

AN EXPLORATORY INVESTIGATION INTO SELECTED SOCIAL, EDUCATIONAL,  
ECONOMIC, AND INDIVIDUAL FACTORS RELATED TO  
THE INTER-GENERATIONAL MOBILITY OF INDIAN PEOPLE  
WITHIN A SPECIFIC RESERVE SETTING

by

Robert W. Gustafson

A thesis  
presented to the University of Manitoba  
in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy  
in  
Faculty of Graduate Studies  
Department of Educational Administration and Foundations

Winnipeg, Manitoba

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## ABSTRACT

Set against the radical and liberal democratic arguments on schooling and socio-economic mobility, this study addresses itself to the implications that the debate might have for an Indian community. The purpose of the study is to examine inter-generational socio-economic mobility of Indian people on a specific Reserve. The factors that impact upon that mobility, the community, the federal government, economic and political realities, and the educational process, are analyzed in relation to the data. The findings of the study are then presented against a back-ground of recent federal initiatives to determine further implications for socio-economic status and mobility.

Data, drawn through an open-ended interview, were collected from a cohort of adults aged 18 to 40 residing on-Reserve. Variables examined include material accumulation, educational background, employment history, perceptions of the present, and hopes for the future. Utilizing these data, parent and child were compared in relation to their socio-economic status.

The findings of this study reveal that inter-generational mobility for the cohort has been negligible. In terms of material accumulation, perceptions of power, and self-contentment, the children seem to be lower on the scale. Socio-economic mobility has not been a reality among the cohort. Education does not seem to be a strong influence in creating, or encouraging, that mobility.

The implications of this study are worrisome. Despite widespread beliefs in the positive value of education as a means to increase one's socio-economic status in life, such does not seem to be the case in this particular situation. Indeed, very little seems to have positively affected the socio-economic mobility. Perhaps the different influences work to ensure little mobility. Perhaps no one really wants to change the status quo. Initiatives have been suggested but have proven too politically sensitive. Can anything be done to increase the inter-generational mobility? The final chapter of this study addresses this question.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would first like to express my appreciation to the people of Dryberry. These individuals dream, make plans, and live out their lives but, they do so faced with many difficult challenges and complexing influences. Theirs is a world not of their own making; but, one which they must begin to mold if they are to shape better futures for themselves and their children. I wish them luck for it will not be an easy journey; however, it is one that must be travelled.

Dr. Tony Riffel, of the Department of Educational Administration and Foundations, has acted as the Chairman of my committee and has been instrumental in coaxing and cajoling me to make time for this dissertation. He has been a sounding board for many of the ideas within this study and has given generously of his time. Dr. Neil McDonald, of the same Department, has also been of invaluable assistance, especially in the area of social mobility and its importance to the social sciences. Dr. W.W. ("Skip") Koolage, from the Department of Anthropology, brings with him a fresh analytical approach which focuses on aboriginal peoples and adaptation to a contemporary setting. Dr. Ernie Ingram, the external advisor from the Department of Educational Administration, University of Alberta, has also taken time out from a busy schedule to share his reflections on this dissertation. To all of them, my thanks.

I especially would like to thank my wife Cheryl and my two sons, Chris and Sean, for allowing me the time to put this work together. My



family gave up many of the all too few precious moments that we had to spend together; it is their constant support that enabled me to complete this work. Cheryl's encouragement, at times when I believed that I had neither the energy or time to devote to this study, ultimately was the key factor that made this a reality.

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## Chapter I

### INTRODUCTION

#### Purposes of the Study

The contribution of education to the social and economic mobility of Canadian Indians can be viewed in a number of ways. Two opposite viewpoints on education and mobility for Canadian Indians are held by Harold Cardinal and A.D. Fisher. Cardinal believes that education provides one of the main avenues to socio-economic mobility. Cardinal's words are used as an introduction to the National Indian Brotherhood statement, Indian Control of Indian Education:

For the Indian child, education must help in the discovery of a positive self-image and must arm him with the skills that will help survive in man's new wilderness - modern society.... Indians recognize that education is one of the major tools that will help us strike off the shackles of poverty and the tyranny of government direction.<sup>1</sup>

A.D. Fisher is of quite a different mind:

...many programs for the amelioration of social and economic injustice focus on the provision of more and better formal education for those persons who are objects of the programs. In justifying the expenditure of more money's [sic] in the educational sphere it is held that in lieu of direct governmental intervention in the economic sphere social progress can be achieved by "up-grading" the educational content and achievements of the economically disadvantaged.... This supposition is, if true at all, only partially true, and that it therefore works general hardships upon the economically disadvantaged and distorts the social change

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<sup>1</sup> National Indian Brotherhood, Indian Control of Indian Education (Cutler: NIB, 1980), page 1. See also W.I.C. Wuttunee's, Ruffled Feathers (Calgary: Bell Books, 1971) which echoes the view that education is a means to climb the socio-economic ladder.

process.<sup>2</sup>

Is education an avenue for socio-economic mobility? Are there factors that ensure little movement between social strata regardless of education? How much does education contribute to inter-generational mobility of Canada's Indian people? These are the general questions to which this study is addressed.

#### Liberal and Radical Perspectives on the Role of Schooling

Cardinal and Fisher reflect two different assumptions regarding schooling. The first is that schooling transmits knowledge and culture while equipping the student with the skills necessary to progress economically and socially. The second is that schooling helps to preserve current social stratification by assigning and legitimizing socio-economic roles in favour of those in power positions. For purposes of analysis within this study, the two schools of thought will be identified respectively as "liberal democratic"<sup>3</sup> and "radical."

Liberal analysts in education tend to view schooling as having a positive function within society and postulate that education is both egalitarian and an equalizing force. Radicals believe that such faith is misplaced in that, upon examination, one finds that education is an instrument of control that enables the upper echelons of society to maintain their favoured position. Radicals propose that not only is schooling unrelated to upward mobility, but that it actually is an

---

<sup>2</sup> A.D. Fisher, "Education and Social Progress," The Alberta Journal of Educational Research, Vol. XII, No. 4, December 1966, p. 257.

<sup>3</sup> Identified by the term "liberal" throughout the remainder of this study.



impediment. As these positions reflect upon the crucial thesis behind this study, it is imperative to examine more closely ideas related to the two schools of thought.<sup>4</sup>

### The Radical Position

Liberals of the early 1960s had lauded education as a means of achieving an egalitarian society. Such a position was strongly supported by those who wrote on education as an investment in human capital. Writers such as G.S. Becker claimed that there were few impediments to those who had the ability and drive to better themselves.<sup>5</sup> Education was the key to economic success and the prosperity of the country, and all were quite capable of seizing this opportunity. Radicals responded that this attitude, which was reflective of most educators, was a distortion of reality.

D. Ravitch, a liberal, notes the radical disagreements with Western schooling:

First, the school was used by the rich and the middle class as an instrument to manipulate and control the poor and the working class. Second, efforts to extend schooling to greater numbers and to reform the schools were primarily middle-class morality campaigns intended to enhance the coercive power of the school and state. Third, an essential purpose of the school was to stamp out cultural diversity and to advance homogeneity. Fourth, the idea that upward social mobility might be achieved by children of the poor through schooling was a fable. Fifth, bureaucracy was deliberately selected as

---

<sup>4</sup> It should be noted that the connotative language, e.g. "myth," "colonialism", etc., and tone have been preserved so that the degree of commitment and fervor aroused by the ideological positions is suggested.

<sup>5</sup> G.S. Becker, Human Capital (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967).

the most appropriate structure for perpetuating social stratification by race, sex, and social class. Sixth, a primary function of schooling was to serve the needs of capitalism by instilling appropriate work habits in future workers.<sup>6</sup>

The main concern of this study lies with Ravitch's fourth point, although the effects of her other points cannot be ignored; in many cases, the relationships among the six points is evident. The radicals strongly support the contention that schooling serves only the interests of the elite. Whether deliberately, or unconsciously, schooling and all factors associated with educational success are heavily weighted in favour of the middle and upper classes.

For M. Carnoy, Western schooling is an instrument for the exploitation of the lower socio-economic orders:

...far from acting as a liberator, Western formal education came to most countries as part of imperialist domination. It was consistent with the goals of imperialism: the economic and political control of the people in one country by the dominant class in another. The imperialist powers attempted, through schooling, to train the colonized for roles that suited the colonizer. Even within the dominant countries themselves, schooling did not offset social inequalities. The educational system was no more just or equal than the economy and society itself - specifically, we argue, because schooling was organized to develop and maintain, in the imperialist countries, an inherently inequitable and unjust organization of production and political power.<sup>7</sup>

C.A. Valentine might not agree with the tone of Carnoy's assertion, but he supports the underlying premise,

...inequality is a structural property of the social system as a whole.

Moreover, the enculturated patterns which most obviously and effectively operate to preserve this structure are to be found not among the poor but in the behavior of the

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<sup>6</sup> D. Ravitch, The Revisionists Revised (New York: Basic Books, 1978), p. 37.

<sup>7</sup> M. Carnoy, Education as Cultural Imperialism (New York: David McKay Co., 1974), p. 3.

wealthy and the powerful.<sup>8</sup>

For some of the radicals, then, schooling is a deliberate attempt by the elite to forestall any social advancement of the lower social ranks.

J. Huber and W.H. Form, in an intensive study of stratification in the U.S., determined that upward mobility still remains essentially a myth, despite income increases, for such increases were negated through inflation. According to Huber and Form, educational attainment plays little part in inter-generational socio-economic mobility. Their findings support the radical perspective:

The data suggest that the poor may remain poor even though their incomes may double in a generation. Also, contrary to public opinion, a considerable amount of downward generational income mobility is possible even among the poor and the middle-income strata, but probably not for the rich. The stratum experiencing most downward income mobility was the white poor and not the black poor. Other evidence... showed that over half of the poor experienced significant upward generational educational mobility. Generational occupational mobility was not strongly linked to educational mobility.<sup>9</sup>

Schooling becomes an instrument of colonialism in that it not only accommodates social stratification, but it legitimizes the stratification:

In order for the colonizer to be a complete master, it is not enough for him to be so in actual fact, but he must also believe in its legitimacy. In order for that legitimacy to be complete, it is not enough for the colonized to be a slave, he must also accept his role.<sup>10</sup>

This legitimization is provided through schooling.

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<sup>8</sup> C.A. Valentine, "Models and Muddles Concerning Culture and Inequality: A Reply to Critics," The Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 42, No. 1, February 1972, p. 99.

<sup>9</sup> J. Huber and W.H. Form, Income and Ideology: An Analysis of the American Political Formula (London: Collier Macmillan, 1973), p. 189.

<sup>10</sup> Carnoy, op. cit., p. 62

According to these scholars, the great myth of equality in education forces those who fail or drop out of the system to acknowledge the superiority of those who succeed. The losers in the system, believing that merit is the sole criterion for success, come to accept their role and that of the educated elite. C. Jencks comments that this myth serves a very important function:

It [the myth] implies that if a man does not make it to the position he wants it is his own fault, not the fault of "the system." If colleges are to serve as gatekeepers, they must play their role in a way which is consonant with such mythology. They cannot refuse to admit large numbers of students or flunk them out and tell them never to return. If they did, the rejects would feel that their ambitions had been blocked by a particular identifiable group, namely the academicians who judged them inadequate, and they might mobilize politically to alter the system. To avoid this, selection must be carried on in a low-key way which gives the student at least the illusion of making his own choices. In Erving Goffman's terminology, the student must be "cooled out," not flunked out.<sup>11</sup>

The myth persists that the "losers" fail because they are not as "good" as the educationally successful. The "losers" simply do not realize that in this game of life, their chances were minimal for their failure was predetermined by "the system." As D. Adams writes, "... it is fairly common knowledge that 'rich kids do better than poor kids' in schools, the magnitude of that advantage is frequently underestimated."<sup>12</sup> H.M. Levin claims:

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<sup>11</sup> C. Jencks, "Social Stratification and Higher Education," The Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 38, No. 2, Spring 1968, p. 285. C. Greer notes that ethnic, genetic, and racial hypotheses have been advanced to explain away the failure of some of the poor. C. Greer, The Great School Legend, (New York: Basic Books, 1972), p. 115. See also M.B. Katz, Class, Bureaucracy, & Schools (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971), p. 110 ff. for his assertion that racism is an underlying component of public schooling.

<sup>12</sup> D. Adams, Schooling and Social Change in Modern America (New York: David McKay Co., 1972), p. 189.

It is recognized that children who are born into highly unequal circumstances would likely experience similar inequalities in adult status if left unattended. In order to remedy these inequalities of social status and wealth, the schools have been charged with providing a common basis of skills, values, and other attributes so that every child has a fair chance to share in the social, economic, and political life of his community and nation....

That the present schools do not achieve this noble objective is reflected in myriad figures on dropouts, cognitive test scores, educational attainments, employment, and income. All these indicators of both educational success and life success tend to be highly correlated with the social-class origins of the children who enter the schools.<sup>13</sup>

R.J. Havighurst and B.L. Neugarten claim that class and educational performance are inextricably linked:

Social class position predicts grades, achievement and intelligence test scores, retentions at grade level, course failure, truancy, suspensions from school, high school drop-outs, plans for college attendance, and total amount of formal schooling. It predicts academic honors and awards in the public school, elective school offices, extent of participation in extra-curricular activities....<sup>14</sup>

Where at one time high school graduation was closely associated with job attainment in high income or prestigious occupations, higher education, post-secondary schooling, now fills that position. Higher education, the critics claim, is limited almost exclusively to the high SES student. D.W. Rossides reinforces this fact in an examination of SES and higher education. Rossides notes the fact that high SES is the key to unlocking the gates to higher education. Table 1 notes the strong correlation between SES and higher education in the United States.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> H.M. Levin, "Educational Vouchers and Educational Equality," ed. M. Carnoy Schooling in a Corporate Society (2nd ed.; New York: David McKay Co., 1972), p. 303.

<sup>14</sup> R. J. Havighurst and B. L. Neugarten, Society and Education (3rd ed.; Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1967), p. 87.

<sup>15</sup> D.W. Rossides, The American Class System (Dallas: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1976), p. 210.

TABLE 1					
Social Class Origins of College Entrants					
(Percentage of Each Class Attending College)					
Social Class	1920	1940	1950	1960	1965
Upper and upper middle	40	70	75	80	85
Lower-middle	8	20	38	50	54
Upper-working	2	5	12	25	30
Lower-working	0	0	2	4	6
Percentage of total age group entering college	6	16	22	33	37
Source: Rossides, op. cit., p. 210.					

Rossides notes that much of the increase in enrollment among the lower strata occurs at the community college level. J. Karabel points to this as a further step in preserving the myth of equality, while ensuring no real change in the status quo power orientations:

Community colleges exist in part to reconcile students' culturally induced hopes for mobility with their eventual destinations, transforming structurally induced failure into individual failure. This serves to legitimize the myth of an equal opportunity structure; it shifts attention to questions of individual mobility rather than distributive justice.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> J. Karabel, "Community Colleges and Social Stratification: Submerged Class Conflict in American Higher Education," Power and Ideology in Education, ed. J. Karabel and A.H. Halsey (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), p. 249.

R. Manzer notes that this pattern is consistent with Canadian findings in that "...inequalities in access to education... are clearly associated with differences in class background."<sup>17</sup> According to A.C. Ornstein, education is directly related to occupational attainment, "...more than 60 percent of college graduates have professional occupations, while only 15 percent of those with a high school education and 1 percent with an elementary school education attain such occupations."<sup>18</sup> If one accepts these findings, one must acknowledge that denial of entrance to higher educational institutions is a denial of entrance into high-income, high-status occupations. The disadvantaged suffer further inequality as access is limited and confined to the upper social strata.

The radicals note that the class bias of schooling manifests itself in behavior patterns and material disadvantages that erode any chance the lower socio-economic status student may have for a successful educational future. In addition, factors such as ethnicity can further act as handicaps for the lower SES students. R.C. Rist documents the fact that the teachers examined within his study segregated students on the basis of class origin. Students were divided into slow and fast learners corresponding to status criteria valued by the middle class. Rist notes that, while stigmatization itself has severe implications for the educational future of the lower class student, accompanying differential treatment ensures the creation of an additional handicap

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<sup>17</sup> R. Manzer, Canada: A Socio-Political Report (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1974), p. 188.

<sup>18</sup> A.C. Ornstein, Education and Social Inquiry (Itasca: F.E. Peacock, 1978), p. 176.

for the student of the lower socio-economic strata.<sup>19</sup> P.C. Rubovits and M.L. Maehr, in a study of teacher expectations and Blacks, have found that this handicap is severe. The authors note an especially distressing aspect of teacher-pupil interaction:

The study provides what appears to be a disturbing instance of prejudice. Black students were given less attention, ignored more, praised less, and criticized more. More startling perhaps are the data suggesting that it is the "gifted" black who is given the least attention, the least praise, and the most criticism, even when compared to his or her "nongifted" black counter-part.<sup>20</sup>

This is a tragic denial of ability and the result is that those who can perform academically are prevented from doing so. Black leadership potential is thus destroyed.

Teacher expectations play a large part in determining academic performance; but, there are also other factors at work. P.C. Sexton has noted that good educational facilities, especially remedial facilities, are sorely lacking in many low-income areas.<sup>21</sup> C.S. Jencks and M.J. Brown further expand on this point:

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<sup>19</sup> R. C. Rist, "Student Social Class and Teacher Expectations: The Self-Fulfilling Prophecy in Ghetto Education," The Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 40, No. 3, August 1970, pp. 444-49. This is further support for R. Rosenthal and L. Jacobson's Pygmalion in the Classroom (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1968). See R.C. Rist, "On Understanding the Processes of Schooling: The Contribution of Labelling Theory," eds., Canadian Society, ed. B.R. Blishen et al. (Toronto: The Macmillan Co., 1961) for a more intensive discussion of the ramifications of stigmatization of students.

<sup>20</sup> P.C. Rubovits and M.L. Maehr, "Teacher Expectations: A Special Problem for Black Children with White Teachers?" Culture, Child, and School, ed. M.L. Maehr and W.M. Stallings (Monterey: Brooks/Cole, 1975), p. 256.

<sup>21</sup> M. Hillson and F.P. Purcell, "The Disadvantaged Child: A Product of the Culture of Poverty, His Education, and His Life Chances," The School in the Social Order, ed. F. Cordasco, H.A. Bullock, and M. Hillson (Scranton: International Textbook Co., 1970), p. 227.



...high- and low-SES males end up more alike if they attend the same school. Unfortunately, it does not necessarily mean they end up more alike if they attend different schools of similar quality. High- and low-SES students attend different high schools largely because they live in different places.<sup>22</sup>

Facilities and social integration of students affect lower-SES student educational life chances; presently, both situations are such that they work against the student. M.P. Deutsch has indicated that teachers in certain low-income areas simply do not have the time to spend on student cognitive development. Deutsch found that most teachers spent 50% of their time on discipline and organizational matters. This figure sometimes rose as high as 80%.<sup>23</sup> B. Bernstein suggests that the advantage enjoyed by the higher SES students results from a superior intellectual climate in the home environment. Bernstein claims that one of the most important keys to educational success is the better language training available in high-SES homes.<sup>24</sup> There are numerous other intervening factors that mediate against educational success for lower SES students, lack of motivational materials in the home, lack of quiet study areas within the home, economic pressures to help put food upon the table - some of these will be discussed in the following chapter.

M. Katz claims that the educational tools of guidance and ability grouping serve only to act as further "social sorting devices."<sup>25</sup> F. Erickson, investigating the role of counselling, notes

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<sup>22</sup> C.S. Jencks and M. Brown, "Effects of High Schools on Their Students," The Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 45, No. 3, August 1975, p. 323.

<sup>23</sup> Hillson and Purcell, op. cit., p. 227.

<sup>24</sup> F.G. Caro and C.T. Pihlblad, "Social Class, Formal Education and Social Mobility," Cordasco, op. cit., p. 65.

<sup>25</sup> Katz, op. cit., p. 122.

relationships that would support Katz's claim:

It appears that, usually without realizing it, counselors and students were playing out, in microcosm, social relations similar in form to those found within their own group and between their own group and others.... We have found that ethnicity, race and communication style can affect the quality of counseling students receive. Because these factors are an integral part of face-to-face interaction, they probably affect other interactions in the school and therefore are important educational variables....

Considered most broadly, race, ethnicity and communication style may affect other gatekeeping, caretaking and supervisory decisions. Charges of "institutional racism" and "cultural genocide" brought by Third World peoples against white Americans and of "effete snobbery" brought by white ethnics against predominately English-American, upper-class whites should not be dismissed. Our research suggests, it seems to me, that such charges are more than empty rhetoric.<sup>26</sup>

A.B. Wilson in his paper on social class and aspirations determined that social class had a strong effect not only in the higher grades; but, even within elementary school.<sup>27</sup>

The factor of ethnicity allows for the socio-economic arrest of those who escape the schooling pitfall. The use of ethnicity as a variable in deciding futures completes the selective process whereby the elite maintains the status quo. J. Singleton cites the works of Ogbu to demonstrate the mechanics that contribute to school failure of Blacks in Stockton, California. Ogbu was forced to look outside the community to explain the failure:

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<sup>26</sup> F. Erickson, "Gatekeeping and the Melting Pot: Interaction in Counseling Encounters," The Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 45, No. 1, February 1975, p. 69. Erickson's findings are supported by A.V. Cicourel and J.J. Kitsuse who argue that "both the goals of the school and those of the counsellor are predisposed to serve students from the higher rather than the lower classes." A.V. Cicourel and J.J. Kitsuse as cited in W.B.W. Martin and A.J. Macdonell, Canadian Education: A Sociological Analysis (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1978), p. 236.

<sup>27</sup> T.F. Pettigrew, "Race and Equal Educational Opportunity," The Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 38, No. 1, Winter 1968, p. 70.

Mutually self-validating systems of beliefs, held by the minority Black community and the mainly white "taxpayer" community, set the stage for a self-fulfilling prophecy of minority school failure. The "taxpayers" knew that the Black children were "culturally deprived." They were perceived as subject to the repetitive cycle of welfare and school failure transmitted from one generation to the next. On the other hand, the minority Black community knew that they existed in a racist and discriminatory society where one had to be twice as good as the white man to get an even break. Such belief systems... were potent reinforcers of the empirical fact - Black children did not do as well in the school as whites. The interlocking complementarity of the two belief systems reinforced and validated each of their prior assumptions.<sup>28</sup>

Schooling for the disadvantaged, defined either by income or racial characteristics, is an exercise in futility; numerous factors combine to ensure that equality of opportunity in education remains a myth.

With educational failure for the disadvantaged almost guaranteed, schooling would seem to hold little promise as an avenue for socio-economic mobility. Radicals such as C. Greer comment that the only mobility that is a reality for the lower strata of the socio-economic structure does not derive from schooling. Supporting Stephen Thernstrom, Greer acknowledges that the only mobility for the poor is that which has always been theirs - "they move at the whim of the employer, of the welfare agency, of the police, of the credit collector; they are, and have historically been, lost to our various statistical assessments of social progress."<sup>29</sup> This assertion is supported by S. Bowles and H. Gintis:

Since World War I, there has been a dramatic increase in the general level of education in the United States, as well as considerable equalization of its distribution among individuals. Yet economic mobility - i.e., the degree to which economic success (income or occupational status) is

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<sup>28</sup> Ogbu cited in J. Singleton, "Education and Ethnicity," Comparative Education Review, June/October 1977, p. 334.

<sup>29</sup> Greer, op. cit., p. 26.

independent of family background of individuals - has not changed measurably. And the total effect of family background on educational attainment (years of schooling) has remained substantially constant. Thus the evidence indicates that... the probability of a high-school graduate attending college is just as dependent on parental socio-economic status as it was thirty years ago.<sup>30</sup>

Even if the disadvantaged manage to succeed educationally, societal rewards are not equally delivered. S. Bowles notes that Negroes in the U.S. gain "considerably less" from an additional year of schooling than do their white counter-parts.<sup>31</sup> Such findings are supported by M. Reich:

Going to school after a certain point does not seem to increase a black person's job possibilities very much. The more educated a black person is, the greater the distance between his income and that of a white with the same schooling. The result: in 1966 black college graduates earned less than white high school dropouts.<sup>32</sup>

Evidence such as this is used to support the internal colonialist theory. P.M. Peterson strongly favours such a theory and claims that blacks within the U.S. have been "victims of a process developed for them by a more powerful, ruling group with subjugation as the end product." Peterson describes the role of education in this process,

...education is important because if [sic] often serves as the vehicle for intellectual aggression. It becomes far more than the transmission of knowledge; it is also the engine of transformation of peoples. It may lead to the disintegration of the culture of one group in contact as well as to the political, social and economic subservience of the individuals concerned.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> S. Bowles and H. Gintis, Schooling in Capitalist America (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1976), p. 8.

<sup>31</sup> S. Bowles, "Toward Equality of Educational Opportunity?" The Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 38, No. 1, Winter 1968, p. 96.

<sup>32</sup> M. Reich, "Economic Theories of Racism," Carnoy, op. cit., p. 82.

<sup>33</sup> P.M. Peterson, "Colonialism and Education: The Case of the Afro-American," Comparative Education Review, June 1971, p. 146.

There would seem to be some evidence for such a theory in the findings of Reich and Bowles.

The Blacks are not the sole victims of the "schooling as colonialism" syndrome; the poor are afflicted with such a handicap. For both groups, schooling has not proven to be a ladder to success - others are also experiencing this failure of the myth to become reality. Generalizing to other ethnic groups, E.H. Epstein finds similar problems as those experienced due to social class or race. Epstein cites the works of Whiteman and Deutsch, Lesser, Fifer, and Clark, and Werner, Simonian, and Smith to support his assertion that ethnicity affects achievement scores independently of social class. Epstein postulates that the ill effects of ethnicity might be due to the consequences of discrimination or the realization that opportunities available for whites simply are non-existent for Blacks. Epstein's concluding remarks support the radicals' contentions:

...we find that the question of the differential impact of social class and ethnicity on academic achievement is ideologically vital.... A society in which the life chances of certain of its members are reduced because of their culture cannot lightly claim to embody democratic values.<sup>34</sup>

For radicals, schooling has failed in its promise of mobility. This mobility continues to be denied. Schooling and racism contrive to ensure that "democratic values" remain only verbiage, part of the great myth of education and equality.

Western education, for the radicals, is a tool of oppression which ensures that (1) the status quo will be preserved, (2) the elite shall enjoy a privileged position, (3) mobility will be sharply

<sup>34</sup> E.H. Epstein, "Social Class, Ethnicity and Academic Achievement: A Cross-Cultural Approach," The Journal of Negro Education, Vol. 41, No. 3, Summer 1972, p. 215.

curtailed, (4) the societal structure shall be legitimized through schooling, and, (5) ethnic, racial, or economic factors are instrumental in determining life chances, regardless of personal drive or ability. The relations between social classes are those of the colonizer-colonized model.

### The Liberal Position

Whereas the radicals would claim that Western society is essentially stagnant in mobility and that the lack of mobility will ensure that the poor remain poor, liberals believe that this is not so. M. Bane and C. Jencks propose that poverty is not hereditary; in fact, they claim that there is an "enormous amount of economic mobility from one generation to the next." According to Bane and Jencks, education can provide the "best mechanism" to facilitate this mobility.<sup>35</sup> Analyzing incomes, the authors note that even brothers' incomes can vary significantly supporting their thesis that "people who start off equal end up almost as unequal as everyone else. Inequality is not mostly inherited: It is re-created anew in each generation."<sup>36</sup>

T.L. Ribich, while allowing that education's ability to foster inter-generational mobility might only be "modest," supports the Bane and Jencks thesis. Ribich states that even the small gains are important in the fight against poverty, "... small as well as large gains in learning and income are likely to be transmitted, and to that

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<sup>35</sup> M.J. Bane and C. Jencks, "The Schools and Equal Opportunity," Education For Whom?, ed. L.J. Stiles (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1974), p. 152.

<sup>36</sup> *ibid.*, p. 154.

extent the poverty problems of future generations will be less serious as a result of present education efforts.<sup>37</sup>

The radical claim that there is a conscious effort to limit socio-economic mobility is disputed by D. Ravitch who accuses the radicals of confusing motivations with consequences. "Too often, the revisionists presume that proving a desire for social control is the same as proving the existence of social control."<sup>38</sup>

Ravitch strongly denies the radical contention that education has not contributed to socio-economic mobility:

...the assertions...about the relationship between education and social mobility in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are so far no more than assertions, and, what is more, they are assertions grounded in the incorrect belief that there was very little or no upward mobility in the past. They freely charge that the schools inhibited mobility but the evidence - negative or positive - to prove the effect of education on social mobility in the past just is not available. Historians are presently trying to establish the nature of the relationship, but the data are fragmentary in some ways, voluminous in others, and generally difficult to assemble.<sup>39</sup>

Ravitch then proceeds to use the educational historical works of S. Thernstrom, C. Griffen and T. Kessner to support her assertions.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> T.L. Ribich, Education and Poverty (Washington: The Brookings Institution, 1968), p. 102.

<sup>38</sup> D. Ravitch, The Great School Wars (New York: Basic Books, 1974), p. xi. Ravitch cites the example of the aristocrats who established New York's early free schools. Although the aristocrats wished to mold the lower classes into compliant citizens supportive of the status quo, according to Ravitch, it did not work that way.

<sup>39</sup> Ravitch, The Revisionists Revised, p. 89.

<sup>40</sup> S. Thernstrom, after publishing his works, also wrote the foreword to M. Katz' Class, Bureaucracy, & Schools in which he praised Katz' analysis while supporting the thesis that "something is drastically wrong with the American educational system." Katz, op. cit., p. ix.

J. Porter et al., in commenting on the "two opposing camps on the role of education in promoting equality," identify some of the proponents of those characterized as liberals within this study.

...following the initial study of K. Davis and W.E. Moore, influenced by Talcott Parsons and continuing in the research of the Wisconsin and John Hopkins sociologists, who see education as providing opportunity and generating social mobility. They recognize the barriers that exist for children of culturally deprived backgrounds, but they see the system as one in which barriers can and should be overcome, and in which with the appropriate interventions there can be equality of opportunity through equality of educational opportunity.<sup>41</sup>

Liberals then believe that (1) socio-economic mobility is a reality within Canadian society, and Western society in general; (2) education is a strong factor contributing to this mobility; (3) this mobility is open to all who desire and work towards it. Education is seen as a positive force that can uplift the individual within society. There is a faith in education that grants it a quality implicit in which is the belief that education can solve most social and/or economic ills.

#### Canadian Positions

The ideological debate between liberals and radicals is also apparent in Canada. The debate has not proven to be as intensive as that in the United States; consequently, the available references are fewer. However, a brief examination of some of the Canadian literature will reveal that ideological debates are not limited to the United States and Great Britain.

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<sup>41</sup> J. Porter, M. Porter, B.R. Blishen, et al., Stations and Callings (Toronto: Methuen, 1982), p. 9.



## The Radicals

For Canadian analysts of the radical persuasion, Canada's schooling systems reflect forces of racism and class bias similar to those at work within the American and British systems. J. A. Blyth in an historical overview of education notes that access into education during the early 1800's was limited to the wealthy. For instance, Blyth cites the District School Act of 1807 which authorized the government of Upper Canada to establish "public" grammar schools. In reality though, "public" was a misnomer in so far as schooling costs were met in part by fees paid by those attending the institutions. The imposition of fees effectively prevented those of the lower socio-economic levels from attending.<sup>42</sup>

However, the utilitarian value of schooling was not lost upon the rich. A. Forrester, superintendent of education for Nova Scotia in the late 1850s, offered a justification for the schooling of the lower classes, justification accepted readily by the elite. Forrester claimed that it was "far more the duty and interest of the state, as such, to countenance and make provision for a national system of education than it is to support a police or constabulary establishment."<sup>43</sup> Education was to provide a ready mechanism for social control. S. Schecter, in his contemporary analysis of education and economics, writes:

What is so striking about early school reform is the frankness with which the reformers acknowledged that its basic purpose was the social control of an emerging working

<sup>42</sup> J.A. Blyth, The Canadian Social Inheritance (Toronto: Copp Clark, 1972), p. 275.

<sup>43</sup> S. Schecter, "Capitalism, class, and educational reform in Canada," The Canadian State: Political Economy and Political Power, ed. L. Panitch (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977), p. 375.

class....

The social control functions of schooling were twofold. On a specific level the reforms were designed to discipline the nascent labour force for industrial capitalism. On a general level they were designed to legitimize that social order in such a way that the upheaval it brought could be dealt with without questioning the social order itself.<sup>44</sup>

The Common School Act of 1850 permitted the creation of individual separate schools. But, as Blyth comments:

It is not widely known that the Act reflected the racial prejudice shown against slaves escaping through the "underground railway" from the United States. Negro children in the Chatham area of Upper Canada were refused admission to white schools, and this led to provision for separate Negro schools.<sup>45</sup>

Such overtones have not disappeared from the Canadian educational spectrum. Modern analysts continue to "discover" these forces at work.

R.A. Lucas notes that such overtones are more than just racial in character.

The teacher of long standing - whether by choice, inertia, or inability to move - by becoming part of the community, tends to incorporate and perpetuate community definitions within the school system.... One teacher who remains in the school system for some years is sufficient to perpetuate the social structure of the community because he passes on to the new and inexperienced teacher the local bases of social evaluation. He comments on the families with "bad blood," or "too much interbreeding,"... or the capabilities of each ethnic group....<sup>46</sup>

Such ascription of educational "abilities" can manifest itself in a most damaging way.

The streaming of students, and their encouragement or discouragement and guidance, takes on the nightmarish qualities of a perpetuated cycle of self-fulfilling prophecy. Indians are inferior because they cannot get through school,

<sup>44</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 378-79.

<sup>45</sup> Blyth, *op. cit.*, p. 282.

<sup>46</sup> R.A. Lucas, Minetown, Milltown, Railtown (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), p. 296.

and they cannot get through school because they are inferior.<sup>47</sup>

D. Forcese notes that this self-fulfilling prophecy can also be class-biased.<sup>48</sup>

J. Porter is perhaps the most well-known of those Canadians supportive of the radical analysis. In The Vertical Mosaic, Porter emphasizes the importance of education:

With the complex division of labour of modern industrial societies, education has come to be one of the most important social functions. Both the quantity and quality of education will determine a society's creative potential.... Education is an important determinant of one's ultimate position in the system of skill classes.... Now, more than ever, education means opportunity....<sup>49</sup>

Having identified education as a key determinant in socio-economic mobility, Porter proceeds to analyze his data; the conclusions are supportive of the radical position. Despite the importance of education for national and individual growth, access to educational institutions is limited to those of the upper social strata.

Using census data from 1951 and 1961, Porter advances the theory that there are social and psychological barriers that prevent equal access to schooling. Chief among the social barriers is the inequality of wealth.

Education costs money and regardless of how free it may be, lower income families tend to take their children out of school at an earlier age and put them to work. Lower income families are obviously penalized when it comes to higher education, which in Canada, with the exception of veterans'

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<sup>47</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>48</sup> D. Forcese, The Canadian Class Structure (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1975), p. 71.

<sup>49</sup> J. Porter, The Vertical Mosaic: An Analysis of Social Class and Power in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), pp. 165-68.

schemes, has always been prohibitively expensive.<sup>50</sup>

This barrier finds support in the psychological field:

In a free society such a choice [of education] is everyone's right, but there is a great deal of evidence that the desire to stay in school and continue to university is related principally to the position which the family occupies in the general social structure, particularly its class position. In a depressed environment the appropriate motives are not forthcoming and if they were they would probably lead to frustration. Those who are reared in a milieu indifferent to education are not likely to acquire a high evaluation of it, a situation which, although difficult, is not impossible to correct through social policy. It is for these psychological reasons, in addition to social and economic reasons, that we can speak of a class-determined educational system.<sup>51</sup>

P. Berton speaks of this psychological barrier as a "subconscious attitude - that higher education is the preserve of the elite."<sup>52</sup>

Porter also observes that education serves as a gate-keeping institution:

...education has become a screening device, and credentialism a new form of property holding involving the right to work. The uncredentialed become a new minority (and in some respects they may be a majority) and subjects of discrimination. In many places the uncredentialed overlap as a group with other groups subject to discrimination who become shunted by economic forces into segmented labor markets of high risk and little opportunity: "...instead of equalizing chances," Illich notes, "the school system has monopolized their distribution."<sup>53</sup>

Porter offers evidence for his assertions. Using census data and the Blisshen scale, Porter notes:

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<sup>50</sup> *ibid.*, p. 168. For examples to support Porter's assertion, see P. Berton, The Smug Minority (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1968), pp. 142-44.

<sup>51</sup> Porter, *op. cit.*, p. 172.

<sup>52</sup> Berton, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

<sup>53</sup> J. Porter, The Measure of Canadian Society: Education, Equality, and Opportunity (Toronto: Gage Publishing, 1979), p. 268.

...class 1 fathers, who were in the higher professions, had almost three-quarters of their children of this age group [14-24] at school, whereas fathers in class 7, unskilled manual workers, had a little over one-third of their children in the same age group in school.<sup>54</sup>

The statistics become even more alarming when applied to the University:

Children of the top four classes are all over-represented, while those of the lower three classes and farmers are all under-represented. Class 1 children, whose fathers are in the highly paid professions, have ten times more students in the sample than they would have if representation were equal.<sup>55</sup>

D. Forcese agrees with Porter's thesis that educational as well as occupational aspirations and attainments are a function of social class. Forcese notes that this class bias operates independently of I.Q.<sup>56</sup>

R. Manzer offers Porter qualified support and comments that "educational mobility is not perfect and that some educational inheritance exists in Canada."<sup>57</sup> However, Manzer also claims, "equality of access to education seems in general to be increasing over time." This fact must be tempered through statistical findings that the percentage increase of sons of elementary educated fathers going to university is simply reflective of a general increase. While numbers might have increased, in terms of real growth, nothing had changed. Those who had fathers trained in university, the higher socio-economic classes,<sup>58</sup> continued to hold an unfair advantage in terms of access.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> Porter, The Vertical Mosaic, p. 180.

<sup>55</sup> *ibid.*, p. 187

<sup>56</sup> Forcese, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

<sup>57</sup> R. Manzer, Canada: A Socio-Political Report (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Ltd., 1974), p. 196.

<sup>58</sup> *ibid.*, p. 192

<sup>59</sup> *ibid.*, p. 198.

R.M. Pike, while adhering to a more moderate radical position, still sees much truth in the assertion of bias against the lower socio-economic strata:

...there is a strong sense of 'plus ca change, plus c'est la meme chose - that is, educational reforms are made and educational facilities expanded, but the students of relatively privileged backgrounds are still highly over-represented in the universities which traditionally have provided the qualifications to the most prestigious and well-paid occupations in the society.... By the same token, lower-status youth still seem to face substantial barriers to the full realization of their potential in the schools.... Of course, these facts nicely fit the arguments of some radical historians and conflict theorists that educational expansion and reform in Canada - whether taking place during the 1850's or during the 1960's and 1970's - cannot have much impact upon those major inequalities of opportunity which arise from a socially and economically unequal society.<sup>60</sup>

### The Liberals

There is a dearth of material on the radical perspective, both Canadian and International; however, there are few works reflecting liberal beliefs. It seems to be generally accepted that education is a causal link to socio-economic mobility. This premise is taken as a given; therefore, most of those professing the liberal view do not feel obliged to state, or defend, such a position.

Education as the avenue to socio-economic mobility is best expressed by William Sewell in his Presidential Address to the 66th Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association:

Higher education in American society gains only a part of its significance from the personal satisfactions and self-realization that come from general learning and the mastery of high-level skills. More importantly, higher education confers increased chances for income, power, and

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<sup>60</sup> R.M. Pike, "Education, Class, and Power in Canada," Power and Change in Canada, ed. R.J. Ossenberg (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1980), pp. 132-33.

prestige on people who are fortunate enough to obtain it. In modern technological societies the allocation of social position is increasingly dependent on higher education.<sup>61</sup>

In Canada, there are few writers that have taken the time to explain the liberal perspective. One of the few groups that consistently reinforces the liberal position in their publications is the Economic Council of Canada. The Economic Council of Canada has affirmed its support for the position that education leads directly to tangible benefits; education is an "investment."<sup>62</sup> Such an investment will directly affect both real income and productivity within Canada.

O.J. Firestone echoes the sentiments of the Economic Council when he writes:

To the extent that education adds to the expansion of knowledge, and the latter in turn contributes to economic progress, a better way of life can be achieved by the individual and by society as a whole. But whether this 'better' way of life consists of a greater volume and a higher quality of goods and services at the disposal of each person, or whether it takes the form of greater leisure with consequent expansion of 'joie-de-vivre', or a combination of both, is in most countries a matter of choice of the individual and of society as a whole.<sup>63</sup>

Radicals would not disagree that there is a strong correlation between education and income, providing one can obtain employment. However, as demonstrated above, radicals assert that lower socio-economic ranks are not encouraged or permitted to climb the educational ladder. For the lower socio-economic ranks, education is

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<sup>61</sup> W.H. Sewell, "Inequality of Opportunity for Higher Education," Sociology of Education, ed. R.M. Pavalko (2nd ed.; Itasca: F.E. Peacock Publishers, 1976), p. 67.

<sup>62</sup> Economic Council of Canada, Second Annual Review, December 1965, p. 90.

<sup>63</sup> O.J. Firestone, Industry and Education (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1969), p.138.

simply a tool of subtle oppression reinforcing social status divisions.

Canadian liberals refuse to accept this assertion and consequently one finds the Economic Council of Canada attributing other qualities to education:

Education is a crucially important factor contributing to economic growth and to rising living standards. This has been the conclusion of a growing body of economic analysis in a number of countries. This is the conclusion also reached in our exploratory analysis....

It has long been recognized that education possesses intrinsic value as a factor enhancing the quality and enjoyment of life of individuals, as well as the quality and energy of a whole society. We fully appreciate this fundamental value of education and we would not wish to detract in any way from the basic view that education is a means of enlarging man's understanding, stimulating his creative talents, ennobling his aspirations, and enriching human experience.<sup>64</sup>

M. Holmes of OISE notes, "Education's suitors have claimed that she is a maid for all seasons - she will bring succor to the poor and disadvantaged, permit the ascent of the talented, and bring justice and peace to all peoples."<sup>65</sup> Holmes proceeds to attack the radicals for their "abuse" of the "fair maiden" claiming that the radicals often employ data which are erroneous or circumstantial.<sup>66</sup>

Within Canada, The Commission on Post-Secondary Education in Ontario noted that there was a widespread acceptance of the liberal approach to education:

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<sup>64</sup> *ibid.*, p. 71.

<sup>65</sup> M. Holmes, "Formal Education and Its Effect on Academic Achievement," The Canadian Journal of Education, Vol. 3, No. 3, 1978, p. 55.

<sup>66</sup> It should be noted that Holmes' arguments are somewhat tenuous in that he favours radical assertions that agree with his point of view; yet, dismisses those opposed even though the research is of a similar nature. See especially his discussion of Coleman.



Higher education was praised as an ascending ladder of social and economic mobility; it was defended both as an avenue of personal fulfillment and as a way of enlarging society's knowledge of itself and of nature; it was a badge of responsible citizenship in a liberal society; and finally it was described as an enlarged base for the articulation and strengthening of Canada's culture.<sup>67</sup>

Indeed, the Commission noted that there were "common assumptions that post-secondary education was a virtual panacea for personal, social and economic ills."<sup>68</sup> Education offered the avenue to the mobility so eagerly sought by those attempting to climb the ladder and believers in this philosophy demanded that there be equality of educational opportunity. While seeming to mock the liberal beliefs of society, the Commission echoed those very beliefs in its recommendations.

This was to be a rallying cry. W.G. Fleming notes, "Much of the development of education in the modern era has been brought about in the name of equality of educational opportunity.... One might say that equality of educational opportunity is one of the axioms of modern civilization."<sup>69</sup> But, is educational opportunity a reality? Even if access is open, can all partake? For Indian people, has there been equality of opportunity? This study is designed to address various aspects of these questions; but, there are many questions and facets which require further investigation.

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<sup>67</sup> The Commission on Post-Secondary Education in Ontario as quoted in M.R. Porter, J. Porter, and B.R. Blishen, Does Money Matter? Prospects for Higher Education (Toronto: Institute for Behavioural Research, York University, 1973), p. 4.

<sup>68</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>69</sup> W.G. Fleming, Educational Opportunity: The Pursuit of Equality (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall of Canada, 1974), p. 3.

### Re-statement of the Problem

The debate between liberals and radicals regarding the relationship between education and mobility gives rise to the following questions:

Has intergenerational socio-economic mobility been present in a specific population of Indian people?

Has education played a significant part in facilitating this mobility?

### Significance

Those involved with Indian Education are aware that a great portion of the DIAND (The Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development) budget is spent on education. This is readily apparent through examination of DIAND expenditures. Almost fifty per cent, or 196.6 million of a total budget of 443.4 million dollars, was earmarked for education in 1976-77.<sup>70</sup> This figure climbed to 247.9 million of the total program budget of 643 million the following fiscal year.<sup>71</sup> This is a very significant portion of Indian Affairs money, and it has been allocated with little investigation as to the costs/benefits involved.

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<sup>70</sup> Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Annual Report 1976-77, p. 40. By fiscal year 1978-79, the total allocation for DIAND education stood at \$266,034,000 according to the Annual Report 1978-79. The Annual Report for 1981-82 notes expenditures in the amount of \$244.8 million, exclusive of capital. Interestingly enough, the Annual Report for 1982-83 offers no breakdown by program. By 1983-84, education expenditures are not identified by dollar figures; but, only as comprising 38.4% of gross expenditure by activity.

<sup>71</sup> Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Annual Report 1977-78, p. 32.

There has not been a study to examine the wisdom of designating education as a priority and mandatory item. The opinion might be ventured that one of the great weaknesses of policy planning regarding Indian Peoples, and this does not only apply to the DIAND, has been a reluctance to examine programs critically. Liberal assumptions regarding the benefits and functions of education have been adopted by almost all involved with Indian policy and planning. In essence, education is now, and has always been, seen as a panacea for all variety of social and economic ills. This view has been accepted and only recently been questioned. This study will address the validity of that acceptance in light of the contending schools of thought and inter-generational evidence gathered within a Reserve setting.

While the study might hold significance for DIAND policy planning and implementation, band councils should also be able to draw on the study to re-evaluate their priorities. Band councils have limited funds for development and must have knowledge upon which to base priorities so that they receive the best return on their money. This study might offer some assistance in determining developmental objectives and offer a rationale for such choice.

The data were collected in 1980 which can pose a problem in that such data might be dated. However, the time lag between collection and the production of this study also holds several advantages. Findings can be analyzed from a retrospective view-point; government policy and directions subsequent to 1980 can be examined with regard to the impact such moves might have for those findings. While time lag presents a problem with regards to the "freshness" of the data, the hindsight perspective can be invaluable in both data analysis and projection.

The findings might offer wider implications and be of concern to various groups as they seek to balance dollar input and return. It has been noted that the problems or strengths of programs used with certain minorities might have wider applicability. All those interested in development processes and disadvantaged groups might find the results of some interest and use in devising further strategies and/or objectives.

This study will reinforce or dispel notions regarding the value of education, notably past and present educational experiences per se, for Indian people. The study raises questions about education as a means for socio-economic mobility and, because the future of Indian children is directly concerned, the study is relevant to both Indian parents and educators. If the Canadian educational system does not permit equality, all educators and those concerned with democratic values must re-examine the very assumptions upon which the educational system and Canadian society are based.

#### Organization of the Study

The first chapter of this study has presented two analytical frameworks, liberal and radical, from which to view education and socio-economic mobility in society. From these perspectives come the questions to which this study shall address itself. The very existence of mobility and the effective role of education therein are to be addressed.

The review of the literature concentrated heavily on the views of the radicals. In this manner, a 'blue-print' of radical thought as it applies to Canada's Indian people was formulated. The validity of such thought will be tested by its applicability to the specific setting of Dryberry Reserve.

Chapter Two will briefly examine the literature regarding past and present history of the Canadian Indian people to determine if Indian people are subjects of internal colonialism. The role of education in the supporting such a process will also be analyzed. Specifically, an effort will be made to ascertain the validity of radical contentions through historical and contemporary analysis.

Chapter Three will further investigate the contemporary situation of Indian people. Specific attention will be directed to factors which inhibit or accelerate educational achievement, to the variable of racism as an inhibiting force in educational and employment drives, and to socio-economic status in its relation to contemporary Indian people.

Chapter Four will develop a methodology to further test these charges by testing of the hypotheses when applied to a specific Indian reservation population. Through interviews, the SES variable of all those over thirty will be determined and their position established in a hierarchy of occupations utilizing a modified version of the Blishen Occupational Scale.<sup>72</sup> The Blishen Scale shall be utilized in its straight form to offer a perceptive picture from an "outside", detached viewpoint. The children of this age group will be investigated in terms of SES and their position determined on the scale of occupations. Cross-tabulations will reveal the degree of inter-generational socio-economic mobility present on Dryberry Reserve. Further

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<sup>72</sup> B.R. Blishen, "The Construction and Use of An Occupational Class Scale," Canadian Society, ed. B.R. Blishen, F.E. Jones, K.D. Naegele, and J. Porter (Toronto: The Macmillan Co., 1961). See also B.R. Blishen and H.A. McRoberts, "A Revised Socioeconomic Index for Occupations in Canada", The Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, Vol. 13, No. 1, 1976.

questioning will be used to obtain information regarding the role of education in this process.

Chapter Five will offer a geographical and ethnographic description of the community under study. This is imperative so that findings might be placed in context. The variables influencing behaviour and life-chances are also made more clear through this chapter.

Chapter Six will present the findings of the research. The data gathered will be chiefly of a statistical nature and presented through the medium of statistical tables.

Chapter Seven will consist of the conclusions to be drawn from the data.

A final chapter will examine the findings in light of recent governmental policies and directions; the impact of the strong self-government movement will also be noted within this chapter. Hind-sight allows for a new perspective with regards to the data and makes possible cautious predictions with regards to the findings.

## Chapter II

### THE SITUATION OF THE INDIAN PERSON IN CANADA IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

There is little doubt that the history of Indian people within the geographical boundaries of what is now Canada provides a great deal of support for radical assertions. Very soon after initial contact between Indian and White, Indians found themselves relegated to a position of inferiority, a position legitimized and reinforced through economic, social, and political machinations and controls. In essence, the Indian has become dependent in institutional, and psychological, terms. This chapter will address itself to the question of that dependency as an integral part of the situation of the native person in Canada.

#### The Indian People as the Colonized

Indian people within Canada have 'progressed' from subjects of classical colonialism to subjects of internal colonialism. Education, it has been argued, has played a primary role in both processes. To determine the authenticity of these claims, this chapter will examine the definitions of colonialism, the socio-political milieu in which Indian people find themselves, and the interface between that milieu and education. A definition of colonialism and an examination of the situation of the Indian person within the Canadian setting will prove the reality of these accusations.

It is first necessary to understand that the term "colonialism" suffers from definitional fluidity; the concept itself and the implications therein attached, vary according to source. It is also of some importance to understand that the concept is subject to evolutionary pressures. G. Balendier offers a classical definition of colonialism:

...domination of an alien minority, asserting racial and cultural superiority over a materially inferior native majority; contact between a machine-oriented civilization with Christian origins, a powerful economy, and a rapid rhythm of life and a non-Christian civilization that lacks machines and is marked by a backward economy and a slow rhythm of life; and the imposition of the first civilization upon the second....<sup>73</sup>

It is the "conquest and administration by a 'metropolitan country' of a geographically separate territory"<sup>74</sup> that is a crucial component of the classical definition.

A second form of colonialism is simply an out-growth of the classical. Internal colonialism is essentially the same process but without the geographical limitations. A.E. Havens and W.L. Flinn characterize the concept as:

...structural arrangements typified by a relatively small dominant group which controls the allocation of resources, and a large subjugated mass composed of various groups with unarticulated interests largely divorced from participation in the development process and blocked from means of social mobility.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> "Colonialism," The International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. 3, 1968, p. 1.

<sup>74</sup> M. Burawoy, "Race, Class and Colonialism," Social and Economic Studies, Vol. 23, 1974, p. 546.

<sup>75</sup> A.E. Havens and W.L. Flinn, ed. Internal Colonialism and Structural Change in Columbia (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1970), p. 11.



Internal colonialism can further be dissected into two complementary processes/concepts. Structural colonialism refers to the control of the institutions, economic, political and social, of the colonized. Cultural colonialism refers to the efforts, usually through schooling and religion, to legitimize this control.<sup>76</sup> P.G. Casanova adds that race is inextricably meshed into the fabric of this particular colonialism.<sup>77</sup>

Application of the colonial concept to the history of Canadian Indian people reveals that claims such as those made by S. Steiner in the U.S. have validity within the Canadian setting. Steiner has stated that an Indian reservation is "the most complete colonial system in the world...."<sup>78</sup> The validity of Steiner's statement has been strongly supported by H. Adams,<sup>79</sup> J.S. Frideres,<sup>80</sup> and R.W. Gustafson.<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> G. Wilkinson, "Colonialism through the Media," The Indian Historian, Vol. 7, 1974, p. 29.

<sup>77</sup> P.G. Casanova, "Internal Colonialism and National Development," Studies in Comparative International Development, Vol. I, No. 4, 1965, p. 29.

<sup>78</sup> S. Steiner, The New Indians (New York: Delta Books, 1968), p. 255.

<sup>79</sup> H. Adams, Prison of Grass (Toronto: General Publishing, 1975).

<sup>80</sup> J.S. Frideres, Canada's Indians: Contemporary Conflicts (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall of Canada, 1974).

<sup>81</sup> R.W. Gustafson, The Education of Canada's Indian Peoples: An Experience in Colonialism, an unpublished M. Ed. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1978.

### Structural Colonialism: A Reality

The charges of internal colonialism, especially those of a structural nature, are readily substantiated. The treaties of the 1870's left little doubt as to power relations. The Indian was to be subservient in all aspects. The treaty "negotiations" were indicative of the dominant-subordinate colonial relations inherent in White strategy. Indian people were allowed no significant input into the "negotiations:"

In the first place they were not really 'negotiated' treaties in the proper sense of the word. The concessions granted to the Indians were never made in deference to the demands or wishes of the Indians. Discussion was confined to an explanation of the terms. The Indian could not change these terms: they were given only one power of acceptance or refusal.<sup>82</sup>

J. Pecover, in a sympathetic passage, notes that the "treaties are doleful records":

Negotiations took the form of the commissioners patiently hearing out the impossible demands, listening politely to the oratory (delivered by the chiefs with great natural dignity, doubtlessly), making their demulcent replies and presenting for signing treaties, the important terms of which had been fixed prior to the meetings.<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> G.F.G. Stanley, "The Indian Background of Canadian History," The Canadian Historical Association Annual Report, 1952, p. 20. It should be noted that the coastal Indians of British Columbia were an exception to this statement. The only federal treaty applicable to British Columbian tribes was Treaty 8 which covered only those tribes who were grouped with the Cree, Beaver, Chipewyan, and others of northern Alberta. The coastal tribes were left without a treaty. For an explanation of this exception, see R. Fisher, Contact and Conflict: Indian-European Relations in British Columbia, 1774-1890 (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1977).

<sup>83</sup> J. Pecover, "A Modest Treatise on Treaties," The Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology, Vol. II, No. 2, July 1971, p. 54.

M. Barbeau noted that the signing of the treaties signified the passage of Indian people from a state of sovereignty into virtual servitude:

They [the Indian people] were forced to renounce their territorial rights, to give up the hunting grounds they knew and loved so well, the lands where their forefathers had lived and were buried. In return they accepted gifts, small reserves with treaty annuities; and in the case of the British Columbia tribes, reserves only and a forlorn hope of redress. With heavy hearts they had to acknowledge the inevitable and pass into comparative confinement henceforth to find ample time to dream of their past glories and ponder over the future.<sup>84</sup>

The signing of the treaties signified a transference of land and power. The Indian people were forced to acknowledge their subordinate status. Such status was legitimized through a series of legislative decrees dealing with the Indian people.

The path for the transition had been cleared by an 1868 Act, An Act providing for the organisation of the Department of the Secretary of State of Canada, and for the management of Indian and Ordnance Lands. This Act contained a clause which gave the Governor-in-Council total discretion over Indian monies:

The Governor-in-Council may, subject to the provisions of this Act, direct how, and in what manner, and by whom the moneys arising from sales of Indian Lands, and from the property held or to be held in trust for the Indians, or from any timber thereon, or from any other source for the benefit of Indians, shall be invested from time to time, and how the payments or assistance to which the Indians may be entitled shall be made or given, and may provide for the general management of such lands, moneys and property....<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> M. Barbeau, Indian Days on the Western Prairies (Ottawa: National Museum of Canada, 1960), p. 44.

<sup>85</sup> Statutes of Canada, (S.C.), 31st Victoria, Chapter 42, 1868, pp. 11-12.

With economic control ensured, and further entrenched through later acts,<sup>86</sup> the government moved to establish political control over all bands. This move was principally accomplished through the first Indian Act, An Act to amend and consolidate the laws respecting Indians, which stipulated:

The Governor in Council may order that the chiefs of any band of Indians shall be elected, as hereinbefore provided, at such time and place, as the Superintendent-General may direct, and they shall in such cases be elected for a period of three years, unless deposed by the Governor for dishonesty, intemperance, immorality, or incompetency....<sup>87</sup>

An Act in 1880 further aimed at destroying traditional political dynamics as hereditary chiefs were forbidden to exercise their power unless duly elected.<sup>88</sup> The political control was further tightened in 1884 through the Indian Advancement Act. J.L. Tobias notes the additional powers now held by the governmental officials:

Election regulation, size of the band council, and deposition of elected officials were all spelled out in the Act. Moreover, the Superintendent General or an agent delegated by him was empowered to call for the elections, supervise them, call band meetings, preside over them, record them, advise the band council, and participate in the meetings in every manner except to vote and adjourn the meetings.<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> See for example the 1894 amendment which gave the Superintendent General the right to lease certain Indian lands. S.C., 57-58 Victoria, Chapter 32, 1894, p. 230. An 1898 amendment further increased the Superintendent General's powers. S.C., 61 Victoria, Chapter 34, 1898, p. 145.

<sup>87</sup> S.C., 43 Victoria, Chapter 18, 1876, p. 62.

<sup>88</sup> S.C., 43 Victoria, Chapter 28, 1880, p. 223.

<sup>89</sup> J.L. Tobias, "Protection, Civilization, Assimilation: An Outline History of Canada's Indian Policy," The Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology, Vol. VI, No. 2, 1976, p. 19.

By 1884, economic and political control by government over Indian life was pervasive; avenues of attack against traditional practices now focused upon the social life of the British Columbian tribes. Through the Indian Advancement Act of 1884, the ceremonies of the Potlatch and the Indian dances, Tamanawas, were prohibited and any participation in such practices was to be considered a misdemeanor, punishable by a jail sentence of "not more than six nor less than two months...."<sup>90</sup> In 1895, Section 114 of the Indian Act was amended to include a ban on the Sun Dance, a ceremony around which the Plains Indian culture focused.<sup>91</sup>

Virtually no autonomy was left to the Indian people. All facets of life were controlled through legislation and the important institutional powers, economic and political, were held by outside agents. Paternalism was the dominant force in Indian-White relations; the Indians were simply too child-like, or uncivilized, to take responsibility for their own lives. A section of the first Indian Act of 1876 would seem to sum up White perceptions of the Indian people, "The term 'person' means an individual other than an Indian...."<sup>92</sup> Despite a series of amendments, the tone and essence of the Act remained unchanged.

In 1948, a Joint Committee of the House of Commons and the Senate was convened to study the Indian Act. The Committee recommended:

Many anachronisms, anomalies, contradictions and divergencies were found in the Act.

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<sup>90</sup> S.C., 47 Victoria, Chapter 27, 1884, p. 108.

<sup>91</sup> S.C., 58-59 Victoria, Chapter 35, 1895, p. 121.

<sup>92</sup> S.C., 1876, p. 45.

Your Committee deems it advisable that, with few exceptions, all sections of the Act be either repealed or amended.<sup>93</sup>

The Hawthorn Report of 1966, commenting on the pre-1951 Indian Act, claimed the Act "contained a repressive attitude to Indian cultures."<sup>94</sup>

The Indian Act was revised in 1951 and became much more palatable to White critics.<sup>95</sup> Many Indian spokesmen, however, could see little change in the Act or delivery of services. H. Cardinal is vehement in his denunciation:

The Indian Act, instead of implementing the treaties and offering much-needed protection to Indian rights, subjugated to colonial rule the very people whose rights it was supposed to protect....

Except possibly for the slight ameliorating effect of sections 86-89, the Indian Act, that piece of colonial legislation, enslaved and bound the Indian to a life under a tyranny often as cruel and harsh as that of any totalitarian state.<sup>96</sup>

Cardinal's words would seem to be a more accurate reflection of history, a history that governmental officials would not accept. Finally, in the seventies, a federal official would acknowledge the "quasi-colonial relationship" which existed between a White bureaucracy and those it was to serve.<sup>97</sup> There can be little doubt that structural colonialism, the control over all major Indian institutions, was a

<sup>93</sup> Special Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons, Indian Act, Fourth Report, June 22, 1948, p. 186.

<sup>94</sup> H.B. Hawthorn, ed., A Survey of the Contemporary Indians of Canada, Vol. I, (Ottawa: Indian Affairs Branch, 1966), p. 360. Cited within the study as The Hawthorn Report.

<sup>95</sup> *ibid.*, p. 254.

<sup>96</sup> H. Cardinal, The Unjust Society (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1969), pp. 44-45.

<sup>97</sup> A.D. Doerr, "Indian Policy," Issues in Canadian Public Policy, ed. G.B. Doern and V.S. Wilson (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1974), p. 37

reality.

#### Cultural Colonialism: A Legitimizing Agency

If structural colonialism is to be maximized, opposition to colonial status must be minimized. Two main avenues are available to permit this minimization - force or cultural colonialism. Force is a costly method in that it becomes a permanent necessity and often arouses the hostility of those it is to pacify. Cultural colonialism, on the other hand, can be a very efficient means of subjugation. Using the institutions of schooling and/or religion, the colonizer is able to convince the colonized that their subjugated status is most beneficial for all concerned.

Cultural colonialism creates a mind-set that legitimizes the status quo. Thus, for the colonized even to think of rebellion is unlikely as they come to associate themselves totally with the existing system. Once this indoctrination is complete, the colonizer can feel confident that the colonized will not engage in subversive activities. The system is legitimized by the schooling and religious institutions and this legitimization forms the chain that binds the colonized to his station.

The relationship between structural and cultural colonialism is of a symbiotic nature; the one cannot fully exist without the other. For Indian people, the legitimizing function of colonialism has been in the hands of civil servants, schoolmen and missionaries.

Figure 1: The Nature of Colonialism

## STRUCTURAL COLONIALISM

(Controlling Function:  
denied access to social,  
economic, and political  
institutions)

## CULTURAL COLONIALISM

(Legitimizing Function:  
justification for denied  
access, usually through  
education and/or religion)

## COLONIALISM

During the early period of Indian-White relations, schooling and religion were inseparable as the schooling was most often in the hands of missionaries. The aims of the Churches were quite clear. R. Fisher notes that the missionaries "had developed quite deliberately and consciously thought out plans of acculturation for the Indians."<sup>98</sup> Schooling was to be the convenient tool to acculturate or "to reclaim [the Indian people] from barbarism...."<sup>99</sup>

The purposes of the missionaries are clearly evident in the writings of those associated with religion in Manitoba. During the early 1800's, all three main religious denominations - Anglican, Roman Catholic, and Wesleyan Methodist - sought to convert the Indian people,

<sup>98</sup> R. Fisher, Contact and Conflict: Indian-European Relations in British Columbia, 1774-1890 (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1977), p. 119.

<sup>99</sup> A. Rempel, The Influence of Religion on Education for Native People in Manitoba Prior to 1870, an unpublished M. Ed. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1973, p. 82.



not only spiritually, but materially and ideologically as well. The first objective of the missionaries was to change the life-style of the Indian people. The Indian was to become a settled agriculturalist.

G. Dowker, commenting on the Anglican endeavours, notes that one of the principal drives behind Anglican missionary efforts was a desire "to wean the Indians from a vagrant life to 'habits of order and settled work.'"<sup>100</sup> The Anglican John West was emphatic in his belief that the Indian Peoples must become agrarians. In a diary entry of June 2, 1823, West noted:

Necessity may compel the adult Indian to take up the spade and submit to manual labour, but a child brought up in the love of cultivating a garden will be naturally led to the culture of the field as a means of subsistence: and educated in the principles of Christianity, he will become stationary to partake of the advantages and privileges of civilization.<sup>101</sup>

Consequently schooling consisted of religious instruction bolstered by a great deal of experience in the fields and barns which were a permanent fixture of most schools run by the religious orders.<sup>102</sup> This philosophy was supported by the Wesleyan Methodists<sup>103</sup> and the Roman Catholics who believed it essential that the Indian Peoples be settled. Father Belcourt had emphasized the importance of settlement, "if one does not help the infidels to get out of their misery by conforming to the usages of civilized life he is beating the air by pretending to instruct

<sup>100</sup> G. Dowker, Life and Letters in Red River 1812-'63, an unpublished M.A. thesis for the University of Manitoba, 1923, p. 18.

<sup>101</sup> J. West, The Substance of a Journal During a Residence at the Red River Colony (New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1966), p 151.

<sup>102</sup> The school derived a great deal of benefit from such enterprises for, using the labour of students, the schools could make themselves almost totally self-sufficient in foodstuffs.

<sup>103</sup> J. Lysecki, Education in Manitoba - North of 53, an unpublished M. Ed. thesis for the University of Manitoba, 1936, p. 48.

them."<sup>104</sup>

Such a philosophy would find itself quite in harmony with the governmental desire to create Reserves. The words of the provisional Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, April-July, 1815, Sir George Murray would seem to closely echo those of the missionaries. Murray suggested that the Indian department should direct its efforts to the "settled purpose of gradually reclaiming them [the Indian people] from a state of barbarism and of introducing amongst them the industrious and peaceful habits of civilized life."<sup>105</sup>

The missionaries, consciously or unconsciously, slowly eroded traditional values and attempted to replace what was lost with a Anglo-Saxon, middle-class value system. The benefits which could accrue to the business community became obvious. The inculcation of White consumer habits would result in an increased demand for White goods and services. The Hudson Bay Company quickly came to realize the importance of the missionary work:

Much good resulted from these missions. Before Evans came to Norway House, the Indians were most degraded and procured only ten packs of furs during the winter whereas they now get ninety. The population increased, the Indians became more industrious, built better houses, imported stoves and cows and replaced their native dress and adopted civilized habits.<sup>106</sup>

Although agricultural instruction formed a substantial part of the curricula, religion occupied an even more prominent position. Religious instruction occupied such a dominant position<sup>107</sup> that the

<sup>104</sup> Rempel, op. cit., p. 118.

<sup>105</sup> R.J. Surtees, "The Development of an Indian Reserve Policy in Canada," Ontario History, Vol. LXI, June 1969, p. 90.

<sup>106</sup> Lysecki, op. cit., p. 52.

<sup>107</sup> See G.M. Newfield, The Development of Manitoba Schools Prior to

student gained little in the way of skills that might help him compete in the greater society. Early nineteenth century schooling for the Indian was designed simply as a perpetuation of the societal status quo. Little effort was made to increase life-chances in terms of socio-economic mobility. Education, during this period, attacked traditional belief systems; however, the education institution did not take a position of predominance over the parental and peer socialization processes. The child could always seek comfort and guidance in familial ties; thus, "the influence of the wigwam was [definitely] stronger than the influence of the school."<sup>108</sup>

Governmental officials in co-operation with the Churches sought means to end such interference; with the report of N.F. Davin in 1879, they had their answer. Davin proposed that the Indian child be completely separated from his home environment and placed in a residential school, where the child's life could be totally regulated. Naturally, religion figured prominently in Davin's plans for he saw it as essential that "the Indians' mythology be successfully replaced by a 'superior' faith which would be best inculcated by religious bodies."<sup>109</sup> The Residential Industrial schools were seen as the most efficient means of acculturating the Indian students.

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1870, an unpublished M. Ed. thesis for the University of Manitoba, 1973, p. 85, for a description of the overwhelmingly importance placed upon religious materials at the expense of other subject areas.

<sup>108</sup> R. McKay, A History of Indian Treaty Number Four and Government Policies in its Implementation 1874-1905, an unpublished M. A. thesis for the University of Manitoba, 1973, p. 94.

<sup>109</sup> McKay, op. cit., p. 95.

Even though Indian education had become a federal responsibility, government officials saw fit to continue to use religious denominations as the mediary delivery force. D. Whiteside notes this fact and the omnipotence with which the churches could approach their task:

...in Canada the colonial government and the various churches saw their interests as being compatible, and in most areas the church became an extension of the government. This pattern was especially true in the field of education where the colonial government transferred this vital function to the various churches. It is a matter of public record that churchmen on both sides of the border did all in their power to destroy the aboriginal religion and our way of life. It seems logical that where the churchmen were stable over time and acted with the authority of the European government, as its agent, a greater degree of control over aboriginal culture and life-style would result.<sup>110</sup>

Within the setting of the residential schools, the churches would exert pressure upon the student's life-style twenty-four hours per day.

The neutrality, or slightly detrimental effect, of early day schools gave way to a very negative experience which had devastating effects upon most of its Indian residents. The child was often made a misfit. Both Cardinal and B. Sealey<sup>111</sup> note that the residential schools "alienated the child from his own family; they alienated him from his own way of life...."<sup>112</sup> The child was taught skills incompatible with a Reserve setting and returned home unable to seek a

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<sup>110</sup> D. Whiteside, "A Good Blanket Has Four Corners: A Comparison of Aboriginal Administration in Canada and the United States," Sociology Canada: Readings, ed. C. Beattie and S. Crysdale (Toronto: Butterworth and Co., 1974), p. 325.

<sup>111</sup> D.B. Sealey, "Indians of Canada: An Historical Sketch," Indians Without Tipis, ed. D.B. Sealey and V.J. Kirkness (Winnipeg: William Clare Ltd., 1973), p. 32.

<sup>112</sup> H. Cardinal, The Unjust Society (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1969), p. 55.

living in the community. Respect for familial ties and authority had gone; in some instances, even a language barrier had been imposed as children had lost their indigenous language. Yet, the same children often could not seek a living within the dominant society where racism prevented their acceptance. The residential schools had created a marginal person incapable of fitting into either world.

The alienation was often compounded by feeling of loneliness. Where severe, this loneliness could have tragic results. Death was too frequently the result of children torn from their parents "by persuasion or by police coercion."<sup>113</sup>

Once more, it was apparent that the school did not provide an enlightening atmosphere for the encouragement of learning. The school authorities tried to make their institutions self-sufficient; consequently, the "Indians complained that more time was spent in this way [work in the fields] and at prayers than over their school work."<sup>114</sup> It is little wonder that the Hawthorn Report emphasized that residential schools should be seen as a last resort.<sup>115</sup>

The decision in 1948 to favour integrated schools was believed to be a move in the right direction, a move that would eliminate some of the abuses apparent in residential schooling. However, such a movement did not totally erase the negative experiences faced by Indian children

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<sup>113</sup> McKay, op. cit., p. 98. See Ian Adams' The Poverty Wall (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1970), in which he recounts the death of Charlie Wenjack, a 12-year-old runaway from Cecilia Jeffrey Indian Residential School.

<sup>114</sup> G. Walsh, Indians in Transition (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1971), p. 174.

<sup>115</sup> H. B. Hawthorn, ed. A Survey of the Contemporary Indians of Canada Vol. II, (Ottawa: Indian Affairs Branch, 1967), p. 92.

within the schooling institution. The student may have performed well within the Reserve setting, but when moved to a provincial school:

...the new social mileau [sic] and direct discrimination bring about serious social and psychological disruptions. With no direct involvement in these integrated schools, Indian parents give little support to their children for continued involvement. As a result, drop-out rates are extremely high.<sup>116</sup>

In addition, little has been done to make the curriculum more relevant or educationally-sound for the clientele it serves. The inculcation of Euro-Canadian values continues to be a central goal in most Indian schools, while little attention is paid to the traditional culture or livelihood. In a recent study of Great Whale River, G. Oliver has noted:

The school's goal, in 1964, was to "...familiarize the children with western values and culture." Hygiene was stressed. Students were to shower weekly and brush their teeth daily. But many of the school skills were inapplicable to the traditional mode of living.<sup>117</sup>

The school has continued to be a force that alienates the children from their traditions and economic choices. Such an assertion has been supported by the findings of J.F. Bryde who suggested that Sioux students attending an integrated school revealed,

...patterns which can be identified as alienation. The position taken is that the Indian is caught between two cultures and is therefore, literally outside of, and between both. The psychological state which results from efforts to adapt to these circumstances can be defined as alienation.<sup>118</sup>

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<sup>116</sup> J. Frideres, "Indians and Education: A Canadian Failure," Manitoba Journal of Education, Vol. VII, No. 2, June 1972, p. 30.

<sup>117</sup> G. Oliver, Aspects of Inter-Cultural and Intra-Cultural Differences and Similarities Between Cree and Inuit Youth in Great Whale River, an unpublished M. Ed. thesis for the University of Manitoba, 1978, p. 137.

<sup>118</sup> J.F. Bryde as cited in V. Kirkness, Educational Achievement of Indians in Federal and Provincial Schools in Manitoba, an

The school as an alienating force is a common theme that permeates much of the literature dealing with Indian students. F.G. Vallee, in his analysis of the Inuit cultural setting, notes this phenomenon:

...for the most part, the day school is a purely Canadian agency, an envelope of Kabloona society and culture in which the child is sealed off from the traditional Eskimo milieu. If the child were put on board a rocket each morning and whisked within minutes to some school in the South, then whisked back to Baker Lake again in the afternoon, the contrast between his school milieu and that of his home would not be much greater than it is at present.<sup>119</sup>

Such alienation is a vital part of colonialism as defined by R. Clignet:

...the colonizer attempts to prevent the colonized from understanding his position in time and space and hence from maintaining contact with his own past or with alien cultures. Correspondingly, the colonized is only exposed to the elements of the colonizer's culture likely to facilitate a perpetuation of the colonial order.

In this sense, the colonized experiences a double alienation. The practices, ideologies, and philosophies imposed upon him are alien to his framework of reference and his own tradition. His first alienation results therefore from his exposure to educational and cultural stimuli that tend to erase the significance of his own past. But his second alienation results from the selective nature of the elements of the metropolitan culture with which he is confronted.<sup>120</sup>

The educational experience of the Indian people within Canada surely fits into Clignet's pattern. Indian students were deliberately deprived of their traditional culture leaving a void which did not offer a method of coping within traditional or greater society.

unpublished M. Ed. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1979, p. 18.

<sup>119</sup> F.G. Vallee, Kabloona and Eskimo in the Central Keewatin (Ottawa: The Canadian Research Centre for Anthropology, 1967), p. 165.

<sup>120</sup> R. Clignet, "Damned If You Do, Damned If You Don't: The Dilemmas of Colonizer-Colonized Relations," Comparative Education Review, October 1971, p. 303.

The strong involvement of the Church with education is not unique to the Canadian setting. H. Adams, a strong spokesman for aboriginal people in Canada, notes that this is in fact a familiar interaction pattern throughout the world:

...a typical colonial pattern, one that has existed in all other imperialist systems of the world, for churches to be given control of education of the native people. A study of the history of African countries in the colonial period shows how completely the churches dominated native education. In their liberation struggle these countries had to fight the church and other authorities in order to overcome this situation. This is true with us.<sup>121</sup>

J.S. Frideres claims that such Church involvement has legitimized the second-class status of the Indian. The moral teachings of the Church actually prevented any opposition, in both thought and practice, to colonial status:

Their [the Churches] interest in "educating" natives has overtones of paternalism and moral salvation and they indoctrinate conservative attitudes. For example, a basic tenet in Roman Catholicism is that poverty is not necessarily bad and that people should not attempt to produce social change in society to upgrade their position. By enduring their poverty they will be showing humility and making penance for their sins as an appeasement to God. The "after" life is of much more concern than what happens on earth.... Acceptance of this ideology precludes using "force" to bring social change - it even precludes desiring change.<sup>122</sup>

Working hand in hand, Church and state have woven tight the blanket<sup>123</sup> that blots out the sun and any glimpse of freedom. Side by side, the two institutions imposed structural colonialism and justified the same.

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<sup>121</sup> R. P. Bowles et al., The Indian: Assimilation, Integration or Separation (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1972), p. 101.

<sup>122</sup> J.S. Frideres, Canada's Indians: Contemporary Conflicts (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall of Canada, 1974), p. 33.

<sup>123</sup> See Whiteside, op. cit.



Labouring under such policies, schooling was supportive of the status quo. Education that would have been meaningful and utilitarian was absent from those schooling institutions imposed upon Indian people. The results of such experiences are revealed in the dismal statistics of failure in those very institutions.<sup>124</sup> Drop-out rates of over 90 percent<sup>125</sup> and the minimal number of graduates from professional institutions<sup>126</sup> does not bode well for an increase in the socio-economic mobility of Indian people if there is a strong correlation between SES and level of education. If one accepts the premise that Indian children are essentially as gifted intellectually as their White counterparts, then one must conclude that either the appeal of the schools for Indian students is not great or gate-keeping devices are denying access into the higher educational strata.

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<sup>124</sup> For a more intensive discussion of the educational achievement of Indian Peoples and factors affecting achievement, see Kirkness, op. cit., pp. 9-16.

<sup>125</sup> Manitoba Indian Brotherhood, Wahbung (Winnipeg: MIB, 1971), p. 104 and Walsh, op. cit., p. 22. Figures are for actual and projected student loss by Grade 12.

<sup>126</sup> For example, only 90 Inuit and status Indians graduated from universities in the 1976-77 academic year. Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, The Indian and Inuit Graduate Register 1977, 1978. During the period covering 1952-77, there were approximately 130 Manitoban status Indians graduating from institutions of higher learning; 80 received teaching degrees or certification.

## Chapter III

### THE GATE-KEEPING CONTINUES

This chapter will offer further analysis of the situation of the contemporary Indian people in Canada. The three variables of racism, economics, and education which are examined are often seen as gate-keeping devices, preventing the Indian people from societal participation on an equitable basis. Distinct boundaries between the influence of each variable are hard to determine and, many times, a combination of the three is not uncommon. Consequently, an examination of the variable is bound to contain a certain amount of repetitiveness.

#### Racism as a Variable

Whether Canadians like it or not, it can be argued that theirs is a racist country. This fact is inescapable and has been documented several times. With regards to Indian people,

...racism... has taken the form of paternalistic policies and treatment. The Indian Acts passed by parliament nearly a century ago provide the chief legal source for paternalism towards Canadian Indians. These Acts... continue in practice, a policy of wardship initiated by the British to protect a supposedly "childlike" people considered incapable of managing their own affairs. In addition, an even more paternalistic tendency towards protecting Indians against themselves is readily discerned in reading these documents.<sup>127</sup>

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<sup>127</sup> D. Hughes and E. Kallen, The Anatomy of Racism: Canadian Dimensions (Montreal: Harvest House, 1974), p. 104.

Such a negative perception of the Indian people is not confined solely to governmental agencies. M.J. Lerner, in a study of the attitudes of university students, found, "the appearance of negative loadings of the attitudes toward the Indian and Metis: they are the losers."<sup>128</sup>

The effects of racism are felt in both the economic and educational spheres of life. Whether the racism is subtle or overt makes little difference to the outcome. The Indian child, adult, or worker is seriously handicapped.

C.W. Hobart notes that the racist variable is often at work within the classroom setting as teachers hold very narrow views.

There is much evidence to suggest that teachers in schools for Indian and Eskimo children in North America tend to be parochial, compulsively conventional, prejudiced against the pupils in their classrooms, shockingly unaware of the differences between the cultures of themselves and their students, and lacking in respect and appreciation for the culture of the children they teach.<sup>129</sup>

R.A. Lucas, in his analysis of the teaching profession, speaks to the concept of student stereotyping; his words are particularly appropriate to an understanding of the reason that Indian children become "turned off" by school:

Once the stereotype is established, and once it can be illustrated by marks received, grades passed, test percentiles, jobs held and family life lived, it is easy, by nuance of inflection, or outright expulsion, to guide the career line of the student, and mould his self and social image. The sarcasm, the detentions, the nagging and the differential treatment encourage the students to flee from the unpleasant experience.<sup>130</sup>

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<sup>128</sup> M.J. Lerner, "'Belief in a Just World' Versus the 'Authoritarianism' Syndrome... but Nobody Liked the Indians," Ethnicity, Vol. 5, No.3, September 1978, p. 234.

<sup>129</sup> C.W. Hobart, "Eskimo Education in the Canadian Arctic," The Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, Vol. 7, No. 1, 1970, p. 55.

<sup>130</sup> Lucas, op. cit., p. 298.

D.B. Sealey cites the case of Camperville, Manitoba, as proof that racist tendencies and perceptions exist within the schooling system. Unfortunately, Sealey has evidence for such charges, evidence ranging from the lack of recognition of Native Culture by the School Board to instances of direct harassment.<sup>131</sup>

#### Educational Variables

Educational variables that might account for the lack of academic success of Indian students include curricula content, teacher abilities and attitudes, degree of parental support, relevance of schooling to employment possibilities, and general philosophy of the schooling bureaucrats.

The racist influence in the educational setting is usually of an individual or systemic nature. R.P. Rohner notes that the teacher's inhibitions, either the product of social status or racist tendencies, with regards to Indian students and society adversely affects the performance of the Indian student. The distance imposed by the teachers does not allow for the perception of teacher as human. The cold picture is reinforced by repeated academic failure, failure which eventually leads to a defeatist mind-set:

Inconsistency of educational experiences influences the performance of Kwakiutl children. They have experienced many failures with teachers; consequently the older ones tend to develop a psychological set which predisposes them to anticipate and react to failure in characteristic ways which include becoming angry, giving up, and in extreme cases, not trying in the first place....

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<sup>131</sup> D.B. Sealey, "The Metis: Schools, Identity, and Conflict," Canadian Schools and Canadian Identity, ed. A. Chaiton and N. McDonald (Toronto: Gage Educational Publishing, 1977), p. 156.

Through repetitive failures in conjunction with other negative classroom experiences, many adults and adolescents remember school with distaste. Children often approach it with substantial ambivalence. These feelings prompt many Indian students to leave school at the minimum age. One adolescent girl who dropped out of school could remember only one incident which she was able to call "fun" in her years at school. She is not atypical.<sup>132</sup>

R. Davis and M. Zannis note that Jean Chretien, once Minister for DIAND, claims school boards confused integration with assimilation:

The Indians do not want to be assimilated. But they do want to be socially and economically integrated. In some places it is just straight assimilation.<sup>133</sup>

The result was that Indian children were faced with a severe identity crisis as they were torn between two paths. The contemporary White education usually won out if children desired to "better" themselves.

But, at much cost:

Until very recently young Indians have felt compelled to make the choice: Will I be Indian or will I be white? The alternatives have been defined by whites and accepted as given by Indians. Those who choose to pursue success on these terms could survive only by embracing white values which then operated as a filter through which acculturated Indians saw and judged their people.<sup>134</sup>

J.D. Forbes argues that the enforcement of assimilation as school policy will most likely have a negative effect, "To concentrate upon forcing change ("assimilation") is to create... withdrawal, hostility and alienation... and learning of a desirable kind will usually cease".<sup>135</sup>

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<sup>132</sup> R.P. Rohner, "Factors Influencing the Academic Performance of Kwakiutl Children in Canada," Comparative Education Review, October 1965, p. 338.

<sup>133</sup> R. Davis and M. Zannis, The Genocide Machine (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1973), p. 101.

<sup>134</sup> *ibid.*, p. 103.

<sup>135</sup> J.D. Forbes cited in Hobart, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

In addition, the acculturation process inculcates a middle-class ethnocentrism which causes students returning to traditional environments to look upon the traditional culture in a negative manner. Mr. Nashook of Pond Inlet, N.W.T., states, "They come back like different people. They loathe their culture and look down on the old ways of their parents."<sup>136</sup> As G. Monroe, former executive director of the Indian and Metis Friendship Centre in Winnipeg, has claimed, "...the type of education these people [the Indian people] get is completely unsuited to their special needs."<sup>137</sup>

Even the texts employed within the school setting pose a potential threat to the Indian student. The Manitoba Indian Brotherhood, in a study of Grade Six social studies materials, claims that these "textual materials give a derogatory and incomplete picture of the Canadian Indian."<sup>138</sup> G. McDiarmid and D. Pratt have documented this bias over a greater range of materials in Ontario and they concluded:

The non-white minority most frequently mentioned in Ontario social studies textbooks is the North American Indian. It is bad enough that any group should be subjected to prejudicial treatment, but the fact that Indians are the native people of this country and that their children are required to read these texts compounds the immorality of such treatment.<sup>139</sup>

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<sup>136</sup> Davis and Zannis, op. cit., p. 103.

<sup>137</sup> G. Monroe as quoted in I. Adams, W. Cameron, B. Hill, and P. Penz, "Education and Poverty," Canada: A Sociological Profile, ed. W.E. Mann and L. Wheatcroft (Toronto: Copp Clark, 1976), p. 199.

<sup>138</sup> Manitoba Indian Brotherhood, The Shocking Truth About Indians in Textbooks (Winnipeg: MIB, 1974), p. i.

<sup>139</sup> G. McDiarmid and D. Pratt, Teaching Prejudice (Toronto: OISE, 1971), p. 88.

Such negative portrayals of Indian people can lead to serious consequences for Indian students:

As Kardiner and Ovesey (1951) point out, if a person is continually told he has negative traits, he will eventually begin to incorporate them into his "identity." If someone is continually told that he is homely or stupid, he will eventually believe it.<sup>140</sup>

Education has failed to offer solutions, solutions that would ease the plight of "marginal" peoples or solutions that would lead to direct economic benefits. A.D. Fisher states the case bluntly:

...the school which the Indian attended was not conceived of as mediating between two cultures, but, rather, as an institution teaching and imposing an alien culture upon a subject (and possibly inferior) people. In both conceptions the school was wrong. Whether or not it chose to mediate the school in fact was a mediator. Because it chose to teach and enforce conformity to a culture alien to the Indian child it was an inefficient mediator. Through this inefficiency and not through individual inferiority the schools produced a product (an individual) poorly suited to either subsistence hunting and trapping or industrial labour. The product was rejected by both government and business. From treaty day to the inception of the idea of academic integration and social assimilation the Indian has been treated as a consumer of goods and services rather than a producer.<sup>141</sup>

Economic analysts of Indian affairs concur with the thrust of Fisher's argument.

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<sup>140</sup> Frideres, op. cit., p. 47.

<sup>141</sup> Fisher, op. cit., p. 265.

## Economic Variables

The fact that Indian people have not figured increasingly in the Canadian working force has been documented by A.D. Fisher. In a study concerning Albertan Indian people, Fisher notes unemployment rates in excess of 50%, figures Fisher calls "shocking."<sup>142</sup> J. Harding notes that Census data reveal:

...the Indian and Metis were the least employed segment of the employable labor force in Canada. Only 15.9% of the total employable Indians and Metis were in the labor force that year, compared to 35.7% for the rest of the population. But these statistics alone do not leave an accurate picture. Most of the employment of people of Indian ancestry is seasonal and short-term....<sup>143</sup>

Those Indian people who do avail themselves of any opportunities to better themselves in terms of employment often find their choices limited. For most, access is granted only into the lower economic strata. D. Elias uses the Blishen scale in his analysis of Native occupations. The findings are not comforting and support assertions of streaming into lower strata occupations:

For the national sample, 4% of workers are employed at jobs that rank above 70.00 on the scale, and 63% at jobs that rank below 39.99. For the year 1971, none of the Natives were being trained for jobs that ranked at above 70.00 and 74.4% for those that ranked below 39.99.<sup>144</sup>

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<sup>142</sup> *ibid.*, p. 260. Figures range from a low of 50% to a high of 80%. See Fisher's Table III for a complete break-down.

<sup>143</sup> J. Harding, "Canada's Indians: A Powerless Minority," Poverty in Canada, J. Harp and J.R. Hofley, (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1971), p. 241.

<sup>144</sup> D. Elias, "Indian Politics in the Canadian Political System," The Patterns of "Amerindian" Identity, ed. M. Tremblay (Quebec: Les Presses de l'Universite Laval, 1976), p. 54.



Frideres, using Census of Canada data, demonstrates that Indian Peoples are under-represented in the higher economic positions and that this under-representation is increasing. (Table 2)<sup>145</sup> Frideres compares the British ethnic grouping, "the charter group," with the Indian/Eskimo groupings in relation to representation in the male labour force. The statistical evidence demonstrates that natives are consistently under-represented in white collar occupations and that under-representation actually increased from 1931 to 1961.<sup>146</sup>

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<sup>145</sup> Frideres, op. cit., p. 27.

<sup>146</sup> *ibid.*

TABLE 2  
Over-Under Representation of Male Labor Force

	British	Indian & Eskimo
1931		
Professional and financial	+1.6	-4.5
Clerical	+1.5	-3.7
Personal Service	-.3	-3.1
Primary and unskilled	-4.6	+45.3
Agriculture	-3.0	-4.9
All others	+4.8	-29.1
1951		
Professional and financial	+1.6	-5.2
Clerical	+1.6	-5.2
Personal service	-.3	-.6
Primary and unskilled	-2.2	+47.0
Agriculture	-3.2	-7.8
All others	2.5	-28.2
1961		
Professional and financial	+2.0	-7.5
Clerical	+1.3	-5.9
Personal service	-.9	+1.3
Primary and unskilled	-2.3	+34.7
Agriculture	-1.5	+6.9
All others	+1.4	-29.5

Elias notes that most training programs for Indian people simply tend to perpetuate the structural position of Indians as "members of Canada's underclass."<sup>147</sup> In Manitoba:

...for the year 1971, 17 occupations for which Natives are being trained had average incomes of less than the poverty-line. These are agriculture, bookkeeping, business machine operating, cooks, electronics assemblers, fishermen,

<sup>147</sup> Elias, op. cit., p. 54.

fish processors, furriers, garment workers, guides, hair-dressers/barbers, janitors, loggers, nurses aides, secretaries, trappers and waiters/waitresses. As well, 23 earned below the provincial average income of \$6,415....

In brief, the vast majority of training programs being offered Natives will place them in high risk, low gain occupations where employment will be difficult if not impossible to obtain, and incomes for those who do work will be very low. These training programs offer almost nothing to the native trainee.<sup>148</sup>

Elias is highly critical that "culturally relative" training programs simply reinforce existing patterns of social stratification. The descriptor "culturally relative" justifies the morality of such a move. Using this philosophy, administrators steer Indian people to seasonal and low-skill occupational programs.

These findings are further supported by Elias' study of Churchill, Manitoba. Elias discovered that Churchill is not unique for it suffers from the same societal pressures as other Canadian communities. To Elias, the Indian people become economic tools by which the upper strata can maintain its economic position and dominance.

Since resources are limited and not equally distributed, the benefits of them are also limited and not equally distributed - in short, the controlling segment of the population lives better than the rest. These differences are reflected in indices of unemployment, income, health, education level, and so on. The upper-classes have it in their interest to maintain this imbalance - their condition improves or, at least, remains good. The under-class position can only be improved only at the expense of the minority upper-group; that is, the control of resources and benefits need to be distributed throughout society. Rather than have this happen, the upper-classes in Canada institute societal measures that repress any such socialization of resources.<sup>149</sup>

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<sup>148</sup> *ibid.*, p. 50.

<sup>149</sup> D. Elias, "The Value of Poverty: Harvesting the Hinterland," a paper presented to the American Anthropological Association, Nov.-Dec. 1972, p. 7.

These charges are validated through examination of economic interaction patterns within Churchill. Elias finds that it is beneficial for most Whites to keep Indian people in a subordinate position:

1. "...Natives contribute to the local economy.... by justifying the existence of a large group of well-paid agents whom various government and private bodies deem necessary...."<sup>150</sup>
2. "Many of them [Indian people] are recipients of social allowances of one kind or another.... Most of this money is spent directly within the community." Such transfer payment money is funneled into White business pockets.<sup>151</sup>
3. Grants to municipalities are often based on population counts. Elias notes that Indian people are counted for grant purposes but do not share in the rewards.<sup>152</sup>

Social service institutions, including the school, do little to alleviate this condition. W. Sinclair, a Cree from Cross Lake, provides support for Elias:

Today it looks like they [the Whites] are doing a lot for our people. They provide us with education, medical care, welfare, etc. But all they're doing is educating our people enough so that we will be able to do certain jobs for them, and to work under their supervision all our lives.<sup>153</sup>

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<sup>150</sup> *ibid.*, p. 53.

<sup>151</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 58-66.

<sup>152</sup> *ibid.*, p. 67 ff.

<sup>153</sup> *ibid.*, p. 54.

Even traditional economic means of livelihood have been denied Indian Peoples. This is especially so when such means are profitable. Y.G. Lithman, in a study on wild rice cultivation in Manitoba, concludes:

Those Indians who wish to begin modern wild rice production in paddies find that their very Indianness determines which organizational and financial forms are available to them. This predetermination relates to the legalistic framework and to the subsequently emerging bureaucratic structures and discriminatory practices arising from the Indian Act. Thus, this piece of legislation has become increasingly important as a determining factor in the relation of Indians to wild rice production....

The history of wild rice is therefore an illustration of how the Indian people have been forced to become what could be, by and large, described as lumpen-proletariat - a group of people dissociated from the means of production. That this dissociation is not related to any kind of culturally or otherwise produced inability on the part of the Indians has been demonstrated. Rather, the larger society has forced and produced the alienation of the Indian people from the resource called wild rice. The larger society has, in effect, developed underdevelopment<sup>154</sup>

P. Deprez and G. Sigurdson, in an examination of the economic status of the Canadian Indian, note that opportunities for pursuing traditional livelihoods are limited. Consequently, welfare becomes prevalent:

The declining returns from traditional pursuits have resulted not only in an increasing dependence on welfare, but also in the undermining and gradual disappearance of any cohesive imperative.... Not only has welfare pre-empted the necessity for economic inter-dependency, a vital ingredient in community solidarity, but it also appears to have been incorporated into the very life style of the Indian. Welfare has reduced the economic insecurity which has historically plagued the band, without however requiring a fundamental re-orientation in economic outlook. Thus, welfare has been incorporated into the value system. This has not been of the Indian's own volition but in absence of alternative possibilities leaving

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<sup>154</sup> Y.G. Lithman, "The Capitalization of a Traditional Pursuit: The Case of Wild Rice in Manitoba," Two Papers on Canadian Indians, P. Deprez and Y.G. Lithman (Winnipeg: Centre for Settlement Studies, 1973), p.55.

him without recourse.<sup>155</sup>

The Indian people are forced into the most marginal of economic positions. The Indian people become, if 'lucky', members of the secondary work force; if 'unlucky', simply consumers recycling assistance payments and providing a cash flow directly into the pockets of those Whites (and others) in the primary labour force.

The economic state of Indian people is analyzed in the following terms by R.J. Glaister:

...Natives are largely members of the secondary labour market and hence cannot advance with better human capital. But this does not mean that methods such as increasing the education for this target group should be eliminated. On the other hand, present methods to increase the human capital of Natives should be increased to raise these people to the average of the entire population. The present education levels of the Native Indian are far below the average Canadian level of education. But simply increasing the human capital of Natives is insufficient if one wishes to eliminate the present situation of the Native population.<sup>156</sup>

Glaister intimates that more, and/or better, education might ease the plight of the Indian people to a certain extent. Unfortunately, as noted earlier, factors within the educational institutions mitigate

<sup>155</sup> P. Deprez and G. Sigurdson, The Economic Status of the Canadian Indian: A Re-examination (Winnipeg: Center for Settlement Studies, 1969), pp. 92-93.

<sup>156</sup> R.J. Glaister, Income and Employment Among the Native Indian Population in Manitoba: A Comparison of Human Capital and Dual Labour Market Theories, an unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1977, p.68. Glaister uses M. Piore's definition of dual labour markets:

...a primary market offering relatively high-paying, stable employment, with good working conditions, chances of advancement and equitable administration of work rules; and a secondary market, to which the...poor [sic] are confined, decidedly less attractive in all of these respects and in direct competition with welfare and crime for the attachment of the potential labor force.

ibid., p. 20.

against such access. Indian youths are confronted by an educational system that does not adequately meet their needs; they are forced into the secondary labour market. This is despite the fact that Indian youths recognize the importance of education (the myth persists) and sincerely desire employment.

The interplay between educational and economic variables has been carefully examined by J. Price. Price notes that economics provides a key motivating force for migration to urban areas:

Close to 60% of the combined sample had not completed junior high school, 36% were unemployed, and most employment was at low skill levels: janitor, cook, orderly, construction worker, mechanic, packer, taxi-driver, garment factory worker. Over two-thirds of the household heads had held three jobs or more within the previous year.

Davis (1965), in his study of the migration to urban centres in Saskatchewan, found that the "push" factors of the community of origin were more significant than the "pull" of the city. The families moved largely because of economic necessity.... Similar motivational determinants were isolated by Nagler in his research of Native people migrating to Toronto in 1967. The hope of an improvement in economic circumstances and lack of reserve resources were given as the most important reasons for moving. Lagasse found that 43.5% of his sample migrated for similar economic reasons.<sup>157</sup>

The lack of educational achievement, the lack of economic opportunity, and the placement of Indian people into the secondary labour market can be seen quite clearly. The results of such a situation are that:

...any group which is cut off from attaining these qualifications [academic] will share only marginally in the social advantages stemming from industrial progress. The key positions will not be open to them; the possibilities of developing their own cultural potential will be lessened; and material affluence will most definitely not be theirs.<sup>158</sup>

<sup>157</sup> J. Price, "The Urban Integration of Canadian Native People," The Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology, Vol. 4, No. 2, 1974, p. 41.

<sup>158</sup> The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, "Ethnicity,

Indian people in Canada are such "marginal" peoples.

It would seem then, that education generally has not been a positive experience for Canada's Indian people. Education has not been a factor in assisting Indian people's to experience upward socio-economic mobility. Whether this is as a result of deliberate planning, an unconscious by-product of an educational system, or variables outside the bureaucracy, the fact remains that Canadian Indians remain at the bottom of the socio-economic scale.

Will observations regarding inter-generational socio-economic mobility and education's role therein in a specific Reserve setting provide further validation of these perceptions? What are the variables that mitigate, for or against, socio-economic mobility on a specific Reserve? Is, or can, education be a positive contributing factor to this mobility? A northwestern Ontario Reserve, which shall be called Dryberry Reserve,<sup>159</sup> has been chosen as the setting in which these observations will be examined.

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Religion and Educational Advancement," Social Stratification: Canada, ed. J.E. Curtis and W.G. Scott (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1973), p. 148.

<sup>159</sup> All proper and place names are pseudonyms.



## Chapter IV

### METHODOLOGY

#### The Interview

The instrument utilized in this research to collect information was an interview schedule consisting of fifty-five items. The schedule itself is included as Appendix A to this thesis. The schedule was structured with a large number of questions being open-ended so as to allow respondents to expand on answers or opinions given. The interview format was chosen for the purpose of soliciting a broader range of responses and to allow flexibility in responses. It was also postulated that response rates would be greater if a personal approach was taken.

The schedule was pre-tested on a group of six individuals from Reserves located in the Dryberry region. The pre-test was an effort to discover potential problems with the interview itself or with the questioning technique. Particular importance was attached determining if questions posed any threat or afforded any embarrassment to the interviewee. Upon completion of the pre-test, and modifications as seen to be necessary, the interview format was offered to Indian officials and Indian students for their perusal and comments. These individuals were asked for their opinions on whether the intended interview schedule might answer the questions addressed by the thesis and opinions were sought as to the applicability and validity of questions asked.

Questions were asked to probe the individual's educational and economic background, provide SES data on the individual and his parents, solicit educational attitudes and aspirations, and provide an opportunity for the interviewee to share his economic perceptions of life on and off the Reserve. Each interview varied in terms of length; the shortest lasted approximately forty-five minutes, while the longer interviews approached three hours. Interviews were conducted in an informal manner with the conversation being allowed to freely develop. The interviewer also used the time to seek information regarding Reserve dynamics or to seek clarification on issues affecting Reserve residents. Those interviewed proved most open and quite willing to answer any questions posed. Only one individual, a social counsellor, refused to respond to the interview.

Through the use of interviews, the following information was obtained:

- 1) the name of father and mother,
- 2) the ages of same,
- 3) occupational history of both parents,
- 4) educational history of both parents,
- 5) name and age of respondent,
- 6) occupational history of respondent,
- 7) educational history of respondent,
- 8) perceptions of the role of education in occupational mobility,
- 9) value judgements in regards to educational experiences and future educational plans,
- 10) additional information regarding the local definition of mobility.

In essence, a detailed socio-economic profile of the respondents and their parents was developed, with special attention being paid to SES and educational variables.

These data were analyzed to ascertain mobility and the role of education therein. Analysis was accomplished by use of a modified Blishen occupational scale which provided an examination based upon Euro-Canadian, external standards. This was re-interpreted in light of the findings of the researcher with regard to perceived hierarchy of occupations within the community. This necessarily involved investigation into community dynamics, especially kinship patterns, which can affect research findings. Information in this vein was obtained through informants and observation. Finally, information solicited from respondents was used to analyze mobility from an Indian perspective. Finally, the role of education in each of these approaches was evaluated in terms of education as a contributing factor to socio-economic mobility.

#### Limitations

There are several factors which might have influenced the findings of this research. One factor might have been the adverse conditions under which some interviews took place. Interviews for the most part took place sitting at the kitchen table or on the front steps; however, one interview took place atop the water truck while others occurred while the individuals were at work. This did not seem to pose a major problem, but simply involved a more frequent repetition of the question. However, those answers obtained under adverse conditions exhibit a brevity which should be noted.

The response to question #25 requires the respondent to list in preferential order the top and bottom six jobs/positions. If it was suspected that the respondent had trouble with written English, this could pose a problem. This was watched carefully and problems could not be observed.

Obtaining parental data often proved a problem as many of the respondents' parents were deceased. If there appeared to be a considerable hesitation, this data was not entered.

The sample utilized within this research consists of individuals on the Reserve setting as of April 1st, 1980. It must be understood that these data collected in 1980 may, or may not, be an accurate reflection of the present times. The population is very mobile and individuals or families are often absent from the Reserve for lengthy periods of time. Population statistics are also in constant flux due to changing social conditions: e.g., one individual was interviewed in early May and by the following week was incarcerated along with two other young males. The housing situation is also unstable: e.g., one council member had his home burn down in late May.

Findings apply to only a single Reserve. The factors of limited time and financial backing restricted the research. Generalizations are to be made with caution.

### Rationale for the Setting

The Indian Reserve community of Dryberry, Ontario, was chosen as the locale for this study. This particular Reserve was selected as it has the following characteristics: a) the Reserve is relatively small (approximately 500 registered band members) so that the study is manageable, yet the Reserve size is "average" for communities within the Treaty Three area; b) the Reserve is not isolated, yet lies approximately 90 kilometers away from a larger urban center, another factor many Northwestern Ontario reserves have in common; c) the community is relatively stable in that violence is not a common occurrence and DIAND involvement within the Reserve is on par with many other Reserve communities, thus "atypicality" is kept to a minimum; and, d) the community is willing to accept an outsider, i.e. the researcher.

Essentially, while allowing for the fact that all communities differ and are idiosyncratic to some extent, Dryberry is a "typical" Reserve, or one that shares many common characteristics with other Reserves in the area.

### Respondents

Within the Reserve a cohort was selected; this cohort consisted of all adults between the ages of 18-40. This age group was chosen for several reasons. Eighteen-year-olds will have recently entered the job market so that the struggle for employment and the role of education in that struggle will be fresh in their memories. Some of this age group are still in school; thus, allowing for a comparative analysis of factors associated with school leaving.

The older members of the population chosen will have stabilized in their environment making an assessment of occupational mobility more meaningful. In addition, any SES movement over time should be discernible. To provide further supporting evidence for observations, parents should still be available to validate some of the information provided by their children. Information was gathered on both those who presently live on the Reserve.

For purposes of this research, one hundred and eighty-three individuals on Dryberry were within the age limits as prescribed for the cohort.<sup>160</sup> The cohort would consist of all those born between, and including, the years 1940 and 1962. While the total population consisted of one hundred and eighty-three persons, fifty-four of that number were not present on the Reserve during the period of research. Seven individuals were attending high schools (three in Winnipeg, two in Milltown, one in Dryden, and one in Calgary). Others had moved permanently for marital reasons, either to wed or escape marital difficulties on the Reserve, some individuals were incarcerated; some had moved to be with kin; and four individuals had moved for employment reasons.<sup>161</sup>

The total population from which to draw the sample was therefore be one hundred and twenty-nine. The sample consisted of fifty-two individuals or 36.87 per cent of the eligible population. A conscious effort was made to selectively discriminate in the choice of respondents. As SES and education are two key variables within this

<sup>160</sup> As per the Band Register of June 30, 1978.

<sup>161</sup> Information on individual mobility was gathered through three different informants to verify movement of those who had left the Reserve.

thesis, the relationship between education and employment was paramount as was SES mobility. This information could only be obtained from those employed. Therefore, an effort was made to interview those who were employed; secondly, an effort was made to then choose, at random, other individuals from the cohort. Consequently, findings are biased in this regard.

## Chapter V

### COMMUNITY PROFILE: DRYBERRY RESERVE

#### Location

Dryberry Reserve<sup>162</sup> is located approximately 90 kilometers south of Milltown, Ontario, and approximately 15 kilometers south-east of Tourville, Ontario. Milltown has a population of 11,000 and serves as a focal point for shopping activities and social services. Tourville is a relatively small community whose chief attraction is the tourist industry. Tourville also provides the Reserve inhabitants with basic store goods, a pub, and laundromat facilities. The Reserve is located on Lake Placid so that access to commercial fishing, guiding, and rice-harvesting is readily available.

#### Population

The on-reserve population as of July 1976 was 700; 181 of these residents were not registered band members.<sup>163</sup> Table 3 provides information on the population, as of October 1978, categorized by age and sex.<sup>164</sup>

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<sup>162</sup> Source for statistics prior to 1977: F. Kelly, J. Kelly, J.A. MacMillan, and S. Lyon, A Socio-Economic Impact Evaluation Framework for Treaty #3 Area Development Projects (Winnipeg: The Natural Resource Institute, 1977), pp. 102-4.

<sup>163</sup> Population figures vary substantially due to time and circumstances of census-taking. For purposes of this study, the Band Register was used as the most accurate representation of population statistics.

<sup>164</sup> "Band Work Process," October 12, 1978, p. 1.



TABLE 3  
Reserve Population by Age

Age.....	Male.....	Female.....
0-5.....	62.....	47
6-15.....	119.....	116
16-25.....	40.....	49
26-35.....	38.....	53
36-45.....	24.....	18
46-55.....	7.....	11
56 & over.....	15.....	12
Totals... 305.....		306

The cohort identified for purposes of this study would include the individuals in the range of 18 to 40 years of age. According to band sources, the number of years of schooling for Reserve residents was as follows: 1-6 years (200), 7-9 years (390), 10-13 years (20), and higher education (0).<sup>165</sup>

A.J. Siggner, in addressing the issue of educational attainment, notes that, statistically, and in national terms, the enrollment of status Indians in university increased substantially from 1965 to 1975. Siggner states, "From 130 attending university in 1965 the numbers have grown to just over 2,000 in ten years.... By 1975, the percentage for the Indian population had risen ten times...."<sup>166</sup> Dryberry, therefore,

<sup>165</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>166</sup> A.J. Siggner, An Overview of Demographic Social and Economic Conditions Among Canada's Registered Indian Population (Ottawa: Research Branch, Indian and Inuit Affairs Program, 1969), p. 28.

would not seem to have demonstrated such a trend as the number of students in post-secondary programs is nil.

### Housing

The number of houses available in the Reserve climbed from 60 in 1973 to 80 in 1976. According to the Band Administrator, the number of houses being built upon Reserve lands has never kept pace with the demand. There are constantly 15-20 families waiting for new housing.<sup>167</sup> The Local Government Officer of DIAND claimed that the housing situation is much more severe. Citing a study of October 1977, the Officer noted that at least 35 new houses were needed for Dryberry of which twenty were to be allocated to new families. In addition, nineteen homes on Dryberry required major repairs or additions. Within the Northwestern Ontario region, the Officer claimed that some six million dollars were needed to alleviate the housing shortage and effect repairs. One of the major causes of the housing back-log is lack of funding designated for home-building. At present the housing grant is \$12,000 per home and this grant is to cover both material and labour costs. The figure is far too small as the DIAND is well aware; there is now a proposal to increase the grant to \$29,000 of which \$22,000 would be ear-marked for materials. Because of the cost over-run of present houses, bands often take monies for housing from other allocations.<sup>168</sup>

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<sup>167</sup> Personal interview with Band Administrator, April 14th, 1980. Figure is approximate but is given as an average demand.

<sup>168</sup> Personal interview with the Local Government Officer, DIAND, Milltown on May 20, 1980.

Reserve residents place a high priority on home construction and comment quite frequently on the severe shortage. One home houses seventeen individuals, many of whom are adults; the mother finds it incomprehensible that her family is unable to obtain relief from such over-crowding. Other homes offer a similar picture. Joseph Elliot, for example, lives in a house of approximately 1000 square feet with his wife, his daughter's family of three, one single teenaged girl, and one pregnant young girl. In such a situation, there can be little privacy. Housing needs to be a top priority.

In this case, Dryberry is very similar to many other Reserves in Ontario. The Research Branch of DIAND commented that data for 1977 revealed 74 liveable housing units for every 100 Indian families in the province:

During the decade 1966 to 1976, some 3,400 new houses were constructed on Reserves in Ontario; this was significantly in excess of the number of family formations during the same period. Notwithstanding this building programme, the latest available information (Housing Needs Analysis Survey, 1977) shows a shortage in Ontario of more than 2,500 housing units with another 2,400 requiring major repairs. During the decade 1976 to 1986, it is expected that there will be an increased demand for housing on Reserve.... If the supply of housing does not keep pace with this demand, overcrowding in housing will likely continue on Reserves.<sup>169</sup>

Certainly for Dryberry, such overcrowding and lack of housing is readily apparent.

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<sup>169</sup> Research Branch, A Demographic, Social and Economic Profile of Registered Indians in Ontario (Ottawa: Indian and Inuit Affairs, 1979), pp. 32-33.

### Employment

The community's infrastructure consists of band offices, nursery and day care centre, a fur factory and cabinet-making operation, a store, and a school, Grades K-9. During the research period, the cabinet factory was not in operation. Band members were hopeful that a contract could be obtained to supply cabinets to a supplier of pre-fabricated homes in Winnipeg. According to a 1977 study the following positions were held: Band Administration (18), Fishing (18), Store (4), Fur factory (27), Cabinet-making (8), Trapping (6) for a total of 81.

A Band Works Process Form of October 12, 1978, revised the total number of employed upwards to 118. Forty-eight full-time, fifteen part-time, and fifty-five seasonal employees. On-site research indicated that full-time staffing has increased. Table 4 indicates that fifty individuals are employed full-time. Most of the positions involve little, or no, training. There is a great deal of insecurity within the work force; figures and personnel can shift abruptly.

Many of the band members are employed in seasonal occupations, especially guiding. During the winter months, these seasonal workers turn to the band to provide employment projects. Work is not always available. According to one band employee, 65% of the band was on welfare during the month of April. However, a DIAND official claimed that this figure was probably high and suggested that the annual rate of unemployment for "employable persons" on Dryberry would be 26.3 per cent.<sup>170</sup>

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<sup>170</sup> Personal interview with DIAND Personnel, May 20, 1980.

TABLE 4  
Employment of Band Members

Band Office Employees:	11
Store Employees:	4
Infant Care Employees:	3
Day Care Employees:	8
Factory Employees:	10
Police:	1
Sanitation Worker:	1
School Employees:	5
Self-employed businessmen:	2 (seasonal - full-time, summer)
Arcade Employees:	1
Bus drivers:	2
Community Health Worker:	1
DIAND/Treaty #3 Employees:	3

Siggner warns that the area of unemployment statistics offers several problems for the researcher:

In discussing levels of unemployment in the Indian population the reader should realize there are conceptual difficulties with the term unemployment. Statistics Canada definitions, for example, are not meaningful for Indian people who follow a traditional way of life. There are also conceptual problems with respect to what constitutes "full" versus "part" time employment. Thus, considerable caution is suggested when comparing an average unemployment rate of 7 to 8 per cent for the total population with one which is variously "guesstimated" as being in the range of 50 to 90 per cent for

the Indian population.<sup>171</sup>

Within the scope of this study, however, it will become apparent that the sample population did seem to clearly define unemployment in terms of being unable to obtain work and being forced on social assistance.

Statistical data, gathered in 1977, revealed a monthly average of almost 18% of the on-reserve Indian population in Ontario receiving social assistance. The Research Branch of Indian and Inuit Affairs notes that since social assistance was directed to the heads of families, the recipient population was in excess of 70% of the total. The Ontario Social Services Review identified approximately 72% of the social service recipients as being employables.<sup>172</sup> Dryberry would seem to fit this pattern although the numbers of social assistance are slightly higher than the Ontario average.

#### Dryberry Drygoods Store

The store is located next to the band office. The store originally served as Dryberry School and contained Grades 1 through 4. The school was converted into a store under the Pawitik Corporation in approximately 1969; but, the Corporation suffered financial loss and was dissolved in 1977. The store is now under band control and is run as a band enterprise. Dryberry Drygoods carries a varied line of store goods, contains a post office, offers gasoline service, and purchases raw furs from local trappers. The staff consists of four full-time personnel. Frank Smith is the manager, his niece is the store clerk, and two young men serve as stock boys.

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<sup>171</sup> Siggner, op. cit., p. 33.

<sup>172</sup> Research Branch, op. cit., p. 36.

### Dryberry School

The school is located in the middle of the Reserve and was completed in 1979; the students were moved from Tourville School in January of 1980. The school serves both Dryberry and the adjacent Willbury Reserve. The school consists of Grades K-9 with shop facilities. A total of thirteen adults are employed within the school; eight as teachers, two as teacher aides, and three as maintenance and security personnel. Teachers for the school are housed in two three-apartment teacherages and three houses almost directly across from the school. Both teacher aides and two of the maintenance staff are status Indians from Dryberry. Table 5 offers a breakdown of school enrollment by grade and level.

TABLE 5

School Population by Grade/Level

Kindergarten (16)	Junior Level 1 (27)
Grade 1 (27)	Junior Level 2 (15)
Grade 2 (21)	Junior Level 3 (11)
Grade 3 (24)	Intermediate Redemial (12)
Junior Remedial (20)	Intermediate Level 1 (17)
	Intermediate Level 2 (17)
	Intermediate Level 3 ( 8)

Figures are based upon September 1979 registration data.

Total student enrollment is therefore two hundred and fifteen. The move to obtain a school within the Reserve boundaries "has been a long and hard journey... We are of a different culture and values... and we will educate our children in a different way that will include the customs and heritage of the elders...."<sup>173</sup>

Teachers have moved to accommodate band desires through the introduction of a native studies curricula unit. Students are familiarized with treaty negotiations and content, the effects of the Indian Act as it applies to Reserve inhabitants, and a brief history of the Ojibway people. A proposal has been forwarded that the school should employ an Ojibway language teacher for the forthcoming academic year.

Interestingly enough, while adult members of the Reserve perceive the physical re-location of the school as a positive step, older students believe that it is a terrible mistake. When pressed, these students offered the rationale that students could now easily play 'hookey' and hide within the Reserve setting. The older students were also concerned that those in the school were attracted too easily by the Arcade. These fears would seem to be realized as absenteeism continues to be a major problem and school and community are perplexed as what might be done to resolve this issue.

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<sup>173</sup> Chief George Smith as quoted in "Opening of New School a Dream Come True," Council Fire, April 1980, p. 5.



### Infant Care Centre

The Infant Care Centre has been in operation for a period of six years as a Band enterprise. Three full-time staff members care for ten registered infants who are less than two years of age. This service is provided to free working mothers for employment possibilities. All three employees lie beyond the upper range of age criteria set for the cohort.<sup>174</sup>

### Day Care Centre

Established in 1972, the Day Care Centre provides supervisory care for approximately 35 youngsters aged two to six years. All children must be toilet trained before coming to Day Care. Full capacity of Day Care is forty youngsters with first priority being given to children of working mothers. Staffing consists of a full-time supervisor from Tourville, five day care staff, one cook, and one maintenance person. Band control of the Day Care Centre is through John Brown who is the administrator and is responsible for book-keeping. The Centre provides supervision for children of working mothers and also offers pre-Kindergarten training. The supervisor claims that basic skills in colour identification, number recognition, and rudimentary English skills as well as socialization are offered to the children.

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<sup>174</sup> Personal interview with Infant Care Personnel, April 21, 1980.

### Dryberry Manufacturing

The fur manufacturing plant employes a total staff of ten and has been in operation since September of 1970. The Plant produced fourteen products during one week of observation, but long term averages are ten per week. Presently, the Plant is under contract to a Montreal firm to produce raccoon coats. The tanned furs are sorted, cut into strips, and re-sewn, and the finished product is lined and shipped.

### Reserve Dynamics

The Reserve is perceived by its inhabitants and by DIAND personnel as having three major splits or factions that closely correspond to kinship patterns. The kinship groups are located in specific geographical locations upon the Reserve. The Smiths hold the northern extremity of the Reserve, the Lintons the central portion, and the Elliotts inhabit the southern approaches. The Smiths are seen by the Lintons and Elliotts as holding an unfair degree of political power, power which is used to place relatives into employment vacancies. In reality, employment patterns do closely correspond to geographical location of residence with those living in the southern portion of the Reserve finding employment very hard to obtain from the band office.

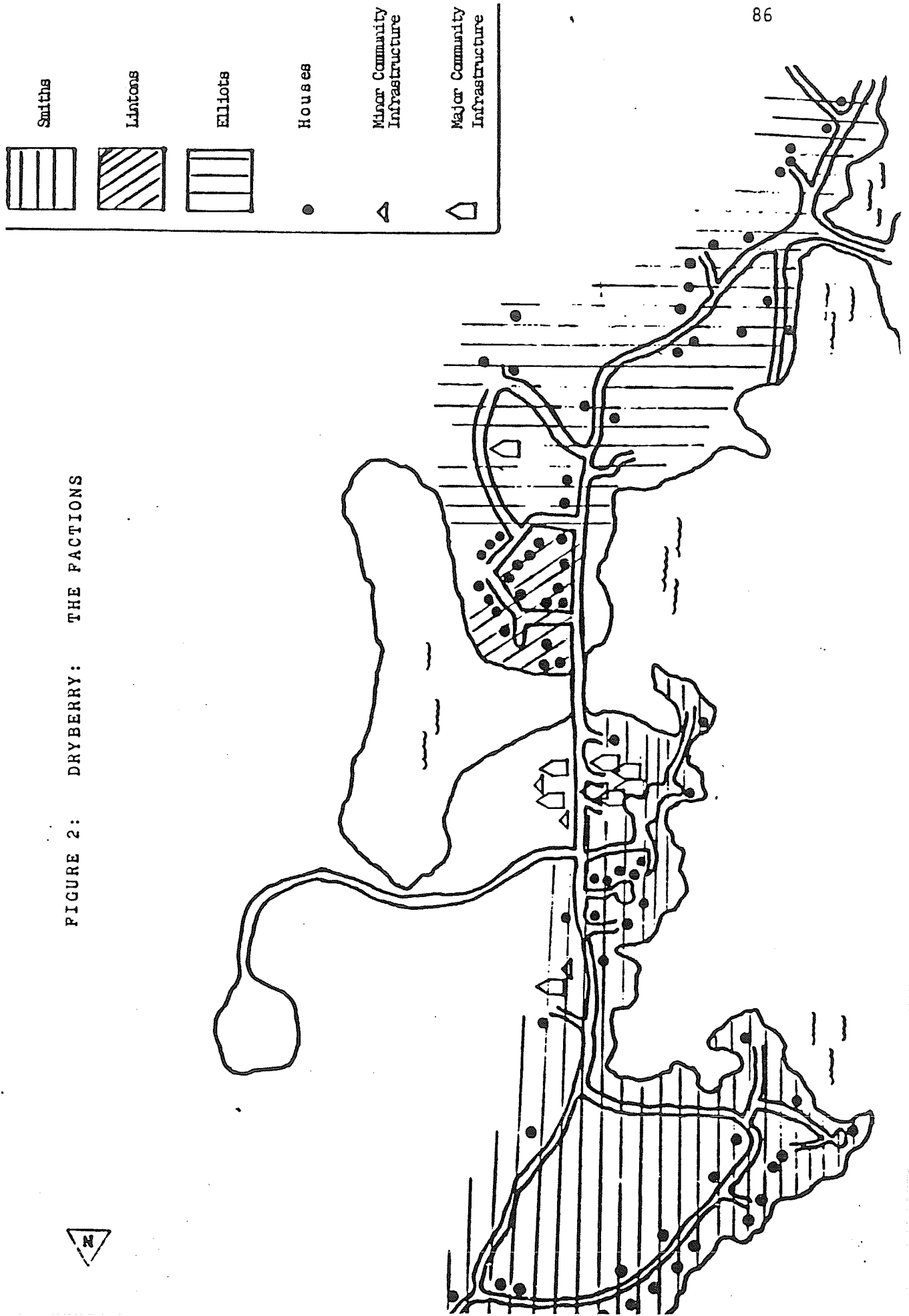
This fact is not lost upon the Elliotts who voice a strong distaste for the policies of the present Band Council. This hostility is overt and has recently manifested itself in an open letter to the Reserve populace by an Elliott clan member who is on the band council. The letter contains several references to a heavy-handed Reserve bureaucracy and comments on the "activities, omissions and

misunderstandings that have taken place on this Reserve...."<sup>175</sup> The same letter refers to an appeal by Eric Linton that recent elections, in which he ran against the chief, were unfair as intimidation of voters would seem to have been a strong factor. Such activities/policies as outlined within Elliott's letter have served to further split the Reserve and southern members even talk of dividing the Reserve into two so that they might govern themselves. The Lintons find themselves between the two antagonists; one young Linton noted that his group served as the "buffer zone." (See map, p. 86.)

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<sup>175</sup> Letter from Councilman Elliott to the Reserve members.

FIGURE 2: DRYBERRY: THE FACTIONS



## Concluding Remarks

To the out-sider, Dryberry would seem to exhibit signs of disintegration, both physically and psychologically. Evidence of this disintegration is obvious to the eye and is often commented upon by community members themselves. Although the Band has built both a curling rink and a recreation centre (an arcade), both have been allowed to deteriorate. The recreational centre has been permanently closed and the curling rink did not see any usage during the last season. Housing cannot keep up with the demand and over-crowding is common. Many houses are in severe states of disrepair and could not effectively be repaired.

There seems to be a deep-seated bitterness within the community. Several Reserve members indulge in heavy drinking which results in extreme deprivation of material necessities.<sup>176</sup> The drinking also results in a great deal of fear as many have been, or worry that they will be, victimized by those under the influence. One could hypothesize that lack of employment opportunities, in conjunction with the resulting welfare, could lead to the frustration, bitterness, and sense of futility that seems to permeate the community.

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<sup>176</sup> One home had simple mattresses placed on bed frames - no covers of any kind. The only other items within the home were an old sofa, a well-used table, and two wooden benches. Within that dwelling lived two male adults and four children.

Chapter VI  
RESEARCH FINDINGS

Sample Characteristics

Of the respondents, 67.3 per cent were male, while 32.7 per cent were female. Marital status of the sample is shown in Table 6.

TABLE 6 Marital Status of Respondents		
	Frequency	Percentage
Married	30	57.7
Single	9	17.3
Separated	3	5.8
Common-law	10	19.2

The average age of the male respondents was 29; of females, 30. For the total sample the average age was 29.71.

Common-law relationships among the young (21 years of age and younger) would seem to be very frequent. Whether this is indicative of less stable family relationships is not known.

The sample was not randomly chosen; but a conscious effort was made to interview all those employed at the time in the community. Seventy-five per cent of the sample was employed, while twenty-five per cent was unemployed. These statistics are weighted heavily in favour of the employed as factors influencing success in attainment of employment were sought. Of the sample, 11.5 per cent had held no other job; 88.5 per cent had held at least one other job; and, 71.2 per cent had held two or more jobs in their life-time. Of those interviewed, 30.8 per cent had a working spouse; 44.2 did not. Twenty-five per cent had no spouse or offered no answer.

It should be noted that responses concerning parental ties or ownership are often missing or vague. This is the result of early death among parents, children being raised by relatives, or illegitimacy.

#### Educational Findings

Application of the 'highest grade completed' variable led to the discovery that only six respondents had any other education or training beyond the high school level. Table 7 clearly indicates that very few individuals went past Grade 10. University and/or college training was, for the most part, incomplete. One teacher aide is presently enrolled in the Program of Education for Native Teachers at Brandon University. Technical/Vocational training refers to post-secondary experiences which, in the case of Dryberry residents, meant courses in accounting or barbering at George Brown College. Thus, there exist few role models possessing a higher education.

Table 8 offers the reasons given for school-leaving. Only a single individual completed the course of studies. The remaining

TABLE 7  
Academic Levels Attained

Highest Grade	Frequency	Percentage
5	1	1.9
6	1	1.9
7	3	5.8
8	10	19.2
9	7	13.5
10	17	32.7
11	7	13.5
University/College	4	7.7
Technical/Vocational	2	3.8

respondents offered a variety of reasons for early school-leaving. There would seem to be three major causal factors in school-leaving - prejudice/alienation, age-grade retardation, and child support. Eleven and a half per cent of the sample singled out prejudice and alienation as factors influencing their decision to quit school. Boarding parents were often seen by respondents as being insensitive and operating purely from financial greed. It is interesting to note that those parents able to do so do not send their children to Milltown for schooling for the perception is strong among these parents that Milltown in general is a prejudiced town which will affect the performance and well-being of the child.



TABLE 8  
Reasons for School-leaving

Reason(s)	Frequency
No answer	1
Completed course(s)	1
No encouragement	1
Intimidated	1
Didn't like school	1
Alienation	1
Trouble with the law	1
Not smart enough	1
Tired of school	1
Not applicable	2
Couldn't get along with boarding parents	2
Boarding parents prejudiced	2
Being "smart" or lazy	2
Afraid of breaking family ties	2
Don't know	5
Too old	6
Pregnant/Child to support	10
Had to work to support family or self	12

The factor of age-grade retardation was mentioned by 11.5 per cent of the sample. Many of those responding in this manner pointed out that to be eighteen in Grade 8 or Grade 9 is humiliating. Then, too, others did not specifically talk of age as much as academic failure, "three times in Grade 9 - I was too old."

The most pressing factor in school-leaving was the necessity to support self, family, and, as a result of early pregnancies, a child. Young people claim that during "drinking parties" on the Reserve, young girls get drunk and then one thing leads to another. It would seem that young girls go from being children into motherhood with all its attentive responsibilities. One student, when asked about this particular causal factor, shook his head and said, "Yeah, kids having kids...." Young mothers have accepted their responsibilities but evidence a kind of sadness noting that plans have been shattered and they are tied down.

Table 9 reveals the educational aspirations that respondents held for their children. Findings show a concern that the children should at least finish high school. Some respondents were very critical of the handling of their life and their position in society. Responses such as "better than mine" were accompanied by statements such as "I use myself for an example - see where I am - I can never get off this Reserve...."

Table 10 reveals that many respondents believed that a better education, or more education, would result in a better job. However, reality also elicits the response that no jobs are available in the community; thus, obtaining a better/more education could be seen as an exercise in futility for those who stay, or as a stimulus to leave home.

TABLE 9  
Educational Aspirations for Children

Response	Frequency	Percentage
No answer	2	3.8
Elementary	1	1.9
Skill/trade	3	5.8
"A good one"/"Better than mine"	3	5.8
Don't know	6	11.5
Whatever they want	6	11.5
"As high as possible"	8	15.4
High school	11	21.2
University/College	12	23.1

When queried as to whether their level of education helped them obtain their present occupation, the respondents gave a variety of opinions. As Table 11 shows, the responses do not reveal a clear consensus. The utility of education in obtaining employment is not strongly emphasized, even though there exists an inherent faith that there must be a strong correlation between levels of education and employment. (See Tables 9 and 10.)

TABLE 10  
Better/More Education = Better Job?

Response	Frequency	Percentage
No answer	2	3.8
Yes	13	25.0
"Guess so"	16	30.8
No	7	13.5
"No jobs available"	10	19.2
"Don't need a good education for top jobs on this reserve"	1	1.9
Don't know	3	5.8

TABLE 11  
Education's Role in Job Attainment

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	15	28.8
"Guess so"	6	11.5
No	9	17.3
"Probably not"	7	13.5
Not applicable	15	28.8

Asked if he/she believed that up-grading could help in obtaining a better job, 50.0 per cent replied in the affirmative; 34.6 per cent in the negative. Yet, only 17.3 per cent of the sample were contemplating up-grading. Table 12 reveals that reasons for not taking up-grading courses were several and diverse.

Response	Frequency
No time/kids	3
Too busy working/offered in winter when band projects provide jobs	5
Don't know	17
Too impersonal	3
Never thought of it	4
Too hard	1
Social counsellor offered no assistance or was a barrier	3
"Wouldn't matter to present job"	2
Not applicable	14

Again, the internal conflict is becoming more apparent; the faith in education is conflicting with the reality of the job market. When asked

what subject matter would be taken if schooling became available, the respondents were almost evenly split between completion of academic program (usually high school), the learning of a trade, or brushing up on English skills. Table 13 contains the responses of those interviewed. Preferable choices, it should be noted, relate directly to occupational and social mobility as expressed by respondents elsewhere.

TABLE 13 Academic Preferences	
Response	Frequency
No answer/not applicable	5
Ojibway language/syllabics	6
English language training	12
Skill/trade	14
Completion of academic program	15

Preferable choices it should be noted relate directly to occupational and social mobility as expressed by respondents elsewhere.

Asked about the value of education, responses centered around the tangible benefits, with 64.4 per cent of the respondents noting a strong relationship between education and job attainment. Findings for Dryberry echo The Hawthorn Report, as job attainment is identified as a direct benefit of education. (Table 14)

TABLE 14  
The Value of Education

Response	Frequency
No answer	3
Job attainment	34
Helps one to reason, think logically	3
Helps one to keep up with technological changes	2
Credentials offer legitimacy	1
Don't know	4
Need English to "get anywhere"	1
Helps one fit into greater society/ "learn how to live with white people"	2
Helps one stay out of trouble	2

The attitude towards education is very positive with over seventy per cent of the respondents linking education to employment. The value of education in inculcating coping skills is also noted by several respondents. As more evidence is gathered, the conflict between the value of education and its applicability becomes more pronounced. One must surmise that such internal dissension must cause severe trauma in the establishment of firm goals and values. While education is seen as having a positive value, the reality exists that, at least on-Reserve, there are few tangible job-related benefits attached to possessing a higher education.

Queried as to the factor most important in obtaining employment on the Reserve, most responded that education was the key. Table 15 provides further support for Table 11 where 40.3 per cent of the sample noted that education had probably assisted them in obtaining their position. The data in Table 15 reinforce this as 42.3 per cent believe that education is the most important factor in job attainment.

TABLE 15	
Most Important Factor in Job Attainment	
Factor	Frequency
Education	22
Nepotism	8
Work Record/Competence	8
Luck	7
Drive/Interest	4
Skill/Trade	1
Combination	1
No response	1

An overwhelming number of respondents felt that the school curricula should include something of the traditional. Table 16 clearly demonstrates community support for modifications and additions to the



curricula that would reflect the heritage and traditions of the Ojibway people.

Response	Frequency
No answer	2
Only new	10
Mainly new	11
Mainly traditional	5
Only traditional	1
A combination of new and traditional	27

The trend towards the traditional would be supported by the respect accorded the elders of the community. The question was posed, "Do you think you can learn more from old people or in school?" Table 17, while supporting the previous finding of community members favouring traditional input into curricula, does not indicate the positive bias towards elders which is found on many reserves.

Educational information on the parents of respondents was sketchy. Many respondents did not know the number of years of formal schooling experienced by their parents. Rather, the degree of education

TABLE 17  
Learning - School or Elders

Response	Frequency
No answer	1
Old people	3
School	5
A combination	43

was judged relative to the parent's command of the English language - "he talks pretty good." This emphasis reappeared frequently in the response to the type of education desired for children and in response to the value of education, e.g. "if you can't talk English, you get nowhere."

None of the parents, mother and father included, had more than a Grade Ten education. Table 18 indicates that, for the male parent, the average Grade level known to be attained was Grade Five. Forty-eight per cent of the respondents had no idea as to their father's education. This could indicate that a large number of male parents did not consider education to be a topic of conversation between themselves and their children.

TABLE 18  
Father's Education

Level Attained	Frequency
0	7
2	2
3	1
4	1
5	1
6	3
7	1
8	8
9	2
10	1
Don't know	25

Table 19 yields similar statistical findings regarding the educational levels of the respondents' mothers. Almost fifty-two per cent of respondents had no idea as to their mother's educational level. The average Grade level for the female parent is Grade Five, the same as for the male parent.

TABLE 19  
Mother's Education

Level Attained	Frequency
0	5
2	1
4	2
5	2
6	7
7	1
8	6
9	1
Don't know	27

#### Economic Findings

Respondents included employees of all enterprises within Reserve boundaries. Twenty-eight different occupations were identified, comprising seventy-five per cent of the sample. Twenty-five per cent of the sample was unemployed or on assistance. Occupations ranged from the traditional, hunting/trapping/guiding, to the modern factory worker.

The length of employment varied as demonstrated in Table 20.

TABLE 20  
Length of Employment

Period of Employment (Years)	Percentage	Cum. Freq. (%)
Less than 1 year	36.5	36.5
1	7.7	44.2
2	9.6	53.8
3	3.8	57.7
4	7.7	65.4
5	5.8	71.2
6	5.8	76.9
7	7.7	84.6
8	3.8	88.5
9	3.8	92.3
10	5.8	98.1
12	1.9	100.0

Job security would seem to be fairly elusive as over half of those employed have been in that position for less than two years. This assumption would seem to be reinforced by the fairly high number of respondents who were uncertain as to what job they would be holding in five years time. The fact that many responses were prefixed by phrases such as "if I'm not fired" or "if the Band has the money" would also seem indicative of occupational insecurity. (Table 21)

TABLE 21  
Future Occupational Plans

Occupation	Frequency
The same	15
The same "if not fired...."	7
Don't know	6
Carpenter	4
Day care worker	3
Mason	2
Logging	2
Teacher	2
"There is nothing on this Reserve."	2

One case study exemplifies both the nepotism and insecurity evident on Dryberry. Presently the DIAND controls education on the Reserve with the assistance of a school committee composed of members from two Reserves served by the school. The committee is seen by both Reserves as acting fairly responsible at present; however, once local control is achieved, the perception exists that Dryberry will demonstrate its power and exercise absolute power. Consequently, representatives from Willbury Reserve see a limited future for themselves; they believe that they will quickly be replaced by Elliot kinsfolk upon the realization of local control. Willbury residents see little security for their future.

Ninety-four per cent of the sample liked a regular job; those responding in the negative favoured self-employment where hours could be adjusted according to family needs or business interests. Eighty-two per cent favoured the forty-hour work week; ten per cent supported a move for less than forty while six per cent desired to work more than forty.

Asked if their present job was easy or demanding, respondents generally stated that their jobs were not strongly demanding. Table 22 contains the responses to the question of job challenge.

TABLE 22 Job Challenge	
Job Challenge	Frequency
Easy	15
Tough at times	18
Very demanding	3
Not applicable	16

Predictably, those responding that their occupations were very demanding were those in positions of power to grant favours or were at least perceived in positions to grant favours, e.g. welfare and band administrators.

Work preference questions yielded the following information: 13.5 per cent favoured indoor employment; 15.4, outdoor; and, 71.2 had no particular preference. As Table 23 shows, of those respondents demonstrating a preference, one-third would prefer to be self-employed. Band employment is the second most-favoured option; with employment by the government, or a large corporation, holding down third spot.

TABLE 23 Employer Preference	
Employer	Frequency
Small firm	2
Government/large corporation	8
Self-employment	17
Band	15
"Doesn't matter as long as it's a job...."	10

When questioned regarding preference for an occupation using manual or mental skills, 7.7 per cent stated that they preferred a position in which they would use manual skills. Eleven per cent desired a position using mental skills; the balance, 80.8 per cent would favour a job employing both manual and mental skills.



While questions might have been posed regarding occupational preferences, in reality, those without jobs had a slim chance of gaining employment of a year-round nature. Asked about job availability on the Reserve, only 11.6 per cent of the respondents could identify any sort of employment potential and 5.8 per cent of this group was speaking of seasonal work, guiding.

During one response to this question, an older woman from the community interrupted to note that the reason her people, the Elliots, cannot get work outside the Reserve is "prejudice." Asked why then the Elliots could not get work within the Reserve, she replied with the same rationale. When asked to elaborate, she offered several personal examples to demonstrate a severe discrepancy in treatment of the Elliots when it came to job deliverance or welfare assistance. She noted that she was going to teach her kids in the traditional skills as that was one way for them to maintain their independence and financial security. Both her and her husband still fish and trap; enjoy both; and, make a good supplemental income from these traditional areas. However, the traditional skills are not for everybody.

Deprez and Sigurdson claim, "In the transitional [vs the isolated] reserves the dependency of life on the environment has almost completely disappeared."<sup>177</sup> Such is the case at Dryberry. Traditional trapping and fishing skills have been lost to the younger members of the community; guide skills, rudimentary in knowledge base, have even been lost to many members. This has happened even though the traditional skills could provide a good supplemental income. A two thousand dollar income from trapping is common if the trapper is willing to do a little

<sup>177</sup> Deprez and Sigurdson, op. cit., p. 91.

work.<sup>178</sup> This spring the furs were selling at very high prices with muskrat fetching as much as \$4.00/skin; beaver was correspondingly high. Yet, those with skins drying outside their homes were the middle-aged and older community members. Most of the young people on the Reserve simply do not have the skills necessary to even supplement their income in the traditional manner. Unfortunately alternative economic means of livelihood are very few.

Tourville employment possibilities were all short-term, centering on the tourist industry. Seventy-seven per cent of the sample identified camp work/guiding as the only opportunities available. When asked to identify employment opportunities in Milltown, over fifty per cent of the respondents could not identify any opportunity. This is despite the fact that several government apparati exist to disseminate such information. (Table 24)

Table 24 identifies basically three areas of responses. A large number, 55.8 per cent, claim that they know of no opportunities or that there are no opportunities. Fifteen per cent identify the most familiar jobs within the Dryberry area, guiding and camp work. Seventeen per cent returned an "if" answer - if one had an education or a skill, work was attainable.

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<sup>178</sup> Personal interview with an elder member of the community, April 15, 1980.

TABLE 24

## Perceptions - Employment Opportunities, Milltown

Employment opportunities	Frequency
One or more identified	1
Don't know	22
Guiding/camp work	8
Not much	4
Nothing	7
"If one had a skill or trade"	8
"If one had an education"	1
Summer jobs/odd jobs	1

As demonstrated by Table 25, the majority of respondents, if offered a better job in Milltown, would take such a position. When asked if they would relocate to Milltown, 46.2% of the respondents replied in the affirmative, while another 40.4% stated that they would commute. The factor of geographical mobility would seem to offer no impediment to job attainment in Milltown.

TABLE 25	
Geographical Mobility and Employment	
Employment offer in Milltown	Frequency
Turn job down	1
Move to Milltown	24
Commute to Milltown	21
Try to keep home in Milltown and on Dryberry	1

Table 26 concerns career choices for the respondent's children. In response to the question of what sort of work they would want for their children on the Reserve, the career choices preferred included teaching, nursing, and "helping" professions; careers requiring a degree of post-secondary education. Seventeen per cent desired this career path for their children. The majority of choices required only rudimentary skills and over twenty-three per cent simply stated, as a career choice, "anything...." It is interesting to note that all professions identified were those who would be present already on the Reserve; there were no "new" or "different" professions noted.

TABLE 26  
 Career Choices for Children (Reserve)

Occupation	Frequency
No answer	1
Nurse	3
Store clerk	2
Teacher	3
Teacher aide	1
Carpenter	1
Typist/office clerk	1
Accountant	1
Band administrator	3
Don't know	6
Day Care maintenance	1
"Anything secure"	1
"Helping people"	3
"Wouldn't want them to work on this Reserve...."	7
"Anything"	12

TABLE 27  
Career Choices for Children (Off-Reserve)

Occupation	Frequency
Nurse	5
Doctor	1
Lawyer	3
Teacher	2
Typist/office clerk	2
Don't know	9
Probation officer	1
Pulp Truck Driver	1
"Anything secure"	6
Administrative position	1
Waitress	1
Social Worker	1
Welder	1
"Anything they would like"	15
"A profession"	2
"Helping people"	1

Off-reserve occupational preference for children did widen the scope of careers identified somewhat. Once again though, careers noted are those very familiar within the locale. Even with the strong media presence, careers such as those of high-technology, science, and engineering are not chosen as is shown in Table 27. Close to fifty per cent of the respondents did not identify specific career choices for their children.

Career choices both on-Reserve and off-Reserve seem limited. The scope of occupations noted by respondents is very narrow suggesting limited exposure to a broader variety or suggesting that these are still seen as preferential positions. The fact that seven respondents voiced severe misgivings regarding employment on the Reserve reveals the frustration and bitterness caused by the lack of an economic base and the "politics" associated with job-hunting.

When asked to identify the most preferred jobs on the Reserve (Table 28), twenty-five per cent of respondents believed that the job of Band Administrator was the best.

TABLE 28

## Most Preferred Job and Rationale for Choice

Most Preferred Job (%)	Rationale for choice
Band Administrator (25.0)	Financial return/responsibility
Store clerk (5.8)	Secure
Day care worker (5.8)	Helping others
Chief (3.8)	"He's boss"/responsibility
Take any job (3.8)	
Teacher (3.8)	Helping others/secure
Teacher aide (3.8)	Helping others
Factory worker (3.8)	Secure/year-round employment
Carpenter (3.8)	Work outside

The rationale for such choices usually included the desire to assist others or the desire to have responsibility to act. Security of employment also proved to be an influence in the choice. While financial return was mentioned, it was mentioned only in relation to the Band Administrator and not in relation to the teaching profession.



The least preferred jobs are shown in Table 29.

TABLE 29	
Least Preferred Job and Rationale for Choice	
Least Preferred Job (%)	Rationale for choice
"There is no worst job - one takes whatever job he/she can get...." (19.2)	
Unemployed on welfare (9.6)	Humiliating
Welfare administrator (7.7)	Hassles/bullshit*
Band office positions (5.8)	Just sit around all day/ arguing all the time
Garbage collector (3.8)	Dirty
Camp work (3.8)	Hard in the heat
Band administrator (3.8)	Chief takes glory, while the band administrator gets the shit; the least mistake, people pounce on you
Carpenter (3.8)	Lack of security
Janitor (3.8)	Don't know
Chief (3.8)	Hassles
*Comments utilized to explain the choice are representative and are those of Dryberry residents.	

Deprez and Sigurdson claim that welfare has replaced the traditional skills as a means of livelihood and indeed it has.

Twenty-five per cent of the sample was on public assistance.<sup>179</sup> According to the Band welfare administrator, 65 per cent of reserve members were on social assistance during March; the DIAND claimed an annual rate for Dryberry of 26.3 per cent. Contrary to Deprez and Sigurdson's claims though, little evidence was found that welfare had become part of the value system. There were perhaps two younger Reserve members who had seemingly accepted welfare values; but, most members loathed the thought of being forced upon welfare. The worst situation on the Reserve was identified as having no job; this would closely correspond to the second choice of being "Unemployed on welfare" (9.6). Respondents claimed that welfare destroyed one's pride and was a "humiliating experience." Two middle-aged respondents noted that their parents had a horror concerning two eventualities, going to jail or going on welfare. One male respondent perhaps best summed up the feeling concerning welfare; his description of welfare, "nothing to do but sit home and eat f-----g shit...."

Respondents were asked to prioritize jobs as to desirability, regardless of skill level required. The top three categories were combined, in Table 30, to produce an occupational ranking as perceived by the Reserve members.

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<sup>179</sup> This number was most likely under-represented for two reasons:

1. the sample was biased in that it deliberately over-represented the employed portion of the Reserve; this was done to establish economic mobility and causal factors related to employment.
2. some respondents, consciously or unconsciously, might have offered a seasonal or part-time occupation rather than be labelled "on welfare."

TABLE 30  
An Occupational Scale as Locally Perceived

Occupation	Percentage
Teacher	28.3
Carpenter	21.1
Lawyer	17.3
Electrician	14.4
Doctor	13.4
Nurse	13.4
Educational Counsellor	11.6
Guide	11.6
Game Warden	11.5
Policeman	11.5
Chief	7.7
Pilot	7.6
Janitor	7.6
Fur Factory Worker	7.6

One might postulate that the respondents placed the occupation of teacher at the top of the occupational scale as teaching offers (1) the most visible example of a high SES profession, (2) a profession accessible to Indian people, and (3) a stepping stone into middle class society. In essence, the teaching profession is an avenue of socio-economic mobility that is real and within grasping distance. Also, one should note the limited range of occupations noted in all responses. In Table 30, it is apparent that perceptions are formed through exposure and, limited exposure becomes synonymous with limited career choices.

A similar exercise was undertaken to produce a ranking of those jobs, or situations, identified as being least desirable. Table 31 is a

priorization of those jobs, or situations, which receive unfavourable reviews by the respondents.

TABLE 31	
The Bottom of the Occupational Scale	
Occupation	Percentage
Unemployed	62.8
Policeman	21.1
Chief	21.1
Priest	17.3
Hunter/trapper	13.5
Logger	7.6
Janitor	3.8
Council member	3.8
Game Warden	3.8
Housewife	3.8
Steward/ess	3.8

Unemployment is overwhelmingly detested; this pattern would seem consistent. However, occupations such as policeman and game warden receive the same sort of reception; yet, both occupations would seem high status and financially rewarding. It is of interest to note that, when queried, respondents felt that being a law enforcement officer was a bad job because "I'd be shot" or "I'd be dead." This is despite the fact that police, both OPP and Reserve, had experienced no such difficulty.

The occupation of respondent male parents is given in Table 32.

TABLE 32  
Occupation of Male Parent

Occupation	Frequency
Carpenter	14
Hunter/trapper/fisherman	10
Guide	9
Unemployed	5
Bus driver	3
Self-employed businessmen	2
Various (chief, miner, taxi driver, etc.)	9

All occupations require little, or no, education. What then could be inferred about the connection between education and employment using the parent as example?

An occupational break-down for female parents is contained in Table 33.

TABLE 33	
Occupation of Female Parent	
Occupation	Frequency
Housewife	38
Camp work	3
Child care worker (includes day care, infant care, and CAS)	5
Various (commercial fishing, fur factory worker, teacher, etc.)	6

Asked if their father had a better job, in comparison to that of the respondent, answers were positively inclined towards the parent's occupation (Table 34).

TABLE 34	
Comparison of Father/Children Occupations	
Response	Frequency
Father's not as good	8
Father's just as good	17
Father's better	15

A substantial number of respondents claimed that their father had a job as good, or better, than their own (71.5%). Rationales given for the choice that the father had/has a better occupation were both of a tangible and intangible nature. The perception that the father obtained a better wage or monetary return figured highly; the comment was usually accompanied by reference to vehicle ownership. The parent had a better job as evidenced by his ownership of "new," "big", or "many" automobiles/ trucks.

Of more importance in the decision-making process was the fact that the parent was/is his own boss: "he's independent." Whether this answer was flavoured due to nepotism and short-term employment might pose an interesting question. However, the independence of the parent was accompanied, according to respondents, by enjoyment.

The fathers' occupations were perceived generally as being better in some way; yet, the father's occupation usually required little, or no, education. Faith in the value of education as leading to employment or satisfaction would again be questioned.

#### SES Data

In terms of home size, three to four bedrooms would be average for parental dwellings (Table 35). As the years passed and DIAND control tightened over Dryberry, the housing designs lost their variation as the Department delivered standard packages of usually three bedrooms. Table 36 demonstrates the effect of the DIAND housing policy as the three-bedroom unit dominates in the ownership pattern.

TABLE 35	
Number of Bedrooms per Home (Parents)	
Number of bedrooms/house	Percentage
Don't know	11.5
1	1.9
2	17.3
3	25.0
4	34.6
5	7.7
6	1.9

For those responding that they owned no home (Table 36), reasons given included:

- "can't understand," as in, "don't know why"
- "the Reserve's broke...."
- "have to be working"
- "didn't ask"
- "single"

From these responses, one can hypothesize that, due to the limited funds available for housing, priority is given to working, married people who will ask/push for it. However, the priority would also seem to be contingent upon kinship patterns. One respondent, working and married, noted that her family, along with thirteen other relatives, could not



TABLE 36	
Numbers of Bedrooms per Home (Children)	
Number of bedrooms/house	Percentage
Don't own	25.0
2	9.6
3	50.0
4	9.6
5	3.8

obtain new housing despite the fact of over-crowding and her determination to obtain accommodations for her family.

The percentage of respondents and parents with running water did not vary significantly. Eleven and a half per cent of the respondents had running water while 15.4 per cent of the parents had running water to their home. However, for the most part the access to running water is simply a matter of location as the water main was run between the band office and the school. All those close to this line could obtain the service by paying a service charge and having it connected. Only one family interviewed had installed their own pressure system even though most homes were very close to the water's edge.

Within the Reserve setting, the chief indicators of economic status are the ownership of a vehicle, colour television, or telephone. The vehicle is seen as "necessary" due to the distance to sources to

supplies and/or services. Colour televisions have become status symbols and telephones are a "luxury" item on a Reserve of this size. Access to running water was not a crucial issue as far as most people were concerned; this might be due to the fact that access has been recent and the benefits have yet to be established. The fact that access is limited to a group lying along the water main might also play a role in that access is not equally available.

In terms of vehicle ownership, parental investigation revealed that seventy-one per cent owned either a car and/or truck; thirty-two per cent owned a skidoo; and, over fifty per cent owned either a canoe or motor-boat (Table 37).

Vehicle ownership by children reveals that there is a substantial difference between themselves and their parents as evidenced by Table 38. Seven per cent less own cars; four per cent less own trucks; nineteen per cent less own skidoos; seventeen per cent less own motorboats; and, twenty-one per cent less own canoes.

In terms of vehicle ownership, the parents have a distinct material advantage. Most notable is the significant difference in ownership of vehicles associated with the traditional skills. The parents exhibit a greater ownership of skidoos, utilized for trapping, motorboats, utilized for fishing, and canoes, utilized for rice-picking. This perhaps is reflective of lost traditional skills among the younger community members, or, it simply could reflect inadequate time or resources necessary to accumulate material goods.

In terms of television ownership and the presence of a phone within the home, the statistical break-down (Tables 39 and 40) reveals that the parents maintain a slight edge in the accumulation of material goods or access to services.

TABLE 37	
Vehicle Ownership (Parents)	
Car ownership	Percentage
Yes	53.8
Truck ownership	Percentage
Yes	17.3
Skidoo ownership	Percentage
Yes	32.7
Motorboat ownership	Percentage
Yes	57.7
Canoe ownership	Percentage
Yes	57.7

TABLE 38  
Vehicle Ownership (Children)

Car ownership	Percentage
Yes	46.2
Truck ownership	Percentage
Yes	13.5
Skidoo ownership	Percentage
Yes	13.5
Motorboat ownership	Percentage
Yes	40.4
Canoe ownership	Percentage
Yes	36.5

TABLE 39 Television/Telephone Ownership (Parents)	
Black and white television	Percentage
Yes	40.4
Colour television	Percentage
Yes	61.5
Telephone	Percentage
Yes	69.2

TABLE 40 Television/Telephone Ownership (Children)	
Black and white television	Percentage
Yes	23.1
Colour television	Percentage
Yes	67.3
Telephone	Percentage
Yes	59.6

Table 40 offers similar information on television and telephone ownership as it applies to the children. Once again the findings are that, in terms of material goods, the children are at a disadvantage. This is reinforced by findings that many of the younger families are forced to borrow televisions and/or sound systems from their parents. Similarly, in terms of telephone service, one notes that the younger generation does not have as ready access.

When asked to assess their parents in terms of wealth relative to the community, respondents generally felt that their parents ranked average in this variable (Table 41).

TABLE 41	
Perceptions of Parental Wealth	
Average:	55.8%
Above average:	13.5%
Below average:	23.1%
No response:	1.9%
Not applicable:	3.8%
Don't know:	1.9%

The same type of question when applied to a power variable yielded responses that would suggest that the respondents viewed their parents as lacking in power (Table 42). Findings indicate that perceptions of wealth contribute very little to the power variable within the Dryberry setting.

TABLE 42

## Perceptions of Parental Power

Average:	5.8%
Above average:	23.1%
Below average:	51.9%
No response:	3.8%
Not applicable:	5.8%
Don't know:	9.6%

These findings also indicate a high degree of alienation and powerlessness. Research done among Indian children offers similar conclusions regarding alienation and powerlessness. R.W. Gustafson has noted that when dependency upon outside agencies is lessened there is a corresponding increase in feelings of efficacy.<sup>180</sup>

## Economic Analysis

Application of a modified<sup>181</sup> Blishen scale to the occupational choices of the parents, reveals a class distribution as identified in Table 43. Application of the modified Blishen scale to off-spring career choices offers the class analysis as evidenced in Table 44.

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<sup>180</sup> See Chapter VII in Gustafson, op. cit.

<sup>181</sup> Necessarily modified as Blishen offers no ranking for occupational positions such as Band Administrator, Chief, etc. Such positions were categorized as administrative/managerial in nature. Therefore, results will be bias in an upwards direction as per the Blishen Scale.

TABLE 43

Analysis: Application of Blishen to Parental Occupations

Class	Frequency
2	2
3	2
4	1
5	4
6	16
7	21
8	5
Missing	1

TABLE 44

Analysis: Application of Blishen to Offspring Occupations

Class	Frequency
2	2
3	2
4	6
5	10
6	10
7	6
8	13
10	3



To assess inter-generation mobility, according to the Blisshen scale, a cross-tabulation of Tables 43 and 44 was performed. The cross-tabulation of occupational mobility between the generations (Table 45) revealed a minor positive trend over the generations.

TABLE 45									
Cross-tabulation: Inter-generational Occupational Mobility									
		Class (Parental)							
Class (Children)	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	10	
2	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	
3	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	
4	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
5	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	
6	0	0	0	6	5	1	3	1	
7	1	1	4	2	3	3	5	2	
8	0	0	0	2	0	0	3	0	

The cross tabulation demonstrates that some movement has occurred. There has been a gradual upward mobility for the children within Classes 4 and 5; however, there has also been a drop in real numbers in Classes 6 and 7. Table 45 reveals that 21 individuals rose in SES, while 19 fell. The numbers that rose and fell are essentially the same. The positive movement that does exist is slight.

This slight upward trend is confined to the sample. Considering the sample is biased in favour of the employed, extended analysis of the community would most likely portray no occupational mobility, or negative mobility, over the generations. The fact that many of the band positions have been artificially created must also be noted. Lofty positions with fancy titles are recent occurrences and tend to shade the cross-tabulation with an unreality. Despite these factors, the results still suggest a lack of growth in the employment sector; in terms of status and rewards, the younger members of the Reserve seem no better off than their parents.

There does seem to be a positive relationship between education and Class but, only for four individuals in the top two socio-economic classes as shown in Table 46.

TABLE 46  
Cross-tabulation: Class by Highest Grade

	Class							
	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	10
Grade								
5	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
7	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0
8	0	0	2	1	2	1	2	2
9	0	0	0	2	2	1	2	0
10	0	0	2	3	3	1	8	0
11	0	1	0	1	2	2	0	1
University	2	1	0	0	0	0	1	0
Technical	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0

Therefore, the findings suggest that the question whether socio-economic inter-generational mobility has been present at Dryberry must be answered in the negative. The evidence suggests stagnation, if not regression, of such mobility. With regards to SES factors, the suggestion remains constant. In terms of material goods or services, the younger members of the community are less well-off than their parents. The children feel less powerful than the parent and less satisfied. There are no indicators that would suggest a positive trend in socio-economic mobility. Finally, the data, utilizing the Blishen

scale, reveal negligible upward movement.

## Chapter VII

### CONCLUSIONS

The evidence gathered within the scope of this study would seem to indicate that there has been little inter-generational SES mobility for the sample. Indian People continue to occupy the lower end of the occupational scales. Certainly education, as a variable, would not in itself seem to have positively affected socio-economic mobility in a dramatic fashion.

The statistical data presented within the pages of this study offer several important insights. Among these are:

1. The vast majority of respondents had less than a Grade 10 education (Table 7).
2. Early school leaving was generally the result of pregnancy or necessity to support self or family (Table 8).
3. Educational aspirations for children were continually high with over one-quarter of the respondents desiring University or college education for their children (Table 9).
4. Respondents exhibited a strong belief that a higher education will result in a better job (Table 10).
5. Indeed, respondents felt that education played a positive role in their own acquisition of a job (Table 11).
6. Education was seen by 42.3% of the respondents as the most important factor in job attainment (Table 15); theoretically, 64.4% believed in education's value in job attainment (Table 14).

7. Up-grading, as a vehicle to acquire skills or academic standing, has not been given serious consideration by most respondents. Those who have considered the option note a variety of reasons why they have been unable to access the program(s) (Table 12).
8. If courses were to be offered, respondents felt that they would like to complete their academic program, obtain occupational skills, and further their English language training (Table 13).
9. In response to queries about traditional versus contemporary input into curricula, 51.9% favoured a combination while 32.7% favoured mainly and/or only an emphasis on the new (Table 16).
10. There is a strong belief by 82.7% of the respondents that both elders and the school play an important role in the educational process (Table 17).
11. All male parents had a formal educational level of Grade 10 and less; almost 50% of the respondents were unable to identify the parent's level of formal schooling (Table 18). Similar findings relate to the identified levels of schooling for the female parent (Table 19).

In terms of economic findings, the data reveal that unemployment continues to be a severe problem and that respondents strongly believe that their parents had a more rewarding occupation. Specifically:

1. Few respondents have held their job for more than three years (Table 20).
2. There is a strong degree of uncertainty regarding occupational stability (Table 21).

3. Self-employment and band employment are favoured over working for others (Table 23).
4. Few respondents were aware of the employment possibilities outside the Reserve (Table 24).
5. The vast majority would take a job outside the community if such an employment possibility opened (Table 25).
6. On-Reserve career choices for children were severely limited (Table 26). Even off-Reserve occupational choices for children seem to be limited by a lack of knowledge concerning career options (Table 27).
7. Stated rationales for identifying the best jobs usually revolved around financial returns, security, and/or the potential for assisting others.
8. Unemployed and/or being on welfare were seen as the worst situations (Table 29).
9. Male parents were for the most part engaged in traditional activities or semi-skilled occupations. Female parents were housewives (73.1%) or engaged in occupations ranging from labourer to professional (Tables 32 and 33).
10. Respondents voiced a strong belief that their fathers had as good, or better, a job (Table 34).
11. In terms of measurable assets, parents exhibited greater accumulations of wealth (Tables 35 to 40).
12. Approximately fifty per cent of the sample believed that their parents were "average" in terms of wealth; however, approximately fifty per cent believed that their parents were below average in political power (Tables 41 and 42).

Despite the inherent beliefs in the value of education and its perceived role in socio-economic mobility, the data once cross-tabulated and examined, reveal that socio-economic mobility in real terms is elusive. The cross-tabulation would suggest that slight upward mobility is apparent within the sample; but as that sample is biased in favour of the employed, the opposite may, in effect, be implied. In addition, the perception exists that parents were better off. Generally there is less situational satisfaction with an accompanying belief that job opportunities are not available or are artificial creations.

Regarding the questions posed within this study, the data would suggest:

1. Indian people have been confined to secondary labour roles;
2. Indian people have little "real" socio-economic mobility;
3. education provides little assistance in such mobility; and,
4. in essence, the data would suggest minimal, if any, upward mobility over the generations under study.

Certainly it would seem that there has been minimal inter-generational socio-economic mobility for Indian people on Dryberry. However, the findings raise further questions. Is there a conscious effort to keep the residents of Dryberry from climbing the socio-economic ladder? Is education a key player in maintaining the status quo? Can a single, key factor be isolated as hindering this mobility? Statistical data, in and of themselves, have supported the radical assertions; but the data, and the variables affecting these data, must be further examined if one is to understand the forces at work that shape Dryberry's reality.



Porter has quite clearly identified the positive relationship existing between higher education and socio-economic class.<sup>182</sup> Bullivant reiterates that the positive relationship between education and higher socio-economic status is a fact of life and that

...it is now accepted that the distribution of and access to public knowledge, i.e., the selection from the cultural stock, is not uniform throughout any one society. Instead, it varies from sub-group to sub-group so that some have more access to knowledge than others and can gain an advantage in obtaining better life chances and social rewards in those jobs and professions which depend on the possession of knowledge, obtained largely through education and schooling.<sup>183</sup>

If one accepts the fact that ability is similarly distributed throughout society<sup>184</sup> then potential for socio-economic advancement definitely exists within Dryberry. Further to this is the fact that this advancement can best be achieved through utilization of the educative mode. Why then have the Dryberry residents not taken advantage of this path?

To pursue this matter further, it is first necessary to turn from statistical methodology to ethnographic research. As Rist notes, "no one method can answer all our questions or offer all the necessary perspectives...."<sup>185</sup> Thus, for an explanation of the various factors at work in this particular situation, it is important to draw upon an experiential base and observations. For convenience, this discussion will be broken into four areas: the community as a participant in the

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<sup>182</sup> Porter, The Vertical Mosaic, page 88.

<sup>183</sup> B.M. Bullivant, The Pluralist Dilemma in Education (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1981), p. 9.

<sup>184</sup> Porter, The Vertical Mosaic, p. 197-8.

<sup>185</sup> Rist as quoted in the preface to J.S. Kleinfeld's work, An Eskimo School on the Andreafsky (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1979), p. v.

process, the federal role, the political/economic variable, and the educational delivery system. It will be seen that these forces overlap in their effects; no one factor will break the socio-economic impasse; no one factor is preserving it. A combination of factors, forever shifting and changing, seems responsible for the maintenance of the socio-economic status of Dryberry residents.

#### The Community as a Participant in the Process

The residents of Dryberry have been subject to both internal and external pressures. These pressures, DIAND manipulation and reluctance to provide anything but temporary assistance coupled with poverty and its accompanying negative mindset, apathy, and, nepotism, have virtually ensured that Dryberry residents will experience little socio-economic mobility. Together these factors become devastating.

A draft copy of the "Indian Mental Health Research Formulation Final Report" addresses the area of low socio-economic status and comments of the effects of poverty:

Poverty creates a chronic stress of its own. It can make daily living a struggle. It perpetuates dependency on governmental assistance programs. It deprives people of the opportunity to learn to manage money. It breeds resentments of those who "have" on reserve, predominantly non-Indians. It produces chronic frustrations and is a factor in aggravating alcohol abuse which in turn increases the poverty. It deprives children and adults of the possibilities of a healthy diet.... The debilitating effects of a low income in hundreds of ways was a theme repeated again and again....<sup>186</sup>

Poverty is obviously one variable that impacts negatively on upward SES mobility. Through inculcation of a set of negative values, through deprivation of sound nutrition and housing, through the creation of an

<sup>186</sup> First Nations Confederacy, "Indian Mental Health Research Formulation Final Report," Draft Copy, August 1985, p. 10.

unhealthy community atmosphere - poverty strikes at the ability of individuals to visualize, let alone aspire to, SES mobility.

While the FNC report makes mention of the resentment towards those who "have," such resentment is not only towards non-Indians. Indeed, in both the area of education and economic advancement, one finds community residents as targets for derision. These are internal pressures, often characterized as being of a nepotistic and/or apathetic nature; but, which can more accurately be described as petty jealousy which preys on the community and makes it difficult for an individual to get ahead. This attitude precludes any community cohesiveness. Thus, in contrast to the Jewish or Oriental experience in Canada, one will not find a group unity or desire to assist a gifted individual to break out of the economic morass in which Dryberry residents find themselves. In fact, too often, the opposite is true.

This attitude, sometimes labelled "crab antics," has been noted by the former Grand Chief of the Four Nations Confederacy, Lyle Longclaws.<sup>187</sup> Longclaws relates the story of two fishermen, one Indian and one White, who decide to fish alongside of each other. Both fishermen are using crabs as bait and contain the crabs within woven baskets. The White fisherman has a terrible time trying to confine his crabs for they quickly climb out of his basket; as fast as he can throw them back in, they escape. The White fisherman observes that the Indian has no problem with his crabs and asks why this is so. The Indian fisherman explains that his crabs are Indian crabs. Indian crabs, he

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<sup>187</sup> A talk given to a group of teachers at Fairford, Manitoba, on November 22, 1980. For a discussion of this concept as applied to the West Indies, see P.J. Wilson, Crab Antics (London: Yale University Press, 1973).

explains, have a certain trait; whenever one crab tries to escape, the rest pull him back into the basket. The analogy to Dryberry might be simplistic; but, as evidenced from the research, the basic truth is there. Internally, therefore, the attitude of the Dryberry residents, especially those in power, and the manifestations of that attitude, offers a serious block to any individual seeking to experience socio-economic mobility.

Both Hawthorn and Lithman admonish the researcher to be cautious in this area. The individuals charged with the management functions on-Reserve often are targets of criticism; however, much of the criticism is of a situational nature.

On many reserves people live close together, undertake many joint enterprises, have disputes, make some disposition of them, and afterwards go on living with the results. Goods and energy are always in short supply and differences in opinion about their allocation are therefore likely to be frequent. Those who are concerned must arrange these things and continue to see and work with one another afterwards, unprotected by the social distance that makes an impersonal decision, whether good or bad, an easy one to render in organizations within a large society.<sup>188</sup>

Then too, Lithman argues that outsiders tend to be quick to apply the term "nepotism" to a situation which, in reality, is political a response to political "bunches and coalitions between bunches."

Wichern, studying the same Reserve as Lithman, noted:

On this Reserve, numerous factions are vying for political power, but the struggle is particularly visible among various family groups. These could almost be likened to political party groups. The 'in' and 'out' groups are more obvious here than on, for example, the Big Eddy Reserve. Here, it is more probable that a member of the 'in' power group, or a friend or relative, will receive a new house, rather than a member of the 'out' political group.<sup>189</sup>

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<sup>188</sup> Hawthorn, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 11.

<sup>189</sup> Y.G. Lithman, The Community Apart: A Case Study of a Canadian Indian

Lithman claims that Wichern's views of Reserve political life are not an accurate portrayal. Lithman, though, believes that the application of family groupings to the political factionalism is too simplistic; but, rather the "political organization [of the Reserve]... is primarily characterized as a very functional adaption to the existing socioeconomic environment."<sup>190</sup> Dryberry residents would seem to favour Wishern's interpretation of on-reserve political dynamics.

However, the evidence, regardless of polemics and semantic argument, points out the fact that job positions are not filled on the basis of educational or occupational expertise but, on familial relationships. Such movements, regardless of motivations, demonstrate to residents that education, in practice, will not dramatically offer an individual an edge in job competitions. This then lessens the parental emphasis on the value of education for their children. The result would seem to be that, while expounding the virtues of education, community residents have not internalized education as a value or fully accepted the positive relationship between education and socio-economic mobility. J.A. Riffel et al. have categorized such individuals as "those who verbalize about the value of education but who do little else to transmit this to their children."<sup>191</sup> The verbalization exists; but, needed action to emphasize education as a priority is lacking.

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Reserve Community (Winnipeg: The University of Manitoba Press, 1984), p. 159.

<sup>190</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>191</sup> J.A. Riffel et al., "Notes on the Future of Indian Education: Toward Indian Control," Working Draft, September 1973, p. 8.

In addition, the splits within the community work to ensure that there is little group cohesiveness to seek a stronger educative system tied to an economic framework. This state of affairs results in feelings of hopelessness, powerlessness, and alienation; feelings manifested in drinking, social disintegration, and welfare. The community is participating in its own destruction.

#### The Federal Role

External pressures also conspire to hamper socio-economic mobility. The influence and power of the DIAND in affecting all aspects of Reserve life is terribly mis-understood and grossly under-estimated. The effects of total control residing in the hands of others has never been adequately analyzed. In the case of a Reserve community, such as Dryberry, all facets of life, economic, social, cultural, educational, ad infinitum, are to some degree dependent on the Department of Indian Affairs and therefore subject to outside manipulation.

Hawthorn notes that many of the difficulties experienced by Bands is due to "a high degree of dependency, that goes well beyond the dependency of the average person in today's complex welfare state because the sources of partial independence, primarily ones linked to education and to income, are so much less for the Indians."<sup>192</sup> The Department controls the dispersal of funds and the amount of funding determines the quality, and often the success, of programs. Within this study, it has been noted that economic development is not a priority with the Department, neither it seems is education and both directly influence SES mobility. Therefore, the presence of the Department on

<sup>192</sup> Hawthorn, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 11.

Reserve, in no small way, impacts upon the findings of this study.

Department officials speak of offering a "basic education," an education devoid of "frills." Frills, according to Departmental practice would seem to include adequate library resources, guidance counselling, remediation, laboratory apparatus, and the other considerations taken as imperatives within educational systems. These items are necessary to supply the support services that foster success. Even the basic education offered through DIAND schools lacks the normal attributes of a sound educational system and the programs offered do not begin to address the problems inherent in Indian education.

Such a lack of fundamental instructional aids, programs, and supports has been documented numerous times by Indian organizations across the country. One such position paper, developed by the Manitoba Indian Education Association, carefully analyzes the funding of Indian education and notes that "the quality of educational services being delivered to Indian students has continued to decline."<sup>193</sup> While focusing on locally-controlled schools, the position paper notes educational deficiencies within both federal and locally-controlled schools. The paper identifies serious short-comings in the areas of curriculum development, libraries, special education, and guidance; but, as well, it notes that the areas of administration, staff benefits, transportation, and plant operation and maintenance are under-funded. M.I.E.A. has support in the words of a former Regional Director of D.I.A.N.D. who has been quoted as commenting that "the department has done a poor job of educating children under its control... the major

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<sup>193</sup> Manitoba Indian Education Association Inc., "A Position Paper on Funding for Locally-Controlled Schools in Manitoba," February, 1982, p. 4.

underlying problem is a lack of Government funds."<sup>194</sup> Quite obviously, the Department has not explored its role as a positive force in encouraging SES mobility through an improved educational investment.

Traditionally, the Department has only been concerned with offering the general academic program, a program designed only for those not going on to University. Without proper University Entrance preparation, students stand little chance of success in undertaking those programs which result in substantial upward mobility. This then becomes a post-secondary gate-keeping experience; the doors to the professions remain closed. In limited education, the DIAND has found a vehicle to reinforce the Indian youngster's designated social class.

Occupational skill training is simply another mechanism to preserve the status quo. Under the guise of economic development, the Department constructs inadequate make-work projects designed to exploit or offer little real job training. The Department provides "Indian band-aid programs."<sup>195</sup> programs designed to alleviate unemployment only temporarily. Dollars that are invested in economic development are not terribly effective:

Over the last decade, at least \$65 million was spent on job-creation on-reserve by government lenders.... In addition, \$12.55 million in short-term job-creation was provided by the C.E.I.C. Most of the money funded short-term (1 year or less) job-creation projects. Only 17 percent of the 10,713 jobs created were for longer-term business enterprises and a fair proportion of these failed primarily because of a lack of experience and skills in managing a business. As a result, participation rates remained low and unemployment rates, high.<sup>196</sup>

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<sup>194</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>195</sup> L.T. York, Indian Economic Development: A Basis for Indian Sovereignty (Winnipeg: Four Nations Confederacy, 1981), p. 5.

<sup>196</sup> Social Planning Council of Winnipeg, A Review of Changes in the



Such investment in the job creation sector has been a stop-gap measure, artificially creating employment without the promise of continued full-time employment. The false economy of the Reserve is reinforced.

Job training is approached no differently. There is no planned approach to match output to employment opportunities. For example, in conjunction with CEIC, the Department repeatedly provides carpentry training courses. This is simply make-work under an educational guise; there is no correlation between the numbers taking the course and the market requirements of the area. Both of these areas are crucial to the development of socio-economic mobility and both are consciously under-funded or designed to fail.

Poor education and job skills combine with little marketability and few employment opportunities to ensure that mobility eludes the Indian residents of Dryberry. The hypotheses have been proven to be valid to a great extent through examination of Dryberry Reserve. As Hawthorn notes, this situation is not unique to Dryberry.<sup>197</sup> Yet, while acknowledging this state of affairs, the Federal Government offers no comprehensive and/or innovative approach to the problem. The situation is allowed to continue; mobility again eludes the residents of Dryberry.

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Living Conditions of the Registered Indian Population of Manitoba During the 1970's (Winnipeg: The Social Planning Council of Winnipeg, 1982), p. 84.

<sup>197</sup> Hawthorn, op. cit., p. 14.

### Economic/Political Variables

There can be little change in the status of Indian people until employment opportunities can be found and job skills inculcated. Even if these two pre-conditions are established, Indian people will find it difficult to succeed for internal colonialism, the form known as paternalism, will consistently work to destroy any sort of mentality compatible with the values of dominant society. Unfortunately, or fortunately, for Indian people, they must adopt many of the dominant values if they wish to share equally in the rewards of technological society, open avenues for socio-economic mobility, open avenues for geographical mobility, and provide a better standard of living for themselves and their children.

These values cannot be established in a colonialist situation; the DIAND ensures the continuation of such a situation. The paradox is that now the colonial mentality is propagated by Indian leaders who fear any loss of "aboriginal or treaty rights." Many Indian leaders are afraid to see any change in the status quo and, knowingly or unknowingly, are working to keep their people from entering, and competing, within the system. These leaders would seem to have bought cultural colonialism in its entirety.

Indian people must therefore take it upon themselves to call for an end to governmental control over Indian politics, economics, and education. Colonialism creates a dependency (see Chapter Three) which ingrains a value system incompatible with concepts such as power, responsibility, and the work ethic - three concepts crucial to socio-economic mobility in today's Canadian society. Indian Peoples must be allowed to, encouraged to, take control over their own lives.

This move will have some immediate effects. It will do away with a tremendously ponderous bureaucracy, place the decision-making at a local level, and most of all, encourage Indian people to take responsibility for their own actions.

Encouraging Indian people to take responsibility for their actions would encourage more participation (when one's survival is at stake, one will become active quickly), would make leaders more receptive to the wishes of all those they serve, would make leaders take the decision-making process more seriously and consider all implications (if the program fails, no one will be there to bail them out), and would focus attention on leadership ability (the Whites or the bureaucracy can no longer be used as scapegoats for mistakes in policy/action). In these ways, the Indian people would ultimately benefit. Then too, this move would be accompanied by an increased sense of self-esteem; alienation would diminish as power to govern one's own life increased. Abilities, rather than kinship patterns would be recognized.... the list could go on. The acceptance of responsibility is part of the growth process; it is seen as necessary even for children so that they might develop skills and self-confidence. Is one to ask whether the federal government, and Indian people themselves, consider Indian people less than child-like? The necessity to pose the question supports the assertion that cultural colonialism has truly worked.

The abolition of the DIAND must be accompanied by two other moves, the end of special status for Indian people and the end of the Reserve system. Reserves have been counter-productive for Indian people, a fact which they must examine. While the Reserve has provided land, a home, and a community, it has been much more destructive. For

the "reserve" is a non-entity, created by federal legislation. Dryberry is the very essence of a community held together through government dictate only. There is no economic base for Dryberry; subsistence payments keep the community 'alive.' In realistic terms, this means that welfare/ assistance has become the main means of livelihood; for others, it means that jobs have been provided, jobs which are "make-work." Welfare, it has been shown, is despised as a means of livelihood for it eats at self-respect; "make-work" has similar connotations. As one respondent noted, "There are no real jobs on this Reserve...." If there is no economic base for the community, should it be allowed to follow a natural path of dissolution?

Such dissolution would seem the only feasible path so that jobs of a "self-fulfilling" nature might be found. Findings suggest that Dryberry residents do not know which jobs are available in Milltown; eliminating Reserve pseudo-employment would force Dryberry residents to begin the search. This search could be assisted by Manpower which had one Indian designated to such a position and had an opening for another. Mobility dollars would be provided through the Occupational Skills Training Program. Indian Peoples would most likely continue to find themselves in the lower echelons of the employed; but, they would acquire a skill, learn the basis of stratified occupational levels, recognize that ability/work record are important factors in retention/promotion, and have access to the ladder of socio-economic mobility. Access to SES mobility would be much more of a reality.

The simple reality is that economic opportunities are limited in scope and number within Dryberry; economic avenues must be pursued outside the community. Hawthorn has supported this direction:

...any substantial improvement in the economic position of Indians generally will require the movement of large and increasing numbers from the overcrowded low-income, resource-based industries and locales in which they now work and reside into better-paid wage and salaried employment in other industries which, in most cases, will probably be beyond commuting distance from their reserves.<sup>198</sup>

If economic rewards and mobility are desired, the choice is quite clear.

The Reserve lands could be parcelled out among individuals and sold to individual buyers or the government at going rates. If a resident wished he could also sell his house back to the government; those without homes would be given a housing grant as per the fiscal year. This would supply basic capital to re-locate or utilize as collateral to establish a business. Such a move would provide an opportunity to own land or business free from gross interference by others. Those with specialized skills, i.e. management, would not be subject to "crab antics."

Then too, there is something inherently important about "ownership." If Indian people exercised ownership, whether in housing, business, or education, a change would most likely occur in attitudes and behaviour. Responsibility for one's own would encourage a general trend to involvement, pride, and a sense of community.

The Reserve system is essentially counter-productive and works against socio-economic mobility. Socio-economic mobility generally implies geographical mobility and the "pull" factors towards a Reserve negate the "push" factors towards those areas offering opportunity and mobility. On-reserve, the individual will find total financial security, a home and subsistence payments will be available, life is comfortable in that friends and family are nearby, pressures associated

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<sup>198</sup> Hawthorn, op. cit., Vol.I, p. 141.

in coping with off-reserve problems dissipate. Therefore, it becomes easy, and perhaps natural, to view the Reserve as a sanctuary. Unfortunately, the opportunity for socio-economic mobility can be lost to such strong "pull" factors.

Special status ensures that Indian people are viewed upon as separate entities; but, it is questionable whether equality is fostered through this perspective. By ensuring their distinctiveness, Indian people establish the ironic situation that this distinctiveness becomes more of a burden than an asset. Indian people, for the most part, attend DIAND schools or Indian-controlled schools in early years; yet, they must enter Provincial or private schools for secondary, vocational, or university training. Standards tend to vary a great deal between the systems so that many Indian students find themselves academically retarded upon entrance into the Provincial system. Then too separateness in the earlier years makes integration between Whites and Indians that much harder in later years. These facts have evidenced themselves time and time again; however, the solution has been to ignore the cause and withdraw, establishing the separateness at even a greater level.

Special status has also created a great degree of hostility within mixed communities where Metis and non-status Indians view with distaste a double standard which allows the Indian free housing while the Metis or non-status are expected to provide for themselves. Special status works against a sense of community in these cases. Special status also ensures that the three groups remain politically divided as a power bloc. For the tangible benefits of freedom from income tax, access to housing grants, and treaty payments, Indian people stand to

risk loss of power, loss of equality, and jeopardize the futures of their children, but encourage local prejudices.

As it stands now, the Reserve is simply a form of confinement which limits exposure to opportunity, does not offer adequate skill-upgrading training, and does not foster ability recognition. Then too the Reserve, isolated from White society, does not offer the equal-status contact necessary to fight racist tendencies. Dryberry exhibits the symptoms of a very negative "existence" - there are few jobs, people must take welfare of a subsistence level, self-respect is hit hard, drinking has become a major problem, societal disintegration is evident. The Reserve, combined with special status and a dependency-creating bureaucracy, is undoubtedly strangling a people.

#### Education

There persists a strong belief among the respondents, as demonstrated in Table 14, that education is valuable; education can offer socio-economic mobility. These findings closely correspond to those of the The Hawthorn Report:

In general Indian adults expressed the attitude "education is good." When reasons were asked for, the most commonly given were: "Education makes life easier;" "Education helps you get along with Whites better;" and "Education helps you get jobs."<sup>199</sup>

However, this belief would seem to be mis-guided when applied to the specific case of Dryberry Reserve.

The findings bear out the radical assertion that education has not assisted intergenerational socio-economic mobility for Indian people. Some liberals would insist that education must assist, and

<sup>199</sup> Hawthorn, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 137.

would ensure, this mobility. Obviously such is not the case in Dryberry and this phenomenon is not confined to one particular Reserve. The Social Planning Council of Winnipeg echoes these findings in a study of Manitoba's Reserves, noting that the educational attainment of Indian children and adults has improved very little over the past decade within those Reserves.<sup>200</sup>

The first obvious educational statistic from this research is that few Dryberry students have completed high school or any form of technical training. Therefore, skill levels are low and will remain so unless there is substantial up-grading; yet, approximately 75 per cent of the sample will not receive such training. Without a firm educational background, little mobility can be expected.

The educational structure within the community, and ultimately DIAND, must take partial responsibility for educational, and economic, failure as the type of education has not met the needs of the clientele. There has been no analysis of the needs of the community so as to match output of the educational system with occupational requirements of the Reserve. Shops are provided in wood-working; yet, there are too many aspiring carpenters for the few positions available. There have been no provisions to provide training in electrical work or plumbing; consequently, outsiders must be brought in to do this work. Essentially, occupational counselling, which must become more of an educational priority, is absent from Dryberry.

Respondents also had noted very few different types of careers available or possible. Hawthorn notes that the reason for this may be the limited occupational perspective offered by the confines of the

<sup>200</sup> Social Planning Council of Winnipeg, op. cit., p. 137.



## Reserve:

In analyzing the choices that young Indians make there are several factors to be considered. First, they are Indians identifying with Indian models and by definition, Indian occupations. Second, students are aware that Indian occupations demand a lower level of education than would other choices. Third, since most Indians in school are on general or occupational programs and over-age as well, school and Indian Affairs Branch personnel tend to encourage these students to enter training programs leading to trade occupations, "because they are good ones for Indians." This further reinforces the idea that such occupations are for Indians and that others are not. Finally, school and Indian Affairs Branch personnel tend not to disseminate general vocational information and tend not to encourage Indian children to think about semi-professional and professional occupations because, "this is not realistic for Indians at this time." Little or no vocational information is given to Indian students so that many are unaware of the alternatives and are reduced to a choice within the narrow spectrum of their own community.<sup>201</sup>

There has also been a significant failure on the part of the social counsellors. At one time an educational counsellor was employed full-time; this salary was halved and two social counsellor positions were created. Unfortunately, education has lost any priority for these counsellors. Students complain that promised monies are late, assistance is not offered, and little encouragement is forthcoming. Adults speak of being refused up-grading, meeting resistance, or not being encouraged to pursue academic/vocational courses.

The radical perspective is simply too simplistic. There is no single factor that has prevented socio-economic mobility on Dryberry. While Radicals would identify gate-keeping, maintenance of social stratification, or economic determinism as the reasons for the lack of mobility, such is not the case. The causes are exceedingly complex, over-lapping, and constantly shifting. Lack of commitment by many

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<sup>201</sup> Hawthorn, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 124.

parties has prevented the effective use of education as a vehicle for SES mobility. Combined with the other negative forces outlined in this chapter, the dynamics are such that that mobility will continue to be elusive.

While this study utilized an ideological framework for analysis, ideological discussions are not productive in meeting the needs of the residents of Dryberry. It is much more important that a practical agenda be developed that will lead to socio-economic growth and mobility in future years. In this regard, what response has there been to the lack of socio-economic mobility on-Reserve? Has the federal government made any effort to address this issue and its causes? What, if anything, can be done?

## Chapter VIII

### IMPLICATIONS

Dryberry does not exist in isolation of the rest of Canadian society and the influences of the greater society and its tool, bureaucracy, continue to impact upon the community. The impact that the Canadian government has had upon Dryberry has been, and continues to be, very significant. An analysis of governmental policy and bureaucratic policy since 1969 will determine whether the problems raised through this study, and the questions addressed, have been of concern to Ottawa and, if so, has governmental response been adequate and/or relevant.

In 1969, then Minister of Indian Affairs Jean Chretien presented a document to Parliament that created shock-waves throughout Indian community and organization across Canada. Indian groups quickly rallied against what has become known as the "1969 White Paper." This paper, formally known as the "Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy, 1969," opened with the remarks:

Canada is richer for its Indian component, although there have been times when diversity seemed of little value to many Canadians. But to be a Canadian Indian today is to be someone different in another way. It is to be someone apart-apart in law, apart in the provision of government services and, too often, apart in social contacts. To be an Indian is to lack power—the power to act as owner of your lands, the power to spend your own money and, too often, the power to change your own condition.<sup>202</sup>

The foreword continued:

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<sup>202</sup> Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, "Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy, 1969," (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1969), p. 3.

The policies proposed recognize the simple reality that the separate legal status of Indians and the policies which have flowed from it have kept the Indian people apart from and behind other Canadians. The Indian people have not been full citizens of the communities and provinces in which they live and have not enjoyed the equality and benefits that such participation offers.<sup>203</sup>

Chretien recommended dramatic changes to the entire structure of federal-Indian relations. The first major recommendation was the removal of legislative and constitutional bases of discrimination. The Indian Act would be repealed and specific references to Indian people, both in the constitution and legislation, would be eliminated. The paper called for a positive recognition of Indian culture and the contributions of Indian people. Governmental support was pledged to ensure that the culture would flourish.

The Indian people would be given equality of governmental service. The provinces would be expected to offer to Indian people all privileges extended to other provincial citizens. Likewise, Indian People would assume all responsibilities of citizenship. Where the federal government was to retain some residual responsibilities for Indian people, said responsibility was to transfer to the appropriate federal agency. In an effort to assist Indian people, the government and its agencies "would be prepared to evolve programs that would help break past patterns of deprivation."<sup>204</sup> This would be accomplished through a substantial infusion of capital dollars to assist in economic development. Assistance would also be offered in the areas of mobility, training, and counselling.

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<sup>203</sup> *ibid.*, p. 5.

<sup>204</sup> *ibid.*, p. 10.

After initiation of the aforesaid policies, and successful acceptance of these policies by Indian people, the issues of treaty and land claims would be settled. Treaties would be reviewed and "equitably ended."<sup>205</sup> An Indian Claims Commission would be established that would move as swiftly as possible to settle outstanding claims. Finally, Indian lands would be transferred to the control of Indian people. The Indian people themselves would make decisions concerning land controlled under their authority.

The White Paper was met with immediate and caustic denunciation; perhaps the best example of which was the response of the Indian Chiefs of Alberta. In a policy statement entitled Citizens Plus, the Chiefs concluded that the White Paper offered "despair instead of hope."<sup>206</sup> The White Paper recommendations were attacked vigourously as was the lack of consultation surrounding the Paper.

Nevertheless, the effect of the implementation of the White Paper would seem to offer much promise. Indian people would be assisted in all areas of economic development; land could be mortgaged<sup>207</sup> for capital purposes; lending institutions would be more inclined to advance loans due to recoverability of assets. Dependency would be cut

<sup>205</sup> *ibid.*, p. 11.

<sup>206</sup> Indian Chiefs of Alberta, Citizens Plus, June 1970, p. 1.

<sup>207</sup> In the United States, the Dawes General Allotment Act of 1887 allowed for individual ownership of reservation lands. Unfortunately, this move also had severe negative effects, i.e. the reduction of land holdings, that could be avoided with proper planning. For a discussion of the Dawes Act, see F.P. Prucha, American Indian Policy in Crisis (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976), pp. 248-262. The "Beaver Report" of 1979 comments on the need for bands to "pledge land and other assets as collateral for loans." For further information one should refer to this study, especially p. 87 ff. The National Indian Socio-Economic Development Committee, To Have What is One's Own (Ottawa: NISEDC, 1979).

drastically and immediately with a corresponding increase in personal and group efficacy. The integration of Indian people into the mainstream of provincial services would emphasize equality of access and, hopefully diminish the "out-group syndrome," allowing for a greater acceptance and participation in the larger society. However, under intense pressure from Indian organizations, the paper was, in theory at least, shelved.

The next major initiative in addressing the needs of Indian people and their future was the creation in December 1982 of a Special Committee to study Indian self-government. This Committee was composed of members from the different political parties, as well as Indian representatives, under the chairmanship of K. Penner. The report of this committee, issued in 1983, detailed numerous recommendations.

The primary recommendation, and central to all subsequent recommendations, was the need for the federal government to establish a new relationship with Indian First Nations and an essential element of that relationship would be the recognition of Indian self-government.<sup>208</sup> This distinct order of government would be recognized under the Constitution.<sup>209</sup> The First Nations, or Bands, would have total authority over their affairs and be accountable to their members.

The First Nations would define membership,<sup>210</sup> have full control over its lands,<sup>211</sup> be given all revenue trust funds presently held by

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<sup>208</sup> Special Committee on Indian Self-Government, Indian Self-Government in Canada (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1983), p. 41.

<sup>209</sup> *ibid.*, p. 44.

<sup>210</sup> *ibid.*, p. 54.

<sup>211</sup> *ibid.*, p. 108.

Ottawa,<sup>212</sup> and have ability to raise revenue at their discretion.<sup>213</sup> Funding arrangements would be direct grants payable to "First Nation governments recognized by the federal government as being accountable to their people."<sup>214</sup> Funding would be of a global and multi-year nature.<sup>215</sup> Once this process has occurred, the Minister of Indian Affairs would be relieved of future responsibility<sup>216</sup> and DIAND would be "phased out."<sup>217</sup> In the meanwhile, all efforts were to be made to enact policy changes that would enhance self-government and that were acceptable to Indian First Nations.<sup>218</sup> Such changes are referred to as "third stream initiatives." These suggestions seem fairly consistent with recommendations emerging from this study.

Among the "third stream initiatives" was a policy statement issued in December of 1983; known as the Operational and Funding Handbook for the Community Infrastructure and Education Facilities, Operations and Maintenance Program, the policy was novel indeed. Once again, the Department claimed that this policy was in keeping with self-government and "Indian control/management of local services...."<sup>219</sup>

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<sup>212</sup> *ibid.*, p. 128.

<sup>213</sup> *ibid.*, p. 64.

<sup>214</sup> *ibid.*, p. 98.

<sup>215</sup> *ibid.*, p. 101.

<sup>216</sup> *ibid.*, p. 129.

<sup>217</sup> *ibid.*, p. 148.

<sup>218</sup> *ibid.*, p. 60.

<sup>219</sup> Capital Management Directorate (IIA), Operational and Funding Handbook for the Community Infrastructure and Education Facilities, Operations and Maintenance Program, December 1983, p.2 of covering letter.

The onus was put upon Bands to manage Operations and Maintenance (O&M) of facilities effectively. In addition, D.K. Goodwin, an Assistant Deputy Minister (ADM), in his covering letter, stated that it is "departmental policy that the services in question [all but education] are not free to Indian peoples as a consequence of their on-reserve status."<sup>220</sup>

While the O&M of educational facilities was to be funded 100 per cent, other community services were to be cost-shared, "These amounts are established in the context of user fee rates (not including property tax charges) being paid for similar services off reserve."<sup>221</sup> Depending on the service in question, Bands were asked to contribute from 10 to 80 per cent of the cost. In addition, householders were expected to be responsible for maintaining their own residence.<sup>222</sup> Band Councils, employees, and members were identified as having primary responsibility for effective O&M of on-reserve community infrastructure and services.<sup>223</sup>

While acknowledging that Bands should have "authority to 'make mistakes' and to learn from experience, as part of the process of accepting greater responsibility and control over their own affairs,"<sup>224</sup> the Capital Management Directorate placed its emphasis on the accountability of the Band. Failure to deliver effective services and comply with O&M agreements, was to result in a definitive Departmental

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<sup>220</sup> *ibid.*, p. 3 of covering letter.

<sup>221</sup> *ibid.*, p. 2.

<sup>222</sup> *ibid.*, p. 12.

<sup>223</sup> *ibid.*, p. 11.

<sup>224</sup> *ibid.*, p. 37.



response:

In general, the means taken by regions should be designed so that the financial or other considerations are felt by Band Council and Band members, and readily identified and associated with the problem. The intent and effect of these measures should be to demonstrate to the Band that they are held responsible for the consequences of actions that are within their control.<sup>225</sup>

Once again, the Department met intense opposition as this policy was seen as the beginning of taxation; regions implemented it sporadically as a consequence. Interestingly enough, the concept of "user-fees" would be brought up again in the Nielsen Report of 1985. In that report would be a recommendation that the Minister of Indian Affairs consult with the Minister of Public Works and the President of the Treasury Board on the establishment of "a 'user-pay' approach for operations maintenance...."<sup>226</sup> Again, Indian Affairs retreated from a position which would have made Band Councils accountable to their membership and Band members responsible, to a varying degree, for services provided by the community.

During the spring of 1985, a Memorandum to Cabinet was "leaked" to the press by a senior civil servant. While the major document itself is classified and unobtainable,<sup>227</sup> the executive summary identifies policy recommendations and directions of the Mulroney government. Under the leadership of Eric Nielsen, Deputy Prime Minister, several task forces were established to examine various governmental departments. The task force delving into Indian Affairs had among its objectives,

<sup>225</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>226</sup> Deputy Prime Minister, Report of the Ministerial Task Force on Native Programs, Executive Summary, April 12, 1985, p. 37.

<sup>227</sup> The report, in its entirety, is now due for release to the public in March or April of 1986.

"the encouragement of greater Indian and native self reliance and entrepreneurship."<sup>228</sup> In addition, the task force was charged with increasing the efficiency of government programs and reducing the duplication of services. This was to be done with emphasis on self-government and the creation of a new relationship between Ottawa and Indian people.

The task force made several observations, one of which was that "Experience has shown that these problems [the problems of Canada's Indian people] cannot be solved by the application of money alone."<sup>229</sup> This perhaps is a unique position for the federal government which consistently has moved dollars, with little planning or accountability, to problem areas. This approach has often calmed troubled waters; but, the underlying cause of the problem has been ignored.

The Nielsen task force then went on to make specific recommendations with regard to almost every program affecting Indian people. For purposes of this study, only a few of the major recommendations will be noted. Once again, many of the recommendations reflect the 1969 White Paper. The task force concludes that "specialty services," i.e. economic development, should be moved from DIAND to the appropriate federal agency. Again, there is the recommendation for closer federal-provincial coordination of program delivery to eliminate duplication of services. The task force also calls for the establishment of an Indian owned trust company to manage Indian funds held in trust by the federal government. Finally, the task force recommends the use of block funding on a multi-year basis to Bands.

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<sup>228</sup> *ibid.*, p. 1.

<sup>229</sup> *ibid.*, p. 5.

Accompanying the implementation of block funding would be the devolution of DIAND itself.

The task force essentially stated that the various programs now held under the umbrella of DIAND would be best done by those with the specialized expertise. The Indian people would be accessing federal programs through a similar route as for all other Canadians. The training programs were also targeted for change and the task force recommended:

The Minister of Employment and Immigration implement an improved job creation and training program targeted at the longer-term unemployed and based on a much greater emphasis on job creation in the private sector, and on generating productive output from projects; a priority towards encouraging jobs in the small business and service sectors; joint federal/provincial agreements combining both job creation and training; and longer-term funding arrangements up to three years.<sup>230</sup>

Indian people were to be encouraged to become active in the private sector; jobs created were to be meaningful and productive; long-term planning was to be emphasized. Finally, the economic and training morass was to be addressed.

Housing assistance was to be expanded to off-Reserve units so that mobility would not be discouraged through housing incentives limited to on-Reserve units.<sup>231</sup> In the area of education, local control was to be encouraged, post-secondary assistance carefully analyzed, and the guidance and counselling program eliminated.<sup>232</sup> Essentially throughout other programs, the task force report emphasized the need for the Band to be responsible to its membership for the delivery of

<sup>230</sup> *ibid.*, p. 30.

<sup>231</sup> *ibid.*, p. 37.

<sup>232</sup> *ibid.*, p. 41.

services; where possible the provinces should be used to channel services for Indian people.

As with the 1969 White Paper, the reaction from Indian organizations was immediate and emphatic; the Nielsen report was seen simply as a method to implement cost-cutting and another avenue by which the federal government could avoid its rightful obligation to Indian people. The task force had anticipated such a reaction:

The conclusions of this review... would represent substantial change for Native people. While culturally diverse and often disunited, native Canadians share a high degree of reluctance to change; for Indian people particularly, any action which is perceived to erode the Federal responsibility for Indians and lands reserved for Indians can be expected to stimulate a vigorous reaction....

Native people are capable of mobilizing effective and highly-visible demonstrations of objection to change with which they disagree.<sup>233</sup>

The Grand Council of the Cree labelled the recommendations "cynical and racist."<sup>234</sup> The Grand Council then went on to state:

It is unrealistic to expect the same bureaucrats who have administered Indian programs so poorly over the years to take responsibility for making recommendations to solve the very problems they themselves have created. The recommendations do not even begin to address the real problems of inefficiency, incompetence and mismanagement that are responsible for the funds now wasted by Government on the administration of native programs.<sup>235</sup>

Such sentiments were voiced by Indian organizations throughout the country. Both the Prime Minister and the Minister for Indian Affairs were forced to disavow the report and its recommendations.

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<sup>233</sup> *ibid.*, p. 52.

<sup>234</sup> House of Commons Debates, Vol. 128, No. 101, 1st Session, 33rd Parliament, May 10, 1985, p. 4616.

<sup>235</sup> *ibid.*

Despite the opposition of Bands, some aspects of the federal papers and reports have been implemented. Bill C-31 has become law thus eliminating discriminatory provisions under the Indian Act but at the same time allowing "Indian bands to determine their own membership for the future."<sup>236</sup> Block funding, only a concept under the Penner Report, is now becoming a reality.<sup>237</sup> Bands will now be responsible for indebtedness when brought about through mismanagement; Band leadership will be fiscally responsible or the Band will be forced to react to its debt through cuts in services or capital.<sup>238</sup> Slowly, Bands are being asked to take responsibility, not just funding, for the programs they administer. It has been postulated in this study that this is a move in the right direction. As more responsibility is shifted to Bands, and community residents realize that they will decide the future of themselves and their children, change will occur. Politicians and bureaucrats will not be able to stop it. Band members will demand service for their "user-fee;" they will demand accountability for expenditure of Band funds, but this is only a beginning. While this will begin to inculcate modern values, i.e. return for investment, to create an environment favourable to SES mobility requires the implementation of several other policies.

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<sup>236</sup> DIAND, "Communique: Legislation Introduced to Ensure Equality in the Indian Act," Ottawa, February 28, 1985, p. 2.

<sup>237</sup> Program Planning Directorate, "National Environmental Assessment and National Program Goals," July 2, 1985, p. A-5. The Department of Indian Affairs however no longer utilizes the term "bloc funding." Rather, the terms "alternate funding arrangements" or "alternate funding mechanisms" are now employed, the same meaning, but a new euphemism.

<sup>238</sup> Memo from D.K. Goodwin, ADM, and B.J. Veinot, ADM, to Regional Directors General on Band Indebtedness, June 12, 1984.

The decision to turn the land base over to Bands would foster ownership and the ability to utilize land and home as a source of collateral. Such an ability would be an incentive to the small entrepreneur who could capitalize his venture.<sup>239</sup> housing subsidy tied to on-reserve restrictions would encourage mobility. Tied to these moves must be a concerted, comprehensive training package tied to the market needs of the locale. An emphasis must be placed on the escape of poverty through entrance into the labour market.

All groups involved, both federal and Indian, acknowledge that the present situation cannot successfully encourage SES mobility. The federal government has proven that it can suggest needed changes, time after time; yet, federal politicians lack the strength to implement those recommendations. Indian organizations continue to fight most government policies that will change the status quo. It is easier for both parties to blame the "system" than to risk change and the challenge that change necessarily entails. Leadership, both local and federal, has failed the community residents it was elected to serve. The avenues have not opened for upward mobility. The responsibility for change must

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<sup>239</sup> It is interesting to note that the ability to hold, and dispose of, land is a key clause in The Sechelt Self-Government Bill, which was given first reading on February 5, 1986. This Bill applies only to the Sechelt Band, one of the British Columbia Bands, a groupings which has unique traditions regarding land holdings and entrepreneurship. The Bill essentially replaces the Indian Act for the Sechelt.

This Bill, C-93, perhaps reflects most closely the suggestions of this study. Self-government, as designed by the Sechelt Band, offers a current, concrete blue-print for socio-economic mobility for Indian People. While this Bill is particular to the Sechelt, its general applicability is far greater even though any future Bill of this nature must be tailored to each specific Band. For the details of this Bill, see An Act Relating to the Establishment of Self-Government for the Sechelt Indian Band, February 5, 1986..

therefore rest with community members themselves.

These decisions must be complemented through a re-evaluation of the educational program. Staffing must be of high calibre; funding must be adequate to address the needs. The community must realize that it will determine the future of its children through support, or lack thereof, for the educational system that serves its children. While Bands aspire to, and the Department encourages, local control, this is not, and cannot be, the ultimate goal. If the children of the community, as well as adults, are to experience SES mobility, excellence of programming must be present. Only the community members can ensure that as a reality.

This study has demonstrated that SES mobility has been elusive for Dryberry; it need not. While several factors, individually and collectively, mitigate against that mobility, steps can be taken to encourage and foster that mobility. These steps are not easy and some shake the very foundations of the community and its value systems; but, in the end, the community members will have to weigh the alternatives and decide for themselves wherein they wish their, and their childrens', future to lie.

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**Appendix A**  
**INTERVIEW SCHEDULE**

**Introduction**

I would like, first of all, to thank you for agreeing to be interviewed. I am conducting a study to determine the connection between education and job attainment. To assist me in this research, I would like to ask you a few questions about yourself, your parents, and your community. If you have any questions about this research, I would be more than happy to answer them now. If not, please feel free to ask any questions after our formal interview is over. ALL INFORMATION WILL BE CONFIDENTIAL.

Date of interview:

**Personal Data**

1) Name of Respondent: \_\_\_\_\_ 2) Age: \_\_\_\_\_

Sex: M: \_\_\_\_\_ F: \_\_\_\_\_

3) Marital Status: Single..... Married..... Other (specify) .....

4) Address:



**Educational History and Opinions**

5) School(s) Attended:

6) Highest Grade..... 7) Stream: Academic:  
General...Honours...Voc...

8) Present Occupation.....

9) Which other occupations have you held? (Chronological order)

10) When did you leave school? (Grade level and year)

11) Why did you leave school?

12) Did education help you to obtain your job? How?

13) If you had more, or better, education could this help to obtain a better job?

14) What sort of education do you want for your children? Why?

15) Should a young Ojibway student in school learn:

1. a) only new ways and ideas?
2. b) mainly new ways and ideas?
3. c) mainly traditional ways and ideas?
4. d) only traditional ways and ideas?
5. e) an equal combination of old and new ways?

16) Do you think you can learn more from old people or in school?

1. a) old people
2. b) school
3. c) the same

17) How much schooling should one have ideally?

1. a) five years
2. b) ten years
3. c) as much as one wants/needs

18) What good does education do for you?

19) If you could go to school again for only three years more would you learn:

1. a) to read and write better in Ojibway?
2. b) to read and write better in English?
3. c) to do a skill or a trade well?
4. d) more subject matter, e.g. math, science, etc.

20) Are upgrading courses available within this area? Yes..... No.....

21) Do you think this upgrading could help you to obtain a better job?  
Yes..... No.....

22) If "Yes", why do you not take upgrading courses?

### Occupational History and Opinions

23) Which is the best job on the Reserve? Why?

24) Which is the worst job on the Reserve? Why?

25) Look at the jobs listed below carefully. Which of these jobs do you think is the best kind of job to have? Number the top six jobs one through six according to how you see them beginning with the best job as number one and marking last of the best as number six.

Then grade the six worst jobs accordingly using the numbers 20 to 25 and giving the worst job the number 25 and the lesser of the worst numbers up to 20.

- |                            |                         |
|----------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. chief                   | 23. electrician         |
| 2. hunter/trapper          | 24. typist/office clerk |
| 3. nurse                   | 25. logger              |
| 4. doctor                  |                         |
| 5. game warden             |                         |
| 6. policeman/policewoman   |                         |
| 7. lawyer                  |                         |
| 8. school bus driver       |                         |
| 9. guide                   |                         |
| 10. housewife              |                         |
| 11. store clerk            |                         |
| 12. council member         |                         |
| 13. pilot                  |                         |
| 14. janitor                |                         |
| 15. teacher                |                         |
| 16. priest/clergyman       |                         |
| 17. stewardess/steward     |                         |
| 18. educational counsellor |                         |
| 19. fur factory worker     |                         |
| 20. teacher aide           |                         |
| 21. unemployed on welfare  |                         |
| 22. carpenter              |                         |

26) Do you like the idea of a regular job? Yes..... No.....

27) What are the best/ideal hours of work each week?

1. a) 10-20 hours
2. b) 20-30 hours
3. c) 30-40 hours
4. d) 40-50 hours

28) What would a young married person from Dryberry do if he was offered a better job, house, and pay in another place outside Dryberry Reserve?

1. a) take the job and leave his family in Dryberry
2. b) take the new job and move his family but try to keep a permanent home in Dryberry
3. c) take the job and move
4. d) turn the job down

29) Do you find your present job:

1. a) easy to handle?
2. b) tough at times?
3. d) very demanding?
4. e) almost too much for you?

30) How satisfied do you feel with your present situation?

1. a) it is exactly what I want to do
2. b) it is fairly satisfactory
3. c) it is mostly unsatisfactory
4. d) it is so bad I'd like to quit

31) What sort of job would you want for your children?

1. a) on the Reserve? \_\_\_\_\_
2. b) off the Reserve? \_\_\_\_\_

32) Which type of work do you most prefer:

1. a) indoor work \_\_\_\_\_
2. b) outdoor work \_\_\_\_\_
3. c) both indoor and outdoor work \_\_\_\_\_

33) Which type of employer do you prefer:

1. a) small private company \_\_\_\_\_
2. b) large corporation/government \_\_\_\_\_
3. c) self-employment \_\_\_\_\_
4. d) band \_\_\_\_\_

34) Which of the following is better?

1. a) Young people should be content to do the same work as their parents.
2. b) Young people should find satisfying or better work than their parents.

35) If you had a choice would you like a job using only manual skills, only mental skills or a combination of both?

1. a) manual
2. b) mental
3. c) a combination of both

**Parental Information**

Names: Father..... Mother.....

Ages: Father..... Mother.....

**Educational Data**

FATHER: 36) Education/School(s): FATHER:

37) MOTHER:

**Occupational Histories**

38) FATHER:

39) MOTHER:

40) Would you say your father had a job: not as good as yours....., just as good as yours....., or better than yours.....? On what did you base your answer?

41) In your community, would you say your parents were average, above average, or below average in wealth? ..... 42) Power?.....

43) Could more, or better, education have helped your parents achieve a better position in the community?

**SES Data**

44) Do your parents have running water in their home?..... 45) Which of the following do your parents have in their home: Colour T.V....., Black and White T.V....., Radio....., Telephone....., Electric Clothes Washer....., Electric Clothes Dryer....., Indoor Toilet....., Bathtub or Shower.....? How many bedrooms do your parents have in their home?..... Do your parents own: a canoe....., a motorboat....., a skidoo....., a CB radio....., or a car..... and/or truck.....?

46) Do you own a home? 47) If not, why?

48) Do you have running water in your home?..... 49) Which of the following items are in your home: Colour T.V....., Black and White T.V....., Radio....., Telephone....., Electric Clothes Washer....., Electric Clothes Dryer....., Indoor Toilet....., Bathtub or Shower.....? How many bedrooms are in your home?..... Do you own: a canoe....., a motorboat....., a skidoo....., a CB radio....., or a car..... and/or truck.....?

I would like to ask you a question concerning your future:

50) What kind of job do you expect to have in five years? Why?

51) What job opportunities are available for young people:

1. a) on the Reserve?
2. b) in Tourville?
3. c) in Milltown?

52) What do you see as the single most important factor in getting a better job on this Reserve?

53) Length in present position/occupation.....

54) Spouse employed: Yes..... No.....

Thank you very much for your assistance. The results of my study will be useful in determining the value of education and perhaps will suggest improvement or policy directions.