centralization. Interestingly, the slight trend to decentralization was also prompted, in part, by the NDP government's belief that decentralization would lead to an improved quality of life and education, particularly in remote areas.

Second, the different periods in the history of the Division gave rise to different priorities and the nature of these priorities shaped whether or not they would be acted upon centrally. Rogers' decision to fund orphan schools from a central source was predicted upon the need to establish schooling which could not otherwise be afforded. The 1925 legislation generally recognized the need for increased central dollars to fund education in the fringe areas. Bateman, Grafton and the 1952 legislation recognized that if even a rudimentary 'system' was desirable, increased central authority was needed. Jasper's priority was to build a system from previously unrelated parts and to put the administrative affairs of the Division on a solid footing. This priority dictated his highly centralized administration. Orlikow assumed control of an organization, which in the words of Patton, suffered from a dearth of educational leadership. His actions were motivated by this organizational condition. Handley, on the other hand, inherited a system that was functioning reasonably well and took as his mandate the improvement and redefini-

tion of the Division. This redefinition required the input of all aspects of the Division, thus leading to decentralization. Thus, the condition of the organization at any given time has affected the balance between centralization and decentralization.

Finally, the personal styles and preferences of key executives were a major influence. No matter what external forces shaped their actions, their personal preferences also influenced their decisions. Bateman's affinity for the north had much to do with his persistence in improving education in the remote north. Grafton was similarly affected. Kenn Jasper made all decisions himself despite the fact that he had the power to delegate. Orlikow, well known for his decentralist views, attempted to actualize those views in Frontier School Division. Handley has greatly decentralized the Division despite the legal framework of the Division and pressure from the Department to do otherwise. The point is that each of the key executives named in the study has left his marks on the history of the Division regardless of his motivations. Thus educational ideas, organizational conditions, and administrator preferences were the most dominant forces in the history of Frontier School Division. Importantly, developments were influenced by combinations of determinants rather than single factors.

Summary

This chapter has provided another view of the evolution of Frontier School Division. This view has been from the perspective of the location of decision-making power, that is centralization and

decentralization. The history of the Division has been characterized by a long evolution toward centralization with a later more abrupt shift toward decentralization. The shift toward decentralization has been marked in practice by the administrative decentralization of the Division and the greatly increased influences of community members. All of the possible factors which might explain these changes, outlined in Chapter One, at one time or another influenced the location and distribution of decision-making power in Frontier School Division. Nevertheless, educational ideas, organizational conditions and administrator preferences emerged as the most significant forces affecting centralization and decentralization.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE

¹Manitoba, Report of the Department of Education; for the Year Ending June 30, 1917, Winnipeg: King's Printers, 1917, p. 201. (Hereinafter, Annual Report).

²John Edward Lysecki, "Education in Manitoba - North of '53" (unpublished M.Ed. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1936), p. 94.

³Mario L. Fantini, "Participation, Decentralization, Community Control and Quality Education." The Teacher's College Record, Columbia University, Vol. 71, No. 1, September, 1969, p. 100-101.

⁴Howard Palmer, "Reluctant Hosts: Anglo-Canadian views of Multi-culturalism in the Twentieth Century." Ottawa, Multi-culturalism and State Policy Conference Report, February, 1976.

⁵Raymond Huel, "The Public School as a Guardian of Anglo-Saxon Traditions: The Saskatchewan Experience 1913-19." Kovacs, Martin L., (ed.), Ethnic Canadians: Culture and Education, Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 1978, p. 295.

⁶Manitoba, Report of the Special Select Committee of the Manitoba Legislative Assembly on Education, Winnipeg: King's Printer, 1945, p. 55.

⁷Annual Report, June 30, 1946, p. 43-45.

⁸Fantini, op. cit., p. 102.

⁹Joseph M. Cronin, The Control of Urban Schools, New York: The Free Press, 1973, p. 176.

¹⁰Jonathan P. Sher (ed.), Education in Rural America: A Reassessment of Conventional Wisdom, Boulder, Co.: Westview Press, 1917, p. 200.

¹¹John J. Bergen, "School District Reorganization in Rural Manitoba" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Alberta, 1967) p. 23 and 146.

¹²B. Scott Bateman, interview, Winnipeg, February 8, 1980.

¹³D. Bruce Sealey, interview, Winnipeg, January 27, 1980.

¹⁴National Indian Brotherhood, "Indian Control of Indian Education," Ottawa: National Indian Brotherhood, 1972.

¹⁵Manitoba Metis Federation, "In Search of Tomorrow," Winnipeg: Manitoba Metis Federation, 1972.

¹⁶John M. Pfiffner and Frank P. Sherwood, Administrative Organization, Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1960, p. 460.

Chapter 6

THE SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY

The purposes of this chapter are three. The first is to summarize the educational developments and the administrative arrangements examined in the study. The second is to present the conclusions of the study. The third purpose is to outline implications arising from the study for further research and the future of Frontier School Division.

Summary

Educational Developments

1899-1965. The significant educational developments prior to the formation of Frontier School Division in 1965 were eight in number. First, public schooling was established in most of the communities of interest here between 1899 and 1948, with the bulk of formations prior to 1935. Second, the government of Manitoba was aware as early as 1922 that these schools were not functioning well as independent districts and it began to take a 'special' interest in education in this area. This interest increased steadily over the ensuing forty-three years as illustrated by subsequent developments. Third, beginning with C. K. Rogers in 1934, senior civil servants began to take special interest in the north and provide 'extra and special' considerations. Fourth, it became evident as early as the 1920's that remote settlements could not or would not afford an equivalent education system. Fifth, the first comprehensive education system for some of the communities was born with

the Special Schools Branch in 1948. The official trustee and joint schools were other 'systems' employed by governments to equalize educational opportunity. Sixth, legislation specifically designed to increase financial aid and concomittant central control was passed in 1952. Seventh, legislation was passed in 1965 enabling the placement of all northern remote education under provincial control. Finally, the entire period was characterized by increasing central control of education (and decreasing local control) and the emergence of powerful agents within the central authority who advocated improved educational opportunity in the area.

1965-79. The following developments were significant during the first fourteen years of the Frontier School Division following its foundation in 1965. First, the most significant, the Division was founded and organized. Schools which had previously been under four different jurisdictions were placed under one and an administrative structure was designed and built to oversee them. Second, a massive building program provided modern facilities in all communities. Third, a regular and consistent funding arrangement was a major development. This arrangement was also significant in that it virtually removed the responsibility to pay for education from local residents. Fourth, the professional staff of the Division was considerably upgraded. Fifth, a critical development was the complete relegation of local resident influence over education to an advisory capacity. Despite current efforts to increase the quality and quantity of influence, this particular development remains a significant feature of the Division. Sixth, a major development has been the emphasis, particularly since 1976, on developing curricula which are more relevant to Frontier students than

is the provincial program. Finally, the special status of northern remote education and the emergence of important civil servants willingly advocating for improved educational service in the north continued to be evident.

Centralization and Decentralization

Part of this study involved examining the data about the organization and administration of education in northern remote communities from the perspective of centralization and decentralization. The purpose of this analysis was to provide an additional perspective from which to view the evolution of Frontier School Division.

During the early years, the governing of the schools in question was politically decentralized with the beginnings of a trend toward more central influence. Several factors explain this. A dominant historical pattern of the control of education at the community level was most significant. The lack of ability to cope with formidable isolation prevented a more unified delivery system. The mixed jurisdictional arrangements in the north of both federal and provincial responsibility, compounded by the involvement of religious groups, prevented a uniform pattern for education. A desire for equal educational opportunity for northern remote settlements became evident and was the initial impetus for greater central interest and influence.

Political decentralization as a form of governance continued between the Wars with a marked increase in the central role within the partnership. The traditional arrangement for schooling and geographical considerations remained as forces supporting political decentralization. The desire by government for equal educational opportunity

for the remote communities and the actions of senior civil servants produced greater central involvement. Two major commissions on education and increased consolidations in the south increased the pressure to centralize.

After World War II and until the end of the 1950's the control of education became increasingly administratively centralized. The key determinants of this development were the actions of senior government officials working to provide equal educational opportunity combined with the evident inability of communities to support improved education and the increased willingness of government to pay provided they assumed a greater control.

Throughout the 1960's and especially following the foundation of the Division in 1965, administrative centralization continued. This administrative centralization resulted from three main factors. There had been a steady increase in central involvement since the 1920's. By the early 1960's the large majority of schools in what became Frontier School Division were, in one way or another, administered by government. The Division was designed and legislated to be highly centralized. The personal styles of senior executives responsible for the Division were conducive to a highly centralized organization. It may also be argued that the task of building the Division was best accomplished by a highly centralized organization.

A trend toward decentralization became evident in 1971. This shift toward greater involvement by community residents became particularly evident subsequent to 1975. Although residents in 1979 had no legal authority, they had considerable power through influence.

The main determinants of this shift toward decentralization were the preferences of chief executives, changing educational priorities, and political pressures at both the provincial and local levels.

Over the entire history there was a trend to centralization until 1971 when the trend shifted toward decentralization. These trends were brought about by combinations of factors rather than a single one. These combinations changed over time as the effects of particular factors changed. However, it was clear that the desire for equal education opportunity and the personal style and preferences of chief executives were the key determinants in the long process of centralization and the much shorter period of decentralization.

Conclusions

The data of the study provided the basis for a number of generalizations:

1. The geographic, demographic, racial, political and economic setting within which Frontier School Division (and its earlier forms) operated has greatly affected its development. The communities of Frontier School Division are located on the fringe of the southern rural and urban mainstream of Manitoba. As such the educational services they have received have been unique and often of a different form and quality than elsewhere in the Province. The obvious inequality of educational opportunity in the remote north led politicians and administrators to infuse large sums of money and to place increasingly centralized forms of administration of education on these communities. The cultural and racial backgrounds of the people,

in the opinion of many, led to a mixed control of education and the involvement of the churches. This same background has resulted in recent attempts to develop unique curricula with the Division. Whether or not it could have been done otherwise is not the issue; it was done this way. Frontier developed as it did, to a great degree, as a response to the perceived educational needs of people on the 'fringe'.

2. The style, preferences and actions of important officials were more significant than the structures within which they operated in determining significant developments and trends. Rogers and his successors determined what the educational priorities were, and established structures and ways of operating to respond to them. This is not to say that they were not affected by existing situations, political pressures, social trends and other forces. However, Frontier School Division surely would not have evolved as it did had not Rogers, Bateman, Grafton, Jasper, Orlikow, Handley and others chosen to stretch the limits of their jobs, in many cases step considerably beyond those limits, and in all cases leave their distinctive mark on this particular educational system.

3. Types of and trends toward centralization and decentralization were influenced by combinations of factors rather than by single forces. In all instances, no single factor acted alone to influence centralization or decentralization. There were always forces which promoted a particular trend and a smaller number which retarded it. However, the desire for equal educational opportunity, the educational task at a particular point in time and the preferences of chief executive officers emerged as the most significant forces. It is also possible to conclude that the desire for equal educational opportunity

and the changing educational priorities were motivating factors for the chief executives whose actions then became the single most important factor.

4. In general, increases in central input to educational developments has, in this case, resulted in corresponding losses of local control and increased central control. Consistently throughout the development of education in northern remote communities government has increased its control as it increased its share of funding. The Murray Commission legislation of 1925, the Special Schools legislation of 1952 and the enabling legislation for the Northern School Division of 1965 all significantly increased government funds and control while reducing local costs and control. This case parallels other situations in that the central authority in response to demands for more funds demands more power. However, by 1979 citizens of Frontier School Division occupied a unique position in educational governance. They contributed minimally in terms of educational finance yet had a substantial influence in the decision-making of Frontier School Division. Thus, in its day-to-day operation Frontier School Division reveals elements of political decentralization.

Implications

Implications for Further Research

This study has presented an overview of the development of Frontier School Division. It has uncovered several areas which provide ground for further study.

1. Each time period within the history of the Division could be studied in depth. Such studies would provide definitive views of the developments of education in the remote north.

2. This study has not stressed the viewpoint of Division residents. A study which produced an historical view of the evolution of education from a community perspective when coupled with the present study would provide an interesting contrast and comparison. It may be that the residents of the Division have a much different view of the development of education in the north from the one presented here.

3. In that the personal style and preferences of chief executives have emerged in the most significant factor in this case, a study of the motivations of these actors or ones in similar situations is suggested. It was beyond the scope of this study to determine all of the motivations of Rogers, Bateman, and others. However, a study focussing on this theme alone might produce valuable data.

4. A study which analyzed the organization and administration of schooling for 'fringe' peoples in other parts of Canada is also implied. Is the case of Frontier unique or typical? How have other jurisdictions evolved? Can they be analyzed fruitfully from the perspective of centralization and decentralization? If so, were there evident trends and what influenced them? Were the influential factors the same or different from those in Frontier School Division?

Conceptual and Theoretical Insights

There are two important implications in this regard. First, this study implies that the actions of chief executives, whatever their

motivations, are a dominant feature of 'public' institutions. Chief executives in Frontier School Division and the Manitoba Department of Education, although public employees exercised considerable influence over their institutions. People make, adapt and change the organizational structures within which they work even if they choose to operate from an existing structure and not change it. Second, centralization and decentralization must be viewed both as types and trends. That is, while an organization at a particular point in time may be accurately characterized as politically decentralized, attention must be paid to determine whether the organization is tending toward centralization or decentralization. Centralization and decentralization represent both a state of affairs and a process of organizational evolution. Thus studies using these concepts must view organizations from both perspectives.

Implications for the Frontier
School Division

This study implies that the Division, as all others, is a product of its history. The study also implies that it would be valuable for the Division to be aware of its ongoing evolution. This awareness might well be tied to location of decision-making power. In other words, the type of, or trend towards centralization or decentralization might prove a useful perspective from which to view the development of the Division. Those involved with the Division might, for example, profit from comparing current to desired levels of decentralization and viewing policy decisions from those perspectives.

Second, in that the actions of chief executives have been so

critical in the evolution of the Division, attention to this as an ongoing phenomenon would provide valuable information to the Division and context for its decision-making processes. At least as long as the present legal structure of the Division remains, the actions of chief executives are going to remain critical and thus provide a valuable indicator of ongoing developments.

Postscript

This history of Frontier School Division is now complete. There are much valuable data yet to be gathered and analyzed about this unique educational organization. One may agree or disagree with the choices made which resulted in this particular evolution. However, as with all historical developments, the most beguiling point is, no one will ever know for certain whether it could have been otherwise.

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Dalton, Robert W., Winnipeg, January 31, 1980.

Grafton, Bernard, Winnipeg, January 24, 1980.

Handley, J. L., Winnipeg, July 10, 1980.

Heroux, Lee, Waterhen, May 19, 1980.

Jasper, Kenneth R., Winnipeg, January 25, 1980.

Leperre, T., Winnipeg, March 12, 1980.

McCormick, G. K. W., Winnipeg, February 20, and May 22, 1980.

Milner, John W., Cranberry Portage, February 19, 1980.

Orlikow, Lionel, Winnipeg, August 11, 1980.

Reagan, Dan, Winnipeg, February 20, 1980.

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APPENDIX A

List of Interviewees

INTERVIEWEES

1. Charles Bridle

- Assistant Provincial Official Trustee, Manitoba Department of Education, 1963-65.
- Provincial Official Trustee, 1966- .

2. Bernard Grafton

- Supervisor of Special Schools, Manitoba Department of Education, 1948-74.
- Consultant to the Department, 1974-76.
- Retired.

3. Kenneth R. Jasper

- Inspector of Schools, Manitoba Department of Education, 1955-65.
- Official Trustee and Superintendent of Frontier School Division, 1965-75.
- Retired.

4. Robert W. Dalton

- Inspector of Schools, Manitoba Department of Education, 1948-53.
- Director of Administration, 1953-65.
- Assistant Deputy Minister, 1965-68.
- Associate Deputy Minister, 1968-72.
- Deputy Minister, 1972-74.
- Consultant to the Manitoba Association of School Trustees, 1975-77.
- Acting Deputy Minister, 1977-78.
- Special Policy Consultant to the Minister of Education, 1978- .

5. B. Scott Bateman

- Inspector of Schools, Manitoba Department of Education, 1945-47.
- Chief Administrative Officer (Director of Administration), 1948-53.
- Deputy Minister of Education, 1953-66.
- Deputy Minister of Colleges and Universities, 1966-72.
- Retired.

6. L. Orlikow
 - Director of Planning and Research, Manitoba Department of Education, 1971-72.
 - Assistant Deputy Minister, 1972-73.
 - Associate Deputy Minister, 1973-74.
 - Deputy Minister, 1974-77.
 - Official Trustee and Superintendent of Frontier School Division, 1975-76.

7. J. L. Handley
 - Official Trustee and Superintendent of Frontier School Division, 1976 - .

8. T. Leperre
 - Chairperson of the Waterhen School Committee, 1965 - .
 - Member of Frontier School Division, Central Advisory Committee, 1968 - .

9. G. K. W. McCormick
 - Bursar, Frontier Collegiate Institute, 1965-68.
 - Comptroller and Residence Administrator, Frontier Collegiate Institute, 1968-71.
 - Assistant Secretary Treasurer, Frontier School Division, 1972-75.
 - Secretary-Treasurer, 1975- .

10. William Arthurson
 - Member, Rossville School Committee, Norway House, 1965-79.
 - Community Liaison Officer, Frontier School Division, 1979- .

11. Lee Heroux
 - Student, Frontier Collegiate Institute, 1967-71.
 - Community Liaison Officer, Frontier School Division, 1972- .

12. Dan Reagan
 - Teacher, Frontier School Division, 1968-73.
 - Area Superintendent, Frontier School Division, 1974- .

13. Doreen Beaupre

- Member, Frontier School Division Central Advisory Committee, 1972-75.
- Member, Gillam School Committee, 1970-75.

14. John W. Milner

- Principal, Frontier Collegiate Institute, 1965-68.
- Assistant Superintendent for Secondary Education, Frontier School Division, 1968-69.
- Supervising Principal for Norway House, 1970-71.
- Teacher, Cranberry Portage Elementary School, 1974-76.
- Teacher, Frontier Collegiate Institute, 1976 - .

15. D. Bruce Sealey

- Teacher with Special Schools Branch and Indian Affairs Branch, 1947-56.
- Teacher in rural Manitoba, 1956-59.
- Teacher and principal in St. Vital, 1960-65.
- Department of Education, 1965-69.
- University of Manitoba, 1970 - .
- Wellknown author and consultant in cross cultural education.

APPENDIX B

Interview Schedule

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Interviews followed a semi-structured format with the following as initial questions. There was considerable opportunity within the interview process to pursue additional data that appeared valuable to the purpose of the study.

1. What, in your opinion, were the important developmental steps in the history of Frontier School Division?

2. How did each of those steps come about, in your opinion?

3. At each of these steps or stages, how were decisions made? Who had the power to decide?

4. What factors determined how the Division developed and how decisions were made in _____ era? Which factor(s) was most important?

5. How, in your opinion, would one characterize the _____ era in terms of the placement of decision-making power (centralization-decentralization)?

6. What persisted from _____ era to _____ era? What changed? How do you account for that?

APPENDIX C

Enrolments, Frontier School Division

December, 1979

	SP	N	K	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	TOTAL
BOCHET		20	20	37	21	31	24	13	16	8	13	5				208
LLAM			36	34	38	41	26	35	25	31	25	22	20	15	7	356
NPEG				2	4	3	4	1	3	3	4					24
LIE LINDAL			7	5	6	5	8	1	1	4	3					40
CAR BLACKBURN		24	35	32	37	49	20	16	33	22	8	7	4	1		288
KWITONEI			3	5	7	3	7	8	4	18	4	6				65
TICKET PORTAGE		1	3	6	8	10	11	5	10	3	2					59
BOWDEN		17	20	22	19	21	22	21	16	24	23	18	16	12	7	258
TOTAL		62	124	143	140	153	122	101	108	113	82	58	40	28	14	1298
ARROWS JUNCTION			10	9	12	16	18	10	6	7	4					92
OLD LAKE		2	3	11	7	2	3	3	5	2	1					39
DORMORANT LAKE		17	13	20	12	13	14	9	13	10	17	19				157
RANBERRY PORTAGE		18	26	21	29	22	24	14	18							172
RANE RIVER		13	16	12	11	21	11	7	17	19	6	12				145
UCK BAY		15	20	16	19	20	18	17	14	22	19	15				195
RAND RAPIDS		20	22	28	25	28	34	17	24	23	33	16	23	9	14	316
ELICAN RAPIDS		10	11	16	20	24	13	23	20	17	12					166
ATERHEN		15	24	25	27	36	24	18	23	28	13	9				242
TOTAL		110	145	158	162	182	159	118	140	128	105	71	23	9	14	1524
ERENS RIVER	14	30	26	47	20	44	23	41	37	24	14	7	9	7	1	344
IG BLACK RIVER				2		2	3		4	1						12
ACK RIVER		37	52	69	39	50	64	48	34	37	31	39				500
ATHESON ISLAND			4	2	1	5	2	2	1	2	3	5	1			29
MOOSE LAKE		29	28	42	45	50	35	35	15	21	18	13				331
ORWAY HOUSE H.S.	12									41	14	23	26	16	14	146
INE DOCK				3	2	2		3	1	2	3	2				18
RINCESS HARBOUR				2	1			1		1	2					7
OSSVILLE		28	33	23	59	23	46	60	29							301
AN ANTONIO			1	5		1	2	1	1		1					12
ANIPIGOW		20	18	22	18	19	17	19	24	20	27	16	16	10	5	251
ARRENS LANDING			1		2	1		3		1	4					12
TOTAL	26	44	163	217	187	197	192	213	146	150	117	105	52	33	20	1962
FRONTIER COLLEGIATE										22	20	34	98	53	21	248
TUDENT PLACEMENT	1											17	46	33	20	123
RAVD TOTAL	27	315	432	518	489	542	473	432	394	413	324	285	259	162	83	5755

APPENDIX D

Enabling Legislation Respecting the
'Northern School Division'

(b) the board of each district that under the award is to be transferred, or the request of which to be transferred or included in a division is rejected;

(c) each municipality and division affected by the award or that has an interest therein;

(d) any person designated for the purpose by the members of any group of resident electors that has made a request as herein provided.

Submission to
vote of
electors.

(11) Where a matter is referred to a Board of Reference under section 272 or under section 444A, the board, before making its decision thereon, may require that the matter be submitted to a vote of the resident electors of the school district or districts to be transferred or included in a division. En. S.M., 1959, (2nd Sess.), c. 49, s. 12; am. S.M., 1961 (1st Sess.), c. 50, s. 28.

Taking of
vote.

(12) Where a matter is submitted to a vote as provided in subsection (11), the returning officer of the division shall be the returning officer who takes the vote, and the vote shall be taken in the manner directed by the Board of Reference. En. S.M., 1959, (2nd Sess.), c. 49, s. 12; en. S.M., 1959, (2nd Sess.), c. 47, s. 14. (S. 417C; am.)

PART XIX A

NORTHERN SCHOOL DIVISION

Establishment
of school
division.

471D. (1) The minister may, by order, establish a school division to include such territory north of the northern boundary of townships 22 in the province as he considers advisable.

Alteration of
area.

(2) The minister may, by order, from time to time, withdraw territory from a school division established under subsection (1) or add further territory north of the northern boundary of townships 22 in the province to a school division established under subsection (1), as he considers advisable.

Contents of
order.

(3) An order made under subsection (1) or (2) shall include

- (a) the name and number of the school division;
- (b) the date on which the order takes effect; and
- (c) a description of the territory included in the school division, added to the school division, or withdrawn from the school division, as the case may be.

Limitation on
order.

(4) The minister shall not include in a school division established under subsection (1), any territory that is within or forms part of a school division established under Part XIX.

Non-applica-
tion of subsec.
(4).

(5) Subsection (4) does not apply to the School District of Big Island Number 589, to the School District of Grund Number 2343, and the School District of Waterhen Number 1955. En. S.M., 1966, c. 50, s. 15. En. S.M., 1965, c. 66, s. 1. (S. 471D; am.)

Vesting of assets of school districts.

471E. (1) On the date of establishment of a school division under subsection (1) of section 471D

(a) all the property, rights, and assets of each school district in the school division are vested in the division subject to any subsisting mortgages, charges, liens or encumbrances; and

(b) all debts, obligations, and liabilities of each school district in the division shall be assumed by the division and become debts, obligations, and liabilities of and owing by the division as if they had originally been contracted or undertaken by it.

Assets, etc., of special schools.

(2) Notwithstanding any other Act of the Legislature, on the day of establishment of a school division under subsection (1) of section 471D, all the property, rights, and assets of the government used in connection with, or pertaining to, any special school or facilities established and maintained by the minister under section 181 within the territory included in the division, except Crown lands and except such property rights and assets as the minister may exempt from the application of this section under the order establishing the school division, are vested in the division. En. S.M. 1965, c. 66, s. 1. (S. 471E; am.)

Appointment of official trustee.

471F. (1) Upon the establishment of a school division under subsection (1) of section 471D, the minister shall appoint an official trustee for the division, who shall also be the official trustee for each school district in the division.

Salary.

(2) The minister shall fix the salary of an official trustee appointed under subsection (1), and the salary shall be paid from and out of the Consolidated Fund with moneys authorized by an Act of the Legislature to be paid and applied for the purposes of this Act.

Division committee.

(3) The minister may appoint a committee of persons residing in the division to advise and assist the official trustee on or in respect of school matters in the division.

Local committees.

(4) The minister may appoint a local committee

(a) for any school district within the division; or

(b) for any settlement within the division where there is a school;

of persons residing within that district or settlement to advise and assist the official trustee on or in respect of school matters in the district or settlement, as the case may be. En. S.M., 1965, c. 66, s. 1. (S. 471F).

Powers of official trustee.

471G. (1) In addition to the specific powers, duties, and functions set out in this Part, an official trustee appointed under subsection (1) of section 471F has and may perform in respect of any school operated by the division all the powers, duties, and functions that may be exercised or performed by

(a) an official trustee under this Act;

(b) a board of trustees of a school division established under Part XIX; and

(c) a board of trustees of a school district.

Supervision
and adminis-
tration
of schools.

(2) The official trustee of a division appointed under subsection (1) of section 471F shall

(a) administer and supervise all schools within the division, whether elementary or secondary;

(b) administer and supervise the affairs of all school districts within the division.

Special powers
of official
trustee.

(3) An official trustee of a division appointed under subsection (1) of section 471F may

(a) arrange for transportation for pupils attending schools within the division;

(b) arrange for living accommodation and necessaries for pupils attending secondary schools within the division;

(c) with the approval of the minister, establish one or more secondary schools within or without the division for the education of pupils residing within the division and determine the courses to be offered thereat;

(d) with the approval of the minister, establish and provide for a residence for students attending any secondary schools established under clause (c);

(e) employ and pay teachers and other employees required for the operation of the division, and the schools and residence established and operated by the division. En. S.M., 1965, c. 66, s. 1. (S. 471G).

Estimate of
approved
expenses.

471H. (1) In each year the official trustee of a division established under subsection (1) of section 471B shall prepare in accordance with the provision of section 468 in so far as they are applicable an estimate of the approved expenses and revenues for all schools operated in the division, including grants of the division for the current year and shall submit the estimate to the minister for his approval.

Apportion-
ment.

(2) Where the minister approves an estimate submitted to him under subsection (1), subsection (1) of section 469 and section 470 apply, *mutatis mutandis*, as though the division was a division established under section 443. En. S.M., 1965, c. 66, s. 1. (S. 471H).

Balanced
assessment.

471I. (1) Subject to subsection (2), the minister shall in each year establish a balanced assessment for a division established under subsection (1) of section 471D, which shall be the total of the balanced assessment for each school district within the division, and sections 473, 474, and 476, apply to the division, *mutatis mutandis*.

Year of es-
tablishment.

(2) Notwithstanding section 474, in the year in which a division is established under subsection (1) of section 471D, the general levy for the division is the total amounts of the general levies calculated under section 474 in respect of each school district included in the division in that year and required to be raised by the municipality or local government district in which such a school district is situated. En. S.M., 1965, c. 66, s. 1. (S. 471I).

Appeal of ap-
portionment.

471J. (1) Where a municipality or a local government district wholly or partly included in a division established under subsection

(1) of section 471D receives notice of apportionment as provided in subsections (1) and (4) of section 470, it may appeal the apportionment and section 471 applies, *mutatis mutandis*.

Levies.

(2) Where a municipality or a local government district all or part of which is within a division established under subsection (1) of section 471D receives a notice of the amount apportioned to the municipality or local government district under subsection (1) of section 470 and of the amount allocated to the municipality or local government district under subsection (1) of section 473 and under section 476, sections 474 to 481, except subsection (3) of section 478 and subsections (3) and (4) of section 479, apply, *mutatis mutandis*. En. S.M., 1965, c. 66, s. 1. (S. 471J).

Grants.

471K. (1) Sections 482 to 485 and section 487 apply, *mutatis mutandis*, to a division established under subsection (1) of section 471D and to school districts within the division.

Special grants.

(2) The minister, with the approval of the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council, may make such additional grants as he deems advisable to a division established under subsection (1) of section 471D for the purposes of capital and operating expenditures. En. S.M., 1965, c. 66, s. 1. (S. 471K).

PART XX

TAXATION AND GRANTS RESPECTING SCHOOL DIVISIONS

GENERAL LEVY

Application
of Part.

472. This Part applies only with respect to school divisions established under Part XIX. En. S.M., 1958, 2nd Sess., c. 7, s. 3. (S. 472).

Calculations
to be made
by minister.

473. (1) Where a division is established, in each year following the year in which it is established the minister shall, on or before the first day of March in that year,

(a) calculate the balanced assessment of the division for the year;

(b) establish the authorized number of the teachers in the division on the thirty-first day of December of the last preceding year;

(c) establish for the year the balanced assessment in respect of each of the authorized number of teachers in the division, by dividing the balanced assessment of the division for that year by the authorized number of teachers in the division for the last preceding year;

(d) determine, as provided in section 474, the amount to be raised by a general levy on the taxable property in the division;

(e) allocate to each municipality or local government district wholly or partly included in the division the pro-

APPENDIX E

Bateman Memorandum Outlining Operation of
Frontier School Division

R - DEPARTMENTAL MEMORANDUM

PROVINCE
OF
MANITOBA

DATE..... July 27th, 1965.

TO..... Honourable G. Johnson, M.D.,

B. Scott Bateman,

Deputy Minister.

Minister of Education.

SUBJECT.....

Recommendations on Matters of Principle for the Operation
of Frontier School Division

Employment of Staff

Teaching staff for the entire division shall be division employees so that

- (1) the number of civil servants is not increased;
- (2) government does not have to negotiate the salary matters with the teachers;
- (3) the division office and not the government answers local complaints about the teacher.

Non-teaching staff, e.g. caretakers throughout the division including Cranberry Portage, the supervisory staff in the residence, office staff, kitchen and dining room staff, etc., should be division employees so that they are directly responsible to the principals of the various schools for the conduct of children in their presence, and for their own conduct towards children.

All persons at Cranberry Portage who are responsible for the care, operation and maintenance of property and plant as opposed to the use made of it, except caretakers, should be employees of the Department of Public Works.

Subject to the statutory authority of the Official Trustee, the principal of the school at Cranberry Portage should be regarded as the chief authority at the school and his orders should be carried out by all people employed there, including Public Works personnel, except when his orders are in conflict with orders they have received from the Department of Public Works.

Getting

The division's estimate of expenses is to be prepared by the Official Trustee and to be subject to review and approval by the Minister before being adopted. It should be presented to the Minister not later than October 15th preceeding the year to which the budget will apply.

The estimate of expenditures is to be a single composite estimate for the entire division with supporting figures detailed for each school of the division.

Successive estimates over a five year period should provide for the up-grading of the physical plant and instructional services of the division to a standard comparable with that prevailing in the rest of the province.

July 27th, 1965.

- . The estimate of receipts shall include:
 - (1) grants;
 - (2) miscellaneous revenue including charges for board and room, non-resident fees, etc.;
 - (3) taxes;
 - (4) special government grants.
- . The estimate of revenues shall be presented to the Minister for scrutiny and approval at the same time as the estimate of expenditures.
- . When the estimates of expenditures and revenues have been approved by the Minister, they should be sent to Treasury Board for approval and when that approval has been granted, the estimate of special grants required for the division should be included in the estimates of the department, and after those estimates have been voted an order-in-council should be presented calling for the payment of the stated sum of money in amounts and at times approved by the Minister.

Cranberry Portage

- . The school at Cranberry Portage shall be known as the Frontier Collegiate Institute.
- . Those eligible to attend at Cranberry Portage will include all students resident in the school division who have attained the required minimum standing for admission. No student shall be barred because of a genuine inability to pay any costs or charges imposed by the division.
- . Students shall be transported to Cranberry Portage at division expense from agreed points reasonably close to their homes at the time of school opening in the fall and shall be similarly returned to those points from the school on the closing of the school in June. At the request of student or parents, and with the approval of the Official Trustee, students may be similarly taken home and returned to the school at Christmas and Easter. Transportation will be by road or rail wherever possible, but air transportation will be provided to students whose homes are inaccessible by road or rail.
- . Non-resident tuition fees at Cranberry Portage will be set at the rate provided from time to time in The Public Schools Act or by order-in-council. (For the present these rates are \$12.50 per month for most secondary students, and \$20.00 per month for Treaty Indian children.)
- . Rates for board and room at Cranberry shall be as follows:

Resident students	- \$1.00 per day	{ i.e. \$7.00 per week};
Non-resident students	- 2.00 per day	{ i.e. \$14.00 per week}.
- . Students may be segregated for religious teaching but for no other purpose. The principal may arrange dormitory assignments so that Roman Catholic children room together and non-Roman Catholic children room together, but the principal shall see that students are not otherwise segregated by race, colour, religion, etc.

July 27th, 1965.

Students whose parents are unable to pay all or part of the school charges for board, room, etc., will be eligible to apply for bursaries to assist them in the payment of these charges.

The principal should be authorized to issue free of charge to every student, supplies of soap, tooth paste or powder, tooth brushes, in whatever manner he considers best to guarantee that children are free from disease and learn accepted standards of personal cleanliness.

Arrangements should be made with the local health unit and/or the Department of Health to provide periodic physical checks of students, advice to the school authorities on matters of health, hygiene, etc., advice on the provision of nursing and dental services, and the need for provision of things like eye glasses and hearing aids where necessary.

A 66 passenger bus and a station wagon should be part of the school's equipment. It is suggested that since the cost will fall on the government anyway, the purchase of these things should be made by the Purchasing Bureau from the capital account for Cranberry Portage and they should then remain as government property on loan to the school division, and as government property they should be eligible for servicing, repair and maintenance services at the Provincial Garage at The Pas. They would then be available for the transportation of students between their homes and school, and from Cranberry Portage to other points for inter-school activities. The station wagon could serve for the transportation of small groups or small articles of supplies and equipment, and it should be of a size which would permit it to be used as occasion demanded as an ambulance between the school and hospital at The Pas or Flin Flon.

At the discretion of the principal and on advice of the local health unit, the school station wagon might be used as an ambulance at the service of the community at large in case of an emergency and, similarly, emergency first aid might be made available to the community at the school infirmary.

Staff Accommodation

Teacherages of good quality should be provided at all isolated points.

A house should be provided for the principal at Cranberry Portage and a house should similarly be provided for the vice-principal if he is a married man. The division should not undertake to supply houses for other married teachers or employees since some houses are available for sale or for rent in town. Single room and two-room suites are available for staff members in the dormitory and the fire hall, and these should be provided to staff members who wish them at reasonable rates by the division. All rates charged for staff accommodation should be comparable to that which would be charged by the government under similar circumstances.

Legal Services

Section 471E of The Public Schools Act provides that on the date of establishment (which was July 8th, 1965), all property of the school districts included in the division became vested in the division. It also provided that under the same circumstances, property of the government used in connection with or pertaining to any special schools or facilities established or maintained by the Minister within the division became vested in the division. Legal steps will have to be taken to

nourable G. Johnson, M.D.

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transfer titles. It is suggested that the services of the Attorney-General's Department be provided to the division to accomplish these transfers.

It is recommended that apart from the provision made in "A" above, the division engage the services of a local solicitor when and if such services are required.

General

An advisory committee should be set up for the division composed of one person named by Welfare, one named by Health, one by Public Works, five responsible people selected from localities in the division, the Official Trustee, the Assistant Official Trustee, and the principal of Frontier Collegiate Institute. Their first meeting should be held in mid-August at Cranberry Portage, and as a regular routine they should probably meet three or four times a year thereafter.

The local committees for which provision is made in Section 471F (4) should be appointed by the Minister as soon as it is practical to do so.

It is also suggested that a number of representative people not members of the advisory committee be brought to Cranberry Portage in August so that they might familiarize themselves with the physical and academic advantages it will offer and do some missionary work back home. This would not be repeated in other years but would be a one-time effort. As a courtesy, someone from Indian Affairs should be on this group or on the advisory committee, and it might be a good idea to bring in somebody from Hillridge and from Stedman; several M.L.A.'s interested in the division should also be included.

Arrangements are already underway for the division to receive the usual establishment grant of \$10,000.00 by order-in-council, but additional moneys will be immediately and urgently needed while the affairs of the constituent districts are being straightened out and it is suggested that arrangements be made by ministerial order, (from Appropriation V-2-b-2), order-in-council (from Appropriation V-2-a-1), or whatever way is expedient to place an additional \$50,000.00 in the account of the division.

Cost of Operation and Maintenance of the Plant at Cranberry Portage

It is recommended that while the operation and maintenance of the plant at Cranberry Portage is the responsibility of the Department of Public Works, that department should be reimbursed annually by the school division for these costs. This would tend to make the cost of operating the school division realistic in comparison with other school divisions, and would make our statistics on total costs of education more accurate. It would, in addition, transfer the net cost from the estimates of the Department of Public Works to the grant section of the estimates of the Department of Education, thereby providing a more accurate indicator of the amount of provincial money being devoted to school district and division operation, and giving the government credit for an educational expenditure as such.

This type of transfer is not normally made in the government's accounts but it is regularly done between the Department of Education and the Department of Public Works in connection with the operation of Brandon and Manitoba Institute of Technology in order that the operation and maintenance expenses may be shared with the Federal Government as an educational expenditure.

APPENDIX F

Salary Schedule
Northern School Division

SALARY SCHEDULE
NORTHERN SCHOOL DIVISION

It is hereby agreed that the members of the teaching staff of the elementary schools within the Northern School Division will be paid in accordance with the following schedule:

<u>Years of Experience</u>	<u>Class 1</u>	<u>Class 2</u>	<u>Class 3</u>	<u>Class 4</u>	<u>Class 5</u>
0	3400	3800	4300	4800	5300
1	3600	4000	4500	5025	5525
2	3800	4200	4700	5250	5750
3	4000	4400	4900	5475	5975
4	4200	4600	5100	5700	6200
5	4400	4800	5300	5925	6425
6	4600	5000	5500	6150	6650
7	4800	5200	5700	6375	6875
8		5400	5900	6600	7100
9			6100	6825	7325
10				7050	7550

Previous Experience

Full placement on schedule to a maximum of five years for classes one, two and three. Full placement on schedule to a maximum of eight years for classes four and five. Teaching experience gained on Letter of Authority will be recognized for increment purposes, but permit years will not.

Allowance for Improved Qualifications

1) A teacher working for improved standing shall be paid \$100.00 for each university course taken after June 30th, 1965, and \$40.00 for each professional course of one and a half units, over and above the requirements for a Permanent First Class Certificate, taken after June 30th, 1965. This payment is to be made in a lump sum, once only, upon presentation by the teacher of proof of successful completion of a course. Except for deduction of Teachers' Retirement Fund contributions, the lump sum shall be included in the next monthly salary cheque. This payment shall be made to a teacher coming on staff or remaining on staff in the proposed Northern Division, and who has taken a course or courses during July and August of 1965. It shall not apply in the case of a course (or two or more courses taken concurrently) that put a teacher into the next higher classification.

2) Where increased qualifications, or additional courses, are secured which qualify a teacher for an advance on the salary schedule, the resulting increase in salary shall become effective on the following January 1st.

Teachers shall provide the Official Trustee with proof, in writing, of increased qualifications or standing in additional courses at least three weeks prior to the date when the increase in salary is to become effective.

Additional Allowance

A teacher with married status shall be paid a dependent's allowance at the rate of \$400.00 per annum in addition to schedule salary.

Administrative Allowance

The supervision allowance for principals shall be \$100.00 per operating classroom.

Compassionate Leave

One to five days without salary deductions, such days to be charged against the sick leave to which a teacher is entitled. When no sick leave has been accumulated such days will be charged when the sick leave has accumulated. In cases where sick leave has been utilized, the five days granted under this regulation will be charged to the teacher at substitute rates.

Payment of Salary

All salaries shall be paid in twelve equal monthly payments on or before the last teaching day of the month. The first cheque shall be paid on or before September 30th, 1965.

APPENDIX G

Minutes of Manitoba Department of Education Meeting,

May, 1965

Respecting Building Needs in the Northern School Division

BUILDING, MAINTENANCE AND REPAIR

- Princess Harbor - a building needed here.
- Warren's Landing - at present using living room of a house. Building needed soon.
- Matheson Island - has a surplus combination one-room school and teacherage. (Same as at Fisher Bay) Foundation to receive this being built at Warren's Landing. Same deal re moving.
- Loon Straits - has a surplus combination one-room school and teacherage. Foundation to receive this being built at Princess Harbor. This will have to be moved in January or February (Sigfusson or Johnson (Riverton)).

If neither of the surplus buildings mentioned above could be moved to Princess Harbor, there is a trailer home available at Pine Dock. This could be bought for \$1800. It might serve as school and teacherage for a few months, or if not, it could serve as teacherage with present building (which is in bad condition) as school.

There is possible use for this trailer home at Berens River, Island Lake and Warren's Landing.

- Barrows - This is a settlement that should not exist. Peach and Moffat buildings not worth fixing.

Some work should be done here, but if consolidation were carried out soon one would need to be cautious.

- Homebrook - Present school is not worth fixing. If we continue to operate at this site we will need a school building (not necessarily this year). If we do not operate the Homebrook school we will have a surplus teacherage which we could move to Stedman where one is needed. Bernard fencing school and preparing toilets. Getting well dug.

- Stedman - Needs another teacherage for this fall.

- Mallard - Some work on teacherage needed. (Replace insultex with cedar siding)

- National Mills - Contract already made for painting. Good teacherage, fair school.

- Westgate - A good teacherage here. School basically poor.

- South Indian - Material for building school should be taken in this winter - planning for the building should be done this fall.

- Rice Creek - Neither school nor teacherage good. Could write off.

- Wanipigou - If we carry on as Indian Affairs has recommended we shall have to build another room - a temporary school that could convert to a teacherage. The Hillridge trailer school could go to Wanipigou if we build the extra two rooms at Hillridge.

An alternative would be to take students from Wanipigou to Manigotogan.

Anama Bay - A permanent one-room school and a trailer school here. We take in Indian Affairs children. Enrollment varies from 30 - 60. Hardly justifiable to put in two permanent classrooms. Okay.

Big Black River - Have contract with Karl Monkman to put this in shape.

Briggs Spur - Give some thought to hauling kids into Cowan another year.

Brochet - Accommodation for three teachers and three classes.

ComEAU - Unusable.

Crane River - Sandy Point room to be moved. (Could be used for Physical Education, Shops, etc. but not needed at this stage). Have eight rooms all told counting this room.

Duck Bay - Perhaps meeting on June 28.

Labowden - Teachers' quarters may be a problem.

Likwitonei - Two-room school with a fair cottage. Furniture may be needed.

Lillam - School should have indoor toilets. Teachers' quarters may be a problem.

Llford - Have two classrooms and two bedroom teacherage. Have two good teachers.

Lsland Lake - Twenty-four children approximately. Have a new school in estimates. Operating in borrowed building. Material would have to go in in winter for spring construction.

Lhicket Portage - Has one new classroom plus one or two old ones. There is a three-bedroom teacherage.

Lerens River - An unusable one-room school here. Indian Affairs wants to get together with us and build a joint school here as at

Lorway House - We might do a little at present school to make it temporarily usable.

Larrows Junction - A teacherage is needed here, and the building at Barrows North could be hauled in for a teacherage. There is a new two-room school here which could be the start of a consolidated school.

Luck Bay - Repairs and maintenance to teacherage's toilet system and water system.

L. R. Hamilton - Now building a one-room school. See Neil, re this. There is local board here.

There is, in addition a wide array of small jobs to do in both schools and teacherages: water systems, heating systems, desks, windows, doors.

Last year there were 106 contracts during the period from September to March varying from \$1000 up. These included septic tank installations, heating systems, indoor toilets, teacherages, school repairs and wells.

od's Lake - An arctic hut school - hard to move (about \$2000 to move). Also have a trailer house. We are on an island. Indian Affairs is on shore. They are trying to get us to go in on a multi-room school. Their costs are very high. Bernard has always held out for controlling any joint school.

olden Acres - Being closed. Only four kids left when teacher is moved. Bernard has offered teacher a Hutterite school.

illridge - A surplus trailer school here.(not now)

sland Lake - A school site needed in name of northern division. Sigfusson's Transfer (Riverton) freight in here all winter. Riverton 'phone 79374
Winnipeg 'phone SU3 1417

Get a solid price on freighting. Call bids about November for transporting in February and building in May.

atheson Island - There is a three bedroom teacherage besides the combination one-room school and teacherage that will be moved out. We might have to put single teacher in with Penner.

Hauling in temporary classroom from Pine Dock for transition period. One bedroom to be converted to kitchen and living room becoming accommodation for classroom. Karl Monkman is doing this.

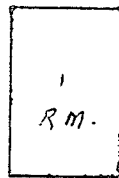
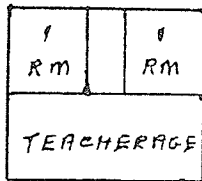
oose Lake - Buildings and staff complete.

ine Dock - Okay. Wiring needed.

rincess Harbor - Ole Anderson can board a teacher until we get a building in. Old school can perhaps be used temporarily.

alt Point - Buildings okay.

outh Indian - School population varies from 2 - 5 rooms.



-- temporary school like Briggs

Bernard had two rooms in estimates.

APPENDIX H

Working Paper on Goals for Frontier School Division

J. L. Handley

May 31, 1976

The Frontier School Division No. 48

Division Headquarters
1402 Notre Dame Avenue
Winnipeg — Manitoba
R3E 3G5

May 31, 1976

TO: All Staff and School Committee Members
Frontier School Division

Attached are some thoughts relative to the philosophy, goals and programs projected for the Division.

The major purpose of this outline is to help you better understand some of my ideas, perspectives and plans for the future. A second purpose is to stimulate a response from you which will assist us all in establishing a cohesive program for the Division.

I don't view the attached paper as a final outline, but rather as a working paper and hope you will take the time to respond. It is only fair to advise you that throughout the coming school year I will be requesting your views on a number of issues through questionnaires and survey forms.

I look forward to your cooperation in designing the most effective, refreshing education system possible within our abilities.

Yours

Joseph L. Handley
Official Trustee & Superintendent

JLH/MV
Att.

May 31, 1976

TO: All Staff and School Committee Members
Frontier School Division

INTRODUCTION

By the end of May I will be a one month veteran as Official Trustee and Superintendent of Frontier School Division. The past four weeks have been hectic. I am sure those of you who are in the central office wonder why I am not in my office more often while those of you who are in the field curse me for not getting out to the communities. Other agencies, government departments and organizations probably believe that I am avoiding them. I intend to make contact with all communities and schools, staff members, and other people with whom we coordinate activities as soon as I can. To date, I have been into twelve communities and have met with the school staffs, school committees and community members in all, as well as with chiefs and councils and mayors and councils in several instances.

While it is true that Frontier School Division has problems which are unique, these are most frequently a direct or indirect result of isolation and small community size. Generally I am impressed with the commitment and concern expressed by school committees, school staffs, and central and regional staff, as well as by all Northern residents. I hope to be able to provide the educational leadership which can best channel the energies of all who are involved in education toward improved quality and effectiveness of school programs for all children within our Division.

GOALS FOR FRONTIER SCHOOL DIVISION

The goals of the Division aimed at providing a high quality learning program for all pupils can be grouped under three broad categories:

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administration, communication and program development. All are of equal priority and importance, although it may be necessary to concentrate on some more than others in the immediate future.

Very little can be accomplished in the classrooms of our schools without the backup support of an effective administration. Administration is meant to be supportive and should only be directive in terms of ensuring that the resources available are deployed to the advantage of the majority of the students and/or those with greatest need. Conflicts are inevitable concerning whether or not established priorities are best. I hope that all involved are sensitive to and empathetic with priorities as seen by others. The major objectives of good administration should be to develop and ensure quality and effectiveness in use of all resources within the parameters of the broad goals of the Division.

Effective administration is a major goal of myself as Official Trustee and Superintendent.

In any organization in which frequent face-to-face contact among all employees and clients is impossible communication becomes a major concern. It is my intention to develop a higher level of awareness among all staff and school committee members of what are the functions of all individuals and Division programs. Without a clear conception of what constitutes the Division, it is doubtful that the ultimate goal of providing any effective and high quality program for all learners will be achieved. The goal of increased awareness and efficient, accurate communication is particularly important in light of the interest taken by some communities in the possibility of assuming more local autonomy in education. All staff should see developing, on the part of other staff and particularly community members, an awareness of their program as an integral part of their role. Teachers, for example, should be able to explain their particular program to other staff as well as to school committee members and the community at large.

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We must develop more effective means of communication within the Division as well as between the Division and involved individuals and agencies.

School program development and implementation is a third major goal of the Division. Program development and implementation includes both the process of actually preparing and teaching a program as well as recruitment, orientation and inservice training of staff to carry out these functions. Provision of support facilities and materials are a joint responsibility of administration and program development. While program implementation is primarily the responsibility of those who work at the instructional level, they require the support of all staff in the Division and especially the principals, area superintendents, and special services staff (psychologist, reading consultant, school health worker, resources coordinator). As a goal I intend that we work toward a situation one year from now in which principals and area superintendents spend at least seventy-five percent of their time on program development and implementation activities.

Program development and implementation is of particular interest to me and I intend to remain very active in this area. After all, this is what the Division is all about.

FRONTIER SCHOOL DIVISION PHILOSOPHY - SOME THOUGHTS

Essentially a philosophy is a statement of basic principles underlying policies, goals and actions.

First, it is important that as a school division we operate on the assumption that all people directly or indirectly involved in the education of students within our Division are motivated toward providing a service that facilitates achievement of the goals of the Division. To assume otherwise becomes self-defeating and frustrating. Yet it is inevitable that goals, programs, or individuals will sometimes be found to be contrary to the broader goals of the Division. Should this be the

case the Division must be prepared to assess its goals as well as the apparently incongruent section and make appropriate adjustments. As well, one must be careful to differentiate between incongruent and innovative, novel, creative approaches to an issue. Too often confusion and inability are disguised as creativity and creativity is misinterpreted as confusion. Creativity does not preclude planning and organization. As a Division we must encourage creativity but not accept confusion.

Generally our goals in education for the Division must be to provide the student with basic skills, knowledge and attitudes essential for successful adjustment to his immediate and future environment. We don't know whether the basic skills of today will be basic skills of tomorrow and whether the student will choose to live in a Southern urban centre or in a small semi-isolated Northern community. We must assume that basic skills involved in reading, written and verbal expression, mathematical computations and thinking will be of value wherever the child chooses to live. A core of basic knowledge must also be determined as well as attitudes, values and beliefs. Whatever goals are determined must be agreeable to the parents of the students. A public meeting in every community at the beginning of the school year which would be devoted entirely to discussions on the goals of education would be worthwhile.

School should be a pleasing place to be for both the students and the staff as well as the community. Every person must have more experiences there that make him feel proud, handy, powerful and a part of team than experiences that are neutral, negative, demeaning or isolating or he will leave as soon as he can. School must be a positive extension of the home and larger community.

Finally, as a Division we must return to the parents the pride and responsibility for their children that has been taken away in the past. A first step is to develop an awareness of what is happening to their children in school then be willing and able to hear what they are asking

even if it is not written as a memo or verbally articulated. Positiveness and involvement grow from responsibility. Responsibility is only meaningful if it is founded in accountability. As teachers in Northern communities we must define our tasks as both in-school instruction as assigned and as facilitators of community involvement within parameters determined by the School Act and our own abilities.

SOME DIRECTIONS FOR 1976-77

1. Administration

- (a) An external study has been made of the organization and administration of Frontier School Division. Recommendations made by the author of this report will be reviewed and acted upon in light of the current trend toward decentralization and increased local autonomy.
- (b) An internal appraisal of maintenance, transportation and minor capital programs has been conducted. The recommendations of this study will be reviewed and acted upon.
- (c) Regular meetings of the Official Trustee and Superintendent, the four Area Superintendents and the Secretary-Treasurer will continue to be held for the purpose of coordinating program and policy developments. This is not a decision-making body but rather a coordinating team of senior level officials for the Division.
- (d) The Frontier School Division policy manual is currently being reviewed. A revised policy manual will be prepared during the 1976-77 school year.
- (e) A Frontier School Division procedures manual will be prepared and will compliment the policy manual.

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- (f) The Official Trustee and Superintendent will continue to meet regularly with the Central Advisory Committee made up of representatives of local school committees. This Committee is advisory to the Official Trustee. A gradual move toward involvement of the CAC as advisory in major policy and procedural matters will take place. It is anticipated that routine community concerns can best be handled by Area Superintendents meeting with local school committees.

2. Communication

- (a) An outline of all Frontier School Division departments' goals and activities will be prepared for circulation to all Division staff and school committees.
- (b) A Frontier School Division Educational News Bulletin will be prepared and will feature one article each month on an outstanding staff member or educational activity. School Committee news will be covered as well.
- (c) A central office staff member will be responsible for coordinating public relation activities both within the Division as well as with outside agencies, organizations and individuals
- (d) A Frontier School Division orientation for all staff and representatives of school committees is planned for August, 1976.
- (e) School staffs are urged to hold information exchange and communication sessions in their communities in order to help communities understand what the school is doing and for the teachers to better understand what the community is doing and requesting.

3. Program Development and Implementation

- (a) Current staffing procedures and personnel services will be reviewed and coordinated to provide greater efficiency and effectiveness.
- (b) Whenever possible teacher aide positions will be designated as Native teacher training positions (PENT or other alternative programs).
- (c) Alternative training programs will be explored as possible means for increasing the number of Native professional and para-professional employees in Frontier School Division.
- (d) Division personnel orientation will be carried out on a regular basis.
- (e) Community orientation for new staff will become the responsibility of the local school committee, current principal and staff and the Area Superintendent.
- (f) Professional development will receive primary direction from the Northern Inservice Committee Frontier representatives and the Frontier Division Association. All professional development must be within the broader goals of the Division. Area Superintendents will be responsible for providing leadership and advice in planning and conducting professional development activities.
- (g) Proposals for ways and means of facilitating program development will be reviewed and adopted for the purposes of the Division.
- (h) Coordination of program development services available from Frontier School Division, provincial government departments, federal government and private agencies, as well as consultation to teachers, principals and superintendents on program

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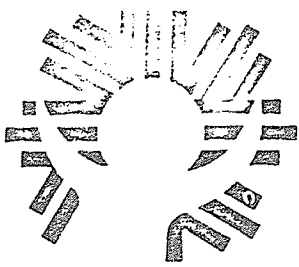
development, will become the major responsibility of a Division staff member.

- (i) Coordination of available resources and services as well as consultation on program development for smaller schools (four or less staff) will become the major responsibility of a Division staff member.
- (j) Procedures for program, pupil and staff evaluation will be designed and implemented.
- (k) All schools, with the advice and assistance of Frontier School Division personnel, community members and outside consultants (if necessary) will be responsible for development of a consistent, clear school program encompassing all subject areas and all grade levels taught in that particular school.
- (l) Area Superintendents will be responsible for providing leadership in development of area and division-wide educational programs as well as local school programs.
- (m) Where feasible and possible within budget restrictions communities are encouraged to proceed with plans to develop high school programs. All students, except those requiring special learning or course facilities, will not receive allowances to attend school elsewhere.
- (n) During the 1976-77 school year a pilot program will be tried in which students attending grades nine or ten in their home community will be given an opportunity to enroll in a single course (home economics or industrial arts) at Frontier Collegiate for a six to eight week period. At the end of this course they will continue with work in core subject areas in their home community.

- (o) Development of a design for long-range planning for programs, facilities and administration will be the responsibility of the Division Planning and Personnel Officer to be appointed. This person will also be responsible for coordination of long-range planning and preparation of a report outlining Frontier School Division's program for education in the future.

APPENDIX I

TERMS OF REFERENCE FOR SCHOOL COMMITTEES, 1978



TERMS OF REFERENCE

for

SCHOOL COMMITTEES

1. INTRODUCTION

School Committees have been formed in Frontier School Division on the basis of the assumption that there are positive benefits to be gained from parental involvement in the education of their children.

Parental attitudes towards the schools and pupil achievement are assumed to benefit from parental involvement in education.

2. LEGAL BASIS

Section 490(1) of the Public Schools Act gives the Official Trustee of Frontier School Division powers and responsibilities similar to those of an elected school board in other School Divisions.

Section 490(3) and 490(4) give authority for the appointment of a Division Committee and local committees to advise the Official Trustee.

Division Committee

"The Minister may appoint a committee of persons residing in the Division to advise and assist the Official Trustee on or in respect of school matters in the Division." 490(3)

Local Committee

"The Minister may appoint a local committee

- (a) for any school district within the Division; or
 - (b) for the settlement within the Division where there is a school; consisting of persons residing within that district or settlement to advise and assist the Official Trustee on or in respect of school matters in the district or settlement, as the case may be."
- 490(4)

3. FORMATION OF COMMITTEE

Under the authority granted by the Public Schools Act, local committees are formed following an election in each community in which there is a school. Once elected, each school committee member's position on the committee is confirmed by a letter of appointment signed by the Official Trustee on behalf of the Minister of Education.

Area and Division Advisory Committee members are elected and then appointed from among members of local school committees in a similar procedure.

4. FUNCTIONS OF SCHOOL COMMITTEES

The legal functions of school committees are to advise and assist the Official Trustee in respect of school matters in their respective communities. Although final authority for decisions on educational matters rests with the Official Trustee, the Official Trustee is committed to very seriously consider all advice and recommendations presented by school committees.

It is the intention of the Official Trustee that school committees act in essentially the same capacity and with the same procedures as would a duly elected school board in a school district or school division, with the limitation that school committees shall advise and assist rather than make final decisions.

As does a school board, a school committee provides each community with an insight into and a voice in the operation and organization of the schools and also provides an avenue for wider community understanding and participation in the educational process. Should a community or group of communities decide at some time in the future to request permission from the Minister of Education to form a school district the Official Trustee will assist in training interested community members in school board operations.

Specifically, school committees may choose to provide advice and assistance in any or all of the following areas:

(a) School Policies, Procedures, Programs and Activities

Responsibilities for school committees choosing to be involved in this area would include:

- (i) Approval, at a regular meeting, of all current and new school policies, procedures, programs and activities introduced by the principal and staff of the local school or other Division staff.
- (ii) Recommendation of new policies, procedures, programs and activities to the principal, staff, Area Superintendent or Official Trustee.

Note: It is required by Frontier School Division policy that the school committee give written approval to all educational tours, sports events and other extra-curricular activities. In the case of a new school program being introduced by the principal and staff approval, again, must be received from the school committee before the course of

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instruction is actually begun. (The Official Trustee must also approve new programs. In the event that school policies, procedures, programs and activities approved by the school committee, or introduced by the school committee, are contrary to Frontier School Division policy, or do not meet the requirements of provincial or Division regulations and guidelines, the Official Trustee retains the right and responsibility to overrule the decisions of the staff or school committee.)

(b) Annual School Budget

Responsibilities for school committees choosing to be involved in this area would include:

- (i) Involvement in the preparation and approval of the draft school budget. Each year each school in the Division is asked to prepare a draft school budget. School committees shall be familiar with all items in the school budget, and to give written approval in the form of a motion to the draft budget prepared and submitted to the Area Superintendent. Although it is desired that school committees become very actively involved in the actual preparation of the budget in order that they become more familiar with Division operations, the level to which the school committee does become involved in the preparation of this document may be determined through discussions between the principal and the school committee.
- (ii) Approval of expenditures from the school budget. Once the budget has been submitted to the Division and approved, school committee and principal shall keep expenditures within the limits of the established budget. All expenditures made by the principal and staff shall be reported to the school committee by the principal. Wherever possible, except in the case of routine expenditures, the approval of the school committee shall be obtained before these are actually made.
- (iii) Seeking approval for proposed over-expenditures. In the event that it is deemed necessary or desirable to make an expenditure not covered by the approved budget, the principal and staff must seek the approval of the Area Superintendent.

(c) School Personnel

Responsibilities for school committees choosing to be involved in this area would include:

- (i) Approval of the recruitment of all staff. The level of involvement by the school committee shall be determined by discussions among Area Superintendent, principal and the school committee. In granting this approval the school committee shall abide by Frontier School Division recruitment policies, as well as the relevant federal and provincial requirements.

- (ii) Awareness of the performance of staff members. Actual evaluation of the performance of school staff is the responsibility of the principal and/or the Area Superintendent. Should the school committee have reason to question the performance of a staff member, they may request the principal and/or Area Superintendent to submit evaluations of the individual in question. The school committee may then make appropriate recommendations to the principal, Area Superintendent or Official Trustee.

(d) Pupil Transportation

Responsibilities for school committees choosing to be involved in this area would include:

- (i) Making recommendations to the Division concerning the need for student transportation. School committee approval is needed for budgeting, tendering, awarding of contracts and the employment of student transportation staff.
- (ii) Being familiar with the requirements of Frontier School Division, the Public Schools Act and the Highway Traffic Act concerning student transportation, and making recommendations to the principal and/or Area Superintendent concerning the operation of the pupil transportation program.
- (iii) Determining the starting date where Frontier School Division provides transportation for young students (4-9 years of age) during the four coldest months.

(e) School and Community Orientation for New School Staff

Responsibilities for school committees choosing to be involved in this area would include:

- (i) Implementation of an orientation program for all new staff. In most circumstances, this responsibility shall be carried out in cooperation with the school principal or experienced school staff members.

(f) Maintenance of School Facilities (including teacherages)

Responsibilities for school committees choosing to be involved in this area would include:

- (i) Approval of all school facilities maintenance and minor capital programs. School committees shall request those Frontier staff responsible for maintenance and minor capital programs to make regular progress reports. It should also be noted that approval for maintenance and minor capital programs is made when the budget is approved.

(g) School/Community Liaison

Responsibilities for school committees choosing to be involved in this area would include:

- (i) Acting as a liaison body between the staff and the community. The school committee shall continually inform community members of all school activities. As well, the school committee shall inform the Division of all activities and/or concerns which they receive from community members.
- (ii) Holding, as required in the school committee constitution, at least one general community/school committee meeting each year. School committees are encouraged to have as many of their meetings as possible open to the public.

(h) Community Involvement in School Activities

Responsibilities for school committees choosing to be involved in this area would include:

- (i) Encouraging community members to become actively involved in the operation and activities of the school. The responsibility to increase the level of awareness by community members of educational programs is extremely important and will certainly have long-range effects on education in northern Manitoba.

5. SCHOOL COMMITTEE MANAGEMENT AUDIT

Immediately following each annual election, the school committee shall forward their financial statements and records of financial transactions for auditing to the Assistant Secretary-Treasurer of Frontier School Division. The Public Schools Act holds Frontier School Division responsible for all funds granted to school committees or raised by school committees on behalf of the Division or school. It is required that the records of all school committees be audited at least once each year.

6. RECORD-KEEPING

It is the responsibility of each school committee to keep thorough and complete minutes of all business carried out at each school committee meeting. All decisions should be recorded in the form of motions. As well, it is the responsibility of the school committee to ensure that proper financial records are kept by the treasurer of the school committee, and to make certain that the system recommended by Frontier School Division to ensure appropriate use of all school committee funds is adhered to.