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**CRIMINOGENIC FACTORS IN THE
INDIAN SOCIETY: WITH PARTICULAR
REFERENCE TO "EDUCATION"**

DEAN C. JONES

Thesis presented to the School of Graduate Studies and Research
of the University of Ottawa,
in partial fulfillment of the requirements of
Master of Arts in Criminology.



Dean C. Jones, OTTAWA, Canada, 1983.



UNIVERSITÉ D'OTTAWA
UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA

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DEFINITIONS

- Indian** A person who pursuant to this act is registered as an Indian, or is entitled to be registered as an Indian. "The Indian Act, R.S.C. 149, S1", Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.
- Boarding Home Program** To provide to Indian students the opportunity to continue their education by living in a home away from home. The purpose is to provide an environment conducive to the development of the student in an atmosphere of acceptance and respect. (Guidelines For Indian Students, and House Parents in Ottawa, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.)
- Boarding Home Parent (B.H.P.)** A resident of a private dwelling approved by the counselling unit of the Education Division of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development and utilized in the placement of an Indian student who has come to Ottawa to attend school.
- Boarding Home Student** Indian students' whose residence is in isolation and who must come to an urban area for their secondary education.
- Non Boarding Home Student** Indian (Metis) students' whose residence may be on a reserve but are close to an urban school for bussing - or may reside in the urban setting.

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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this thesis is to assess the educational system provided to the Indian student in a society that is socially and politically dominated by a Eurocanadian culture. It will focus on issues as set forth by some members of the brotherhood, the students and the parents; their perceptions of existing dynamics in human adaptation and social adjustment pressed upon them in a modern world of technology and rapid social change. JAYEWARDENE in his study "Crime and Society in Churchill" states:

"The problems of adaptation and adjustment are usually assumed to be phenomenal when the adaptation and adjustment is to a situation where technology plays a dominant part, and by a people who have up to very recent times lived in relative isolation in a culture which knew little or nothing of modern technology. They are supposed to become even more acute when the changes to which these people are called upon to adjust and adapt are ones that have been thrust on them not by variations of the environment but by the design and behavior of man".(1)

Because of the nature of this study the approach taken is descriptive and exploratory. The intent is to provide insight into the social processes of a Eurocanadian school system as seen through the eyes of the Indian participants, whose cultural foundations greatly differ from that of the host society.

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CHAPTER I

Significance of Problem(s)

The survey of literature indicates that the Indians suffer from;

1. Poverty,
2. Poor health,
3. Low level employment,
4. Low income and
5. Inadequate education,

Both quantitatively and qualitatively.(1)

The social and economic problems facing Canada's Indians to-day involve aspiration to material well being, to health and to equality and dignity within the social framework of the greater Canadian Society. The Hawthorne Commission addresses these issues of adequate material well being, ie. housing, clothing, food, health, education, income and self determination, which is not available for the average Canadian Indian.(2)

The argument may be presented that these problems are affecting all cultures within society. However, the degree of affliction may be far greater within the Indian culture. Former Federal Member,

Douglas FISHER, N.D.P., Port Arthur riding in a printed address to the House of Commons described the economic situation of many of the Canadian Indians in Ontario's Northern Communities as - "the worst placed of my constituents --- a blot on the Canadian conscience."⁽³⁾

The Hawthorne Report (1966) states that in Indian education the problems are characterized by three interrelated areas. First, the low level of school attainment, attributed primarily to substandard overcrowded housing, inadequate diet and health care, to the lack of interest in education, and to an inadequate understanding and usage of English or French as a second language. Second, the low level of involvement of many Indian parents and the Indian community in the education program. It has to be recognized that the school system has no roots in the Indian community. Thus there is difficulty in stimulating and sustaining interest in academic education. The lack of Indian peoples' involvement in educational decision making reinforces existing difficulties. Finally there are inadequate facilities and programs available for many Indian students, particularly those in remote or isolated areas. Old policies and values will be challenged and re-examined in light of the Indian people's assessment of their needs. As stated by Renaud;

"Either we continue our attempts to integrate the Indian into our society by negating his own, or we integrate by co-operation, by recognition and a purposeful acceptance of where the Indian came from, his present state, and where he wants to go".(4)

Education is always a process of teaching a culture, and the education provided by the whites for the Indians has its roots within the white culture, or at least some element of it. In the period of the "americanization" of the Indians, the whites' education was more explicitly aimed at making "white men" out of Indians. White education has represented a new and different culture to the Indian. As HAVIGHURST observes:

..."the Indian who is subjected to white education becomes a man of two cultures. Sometimes the Indian predominates and sometimes the white culture wins. Generally, the individual makes his own combination of the two by adopting such white ways as are useful and pleasant to him".(5)

The Indians are torn between their own value system and those that are urged, if not actually forced upon them by representatives of non-reserve society. These representatives are usually teachers, missionaries, and indeed over all other influential groups from outside the Indian way of life. Like many other migrants, Indians recently arrived in the city are confused by the conflict between the teachings of their elders and those of the white man, which influences many of

the Canadian Indians to set aside the whole question of morality as meaningless, or insolvable. This in itself may explain the high incidence of deviant conduct among city Indians. The culturally learned sanctions which formerly governed their behavior are no longer in force; so they are governed by expediency in contending with the exigencies of immediate situations.

The absence of generally accepted values among off reserve Indians leads to their disorientation. To secure stability and consistency, Indian may endeavour to incorporate as many patterns as possible of their former way of life into the new system, but usually they must yield to some of the requirements of the host society. They must try to incorporate both systems into their living patterns, and this involves cultural overlapping. Indians thus experience difficulty in adjusting to the new environment because their conceptions of living do not involve punctuality, impersonality, frugality and other social practices which are part of the urban environment. Thus the Indian experiences "culture conflict".

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CHAPTER II

Theoretical Framework

This study examines two distinct cultures (Indian and Eurocanadian) and their respective value systems within the framework of culture conflict theory. For the purpose of this study culture conflict theory was selected as it appeared most suitable in explaining how cultural overlapping places Indian students at a disadvantage when they must leave their homes (reserves) to attend white schools. The diversity of the Indian and white cultures creates conflict between these two groups which places an additional burden on the majority of Indian students. As stated by QUINNEY;

"in any society conflicts between persons, social units or cultural elements are inevitable, the normal consequence of social life. Conflict is especially prevalent in societies with diverse value systems and normative groups. Experience teaches we cannot expect to find consensus on all or most values and norms in such societies."(1)

Thorsten SELLIN in his study "Culture Conflict and Crime" made a significant contribution to the advancement of the theory of culture conflict. SELLIN, aside from the macro level of social organizations and their relationship to conflict causation, examines culture conflict within the personality of the individual and his cultural environment. SELLIN in his study on culture conflict proposes that;

"man is born into a culture. He arrives biologically equipped to receive and to adapt knowledge about himself and his relationship to others. His first social contacts begin a life-long process of co-ordination during which he absorbs and adapts ideas which are transmitted to him formally or informally by instruction or precept. These ideas embody meanings attached to custom, beliefs, artifacts and his own relationship to his fellow men and to social institutions".(2)

Based upon the premise that culture is a learning process from birth and ongoing, those Indians living on reserves, particularly those reserves in isolation, develop a cultural process that is necessary to their community and individual existence. Their norms and value systems would determine their respective codes of conduct. SELLIN states that the individual's response to pressure group opinion is not so much the individual's ability to understand the norm, but how he perceives the norm in relation to himself. "He must not only know about the norm, he must feel it".(3) SELLIN defines a conduct norm as,

"a rule which prohibits and conversely enjoins, a specific type of person, as defined by his status in (or with reference to) the normative group, from acting in a certain specified way in certain circumstances".(4)

Based on SELLIN's conflict perspective, Indian students whose primary socialization has been learned under one cultural system are most likely to experience culture conflict when placed in a cultural system foreign to their socialization process. The Indian student will experience the conflicting codes of the two cultures as he must reside in a new environment, attend a learning institution structured to the cultural ethics of the predominant society. Above this, he must learn to socially integrate with the new environment.

Other culture conflict theorists of this same period, in principle, advocate similar propositions supporting SELLIN'S approach. George VOLD in *Theoretical Criminology*, proposes that unacceptable behavior could not be solely attributed to the political process and that social conflict evident at the social micro level would contribute to social upheaval within labour and racial movements.(5)

LOWRY and RANKIN also support the proposition about the crucial importance of culture in the socialization of man. He is a social creature and a cultural being, behaving in meaningful ways relevant to his values in accordance to the accepted norms that prescribe right or wrong behavior.(6) Man interacts with himself and others through language and shared meanings. The behavior is not instinctive per se, but culturally shaped. The culture is determined

through established norms and values as they relate to the social structure. LOWRY and RANKIN were clearly influenced by SELIN on group conflicts at the individual level and contend that norms are the ideological rules and regulations that govern the behavior of a society. They identify what must be done, where, when and how. They are the determining guidelines necessary to consistent behavior benefiting the society. These norms are transmitted through man's socialization process. Values are the purpose or goal that support the norms, giving the norm meaning within the cultural context. As life has value in society, norms are structured to preserve that right to life.

Within society are many sub-culture groups with their own identifiable cultural elements.(7) As presented by WILLIAMS (8) and COSER (9) these sub-cultural groups may have a base for social differentiation with the core social unit, however, integration and stability may appear within the particular sub culture, as was characterized by SPECK in his study of the Labrador Indian "The Montagnais - Naskapi" where social fusion and harmony had direct influence upon developing a community. What SPECK learned of the Montagnais - Naskapi Indian is consistent to many other Indian communities in isolation. The good of the community is fostered through co-operation, sharing and consensus. Strife competition and violence is avoided. This does not mean the latter does not exist. The community goal is integrated harmony supported by established cultural norms.(10)

SUTHERLAND and CRESSEY in their studies of culture conflict contend that the homogenic kinship as identified through SPECKS's observations of the Montagnais - Naskapi community is not evident with the same consistency and uniformity in the Western civilization. They state that in the contemporary urban society the integration of social organization is erratic and takes on a form of social disorganization as the social pressures on the individual for conformity are not uniform and harmonious.(11) This condition in society contributes to the lack of consensus regarding societal goals or the means of achieving agreed upon goals. The individual finds that the norms of the memberships are foreign or unclear and that behavior deemed right in one group is wrong from the standards of another group. The individual therefore does not know how to behave as he does not know what is expected of him. This is the case of many Indian students that come from an isolated reserve area. They have been born into and socially educated under a culture very much the opposite to the culture and norms of the,

"modern industrial and mercantile society with its metropolitan aggregations, epitomizing our civilization".(12)

and in SELLIN's view culture conflict is inevitable the norms and values of a culture or sub-culture come into contact with those of another. Such is the case of Indian students, more particularly, those students from isolated reserves.

In dealing with culture and social systems and "culture conflict" within that system it is necessary that we examine those values that are aligned with the social system. HOMANS defines social values as those things to which a society or cultural group attaches value, worth or significance.(13) CLINARD states that social values are described by some as the goals or objectives of a given society or culture. They are not only shared, they are regarded as matters of collective welfare to which is often attached a high degree of emotional belief that they are important.(14)

As previously indicated and clearly described in the Hawthorne Report, there is a low level of Indian parental involvement in the formal educational process of their children. The absence of Indian participation in educational decision making only reinforces existing difficulties and widens the cultural gap between the two societies.(15) The Hawthorne report suggests that academic education does not carry the same importance among the Indian community as it does in the white community. This does not suggest that academic education is looked down on, the Indian community places higher value on cultural education that meets the needs of their social existence and survival. Indian parental attitudes towards academic education does not play a significant role with the majority of students in their social and

economic development. This parental attitude is reflected onto their children. SUTHERLAND and CRESSEY state that during the child development period, parental contact over the years plays an important role in determining behavior patterns and attitudes which the child will exhibit.(16) The Indian culture is a minority and a subservient part of the whole, and is at variance with the (predominant) white culture. The Indian student has absorbed the norms and values of their social order. When the Indian student leaves his cultural boundaries to obtain an education, he enters the dominant culture, foreign to his established norms and values.

Indian students from both isolated and non-isolated reserves have a strong cultural identity. Non-isolated reserve students maintain that cultural tie during the course of their education since they return home every day. Isolated reserve students have their cultural and family ties disrupted. Upon entering the boarding home program to continue secondary education they acquire surrogate parents in the city. Where students are boarded in white homes, the difference in culture and value system creates conflict for students as well as surrogate parents. According to the theoretical perspective of value conflict, "social problems" are social conditions incompatible with group values. The same theory contends that the root cause of social

problems is value conflict. Value conflict is one of the issues facing the boarding parent and boarding student. Are boarding parents and the educational system willing to compromise some of their values for the sake of Indian students who, in most cases, have not had the social preparation to contend with a technological society, let alone the new norms and values? The aspirations of Indian student, the educational system and boarding parent may be of equal intensity; however, COSTANZO and SHAW contend that,

"the motives of people's behaviour depend upon the type of culture in which they live... and the same is true of the thesis that motives of behaviour are affected by two essential elements of any culture - the system of values and the objectives living conditions."(17)

The white boarding parent and anglicized educational system on the one hand and the Indian boarding student on the other, represent two distinct but opposing cultures. Asked what happens when people from two different cultures meet, an old Apache laconically observed, "bad feelings".(18)

From a historical and current perspective on "culture conflict", there is sufficient claim to support the proposition that Indian student's educational process is seriously hampered not only through the diversity of two different cultures but the diversity and

culture conflict creates a sense of social isolation and a sense of normlessness, as described by CAMPBELL and CONVERSE in that the norms of the host society are unclear, confusing and meaningless which may create the individual's retreat and social isolation.(19)

In summary, the purpose of this study is to explore why Indian students from the reserve (social) system, who enter the white educational system for continued academic education are failing and dropping out of school at alarming rates by examining:


- 1) the culture conflict model as a theoretical base and its relationship to the "normative" and value concepts to explain its relationship to individual and group behavior within given sets of social cultures.
- 2) Indian students who live in the reserve society are culturally different from the dominant society. When these students migrate to a foreign culture, what affects do the cultural overlapping have on their behavior and attitudes?
- 3) Are the Indian students sufficiently prepared for their migration to a culturally foreign system and are there sufficient support services available to the Indian student after entrance into the new environment that would reduce the effects of culture shock?

In search for an explanation of this problem, four sources were identified to obtain the necessary information. Boarding Home Parents, Boarding Home Students (Indian students from isolated reserves), Indian

students from reserves adjacent to urban areas, and parents of both student groups. Questionnaires were developed for the purpose of obtaining the perceptions of all participants of the educational system that Indian students must attend.

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CHAPTER III

Historical Development

A review of the literature reveals a number of issues related to the poor academic performance of Indian students in a white school system which precipitates a premature drop out rate of Indian students from the educational system.

The literature contends that there are two culturally diverse populations. The predominant (white) society and the minority (Indian) society. Within the theoretical framework of Culture Conflict, the Indian population is a subculture within the predominant culture and has historically been socially and economically isolated from the mainstream of society. Both societies receive their socialization under different normative/value systems. Integration or migration of the minority group into the predominant group creates conflict within the minority subculture. Conflict Theorists contend that culture conflict plays a significant role in determining human behavior, particularly for those members of the subculture who have migrated to the predominant culture. Conflict theorists also contend that abject poverty, political and socio-economic discrimination by a restrictive and paternalistic dominant society does significantly contribute to culture conflict. The members of the minority culture are unfamiliar

with the norms and values of the host society, and do not understand or know what behavior is expected from them which contributes to their behavior disorientation.

SELLIN SUTHERLAND and CRESSY - QUINNEY have advanced the concepts of culture conflict stating that conflict between coexisting minority and predominant societies widens, particularly where the norms and values of the predominant group are usually in a state of continuous change. What is considered acceptable behavior to-day, may not be acceptable in a day or a year. Conflicting norms and values are the axis of culture conflict within the social whole. The adverse effects of culture conflict are most experienced within minority groups and it is in this group that the Canadian Indian is situated. The literature addresses many factors that conflict theorists state are social conditions that breed culture conflict. Many of these conditions are interrelated and are inseparable from each other.

Some sociologists contend that it is possible to isolate and measure a culture of poverty. This approach is particularly helpful in understanding the existing socio-economic situation that is confronting the Canadian Indian. A culture of poverty is set in a cash economy, with wage labour, production for economic profit, a persistently high rate of unemployment and underemployment at low wages, for unskilled labour. The dominant class has asserted a set of values that rewards

thrift and accumulation of wealth and property, advocates opportunity of upward mobility, and explains low economic status as the result of personal inadequacy and inferiority. The Indian and Metis Society of Saskatchewan clarifies this approach as it applies to the Canadian

Indian:

"Basically, poverty among the Indian and Metis is simply a lack of employment and adequate incomes. However, there are secondary aspects of poverty, such as housing, colonialism, racism, and cultural circumstances. For those born into poverty, no enrichment of the mind can be accumulated; awareness of racial or cultural identity cannot grow; and there is almost no hope for the expression of individual potential. Instead, disease, insecurity, hunger, cold, injustice, harassment, and oppression prevail. there is little opportunity in any avenue, and practically no incentive to develop the mind and spirit. People who are born into poverty learn to think, feel, and act so that not only do they adapt themselves to living in poverty, but restrict themselves to performing in that particular environment. Furthermore, they are unable to learn how to think, act, and feel in ways that will permit them to function adequately in a non-poverty environment".(1)

Once this culture of poverty comes into existence, it tends to perpetuate itself, particularly within a family structure, where children by the age of 6 to 8 years, have usually absorbed the basic attitudes of their subculture. If they have known only poverty,

welfare or one mode of cultural existence, then this milieu will prevail. It becomes the "way of life", and they are not psychologically prepared to take full advantage of changing conditions, should this life-style improve, or as in the case of many Indian students, leave the familiarity of their culture and enter a cultural system foreign to them.

Poverty has been defined in many ways, ranging from the pure and simple "lack of money" to the more comprehensive description which includes social and economic exclusion and a general lack of power.

The Economic Council of Canada defined poverty as:

"the problem of poverty is increasingly viewed, not as a sheer lack of essentials to sustain life, but access to certain goods, services and conditions of life which are available to everyone else, and have come to be accepted as basic to a decent, minimum standard of living.(2)

Miller and Roby, in The Future of Inequality present a more comprehensive definition of poverty:

"poverty is not only a condition of economic insufficiency: it is also social and political exclusion. We suggest that a minimum approach by government in any society with significant inequalities must provide for rising minimum levels, not only of incomes, assets, and basic services but also of self respect and opportunities for education and social mobility and participation in many forms of decision making".(3)

It would appear that these definitions fit the plight of many Canadian Indians relative to the standards of living as set by the predominant society. It can be argued that many of the Indian reserve communities would not fall within either definition of poverty as their perception of materialism differs from the predominant society. It is these differences in social conditions that creates additional conflict within the migrant individual (Indian students) when they experience and view a different standard of living.

The Hawthorne Commission survey of thirty-five representative bands across Canada, conducted in the 1960's (selected to include the isolated bands of the north, those in close proximity to settlement, and a few relatively advanced ... that is, those with employment connections) showed average yearly earnings per worker of \$1,361.(4). This includes some bands who have highly paid workers in the fields of construction and forestry (all in B.C., Southern Ontario and Quebec), the average for most bands would be much lower. The following table from the Commission's final report gives another indication of this situation:

DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYED MALES

Earned less than \$3,000	82%
Earned less than \$2,000	62%
Earned less than \$1,000	23% (5)

Household income is somewhat higher due to welfare recipients. Nevertheless, an Indian Affairs Branch Survey, 1965, estimated that 78.5% of Indian households had total incomes below \$3,000.00; 54.5% below \$2,000.00 and 23.3% below \$1,000.00.(6)

In 1969, a national survey of Indian bands and reserves conducted by the Statistics Division of the Indian Affairs Branch, found that of the male and female Indian Population living on reserves, and between the ages of 15 and 64, only 40.2% had earned income. Of that 40.2%, 17.6% earned less than \$1,000.00, 6.9% earned between \$1,000.00 and \$2,000.00; 4.1% earned between \$2,000.00 and \$3,000.00; 3.8% earned between \$3,000.00 and \$4,000.00; and 7.9% earned \$4,000.00 or more.(7) One should keep in mind that although these totals are not wholly accurate due to incomplete data, the figures do present a reasonable picture of an existing situation fifteen years ago. For example, in Hay Lake reserve, Alberta, 1968,

"we are in an awful situation", the chief explained. He described how all his people, 1,800 divided among several reserves, were starving. There was no work. Everyone was on total maximum welfare and the welfare was half the Provincial rate - \$15 to \$20 a month for a whole family.(8)

The average family income for the Hay Lake area was approximately \$660 per year, this includes welfare assistance.

In 1974, 55% of the total Indian population on reserves was receiving social assistance or welfare payments. In Ontario it was estimated that 70% of the total Indian population on reserve were receiving social assistance as compared to the national average of 6%. It was also noted that over 70% of the Indian welfare recipients were able bodied and employable.(9) There is no doubt, based upon available data, that the majority of Canadian Indians are living at a much lower standard than the total society views as poverty. As previously alluded to, this type of social existence perpetuates itself into a "way of life".

SELLIN suggests that culture is a product of the socialization and education of man from birth. Following this premise, SELLIN states that personality rests on a biological foundation, which is of the greatest importance in the formation of personality.(10) Therefore the informal educational process will have further implications on Indians depending upon the cultural orientation of the formal educational system. In many respects, particularly for the Indian students, the culture dilemma is two fold. The base of their academic

education emanates from a different culture and Indian students living in isolated reserves, must leave the familiarity of their culture, and migrate into another cultural membership to continue that educational process.

Prior to confederation, a small but significant piece of legislation was passed which indicated acceptance of responsibility by Provincial or local governments, for Indian education. Several legislatures made provision for the attendance of Indians at schools serving non-Indian children, including the payment to local authorities for tuition and board. (Now known as the "Boarding Home Program").

In both Upper and Lower Canada, Indian reserves were incorporated into established school districts, and some provision was made in the statutes for the financing of Indian education. The B.N.A. Act vested in the Parliament of Canada jurisdiction to legislate with respect to Indians and the lands reserved for their use. That legislation, which provided for the extension of provincial services to the Indian people, was superseded by the Indian Act of 1876, which provided the legal basis for federal administration of Indian affairs. Most Indian treaties contained a commitment to "maintain schools for instruction on the reserve ... whenever the Indians of the reserve

shall desire it, or to make such provision as may from time to time be deemed advisable for the education of Indian children".(11) Until the end of the Second World War, the result of such provisions and their interpretation for the Indian, was education in isolation.

During this period, schools and hostels for Indian children were established, but scant attention was paid to developing a curriculum geared to either their language difficulties or their sociological needs. A few Indian bands established schools for their children on the reserves, but the majority of them had neither the financial nor leadership resources to establish and operate their own schools.

The end of the Second World War marked a turning point in the position of the Indian society in Canada. The government and the public became aware of the Indian minority in their midst. Greater concern was generated over the immense educational gap between Indian and non-Indian youth. The old educational policy was no longer viable; the perpetuation of the Indian peoples' isolation could no longer be continued. The old system had attempted to train them for a life on the reserves and it had failed to prepare them to live in the rapidly expanding technological society of Canada. With the 1946 Report of the Joint Committee on Indian Affairs, new policies were developed, and the

first comprehensive revision of the Indian Act took place fifty years after its enactment. While the new policies have provided a framework for an expansion in education service to Indians over the past several years, much remains to be done. The following is an account of the Department's aims and objectives in Indian education, and the extent to which these objectives have been attained.

In the field of education it has been the aim of the Department, "to have Indians develop the social and cultural skills and the economic competence required to participate in the life of the country on an equitable basis with other citizens".(12) The Department recognized certain basic tenets which underlie the educational needs of the Indian people. These are:

- (a) To engender Indian self-confidence, self-government and consensus as to educational goals, the Indian people must be allowed to express and realize their own wishes and aspirations by way of adequate consultation and communication, and an increasing role in educational decision-making.
- (b) The acceleration of educational integration in the provinces is seen as the principle means of enabling Indian and non-Indian people to live and work together on equal terms.

- (c) As the majority of Indian bands are disadvantaged groups in Canadian society, specialized educational assistance is required by way of instructional programs, guidance and counselling services, residence services, and allowances.
- (d) The educational program must support interest in the Indian heritage and culture and assist in reaffirming Indian identity.(13)

The Department has recognized the cultural gap that exists between the two cultures particularly in the field of education. It is in the context of these basic considerations that the goals and objectives of the Department's Education Branch have been formulated. Specifically, the primary objectives of the Education Branch are as follows:(14)

- (a) increasing Indian integration into the provincial school system through the leasing of federal school buildings to provincial or local school authorities, through the establishment of locally operated school units on Indian reserves under the authority of provincial legislation, and through the phasing out of instruction in federal schools for students at the junior and senior high school levels.

- (b) for Indian children still attending federally operated schools, to provide educational opportunities at least equal to those available to children attending provincial schools.
- (c) where required, to maintain student residences providing a well-rounded home and community experience which meets the developmental needs of children.
- (d) to provide a satisfactory living environment for students who must leave their homes in order to continue their education at the secondary level.
- (e) to identify individuals with potential for higher education, to encourage them to enroll in university or related institutions, and to provide required financial assistance.
- (f) to provide out-of-school training and guidance to prepare Indians for gainful employment, and for the adjustment to urban living.

The literature indicates these objectives have clearly been inadequately realized although the percentage of Indian children attaining a higher level of education has improved over the years, the drop-out rate after elementary school is still very high. The Hawthorne report has concluded that the number of Indian students in high school and in post-secondary institutions are not proportionally

equal with national data. A survey, "Indian Conditions" contends that successful completion of secondary school for Indian students is less than one-quarter of the National rate.(15) The Hawthorne report contends that in Indian education, the problems are characterized by three interrelated areas. First, the low level of school attainment, attributed primarily to substandard housing, over crowded housing, inadequate diet and health care. Second, the lack of interest in education, and to an inadequate understanding and usage of English or French as a second language. Third, the low level of involvement of Indian parents and the community in the educational program. It has to be recognized that the school system has no roots in the Indian community. Thus, there is a difficulty in stimulating and sustaining interest in education. The lack of Indian peoples' involvement in educational decision-making, reinforces existing difficulties.

Between 1949 and 1965, Indian enrollment in high schools jumped from 611 to 4,761, and college or university attendance increased from 9 to 88.(16) On the surface this increase appears to suggest an improved Federal policy, but does not indicate the level of achievement attained nor the reason the students drop out prior to completion of required courses. In 1969, only one-half of the Indian children attained the level of grade 6.(17) Sixty-one percent failed to reach grade 8.(18) Ninety-seven percent never reached grade 12.(19) and only one hundred and fifty registered Indians were enrolled in full-time credit courses at Canadian universities.(20)

Since the commission of the Hawthorne Report (1966) and current statistics as reported in the survey Indian Conditions (21) there appears to be a modest improvement in Indian students remaining in school up to grade 12. In 1966, of the total Indian student enrollment, about 11% completed grade 12. In 1976, this figure has risen to approximately 19% as having completed grade 12. However, as indicated in the report the Indian student rate remains less than one-quarter of the national rate. University enrollment has improved, whereas in 1969 there were 150 Indian students enrolled in University; by 1979 this enrollment increased to about 2,600, however, in comparison to national university enrollment figures, Indian student participation is one-half that of the national level. As suggested in the survey report, "this is probably a reflection of the number of Indians who do not complete the secondary school".(22) The survey report further suggests that one of the factors believed to lower Indian student participation rates in secondary schools is a reflection of the inability of the provincial school systems to help Indian students adjust to a new environment.

Courses taught to Indian children at day and parochial schools, just as at provincial schools, are not geared to Indian needs, values or cultures. Much of this inequity can be related to the lack of trained Indian teachers. As commented on by J.H. BULLER,

Teachers generally came from middle class families and naturally direct their aspirations toward middle or upper class objectives. Generally, their biases in their relationships with their pupils are very often at variance with the socio-economic background of the Indian student.(23)

As the teacher pupil relationship becomes one formative part of the students educational and socialization process, the majority of students only become more confused by external expectations which may cause the individuals to retreat to their perceived safety of their own cultural heritage.

SUMMARY

Education policy was formulated when life on the reserve still made economic sense. The objectives were very modest, (a little religion, four or five years of schooling), and the techniques crude. Consequently, the results were poor. Few struggled through the system and on to higher education.

In the late fifties, with the prospect of continually supporting Indians on welfare, the educational system was seriously questioned. Unfortunately, when reform came, the faults of the old system were assigned to the segregated schools -- as if integration (busing children from the reserve to local schools) would supply equality of opportunity. However, equality is not so easily conferred on an Indian child with handicaps imposed by poverty, isolation, language difficulties, limited aspirations, and above all, the feeling that he is inferior to the white children.

The competitive nature of integrated schools also puts the Indian child in a disadvantageous position. Inadequate housing makes it difficult for Indian children to study. It is virtually impossible for an Indian youth to work in an overcrowded one or two room house, with poor lighting, lack of space for studying, and without other necessary facilities.

The situation of Indians today is attributed by them to government policies of several decades. These policies have had two essential features: first, the perpetuation of a separate society, without regard for the limitations of its economic base; and second, an education system irrelevant to reserve life and wholly inadequate for preparing Indians for the large society.

The original decision to create a separate society (the reserve system) had some merit (the preservation of the native culture), and will not be discussed here. The separation was only viable in the long run if the Indians could make a living on the reserve, and in the northern woods. The difficulty was not immediately apparent, because in the North, the traditional life continued for many years; in the settled regions an economy of sorts took shape: a combination of subsistence agriculture, a little hunting and fishing, and casual labouring in the forests, on the roads, and in the neighbouring towns. The collapse of this economy partially explains the deteriorating position of the Indian over the past twenty years, and the abject poverty of today.

Wage income, not necessarily from hunting and fishing has become prevalent on most reserves in the recent past. But wage income

has been greatly reduced as the supply of casual jobs diminished - and few Indians had the education to move upward in the labour market. Moreover, the wage economy is representative of the white economy; it was never a part of the native way of earning a living. As suggested by Grygier, "what use to be work: hunting, trapping, fishing has become a pastime in modern economy" ... "it would be impossible for native people of Canada to reach Eurocanadian standard of living solely by enjoying what in the modern world has become an expensive pastime; yet this is the standard of living they aspire to".(24)

Indian poverty today has its origins deep in the past. Although the reserve system did not necessarily imply a series of rural ghettos, failure to secure the economic base produced that very result in all but a few cases where jobs were available due to special circumstances. Agriculture was left to flounder for want of capital and training. Lack of education and adequate technical skills hindered access to off-reserve jobs. The equal opportunity ideology, particularly within the field of education has fostered culture (norms and values) conflict, not only within the Indian culture, but also has detrimental effects on the individual Indian student in obtaining an adequate education within another cultural society unfamiliar to

Indian students. Under these socio-economic and politically influenced conditions, it is difficult for Indian students to achieve the level of education as designed within the framework of a Eurocanadian society.

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CHAPTER IV

Research Methodology

In an attempt to determine and understand some of the problems faced by Indian students, the study employed an open ended interview schedule to examine their attitudes and perceptions regarding the educational system they must attend and related social problems they experience within their new found environment. Two categories of students were interviewed. Those Indian students who reside on reserves that are isolated from a major urban area, therefore the student must leave home for extended periods of time to attend school; secondly those Indian students living on a reserve, however are within community distance to an urban community and are bussed to school. Both student groups and only 43 natural parents were interviewed. The parents of both groups were included to provide a parental perspective on the issues. The interview method allowed the interviewer to probe for further information and to overcome language difficulties.

(KERLINGER: 1 and SIMON: 2)

The interview schedule was endorsed by Canadian Indians from various professional fields. Two of these advisors experienced the

boarding school program when they had to leave their homes for lengthy periods of time to attend school. They failed in that school system, dropping out in their first high school year. Their lives subsequently involved numerous encounters with the criminal justice system and eventually alcoholism. A near tragic event redirected their lives to education and the desire to work toward the resolution of social problems that faced their people. They are attempting to develop a format of education that will, as expressed by GRYGIER, "return to the forgotten heritage".(3)

It was their experience that many of the Indian students, particularly those from the isolated reserves, would have difficulty responding to a questionnaire because English is their second language. It was also their opinion that a questionnaire would intimidate the respondents and might elicit a negative response. It was agreed that the best approach would be:

- (i) personal interviews
- (ii) structured questions that would be open ended
- (iii) anonymity of respondents
- (iv) questions should attempt to determine only their perceived problems in the educational system; also to avoid political issues unless the respondents volunteered their opinion.

Three geographical areas were selected in which to conduct the interviews. The Red Lake - Central Patricia District, the Thunder Bay District, both in Northwestern Ontario, and The Pas, Manitoba. The City of Ottawa was selected since it offered additional access to populations of Indian students from isolated reserves and to their boarding home parent.

The boarding home parent questionnaire was administered only in the Ottawa area and only to those surrogate parents actively involved in the Boarding Home Program for the year 1978.(7) This program is administered by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.(6) Most of Indian students in Ottawa come from the James Bay area. The majority of the students are of Cree extraction and English is considered to be their second language.

In developing the interview schedule, the author reviewed other instruments (SOONIAS, 1973; GOUCHER, 1967) that examined similar problems encountered by Indian students. The interview schedule (Appendix A) was developed and revised to ensure that it would respond to Indian student perception of their education. A pilot interview

was scheduled with a restricted sample of six students, three from the Boarding Home System and three from the Non Boarding Home System. There were no apparent difficulties with the questions.

The Boarding Home Parent questionnaire (Appendix "C") was developed to ascertain parents' perception of the Boarding Home Program, and their perception of the preparation and adjustment of native students to a new school system: the community and boarding home environment. A list totalling thirty-two active boarding home parents, was received from the Indian Affairs Branch Counselling Unit. The boarding home parents were contacted, the purpose of the survey was explained, and their voluntary participation was solicited. Questionnaires were delivered to three boarding homes for pre-test and retrieved the following day. Participants indicated no difficulty in responding to the questionnaire. Copies were delivered to the remaining boarding home parents.

The questionnaire was designed so that responses could be scaled on the Likert-scale, the value of summated rating from strongly.

agree, agree, disagree to strongly disagree. There was no category for "don't know", the respondents being confined to the above choice. In the Likert-scale, respondents are given some degree of variance to express their attitudes and opinions towards any given item. The instrument's questions were recorded in numerical order from one to thirty-three. Each question was classed as a unit of information and was delegated a variable number. Questions requiring more than one answer received a variable number for each part, as did the demographic information requested at the end of the questionnaire.

The final stage of this study was to establish follow up contact in 1980 with as many Indian students as possible to determine their current educational status, as well as any changes in their attitudes toward the present system of education.

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CHAPTER V

Results of Data Analysis

For the purpose of this report, the following abbreviations will refer to: Boarding Home Student (BHS), Non Boarding Home Student (NBHS), Boarding Home Parent (BHP) and Natural Parent (NP).

During 1978 and 1979 interviews were initiated with sixty-three male and seven female BHS from isolated reserves. Twenty-seven (42.8%) of the male students voluntarily participated in the interview. Thirty-six (57%) declined being interviewed. Two (28.5%) female students voluntarily participated with five (71.4%) declining. The NBHS, who live in the community or live on a reserve and are bused to school, were contacted outside their school hours. Of the fifty-one male students approached, forty-four (78.4%) participated and seven (13.7%) declined the interview. Eleven female students were contacted of which nine (81.8%) participated with two (18%) refusals.

TABLE 1

Student Program
(Appendix "A",
Question 1)

Boarding Home
Student (BHS)

Non Boarding Home
Student (NBHS)

		AGREED		REFUSED		
		Male	Female	Male	Female	Total
Boarding Home Student (BHS)		27	2	36	5	70
Non Boarding Home Student (NBHS)		44	9	7	2	62
		71	11	43	7	132

The parents of both the BHS and NBHS were interviewed. Sixty-seven NBHS parents were contacted, thirty-nine (58%) agreed to an interview and twenty-eight (41.7%) declined. Only four NP of BHS were contacted and interviewed. Extreme difficulty was experienced in making contact with this group. Overall, two hundred and three contacts were made of either students or parents, resulting in one hundred and twenty-five (61.6%) interviews and seventy-eight (38.4%) refusals.

From the thirty-two boarding homes, twenty-nine questionnaires were completed. Twenty-two (68.8%) individual boarding homes responded. Seven of the homes responded by couples, which accounted for twenty-nine completed questionnaires. Ten (31.2%) of the boarding homes did not respond. The data from the BHP Questionnaire was analyzed through the SPSS Data Text Computer System which is programmed to treat data related to social science concepts. The statistical analysis was based mainly on the Chi square and Frequency Distributions. For the purpose of this thesis, the BHP data will be presented in percentage ratios in conjunction with related data of the BHS, NBHS and NP.

During 1980, followup contact was established with nine male BHS, twenty-seven male and two female NBHS. This was an attempt to ascertain the current status of the students' education and the extent to which problems they first identified persisted.

Interviewing the BHS was more difficult than the NBHS. With the majority of BHS, I had to be more explicit, ensuring they understood the questions. Those BHS declining the interview responded by, saying nothing, or by a flat "no". Five students who first agreed then changed their minds, terminated the interview with a mumbled "don't know" and walked out.

EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND

There was no random grade selection of students interviewed. The grade level data of both groups is by chance. As indicated in TABLE II, the majority of students were in levels one to three, with the

<u>TABLE II</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>Total</u>
Grade Level (Appendix "A", Question 2a)						
Boarding Home (Male) Student (Female)	7 2	12 -	5 -	3 -	- -	27 2
Non Boarding Home (Male) Student (Female)	12 2	8 3	16 3	7 1	1 -	44 9
	<u>23</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>82</u>

...50

greatest number of BHS in level two and NBHS in level three. Of the three male BHS indicating level four, two were not certain of their level, except that their home rooms were listed as level four. One of the level four BHS stated he did not have enough credits to qualify him for a level four. I learned that in some Ottawa High Schools a student may be assigned a home room of a higher level than his achieved credits, particularly if the student is taking one or more credits at level four and the remaining credits at a lower level. There were no BHS in level five. Seven male and one female NBHS indicated they were in level four and one male indicated he was in level five. Nineteen male BHS indicated they were enrolled in vocational (trades) courses, seven in the academic stream and one in commercial. Both female BHS identified their courses as commercial. Of the male NBHS, twenty-five were enrolled in vocational (trades) courses and nineteen in the academic stream. Four female NBHS identified the academic stream and five the commercial courses (TABLE III).

TABLE III

Course of Study
Appendix "A",
Question 3)

<u>School Program</u>	<u>Boarding Home Student</u>		<u>Non/Boarding Home Student</u>	
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Academic	7	-	19	4
Commercial	1	2	-	5
Vocational	<u>19</u> N=29	<u>-</u>	<u>25</u> N=53	<u>-</u>

Among the BHS there is an absence of students in the academic program past level two. Students did not seem to differentiate between academic and vocational streams. As far as they were concerned, they were simply in high school.

It was evident that many of the male BHS did not have a true appreciation of the long term value of vocational courses that could lead to specialization. Vocational courses geared to theory and advanced technology, auto mechanics, electrical shops and machine shops, were not clearly understood by many of the students. They were more concerned with the practical application, acquiring enough knowledge that would keep the machine running or repairing the electrical circuit. The theory behind the practical application was, for most students, unimportant. The male BHS appeared to base his education requirements on present needs, rather than future concerns.

As indicated in TABLES IV and V many of the students were experiencing problems in particular subjects. Mathematics and English/Literature seem to be the universal problem for both the boarding and non boarding students. Geography or sciences were identified by some, but neither appears to be a significant problem. Although French was also identified, most students in either category were not taking French as a credit. When asked why they were having problems in certain subjects, both student groups stated that they had difficulty in grasping the concepts of mathematics. As to English/Literature, both groups indicated they had difficulty in understanding some of the books they were required to read.

TABLE IV

Difficulty In
School Subjects
(Appendix "A",
Question 4a)

		<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	
Boarding Home Student	Male	18	2	N=22
	Female	2	-	Seven No responses
		<u>20</u>	<u>2</u>	
Non/Boarding Home Student	Male	23	18	N=49
	Female	1	7	Four No responses
		<u>24</u>	<u>25</u>	

TABLE V

Program Subject*
(Appendix "A",
question 4b)

	<u>Boarding Home Student</u>		<u>Non/Boarding Home Student</u>	
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Mathematics	20	2	27	2
English/Literature	17	2	18	3
Geography/Sciences	6	-	11	7
French	-	-	9	2

The success of the boarding student at school is vague in terms of their responses. Twelve students indicated having failed one or two credits during the semester, but did not lose their year. One male student stated he passed and received only four credits for that given year. The two females indicated having failed some vocational and domestic courses but were doing well in the commercial courses.

Overall, the majority stated that they were not happy in school and were finding it difficult. The majority of the students did not wish to discuss their subject grades at any length and were somewhat guarded over any comments they made. Two male students indicated their course structure was geared towards a trade skill and they were doing quite well in these courses. They also indicated they had difficulty in the English courses but that these courses were dropped. Eleven of the

*Student could select his problem subject and was not restricted to a single choice. Some responded with two or three subjects.

students would only comment that they were doing okay. Of the non boarding students, thirty-one males stated that they had failed at least one or two credits during their high school years, but had not failed a complete year and were able to pick up on the subject at a later time. Ten male students stated they were doing alright in school and 3 made no comment. Two females stated they had failed a subject but not the year. Six females would not comment.

Although there is identification of some subject failure, most of the students indicated they were in semester courses and that if they failed a course they could still advance to the next level and make up the lost subject. Failure of subjects did not seem to be that great an issue with the majority of both groups.

The majority of NP expressed concerns about the problems their children were experiencing in some of their subjects. Seventeen parents believed that many of the subject problems that developed in the primary grades followed the student into high school. Both student groups who were products of a reserve school system had difficulty in responding to "were they sufficiently prepared at reserve school to cope with a city school?" (TABLE VI). Although the majority of

TABLE VI

Sufficiently Prepared
At The Reserve School
(Appendix "A",
Question 18)

		YES		NO		DO NOT KNOW	
		BHS	NBHS	BHS	NBHS	BHS	NBHS
Male		9	7	14	10	4	11
		-	1	2	5	-	2
Female		9	8	16	15	4	13

Eighteen male and one female NBHS did not respond

students indicated they did not think they were well enough prepared for the urban school there seemed to be some confusion in understanding the question. In retrospect I feel that I may have biased many responses in this category; I do not now believe that many of the students truly differentiated between the two systems and I failed to clarify the question.

Twenty-two natural parents of NBHS generally agreed that the quality of the reserve school system was below that of the urban school system, which created difficulties for many of their sons and daughters, particularly in high school. They further indicated that

lack of English language comprehension created the greatest problem for their children. This was more evident among students from the reserve, as opposed to those students who lived in urban communities and attended the public school system. The NP and BHS were not aware of the difference between the reserve and public school systems. They were aware that their children had some problems in school subjects but did not seem to be worried about it.

The BHP (72.4%) agreed that the BHS enters the urban school system with a less than acceptable academic standard. The BHP further indicated (75%) that the Federal Reserve School system is responsible for these students' low academic qualifications. The BHP also agreed (74.4%) that inequality between the two systems is one factor contributing to frustration among the BHS.

For the majority of BHS, it was evident that English was their second language. Throughout the BHS interviews I had to be careful in keeping my conversation at a level they would clearly understand. This problem was experienced with a small number of NBHS, who appeared to have reasonable to good command of the English language. Since Indian students take their schooling in the English language, problems in subjects such as mathematics, English/literature and the sciences are understandable. Dr. D. Lazure in his study on educational services for

Indian children found that at age of enrollment and up to the age of eight, 25% of the students entered the educational system with no knowledge of English or the French language, while an additional 32% entered with an understanding of some English or French. (1) This may not be the case with all Indian students from isolated areas. Lazure's findings are supported by the Hawthorne Report, (Part 2, 1967:129).

Among the BHS there was uncertainty as to whether they had been sufficiently prepared for the urban community and school before leaving their respective homes. Seven males indicated yes, eleven no and six were unsure. One female said yes and one female said she was not sure. Three did not respond, (TABLE VII).

TABLE VII

Preparation For
Urban Residency
(Appendix "A",
Question 14)

	Yes	No	Unsure	
Male	7	11	6	24
Female	1		1	2
	8	11	7	26

Three No Responses

Two of the NP stated that having their children leave home to come to school in the city was a bad experience for their children. One parent did not think it hurt his son (in Grade 11) and one parent did not know. In responding to this issue, the BHP generally agreed (58.6%) that the student was sufficiently prepared, as opposed to (41.3%) who disagreed. The BHP also agreed (89%) that it was essential to the BHS that he/she be fully prepared prior to coming to the city. Nabigon and Simard in their study of Indian students in one urban high school suggest that, "when a native is sent out of the reserve to attend school in a new urban environment, they are not emotionally and psychologically prepared to face a way of life that is unfamiliar to them. This "culture shock" is often so great that the student decides to return to the reserve before finishing his schooling". (2)

INDIAN STUDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF THE EDUCATIONAL
AND URBAN ENVIRONMENT

ASPIRATIONS

Both groups of students expressed a desire to complete certain levels of high school education, (TABLE VIII). Four BHS and two NBHS

stated that on completion of Grade ten they would go to work. Two male BHS wished to go to Grade thirteen and one hoped he would make it to College. The latter stated he wanted to be a social worker and return to his community to provide a necessary service. One male student wanted to be a "bush pilot" but did not see why an education would help him. One female student wished to be a nurse and realized she required a certain level of education to reach that goal. Two male students wished to complete high school and indicated they had some thoughts on

TABLE VIII
School Level
Aspirations
(Appendix "A",
Question 7a)

	Boarding Home Student		Non Boarding Home Student	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Grade 9				
Grade 10	4		2	
Grade 11				
Grade 12	11	1	21	5
Grade 13	2		1	2
College	1		9	2
University			3	
	18	1	36	9

indicated they had some thoughts on a vocation but were still undecided. Ten BHS did not know how far they wanted to go in school. They were reluctant to discuss this issue and could not relate the necessity of an education to good job opportunities.

Among NBHS there were higher aspirations to graduate from high school. Twelve male and two female wished to continue at either College or University levels. These students expressed interest in the fields of teaching, social work and law. Eight NBHS did not know what grade they wanted to achieve, nor did they have any thoughts of what vocation they wanted. From the interviews it was evident that the majority of both groups student have educational aspirations during the first and second years of high school. Regarding the BHS group the BHP agreed (89.6%) that the BHS would like to achieve success in the school system.

The majority of both student groups indicated that they would like to achieve good marks in school. Of the BHS, 16 males and one female student wanted good marks in school, eleven males and one female indicated that good marks did not matter, as long as they passed, and none suggested that they wanted to receive better marks than their classmates. The overall attitude of the BHS showed a desire to receive pass marks and not to "fail" any subjects. Degrees of competition were evident within the NBHS. Thirty-one males and three females wanted to

achieve good marks. Seven males and two females stated they wanted better marks than their classmates. Six males and four females did not respond. Those NBHS indicating better marks appeared to reflect a positive attitude towards school and their future vocations. Further discussions with this group revealed an urban background, with parents in both lower and middle income. All parents had security in steady employment. As suggested by Lane "a middle class urban Indian child of highly acculturated parents is not raised in the same sub-culture as a child in a family dependant on welfare and living in an overcrowded house on a nearby unserved reserve, although they may attend the same school". (3)

The boarding home parents expressed strongly the opinion (89.6%) that boarding home students would like to achieve success in the school system. However, the BHP indicated that these students lack the necessary grade skills and this sets them apart from urbanized students. They further indicated that, on entering the boarding home the students demonstrated motivation to succeed. Within a short time, however, the motivation diminished. Gue suggests that lack of motivation is caused by a conflict between the middle class, white values and indian values. It is reasoned that both explicit and implicit values of teachers, as well as the curriculum standard, repel the boarding student and cause him to leave school as soon as he can.

(4) In discussing the lack of equality in grade skills, Saslow and Harrover state that academic achievement is comparable to the cultural majority for the first few grades. Somewhere between the fourth and seventh grades, the achievement scores for Indian children fall below the National scores and decline further through high school. (5) Lane (1972:354) suggests that "a given population of Indian students is said to be "non-competitive". School success frequently depends on a competitive behaviour." (6) The responses of the Indian students interviewed, particularly the BHS, support Lane's statement. The issue of "non-competitiveness" was brought forward by two of the natural parents interviewed, as well as one Indian BHP who stated that non-competitiveness is characteristic of the Indian culture and is reflected in the BHS personality. Among parents of NBHS there were mixed feelings about the competitiveness of their children. Of the twenty-nine responses, sixteen parents of NBHS did not know if their children were competitive in school but felt they were in sports and games. Thirteen parents felt their children were not competitive in school.

During the BHS interviews, I observed a high degree of interaction among this group. There was evidence of camaraderie, co-operation and sharing. On different occasions I witnessed students, without hesitation, share with fellow students what little they had. They gave

me the impression that the BHS were a unit, a support to each other when necessary, yet independent and self reliant. All BHS stated that they did not like being away from home to attend school. They expressed a loneliness for their families. Those students who had younger brothers and sisters indicated missing them very much. When talking of their families, the BHS conveyed a sense of worry. In relation to themselves, lack of money and difficulty in school work were their two main concerns.

STUDENT PERCEPTION OF SCHOOL CURRICULUM

A significant number of students in both groups stated they would like more emphasis on the role of Indian nations in the historical and political development of Canada. Eighteen males and one female BHS, thirty-three male and six female NBHS discussed this subject at length. These students' main complaint was that in the school books, the Indian people were unjustly portrayed as an uncivilized race that hindered the growth of the Canadian Nation. The NP responded in similar fashion. Parental opinion was that their children should be aware of and proud of their ancestry. There was a strong opinion that history books could better inform all students about the Indian people and their contribution to Canadian development. The majority of

parents believed the education system has historically slandered the Indian as a wrong doer.

Discussing subjects they would like to study in greater depth (TABLE-IX) the majority of both student groups expressed a desire to learn more about Indian History and culture. Those students indicating trade and life skills stated that the schools they were attending had limited facilities and offered restricted options.* The two female NBHS suggesting life skills, desired more information on how to better deal with all aspects of their everyday living, from budgeting finances to personal grooming.

The natural parents' attitude strongly indicated they wished their children to receive the best possible education. The parents did not indicate any particular vocational preference. The issue of their children's education and the value of the curriculum appears to be consistent among parents. This was expressed by the statement on one father: "if my kid is to survive in this country, he has to go to school; a white man's school. At home I'll teach him to be an Indian, at school the white man can teach him to be an electrician, and I hope a good one".

* Author's Note - It was determined that the NBHS were attending a highschool in a smaller community and the trade or vocational courses were limited. This was not the case with the six BHS, who were attending highschools in large cities and these schools had complete vocational facilities.

TABLE IX

Subjects Students
Would Prefer More
(Appendix "A",
Question 23)

	Boarding Home Student		Non Boarding Home Student	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
<u>Subjects</u> Indian History and Culture	18	2	23	6
Trade Skills	3		17	
Life Skills	3			2

Three BHS did not know

Five NBHS did not know

STUDENT PERCEPTIONS OF TEACHERS-FELLOW STUDENTS

When questioned on their relationships with their teachers, eleven male and two female BHS indicated that a good relationship existed. Five males indicated they did not have any student-teacher relationship. Four male students did not respond to this question, (TABLE X). Twenty-six male and seven female NBHS stated good teacher

TABLE X

Relationship With
Teachers/Fellow Students
(Appendix "A",
Question 6a)

	Boarding Home Student				Non Boarding Home Student					
	Good		Not Good		Good		Not Good			
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F		
Teachers	11	2	5	-	18	26	7	13	1	47
Fellow Students	22	2	4	-	28	35	9	2	-	46

* Four male BHS did not respond

Five male and one female NBHS did not respond

relationship, while thirteen male and one female indicated not good. Five male and one female did not respond. Generally, both student groups appear to identify with their teachers. Both groups indicate good relationships with their fellow students, which is supported by (TABLE XI) concerning persons to whom the students would turn for help in resolving school problems.

TABLE XI

Who Student Contacts
Most in Resolving A
Problem(s).
(Appendix "A",
Question 6b)

	Boarding Home Student	Non Boarding Home Student
Teacher	9	19
Guidance Counselor	6	8
Friend	23	30
Parent	4	24
Boarding Home Parent	7	-
Boarding Home Counsellor	22	-
	<u>*61</u>	<u>*81</u>

Two BHS indicated no one.

* Students could select more than one choice in order of their first contact and if that choice were unavailable, their alternative choice.

Both groups gave a variety of candidates they could select. The BHS group, by majority indicated they would take their school problem to a friend or their boarding home counsellor at the Indian Affairs Branch. The students reflected a positive attitude toward their counsellors, indicating they were helpful and understanding, and assisted them in coping with new experiences in school and in the community. Like most

young people, they also confide in friends, which was also evident in the non-boarding group. For a particular school subject problem, there is indication they would seek advice from their teacher or guidance counsellor, which is also evident in the NBHS group. Two BHS stated they had no one in whom to confide, but if necessary, they would go to their counsellor at Indian Affairs. Both these students were in their first year and had been in Ottawa for two months. They would not explain why they believed they had no one. They did not appear uneasy about living in the city or going to school in Ottawa. The NBHS identified their parents as a resource in problem solving. Four BHS stated they would discuss their school or personal problems with their parents during school breaks. However, the majority of BHS were non-committal regarding parental counselling. The general remark was, "my parents are not here, I can't talk to them".

Discrimination

A majority of BHS indicated that they did not feel accepted at school. None of the students could identify any acts of discrimination. They described it as a feeling of being tolerated by most non Indian students and some teachers. The BHS believed he was accepted by the neighbourhood and experienced no significant problems. Regarding any specific discriminatory experiences the BHS may have had, nine males and one female stated they did experience minor verbal discrimination, usually outside the boundary of their neighbourhood and from young adults. Most of these experiences took place in the street and on one occasion in a restaurant where another patron became upset that this "young buck" was served ahead of him. The students did not express anxiety over any of the experiences. As indicated in TABLE XIII, shows that a majority of BHS did not feel discriminated against. The six who were unsure, were all first year students and had received forewarning from friends that they might be pushed around a little at school. NBHS by majority did not feel they were discriminated against. Most NBHS stated they had non Indian friends at school and also had close association with their friends outside of school hours. Two male NBHS strongly indicated that they were discriminated against by their teachers. Neither student could identify an example of such discrimination but described it only as a feeling.

TABLE XII

Do You Feel Accepted
At School-Neighbourhood
Appendix "A",
Question 21

	Boarding Home Student				Non Boarding Home Student					
	Yes		No		Yes		No			
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F		
School	4	-	19	2	25	33	7	10	2	52
Neighbourhood	16	1	9	1	27	33	7	9	2	51

Four BHS did not respond to the school issue - two did not respond to neighbourhood.

One male NBHS was unsure in both categories and one did not respond to the neighbourhood category.

TABLE XIII

Do You Feel You
Are Discriminated
Against
Appendix "A",
Question 17a

	Boarding Home Student				Non Boarding Home Student			
	Yes	No	Unsure		Yes	No	Unsure	
Male	6	13	6	25	14	21	9	44
Female	2	-	-	2	2	3	4	9

Two male BHS did not respond

The BHP (55.2%) agreed that the BHS were experiencing forms of discrimination in the school and also agreed (58.6%) the same problem existed in the community. The majority of the discriminatory acts were verbal abuse, and in some cases students were taken advantage of because of their naivety. The majority of the natural parents (68%) did not feel their child is discriminated against in school. The remaining parents with the exception of two were not sure or did not think so. Two parents stated there was definite discrimination in the school and identified the teachers as the responsible party. Outside the school system the greatest majority (82%) felt their child was well accepted in social and recreational activities as well as by the general community. Ten percent of the parents felt there was some discrimination but did not believe it was within the student peer level. These parents suspected the adult world as the main problem.

INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN BOARDING HOME STUDENTS AND THE BOARDING HOME PARENT

The majority of BHS indicated they were satisfied with their boarding home placement, (TABLE XIV). The seven male students indicating not satisfied, stated that the BHP were too strict and gave

TABLE XIV

Satisfaction With
Boarding Home
(Appendix "A",
Question 11)

	Boarding Home Student			
	Yes	No	Unsure	
Male	13	7	5	25
Female	2			2
	15	7	5	27

* Two No Responses

too many orders. Five students could give no specific reason, but they felt uncomfortable and did not feel they belonged. The majority of the students indicating they were satisfied with their boarding home could find no fault other than "homesickness". Fourteen of the BHS indicated that they found their BHP helpful in trying to deal with some of their problems. Two students would not respond. The BHP stated (82.7%) that the students' behaviour in their home was acceptable; however, only fifty-eight percent thought the students' behaviour was acceptable outside the home. The BHP felt that some students were consuming alcoholic beverages and/or smoking Marijuana. They were concerned that the students might be easily led into trouble with the law. A concern expressed by six students was that their BHP attempted to regulate

their behaviour. For some of the BHS coming from an unstructured life style, this was a difficult adjustment. Most of the students were not accustomed to being told when to go to bed, eat meals, or stay home; nor were they in the habit of telling their parents where they were going or when they would return.

It would appear that the BHP assumes a nurturing role towards the student, as eighty-six percent felt they must offer extra guidance to the students because of their newness to the community. Many of the students perceived this overture by the BHP as demeaning to their status. As one student said, "everytime I go out she wants to know where I'm going, what I'm doing and when will I be back.. That is for children and I am not a child".

Simard and Nabigon, in their study of the Ottawa Boarding Home Program, stated,

"The Indian culture has built in a mechanism to promote a high esteem for self-reliance, autonomy of the individual and respect for personal freedom. Indian parents translate these concepts by allowing the child to develop a separate identity; very seldom interfering, curtailing, correcting or inhibiting the action of the child. This period of growth and development lasts until adolescence at which time he is expected to be a responsible person. The Indian child, also, learns and takes from all adult members of his/her community, in which the extended family system plays an important role in child rearing". (7)

This supports the issue of cultural conflict between the BHP and student. When in the boarding home, the male students stated they had some domestic responsibilities, (keep room and bed tidy and general cleaning). They indicated their chores were a matter of necessity. Female respondents had no difficulty in accepting domestic chores in the boarding home. The male students saw themselves as potential providers, through hunting and commercial or sport fishing, which was their perception of man's work and responsibilities. The BHS strongly identified their role responsibilities in their home environment as an important part of their education.

The BHP indicated (65.5%) that when the student first came to their home they did not expect the student to behave or act the same as their own children. However, after the student had been in the home for a short period of time, forty-five percent of the parents expected behaviour equal to that of their own children. When the student first entered the boarding home, 72.4% of the BHP did not expect the student to immediately blend into the family setting, which is consistent with the above data. However, after a short time span, eighty-six percent of the BHP expected the student to blend into the family. The boarding parents also reflected consistency in their rules for siblings, in that 86.2% believed that the rules of the house for their children also applied to the boarding student. The aforementioned reflects tolerance

among the boarding home parents in terms of imposing a standard of behaviour. The boarding parents were flexible enough to allow native students an orientation period. Then they expected a significant degree of conformity to their own standards within their respective homes. The data suggests that the boarding parents imposed their value system at a later stage, regardless of the native students' social and cultural background. Where the students were unable or unwilling to conform, the result was a breakdown in the home placement. This added further problems for the student during the cultural adjustment period.

The BHP indicated they must initiate conversation with the boarding student regarding school related activities and homework, since many of the students were reluctant to discuss their school or other problems. However, there is indication this reluctance dissipated over time. A number of BHP suggested the student in the beginning was very shy and many students reflected a degree of independence. This attitude was reflected in those boarding homes with white parents. In the boarding homes with Indian parents, there appeared to be a higher degree of interaction between the two parties, the student being more open. The majority of BHP viewed a "failure to communicate" as their fundamental problem in the boarding home parent-student relationship. The BHP expressed some concerns over the inability of students to discuss personal problems.

Two former students suggested that BHP might find communication easier if they adopted an indirect style of information seeking and were more knowledgeable of Indian communication structure. As in Kleinfeld's study,

"Inflection and sentence form patterns that differ between cultures can also cause misinterpretations. For example, Indians and Eskimos may phrase a question or request in the statement mode, but with a question inflection (Olsen, 1970). Thus, a student may say, "I am going to town," with a rising intonation. What the student has said is, "As an independent person, I am going to town unless anyone has a serious objection." The irritated boarding home parent may not be aware that permission has been indirectly requested. A difference between Athabascan Indian and western sentence patterns mentioned by village teachers is the Indian tendency to phrase a request in the imperative mode. For example, the person may say, "Take me to town," when he is actually asking, "Will you take me to town?" Such "orders" anger white people who do not understand this pattern."
(8)

Many of the BHS stated that after a short time in the boarding home they felt they were inferior because they were not sure how to respond to their new environment. As indicated in Kleinfeld's study,

"Students often perceived the parental questions that began, "Can you do ...?" "Have you done ...?" or "Do you know ...?" as highly status reducing, since they might be forced to admit that they cannot do, have not done, or do not know something that they believe they should. Yet, parents were very likely to ask just these kinds of questions, since they were unaware of the student's knowledge of the urban area.

Similarly, students were often unwilling to ask boarding home parents questions when they needed information. Parents did not understand that it made students feel "ashamed" to ask how to use the telephone or the shower when they felt that they should have learned such childish things long ago. Moreover, since direct questions bothered them, they believed that their questions would bother the boarding home parent. Only the older, more sophisticated students realized that white adults found such questions highly rewarding, since they provided the opportunity for the adult to assume a nurturant role."
(9)

One issue that the BHP's were not in agreement was the merit of bringing the isolated student to Ottawa and other regions for school. The BHP agreed (58%) that this move was in the best interest of the student. Thirty-four percent stated it was not in their best interest, suggesting cultural, environmental and educational disparities combined with the absence of home, families and friends only compounds the personal and school problems that many of the students will encounter. Many of these BHP suggest that most students are certain to fail and this is the injustice they feel the program invokes on the student. A number of BHP do not suggest or see the BHS as the problem but the system in which they must try to work, cope and survive. The seventeen BHP who agreed it was in the best interest of the student to come to an urban centre for school qualified their response; eight parents stating it provided an educational opportunity not available on the reserve; four indicating that it provides an exposure to other cultures and two

stating it provides an opportunity to learn to live in a more technological environment. Fifteen parents offered no qualification to their response. The responses are opinions of the boarding home parents, based on their experiences and perceptions. It was evident they have a sincere concern for the welfare of the boarding student. The majority of the BHP suggested that, for mutual compatibility they would like more personal involvement in selecting the student to come into their home.

The BHP in support of the boarding school program and in the best interests of incoming or returning students, indicated (75%) that a reciprocal communication among the Indian Affairs Branch Counselling Unit, the boarding home parent, the Indian students and the natural parents, would be beneficial to all parties and would promote a satisfactory introduction and adjustment for both student and boarding parent. The boarding parents felt that this would help reduce stressful situations, or any misunderstandings the Native parent might have regarding the students' entry into a new environment. Although the boarding parent suggestion is meritorious, one must consider the economic and geographical factors of such a relationship. Although Wilson supports this principle, the understanding of the child's home environment in relation to the child's educational needs and process, it is suggested that continuing direct communication between boarding

home parent and biological parent is not economically realistic. (10) Information gleaned from boarding students and boarding parents, provides a strong suggestion that the Indian Affairs Branch Counselling Unit are competent people in a responsible function, offering guidance and assistance to both student and boarding parent. The majority of the counsellors are of Indian ancestry and are able to relate to the students. All boarding parents indicated they had co-operative contact with the counselling unit and felt that monthly contact would suffice in addressing any problems that might occur. The boarding parents stated they were not restricted in terms of contact and the counselling unit personnel were available to them at any time. This type of open communication was helpful to the boarding parents in their work with the students. The majority of BHP (82%) agreed that they had a clear understanding of what their responsibility was to the student and of what the Indian Affairs Branch Counselling Unit expected.

SOCIAL ACTIVITIES

The BHS indicated a high degree of recreational activity when in their home environment. The majority of male BHS indicated hunting and fishing for both sporting recreation and provision of food for their

families. There was a strong orientation towards assisting family unit and contributing in what they felt was a man's responsibilities. In all the interviews, the boarding students revealed a strong awareness of the extended family. The two female respondents, although not as active in the male recreational areas, indicated that when at home they took part in household duties and looked after the brothers and sisters. Both females indicated they enjoyed the social life of their communities, particularly when dances were held. The radio and television media did not appear to be a recreational outlet since, in many of their respective communities, there is no television or reception and programming are limited. The BHS, when in the city, identified television as their favourite recreational outlet. Many indicated that they liked the movies; however, access to the cinemas was limited due to lack of money. All BHS stated that lack of funds was a major problem for them. Many stated they attended the Indian Friendship Centre where they could socialize with their friends. Four male respondents indicated they frequented "arcades", since they enjoyed pinball. Within the school setting, all respondents stated that they took "gym" and the variety of activities it offered. Outside the boarding home and the school the female respondents indicated no special interests or activities. Both female students liked to go for walks and window shop. Seven of the males stated they played hockey in a recreational league. One male indicated that he played in a

commercial league.

Among the male NBHS respondents hockey was the favourite winter sport, with twenty-eight males identifying that activity in leagues ranging from Midget (age 15 and 16) to Junior (up to age 20). The leagues in which they were involved were mostly competitive. Males identified "fastball" as their summer sport, again in competitive leagues. The majority of males listed hunting and fishing as recreational function but not in the same sense as boarding students. The NBHS did perceive their hunting or fishing as an essential contribution in providing food for their families. Most males stated that watching television occupied much of their time, particularly sports and movie segments. Five males had no special interests. In their school environment, track and field and team wrestling rated high, with twenty-three males identifying team involvement. Gym was indicated with an emphasis on basketball. Female response was low, with three stating that their only involvement was in gym, and two stating they competed in track and field.

Revealed in the interviews was a distinct difference between the BHS and NBHS in attitudes toward competition. The BHS were non-competitive in both sports and school. Although they wished to succeed, the attitude they conveyed was co-operative participation.

They enjoyed team or individual sport. Winning was a good feeling, but not the total objective. The same attitude was conveyed about their school work. Individual success was important to the boarding student in terms of his own self perceptions.

The male NBHS indicated they enjoyed the nature of competition, particularly in sports. Some NBHS felt the same with school work, which was important in the eyes of their peers and communities. Of the males interviewed, sixteen indicated that to be on a winning team, or noticed as a better than average competitor, was a mark of acceptance within the total community of Indians and whites. Two females and one male respondent indicated strongly that their success in school was attributed to a desire to prove to themselves and their peers that they were good students. These three students stated that they had strong parental and teacher support. When questioned whether their desire to be better than many of their peers had any reflection on their Indian ancestry, all three responded that this was never an issue as far as they were concerned. Their main objective was preparation for university.

Natural Parents

The mean age of parents of boarding and non boarding home students was 47 years. Thirty-seven parents stated they had attended a reserve school, eight had attended a public school and one had had no schooling. Two parents had attained Grade 4, eleven Grade seven, fifteen Grade eight, two Grade nine and five Grade ten. Nine parents could not identify what grade level they had attained, but indicated they had never reached Grade eight. Two parents did not respond to the question.

The responding parents (73.9%) stated they had found school difficult particularly in the latter years. They identified English and Mathematics as having been the most difficult. The majority of parents indicated that during their schooling, education had not been thought essential to further job opportunities, nor was it related to future vocations. Many of the male parents had seen themselves following their fathers' vocations, such as commercial fishing, trapping and working for the lumber or mining industries. The female parent respondents in the past had not viewed schooling as necessary to them. Their early perception of their future was in the domestic role of a wife. Parental views on education have changed. Thirty-six percent stated they viewed an education for their children as

important, particularly for job security. Fifty-two percent did not feel their children had to complete high school to get good jobs in the pulp and paper or mining industries. The remaining parents (12%) were non committal on this subject. Of the parents interviewed, (81%) indicated they still had children in high school and three parents had sons in university. Those parents whose children were no longer in school (15%) stated their sons or daughters had left school early and were currently employed in industry.

Parents whose children were bused to school stated that this made school work difficult for the students. In the more rural areas, students are bused anywhere from 25 to 50 miles. Travel time for many students mean leaving early in the morning and returning in the early evening. Parents stated that the students were tired and in many cases, the additional burden of homework and chores left them little or no time for themselves during the school week. The parents indicated that this travel arrangement was a further hindrance to border-line students who viewed school as a necessary evil. Forty percent of the parents whose children were bused suggested that travel, school subject difficulty, and dislike for school were major contributors to absenteeism and eventual dropping out. Parents who resided adjacent to or within the urban community did not reflect the aforementioned problems. Although there was a significant drop-out rate prior to high

school completion, the parents attributed this to available job opportunities and that some students left school because they no longer wished to attend.

The parents of boarding home students indicated their children found school difficult. The difficulty, in their opinion, was not so much the school work, but the absence of home, the loneliness and the strangeness of the city. These few parents stated their children returned confused and unhappy with the school. The parents stated that, at first, their children were both excited and afraid of leaving home. One parent stated that his son did not understand what he was entering when he left his home to go to school. The parent stated the boy did not return home after Grade nine and has since worked for a freighting company.

Regarding their children's future, (76%) of the adults saw education as a vehicle for their children's hopes for a good future and employment. However, many of the parents considered employment in terms of industry as a whole, without reference to specific trades or skills. The majority of parents believed their sons would find labour posts in industry, which would teach them job related skills. Less than (15%) of the parents equated education with the professional world

or the vocations requiring high degrees of technological skill.

It was my observation, as result of the parental interviews, that there exists among many families a tradition of family influence in the child's development until that child leaves home. However, the influence is not to the degree that would put the parents' values and desires over those of the child. The child appears to have a certain amount of autonomy in his/her own development. This was more evident in the reserve communities. Indian families which had been established in a white community for a generation or more, reflected a "white" culture and value system. Those parents had significant influence over their children and were central figures in the decision-making processes having effect on their children's lives. A small percentage of urban Indian families, although they had resided in the white community for a number of years, bore similar attitudes and values to those parents residing on the reserve. This statement is not made in the negative sense. There is a definite relationship between the parents' environmental background where and how they were raised, and the manner in which they perceive their children and the logic of an educational system the child must attend. Although the parent may now live in the city and have taken on some white values, they still retain their cultural identity.

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Follow Up Interviews of Indian Students

During 1980, follow up contact was made with nine BHS, twenty-seven male and two female NBHS. The purpose of the contact, as explained to them, was to determine the current status of the students' education and the extent to which problems they first identified persisted. This was not a formal interview, but an open discussion of their perceptions based upon their experiences in school or, if they had left school, in their situation at that time. Five male BHS agreed to the meeting and four refused offering no comment. Of the NBHS, twenty-one males and two females agreed. The six males who refused indicated they were working or busy. All respondents were from the original sample.

BOARDING HOME STUDENT

Of the five BHS interviewed, one was still in high school, attending grade twelve. The other four had left high school during their second year and had not completed that year. During the

discussions with these four respondents, it was revealed that they had left school mainly because of loneliness for home and friends and because they were unable to adjust to urban living. After further questioning regarding the latter reason, all the ex-students stated they had felt completely out of place in the urban school and urban boarding home. Much of their difficulty stemmed from a lack of money. One ex-student stated that most of the time he could not do the school work and could not understand the teachers lectures. This student indicated that the English language was not a problem; he just did not understand the work. The only aspects of the urban school he did enjoy were the wood working and auto shops.

It was the consensus of these ex-students that their coming to school in the city did them more harm than good. Although they did not believe they were failures, they agreed that their urban school experience completely upset their lives. They enjoyed the thrills and excitement of the city but could not afford to take part in it, nor did they truly understand life in an urbanized white society. The ex-students stated they had had no encounters with the law, either during their stay in the city or after their return home. They were seasonally employed and living in their respective communities. One male indicated missing the city on occasion but stated he was happier and better off where he was. The male BHS in grade twelve was still

in the boarding home program. He advised that he had also experienced many of the feelings indicated by the four ex-students. He explained that he was still in school because of the understanding and help he received from his unit counselor and his boarding parents. He also indicated that he was better off than most Indian students as he had sufficient money. There was suggestion of strong support from his own parents and BHP. He stated that this principal advantage over other Indian students was his ability to read, and reading had been a hobby for him. When I advised him of the statements by the other four respondents, he agreed with them, indicating that the same problems applied to many Indian students. He stated that he intended to complete high school, even though the lengthy absence from home was sometimes his most difficult problem. He was not having any serious problems in school or in the community. His last comment to me was; "I'm kind of looking forward to returning to school, I've got my girlfriend there".

NON BOARDING HOME STUDENTS

Of the twenty-one male NBHS interviewed, eight were still in high school. Six were in grade-twelve (vocational). In the academic stream, one was in grade eleven and one in grade twelve. Of the thirteen who were out of school, seven had completed grade ten, four

had completed grade eleven and two would not say. Of the thirteen out of school, nine had full time jobs in the pulp and paper or mining industries all four were unemployed. The two female NBHS were in grade eleven, commercial courses.

The discussions with the NBHS and ex-NBHS focused on their experiences in school. The respondents who had left school stated they had quit because of good job opportunities in the paper mills, not because they disliked school. None of the ex-NBHS stated they had had any notably bad experiences with their teachers or fellow students. Many of these respondents said they had enjoyed many good experiences in school. For some respondents, the main complaint was that due, to distance, they had to be bused to school. For many, this curtailed their involvement in after school activities, with the exception of special events (football games) when later transportation was arranged for the students. Although these ex-NBHS reflected a positive attitude towards their school years, many restated that they had experienced problems with certain subjects, Mathematics and the Sciences in particular. Four students stated they had not been totally prepared for high school. Two ex-NBHS stated they had done remedial Math work during their two years at high school. In discussing responsibility for this lack of preparation, only one student suggested the reserve school system was not up to the standard of the urban public school.

The rest of the respondents were non committal in blaming any part of the system.

Those NBHS still in school expressed no immediate concerns about their education. All stated they were doing well in school and were having no problems. They believed they were accepted as equal to any other student. All NBHS stated they were not experiencing any form of discrimination, either in or out of the school. One male student suggested that, "there are a few students in my school who avoid Indian students". He added, however, "there are a few Indian students who avoid the white students. They are the students who have the problem". The two female NBHS stated that they had originally lived in small towns and had moved to the city to attend school. They felt they were treated no differently than any other students.

On the issue of conflict with the law, none of the active NBHS had any contact, for any offences. Of those ex-NBHS, six of the males had contact for traffic and minor liquor violations.

Although these follow up contacts were selective and based on availability of the respondents, the information reinforces the initial interview findings. In all the reserve areas visited, I learned that

the same system of education still exists for the boarding home student and non boarding home student. A few outpost reserve schools have extended educational facilities to include grade nine. A few reserve primary schools close to urban centers have been closed, and are using the urban public school system. Change is slow, but I believe it is progressing.

Chapter VI

Summary and Conclusion

As previously stated, this study is descriptive and exploratory. It is an attempt to obtain the Indian students' perceptions of and experiences in an educational system. To determine whether the students' perceptions were valid, those parties directly involved in the students' educational process were included in the study.

Data from all sources revealed a number of issues regarding Indian student problems in the urban school system. Both BHS and NBHS experience subject problems in high school. Mathematics and Sciences gave them the most difficulty. It was identified, particularly for the BHS, that English was their second language and comprehension of school subjects was therefore retarded. The same problem surfaced to a lesser extent in the NBHS group. It was the opinion of all the respondents that those Indian students coming from the service school system were not sufficiently prepared to cope with the urban school curriculum. This was more evident in the BHS group.

For the BHS, leaving their homes to attend high school added to school problems. The long periods of separation had an adverse affect on the emotional and mental stability of the BHS. BHS were not psychologically prepared for the transition from life on their reserve to the unfamiliar urban setting. The resulting culture shock caused many BHS to drop out of school. NBHS did not experience such culture shock since they were not as removed from the urban society.

BHS identified lack of funds as a major problem in the city. Those students also indicated that they did not know how to budget their allowances. Even under a controlled budget, however, the allowance would probably have been insufficient. The BHS were generally satisfied with their boarding homes, but many indicated BHP were not aware of the Indian culture and this lack of knowledge caused communication problems. Discrimination did not appear to be an issue among BHS, NBHS, or their parents. The BHP, however, suggested that the BHS faced discrimination both in the school and in the community.

Upon entry into the urban school system BHS did not differ greatly from the NBHS in aspiring to achieve success. Due to a number of variables beyond the control of the BHS, their aspirations for success diminished. In conclusion, the perceptions and experiences of all respondents indicate that major problems exist for BHS in their pursuit of education.

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APPENDIX "A"

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

INDIAN STUDENT

I am trying to determine why many of the Indian high school students are experiencing difficulties in school and are dropping out. I would like to ask you certain questions regarding your experience in school under certain conditions; problems you may or may not have if you are a student from an isolated reserve and are residing in a boarding home or as a student who is either living on or off a reserve but within bussing distance to your school.

You do not have to answer any questions or any one particular question if you do not want to. Your name will not be recorded nor will anything you say to me be identified to you. I would like your opinion on what problems you may be having that are related to school.

*.Question of specific attention of the student from the isolated reserve and residing in a boarding hom

QUESTION

- A
1. (a) Are you in the Boarding Home Program?
 - (b) Are you living at home and attending a nearby school?
 - (c) Are you living on a Reserve but are close enough to be bussed to school?
 2. (a) What level (grade) are you presently in?
 - (b) How old are you?
 3. (a) What is your present course of study?
 - 1) Academic
 - 2) Commercial
 - 3) Vocational (trades)
 4. (a) Are you having any difficulty in school?
 - (b) If yes, any particular subject?
 - (c) Do you know why you are having difficulty?
 5. (a) Is it important for you to have good marks in school?
 - (b) Is it important for you to have better marks than your classmates?
 - (c) If good marks are of no concern to you, what do you feel about school marks?
 6. (a) How do you get along in school with your:
 - 1) teachers
 - 2) fellow students?
 - (b) If you find you are having difficulty in school, who can you get help from or explain what may be the problem you are having?
 - 1) teacher
 - 2) guidance counsellor
 - 3) friend
 - 4) classmate
 - 5) parent
 - 6) boarding home parent
 - 7) boarding home counsellor

7. (a) How far or to what level would you like to go in school?
- (b) Do you know what it is that you would like to do in the area of future employment?
- * 8. ~~(a)~~ When you first arrived at the city what were your thoughts about:
 - 1) living in the city
 - 2) attending school
 - 3) living in a boarding home?
- * 9. When you first came to the city did you have anyone you could turn to and get help if you felt you needed help?
- *10. (a) If you have been in the boarding home program for one year or more do you know if some of your friends have left school and returned home?
- (b) Do you have any idea why they dropped out of school?
- *11. Are you satisfied with the boarding home you are staying at?
12. Is there anything about school you do not like?
Can you explain your feelings?
13. Do you think school is necessary for an education so you would have a job when finished?
- *14. Before leaving your home area, were you told what to expect in the city as far as living here and attending high school?
(if yes - no response, request explanation).
- *15. If you are staying in a boarding home are there any rules you must live by that you do not like?
(If so, explain).
- *16. (a) Does the boarding home parent listen to you and try to understand your problems or what you are feeling?
- (b) Is the boarding home parent helpful to you?
17. (a) Have you ever experienced or feel that you are discriminated against in school or your neighbourhood because you are of Indian ancestry?
- (b) If yes, could you explain how you have been discriminated against?
- *18. Do you think that you were sufficiently prepared at the reserve school to cope with studies and school work expected of you in the city school?

19. (a) What kind of activities, sports or hobbies are you usually involved at your home or community?
- (b) What kind of activities, sports or hobbies are you involved in?
20. (a) Do you like to compete in sports?
- (b) Is it important that you win in whatever sports you participate in?
21. Do you feel that you are accepted at school and in your neighbourhood?
- *22. If you are troubled or have problems, do you find that your counsellor at the Indian Affairs Office (Boarding Home Unit) is helpful to you?
23. What are some subjects you would like to learn more about in school if you had the choice to decide?
24. (a) When at home do you have certain responsibilities in doing work in maintaining the home and family to help your father and mother?
- * (b) Do you have any of these responsibilities at the boarding home you are staying at?
- *25. (a) Since coming to the city has your health been alright?
- (b) If you have been sick, what illness have you had?
26. Have you failed any year of high school and had to repeat that year?
27. Is it important to you to pass and be successful in school so you may be able to get a good job when you have finished school?
- *28. Are you having any problems with your money allowance? If yes, explain.

I have asked you a number of questions - is there anything you would like to add or say about our discussion?

APPENDIX "B"

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

INDIAN PARENTS AND ELDERS

I am trying to find out why some of the Indian students quit and leave school before they have completed their education. I would like to ask you some questions about the Indian student and the schools that they go to. Some of the questions may require you to answer or tell me something about yourself or your son or daughter who have gone to school or is going to school now. If I ask you a question that you do not like or do not feel right about answering, you do not have to answer. If you do not understand the question being asked, tell me and I will explain it. There will not be any mention of names. Whatever discussion we have will not be identified to you.

*. Question of specific attention of the natural parent of the boarding student.

QUESTION

1. How old are you?
2. Did you attend school?
 - (a) reserve school, public (white school);
 - (b) what grade did you complete?
 - (c) did you find school difficult;
 - (d) do you know why school was difficult for you;
 - (e) did you leave school?
3. Do you have a son or daughter going to school now?
 - (a) If yes - what grade are they in?
 - (b) If no - what grade did they get to?
- *4. Did your son or daughter have to leave home and the reserve to go to school?
 - (a) If yes - do you know what effect this had on your child?
 - (b) How did you feel about their leaving home?
 - (c) Did your son or daughter indicate to you how they felt about leaving their home?
(If yes, explain).
5. If your son or daughter did not finish high school, do you know why they quit?
 - (a) Did they return home after they left school?
 - (b) If not, do you know where they went?
 - (c) Did they have a job or work to go to?
- *6. Do you think that your son or daughter leaving home to go to school was good or bad for them?
If yes or no, explain.
7. Do you have any thoughts or ideas if what you believe is the best type of education for your son or daughter?
 - (a) If there any one subject or group of subjects you feel they should learn and know more about?
8. Did your son or daughter attend their first schooling (primary grades) at a reserve school?

8. (a) If so, did they in your opinion have any difficulty in learning certain subjects, all subjects or had no difficulties that gave you concern or worry?

(b) Did they encounter any difficulties in their high school studies?
 9. Do you think it is important for your son or daughter to maintain their cultural identity?
 - * (a) If they had to leave home to go to school, is their lengthy absence causing harm for them to keep their cultural identity?

(b) Should the Indian history and culture be part of their education while in school?

(c) Do you teach your children what you know of your cultural heritage?
 10. Has your son or daughter told you what they would like to do or work at in the future?
 11. As the parent, do you see or believe your son or daughter hopes of their future as being reached through the educational system? If yes or no, explain.
 12. Is your son or daughter competitive, by that I mean they will attempt to do better than their brothers, sisters or friends - in either play, work or school? Explain in your own words.
 13. Did your son or daughter indicate to you if they felt or believed they were discriminated against in their school or community?
- Is there any question or comments you would like to say about our discussion?

APPENDIX "C"

BOARDING PARENT QUESTIONNAIRE

As boarding parents, you are in the "front lines" when it comes to dealing with the day to day problems that may arise in your work with the Native student. Some may have more experience than others, but as a group, you are the "experts". I feel that a number of issues have been identified and this survey, by seeking the opinions of the boarding parents, may help to clarify them as well as provide an opportunity for you to express areas that may be of concern to you.

While I have received the approval and co-operation of the Indian Affairs Branch, this survey is an independent study. The information received will be treated in confidentiality and the questionnaires destroyed once the data has been completed.

Legend: SA (strongly agree)
A (agree)
DA (disagree)
SDA (strongly disagree)

Please circle one for each answer

-
- | | |
|--|----------------------|
| 1. Do you feel knowing the family of the student would be helpful to you in understanding the student? | SA
A
DA
SDA |
| <hr/> | |
| 2. Do you believe that your personal contact with the student's family would be useful? | SA
A
DA
SDA |
| <hr/> | |
| 3. Do you believe that your personal contact with the student's own family is necessary? | SA
A
DA
SDA |
| <hr/> | |
| 4. Do you believe that your personal contact with the Indian Affairs Branch Counsellor on a regular basis is helpful in your work with the student? | SA
A
DA
SDA |
| <hr/> | |
| 5. How often do you feel contact with the I.A.B. Counsellor is necessary?
Once a week () Oftener than any of the above ()
Once a month () Less than any of the above ()
Twice a month () | |
| <hr/> | |
| 6. Do you believe that the student should be fully prepared for what to expect prior to coming to the city? | SA
A
DA
SDA |
-

7. Do you believe that the student you now have was sufficiently prepared to cope with city life?	SA A DA SDA
8. Prior to receiving a student, do you believe that the Indian Affairs Branch prepared you sufficiently in terms of what to expect as a boarding home parent?	SA A DA SDA
9. In terms of your own personal standards of behavior in your home, do you believe that the student's behavior in the home is acceptable?	SA A DA SDA
10. In terms of your own personal standards, do you believe that the student's behavior outside the home is acceptable?	SA A DA SDA
11. When the student first came to reside in your home, did you expect his/her behavior to be the same as your own children?	SA A DA SDA
12. Do you now expect his/her behavior to be the same as your own children?	SA A DA SDA
13. When the student first came to reside in your home, did you expect him/her to immediately blend in as one of your family?	SA A DA SDA
14. Do you now expect him/her to blend in as one of your family?	SA A DA SDA
15. Do you feel that the student requires extra guidance from you due to his/her newness to the family and community?	SA A DA SDA
16. Do you feel that the student must follow the rules in your home as set down for your own children, regardless of his/her social and cultural background?	SA A DA SDA

-
17. Do you believe that as the boarding parent it is necessary for you to be the one to start a conversation with the student regarding his:
- (a) school work - SA, A, DA, SDA
 - (b) homework - SA, A, DA, SDA
 - (c) relationship with other members of the family - SA, A, DA, SDA
 - (d) relationship with people outside your home - SA, A, DA, SDA
-
18. Do you believe that upon coming to the city, the academic qualifications of the isolated native student are below the acceptable standard within the urban school system? SA
A
DA
SDA
-
19. If you believe that the isolated native student's academic qualifications are below that of the city student, who do you feel is responsible? Circle one.
- (a) The Federal school system (reserve schools)
 - (b) The motivation of the student
 - (c) The Department of Indian Affairs
-
20. Do you feel that the native student drops out of secondary school because they feel that they cannot compete successfully and feel frustrated by the school system? SA
A
DA
SDA
-
21. Do you believe that the native student would like to achieve and prove successful in the school system? SA
A
DA
SDA
-
22. Do you believe that the native student is discriminated against in
- (a) The School System - SA, A, DA, SDA
 - (b) The Community - SA, A, DA, SDA
-
23. Do you feel that the present boarding rate you receive from the Indian Affairs Branch is adequate? SA
A
DA
SDA
-

24. Based on your experience would you like more opportunity to work with Indian Affairs in developing the student program?

SA
A
DA
SDA

25. As a boarding home parent, do you feel that you should have some involvement in the selection of the student that is to come into your home?

SA
A
DA
SDA

26. If you would like to have involvement in the selection of the student that will reside in your home, please state in what ways you would like that involvement to be?

27. Do you believe that you presently receive an adequate number of visits to your home by the Indian Affairs Branch counsellor?

SA
A
DA
SDA

28. Would you like to have more frequent visitation to your home by the Indian Affairs Branch counsellor?

SA
A
DA
SDA

29. Do you believe that the present program of bringing native students from isolated areas to urban centres for school is in the best interest of the student?

SA
A
DA
SDA

If you do - why? Please state _____

If you don't - why? Please state _____

30. As a boarding parent do you agree that you have a clear understanding of what your responsibilities are to the student and what the Indian Affairs Branch expects of you?

SA
A
DA
SDA

31. How long has your present student been residing in your home? _____

32. How many students have resided in your home?

33. Are there any questions or areas of concern you would have liked to be included in this survey?

If so, please state. _____

How long have you been a boarding parent?

- 1 Year ()
- 2 Years ()
- 3 Years ()
- Over 5 years ()
- Over 10 Years ()

Your age: _____ Ethnicity: _____

What group do you identify yourself with, or what country were your grandparents, born in if not in Canada)

Sex: _____

Occupation: _____

Education: (Check highest that you finished)

Grade 8 or less ___ High School Grad ___ B.A. or B.S. ___

Some High School ___ Some University ___ Honours ___

Master's ___

Doctor's ___

Other Training: _____

* * * * *

THANK YOU. YOUR CO-OPERATION HAS BEEN VERY MUCH APPRECIATED.