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Indigenous Peoples and Boarding Schools:

A Comparative Study

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I. Introduction

At its sixth session, the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues recommended that an expert undertake a comparative study on the subject of boarding schools.[1] This report provides a preliminary analysis of boarding school policies directed at indigenous peoples globally. Because of the diversity of indigenous peoples and the nation-states in which they are situated, it is impossible to address all the myriad boarding school policies both historically and contemporary. Boarding schools have had varying impacts for indigenous peoples. Consequently, the demands made by indigenous peoples around boarding school education also differ widely. At the same time, however, there are some common themes that emerge among diverse boarding school practices.

II. Historical Overview of Boarding Schools

A. What was their purpose?

Indigenous peoples generally argue that the historic purpose of boarding schools was to assimilate indigenous peoples into the dominant society of which they lived. These schools were frequently administered in cooperation with Christian missions with the expressed purpose of Christianizing indigenous peoples, particularly in Latin America, North America, the Arctic, and the Pacific. However, there are also variations of assimilation policies. In the United States of America (USA) and Canada, Native children en masse were forcibly removed from their homes as a way to address the "Indian" problem. The policy was "save the man; kill the Indian."[2] In other words, for Native peoples to become fully "human," they would have to lose their Native cultures. In New Zealand and Australia, some schools often targeted those of mixed ancestry as a way to develop an elite class within indigenous communities that could manage their own communities.[3] In the former USSR and China, the assimilationist policies became

1 E/C.19/2007/10 para 70

2 D. W. Adams, *Education for Extinction*., Topeka, University of Nebraska Press, 1995

3 T. Fitzgerald, *Education and Identity*,Wellington, New Zealand Council for Educational Research, 1977. R. Manne, "Aboriginal Child Removal and the Question of Genocide, 1900-1940, in A.Dirk Moses (ed). *Genocide and Settler Society*,. New York, Berghahn Books, pp. 217-243; Commonwealth of Australia. *Bringing them Home*,

stronger during the 20th Century as a means to address national stability and anxieties.[4] In Africa, boarding schools, generally patterned on colonial models of education, were often extremely under-resourced and under-utilized by indigenous peoples.[5] In the Middle East, boarding schools actually targeted the elites of indigenous communities, such as the Bedouin during the British Mandate and the Al Murrah in Saudi Arabia, in order to give them the skills to negotiate with colonial powers.[6]

Often a stated rationale for boarding schools was that they provided a means for indigenous peoples to achieve status in the dominant society.[7] As will be discussed in the next section, for this reason, many indigenous peoples support boarding schools. At the same time, however, the focus on industrial boarding schools in many areas signified that indigenous children were often not given the educational skills necessary to assimilate into the higher eschelons of the larger society. Rather, they were trained to do either domestic work or manual labor.

B. In what countries were they located?

Below are some country and regional profiles of indigenous boarding school policies.

United States

During the 19th century and into the 20th century, American Indian children were forcibly abducted from their homes to attend Christian and USA government-run boarding schools as state policy. The boarding school system became more formalized under Grants' Peace Policy of 1869-1870, which turned over the administration of Indian reservations to Christian denominations. As part of this policy, Congress set aside funds to erect school facilities to be- administered by churches and missionary

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Report of the National Inquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Children from their Families, 1997.

4 A. Block, *Red Ties and Residential Schools*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylania Press, 2004. N. Vakhtin, *Native Peoples of the Russian Far North*. Minority Rights Group Report, London, 1992; B. Johnson, "The Politics, Policies and Practices in Linguistic Minority Education in the People's Republic of China: the Case of Tibet," *International Journal of Educational Research* 33 (6) 2000, pp. 593-600.

5 R. Carr-Hill, The Education of Nomadic Peoples in East Africa: Review of Relevant Literature. Paris, Unesco, 2005. R. Carr-Hill. The Education of Nomadic Peoples in East Africa: Synthesis Report, Paris, Unesco, 2005

6 A. Abu-Rabi'a. "A Century of Education: Bedouin Contestation with Formal Education in Israel," in Dawn Chatty (ed). *Nomadic Societies in the Middle East and North Africa*. Leiden, Brill, 2006, pp. 865-882; D. Cole, "Al Murrah Bedouin, 1968-2003," in Dawn Chatty (ed). *Nomadic Societies in the Middle East and North Africa*. Leiden, Brill, 2006, pp. 370-392

7 Adams, Manne, Fitzgerald, Commonwealth of Australia, op cit.

societies.[8] These facilities were a combination of day and boarding schools erected on Indian reservations.

In 1879, the first off-reservation boarding school, Carlisle, was founded by Richard Pratt. He argued that as long as boarding schools were primarily situated on reservations, then: 1) it was too easy for children to run away from school; and 2) the efforts to assimilate Native children in~~to~~ boarding schools would be reversed when children went back home to their families during the summer. He proposed a system where children would be taken far from their homes at an early age and not returned to their homes until they were young adults. By 1909, there were over 25 off-reservation boarding schools, 157 on-reservation boarding schools, and 307 day schools in operation.[9] Thousands of Native children were forced into attending these schools.

Interestingly, Richard Pratt was actually one of the "friends of the Indians." That is, USA colonists, in their attempt to end Native control over their land bases, generally came up with two policies to address the "Indian problem." Some sectors advocated outright physical extermination of Native peoples, while the "friends" of the Indians, such as Pratt, advocated cultural rather than physical genocide. Carl Schurz, a former Commissioner of Indian Affairs, concluded that Native peoples had "this stern alternative: extermination or civilization."[10] Henry Pancoast, a Philadelphia lawyer, advocated a similar policy in 1882. He stated "We must either butcher them or civilize them, and what we do we must do quickly."[11]

Thus, when Pratt founded off-reservation boarding schools, his rationale was "Kill the Indian in order to save the Man." He also stated "Transfer the savage-born infant to the surroundings of civilization, and he will grow to possess a civilized language and habit."[12] He modeled Carlisle on a school he developed in Ft. Marion Prison which held 72 Native prisoners of war. The strategy was to separate children from their

8 J. Noriega, "American Indian Education in the United States: Indoctrination for Subordination to Colonialism," in Annette Jaimes (ed). *State of Native America*, Boston, South End Press, 1992, pp. 380.
9 Adams, 57-58.
10 Adams, 15.
11 Adams, 2.
12 Cited in F.Prucha, *Americanizing the American Indian: Writings by "Friends of the Indian."* Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1973.

parents, inculcate Christianity and white cultural values upon them, and encourage or force them to assimilate into the dominant society. However, the education that was provided was not designed to allow Native peoples to really assimilate into the dominant society. Rather, the training prepared Native children to be assimilated into the bottom of the socio-economic ladder. For the most part, schools primarily prepared Native boys for manual labor or farming and Native girls for domestic work. Children were also involuntarily leased out to white homes as menial labor during the summers rather than sent back to their homes. Indian girls learned skills such as ironing, sewing, washing, serving raw oysters at cocktail parties, and making attractive flower arrangements in order to transform them into middle-class housewives.[13] Thus, the primary role of education for Native girls was to inculcate patriarchal norms and desires into previously non-patriarchal Native communities so that women would lose their traditional places of leadership in Native communities.

The rationale for choosing cultural rather than physical genocide was often economic. Carl Schurz concluded that it would cost a million dollars to kill an Indian in warfare, whereas it cost only $1,200 to school an Indian child for eight years. Likewise, the Secretary of the Interior, Henry Teller, argued that it would cost $22 million to wage war against Indians over a ten-year period, but would cost less than a quarter of that amount to educate 30,000 children for a year.[14] Consequently, these schools were administered as inexpensively as possible. Children were given inadequate food and medical care, and conditions were overcrowded in these schools. According to the Boarding School Healing Project (BSHP) Native children in South Dakota schools were often fed only one sandwich for a whole day. As a result, children routinely died in mass numbers of starvation and disease. Other children died from common medical ailments because of medical neglect.[15] In addition, children were often forced to do grueling work in order to raise monies for the schools and salaries for the teachers and administrators. Some Boarding School survivors have reported children being killed because they were forced

13 R. Trennert, "Educating Indian Girls at Nonreservation Boarding Schools, 1878-1920," *The Way We Lived.* 1982, 54.
14 R. Trennert, op cit.

15 Boarding School Healing Project (BSHP). *Shadow Report for the Convention on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination.* BSHP. 2007. www.boardingschoolhealingproject.org

to operate dangerous machinery. Children were never compensated for their labor.

Attendance at these boarding schools was mandatory, and children were forcibly taken from their homes for the majority of the year. They were forced to worship as Christians and speak English (native traditions and languages were prohibited).[16] As a result, some Native survivors have reported that they never spoke their indigenous language again after attending school.[17] Sexual, physical, and emotional abuse was rampant. Children were often forced to beat other children. A common punishment was that children were frequently sent through whipping lines to be beaten by the older children in the school.[18]

Many survivors report being sexually abused by multiple perpetrators in these schools. However, boarding school officials refused to investigate, even when teachers were publicly accused by their students. In 1987, the FBI found that one teacher at the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) who administered a Hopi day school in Arizona, had sexually abused over 142 boys, but the school's principal had never investigated any allegations of abuse. Another instructor taught at a BIA school on the Navajo Reservation before twelve children came forward with allegations of molestation. A North Carolina BIA school instructor was employed between the years of 1971-1985 before he was arrested for assaulting boys. In all cases, the BIA supervisors ignored complaints from the parents before the arrests of these teachers. In one case, a boarding school teacher admitted on his job application that he has been arrested for child sexual abuse. He was hired anyway at the Kaibito Boarding School on the Navajo Reservation, and was later convicted of sexual abuse against Navajo students. There are reports that child molestation is currently a major problem in Indian boarding schools, but there has been little effort by the federal government to implement policies to address this problem.[19] There are reports that both male and female school personnel routinely abused Native children, sometimes leading to suicides among these children.[20]

16 F. Binder and D. Reimers (eds). *The Way We Lived*. Lexington: D.C. Heath and Company, 1982, p. 59.
17 BSHP, op cit.
18 BSHP, op cit.
19 J. Hinkle, . "A Law's Hidden Failure," *American Indian Report* XIX (1) 2003.
20 BSHP, op cit.

Thousands of children have died in these schools, through beatings, medical neglect, and malnutrition. The cemetery at Haskell Indian School alone has 102 student graves, and at least 500 students died and were buried elsewhere. The practice of schools when children died at school was that their dead bodies were simply dumped on the floors of their families homes. In one boarding school, the skeletal remains of babies were discovered in the walls after the school was torn down.[21]

Canada

Full scale efforts to 'civilize' aboriginal peoples did not begin until British hegemony was established in 1812 because military alliances were often needed by competing European powers. In 1846, the government resolved at a meeting in Orilla, Ontario, to fully commit to Indian residential schools. The state and the churches collaborated in the efforts to 'civilize' Indians in order to solve the Indian problem. The major denominations began carving the country among themselves. In 1889, the Indian Affairs Department was created and Indian agents were dispatched to aboriginal communities. These agents would threaten to withhold money from aboriginal parents if they did not send their children to school. Parents were even imprisoned if they resisted schooling their children. Indian agents prepared lists of children to be taken from reserves and organized fall round ups (at the commencement of the school year).[22]

In 1879, Nicholas Flood Davin, a Regina Member of Parliament, sent a report to the federal government, advocating that Canada adopt a similar system to that of the United States of America established by Richard Pratt. Day schools were seen to be inadequate for 'civilizing' aboriginal peoples**.** As in the USA, residential schools focused on industrial education rather than academics, including agriculture and trades for boys and domestic training for girls. These schools were to be set up far away from their communities so that children would not be influenced by the cultures of their communities. By 1896, the Canadian government had funded forty-five church-run

21 BSHP, op cit.
22 S. Fournier and E. Crey, *Stolen from Our Embrace*, Vancouver, Douglas & McIntyre, 1997.

residential schools.[23]

In schools, Christian religion was mandatory. No expressions of aboriginal culture were allowed. Sanitary and physical conditions were poor, leading to a high disease rates.[24] Overcrowding lead to tuberculosis (TB) outbreaks. In File Hills Industrial school in Saskatchewan, 69 percent of students died of TB in one decade at the turn of the century. A medical inspector carried out an investigation and warned of outbreaks, but his report was largely ignored. The response by Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs was "If the schools are to be conducted at all, we must face the fact that a large number of the pupils will suffer from tuberculosis on some of its various forms."[25] At Upker Island, the Indian Affairs' own files estimated that 40 percent of children died before they returned home.

Children were also physically and sexually abused. In 1990, the Special Advisor to the Minister of National Health and Welfare on Child Sexual Abuse stated that in some schools, 100 percent of children were sexually abused.[26] They were forced into hard labor and frequently whipped and beaten if they spoke aboriginal languages or expressed aboriginal cultural identity.[27] In 1907, the *Montreal Star* and *Saturday Night* newspapers reported that a medical inspection of schools found a death rate of 24 percent among children in schools, and 42 percent included children who had died after being sent home when they became critically ill.[28]

In 1991, the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Affairs issued a report documenting abuses in residential schools. "Children were frequently beaten severely with whips, rods and fists, chained and shackled, bound hand and foot and locked in closets, basements, and bathrooms, and had their heads shaved or hair closely cropped." It further reported that children had their faces rubbed in excrement and urine. The typical punishment for children who ran away from school was to run a gauntlet where

23 Fournier, op cit. J. Milloy, *A National Crime*. Manitoba: University of Manitoba Press, 1999.
24 C. Haig-Brown, *Resistance and Renewal*, Vancouver: Tilacum, 1988.
25 Fournier, op cit.
26 Milloy, 298 op cit.
27 Haig-Brown, op cit.
28 Fourner, 49, op cit.

they were beaten severely.[29]

Because so little time was spent on academic preparation, the schools were not successful. According to the Indian Affairs own statistics, by 1938, 75 percent of aboriginal children were below grade three level, and only 3 in a 100 made it past grade six level. By comparison to other schools, half of the children in school were past grade three level, and one third were past grade six level.[30] By 1986, nearly half of all aboriginal peoples on reserve had less than a grade nine education, and less than one quarter had obtained a high school diploma. Educational achievement is increasing for aboriginal peoples, but it is still substantially lower than the general population.[31]

Residential schooling reached its peak in 1931 with over eighty schools in Canada. From the mid-1800s to the 1970s, about one third of aboriginal children were confined to schools for the majority of their childhoods. The last school closed in 1984.

One of the first cases of residential abuse was filed by 24 men against their school supervisor**,** the United Church of Canada, the federal government, and the former principals of the Alberni Indian Residential school. The supervisor was also criminally charged with 16 counts of sexual abuse between 1948-1968. He was sentenced to 11 years in prison. Before the sentence, B.C. Supreme Court Justice Douglas Hogarth described the residential school system as "nothing more than institutionalized pedophilia."[32] When this abuse become public, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police started a taskforce to investigate allegations of abuse in residential schools. By 2000, they had received 3, 400 complaints against 170 suspects. Only five people were charged. By 2001, 16,000 aboriginal peoples (17 percent of living residential school alumni) had brought legal claim against the churches or government Still very few perpetrators actually received criminal convictions.

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29 Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, *Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples,* Ottawa, Canada Communications Group, 1991 http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/ch/rcap/sg/sg31_e.html#104
30 Fournier, op cit.
31 J. Frideres, *Aboriginal Peoples in Canada*, Scarborough, Ontario, 1998
32 Fournier, op cit.

In 1991, the Indian Affairs minister refused demands for an aboriginal inquiry into residential schools. He said there would be no apologies, no compensation, no admission of government liability, and he said he would shelve any recommendations from the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples which was conducting a report that included residential schools. Instead, rather than focus on government accountability, the government strategy would focus on community healing from abuse. This focus was criticized by many as an attempt to allow the government to escape accountability by framing the issue as one where indigenous peoples were "sick" and needed healing.[33]

By 1992, most churches began issuing apologies for their complicity in residential school abuses, but also demanded that the Canadian government also take responsibility for its role as well. Soon, the level of lawsuits filed against churches threatened some churches with bankruptcy. In 1995, the federal government began to quietly pay out of court settlements to 50 former students in government-run schools without formal acknowledgment of an apology. The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples 1996 report which included five years of research, including research of over 60,000 school files, concluded that there should be public hearings across the country, and that remedies should include compensation to enable communities to heal.

In 1997, a May inquiry into abuse in Alkali Lake and the suicide of one activist, helped prompt more federal intervention. Finally, in 1998, the government set aside $350 million to support community-based healing initiatives to be administered through the independent Aboriginal Healing Foundation.[34]

Central and South America and Caribbean

Boarding school patterns, given the diverse countries involved, were much less uniform than in the United States in Canada. Generally, in Latin America, it appears that most boarding schools were set up by Christian missions as part of a 'civilization' process. In the Southeastern Peruvian Amazon, schooling was monolingual and monocultural in the

33 R. Chrisjohn, Roland, S. Young, and M. Maraun. *The Circle Game*. Penticton: Theytus Books, 2006.; Milloy, op cit.

34 Milloy, op cit.

Spanish language. The Arakmbut peoples in the 1950s were forced to live by Catholic missions after having been decimated by disease. During the Rubber industry boom period, the Dominican missionaries became particularly involved in trying to pacify them through education. The Arakmbut peoples were obliged to attend mission schools far away from their parents, and forced to learn Spanish.[35]

Mexico's education policy in the 1800s and early 1900s focused on assimilation of indigenous peoples and teaching them to speak Spanish. However, some reformers advocated for bilingual education as a means to more effectively assimilate indigenous peoples. In the 1970s, calls for resistance to assimilation began to emerge, but Mexico's education policy was still slanted towards assimilation. In Mexico's rural community of Kuchmil in the Yucatán region, the government set up *internados*, or boarding schools, that would teach children Spanish as well as provide food, clothing and shelter during the 1960s. Indigenous peoples were attracted to the system because they desired schools that would prepare their children for wage employment and teach them the skills necessary to negotiate state and local bureaucracies. Meanwhile, local schools were plagued with teacher absenteeism. In this area, boys rather than girls were primarily sent to the schools, since they were seen as the ones who would eventually become the primary wage earner. The result, however, was that the boys started to migrate to cities rather than return to their communities after being away at school for so long. Later, the construction of a local secondary school and college in 1997 made it possible for young people to say at home and receive an education.[36]

In Venezuela, religious orders would sign contracts with governments to sanction missionary activity. The Capuchin order, for instance, was given educational, political, and civil authority over territories in their contracts. From the 1920s - 1970s, they set up boarding schools and day schools for the Warao peoples**.** In the 1970s, however, administration of schools was turned over to government authorities. Missionaries often spoke Warao, but would address students only in Spanish. Today, schools are

35 S. Aikman, Sheila. "Language, literacy and bilingual education: An amazon people's strategies for Cultural Maintenance," *International Journal of Educational Development* 15 (October) 1995, pp. 411-422.
36 B. Castellanos, "Adolescent Migration to Cancún: Reconfiguring Maya Households and Gender Relations in Mexico's Yucatán Peninsula," *Frontiers* 26 (3) 2007, pp. 1-27

being built in the communities, but it is difficult for many to attend who live in outlying areas that are reachable only through watercraft. Spanish language was strictly enforced in schools among the Guarani in Paraguay beginning in 1812. Each time a student was caught speaking Guarani, she or he received five lashes.[37]

Until the 1970s, Colombia funded nine different Catholic orders to educate indigenous groups. These Catholic groups set up missions where they separated children from their families from the age of five. The Capuchin order was very prevalent in Colombia as well. Children were not allowed to speak their native languages, visit their families, or wear their traditional clothing. In some regions, the missions gave money and land to those who married outside their group. In the 1970s, the State finally recognized the need for culturally specific education and began hiring and training indigenous teachers.[38]

In Brazil, the Jesuits opened up a mission post among the Manoki peoples in 1949, and relocated the children to Utiariti. Others followed to escape the devastation wrought by massacres and disease. The Manoki peoples were divided into groups based on age and gender, and supervised by a priest or a nun in all activities. They were prohibited from speaking their own languages and were encouraged to intermarry. Everyone had to work in the mission and engage in business operations that profited the mission. The Manoki peoples stayed in Utiariti until the school was dismantled in 1968.[39]

Australia

Since the beginning of European settlement in Australia, indigenous children were removed from homes as a source of cheap labor. Governments and missionaries also targeted indigenous children for removal from their families in order to "inculcate European values and work habits in children, who would then be employed in service to the colonial settlers."[40]

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37 L. Margolies, "Notes from the Field: Missionaries, the Warao and Populist Tendencies in Venezuela," *Journal of Latin American Anthropology* 11 (1), pp. 154-172.
38 S. Gvirtz and J. Beech, *Going to School in Latin America.*Westport: Greenwood Press, 2008.
39 R. Arruda, "Manoki: History of Occupation and Contact," in *Indigenous Peoples of Brazil.* Instituto Socioambiental, May 2003, http://www.socioambiental.org/pib/epienglish/manoki/hist.shtm
40 Commonwealth of Australia, op cit.

The government response to the brutal treatment of indigenous peoples by settlers was to reserve land for the exclusive use of indigenous peoples and assign responsibility for their welfare to a Chief Protector or Protection Board. By 1911 the Northern Territory and every State of Australia except Tasmania, had "protectionist legislation" giving the Chief Protector or Protection Board extensive power to control indigenous peoples. Missionaries often collaborated with the management of indigenous communities. As part of the 'civilization project', children were separated from their families in a number of ways to encourage them to become Christians. On reserves, children were housed in dormitories and contact with their families strictly limited. In some areas, children were placed in training institutes. In other areas, they were placed in non-indigenous homes. In Queensland and Western Australia, the Chief Protector forced all indigenous peoples onto government settlements and missions. In addition, children were removed from their mothers at the age of four years and placed in dormitories away from their families. They were then sent off the missions and settlements at 14 years of age to work.[41] Until the 1950s, it was common to exclude indigenous children from state schools. In 1902, New South Wales formally excluded children as part of state policy.[42]

The government also targeted indigenous children of mixed-descent specifically for removal. The rationale was that indigenous children with lighter skin color could be more easily assimilated into non-indigenous society. Meanwhile, "full-blood" Aboriginal people were thought to be a dying race. In 1937, administrators of indigenous policy in all states except Tasmania met in Canberra (the capital) to discuss how indigenous peoples could be "absorbed" into mainstream society. According to A.O. Neville, administrator from Western Australia:

> "That this conference believes that the destiny of the natives of aboriginal origin, but not of the full-blood, lies in their ultimate absorption by the people of the Commonwealth and it therefore recommends that all efforts be directed to that end. Are we going to have a population of 1,000,000 blacks in the

41 Commonwealth of Australia, op cit.

42 Q. Beresford, and G. Partington. *Reform and Resistance in Aboriginal Education*. Crawley: University of West Australia Press, 2003,

p. 45

> Commonwealth, or are we going to merge them into our white community and eventually forget that there ever were any aborigines in Australia?"[43]

In New South Wales, Western Australia and the Northern Territory many children of mixed descent were totally separated from their families when young and placed in segregated 'training' institutions before being sent out to work. Between 1910-1970, between 1 in 3 to 1 in 10 indigenous children were removed from their families. By the mid 1930s, more than half of the so called "half-caste" children in the Northern Territory were housed in institutions administered by the state.[44]

Christian churches were at the forefront of this practice. In the late 1940s, some 50 missions operated throughout Australia. Similar patterns emerged: education focused on Christianization and manual labor rather than preparation for higher education. Abuse was prevalent, and schools were poorly maintained.[45] Conditions were deplorable in these missions and settlements with death rates often exceeding birthrates. Disease, malnutrition and sexual violence were commonplace. Children were often forced to work in white homes where they were routinely sexually abused. In Victoria, between 1881-1925, one third of indigenous children died.46 These systems continued into the 1970s.

The quality of education was poor. As in the USA and Canada, education focused on training boys for menial labor and girls for domestic work. Academic training did not exceed that provided for ten year olds in non-indigenous schools.

In the 1970s, an era of reform began in indigenous education that stressed self-determination rather than assimilation. Attempts were made to create bilingual education programs and more culturally relevant curricula as well as to engage local communities in the education process. Still, there is much more work that needs to be

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43 Quoted in R. Manne, "Aboriginal Child Removal and the Question of Genocide, 1900-1940, in A. Dirk Moses (ed). *Genocide and Settler Society*, New York, Berghahn Books, p. 219
44 Manne, op cit., p. 225
45 Beresford, op cit.
46 Haebich, Anna *Broken Circles.* Freemantle, Freemantle Arts Centre Press, 2000, p. 280

done.[47]

A three-year longitudinal study undertaken in Melbourne, Australia, during the mid-1980s revealed that compared to children who were not removed from their homes, those that were removed were less likely to have undertaken a post secondary education; twice as likely to report having been arrested by police and having been convicted of an offence; twice as likely to report current use of illicit substances; and much more likely to report intravenous use of illicit substances. A national random survey of indigenous peoples conducted by the Australian Bureau of Statistics in 1994 found that removal did not increase the likelihood that Aboriginal children would have higher incomes, be employed, or attain higher levels of education.[48]

New Zealand

Following the 1840 signing of the Treaty of Waitangi that established New Zealand as a British Crown colony, the state began to use education as a means to 'civilize' the Maori peoples. The colonial state subsidized churches to administer missionary schools. The 1847 Educational Ordinance encouraged the establishment of industrial boarding schools to remove Maori children from what was seen as their 'primitive' cultures. Block grants were made available to church-based mission schools as long they provided instruction in English rather than in Maori.

However, as Maori resistance against settlers grew, they began to abandon boarding schools. An 1867 Act provided village day schools that would also deliver English-only instruction. The Maori school system ran parallel to the public primary school system. Maori children could attend either, but only until they reached secondary school. Until 1941, no state-funded secondary schooling was available to Maori students. The only avenue available for further education was Maori denominational boarding schools (providing two years of secondary education) funded by Department of Education scholarships if parents could not pay the necessary fees. A small number of Maori denominational boarding schools had been established prior to 1880. Among them were

47 Beresford, op cit.

the Maori girls' schools of St Stephen's (1846), St Joseph's (1867) and Hukarere (1875). Schools for Maori boys included St Stephen's (1845) and Te Aute (1854).[49]

A significant feature of this school system was that the Maori themselves participated in its establishment. Under the 1867 Act, a Maori school could only be established if there was a formal request by Maori, who also had to provide land, half the cost of the building and a quarter of the salary of teachers. By 1879, 57 Maori Schools had been established.

The purpose of the Maori denominational boarding schools was to take Maori students that seemed to have the highest potential for assimilation, inculcate European values and customs, and then send the 'assimilated' Maori students back home to uplift their communities. The goal was thus to create a class structure within Maori communities whereby the more 'assimilated elite' could manage those parts of the community deemed "savage" by Europeans. Maori girls received particular attention because, since they were seen as the primary caretakers of children, they were in the best position to inculcate European values to the next generation.[50]

Comparable to USA boarding schools, Maori girls were educated along the lines of an English middle-class Victorian girls' school. They were to dress and behave like middle-class women. However, unlike their English counterparts, Maori girls were also subjected to hard labor, responsible for all the cleaning, meal preparation, laundry, and gardening of the school.

Similar to the USA and Canada, Maori children were to be inculcated with European values, but were not to be given the means to be successful in the higher strata of that society. For instance, shortly after his appointment in 1901, the Director General of Education visited the Maori denominational boarding schools. His report recommended these schools strengthen the instruction in English and introduce manual and technical

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48 Commonwealth of Australia, op cit.
49 J. Simon and L. Smith. *A Civilising Mission?* Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2001.

50 Simon, op cit. K. Matthews and K. Jenkins, "Whose country is it anyway? The construction of a new identity through schooling for Maori in Aotearoa/New Zealand" *History of Education* 28 (3) 1999, pp. 339-350.

instruction such as carpentry, metalwork, cooking, sewing, hygiene and drill. At the same time, he wanted the Maori secondary schools to abandon studies in Latin. Many Maori elders resisted this policy, arguing that they could teach children practical skills themselves; instead, they wanted Maori youth to be equipped to become professionals. Between 1900 and 1902, the government introduced *The Manual and Technical Instruction Acts,* which provided schools funding in exchange for teaching more practical subjects. Denominational schools that did not fulfill this mandate were publicly admonished. For instance, the principal of Te Aute College suffered a public inquiry in 1906 for coaching Maori students for entry examinations into the University of New Zealand. When Maori students became too successful, the government mandated that schools change curriculum to focus on agriculture, carpentry, and domestic science and hygiene. Nevertheless, many Maori children did manage to excel in higher school examinations at the time.

In 1941, in line with the desire to make secondary schooling available to all children, the State began to establish Native District High Schools intended for those Maori students who could not attend the denominational boarding schools. New Maori schools were established throughout the first half of the twentieth century, although some schools were transferred into the Public School System. By 1950, there were 150 Maori schools. Eventually, however, the state recommended that there be only one state school system. In 1969, the remaining 105 Maori schools were transferred to the public schools system and the Maori School system was dis-established. This dis-establishment was not necessarily conducted in collaboration with Maori communities. Some supported the system, despite its faults, because it was a means by which to focus specifically on Maori educational needs.[51]

In 1900, 90 percent of Maori children could speak Maori; by 1960, only 26 percent of Maori children could speak their language. Since a 1986 landmark case brought before the Waitangi Tribunal, the right to language has gained increased legitimacy, spurring language revitalization in schools. Since 1984, Maori peoples have gained increased

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51 Simon, op cit.

opportunities to receive government monies to fund Maori-based educational initiatives. In 1988, a Royal Commission report claimed that the education system had purposely introduced assimilation policies that oppressed Maori culture and language, and called for culturally relevant and bilingual Maori education.[52]

Scandinavia

Lutheran missionaries arrived in Samiland during the 17th century and encouraged them to speak Finnish, the missionary language. In their desire to "save" the Sami peoples from their heathen ways, several Christian schools were established in Samiland. The goal of these educational establishments was to educate Sami men in the ways of Christianity so that they could then return to their homes as missionaries. The missionaries did not set up an educational system for all Sami children, but their training schools served as precursors for later educational systems established in Samiland.[53]

As nation-states began to develop in the areas inhabited by the Sami, these states began to establish special schools to assimilate the Sami peoples into the dominant culture. Established originally by Christians, these schools would later come under the control of the governments of the nation-states. Although many of the schools established were for Sami children in Norway, there were also such schools in Finland and Sweden. Both Norway and Sweden passed laws prohibiting the use of Sami language in schools and at home. In Finland (in 1809 it had become an autonomous region under the Russian empire) assimilatory policies were not as explicitly articulated as in Norway or Sweden.[54]

The process of assimilation was targeted at Sami children, who were stripped of their culture and made to feel ashamed of their people at an early age. By the 19th century, a school system had already been established across Samiland. Lessons in these schools were most often conducted in the Sami language. During the 19th century, however, as nationalism began to play a larger role in the nation-states, the school systems within

52 W. Hemara, *Maori Pedagogies*. Wellington, New Zealand, 2000.

53 R. Partida, Rebecca. "Suffering Through the Education System: The Sami Boarding School," *Sami Culture.* University of Texas History Website. Accessed June 30, 2008. http://www.utexas.edu/courses/sami/dieda/hist/suffer-edu.htm

54 Partida, op cit

Samiland were revised to force Sami children to stop speaking their language and to adopt Christian cultural practices.

The period of the boarding schools lasted from the 19th century until the 1960s, when the Sami peoples began to gain political power and recognition. First hand accounts describe boarding school experience as being very traumatic, especially the process of being removed from homes at such an early age. However, not all Sami peoples considered boarding schools to be a completely hostile environment. At the same time, the Sami peoples had already been subjected to a long period of Christianization, so according to some Sami scholars, the process was not necessarily as disruptive as it was for indigenous children in other countries who were the first generation to be Christianized.[55]

In addition, these schools were not specific to Sami children, but were mandatory for anyone who lived too far away to be able to attend a local school. Thus, these schools were actually mixed rather than Sami-specific. With some exceptions, (such as special schools for children of Sami reindeer herding families in Sweden), anyone who lived in a geographically isolated area or who did not attend public school, was mandated to attend a residential school. Boarding schools in Finland were not as regimented or brutal in terms of disciplinary control as elsewhere, most likely because in Finland the boarding school system also served Finnish students. Moreover, the boarding schools in Finland were generally smaller in size and the focus was on academic training. Manual labor was thus not part of the daily school schedule. Still, the process of being removed from homes and prohibited from speaking the Sami language has resulted in cultural alienation, loss of language, and lowered self-esteem.[56]

In Norway, children were not allowed to speak the Sami language in the schools until 1959. Since the later 1960s, many major changes have occurred within the school systems regarding Sami peoples. In the 1980s, many educational acts were passed that allowed Sami to be taught as a language of instruction. Since 1997, the Sami Education

55 R. Kuokkanen, "Survivance" in Sami and First Nations Boarding School Narratives: Reading Novels by Kerttu Vuolab and Shirley Sterling," *American Indian Quarterly* 27 (Summer/Fall) 2003: 705-708..
56 Kuokkanen, op cit.

Council has opened several schools that focus on Sami content within the curriculum and conduct lessons in the Sami language.[57]

Despite these changes, the legacy of cultural repression still exists. Many older Sami still refuse to speak their language. In addition, Sami parents still feel alienated from schools, and hence do not participate as much as they could in shaping school curricula and policy.[58]

Russian Federation

In 1924, the USSR established the Committee of the North designed to administer the affairs of Northern minorities (indigenous groups were designated as "northern minorities" except for the Yakuts or the Komi which have their own autonomous republics). At the beginning, the emphasis was on preserving traditional pathways, but eventually the policies moved toward forced assimilation. In the 1920s, the Committee launched a three-pronged educational initiative:

1) Establishment of Northern cultural bases which combined various educational, research, and economic activities.
2) The development of a school system which included 62 boarding schools (which housed 20 percent of all Northern minority children).
3) The alphabetization of Northern minority languages.[59]

The system's original mandate was based on the children being able to stay in their traditional territories. Schools were also scheduled according to local customs and seasonal economic activity. However, in the 1930s, the USSR's pursuit of industrialization and centralization gradually caused it to rescind its previous policies that allowed for some form of self-determination. In 1935, the Committee of the North was abolished. However, full attention was not devoted to policies of

57 F. de Varennes, "Indigenous Peoples and Language," *Murdoch University Electronic Journal of Law* 2 (April) 1995; http://www.murdoch.edu.au/elaw/issues/v2n1/devarenn21.html
58 D. Corson, "Norway's Sami Language Act': Emancipatory Implications for the World's Aboriginal Peoples." *Language in Societyy* 24 (1995) 493-513
59 N. Vakhtin, .*Native Peoples of the Russian Far North*. Minority Rights Group Report , London, 1992.

assimilation until the period 1950s-1980s.[60]

In the 1920s, schools were established among the 26 indigenous peoples' groups in the North that included indigenous languages. Thirteen alphabets were created using the Roman alphabet for indigenous languages. By 1926, eighteen residential schools were in place across Siberia, and five day-schools had been established.[61] However, in 1937, Northern alphabets were outlawed. After World War II, the USSR began the process of Russification. Northern groups were forcibly settled into mix areas in order to assimilate and foster Russian unity. From the age of 2 years, Northern indigenous children were forced to attend boarding schools where they were prohibited from speaking their languages. By 1970, no indigenous languages were being taught in schools.[62]

The boarding schools were originally designed for nomadic tribes so that they could receive a systematic education but it soon became compulsory for all children. Children were taken away when 1-2 years of age and returned when 15-17 years of age with no knowledge of their traditional communities. By World War II, for instance, eighty percent of Evenki peoples were studying in residential schools, and living away from their homes at least six months out of the year.[63] This policy deformed traditional family structures, leaving returned children without the skills to survive in their communities. The education was of poor quality so that Northern peoples could not find jobs, but their traditional livelihoods were also undermined. In the past few years, boarding schools have been transformed into day-schools, and the system is being reconsidered.[64]

Asia

Many countries in Asia send indigenous children who live in remote areas to boarding schools. In 1996, the Department of Social, Home Affairs, Education and Culture of Indonesia, as well as the Religion Ministries decided to provide financial aid and transportation for children living in remote areas or so that they could attend boarding

60 Vakhtin, op cit..
61 A. Block, *Red Ties and Residential Schools*. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004.
62 Vakhtin, op cit..
63 Block, op cit.
64 Vakhtin, op cit..

schools.[65] In West Kalimantan, for instance, the majority of secondary school children attended boarding schools in the capital of Lanjak, and only returned home for weekends or holidays.[66] Vietnam also utilizes boarding schools for indigenous children. The 1946 Constitution of Vietnam supports the instruction of indigenous children in their own languages. However, national educational policies mandate the use of Vietnamese as the language of instruction. In addition, over half of the teachers in indigenous areas, are not properly trained. As a result, illiteracy rates run as high as 93 percent among indigenous children in some areas.[67]

In the 1950s Xinjiang, Inner-Mongolia, Tibet, Ningxia, and Guangxi -- five provinces in China with large minority populations – were designated as autonomous minority nationality regions. They were granted increased local control over the administration of resources, taxes, birth planning, education, legal, jurisdiction and religious expression. Between 1949 - 1980s, schools in these regions were oriented towards assimilation rather than cultural preservation. During the Cultural Revolution in particular, minority customs were denounced as 'primitive', and schools in these regions were forced to teach in Mandarin only. Since 1978, however, the government's policy towards minorities have changed. The Chinese government has adopted various measures to improve relationships with minorities. Some of the government efforts include increasing educational opportunities for minority children by establishing boarding schools, with some instruction conducted in local languages, increasing teacher salaries in minority regions and lowered requirements and affirmative action consideration for university admission.[68]

Despite these efforts, the educational attainment of children in minority regions is far less than that of other children. While there is increased efforts to teach curricula in students' first language, these students often fail to qualify in the Chinese language

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65 . Seameo Innotech. Updated June 30, 2008. (http://www.seameo-innotech.org/resources/seameo_country/SpEd_in_sea.htm

66 Eilenberg, Michael, "Paradoxical outcomes of national schooling in the borderland of West Kalimantan, Indonesia: the case of the Iban," *Borneo Research Bulletin*, January 1, 2005, http://www.accessmylibrary.com/coms2/summary_0286-16677841_ITM

67 Miller, op cit, p. 11.

68 B. Johnson, "The Politics, Policies and Practices in Linguistic Minority Education in the People's Republic of China: the Case of Tibet," *International Journal of Educational Research* 33 (6) 2000: 593-600; U. Bulag, "Mongolian Ethnicity and Linguistic Anxiety in China," *American Anthropologist* 105 (December) 2003: 753-763

portion of the examination.[69] As an example, during the Cultural Revolution, Mongol schools were shut down and Mongolian students received their instruction in Chinese. After the Cultural Revolution, Mongol schools at various levels were set up, recruiting Mongols from both rural and urban areas. While students did receive education in Mongolian, this project failed to prepare them to succeed in a Chinese-dominated society that, from the 1980s onward, was increasingly market oriented.[70]

In India indigenous or tribal peoples generally did not have access to education for many reasons. Many tribal communities are geographically dispersed and did not have sufficient population density for the Indian government to build schools in their communities. Tribal communities also lacked the financial resources to send children to school. Before 1980, literacy rates were often around 8 percent in many communities. Within this context, residential schools or Ashram schools were developed for tribal children. The first experimental schools were developed by followers of Gandhi in Gujarat during pre-independence days. After Independence, various voluntary organizations began Ashram schools in Maharastra, Gujarat, and Orissa. These schools also shared some of the 'civilization' assumptions of other boarding schools in which it was assumed that these schools could provide an environment to develop a child's personality better than its own community. The government of India began an effort to open Ashram schools as well, but these efforts did not start increasing until the third 5-year plan. [71] The government Ashram schools focus less on spiritual development.

In Malaysia, the Department of Aboriginal Affairs (JHEOA) became responsible for administering the affairs of indigenous peoples in 1961. In 1961, Government policy advocated the integration of indigenous peoples into the larger society, while also advocating the teaching of indigenous languages and public education designed to eradicate racism against indigenous peoples. These latter policies were not implemented. As part of the assimilation policies, JHEOA began working with Islam missionary societies to encourage the Islamization of indigenous peoples through

69 Johnson, op cit.
70 Bulag, op cit.
71 G. Ananda,. *Ashram Schools in Andhra Pradesh*. New Delhi, Commonwealth Publishers, 1994, pp. 66-71., Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan, "Education of Tribal Children in India," Report. Government of India, n.d. Accessed June

various measures, including Islamic residential schools. In general, JHEOA provides education for indigenous children between grades 1-3 after which they must go to boarding school to receive further education.[72]

Middle East

During the British Mandate, a Boarding school was set up for the Palestinian Bedouin boys. The school was attended by the sons of the elite for the purpose of providing skills for future tribal leaders to be able to negotiate with colonial officials. A girls' school was opened in 1934. Many of the graduates of these schools became shaykhs and other prominent peoples. The boys at the school were encouraged to retain their traditional tribal dress and were permitted to visit their family encampments regularly. After the establishment of Israel, a few attended a boarding school in Nazareth and became professionals in Bedouin society. But for the most part, education for the Bedouin peoples has not been a priority for Israel. Most drop out of school before reaching twelfth grade. The curricula is not culturally or linguistically relevant. There is a shortage of schools, and most schools provide incomplete primary education. In a few of these schools, children live by themselves in makeshift boarding areas around the schools.[73] Similar types of makeshift boarding schools where children live by themselves and care for themselves exist among the Al Murrah peoples in Saudi Arabia. Students stay in a one room schoolhouse while their families leave with their herds after the summer harvest. They are taught by a Palestinian teacher sent by the Saudi Arabian government. In another school house, boys share a wooden shelter while their families travel with their herds. Other tribal groups are developing similar spontaneous settlements.[74]

In Oman, the government, in conjunction with the United Nations, began to sponsor development programs for the Harasiis as oil companies began their operations. This development project included the establishment of a boarding school for boys (girls could attend on a day basis), as well as other service programs. The boarding school has

30, 2008. http://ssa.nic.in/research/education_tribal_children.pdf
72 R. Dentan, , et al. *Malaysia and the Original People*. Needham Heights, MA: Allyn and Bacon, 1997, pp. 128-150.
73 Abu-rabi'a, op cit.
74 Cole, op cit., p. 379.

both primary and a secondary level schooling, with enrollments climbing yearly. The goal is to provide skills to allow the Harasiis to expand employment opportunities particularly with the oil companies as well as the army. This effort was supported by the Harasiis however, they also desired to maintain their traditional ways of life through animal husbandry and have requested that development schemes take this into account. These desires have not met with government support. They have also become frustrated with the fact that despite education, they have not really been given jobs with the oil companies and have not seen the expanded economic opportunity they have been promised.75 Another issue is that the Oman government presumed that the Harasiis would not want their girls to board, and insisted on ~~a~~ gender segregation that the Harasiis do not particularly support. Hence, the community built its own makeshift dormitory for girls so that they could also attend boarding school.[76]

In Iran, there are special boarding schools offered between grades 9 to 12 for children from tribal backgrounds who live far from the cities. Girls and boys attend different schools. These schools have strict entrance examinations and only admit exemplary students. Graduate students are more likely to obtain professional jobs after graduation.[77]

Africa

Several countries in East Africa have set up special boarding schools, some specifically targeting girls. In Kenya, the Christian denominations controlled 75 percent of schools as late as 1955. Indigenous peoples are generally within the category of "marginalized groups." During the 1970s, Kenya set up the Remote Areas Boarding Programme to provide education through low-cost boarding schools. However, the schools were flooded by non- indigenous students, and the indigenous communities did not participate. In the late 1970s, Kenya decided to suspend the schools because of their ineffectiveness to educate pastoralists.[78] A number of factors contributed to low

75 D. Chatty, "Mobile Pastoralists in the Sultanate of Oman," in Dawn Chatty (ed). *Nomadic Societies in the Middle East and North Africa.* Leiden: Brill, 2006, pp. 496-522.
76 D. Chatty, *Mobile Pastoralists: Development Planning and Social Change in Oman.* New York, Columbia University Press, 1996.
77 Huang, Julia. "Qashqa'i Nomads in Iran since the Revolution," in Dawn Chatty (ed). *Nomadic Societies in the Middle East and North Africa.* Leiden: Brill, 2006, pp. 805-835.
78 S. Kratli, . *Education Provision to Nomadic Pastoralists.* Brighton: Institute of Development Studies, 2001.

participation such as insecurity and armed conflict as well as school expenses. Many boarding schools suffered also from poor living conditions, lack of adequate water, lack of safeguards to protect the safety of children, particularly girls, and overcrowding. However, there are many communities that desire the expansion of boarding schools and are more directly involved in the promotion of education. There are some boarding schools for girls in Kenya that have large enrollments, although the overall impact on education is low.

There are also ten boarding schools in Djibouti, although only a few are operating. Generally, nomadic groups are reluctant to send their children to schools. In addition, they are often reluctant to send girls because of concerns for the girls' safety. Dormitories are criticized for being poorly equipped and managed. There is also low community engagement in school policy.[79] In addition, there are informal boarding school practices. For example, in Djibouti, nomadic families are often placed with urban families. This has led to a dependence of rural families on families in urban areas and an exodus of the younger generation.

In Eritrea, during the post-liberation period, the Eritrean Liberation Front involved communities in decision-making processes, including education. In recent years, higher priority has been given to expanding the provision of education in nomadic areas, including the development of boarding schools. But while they help build skills and manage their operation, communities are not currently involved in curricula development. Teachers often try to adapt the curricula to indigenous cultures, but often do not have the required training to do so.

In Botswana, the San/Basarwa people are moved to schools with hostels. To address the problems of geographic isolation, the government transports children to these schools every school term. Thus, they do get basic schooling, but not in their languages. These Remote Area Dweller Hostels tend be very unsympathetic places for San students. The idea of separating parents and children are foreign to San culture and the

79 R. Carr-Hill, *The Education of Nomadic Peoples in East Africa: Review of Relevant Literature.* Paris: UNESCO, 2005, p. 80.

pain and alienation that San students feel at boarding schools can be acute. In Botswana, in 1999, 120 primary school children walked several kilometers to run away from the abuse they were suffering at the hostel. One of the children, age 8, died from exhaustion.[80]

In Sierra Leone after the demise of legal slave trading, the London-based Church Missionary Society joined with the government to create separate villages where children could be trained in trades, farming and, for the most promising, teaching or mission work. Through separating children from their "uncivilized" parents, mission boarding schools were seen as a key strategy for inculcating European and Christian values into children 'untainted' by the influence of their parents.[81]

Kwame Nkrumah, Ghana's first president, introduced a policy of mass education and established dozens more secondary boarding schools throughout the country. In reports by the mainstream media, these schools are credited with helping to narrow ethnic cleavages that plague many other countries in the region. Others, however, have complained that this system is under funded, there are problems with sexual abuse of girls in these schools, parents cannot often afford school fees and education is based on the colonial model.[82]

In Africa, schools are often looked upon with suspicion as an attempt to sedentize nomadic groups, although there are some nomadic groups that may seek expanded economic opportunities and have a desire to become more integrated into the dominant society, particularly in North and Northeast Kenya. Some feel that schooling alienates children from their communities and does not allow them to learn the skills they need to function in their own context. A saying is "Children go to schools empty and come out empty."[83]

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80 ACHPR and IWGIA, *Report of the African Commission's Working Group of Experts on Indigenous Populations/Communities.* Copenhagen: Eks/Skolens Trykkeri, 2005
81 C. Bledsoe, "Cultural Transformation of Western Education in Sierra Leone," *Africa* 62 (2), pp. 182-202
82 C. Obeng, . *Life Was Uncomfortable; School was Hell.* New York: Nova Publishers, 2002.
83 Carr-Hill(b) op cit., p. 72.

C. What were the experiences of indigenous children?

As the preceding section indicates, the experiences of indigenous children varies depending on their particular experiences. For some children, as seen in the cases particularly in Canada, Australia, and the United States, boarding school experiences are particularly brutal. Thousands of children did not survive these schools, either through neglect, inadequate medical care, inadequate food, or even in some cases, murder and torture. Countless children were also sexually, physically, and emotionally abused. These abuses continue to have intergenerational impacts on indigenous families as these patterns of abuse are then passed down from boarding school survivors to their children. For instance, a 1989 study sponsored by the Native Women's Association of the Northwest Territories found that eight out of ten girls under eight years of age were victims of sexual abuse, and five out of ten boys were also sexually abused**.** Scholars generally trace these high rates to the legacies of residential school abuses.[84]

Even in countries where such systems of abuse were prevalent, not all indigenous peoples regard their experiences in boarding schools negatively. And in other regions, it does not appear as though boarding schools were implemented in such a brutal fashion. But even under the best of circumstances, boarding school policies have contributed to cultural alienation and loss of indigenous languages. In almost all contexts, these schools did not provide instruction in indigenous languages at least at some point in their history, thereby contributing to loss of linguistic fluency that impacted indigenous communities. In addition, because these schools were residential, children suffered the trauma of being separated from their families and hence from a context in which their traditions and cultures could be transmitted to them.

Some boarding school survivors report that boarding schools did give them access to a better education that they might otherwise not received. As the case study in New Zealand suggests, children were often able to make the most of their educational opportunities and use boarding schools as a foundation from which to pursue higher

84 Milloy, op cit., 298.

education or professional occupations. In the Middle East, unlike many other regions, boarding schools were targeted towards exemplary students in order to provide professional opportunities for them. Nevertheless, in general these schools have not closed gaps in educational attainment between indigenous and non-indigenous peoples. First, as demonstrated in the U.S., Canada, New Zealand, and Australia, these schools prepared indigenous children for menial labor and domestic service rather than provide quality education. Thus children coming from these schools would be on the one hand, less culturally adept and hence less able to succeed in their home context, while on the other hand insufficiently skilled to be successful in the dominant society. At the same time, the trauma suffered from attending boarding schools often created a negative reaction towards education within these communities.

Many indigenous peoples also report that the highly regimented nature of boarding schools often instilled in them passivity rather than initiative, entrapping them into a life resulting in additional forms of institutionalization, such as prisons. They report that the generation that suffered the worse forms of abuse in schools are often the generation unsupportive of current cultural revitalization programs and are the least likely to feel themselves capable of making changes for themselves and their communities. Other consequences of boarding schools include increased violence, increased suicide rates, increased substance abuse, and increased family disintegration.

D. What were the major successes and failures?

It appears to be the case that, as a whole, boarding schools were generally a failure at improving the lives of indigenous peoples. The reason is that their purpose was not to benefit indigenous peoples; rather it was to forcibly assimilate indigenous children into the larger society. Consequently, the dictates of the larger society took precedence over the needs of indigenous peoples. In addition, the fact that boarding school attendance was often mandatory deprived indigenous peoples of their right to self-determination.

Within these overall trends, however, there are individual success stories as well as

unintended beneficial consequences. For instance, there were individual administrators and teachers in boarding schools that did work for the betterment of indigenous children. In some areas where Christianization had already begun, indigenous peoples had already begun to internalize self-destructive behaviors such as abuse. In addition, forced relocations had already economically marginalized many indigenous communities so that they could not sustain themselves. Consequently, for some children, boarding schools were an improvement from the conditions they had been living. Of course, this "success" has to be read in the context of a larger social failures to respect the rights of indigenous peoples in all aspects of their lives.

In addition, an unintended consequence of some boarding schools, such as the United States and Canada, was that it brought together people from diverse indigenous communities. This process helped to develop a pan-indigenous consciousness that gave rise to the birth of many indigenous rights organizations and movements in these countries.

As will be discussed in section III, many indigenous peoples do not want to dismantle boarding schools completely. Since the alternative to boarding schools is often integrated public schools, indigenous peoples find the boarding school a preferable alternative. Indigenous peoples face much racism in public schools and the curriculum is not designed to meet indigenous peoples' needs. Meanwhile, indigenous-specific schools may be adapted to focus on indigenous languages and cultures. Thus, it might be possible to learn from the legacies of these schools and adapt them to suit the needs of indigenous communities, if they so desire.

E. What are their legacies today and what can be learned from them?

In areas where boarding school policies were particularly brutal, it does not seem possible to address present-day educational inequity without government response to past abuses. When multi-generations of indigenous peoples are impacted by the sexual, physical, and emotional abuse they suffered in schools, they are not in a position to build vibrant communities unless healing can take place. Also, without addressing past abuses, there will be continued suspicion of any government-sponsored educational

programs. Thus, the efforts of some countries to document the history of abuses, recognize and apologize for these abuses and begin to make collective remedies for indigenous peoples are helpful models for other countries to follow. The efforts also have their problems, but at least the efforts are there.

It is also clear that the major problem with these schools is that they were often mandatory and were established without the input of the impacted indigenous communities. There is clearly no one-size fits all approach to education. As will be discussed in the next section, different indigenous communities want different things from formal education. Consequently, it is necessary to be creative and innovative in terms of developing policies that meet the needs of diverse indigenous communities. It is important that there be local control over schools. In some areas today, indigenous communities have developed their own schools, although they often lack the resources for such schools in the dominant society.

Consequently, adequate funding is another central issue. Indigenous schools are routinely inadequately funded and the teachers in these schools are often not adequately trained. Consequently, the education indigenous children receive is often substandard.

As will be discussed in the next section, some indigenous communities argue that, given the negative legacy of boarding schools, it is possible that they could be transformed to be sites for cultural revitalization. In any case, simply closing boarding schools does not necessarily address the educational concerns of indigenous peoples unless alternatives are developed to address their specific needs.

III. The current situation/practices/ideologies of Boarding Schools

A. What purpose do they currently serve for indigenous students (eg for nomadic communities, isolated and remote communities) and/or the solution to address the low achievements rates among indigenous students?

North America

On May 10 2006, the Government of Canada announced the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement. This agreement was made between the Canadian Government, the Assembly of First Nations, legal representatives of former students of residential schools, and legal representatives of churches involved in the schools. This settlement includes a lump sum payment for all survivors, a new process to deal with the serious claims of abuse. A National Truth and Reconciliation Commission, expedited payments for elderly survivors, and funding for healing and educational programs.

Ottawa will soon be starting the five-year, $60 million Truth and Reconciliation Commission on residential school abuse. Church officials from several denominations have also been part of a Remembering the Children tour throughout Canada. On June 11 2008, Canada officially apologized for residential school abuses in the House of Commons. There are no indigenous boarding school currently operating in Canada.[85]

Boarding schools still operate today in the United States. Some are operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, some are administered by churches, and some are under tribal control. Attendance is no longer mandatory, and Native children are not forced to be Christian in non-Christian boarding schools. In schools that are under tribal control, many teach Native languages and emphasize Native cultural traditions.

Nonetheless, concerns remain about current boarding schools. According to the 2001 U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs budget report, many reservation schools are structurally unsound and/or of insufficient size to educate incoming students. Only 65.5% of Native peoples graduate from high school, compared with 75.2% for the U.S. population as a whole. Only 9.3 percent of Native students graduate from college, less than half of the general population. Some indigenous peoples complain that even tribal schools often emphasize athletics over academics.[86]

Sexual abuse in schools is still a concern. The Bureau of Indian affairs (BIA) did not

85 Tom Hanson, "PM Cites 'Sad Chapter' in Apology for Residential School Abuses," CBC News, June 11, 2008, http://www.cbc.ca/canada/story/2008/06/11/aboriginal-apology.html

issue a policy on reporting sexual abuse until 1987, and did not issue a policy to strengthen the background checks of potential teachers until 1989. The Indian Child Protection Act of 1990 was passed to provide a registry for sexual offenders in Indian country, mandate a reporting system, provide rigid guidelines for BIA and Indian Health Services for doing background checks on prospective employees, and provide education to parents, school officials and law enforcement on how to recognize sexual abuse. However, this law was never sufficiently funded or implemented, and child sexual abuse rates are dramatically increasing in Indian country while they are remaining stable for the general population.[87]

Also of concern is the use of holding cells in boarding schools. On December 6 2004, a Native student was found dead in a holding cell in Chemawa Boarding School (Oregon) where she had been placed after she became intoxicated. She was supposed to be checked every fifteen minutes, but no one checked on her for over three hours where she was found not breathing, and declared dead a few minutes later. The US Attorney declined to charge the staff with involuntary manslaughter. A videotape showed that no one checked on her when she started convulsing or stopped moving.[88] The school has been warned for the past fifteen years from federal health officials in Indian Health Services about the dangers of holding cells, but these warnings were ignored. Particularly troubling was the fact that she and other young women who had histories of sexual assault, abuse, and suicide attempts were put in these cells of solitary confinement.[89]

Unlike Canada, the U.S.A, has made no attempt to address the legacies of boarding school abuses. In 2005, a class action suit was filed against the U.S. Government for boarding school abuses, *Zephier v. United States*, Civil Action No. 03-768 L. This case was dismissed by the court because it stated that a complaint first had to be filed with the Bureau of Indian Affairs. It does not appear that the attorneys for this case did follow-up with filing a BIA complaint. In 2007, the Jesuit Order of Roman Catholic priests stated it would pay approximately $5 million to 16 people who stated they were

86 IWGIA, *Indigenous World 2000-2001*. Copenhagen: Eks/Skolens Trykkeri, 2001
87 Hinkle, op cit.
88 Suzan Harjo, "A Native Child Left Behind," *Indian Country Today* , no. July 2 (2004).
89 Kim Christensen and Kara Briggs, "Chemawa Warnings Date to'89," *The Oregonian* , no. February

sexually abused by clergy while attending a boarding school on the Colville Indian reservation. Those who claimed abuse attended the school in the late 1960s and early 1970s.[90] Otherwise, there has been virtually no acknowledgment by the U.S.A Government of its complicity in boarding school abuses.

Australia

Today, there are also private residential schools that cater for indigenous students. However, they can be expensive, and they are generally church administered, forcing children to participate in Christianity. In addition, they often only cater to the elites of indigenous communities.[91]

In 2008, Prime Minister Kevin Rudd apologized in a motion unanimously passed by Parliament to all Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples for laws and policies that "inflicted profound grief, suffering and loss." This apology particularly singled out boarding school abuses and other policies of forced removal of indigenous children. This apology is a reversal of the previous John Howard administration's refusal to make an apology. So far, however, this apology has not been accompanied with any programs for compensation, as the case in Canada.

After the apology, the Indigenous Affairs Minister, Jenny Macklin called for the continuing of boarding schools, saying that many indigenous peoples want them, particularly in remote areas where schools are not available. She contended that these schools are not mandatory as was in the past. Australia's most senior Aboriginal politician, Northern Territory Education Minister Marion Scrymgour, is supporting a call for dormitories and boarding schools for Aboriginal children in remote communities. While she does not want a return to the missions, she is calling for boarding schools to be established for remote communities to make sure children are properly fed, clothed and can study.[92] These calls were also in response the 2007

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20 (2004): A01

90 Associated Press, Northwest Jesuits Settle Indian Boarding School Abuse Claims, " *WorldNews,* January 3, 2008, http://www.kndo.com/Global/story.asp?S=7574306&nav=menu484_2_8

91 R. Walker, et al. *Indigenous Education and Social Capital.* Conference Proceedings. Adelaide, University of South Australia, 1998

92 AAP, "Macklin says Boarding schools a win for remote communities," *World News Australia*, March

Government emergency intervention into indigenous communities in the north of Australia to purportedly protect indigenous children from sexual abuse. Many indigenous peoples pointed out that abuse issues are related to other socio-economic issues such as poverty, unemployment, substance abuse and prior sexual abuse and that the strategy only targeted indigenous Australians, and not all Australians who have committed sexual abuse.[93]

Asia

In 2008, Vietnam announced plans to integrate vocational training into boarding schools to meet local needs. Currently, there are 280 boarding schools in Vietnam serving 49 provinces, which provide free or subsidized education at the primary and secondary levels.[94] Vietnam has also recently built four boarding schools for indigenous children and other disadvantaged children in Laos.[95]

The Chinese Constitution guarantees "minorities" (the term used in China that includes indigenous peoples) the right to use and preserve their languages. China has one of the oldest and largest programs of state-sponsored preferential policies for "ethnic minorities." Minority students receive preferential consideration for admission to higher education. As mentioned earlier, if a student chooses to take the exam in Chinese, the student is awarded bonus points Until recently, the preferential policies were often misused by Han Chinese who reclassified themselves as minorities to take advantage of these programs.

Overall, in considering the relationship between maintaining indigenous peoples' cultural identities and eradicating educational gaps between indigenous and non-indigenous peoples, it is clear that primary and secondary educational policies cannot be

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30, 2008.
http://news.sbs.com.au/worldnewsaustralia/macklin_says_boarding_schools_a_win_for_remote_communities_543840
93 See website for Reconciliation Australia, http://www.reconciliation.org.au/i-cms.isp
94 VNA, "Ethnic Schools to Include Vocational Training," *ThanhnienNews.com.* January 24, 2008. http://www.thanhniennews.com/education/?catid=4&newsid=35306
95 Viet Nam News, "Cooperation with Laos Continues to Develop," *Viet Nam News Agency*, Website, November 11, 2007, http://vietnamnews.vnagency.com.vn/showarticle.php?num=05ECO110707

separated from larger systemic issues. That is, if the surrounding society does not allow for higher education in indigenous languages or provide job opportunities for indigenous peoples, there will always be a conflict between providing quality education that allows for societal advancement and the preservation of indigenous peoples' cultures and languages. However, some schools have begun to experiment with their set up to reflect the lifestyles of indigenous communities. They have adjusted their school years and holidays to correspond with migratory patterns and also encourage families to set up tents outside the school yards so that children have more regular contact with their parents and can still be part of the community life.[96]

Ashram schools in India generally provide admission to children from habitations at least 6-8 kilometers away from the school. If children from nearby villages are admitted, they are not provided with housing. The curriculum of Ashram schools includes agriculture and other life skills in addition to general subjects. Many parents prefer Ashram schools as they provided free food, clothing and room. Some parents also believe the schools allow children to have an uninterrupted education when they migrated for work.

Since 1980, the Government of India has devoted special attention to the education of Tribal peoples through a number of policies. Given the diverse groups of Tribal peoples in India, the State has developed district-specific plans for tribal education. In 1986, the National Policy on Education specified that:

1) India will prioritize opening primary schools in tribal areas.
2) Curricula will be developed in tribal languages for primary grades and switched to regional languages in later grades.
3) Tribal youth will be encouraged to become teachers in tribal areas.
4) Ashram/residential schools will be developed on a mass scale in tribal areas.

96 A. Kolås and M.. Thowsen, "Dilemmas of Education in Tibetan Areas Outside the TAR," in *China at the Turn of the 21st Century*. Norway: Nordic Association of China Studies, 2002, pp. 131-146, E. Bagsbo, "Schooling for Knowledge and Cultural Survival: Tibetan Community School In Nomadic Herding Areas," *Educational Review* 60 (February) 2008: pp. 69-84, C. Bass, "Learning to Love the Motherland: Educating Tibetans in China," *Journal of Moral Education* 34 (December) 2005, pp. 433-449.Bulag, op cit., Johnson, op cit.

5) Incentive schemes, in keeping tribal peoples' special needs, will be developed to encourage them to attend school.[97]

In addition, India began to build more schools in lower population areas so that more tribal children could attend school near home.[98] The state recently announced plans in 2008 to open 100 boarding or ashram schools for tribal children in order to improve literacy rates. These schools will provide food as well as education. Families will not be required to contribute financially.[99] The Sixth All India Educational Survey of 1993 showed that 78 percent of tribal populations and 56 percent of tribal habitations have primary schools within the habitation regions. Another 11 percent of tribal populations and 20 percent of tribal habitations have schools now within a one kilometer radius. But there are still 176,500 habitation regions without school facilities. Some of these children are being education through ashram schools or through alternative educational models.[100]

However, scholars report that problems still exist in Ashram schools. These schools are often inadequately furnished and supplied. The curriculum is often not relevant to the lives and cultures of tribal peoples. Teachers often come from non-tribal backgrounds and are inadequately skilled. Children are inadequately nourished, and are often frequently absent in order to fulfill social roles within their communities.[101] Children complain that hostels are not well-maintained and that the food and supplies are of very poor quality. In addition, scholarships and school supplies often do not arrive in a timely fashion.[102] Some scholars also complain about gender disparity in these schools. They contend that girls are often taught in their own languages for purposes of returning back to their communities, while boys are taught in English with the purpose of promoting social and economic advancement.[103] In addition, students complain that

97 Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan, op cit.
98 Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan, op cit.
99 "Chhattisgarh to open 100 boarding schools for tribals," *Indiaedunews.net*, May 16, 2008, http://indiaedunews.net/Chhattisgarh/Chhattisgarh_to_open_100_boarding_schools_for_tribals_4238/
100 Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan, op cit.
101 G. Ananda, op cit, p. 167-169.
102 NNG Mathur, *Problems of Tribal Education*, Udaipur, Shiva Publishers, 1994, pp67-81
103 Singh, Bhupinder and Neeti Mahanti (eds) *Tribal Education in India*, New Delhi, InterIndia

girls' hostels are less well-maintained than are boys' hostels, girls are more likely to receive scholarships and other support in an untimely manner, and that girls are less encouraged to do independent work.[104]

It has also been reported that the most hard-line Hindu fundamentalist groups, the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP or World Hindu Council), has built (Hindu nationalist) boarding school in the state of Gujarat (the site of large-scale communal violence against non-Hindus) in order to inculcate Tribal children in Hindu. While tribal families have participated in the school to further the education of their children, apparently the education consists primarily of learning Hindu prayers and VHP ideology. The motive behind this and other VHP Boarding schools for tribal children is that Tribal peoples are being seduced by "Christian terrorism and Islamic infiltration."[105] Another such school exists for Tribal children from Tripura and Assam in Banswada, Rajasthan.

Malaysia's JHEOA's educational program seems to have been unsuccessful. In 1984, less then 30 percent of indigenous children were literate. More than 70 percent of children drop out of school by grade five. In 1995, responsibility for education was transferred to the Ministry of Education.[106] General complaints include: lack of proper buildings with basic utilities, ill-trained and unprepared teachers, lack of specialist teachers, overcrowded classrooms, inadequate hostel facilities, lack of supervision by the state, and inadequate transportation.[107] Indigenous peoples also complain that sometimes there attempts to develop their own schools which are declared illegal by the state.[108] By 1983, the medium of education for all schools was Bahasa Malaysia with English as a mandatory second language. The teaching of indigenous languages is

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Publications, 1995, p. 102.
104 Mathur, op cit., pp. 80-82
105 "Boarding School to Teach New Hindu Fundamentalists in Gujarat," *AsiaNews.it*, May 25, 2005. http://www.asianews.it/index.php?art=3360&l=en
106 Sharma, Sugan. *Educational Opportunities and Tribal Children*. Shiva Publishers Distribution, 1996, pp. 46-47.
Dentan, op cit, pp. 128-129.
107 F. Mail,, *A Study of Educational Problems in Malaysia with Particular Reference to Sabah*. Master's Thesis, University of Hull, March 4, 1984, pp. 78-86.
108 Cordillera Peoples Alliance and PACOS Trust, *Indigenous Peoples and Local Government*. Cophenhagen, IWGIA, 2005, p. 46.

optional.[109] In 1990, Malaysia had 115,342 in hostels in day schools and 2,953 in primary school hostels. Hostels in day schools provide accommodation to needy students whereas central hostels care for students from schools in a particular district. Under a Special Programme, exceptional students can attend boarding schools in urban areas for a nominal sum for food and boarding.[110] For the state of Sabah in particular, the government established a foundation which provides scholarships. It has also built ten district hostels which house over a 1000 students and aims to provide a hostel in every district in the state.[111]

Latin America

At the beginning of the second half of this century, national attitudes began to shift in many countries, such as Mexico, regarding indigenous peoples and languages. By the middle 1960s, the principle of early literacy in the native language plus the teaching of Spanish as a second language became the official policy of the Mexican government. In the 1970s, a growing demand that whole educational programs in larger indigenous communities be truly bilingual and bicultural emerged. The goal is to have all subjects in primary school taught in indigenous languages where it is spoken by a local majority. Spanish is to be introduced as a second language. The curricula to become fully bilingual and bicultural. The goal is still to achieve hispanicization of indigenous groups, but no longer to the exclusion of indigenous cultures.

In the last twenty-five years, Latin American countries have also begun to move in a similar direction as regards to the right to use indigenous languages. In March 1975, Peru officially recognized Quechua as an official language of the country, allowing legal proceedings to be conducted in that language. The Ministry of Education was mandated to provide 'all necessary support for institutions engaged in the teaching and promotion of the language in question'. The teaching of Quechua is declared to be compulsory at all levels of education. In 1992, Bolivia in began implementing a bilingual education program in Guarani, Aymara and Quechan communities. In the same year, Paraguay

109 Gaudart, Hyacinth. *Bilingual Education in Malaysia.* N. Queensland, James Cook University, 1992.
110 Ministry of Education in Malaysia, *Education in Malaysia 1989*, Kuala Lumpur, Government of Malaysia, 1990, p. 46.

started mandating the teaching of Spanish and Guarani at the elementary, secondary and university levels. In Nicaragua, the Atlantic Coast Autonomy Law recognized the right of the Atlantic Coast communities to preserve their cultural identity and their languages. It dictates that members of these indigenous communities are entitled to be educated in their own languages, through programs which take into account their historical heritage, their traditions and the characteristics of their environment, all within the framework of the national education system.[112] However, in some countries, indigenous children must go to boarding school to obtain an education. In Suriname, indigenous children can attend local schools for primary grades, but can only attend secondary schools if they leave their homes at the age of 11 to attend boarding schools in the capital of Paramaribo. Parents' are also charged fees that they often cannot afford. Consequently, many children, especially girls, do not receive a secondary school education.[113]

It is important to note that even in similar regions, indigenous peoples have diverse ideas about education, requiring that there be real community input. For instance, in the Peruvian Amazon, the Arakmbut peoples have expressed little interest in making boarding schools bilingual. Some groups feel that they can teach indigenous languages at home, and that indigenous languages cannot be taught adequately in government sponsored schools. They see schooling as having a very limited function designed to allow some community members to negotiate with the larger society. Still other groups where the language is endangered want bilingual education because they feel that this may be the only means to preserve the language.[114.]

Russian Federation

Since 1985 and Glastnost, there has been a reversal in the policies of forced assimilation. The First Congress of National Minorities took place in Russia in 1990. School classes

111 Mail, op cit, pp. 86-88.
112 C. Brock and H. Lawlor,. *Education in Latin America.* London: Croom Helm, 1985, Gvirtz, op cit.
113 M. Miller, *Ensuring the Rights of Indigenous Children.* Report, Unicef, Florence Italy, 2004, p. 11.
114 Aikman, op cit.

began reintroducing indigenous languages into the curricula. Many alternatives to the system were explored, such as shutting down the schools and educating children at home, or utilizing mobile teaching structures so that children could continue to be part of herding brigades without missing out on their education (Bloch). Some of the calls for educational reform included:

> 1) Abolishing boarding schools and developing community-based education alternatives.
>
> 2) Turning over administration of educational, language, and cultural matters over to Northern minorities to administrate themselves.
>
> 3) Provide adequate funding for the preservation of indigenous languages, and teaching indigenous languages on par with Russian in primary schools.
>
> 4) Boarding schools may be maintained for nomadic tribes only when necessary.

Since then however, federal funding for education and other basic needs has been curtailed that would have allowed for more fundamental reorganization in the education sector. Interestingly, many indigenous peoples now see boarding schools as a potential site for cultural revitalization. Some indigenous families now say that indigenous cultures and languages can be taught in residential schools whereas it may not occur in regular town schools. In addition, the specific needs of indigenous children are not met in integrated schools where they also face racism. So, ironically, it is often indigenous peoples who emphasize the need to integrate into the larger society who oppose residential schools, while those who support cultural survival argue that residential schools can be a site for indigenous revitalization.[115]

Scandinavia

Indigenous peoples seem to have been making impressive gains in many countries, especially in public education. In Norway, Sami was again allowed as a language of instruction in primary schools in 1959. In 1969, Norwegian legislation formalized the right of children of Sami-speaking parents in Sami districts to be instructed in the language of the indigenous community. Finally, by 1990, the Norwegian Primary School

115 Block, op cit.

Act read as follows:

1. Children in Sami districts have the right to be taught Sami and to be instructed through the medium of Sami. From the seventh year on the pupils themselves decide on this matter. Children taught in or through the medium of Sami are exempted from instruction in one of the two Norwegian language varieties in the eighth and ninth year.

2. On advice from the local school board the municipality board may decide that Sami-speaking children shall be instructed in Sami all nine years and that Norwegian-speaking children shall learn Sami as a subject.

3. Instruction in or through the medium of Sami may also be given to children with a Sami background outside the Sami districts. If there are at least three Sami-speaking pupils at a school, they may demand instruction in Sami language.

In the 1980s, all three Scandinavian countries begun to elaborate legal guarantees in respect to the right to use the Sami language. Norway, with the largest population of Sami, adopted the first Sami language law in 1990, followed by Finland in 1991. Sweden has been much less pro-active in this regard. All three states have directly elected Sami Parliaments which came into being in Finland in 1973, in Norway in 1987, and in Sweden in 1993. Although these are strictly consultative bodies, the fact that they are elected does give them weight with the legislators when faced with issues of importance to the Sami peoples.[116]

East Africa

Many indigenous groups see some form of boarding schools system as the only option particularly for nomadic peoples that do not have set migratory patterns. Because there may be low attendance, some areas are looking to experiment with feeder local schools that might increase demand for boarding schools.

116 F. de Varennes, "Indigenous Peoples and Language,"*Murdoch University Electronic Journal of Law* 2

Eritriea has increased financial allocation to regional educational offices. This funding is used to sensitize Nomadic groups on the need to send children to schools, changing the school calendar in keeping with the demands of nomadic indigenous communities, and increasing teacher allowances. They are also encouraging the teaching of indigenous languages, involving grassroots organizations in the teaching, and recruiting female teachers to attract women learners. A "para-boarding" system has developed to assist Nomadic indigenous children with elementary schooling. There are three such facilities in which a committee including local education officials and community elders manage each facility. Villages contribute the shelter and one kilo of grain or flour. The local administration supplies sugar, tear, water, and other supplies.[117]

New Zealand

Numerous court decisions have confirmed that the Maori language is protected under the Waitangi Treaty. Maori was made an official language in 1987 and legislation was adopted in order to fulfill obligations with respect to the language of Maori. In particular, they called on courts, broadcasting systems, and educational systems to not over-emphasize English and to provide adequate protection for the Maori language.[118]

IV. Assessment of current situation/practices/ideologies of Boarding Schools

A. Highlight opportunities

The recent apologies and inquiries conducted by Australia and Canada open an opportunity to discuss the legacy of boarding schools and ways in which governments can redress their negative impacts. Canada has already authorized reparations measures and Australia in its *Bringing Then Home* report recommended that monetary compensation be provided to people affected by forcible removal. Other countries could model these efforts to begin a reconciliation process between indigenous peoples

(April) 1995 http://www.murdoch.edu.au/elaw/issues/v2n1/devarenn21.html
117 Carr-Hill. Op cit.
118 "Waitangi Tribunal Claim – Maori Language Week," New Zealand History Online, July 10, 2007,

negatively impacted by boarding schools on multi-generational level and the nation-states in which they reside.

These efforts then could provide an opportunity for indigenous communities to be more actively consulted and involved in the development of suitable educational programs. Some will desire to maintain boarding schools, particularly those in herding, nomadic or even remote communities. Others may desire their complete abolition (and some countries, such as Canada, they have already been abolished). But indigenous communities need to become active participants in developing the curricula and structures of schools depending on their needs.

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http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/culture/maori-language-week/waitangi-tribunal-claim

In addition, in areas where educational facilities are sparse, some countries, such as Uganda, are experimenting with non-formal educational processes and mobile teaching centers. Where countries are resource poor, it is necessary to consider alternative ways of providing education that may be different from western or mainstream models.[119]

B. Highlight areas for concern

1. Some countries that have had brutal histories of indigenous boarding school abuse have not addressed these legacies or provided opportunities for redress. Without public acknowledgment of this history, it will be difficult to develop fruitful collaborations between states and indigenous peoples in establishing educational programs that are beneficial to all.

2. Funding for indigenous education continues to be inadequate, particularly in geographically remote areas where boarding schools may not be publicly subsidized. Teachers are often poorly trained. In many areas, indigenous peoples do not receive education past the primary school levels.

3. There is still a concern among many indigenous peoples that the purpose for indigenous boarding schools is to further the cultural eradication and assimilation of indigenous peoples.

4. In many areas, indigenous peoples are not actively consulted in the development of educational programs.

5. While there is an increasing emphasis on bilingual education in indigenous schools, this policy is of limited use if the affairs of that State are still conducted in the dominant language.

6. In areas where boarding schools may be necessary, there is the concern of how to address the social and family disruption that results when children leave their

119 Kraitli, op cit.

homes to attend schools on a residential basis.

7. In conflict-ridden areas, there are insufficient safeguards to ensure the safety of children in boarding schools, particularly girls.

8. For Nomadic indigenous peoples, even where there is an attempt to build flexible school schedules around migratory patterns, these schedules are not set based on the specific patterns of particular groups.

9. While boarding schools may be problematic, sometimes integrated public schools are equally problematic. In these schools, indigenous children often face extreme forms of racism and are subjected to culturally irrelevant or insensitive curricula.

10. There are often gender disparities in boarding school education. Boys are often more likely than girls to attend schools that emphasize academic education that enables economic opportunity.

C. Highlight good practices

1. Some countries, such as Canada and Australia, have developed programs for apology and/or redress for past boarding school abuses, paving the way for reconciliation efforts to happen.

2. Many countries in Latin America are mandating that not only educational institutions be bilingual, but that all levels of society should become bilingual.

3. In China, administrators are experimenting with the format and structures of residential schools so that they are less disruptive to minority family, social and economic patterns. They are also allowing families to live near the schools.

4. In the U.S.A, some Native communities have taken over boarding schools and have adapted the curricula accordingly.

5. In the U.S.A, New Zealand and other places, indigenous communities are looking to boarding schools as potential place to teach indigenous languages particularly in areas where the language might be endangered. Indigenous-specific boarding or other schools might be more effective institutions to accomplish this goal than mixed public schools.

6. Eritrea is experimenting with "para" or more informal boarding school systems that are developed in collaboration with indigenous communities.

7. School feeding programs in East Africa often attract more children to schools.

8. To address safety concerns, it could be wise to open single-sex schools in some areas, where communities desire such policies. However, as other case studies demonstrate, many indigenous communities do not support single-sex education.

One generally positive example is that of boarding schools in Mongolia from 1950-1990 in which enrollment in went from nearly 0 percent to almost 100 percent. During that period, participants claim that those who organized the schools did not try to assimilate them or ridicule indigenous identity. While the curricula was designed from the central state, the actual administrators circumvented the curricula to make it relevant to the community. Education was free, and many of the instructors were locally based. Children were allowed to start the school at a later age to ensure they had been socialized in their pastoral context and acquired basic skills to build on during school holidays. However, since the collapse of the Soviet Union, funding for Mongolian schools has declined, and as a result, participation in these schools is also declining.[120].

120 Kraitli, op cit.

V. Conclusion

As tools of cultural assimilation, boarding schools for the most part have infringed upon indigenous peoples right to self-determination. These schools have resulted in cultural alienation, loss of language, disruptions in family and social structures, and increased community dysfunction. Many schools were exceedingly brutal places where children were physically, sexually and emotionally abused.

Ironically, however, given the damage done by boarding schools, some indigenous peoples now look to boarding schools as way to addressing past assimilationist policies of these schools. Given these legacies, indigenous-specific educational institutions (including boarding schools) *may* be necessary to reverse the processes of colonization.

At the same time, one reason why boarding schools often appear to be an answer is because educational policy cannot be addressed outside the larger context of economic, social and cultural domination. That is, if indigenous peoples continue to live in societies where their traditional ways of life are marginalized or where they face economic domination, then it follows that they will require educational systems that come from within the dominant society in order to survive.

Some indigenous groups, however, are developing alternative indigenous models of education that try to work outside the mandatory mainstream models. They are experimenting with a variety of forms to provide the skills necessary to survive in the dominant society without erasing their own cultures and languages. But these models are part of a larger program for indigenous rights, including the right to lands, territories and resources and cultural survival.

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