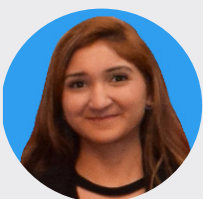


The Education Gap of the Indigenous Communities of Australia and Canada

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Image Source: <https://www.thestar.com.my/news/nation/2019/08/11/speaking-up-for-the-indigenous-people>

Introduction

Assessing the policies and programs catered for the indigenous communities in Australia and Canada provide frameworks for understanding the problems faced by the Orang Asli community in Malaysia pertaining to the education gap as well as allows policymakers to formulate viable solutions in narrowing this gap. This brief provides an assessment of the cases of Australian and Canadian efforts to close the education gap based on literature and is designed to provide context for Malaysia's policy making efforts.

The Australian and Canadian struggles to narrow or close the education gap between the indigenous and non-indigenous communities mirror that of the Malaysian case. One of the main issues faced in both case study countries was a lack of understanding towards the indigenous culture, language and traditions, whereby education serves a different purpose to the indigenous communities compared to the non-indigenous people.

Identical to these case studies, Malaysia has initiated a number of commendable efforts in the form of policies and programs to close the gap. Programs such as the LINUS program as well as the Kurikulum bersepadu Orang Asli/ Penan (KAP) were aimed at increasing the literacy and numeracy skills as well as concentrated on helping students apply their knowledge, skills, and values into other subjects, namely English, Mathematics, Science, Visual Art, Moral Education and Culture and Heritage (Wong and Abdillah, 2018). These programs successfully identified the key issues faced by Orang Asli students in attaining an education, primarily a low rate of school attendance as well as a low level of understanding towards the Orang Asli culture. Similarly, these issues were faced in the Canadian and Australian context as well.

Hence, dissecting several policies designed by the Canadian and Australian governments in attempting to overcome these shortcomings allows Malaysian policymakers to work towards adopting similar models in providing Orang Asli students with an education that not only encompasses the national curriculum but also respects and pays tribute to their culture, heritage and traditions.



A look into Australia

Background

In the Australian case, although the Council of Australian Governments (COAG) has been proactive in their attempts to close the education gap between the indigenous and non-indigenous population, their efforts have fallen short in achieving their goals and targets. The indigenous communities in Australia consist of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders. As of 2016, there are 798 400 Aboriginals and Torres Strait Islander people in Australia, making up 3.3 % of the Australian population (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2018).

Policy Analysis

Closing the Gap Framework

Education is believed to be the leading catalyst in the long term for closing all other gaps, such as healthcare and wages. This was evident in 2008, when the Australian federal government, peak indigenous health bodies and the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Social Justice Commissioner signed a Statement of Intent between the government of Australia and the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples of Australia in establishing the Closing the Gap Framework. This framework entails cooperation from all involved bodies to achieve equality in health status, education and life expectancy (Department of Prime Ministers Cabinet, 2018 & Carr; Ruhannen, Whitford and Lane, 2019). As this paper's focal point is education, only the education part of the framework will be discussed.

In terms of addressing the education inequality faced by aboriginals in Australia, efforts to close the gap are focused on the areas of numeracy, literacy, school attendance and retention rates in schools. This framework, in actuality is built on the earlier work of the COAG with the targets of

1. Having 95% of all Indigenous 4-year olds enrolled in early childhood education by 2025
2. Closing the education gap in school attendance by 2018
3. Halving the gap in reading and numeracy by 2018

4. Halving the gap in Year 12 attainment by 2020 (National Agreement Performance Information 2017-18)

Unfortunately, only the targets of early childhood education and Year 12 attainment are on track or have been achieved (Department of Prime Ministers Cabinet, 2018 & Nancarrow, 2019). The school attendance rates among indigenous children have dropped this year to 82% from 92% last year (Closing the Gap Report 2020). This is because a number of challenges persist in attempting to ensure aboriginal children attend and remain in schools. One of these challenges includes the fact that Indigenous Australians in the city and rural areas have different needs in order to succeed. A lack of evaluation and assessment of the needs of the Aboriginals and Torres Strait Islanders within each community has resulted in the inefficiency and inability to achieve said targets (Jacobs, 2018). Moreover, the programs were applied on the basis of Indigeneity rather than the local need. This has proven to have had little impact on the community, as they do not address the specific problems experienced by each Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander community because they have been grouped under a single umbrella category. Furthermore, the same teaching programs are provided to Aboriginal Australians in rural and urban areas. A second challenge presents itself in the form of the difficulty to get teachers to work in rural areas, where teachers who do work with Aboriginal students are often underprepared, and ill-equipped in teaching them in a way that supports their achievement (Jacobs, 2018).

In addition, some argue that the nature of the gap metric that is calculated is fluid; the constantly changing nature of the gap makes it difficult to strategise and budget effective programs over a certain period. It is argued, therefore, that setting hard targets, as opposed to merely closing a gap would be more ideal (Jacobs, 2018).

A final challenge to this initiative is that the policy ambition was not matched with a radical change in how business is done in indigenous affairs. There were arguably no significant changes in how indigenous policy was created, funded and implemented. Moreover, the government's stated policy goals did not match with their policy actions, and competing policies, where attempts to eliminate the federal budget took precedence.

In looking at the CTG Initiative, a number of unintended consequences arose, which cannot be ignored. The first elude the issue of 'niceness' of the Australian government, where critics point out that this initiative was undertaken by the COAG as a way to make them feel better as opposed to helping the A & TSI communities (Schuelka, Johnstone, Thomas & Artiles, 2019). Additionally, CTG deflects attention away from the structural imbalances that have persisted in Australia for centuries of dispossessing colonisation. This initiative also failed to measure the prevalence of racist or discriminatory attitudes towards A & TSI Australians within the broader population of institutions.

Australian Indigenous Mentoring Experience (AIME)

Another successful program designed to help the aboriginal students is the Australian Indigenous Mentoring Experience (AIME) established by Jack Manning Bancroft in 2005. AIME serves to develop study skills, career ambitions and to prepare aboriginal students for a successful journey to higher education (Harwood, O'Shea, Clapham, Wright & Kervin, 2013). AIME provides an innovative mentoring experience for the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students in granting them pathways and support they need to help progress through high school and university. Goals of AIME coincide with the CTG initiatives targets of

- Halving the gap in Y12 attainment by 2020

- Halving the gap in employment outcomes between indigenous and non-indigenous Australians by 2018.

AIME is the largest provider of education support networks for A & TSI students throughout Australia and its success is measured through independent economic evaluations. The outcomes of this project are experienced at the individual level, with improved educational outcomes and career prospects among the aboriginal students (Fredericks, Kinnear, Daniela, Mikecz, 2017). This mentoring program has a well-established curriculum in the form of workbooks, interactive multimedia and session plans which have been designed by and for indigenous students and is constantly receiving evaluation via mentee, mentors and AIME presenters.

In 2018, 10,000 indigenous, high school students, making up 25% of the indigenous, high school population, were part of AIME with 7,000 university students volunteering as mentors (Sam, 2018). For the past six years, the rate of AIME students entering university has been steady (between 73% and 78%) compared to 40% for the general indigenous population. This percentage is on par with 75% of non-indigenous Australians who are in university (Sam, 2018). In 2019, the 283 Year 12 students with AIME achieved a school completion rate of 98.1% whilst also attaining post-secondary pathways, including but not limited to university, joining the workforce or vocational training (AIME Annual Report 2019). From a policy perspective, this program should be continued and expanded to benefit the education access for indigenous people who are to be achieved in other regional, remote and rural areas.

Remote School Attendance Strategy (RSAS)

Although AIME successfully helped thousands of indigenous students, it did not reach the indigenous population in remote and very remote areas, which comprise 21.7% of the indigenous community in Australia as of 2018 (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare 2018). To help the indigenous student population in these areas, the Remote School Attendance Strategy (RSAS) was created in 2014 (NESA, 2018). This strategy operates in 84 schools (NSW, South Australia, Western Australia, Queensland and the Northern Territory), all of which have had a history of poor student attendance. This strategy focuses on early intervention and engaging with parents to encourage school attendance. Officials work closely with the Aboriginal communities to devise plans to get students to attend school. The strategies undertaken are explicitly tailored to the needs of each community (National Indigenous Australians Agency, NIAA). Cooperation between families, nutrition programs, rewards and incentives programs as well as daily bus runs are conducted to motivate students to attend school. Breakfast at school as well as reliable transport services are provided to encourage students to attend school (NESA, 2018). Since its introduction, attendance rates have improved by 48%, and in Semester 1 in 2016, 56% of schools under RSAS have increased the average attendance rates compared to Semester 1 in 2013.

RSAS was a success because of its adaptability. Nigel Scullion, Senator of the Northern Territory from 2001-2019, addressed the success of the RSAS, stating that it was imperative to make policies work for communities, rather than the other way around (Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, 2016). Taking into account the success of this program, the COAG invested \$78.4 million for the RSAS to be extended until 31 December 2021 (National Indigenous Australians Agency 2019). Along with this investment, the government also intends to work closely with the indigenous communities with an emphasis on case management with families and communities as well as allowing for an increase in local decision making (Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet 2019)-both of which contribute in not only closing the education gap but also respecting the indigenous communities and their right to self-determination.

Framework for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Languages

Another factor hindering the aboriginal community from attending school is the language barriers as well as the lack of understanding of aboriginal culture among the non-aboriginal students. As such, the Framework for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Languages was implemented in 2015 (Department of Education, 2015). This framework was the first national curriculum document that provided a way forward for all schools in Australia to support teaching and learning of the Indigenous languages. The purposes of this framework were to

1. Guide the development of teaching curricula for particular Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages.
2. Allow for greater flexibility in developing programs for any Aboriginal language.
3. Develop an understanding among students of the linguistic techniques and practices that apply to language revival and grow in their understanding of Australia's history and their capacity to effect positive change.

To cater to the different levels of competence of the languages, the framework has three different pathways. These are

1. The First Language Learner Pathway (L1)
Typically for aboriginal students who have learnt the language as a first language
2. The Second Language Learner Pathway (L2)
This learning language is introduced as a second language
3. The Language Revival Learner Pathway (LR)
Involves language learners who have some degree of connection to the language and culture.

In making these classes and pathways available, schools are not only promoting aboriginal cultures and languages but also instilling an understanding among non-aboriginal students of the aboriginals.



Lessons Learnt: A Canadian Persepective

Background

Well-developed legal frameworks consisting of several policy initiatives govern Canada's relationship with the Indigenous community that in many respects, are protective of indigenous people's rights (Anaya, 2014). Although numerous initiatives have been undertaken at both the federal and provincial levels, the well-being gap between indigenous and non-indigenous peoples in Canada has not narrowed overall.

When looking at the education gap among the indigenous and non-indigenous communities in Canada, this gap begins in elementary school. Calver (2015) notes that as opposed to the 14.1 years of education non-aboriginals receive; an average aboriginal person aged between 25-64 years old only has 12.7 years of education. Systemic barriers which include inadequate financial resources, poor academic preparation, lack of self-confidence and motivation and racism on campus continue to hinder post-secondary education attainment among the aboriginal community. Deonandan, Janoudi & Uzun (2019) outline the Canadian Aboriginal education gap as not just a human rights issue, but an economic one, as a higher level of education attainment leads to better jobs, a higher salary and subsequently a better life.

Policy Analysis

Tripartite Agreement

In response to the wide education gap among the indigenous and non-indigenous community, the First Nations Education Steering Committee (FNESC), Victoria and Ottawa entered a tripartite agreement in 2006 (BC Tripartite Education Agreement, 2018). This agreement was centred on giving Indigenous families and communities the right to retain a shared responsibility for the upbringing, training, education and well-being of their children. Through this agreement, the indigenous people would be given the autonomy to establish and control their educational systems and institutions providing education in their own languages, in a manner appropriate to their cultural methods of teaching and learning. This agreement also established a framework to allow First Nations students to sit for and receive high school certification.

Ottawa agreed to finance the authority with funds diverted from allocations to the participating band councils. In the agreement, all parties agreed to work in partnership to develop and implement a strategy and related policies to support the negotiation and implementation of Local Education Agreement (LEAs) between First Nations and boards of education. However, the Tripartite Education Agreement failed because Ottawa and Victoria made little efforts to advance this initiative.

Ontario Aboriginal Education Policy

The following year, the Ontario Ministry of Education shouldered the commitment of implementing the Ontario Aboriginal Education Policy (Cherubini, 2010; 12). This framework was aimed at closing the educational gap between aboriginal and non-aboriginal students by providing First Nations students with culturally relative learning environments that better reflect their epistemic traditions and values, while also highlighting their diverse learning needs (Cherubini, 2010; 14). Despite Ontario's efforts, this initiative fell short in terms of achieving its goals. Nguyen (2011; 234) notes that although 43% of Aboriginals are enrolled in primary schools, 48% of aboriginal youth have no secondary education. This stands in sharp contrast to the 26% of non-aboriginal youth with no secondary education (Nguyen 2011; 234).

Residential School Era

It appears that Canada has implemented an array of policy initiatives and frameworks in efforts to close the education gap, as mentioned above. In spite of their efforts, there appears to be a high level of distrust among indigenous peoples towards the Canadian government at both the federal and provincial levels. The Canadian indigenous community believe that the enforcement of these euro-centric initiatives to close the education gap is a form of neo-colonialism (National Collaborating Centre for Aboriginal Health, 2017). This formidable scepticism among the Indigenous community towards the Canadian government is valid as it results from the lingering trauma and intergenerational effects induced by the residential school era (1874-1996) among this community.

This era, beginning in 1874 and lasting until 1996, was adopted by the federal government to ensure the First Nations community were able to be economically self-sufficient. During this period, indigenous children were forced out of their homes and into institutions with the goal of assimilating the children into the wider Canadian society (Union of Ontario Indians, 2013). The assimilation of the First Nations children by destroying their family and community bonds, their language, culture and names at the time was considered the best way to civilise them.

The 139 schools, which were funded by the Canadian government in partnership with Anglican, Catholic, Methodist and Presbyterian churches, encouraged religious conversion (Union of Ontario Indians, 2013). Overall, the students received poor education at the schools, both in terms of academic and vocational training. Oftentimes, teachers were ill-prepared, and the curricula and materials were derived from and reflected an alien culture. The students, therefore, left school without any of the skills they needed to either succeed in their home communities or the broader labour market. Generations of students who survived the trauma and abuse in the schools grew up estranged from their cultures and languages, with debilitating effects on the maintenance of their indigenous identity (Wilk, Maltby & Cooke, 2017). Wilk (2017) also notes that these effects were intergenerational, as children of attendees demonstrated poorer health status and living conditions compared to the children of non-attendees. As a result, the indigenous community in Canada are sceptical of the Canadian government's pursuits to close the education gap.

Aboriginal Head Start in Urban and Northern Communities (AHSUNC)

A year before the last residential school closed down; the Canadian government initiated the Aboriginal Head Start in Urban and Northern Communities (AHSUNC) in efforts to promote early childhood development among the Indigenous children. Created in 1995 in tandem with the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child 1991, it is based on a grassroots, bottom-up approach where sites and communities have control over the program design to best reflect their local and cultural needs. Intending to provide early childhood development for Indigenous pre-school children and families living off-reserve, this program targeted three distinct groups of indigenous people living in urban and northern communities; First Nations living off-reserve, Metis and Inuits. The program targets Indigenous children living off-reserve in urban and Northern communities at 134 sites across Canada. At first, AHSUNC was supposed to be a 4-year pilot program, but it was renewed as an on-going initiative in 1999-2000. In 1998, the Aboriginal Head Start on Reserve (ASHOR) was introduced as a complementary program for on-reserve communities.

These projects are free of charge to participants and are typically centre-based pre-school programs for 3-5-year-old children. Within the centre-based programming model, educators provide structured early childhood development activities to children. In addition, sites operating these centre-based programming must, in most cases, be licensed by their provincial/territorial jurisdiction and must, therefore, maintain the correct number of certified early childhood educators and ratios of teachers to children.

The six core components of the program, which are meant to work holistically to support Indigenous children's early childhood development include;

1. Health Promotion
2. Nutrition
3. Education
4. Indigenous Culture and Language
5. Parental/Family Involvement
6. Social Support

In 2012, evaluations were conducted to assess the relevance and performance of the AHSUNC program. In this evaluation, it was found that there is a continued need for culturally appropriate and holistic early childhood education programming in off-reserve, urban and northern communities. AHSUNC was a necessary program to change the demographics of Indigenous peoples living in Canada towards increasingly living off-reserve, as protection against socio-economic effects, the importance of early childhood development on future education success as well as the need for more culturally appropriate and holistic programming that better meets the specific needs of Indigenous children. In addition, this program is well-aligned with the Canadian government's agenda. It addresses various government commitments at both the domestic and international levels.

However, this federal program, which was designed for early childhood development, is found to have serious shortfalls and has failed to serve the majority of children living on reserve. According to Barrera (2019), the Aboriginal Head Start on Reserve Program is only serving between 18-19% of eligible First Nations children across the country. Its services are also reported to be unavailable to children with special needs.

Additionally, according to the Federal Indigenous Services department, the program is facing long waitlists, partly due to population growth and stagnant funding. The department also noted that a lack of trained staff, proper equipment and accessibility often prevents young children with special needs and their families from receiving the program's services (Barrera, 2018).



Conclusion

In conclusion, from both case studies, it is deduced that despite some successes and improvements the attempts made by the Australian and Canadian government have generally fallen short in fully closing the education gap among the indigenous and non-indigenous communities. It is also observed that many attempts and initiatives made by the Canadian government are rejected by the indigenous community as a result of the trauma they endured during the residential school era. As such, it is clear that future policies and programs introduced by the Canadian government should take into account the needs of the Indigenous communities. In assessing these case studies, it is evident that for Malaysia to succeed in closing the education gap, the mainstream pedagogy needs to be fundamentally revisited and an incorporation of Orang Asli values and culture within their curriculum is essential in closing the education gap.

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