

THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

A RESEARCH STUDY RELATING THE LEVEL
OF SCHOOL FUNCTIONING OF INDIAN STUDENTS
TO SELECTED FACTORS OF PAST LIFE EXPERIENCES.

BEING A RESEARCH PROJECT SUBMITTED IN
PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF SOCIAL WORK

by

Victor J. Neufeld

WINNIPEG, MANITOBA

APRIL, 1965



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The writer of this study, a participant in a research group of twenty members would like to thank the various members of this group for contributions made that assisted him in formulating his ideas in relation to this study. He would like to acknowledge the support and guidance received from Mr. H. Rogers the Research Consultant, a member of the Research Committee of the University of Manitoba School of Social Work. Acknowledgement is also given to the staff members of the Regional Office of the Indian Affairs Branch located in Winnipeg whose co-operation made the study possible.

Special thanks go to the wife of the writer whose understanding and encouragement were a great source of inspiration and help throughout the time of this study.

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to show the relationship between the level of performance in the school functioning of Indian students at urban training institutions and integrational and supportive opportunities experienced in their past lives. Factors chosen to indicate the degree of integration and support experienced were: the frequency of contact with a White settlement area, the value of education exemplified by the family, the value of education exemplified by the peer group, the predominant language spoken in the home, accessibility to communication media, attendance for one year or more at an integrated school, experience with formally organized groups and an experience of consistent academic achievement.

The data obtained pertaining to past life experiences was obtained from the respondents themselves whereas the data pertaining to the level of performance was obtained from facilities and personnel of the Regional Office of the Indian Affairs Branch in Winnipeg.

Findings indicated that a relationship existed between a number of the factors examined representative of integrational and supportive opportunities and the levels of performance of the Indian students. Other data obtained in examining some of these factors in relation to the level of performance was inconclusive.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
ABSTRACT	iv
Chapter	
I. INTRODUCTION	1
II. BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY	15
III. METHOD	34
IV. ANALYSIS OF DATA	48
V. CONCLUSIONS	54
APPENDIX A	66
BIBLIOGRAPHY	73

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Recently the social work profession, administration of social agencies and other professional authorities have focused much attention upon the integration problem of the Canadian Indian as a member of society. This problem has been accentuated by a rapid growth of the non-integrated Indian population as the dominant culture has become progressively more complex and industrialized. The problem may be viewed through humanitarian and utilitarian consideration as criteria for evaluating the significance of social problems.

In considering the problem from a humanitarian view point, a realization has made itself evident that the present non-effective adjustment of the Indian can be contributed not only to a lack of perception or capacity on the part of the Indian, but also to the unrealistic demands and expectations made on the part of the dominant culture. As the complex society of the White man evolved following his immigration to the New World, few opportunities were presented for the Indian to adapt and adjust. Consequently a segment of the population was alienated, which alienation resulted in many of the basic needs of this people remaining unmet.

The utilitarian concern has arisen from the resultant dependency of these people upon the government for their livelihood, a dependency in large, created by the society itself. This concern has been magnified in the attention focused on the number of these people in correctional institutions due to deviant behaviour that has resulted from cultural and social malintegration.

From the viewpoint of the Indian, the integrational problem has become acute. Because of it, they as a people have become alienated and isolated from a culture potentially capable of satisfying their physical, social and psychological needs which as mentioned, remain unmet.

Technological advancement within modern and industrial societies, of which Canada is a representative, places great demands upon its members. Society has recognized that the educational process as part of the social welfare services of a social system, is vital in assisting man to cope with problems (mainly related to employment) associated with this phenomenon. Education thus becomes instrumental in assisting man to function in this type of society. Hence, our research group focused upon the educational achievement of the Indian in view of the important role it plays in the integrational process. In view of the cultural and social malintegration of the Indian in relation to the dominant culture, and a recognition that various factors of the Indian culture stand in opposition to the values of our modern society,

concern developed about the nature of these factors. It was conjectured that the educational achievement of the Indian student would largely be determined by his exposure to the values of the dominant culture as presented in integrational opportunities presented within this culture.

In representing one of three aspects of an overall study, the purpose of this project was to examine some of these integrational opportunities experienced. The topic of our study, based on the above conjecture, was to determine whether there was a relationship between the present performance of the Indian student in an urban training institution and the degree of integrational opportunities and support experienced in the past. The other two groups involved related the level of performance of the student to his present living situation and to his formal and informal associations in the community respectively. The focus of this study was upon the designated factors of past life experiences of the students as they related to present performance in the urban training institutions. This study is of vital concern to the profession of social work and related social agencies since experience has shown that failure in the integration process as evidenced in the lack of achievement in our present educational system leads to a diversity of social problems.

Students selected for this project were enrolled in the different vocational institutions in Winnipeg

through the sponsorship of the Indian Affairs Branch in Winnipeg. This is the Manitoba Regional Office of the Indian Affairs Branch of the Canadian Department of Citizenship and Immigration.¹

It is the aim of the Indian Affairs Branch to raise the standards of Indian people and to furnish them with skills and education to enable them to integrate fully if they so desire in off-reserve life.²

In order to implement the stated purpose an educational program was set up in 1948 by the Department of Citizenship and Immigration to enable Indian children to receive the same kind of educational opportunities as White children. This program included a plan to bring Indian students desiring a vocation which required training, the opportunity to go to a centre which would provide them with the necessary training. In this particular study, the students performance within the period of September 1964 until December 1964 was considered. The students of our sample were located in various homes throughout Metro Winnipeg. In view of the purpose of this study the group restricted its considerations to environmental factors rather than developmental ones.

This study applied to Indian students ranging in age from eighteen to twenty-five who had been living in the rural districts covered by the Regional Office of the

¹To be referred to hereafter as the Indian Affairs Branch.

²Canada, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Indian Affairs Branch, Indian in Transition, by Roger Duhamel (Ottawa, 1961), p. 4.

Indian Affairs Branch. The students were sponsored by this organization. The population consisted of sixty-nine students, from which a sample of fifty-six students was obtained consisting of thirty-seven male and nineteen female students. These students were residing and studying in the urban community of Metro Winnipeg.

This study limited itself only to the factors of past life experience in relation to present academic performance, as the other two study groups involved were to consider some of the other factors involved that would effect school functioning. As previously mentioned, a study of current literature written about the integrational problem of the Canadian Indian substantiated by personal experience with this issue by a number of the members of our research group, led the group to conjecture that in view of the alienation experienced by this segment of the Canadian population in conjunction with its distinct culture containing values that contradict some of the basic values of the dominant culture, past integrational opportunities would effect their current academic functioning. In view of our concern about the relationship between the present academic functioning of the Indian student and his past life experiences, the following hypothesis emerged: that the level of performance of Indian students at urban training institutions varies directly with the degree of integration and support experienced in their past.

Level of performance is a measure of a students

academic and disciplinary standing as evaluated by the guidance counsellors of the Indian Affairs Branch. This was based largely upon information forwarded by the respective institution. For the purpose of this study, performance was categorized into three levels: level I indicates that a student did not meet minimal standards, level II indicates that a student met minimal standards only, whereas level III indicates that a students standards excelled the minimal standard. Urban training institutions are formally organized educational institutions carrying functions general to all schools, as a part of the educational system including high schools, pre-vocational and vocational training institutions. Integration refers to the maintenance of a separate cultural identity of the Indian with some sharing by them of the values of the dominant White culture. The extent of this process can be measured by their past formal and informal life experiences prior to entering urban training institutions. Formal learning experiences are those derived through a school setting and membership in formally organized groups, namely day, residential, and integrated schools adhering to government established curriculum while groups considered, were those with stated educational objectives. Informal learning experiences were those cultural and socializing influences exerted by the family, peers, and significant others in the community. Support refers to educational encouragement from the family and peers as experienced in

their formal and informal learning experiences along with personal satisfaction experienced through academic achievement.

Concomitant with the main hypothesis our research group defined some of the factors of past life experiences representing opportunities for integration and support so as to make them more useful to our social work practise. We recognized that accessibility to a White settlement area would offer more opportunities for the Indian to come into contact with people of the dominant culture. This we felt, would increase the respondents perception of the broader culture about him, resulting in his being able to do things that would assist him to cope in a more complex setting. Assuming that these communities with which he came into contact would offer integrational opportunities to him and that he would utilize these opportunities, we hypothesized that the level of performance of the student would vary with the frequency of contact he had with the White settlement area.

In conjunction with seeing the importance of the degree of integration as a factor in effecting a students level of performance we also felt that psychological support was a major factor as well. Because of the influence that the home has in shaping a person's ideas and establishing the basis for an individual's philosophy of life and because of the affect that the values and beliefs of one's peer group can have on the actions and decisions

of the individual person, we hypothesized that the respondents level of performance would not only vary with his parents attitudes to education but also with the beliefs and attitudes that his friends had toward education.

Success in any school in Manitoba depends largely upon the ability of the student to think in abstract terms and his ability to express ideas verbally. Hence, a good grasp of the English language is essential for satisfactory school performance. If the student cannot handle the language satisfactorily he will lag in his studies and become discouraged. With this in mind, the group hypothesized that the present level of performance of this student would vary with the fact as to whether the student had or had not spoken English in his home prior to school attendance.

Communication media play a vital part in communicating to people the ideas and beliefs of the society in general. It is through television, radio, and printed material that individuals can see the progress of society and what it expects of its members for this progress to be achieved. Would it not be reasonable to conjecture that exposure to media such as television, radio and newspapers would introduce the individual to the values and expectations of the dominant culture which in turn would effect his present level of performance at school? We hypothesized that it was.

A striking factor in the testimony of the Indian students of the past and other indigenous leaders of Indian

communities is their unanimous agreement that an Indian students success is without doubt effected by the students with whom he attends school. If he attends school with other White children he will adopt their attitudes to school which supposedly will predispose him to success in his academic endavours. On the basis of this testimony and other studies confirming this idea we hypothesized that present level of performance would vary with the students previous experience in an integrated school.

In discussing the effect that organized clubs or groups had upon each of us as members of the research group we felt that many ideas and attitudes were expressed by group leaders and group members that paralleled or reinforced those experienced in a school setting. As most of these formally organized groups such as 4-H, church organizations, and community clubs have aims and objectives that orient the group member towards better adjustment in the dominant culture, we hypothesized that membership in any of these groups in the past would enhance the students academic functioning at the present.

In terms of experiencing support that would encourage educational achievement it was felt by the group that a satisfactory and pleasant experience in the past as experienced in consistent academic achievement would have a marked effect on a students present attitude to his studies, especially if his past experiences were effected by stresses from without himself, namely in the environment.

Sub-standard facilities and level of teaching would be important factors. On this basis the group hypothesized that present performance at school would vary with the consistency that students experienced in their past academic performance.

In summary, the following sub-hypotheses were formulated:

1. The greater proportion of students performing at levels II and III have had frequent contact with a White settlement area whereas the greater proportion of students performing at level I have not had frequent contact with a White settlement area.
2. The greater proportion of students performing at levels II and III have had associations with a peer group which valued education whereas the greater proportion of students performing at level I have had associations with a peer group which did not value education.
3. The greater proportion of students performing at levels II and III have come from a family which valued education whereas the greater proportion of students performing at level I came from a family which did not value education.
4. The greater proportion of students performing at levels II and III have come from a home where the predominant language spoken was English whereas the greater proportion of students performing at level I came from a home where the predominant language spoken was not English.
5. The greater proportion of students performing at levels II and III came from a family where they had access to communication media whereas the greater proportion of students performing at level I came from a family where they had limited access to communication media.
6. The greater proportion of students performing at levels II and III attended an integrated school for one year or more whereas the greater

proportion of students performing at level I had experienced only day and/or residential schools.

7. The greater proportion of students performing at levels II and III had experienced one or more formally organized groups whereas the greater proportion of students performing at level I had not experienced membership in any formally organized group.
8. The greater proportion of students performing at levels II and III experienced consistent academic achievement whereas the greater proportion of students performing at level I did not experience consistent academic achievement.

In determining the frequency of contact with a White settlement area the group decided that the dividing line with regards to frequency of contact should be three contacts or more per year, and/or a residence period of one year or more in a White settlement area excluding living arrangements at a residential school in a White settlement area after grade seven. Value of education on the part of the family and peers was defined in terms of encouragement given to the respondent in relation to educational achievement. The term family was used to describe the unit of husband, wife, and children regardless of the legality of the marriage. Communication media referred of radio, televis newspapers and magazines in the home. Limited accessibility to communication media occurred when the student had access to two or less of the media mentioned. An integrated school represented a school located off the reserve and attended by both Indian and White students, while formally organized groups were those with explicit or implicit educational objectives. Consistent academic

achievement is the ability of the student to progress without failing more than twenty per cent of his grades.

It was assumed that these students as members of an ethnic group would share a common value orientation, with many beliefs that conflicted with the dominant culture. All the teachers of the sample students were assumed to have attained at least the minimal level of teaching qualifications and skills required by the Department of Education for their respective grades taught and that all students received uniform exposure to these qualifications and skills.

The method of our study was to interview the Indian students attending urban training institutions in their boarding homes, using the formal interview technique. Because of social and cultural differences between the interviewer and the interviewee a series of several interviews were undertaken with the respondents so that a relationship could be established wherein the respondent would feel free to answer the questions listed on the schedule. Following an exploratory interview in December 1964 the respondents were interviewed twice in January 1965 to complete the questionnaire. Questions were structured to secure information relating to the variables as stated in the sub-hypotheses. Questions such as those regarding family size, occupation, and education of parents were asked to further indicate the support or lack of support that the students were experiencing with regards to their educational endeavour. All questions were incorporated into a composite

schedule designed to obtain all the information relevant to our study. The schedule was tested on a group of Indian students who had previously completed vocational courses in Winnipeg and following an analysis of data, revisions were made. Records of the respondents as kept by the Indian Affairs Branch containing reports of the students academic standing supplemented by the verbal reports of the guidance counsellors provided the other relevant data.

In the analysis of our findings, our group decided on a specified number of contacts which served as a dividing line to determine whether these contacts were frequent or infrequent. Thereupon the respondents were classified according to their level of performance and in turn, the students according to their levels of performance were cross-classified with the number of contacts they had with a White settlement area. The respondents were then divided into two categories according to their association with the particular peer group. The levels of performance of the students were also cross-classified with families which did or did not value education. In like manner, the students were classified into other categories such as: those who had limited or adequate access to communication media, those who experienced integrated or just day and residential school, those who belonged or did not belong to one or more formally organized groups, and those who experienced or did not experience consistent academic achievement. These categories were then cross-classified with the

level of performance of the students. Within the limits of our study, other interesting and relevant data was noted and analyzed.

CHAPTER II

BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

The topic of this study is concerned about the relationship between the degree of educational achievement and the past life experiences of the Indian student. In this chapter, a close look will be taken at the experiences of the Indian as a member of his ethnic group and how these experiences relate to the integrational process with the dominant culture. The distinct cultural or value orientation of any ethnic group plays a major part in influencing the actions and ideas of the individual who emerges from that group. In examining the Indian culture and recognizing its distinctions from that of the dominant culture, one can appreciate the difficulties encountered in the integrational process by the Indian in our society today.

In the recent past much has been written on the "Indian Problem" as experienced by both the United States of America and Canada. Whereas variance is shown in the treatment plan or method chosen to cope with this problem, even on a state and provincial level within the respective countries, the diagnosis thereof is always common and consistent: the problem being dealt with concerns itself with a socio-cultural conflict and not a racial conflict.

George A. Boyce, in a lecture prepared for the sixth annual conference on Indians and Metis in Winnipeg stated that "the primary cause of the problems faced by Indians and Metis is a cultural one."¹ This statement is verified by a study that was performed in 1958 on the Indians of British Columbia:

For the middle-class Indian in Vancouver vertical mobility, social participation, and inter-marriage are not restricted. The social distance between Indians and Whites in Vancouver is not significant on the scale of distances between Whites and other Whites of different statuses and interests. There is considerable interaction between Whites and Indians on this general middle-class level.²

In other words, the factor which alienates or isolates the Indian as an individual or as a member of an ethnic group from the dominant culture of the society in which he lives is his cultural orientation which does not parallel that of the dominant group-membership within society.

Culture very often is thought of in terms of the material as expressed in the unique peculiarities exhibited by a cultural group. With reference to the Indian, the teepee, the rain dance, and the feather headdress, are usually associated with the Indian culture. It is true that these tangible oddities do comprise a part of the

¹George A. Boyce, "New Goals for People of Indian Heritage," Paper read at the 6th annual conference on Indian and Metis, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Feb. 24-26/60, p. 10 (mimeographed)

²H. B. Hawthorn, C. S. Belshaw, and S. M. Jamieson, The Indians of British Columbia (Los Angeles: U. of California Press, 1958), p. 68.

Indian culture. However, there is another aspect of culture which is of greater importance to the individual member of that cultural group than the material aspect.

Culture is a useful abstraction, not a pile of physical objects. It is a system of beliefs, values and expressive symbols which governs man's relations to his fellow man and to his environment. It is passed on to new generations via communication.¹

A simpler formulation of this concept is presented in the following definition:

Culture is defineable as the social inheritance, the set of customs, attitudes and beliefs acquired by a member of a social group.²

Cultural influences play a vital part in the personality and character formation of any individual as a member of a group, be he a member of a minority or a dominant group. Every distinct society communicates to its new generation very early in life a standard picture of valued ends and sanctioned means of behaviour that is appropriate. Thus the behaviour characteristically taken is determined in part by the culture of the society.

In reviewing the definitions given for the concept of culture, utmost significance is rendered to the non-material aspects: namely its beliefs, values, and attitudes. The values of a culture from which are derived its beliefs and attitudes are seen as "those things or achievements

¹Harold L. Wilensky and Charles W. Lebeaux, Industrial Society and Social Welfare (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1958), p. 342

²H. B. Hawthorn et al. op. cit. p. 17.

which the community considers good, and therefore to be sought"¹ and thus are the driving forces behind the actions of an individual as a member of that culture. Thus, "historically derived and selected values represent the essential core of different cultures which can be distinguished in terms of such values."²

There is a philosophy behind the way of life of every individual and of every relatively homogeneous group at any given point in their histories.³

In the past frequent attempts have been made to integrate minority groups existing within a dominant group by changing the external cultural expressions of that group to parallel those of the dominant culture. With reference to the Indian, matters such as ceremonials and language were seen as basic factors standing in the way of successful integration. Many of the early residential schools forbade their students to speak their own languages, feeling that if these were changed the process of integration would be greatly enhanced. In view of what has just been said about culture and the significance of its value

¹Irwin T. Sanders, The Community: An Introduction to a Social System (New York: The Ronald Press Co., 1958), p. 79

²Elvin S. Shapiro, "Social Conflict and Changing Values in the Process of Acculturation of the Indian Canadian: Some Implications for the Practice of Social Work" (unpublished Masters dissertation, School of Social Work McGill University, Montreal, 1962), p. 2.

³Florence R. Kluckhohn, "Dominant Variant Value Orientations," Personality in Nature, Society and Culture, ed. Clyde Kluckhohn and Henry A. Murray (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1961), p. 345.

orientation, the folly of this rationale becomes apparent. Rather than the process of integration being enhanced, it was retarded as the Indian felt that the few things that he did possess were being taken from him by the White man. In speaking to an Indian a CBC radio announcer commented:

One of the essential elements is language. In many parts of Canada it was official policy to forbid the Indians to use their own languages, to force them to learn English. And this together with suppression of the native religions and ceremonies, resulted in the situation George Clutesy and his sister, Mrs. Annie Hayes are trying to remedy:

George Clutesy comments: I think we should not have gone down so low as we done prior to the coming up again. In the process "they" had a great deal to do with the killing of our spirit, with the wrenching from our very lives of the incentive to be our own selves.¹

Because we are concerned about the past experiences of Indian people in this project and want to see the effect that this experience has upon their thinking and doing it would do well to briefly examine the value orientation of this culture and see how it compares and contrasts with that of the dominant culture of our society. Even though recognition will be given to a general over-all Indian culture the writer is aware that there are Indian groups "each of which we assume to have its own distinctive cultural values and patterns of character."² Geographical location itself is often responsible for variations within a given

¹Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, The Way of the Indian (Toronto: CBC Publications, 1961), p. 27.

²H. B. Hawthorn et al. op. cit. P. vi.

culture as can be evidenced by the urban White in contrast to the rural White. However the Indian does possess some common cultural values and patterns of character just as the White or any other ethnic group possesses a common value orientation. This becomes evident in the Indians reaction to a common problem or situation as seen in his reaction to the expectations and demands of the dominant culture. Their common reaction to the situation can be seen in the following observation:

Since our primary concern was the needs of the Indians in relation to legislation and official action we have essayed rather to set down the average or over-all reactions of Indians to a number of common but vital situations such as involved in law enforcement, employment, education and administration.¹

In examining the value orientations of cultures, Florence Kluckhohn's conceptual scheme will be used. This scheme as presented "permits a systematic ordering of cultural value orientations within the framework of common human-universal-problems. ...The first fundamental assumption upon which the conceptual scheme is based is: There is a limited number of basic human problems for which all peoples at all times and in all places must find some solution."²

Of five common human problems singled out as those of key importance, the four will be stated that most set the Indian culture apart from that of the White culture.

¹Ibid.

²Florence R. Kluckhohn, op. cit. p. 346

1. What is the relation of man to nature?
2. What is the significant time dimension?
3. What is the valued personality type?
4. What is the dominant modality of the relationship of man to other man?

Thus, whereas the problems can be regarded as constant in any one society, the range of possible solutions will vary, and in varying are responsible for the different value orientations possessed by different cultural groups. The orientation of the Indian presented within this framework is the general over-all reaction of the Indian who has experienced a minimum amount of acculturation with relation to the dominant culture of our society.

In examining the Indian personality, perhaps the most striking factor encountered is that he is present orientated in contrast to the future-orientated individual of the White culture. Satisfaction occurs if the demands of today are met whereas satisfaction for the White person occurs only when the demands for tomorrow are being met as well. Because of his heritage, the Indian learned to put himself in harmony with nature in order to satisfy his basic needs, whereas the White attaches value to the concept of mastery over nature and achieves satisfaction in adjusting this to suit his needs. The result is that the Indian is happy and content with who he is and is not that concerned about Becoming which can only be achieved through doing which is typical of the thinking of the White

man. Whereas the Indian out of past necessity has found it necessary to think of other, the White, out of present necessity thinks only of himself.

Thus the value system of the Indian is based on two central concepts: sharing and feeling. ...as the greatest virtue was to equalize possessions and food between the haves and have-nots. ...there seemed to him to be no use in trying to master nature because he believed that only by his feeling for nature could he understand and make productive use of her and occasionally outwit her.

In contrast, with two concepts central to the White value system consisted of acquiring and thinking. This engendered a high regard for the accumulation of material goods on an individual basis mainly through the "rational man" whose basis is reason and logic.¹

In view of the conflicting value orientation between the Indian culture and that of the White culture, the situation has presented itself where a minority group of people has become isolated and alienated from the society at large. There was a time when this minority was a majority, in fact a dominant culture which proved to be quite capable in coping with its immediate environment. It was his present exposure to another culture, since having become the dominant culture, which has resulted in his inheritance of the title "inferior citizen" of our society. He is seen in terms of deviancy not only as an individual but as a group at large.

The Indian had technical and even social superiority under one set of conditions and that the new conditions favor the Whites because they are derived from the culture of the Whites.²

¹Elvin S. Shapiro, op. cit. p. 9.

²H. B. Hawthorn et al. op. cit. p. 59.

Because of the vast numbers of immigrants that arrived in this country within a relatively short time span the period in which the Indian people became a minority group from a majority group was very short. Time was not available for the Indian to adapt and adjust gradually to a way of life which stood in marked contrast to what he represented. A social structure soon arose which valued achievement and economic progress, and because the Indian did not fit into this particular syndrome he was pushed aside. Tracts of land were given to the Indian and a situation was created in which the Indian could maintain his way of thinking and doing. Hence as the dominant culture continued to achieve and to progress the distance (social and economic) between them and the Indian segment of population, nicely put away in these tracts of land, continued to increase. It was when the number of the minority began to increase to the point where the solution of the past as sought in alienation was no longer adequate, that a concern for the Indian arose. The Indian had now become a problem because the social distance between himself and the dominant culture about him had become so great that he could no longer fend for himself, socially or economically. Thus the Indian Problem developed as we know it today.

For a society that values economic progress and achievement the Indian Problem now had become one of great concern:

For a progressive economy, the most important of all resources are the people. A healthy economy and prosperous citizenry go hand in hand. When any segment of the population is not contributing to the economy to the fullest extent and is leading a marginal or sub-marginal existence, it is cause for study and correction.¹

Because of a social system that has been created in which there is no functional place for the traditional Indian, with the result that they have become a dependant segment, the time for study and correction has arrived.

And the importance of education in modern society is not limited to the higher orders of talent. A complex society is dependant every hour of every day upon the capacity of its people to read and write, to make complex judgements, and to act in the light of fairly extensive information. When there is not this kind of base on which to build, modern social and economic developments are simply impossible. And if that base were to disappear suddenly in any complex society, the whole intricate interlocking mechanism would grind to a halt.²

Reference has already been made to an attempt put forth by the government to cope with the presented problem. Reserves were established with the hope that the natural resources therein would provide an economy great enough to satisfy the Indians' needs, while alienated from the rest of society. In the meantime, however, resources have been depleted, which never really appeared to have been adequate

¹Jean H. Lagasse, The People of Indian Ancestry in Manitoba, A Study of the Population of Indian Ancestry Living in Manitoba, Winnipeg, Manitoba, February, 1959, Undertaken by the Social and Economic Research Office (Winnipeg, Manitoba: The Department of Agriculture and Immigration, 1959) II, 124

²John W. Gardner, Excellence: Can We Be Equal and Excellent too? (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1964), p. 35.

for the Indians' needs, and rather than a solution being found to a problem, the problem itself appeared to have been aggravated.

On the basis of this experience, those concerned with the Indian Problem have unanimously reached the decision that the answer to the problem lies not in alienation but in integration.

...the underlying purpose of the Indian Administration has been to prepare the Indians for full citizenship with the same rights and responsibilities as those enjoyed and accepted by other members of the community. The ultimate goal of our Indian policy is the integration of the Indians into the general life and economy of the country.¹

Integration is a process that must be consciously worked at by both sectors of the population involved, the majority as well as the minority. The minority must be willing to utilize the opportunities presented for entry into the dominant culture but the onus lies upon the majority to present the opportunity to the minority for this purpose. It would seem that "we still think of our predecessors on Canadian soil as primitive and backward if not degenerate,"² mainly because the opportunity has not been adequately presented to the Indian in the past for him to prove himself capable of becoming socially and economically independent. In areas where opportunities

¹ Canada, Department of Citizenship and Immigration The Canadian Indian A Reference Paper, (Ottawa, 1957), p. 10.

²Elvin S. Shapiro, op. cit. p. 25.

have been presented to the Indian, acculturation has taken place as the Indian has not only integrated but assimilated into the dominant culture.

The greatest opportunity that the dominant culture can provide for integrational opportunities is that of education.

The Honourable Ellen Fairclough, Minister of Citizenship and Immigration has stated it (aim of our government) clearly. "The fundamental aim of the government's policy towards Indians, she said, is the gradual integration of our country's fastest-growing ethnic group into the Canadian community". With this end in view, she makes education her chief agent. "Education is the key to a promising future for the Indians, she said, and our policy is to make school facilities available to every Indian child."¹

It is democratically sound for the larger society to insist on providing education of the type which will reduce dependance on social welfare agencies and increase the economic stability of people to a point where they are sustaining expenditures for their public facilities.²

As was emphasized in the beginning of this chapter, the development of personality and character is molded by the culture within which this formation takes place. It has been said that:

the basic personality type for any society is that personality configuration which is shared by the bulk of the society's members as a result of the early experiences which they have in common.³

¹Canada, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Indian Affairs Branch, Indian in Transition, by Roger Duhamel (Ottawa, 1961), p. 10

²Jean H. Lagasse, op. cit. II, 118.

³Florence R. Kluckhohn, op. cit. p. 344.

Because of this accepted fact, the importance and significance of school experiences for the young Indian cannot be over-estimated. For the young Indian the school becomes an opportunity where he can become acquainted with the values of the dominant culture which will assist him as he grows older to establish himself independently within society.

Reg Kelly, an official of the Indian Affairs Branch and himself a Haida Indian admits "at last we are waking up to the stark fact that if we want to get ahead, we must educate ourselves."¹

Because of past experiences which have not brought forth the best of the Indian, doubt has been cast upon the capacity of the Indian to become educated and capable of coping independently in a modern industrialized society. However recent experience has proven otherwise. In spite of the limited amount of out-of-school experiences which the Indian has experienced, to prepare him for educational combat, the following has been stated:

Some of the Indian students achieve a good level of scholarship, and a few have taken honors in their classes. Teachers indicate that as a group they do no better or no worse than the White students.²

However, in order to achieve the goal of integration through the educational process not just any school

¹Canada, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Indian Affairs Branch, op. cit. p. 15.

²John Dallyn and Frazer G. Earle, A Study of Attitudes Towards Indians and People of Indian Descent (Toronto: The Canadian Council of Christians and Jews, 1959), p. 12.

situation will suffice:

In areas where Indian and White families live in the same district, the present policy of having Indian children attend their own school falls short in terms of the goal of cultural assimilation.¹

Senator James Gladstone, a successful Blood rancher says, "When an Indian is sent to an Indian school and mixes only with the people of his own race he does not get the training necessary for him to compete in the world around him."²

The aim or goal of education with regard to the Indian is not to provide an education for the sake of giving him an education but to use it as a tool, as an instrument, in bridging the gap between the two cultures, permitting social recognition and economic stability for the Indian.

The average deprived person is interested in education in terms of how useful and practical it can be to him. Education provides the means for more and different kinds of employment, it provides a more secure future. Education is desired to enable him to cope better with the everyday problems of a complex society.³

In accordance with the aims in mind, it is hoped that the education given will thus assist to develop an employable personality who has acquired marketable skills. If one considers the development of a work personality as

¹Joint Submission by the Canadian Welfare Council and the Canadian Association of Social Workers to The Special Joint Commission of the Senate and the House of Commons to examine and consider the Indian Act, January, 1947, p. 8: (mimeographed)

²Canada, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Indian Affairs Branch, Indian in Transition, p. 19.

³Frank Riessman, The Culturally Deprived Child (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1962), p. 13.

growing out of the socio-cultural environment in which a person lives then it is hoped that by changing the conditions (as in an aggressive educational programme) birth will be given to a work personality that can cope with the demands of a modern complex society.¹

The desire for better educational facilities will continue to mount as formal schooling becomes the surest way to achieve social recognition and economic security.²

Thus in taking a very pragmatic approach in the provision of education to the Indian people the goal can be achieved in which the Indian can be recognized as becoming a part of the general society, as one who is able to gain economic security for himself and thus maintain the dignity and worth that is becoming to any member of a democratic society.

If aspiration-changing type of information is made available along with vocational training opportunities, the type of life followed may become different both for those who migrate to urban areas and those who remain in reserves or settlements.³

Reference has been made to the value orientation common to the Indians as a group who have been acculturated only to a minimal extent. However, we have also seen how the Indian will respond to opportunities presented by the dominant culture for the development of his welfare, within the framework of a different social structure, by

¹Jean H. Lagasse, op. cit. I, 84.

²Ibid. II, 120.

³Ibid. II, 127.

making the necessary behavioural adaptations and adjustments to make this possible. The Indian like any other person wants the best for himself and his own. His traditional value orientation provided this in its appropriate setting. His new value orientation as acquired through an educational process will again enable him to develop to his full potential.

No person or group of people can change from one way of life to another in a short period of time. The material aspects of culture may come and go quickly with the advent of new inventions, but values and beliefs in becoming an integral part of the personality can only be modified at a gradual pace. A person's heritage consists largely of values, beliefs, and customs. No person thinks lightly of his heritage as this constitutes a vital part of his identity and worthiness as an individual member of a society, be he a member of a dominant or of a sub-culture.

In contrast to the general cultural change, many Indian communities show little sign of losing their separate identity.¹

One of the important things to know if possible about a person's development is the identification he has made along the way. Absence of strong or worthy identification figures may badly cripple his own integration.²

¹H. B. Hawthorn et al. op. cit. p. 13.

²Alexander H. Leighton, John A. Clausen, and Robert N. Wilson, Explorations in Social Psychiatry (New York: Basic Books Inc. 1957), p. 22.

On the basis of this argument, those concerned with the Indian Problem today will strive to bring reform through a process of gradual integration rather than forced assimilation. Forced assimilation only brings about a change of action whereas gradual integration will bring about a change of mind, a solid basis from which directives emanate that lead to the goal of success. It appears inevitable on the basis of past experience that integration will lead to assimilation but this process must come from within and cannot be imposed from without.

If present trends are maintained, change will go on to a final point of nearly complete cultural assimilation and racial amalgamation. In contrast to this however the majority of Indians and the majority of their communities are still separate and different from the non-Indians' in language, attitudes, economy, and social relationships and other ways.¹

Within careful limits, then, the goal of policy should be an adaptation to present and to future needs, but a sharp distinction should be maintained between trying to force assimilation and allowing for continuing change with careful attention to timing and initiative.²

The process of gradual change is best demonstrated in the Community Development programmes as established in the province of Manitoba:

The term Community Development has come into international useage to connote the processes by which the efforts of people themselves are united with those of the government to improve the economic, social, and cultural conditions of communities to integrate these communities in the life of the

¹H. B. Hawthorn et al. op. cit. p. 12.

²Ibid. p. 14.

nation and to enable them to contribute fully to national progress. ...an attempt to help people help themselves. ...it provides the only reasonable opportunity for the people helped to participate in the process and to take part in decisions that inevitably shape their lives.¹

As economic security and social recognition are attained within a community, those out-of-school experiences will be experienced which are required for any child to succeed in school. Thus those educational experiences which are responsible for creating the necessary out-of-school experiences for children will be reinforced to the point where the final goal of integration has been completed.

Most of the Metis and Indians born and raised in a predominantly White community are well on the way to successful integration.²

Because of this recent success, a faith in the capacity and potentials of the Indian people has been strengthened to the point where those concerned with the Indian Problem are now assured, that given the opportunity, the Indian will resolve his own problems with assistance.

Higher education means of course that Indian individuals may choose the path of non-tribal assimilated life. But it also means that Indian community life will soon be in the hands of a generation of educated Indians. Some communities may choose to disband with their members going their separate ways; others may want to carry on group life for an indefinite period. In either

¹Ernest Grigg, "Why Community Development" Paper read at the first annual conference on the Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada, Winnipeg, Manitoba, November, 1960. p. 1. (mimeographed)

²Jean H. Lagasse, op. cit. p. 13.

case the decision is likely to be made by informed educated people aware of their past and also of their possibilities in America.¹

The differences of the Indian culture in comparison to that of the dominant culture have been reviewed. In this review, education has been recognized as being instrumental in bridging the gap between the cultures that exists today. The need to offer integrational opportunities that will predispose the young Indian to educational achievement which will in turn facilitate the integrational process is the challenge presented to not only the profession of social work but the entire system of the social welfare services in society today.

¹Alexander Lesser, "Education and the Future of Tribalism in the U.S.: The case of the American Indian," "Social Service Review, XXXV (June, 1961), p. 8.

CHAPTER III

METHOD

In order to secure the necessary information for our study, two sources of data were used. One source related to the past life experiences of the student while the other source related to the present level of educational performance. In obtaining data related to past life experiences, the student was interviewed through the use of the formal interview technique with information being recorded by the interviewer on a schedule containing the specific questions to be asked. In order to obtain the data related to present school functioning, a number of students of each research group were delegated to visit the Indian Affairs Office and record the information available on file supplemented by the verbal reports of the guidance counsellors. This information was recorded on the designated schedule.

As previously mentioned, our study of the level of performance of the school functioning of the Indian student in relation to his past experiences was but a part of a larger study. The two other aspects of the study related the school functioning of the student to his present living conditions and to his formal and informal associations in the community. For interviewing purposes,

a composite schedule of three sections, with each section relating to one aspect of the over-all study, was administered. A fourth section which related to obtaining data in order to establish the academic level of the student was classified as Part I and was not a part of the composite schedule administered to the respondents. Hence, one interviewer would administer the three-part composite schedule to the respondent with the fourth part completed by a selected delegation of students at the Regional Office of the Indian Affairs Branch.

Part I, along with Part II of the composite schedule can be found in the Appendix of this study. Part II contains the questions related to past life experiences and is the revised version of a previous questionnaire that was drawn up after the research group had postulated the hypothesis and sub-hypotheses of the study. The questions were eventually grouped into eight sub-sections besides a group of introductory questions: (1) family (2) general (3) peer group (4) language (5) communication (6) proximity (7) groups (8) school experience.

The introductory questions were asked to obtain identifying information about the interviewee. The purpose of this was to provide a focus for the interviewer so that a feeling of rapport between the interviewer and interviewee could be established. Questions regarding family were asked to see what supports and opportunities were

presented in the home for the student to achieve at school. It was felt that factors such as family size, occupation of parents, education of parents and siblings, and parental encouragement were relevant to the study. The general questions were to give an indication of the motivating factors that played into the students deciding as to whether or not to go to an urban training institution. The two questions relating to peer group were to give an indication as to whether or not the friends of the interviewee supported him in his academic endeavours. With regard to language, the research group felt it was necessary to know the language spoken in the home, whether his parents could read, write or speak English, and whether the respondent could speak English before he went to school. In sub-section V the respondent was questioned regarding his accessibility to communication media such as television, radio, newspapers and magazines. With regards to proximity, the respondent was questioned regarding nearness to town, frequency of contact, and asked about the possibility of ever having lived temporarily in a White settlement area. Following questions posed to determine the kind and number of formal groups belonged to, the respondent was questioned about his past school activity; type of school attended, number of schools attended, preference of type of school chosen if choice would have been possible, and so on.

The original schedule was tested by interviewing

Indian students who had previously enrolled and graduated from urban training institutions. Following this testing and a brief analysis of the data thus obtained, revisions were decided upon by the research group that would result in obtaining information more relevant to the purposes of the study. Not all of the changes that transpired are listed, as some were only of minor significance. However, the rationale for some of the major revisions will be related at this time. In sub-section III the wording of the questions was revised so that the questions could be asked in a non-judgemental manner, as the wording of the questions in the original schedule subtly conveyed the meaning that the friends of the respondent probably quit school as soon as they could. In order to clarify and specify the meaning of the questions, the term "want" was changed to "encourage" in sub-sections I and III with regard to parental peer influences upon academic aspirations. In sub-section VI it was felt unnecessary to inquire about distance to the nearest town in the revised schedule as accessibility to a White settlement area was being measured in terms of frequency of contact and not geographic proximity.

The students were interviewed in December 1964 and January 1965. Of the population of sixty-nine students, the number brought in for study purposes by the Indian Affairs Branch, fifty-six constituted the sample. Of the thirteen students excluded from the sample a number were

enrolled in the up-grading courses of which only a random sample of students had been taken. Others were involved in courses in which only one student was enrolled such as the university student, the male nurse, and the orderly. Those living in an institutional setting, be it that of a residential school or of a college residence, were excluded from the sample involved. Of the total sample of fifty-six students, fifty-one were interviewed regarding past life experiences. Not all of the sample was interviewed as some of the students had voluntarily withdrawn from their studies between the time of enrollment and the beginning of our interviewing process.

As a part of the interviewing process, each student was seen in an introductory interview which was to serve the purpose of bridging the social and cultural gap between the interviewer and respondent, and to establish a rapport or relationship in which the student would feel free to cooperate for the completion of the questionnaire. Prior to the introductory visit, the students involved had been informed by letter from the Indian Affairs Branch of the nature and purpose of our visits.

Following the interviewing process, several limitations of the study were noted by the research group. As is often the case in research interviewing, it was felt that the subjective feelings of the respondents in the sample could enter into the answers given. There was no way to determine whether the students involved felt that

participation in the research study was a price to be paid for dependency upon the Indian Affairs Branch. (Would an Indian student fear giving an accurate response if he felt it may jeopardize his status with the Indian Affairs Branch?) It was also recognized that the respondents may have been guessing or giving answers according to societal expectations. Each interviewer was instructed to assure the respondent concerning the confidentiality of the interview but there was no way to discern a suspicion, for example that information received might be shared with the Indian Affairs Branch.

A limitation also recognized was that the questions of the composite schedule were subject to clarification by the interviewer who may not always have been aware of the intention of the questions. Furthermore, the specificity of the questions may have limited the range of responses of the interviewee. Two-thirds of the interviewers were not involved in the process of developing Part II of the schedule, which part related to the past life experiences of the respondent. To reduce incorrect interpretation to a minimum, all interviewers were briefed before making their calls. Compounding the possibility of error was the possibility of misinterpretation on the part of the respondent, whose perception may have been effected by a limited knowledge of the English language along with possible negative attitudes toward the White university student.

The level of performance at Christmas time also may not have been an indication of the final grade obtained by the students of the sample. The validity of equating levels of performance of differing skills would be another limitation to the method used in this study.

As a group, we acknowledged that there were many other factors that affected school functioning and that our study was limited only to factors of past life experiences. Some of these factors were covered by the other two student groups involved in this project.

Before our research group could analyze the data, we had to arrive at a formula to measure the level of performance. The areas selected in which the level of performance was determined were the academic, (representing the theoretical aspect) the technical, (representing the practical aspect of the programme) and the disciplinary aspect which included the respondents relationships with other students.

Criteria for levels of performance were originally established on the basis of the standards published by the various educational institutions. This had been done on the understanding that each institution reported regularly in writing to the Indian Affairs Branch with respect to each student's progress. This, however, proved not to be the case especially with respect to those students enrolled at the Manitoba Institute of Technology. Reports from this institution were received verbally by the Indian Affairs

guidance counsellors who had frequent contact with each of the instructors; similarly with students in up-grading courses. Thus, in a general way the criteria reflected the standards required by each school, but for students at the Manitoba Institute of Technology the criteria was in terms of reports received verbally from the guidance counsellors. Thus the data may have been subject to limitations due to the necessity of relying on the counsellor's ability to recall verbal reports and also due to the possibility that the counsellor's might in some instances have reported performance in terms of what might have been a satisfactory level for a particular student even though he was not altogether meeting the minimum standards set by the school. On the other hand these factors may have been less limiting than they at first appeared. Certainly the particular interest and concern of the counsellors was likely to mean that they were very much aware of those students who failed to meet minimum standards.

Nevertheless with these possible limitations in mind, specific criteria were established as follows:

Level I:

If at a business college:

Academic and technical--the student had a "Failing" or "Incomplete" grade in any one subject and/or his performance at typing and shorthand are reported as presenting a severe problem, and/or

Discipline--attendance is less than 80% or the student's behaviour is reported as unsatisfactory with respect to punctuality, compliance with rules, or as disruptive in the classroom and/or

Relationships with other students--these have been reported to be such as to threaten the suspension of the student.

If at a hairdressing school:

As for Manitoba Institute of Technology excepting with the addition of relationships with customers--a student is considered to be performing at this level if these relationships are reported as a problem likely to threaten her failure or suspension.

If at high school:

Academic--the student's average mark is less than 50% or if the student has a mark of less than 50% in each of three or more subjects other than Art or Shops, and/or

Discipline and relationships with other students--as at business college.

In general a student at any school was considered to be performing at this level if he/she was reported to be "on probation" for reasons of academic failure or discipline.

If at Manitoba Institute of Technology or in upgrading courses:

The counsellor reported the student's performance to be unsatisfactory for any one or more of academic, technical skills or discipline.

Level II

At any institution excepting high school and Manitoba Institute of Technology:

Academic and technical--No failing or incomplete grade in any subject and a passing performance in technical areas, and:

Discipline--no major problems reported in any areas: attendance 90% or above, behaviour reported as satisfactory with respect to punctuality, compliance with rules in classroom, shop, and so on.

Relationship with other students (and, where applicable, with customers) no problems reported.

If at high school:

Academic--an average mark above 50% but below 75% with a mark below 50% in no more than two subjects, and:

Discipline and relationships with other students--no major problems reported.

If at Manitoba Institute of Technology or in upgrading courses:

The counsellor reported the student to be satisfactory but no above average with respect to both the academic and technical areas and reported no major discipline problems.

Level III

At any institution excepting high school and Manitoba Institute of Technology:

Academic and technical--any of: (1) an average mark of 70% or above and an above average performance in technical subjects or (2) an average mark of 70% or above and a passing performance on technical subjects or (3) an average mark of 50 to 70% and an above average performance on technical subjects.

Discipline and relationships with other students--no major problems reported.

At high school:

Academic--an average mark of 75% on all subjects and a mark no lower than 60% in any one subject.

If at Manitoba Institute of Technology or in upgrading courses:

The counsellor reported the student as above average in either one or both of the academic and technical areas and reported no major discipline problems.

The next step of our research group was to analyze the data consisting of the responses of the respondents to the questions in the interview schedule along with the information received from the Indian Affairs Branch regarding levels of performance.

A selected number of students from our research group were chosen to interpret the information received

from the Indian Affairs Branch regarding levels of performance. After the schedules were hand-sorted, the level of performance for each student as established by this group was then recorded on the respective schedules so that the data as obtained could be related to this variable.

Following the above procedure the level of performance was then tabulated in relation to the eight factors as mentioned in the sub-hypotheses recorded in the first chapter which indicated the degree of integration and support experienced.

Level of performance was tabulated in relation to:

- the frequency of contact that the student had with the White settlement area. In relation to the frequency of contact, the respondents were divided into two sub-categories, those who had frequented a White settlement area and those who had not. The norm chosen to determine frequency of contact was a two-fold one; if the student had contacted a White settlement area three or more times per year and/or if he lived in a White settlement area for twelve months or more excluding living arrangements at a residential school in a White settlement area after grade seven.

- the value of education exemplified by the family. This concept was determined by the answers given to the question in the schedule that inquired about parental encouragement. Two sub-categories were established on the basis as to whether encouragement was experienced or not.

- the value of education exemplified by the peer group. This was determined by answers given in response to the question regarding their encouragement extended to him. Again, two sub-categories were established on this basis.

- the predominant language spoken in the home. In response to questions asked dealing with this factor, the students were classified into two sub-categories - those homes where English was the predominant language spoken and those homes where English was not the predominant language spoken.

- accessibility to communication media. With accessibility defined as the availability of three or more of the media mentioned in the schedule, two sub-categories were established on this basis. This number was chosen in response to the discovery that the average number of media experienced by the student was 2.6 .

- attendance for one year or more at an integrated school. Sub-categories were established on the basis of those who attended an integrated school for one year or more and those who attended a day or residential school only.

- experience with formally organized groups. By creating sub-categories in terms of those who attended one or more groups and those who did not attend any groups classifications were possible.

- the experience of consistent academic achieve-

ment. Defining consistent academic achievement as the ability of the student to progress without failing more than 20% of his grades two sub-categories were established on this basis making cross classification possible.

This then describes our method to secure and analyze the data of our study. An analysis of the data obtained in accordance with the above mentioned framework will be presented in the following chapter. Other relevant information and data obtained is also included. The statistical findings are presented in the text with percentages calculated to indicate any significant trends.

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS OF DATA

The sample used for the purposes of this study amounted to 56. Of this number, 5 respondents were not interviewed as they had chosen to withdraw from their studies and return home. As a result, our research group examined 51 completed schedules from which the data for our study was obtained.

The first step in our analysis was to group the 51 respondents according to their level of performance. According to our definition of level of performance, 9 respondents were functioning at level I, 25 respondents were functioning at level II, and 17 respondents were functioning at level III. Thus the greater majority of the sample were functioning at level II and III, a number of 42 or a percentage of 82.4 in contrast to a very small minority functioning at level I, a number of 9 or a percentage of 17.6.

In considering the factors that were to indicate a degree of integration and support as represented in the sub-hypotheses, our next step was to examine the responses concerning the frequency of contact the respondents had with a White settlement area prior to their coming to the city. We noted the distribution of the respondents according to their level of performance in relation to the

number of contacts they had with a White settlement area. In establishing this cross-classification we noted that whereas 7 of 9 or 77.8% of the students performing at level I had frequent contact with a White settlement area, 30 of 42 or 71.4% of the students performing at levels II and III had frequent contacts with a White settlement area. Hence, there seems to be no direct association between the levels of performance of the student and their frequency of contact the respondent had with the White settlement area.

In gathering data with reference to the influence of peer values in relation to the level of performance of the student, it was noted that there was a relationship between the level of performance of the student and the previous academic performance of his peers. Whereas only 4 of the 9 performing at level I or 44.4% had peers who achieved beyond the level of grade nine, 12 of the 16 students performing at level III or 75% had peers who achieved beyond the level of grade nine. However, in relating the encouragement received from these peers with the level of performance of the respondents it was discovered that whereas 4 of the 9 or a percentage of 44.4 students performing at level I felt they received encouragement, only 19 of the 42 students or 45.2% of the students performing at levels II and III felt they received encouragement from their peers. Hence the factor of peer influence as subjectively experienced by the respondent did not appear instrumental in determining his level of performance.

Our research group had hypothesized that the level of performance of the student would vary with the encouragement received from his home, be it in the form of direct parental encouragement or as seen in the example of his elder siblings. From the data received it was interesting to note that of the 35 students who had older siblings and who felt they were encouraged by their parents, 16 or 45.7% had siblings who achieved beyond grade nine. Of the 7 students who had older siblings and who felt they were not encouraged by their parents, only 1 or 14.3% had older siblings who achieved beyond grade nine. At the same time however, whereas all the 9 students or 100% performing at level I felt they received parental encouragement, 32 of the 42 students performing at levels II and III or 76.2% felt they received parental encouragement, putting our supposition of level of performance in relation to parental encouragement in a tenuous position.

In considering the relevance of the level of performance of the student in relation to the predominant language spoken in his home, it was discovered that whereas 4 of the 9 or 44.4% of the students performing at level I came from a home where English was the predominant language spoken, 14 of the 42 or 33.3% of the students performing at levels II and III came from a home where the predominant language spoken was not English. These findings as such would not support our hypothesis regarding the knowledge of the English language as a factor of indicating the degree of integration and support experienced

in relation to academic performance.

The next step taken by our group was to classify the responses according to those who had access to communication media while living at home and those who had limited access to communication media. In cross-classifying these responses with the level of performance of the respondents it was found that whereas 4 of the 9 or 44.4% of those performing at level I had access to communication media, 23 of the 42 or 54.8% of those performing at levels II and III had access to communication media. In accordance with our supposition, there is a positive relation here, be it slight, between the two factors stated in this sub-hypothesis.

In examining the influence of the type of school previously attended as a factor determining the degree of integration and support experienced, the responses were divided into the two categories: those who had experienced an integrated school and those who had not. In relating these findings with the level of performance of the students we found that 5 of the 9 or 55.6% of the students at level I experienced an integrated school whereas 21 of the 42 or 50% of the students at levels II and III experienced an integrated school. The supposition as stated was not proven. However, the data indicated that whereas only 55.5% of the students at level I experienced an integrated school, a greater majority, namely 64.7% of those at level III did. Other relevant information obtained indicated

that whereas only 66.7% or 6 of the 9 students performing at level I had attended a school where White children also attended, 82.4% or 14 of the 17 students performing at level III attended a school where White children attended.

Our group then considered the relevance of the respondents attendance at formally-organized group meetings. No positive relationship between the level of performance of the respondent and his having experienced formally organized groups existed. Of the 9 students performing at level I, 6 or 66.7% experienced formally organized groups. Of the 42 students performing at levels II and III, 26 or 61.4% experienced formally organized groups. This would indicate that this attendance could be a factor contributing to academic achievement, but only a contributing factor as both categories, that is level I in contrast to levels II and III indicated that a majority of the students had attended such groups.

As a final analytic procedure we classified the respondents into two categories, those that had experienced consistent academic achievement and those who had not. Of the students performing at level I, 8 of the 9 or 88.9% had experienced consistent academic success with 37 of the 42 or 88.1% of the students performing at levels II and III having experienced consistent academic success. These figures of course did not indicate any significant trends. The findings confirmed our initial doubts regarding the validity of this sub-hypothesis thinking that perhaps

students who had not achieved any measure of consistent academic success would not have achieved academically to the extent that enabled them to come to an urban training centre. It was a general concensus among the group that kindergarten attendance by the respondents would effect their present level of performance. In tabulating this data, the group discovered that whereas only 2 of the 7 or 22.2% of the students performing at level I had attended kindergarten, 7 of the 17 or 33.5% of those performing at level III had attended kindergarten. Again, the trend though slight, may be of significance.

The final step of our research group was to relate the aforementioned findings to the questions asked at the beginning of our study. Our conclusions and an assessment of their significance are recorded in the concluding chapter.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

In order to achieve a better understanding of the educational experience of the Indian student, the students in the Master's year at the School of Social Work at the University of Manitoba undertook a research project to examine the academic functioning of the Indian student in an urban training institution. The object of our research group, representing one of three aspects involved in the over-all study, was to study the academic functioning of the student in relation to his past life experiences.

Our study was specifically interested in the level of performance attained by the student in relation to the degree of integrational opportunities and support experienced. Factors chosen to indicate this degree of integrational opportunity and support were; frequency of contact with the White settlement area, peer and family values, the predominant language spoken in the home, the accessibility to communication media, attendance at an integrated school, membership with formally-organized groups, and the experience of consistent academic success. Our study was thus limited to the aforementioned factors. As a measure of the level of performance attained by the

student, three categories were established: those who did not meet the minimal standard, those who attained the minimal standard only, and those who excelled the minimal standard.

While our sample consisted of fifty-six students, only fifty-one schedules were completed and examined as five students withdrew from their studies before our interviewing process had been completed. The sample was small and any conclusions drawn of observations made must be viewed in this light. Our findings were representative only of a select number of Indian students who had been chosen as potentially capable of performing satisfactorily by the Indian Affairs Branch and therefore were not indicative of just any group of Indian students in the area covered by the Regional Office in Winnipeg.

The hypothesis tested was: that the level of performance of Indian students at urban training institutions varies directly with the degree of integration and support experienced in their past, with variations in the level of performance related to the factors indicating the degree of integration and support as stated in the beginning of this chapter. The variations will be dealt with as we relate our findings to the sub-hypotheses. With regard to the academic performance of the Indian student, our findings do not support the central affirmation of our hypothesis. In examining the factors that indicated the degree of integration and support we discovered that the

majority of them did not correlate positively with the academic functioning of the student. Some of our findings were either inconclusive or showed no direct association between the two variables examined. Others however, were relevant and indicated significant relationships.

In connection with the main hypothesis, our research group encountered difficulty in establishing the level of performance of the students. Originally the research group had hoped to examine the reports of the students forwarded by the respective training centre and filed at the Regional Office of the Indian Affairs Branch. However, we were unable to obtain these reports in all instances and thus in some cases, had to rely upon the verbal reports given by the guidance counsellors which made accurate discrimination difficult. In regard to determining the factors that were to indicate the degree of integration and support it was impossible to eliminate the guess work of the respondents as all of these factors involved represented aspects of past life experiences. These two limitations undoubtedly had a marked effect on the nature of the data obtained.

At the beginning of our study we postulated that the level of performance of the Indian student would vary directly with the degree of integration and support experienced. Eight different factors were chosen to indicate this degree of integration and support.

First, we hypothesized that the greater proportion

of students performing at levels II and III will have had frequent contact with a White settlement area whereas the greater proportion of students performing at level I will not have had frequent contacts with a White settlement area. The data obtained did not substantiate our supposition as stated. Whereas 7 of 9 or 77.8% of the students performing at level I had frequent contact with the White settlement area, 30 of the 42 or 71.4% of the students performing at levels II and III had frequent contacts with a White settlement area. However, in view of the fact that a greater majority of the students performing at levels II and III experienced frequent contact, it could be conjectured that this factor is instrumental in determining level of performance but for those functioning only at level I, other factors involved mitigated the positive effects of this experience. Because of the time factor involved, the group was not able to examine the relevant schedules and determine if this was so. An unknown variable in this aspect of our study was the nature of the contact experienced. It was felt that a contact which resulted in a satisfaction of a social need would be of greater significance than a contact made to satisfy a physical need such as seeing the doctor or buying groceries at the store.

The second sub-hypothesis of this study stated that the greater proportion of students performing at levels II and III will have had associations with a peer

group that valued education whereas the greater proportion of students performing at level I will have had associations with a peer group that did not value education. The data obtained in relation to this conjecture proved interesting. The criteria which the group used to determine whether the respondents had experienced a peer group that valued education was a subjective one, that is, if they felt their friends valued education and hence encouraged them. On this basis, of the students performing at level I, 4 of 9 or 44.4% received encouragement, whereas of the 42 students performing at levels II and III, 19 or 45.2% felt they received encouragement from their peers. Hence, on the basis of what they felt, perhaps a conjecture, our supposition proved to be inconclusive. The interesting factor to note however, was that the level of performance varied with the educational achievements of their peers, as of the 9 students performing at level I, 4 or 44.4% achieved beyond the level of grade nine whereas of the 16 students performing at level III, 12 or 75% had peers who achieved beyond the level of grade nine. A variable that was not taken into consideration was the racial origin of the peers. The nature of the encouragement received could vary with this factor.

Closely related to the above sub-hypothesis was the third sub-hypothesis which stated that the greater proportion of students performing at levels II and III

will have come from a family which valued education whereas the greater proportion of students performing at level I will have come from a family which did not value education. The findings obtained did not support our sub-hypothesis as stated. In both categories of students, those who performed at level I and those who performed at levels II and III the greater majority of students experienced parental encouragement. Again we could conjecture on this basis that this variable could be a contributing factor to effective academic functioning and that other factors experienced by those performing at level I mitigated the positive influences of this variable. Of the 9 students performing at level I, 9 or 100% experienced parental encouragement while of the 42 students performing at levels II and III, 32 or 76.2% experienced parental encouragement. Thus of the 52 respondents, 41 out of the 52 or 78.8% experienced parental encouragement. Our above conjecture would be confirmed by the corroborating data that of the 35 students who had older siblings and who felt they were encouraged by their parents, 16 or 45.7% had siblings who achieved beyond grade nine in comparison to the 7 students performing at level I with these identical qualifications, of which 1 or 14.3% had older siblings who achieved beyond grade nine. This trend would indicate that parental encouragement did effect, to some degree, the academic functioning of the children of the families involved. It was felt by the group that the

respondents may have felt obligated to answer the question regarding parental encouragement in the positive in accordance with societal expectations to which they at this stage had all been exposed. A negative response would have put their parents and family in a bad light.

It was also hypothesized that the greater proportion of students performing at levels II and III will have come from a home where the predominant language spoken was English whereas the greater proportion of students performing at level I will have come from a home where the predominant language spoken was not English. The results indicated that of the 9 students performing at level I, 4 or 44.4% came from a home where English was the predominant language spoken whereas 14 of the 42 or 33.3% of the students performing at levels II and III came from a home where English was the predominant language spoken. In view of the fact that of the 52 respondents involved in this study only 18 or 32.7% had experienced English as the predominant language spoken in the home, this factor would appear to be a common handicap experienced by the majority of Indian students. Other factors mentioned along with such variables as inherent intellectual capacity would enable certain students experiencing this handicap to function at a higher academic level.

Communication media have long been recognized as being instrumental in communicating to people the ideas and beliefs of the society. On the basis of this con-

jecture it was hypothesized that the greater proportion of students performing at levels II and III will have come from a family where they had access to communication media whereas the greater proportion of students performing at level I will have come from a family where they had limited access to communication media. The data obtained regarding this factor validated our supposition. Of the 9 students performing at level I, 4 or 44.4% had access to communication media, whereas of the 42 students performing at levels II and III, 23 or 54.8% had access to communication media. Hence there is a positive relation here, be it slight, between the two variables of this sub-hypothesis.

For the sixth sub-hypothesis, we stated that the greater proportion of students performing at levels II and III will have attended an integrated school for one year or more whereas the greater proportion of students performing at level I will have experienced only a day and/or residential school. Information obtained from the schedule showed that whereas 5 of the 9 or 55.6% of the students in level I experienced an integrated school, 21 of the 42 or 50% of the students performing at levels II and III experienced an integrated school. The evidence gathered in relation to this sub-hypothesis proved to be inconclusive. However, in retrospect, our group realized the limitations of this sub-hypothesis in view of the assumptions made with regard to integrated schools. In establishing the

questionnaire we assumed that an integrated school would be a public school off the reserve while a segregated school would be a day school on the reserve or a residential school. As the data was being analyzed it was discovered that the day schools on the reserve were not necessarily segregated as some White children were attending these schools as well. The data indicated that whereas only 66.7% or 6 of 9 students performing at level I attended a school where White children also attended, a greater majority, namely 82.4% or 14 of 17 students performing at level III attended a school where White children also attended. This evidenced that the presence of White children in the schools where the Indian children studied may have had an effect on the present academic functioning of the student. The information obtained however was not conclusive enough to validate our supposition regarding this factor.

We then hypothesized that the greater proportion of students performing at levels II and III had experienced one or more formally organized groups whereas the greater proportion of students performing at level I had no experience in formally organized groups. The results obtained here were very inconclusive. Whereas 6 of the 9 students or 66.7% performing at level I experienced formally organized groups, 26 of the 42 students or 61.4% performing at levels II and III experienced formally organized groups. Rather than seeing this variable as a

contributing factor towards academic achievement as has been indicated with other factors where both categories were experienced by the greater proportion of students involved, the group realized that limitations regarding this factor were very great. From the responses obtained, it was obvious that a wide variety of groups fell within our definition of formally organized groups so that attendance at some of these groups was not a determining factor in relation to academic achievement.

As a final factor the group considered the importance of consistent academic success in the experience of the student. The sub-hypothesis stated that the greater proportion of students performing at levels II and III will have experienced consistent academic achievement whereas the greater proportion of students performing at level I did not experience consistent academic achievement. The data obtained did not validate our sub-hypothesis. Of the students performing at level I, 8 of the 9 or 88.9% had experienced consistent academic success with 37 of the 42 or 88.1% of the students performing at levels II and III having experienced consistent academic success. As previously mentioned our doubts regarding the validity of this sub-hypothesis were confirmed. Mention has been made of the possibility of the fact that students who had not achieved any measure of consistent academic achievement would not have attained a level of education that was required as prerequisites for an urban training

institution. However there were those of the research group who conjectured that some students may have finally attained their level of education in spite of failure along the way, and that those who experienced consistent academic achievement would be predisposed to better academic functioning in the present than those who had not experienced this. However this rationale was counteracted by the fact that these students represented a select group as chosen by the Indian Affairs Branch who no doubt will have considered past academic achievement as a prerequisite for eligibility to train at an urban training institution.

The findings in relation to kindergarten attendance may be of significance even though the trend signified was very slight. Whereas only 2 of the 7 or 22.2% of the students performing at level I had attended kindergarten, 6 of the 17 or 33.5% of those performing at level III had attended kindergarten.

The conclusions of our study indicated the relevance of a number of the factors examined as indicating a degree of integration and support in relation to the academic functioning of the Indian student. Because of the limitations mentioned and the fact that there were a number of variables involved in the study, conclusive data regarding the direct association of any one of the factors and the level of performance the student attained was difficult. It appears that no one factor in itself

determines the level of performance of the student. Thus, by keeping some of the variables used in this project constant, further research could perhaps reveal a direct association of some of these factors to academic achievement. The research group involved in this study not only hopes that the information provided will facilitate a better understanding regarding the educational experience of the Indian in Canadian society today, but that it would encourage others to get involved in a field of research where much more work needs to be done.

APPENDIX A

SCHEDULES

UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

School of Social Work

STUDENT RESEARCH PROJECT 1964-65 Schedule Number_____

PART I: RECORD OF STUDENT'S PERFORMANCE:

A: General: (Please print)

1. Schedule completed by_____
2. Student's name_____Band_____
3. City Address_____
4. School Attended_____Course/grade_____
5. Date course commenced_____
6. Date of last report on file_____

B. Academic and technical grades:

1. Academic: (Complete (a) ONLY if marks are reported for individual subjects and (b) ONLY if individuals marks are not reported. Note: In (a) write "F" beside each mark which is a failing mark)

(a) Marks (Write actual marks in spaces provided)

(i)_____	(iv)_____	(vii)_____	(x)_____
(ii)_____	(v)_____	(viii)_____	(xi)_____
(iii)_____	(vi)_____	(ix)_____	(xii) Average mark_____

- (b) General statement (Check that category which most closely describes what is reported about the student's academic performance)

Part I: B1(b) (i) A failing or unsatisfactory_____

(ii) Passing or satisfactory only_____

(iii) Passing or satisfactory and above average_____

2. Technical skills (Applicable only to students taking trades or vocational training. Check that category which most closely describes what is reported about the student's level of technical skills--i.e. in typing, shop work)

(i) Unsatisfactory_____

(ii) Satisfactory_____

(iii) Satisfactory and above average_____

C. Discipline:

1. Attendance (Complete (a) ONLY if actual number of days is reported and (b) ONLY if actual days are NOT reported)

(a) Write in: (i) Number of possible days_____
(ii) Number of days absent_____
(iii) Days absent as percent of possible days_____

(b) Check appropriate category:

(i) Attendance unsatisfactory_____
(ii) Attendance satisfactory_____

2. Punctuality (Complete (a) ONLY if actual number of days is reported and (b) ONLY if actual number of days is NOT reported)

(a) Write in: (i) Number of possible days_____
(ii) Number of times late_____
(iii) Times late as a percent of total possible days_____

(b) Check appropriate category:

(i) Punctuality unsatisfactory_____
(ii) Punctuality satisfactory_____

Part I

- C. 3. Behaviour in classrooms, shops, etc. (Check that category which most closely describes what is reported about student's behaviour)
- (a) Unsatisfactory_____
- (b) Satisfactory or not mentioned_____
- D. Relationships with other students (Check that category which most closely describes what is reported)
1. Unsatisfactory_____
2. Satisfactory or not mentioned_____
- E. Relationships with customers (complete only for those students whose training--as for example in hairdressing--requires direct contact with customers)
1. Unsatisfactory_____
2. Satisfactory or not mentioned_____
- F. For office use only--DO NOT COMPLETE
- Overall rating of performance: (check)
- Level I_____, II_____, III_____

NOTE: This rating is also to be transferred to the appropriate space in each of Parts II, III, and IV of the schedule)

Schedule Number_____

Level of Performance_____

Interviewers Initial_____

QUESTIONNAIRE

Research Group I

Part II Prior Life Experiences

- Introductory Questions: 1) How old are you?_____
- 2) Are you married or
single?_____
- If married, Date of
Marriage_____
- 3) What type of school
are you attending at
present (e.g. Hi-School,
Vocational or pre-
vocational)_____
- 4) What was the last year
you completed_____

I Family:

- 1) How many members are there in your family?_____
Who are they? a) father_____ age_____
mother_____ age_____
others_____
Ordinal position of respondent?

- 2) a) What did your father (or head of household)
do for a living?_____
- b) If father's occupation was away from home,
did whole family go with him?_____
- 3) a) If your mother went to school, in what grade
was she when she left school?_____
- b) If your father went to school, in what grade
was he when he left school?_____
- 4) What grade did your older brothers and sisters
complete at school, or if still in school, in
what grade are they at present? List_____
- 5) Did your parents encourage you to go to school?_____

II General:

- 1) a) Why did you want to go to (hi-school, pre-vocational, vocational) school?_____
- b) Did anyone in particular encourage you to go to (hi-school, pre-vocational, vocational school? (if so, list)
 - i) siblings_____ ii) peers_____
 - iii) father_____ iv) mother_____
 - v) other (specifiy)_____

III Peer Group:

- 1) How long did most of your friends at home go to school?_____
- 2) Did your friends encourage you to go to school?_____

IV Language:

- 1) What language was spoken most in your home?_____
- 2) a) Did your mother read__ write__ speak__ English?
b) Did your father read__ write__ speak__ English?
- 3) Could you speak English before you went to school?_____

V Communication:

- 1) Which of the following did you have at home?
 - i) Television_____
 - ii) Radio_____
 - iii) Newspapers_____
 - iv) Magazines_____
 - v) Telephones_____

VI Proximity:

- 1) How often did you get to a White settlement?
 - i) How many times a week?_____
 - ii) How many times a month?_____
 - iii) How many times a year?_____
- 2) What was the name of the settlement?_____

Part II

VI Proximity continued:

- 3) Did you ever live in a White settlement?____
If so, why?_____
How long?_____

VII Groups:

- 1) a) Did you have an opportunity to belong to
any groups? (e.g. 4-H, Boy Scouts, Church
activities, etc.)_____
b) If so, how many?_____What kind?_____

VII School:

- 1) Did you ever attend:
a) boarding school?_____ how long?_____
b) day school on reserve?_____ how long?_____
= c) public school off reserve?_____ how long?_____

= (If respondent answers "c" ask following
question) Were you living in a boarding
school residence while attending public
school off the reserve?_____

2) How many schools did you attend_____
Where were they?_____

3) Did you ever change schools during any one
school year?_____

4) Were you ever absent from school for more
than thirty days during one school year?
(not necessarily consecutive days)_____
If so, for how long?_____Why?_____

5) Did you ever attend kindergarten?_____

6) How old were you when you started school?_____

7) Did you like school?_____

Part II

VII School continued:

- 8) If you had had your choice, what type of school would you have preferred to attend?
- a) residential_____
 - b) day_____
 - c) integrated_____
- Why?_____
- 9) Were there white children in the schools that you attended?_____If so, were most of them white?_____
- 10) Did you do homework prior to coming to Winnipeg?_____
- If not, why?_____
- 11) Did you fail any grades?_____
- If so, which ones?_____
- 12) Did you come to (hi-school, pre-vocational, vocational) school immediately after you left grade school?_____
- If no, what did you do in the meantime?_____

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books

- Bernard, Jessie. Social Problems at Midcentury: Role, Status, and Stress in a Context of Abundance.
New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1957.
- Bierstedt, Robert. The Social Order.
New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1957.
- Dallyn, John and Earle, Frazer. A Study of Attitudes Towards Indians and People of Indian Descent.
Toronto: The Canadian Council of Christians and Jews, 1959.
- Gardner, J. W. Excellence: Can We Be Equal and Excellent Too?
New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1964.
- Hawthorn, H. B., Belshaw, C. S., and Jamieson, S. M. The Indians of British Columbia.
Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1958.
- Kluckhohn, C. and Murray, H. A. (eds.). Personality in Nature, Society and Culture.
New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1961.
- Leighton, A. H., Clausen, J. A., and Wilson, R. N. Explorations in Social Psychiatry.
New York: Basic Books Inc., 1957.
- Riessman, F. The Culturally Deprived Child.
New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1962.
- Sanders, I. T. The Community: An Introduction to a Social System.
New York: The Ronald Press Co., 1958.
- Wilensky, H. L. and Lebeaux, C. N. Industrial Society and Social Welfare.
New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1958.

Articles

Lesser, Alexander. "Education and the Future of Tribalism In the U. S.: The Case of the American Indian," Social Service Review, XXXV (June 1961), 135-143.

Government Publications and Reports

Canada, Department of Citizenship and Immigration. The Canadian Indian A Reference Paper, Ottawa, 1957.

Canada, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Indian Affairs Branch. Indian in Transition, by Roger Duhamel
Ottawa, 1961.

Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. The Way of the Indian. Toronto: CBC Publications, 1961.

Lagasse, J. H. The People of Indian Ancestry in Manitoba, I, II, III.
A Study of the Population of Indian Ancestry Living in Manitoba, Winnipeg, Manitoba, February, 1959, Undertaken by the Social and Economic Research Office,
Winnipeg, Manitoba: The Department of Agriculture and Immigration, 1959.

Unpublished Materials

Boyce, G. A. "New Goals for People of Indian Heritage". Paper read at the sixth annual conference on Indian and Metis.
Winnipeg, Manitoba, February 24-27, 1960.
(Mimeographed.)

Grigg, Ernest. "Why Community Development?" Paper read at the first annual conference of the Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada,
Winnipeg, Manitoba, November, 1960.
(Mimeographed.)

Joint Submission by the Canadian Welfare Council and the Canadian Association of Social Workers to the Special Joint Commission of the Senate and the House of Commons to examine and consider the Indian Act. January, 1947.
(Mimeographed.)

Shapiro, E. S. "Social Conflict and Changing Values in the Process of Acculturation of the Indian Canadian:

Some Implications for the Practice of Social
Work".
Unpublished Master's dissertation,
School of Social Work, McGill University,
Montreal, 1962.